Graziano Savà A Grammar of Ts'amakko

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References

Symbols and abbreviations

first person, kind of definite, kind of demonstrative second person, kind of definite, kind of demonstrative

third person, kind of definite Adj adjective, adjectival verb

Attr attributive noun
Backgr background
C consonant
Caus causative
Com comitative

Cons Consecutive verb, Consecutive conjunction

Dat dative

Def nominal definite

Def1 first kind of pronominal definite
Def2 second kind of pronominal definite
Def3 third kind of pronominal definite
Diff 'different' pronominal suffix

Dir directive

Dist nominal Distal deixis

Dist1 first kind of pronominal Distal deixis
Dist2 second kind of pronominal Distal deixis

F feminine
Fill filling clitic
Fut future
H high tone
Imp Imperative

Impfv Marked-Imperfective

Inf infinitive Intr intransitive Jussive Juss L low tone Lit literally Loc locative M masculine Mid middle Neg **Negative**

NonPstNeg Non-Past Negative

Obj object

P plural gender Pass passive

Pl plural, Plurative Poss possessive

Pron pronominal particle

Prox nominal Proximal deixis

Prox1 first kind of pronominal Proximal deixis Prox2 second kind of pronominal Proximal deixis

PstNeg Past Negative
Sb somebody
Sent sentence marker
Sth something
Sub subordinate
Subj subject

Sg singular, Singulative

Tr transitive
Unm Unmarked
V vowel
Voc vocative

- affix boundary = clitic boundary

separation of abbreviations fused or combined in one

morpheme, syllable boundary

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Ts'amakko people

The Ts'amakko live in southwest Ethiopia, in the plain of the Weyt'o River (**Dullayko** in Ts'amakko) and on the edges of the mountains delimiting the plain. The territory, located between 5°10' and 5°40' north latitude, and 36°40' and 37°05' east longitude, is limited to the east by the Weyt'o River, to the south by the Lake C'ew Bahïr, to the north by the Maale highlands and to the west by the highlands separating the plain of the Weyt'o from the plain of the Omo River. The administrative location is Bena-Tsamai Woreda, a district within the South Omo Zone, which is a section of the Ethiopian federal state 'Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples'. The 1994 Ethiopian Census (1996) gives the number of Ts'amakko at 9.804. In Ethiopia the people and their language are known as Tsamai (Tsamay, Tzamai). Alternative spellings of 'Ts'amakko' are S'aamakko, Tsamako, Tsamako, Samaco and Tamaha.

The Ts'amakko live in sixteen villages. The administrative and trading centre is the small town of Weyt'o, which hosts a police office and a weekly open market (on Sunday). The development of Weyt'o is linked to the creation of a large nearby cotton farm, the Birale Cotton Company. The farm is a reference point for those who reach the area, which is also known as Birale. No Ts'amakko work on the plantation.

The main economic and socially relevant activity is cattle keeping. Life develops around the social and cultural values related to cattle. Every homestead holds a more or less large herd of livestock. Chickens too are commonly bred. However, food production is based on agriculture. Cultivated crops are sorghum, maize and, to a lesser extent, beans and pumpkin. Edible leaves of trees, wild plants, and wild animals are also consumed. The Ts'amakko are also specialised in bee-keeping, but most of the honey is sold. Eggs and fish are not part of the diet. The first represent marketable goods, the second is considered a taboo food.

The Ts'amakko territory is divided in **dawle** 'lowland' and **?ašše** 'highland'. Most Ts'amakko live in the lowland area, which is characterised by poor and uneven rainfall. The land is scarcely productive and is often affected by periods of drought. The climatic conditions limit the possibility of wealth and food accumulation. Therefore, the Ts'amakko often have to face periods of food shortage. The climatic situation in the 'highland', which is on the edge of surrounding mountains, is slightly better, but not good enough to prevent famine.

The neighbours of the Ts'amakko are the Hamer and Banna, to the southwest and west, respectively, the Arbore to the south, the Dullay speaking peoples, such as K'erk'erte and Gawwada, to the east, and the Maale to the north. The hunter-gatherers Ongota live within the Ts'amakko territory, on the left bank of the Weyt'o. The relations of the Ts'amakko with their neighbours are presently peaceful. In the past there have been tensions with the members of the Maale group. The Konso and the Borana, who are not geographically adjacent, but much larger peoples, used to organise hostile raids into the Ts'amakko territory. With the exception of the Maale, the relations with the neighbours develop around trade, cattle-sharing and intermarriage.

The Ts'amakko have build up a particularly strong alliance with the Hamer and the Banna. These two people are called with a single name in Ts'amakko, **?orgo**, but the Hamer can be distinguished by the term **?amarko**. They are seen as prestigious groups worth of imitation and they have a strong influence on Ts'amakko life style. This influence is particularly evident in dressing, hairstyle and body ornaments. The Ts'amakko often visit the Banna market in Qäy Afär and, more sporadically, the Hamer market in Dimeka. Several Ts'amakko are bilingual in Hamer-Banna, a dialect cluster of the South Omotic language group.

The Ts'amakko language is part of the Dullay dialect cluster of Lowland East Cushitic. The linguistic relation of Ts'amakko and the other Dullay languages is not paired by an ethnic relation. The other Dullay speakers are linked to the Konso, rather than to the Hamer and the Banna. This difference has a geographic basis. The Ts'amakko are the only Dullay speakers who live in a lowland area and on the west bank of the Weyt'o River. The other Dullay-speaking peoples are found in the largely unexplored mountainous area between the east bank of the Weyt'o and the Konso highlands.

The Ts'amakko are the only people who have established fruitful relations with the Ongota, a tiny group of one hundred hunter-gatherers. The Ongota have a positive attitude towards the Ts'amakko. Such attitude is so strong that they decided to abandon their traditional language and replace it with Ts'amakko. The abandonment of the Ongota language is in its final stage. Only eight elders can speak it.

The Ts'amakko are divided in seven clans. Each one claims to trace back their origins from a neighbouring people, whose members migrated to the area where the Ts'amakko presently reside. The members of a clan are considered brothers and sister and, therefore, cannot marry to each other. Children use **?abba** 'father' and **?ayya** 'mother' for all the older people who have children. Grandparents are all called **?akka** 'grandfather' and **?aabo** 'grandmother' by all members of the younger generations. The Ts'amakko villages are not clan-based. People from different clans live in the same village. A council of elders administrates the village. They have a head

which calls for meetings in order to discuss matters concerning the community.

The crucial moment in the life of a **ts'amatakko** 'Ts'amakko man' or a **ts'amatte** 'Ts'amakko woman' is the rite of passage called **gore**. Only after a person has passed this stage is he/she considered a full member of the society and receives the right to be treated as an adult and to get married. The **gore** also entails the introduction in the age-grade. Each one clusters individuals of two or three generation. Rituals establishing a new age-grade are performed approximately every forty years. Only the male individuals who belong to the senior age-grade may be part of the council of elders. The age grades are distinguished by six terms, which are attributed in sequence according to a fixed order. Individuals of the same age grade are expected to help each other in activities that must be carried out in a group, such as house building. This kind of meeting is called **?aylo**.

The arrangement of a wedding, including the calculation of bridewealth, must be negotiated with the family of the girl. In some cases a girl may inquire about the character and the value of a potential partner and decide to marry him or not. If she is willing to marry him, the couple secretly organises the 'kidnapping' of the girl. Afterwards the boy proposes the union to her parents, who will have the last word. A married woman carries two signs of her marital status. The first one, adopted from Hamer and Banna, is curly long hair smeared with butter and red sand. The second one is a skirt made of goatskin with a sort of long back tail touching the ground. This kind of skirt is so typically Ts'amakko that the Dhaasanech, a people living farther southwest, call them 'The Hamer with a tail'. Premarital sexual intercourse is allowed. After the wedding women cannot have sex with other men, while the husband can have other sexual partners and also other wives. Couples are mainly formed during dancing meetings (gibdo). A married man can take part in the dancing. Only unmarried women can join the dances.

Two funeral rites are organised for a dead person: the burial and the reburial. The first one takes place soon after the death of a person. The second one, called **gilo**, is performed about ten years after the burial. It consists in digging out the bones of the dead person and burying them again in another place. The ritual is performed by the members of the family.

The Ts'amakko have a god, wa?ko, who communicates with the people through the bogolko, a leading spiritual figure that the Ts'amakko share with the Arbore. The wa?ko has an influence on people's life, but is not the author of creation. The Ts'amakko believe that, one day, the male and the female stars, takkaditto and hezgitte created the world. They did it when they were standing on the same line in two opposite points of the sky. These two stars are visible and still create rain when they are in that position. This situation is highly desired, but rare. Usually, the two stars do not face each other because takkaditto gets out in the morning, crosses the sky, and

disappears in the evening, just before hezgitte appears and goes along the same route. hezgitte disappears in the morning, when takkaditto starts a new journey in the sky.

1.1.1. Previous studies on the Ts'amakko people

Ethnographic research on the Ts'amakko is very scarce. The most active scholar is Melesse Getu, who has written the most complete description of Ts'amakko so far available (Melesse Getu 1995), an article (Melesse 1997), and a PhD thesis. I had no chance to consult this last study. Pioneering studies include Da Casotto (1945), Jensen (1959), and Pauli (1959). Cerulli (1965) reports Da Casotto's data. The anthropological part of Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1982) contains a good introduction to the culture of the Dullay speaking communities Harso and Dobase.

1.2. The Ts'amakko language

1.2.1. Classification

bago ts'amakkilo ('mouth of the Ts'amakko'), or simply Ts'amakko, belongs to the Dullay cluster of Lowland East Cushitic (Tosco 2000). The relation between the Dullay languages is probably dialectal. This claim results from the comparative observation of the data available on these languages and is supposed by local opinion that Ts'amakko is mutually intelligible with the other Dullay varieties.

As stated in 1.1., the Ts'amakko are geographically apart and ethnically different from the other Dullay-speaking peoples. This difference is also reflected in linguistic divergence in phonology and morphology, as well as lexicon (Hayward 1989:3, 47).

1.2.2. Previous studies on the Ts'amakko language

Ts'amakko is one of the least known languages within East Cushitic. The few data that are available are contained in the following complete list: Da Trento (1941), Fleming (1964), Donham (1972), Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1982), Hayward (1989), Miyawaki (1990), Dinote and Siebert (1994), and Savà (2002). Hayward (1989) is a comparative article containing the first phonological sketch and a few morphological and lexical elements of Ts'amakko. Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1982) is the classic reference for the study of the Dullay languages and cultures (Harso and Dobase in particular). This study contains few and unsystematic morphological material on Ts'amakko collected by the ethnologist Eike Haberland. Savà (2002) offers new Ts'amakko data in a discussion of the Ts'amakko morphological borrowings in Ongota. The other contributions on the language consist of wordlists. Da Trento (1941) is a collection of a few words. Fleming (1964), Donham (1972) and Miyawaki (1990) are unpublished lists containing about 900 items. Dinote and Siebert (1994) is a 320-items wordlist of Ts'amakko, Ongota, and Arbore. Although the words were carefully transcribed, no phonological analysis was attempted.

Besides Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1982), general sources on the Dullay languages are Black (1976), where this cluster is called 'Werizoid', and Hayward (1978), where the Dullay languages are called 'Qawko languages'. Neither of these works contains original data on Ts'amakko.

1.2.3. Collection of data

My fieldwork was carried out during four periods: in June-July 1999, August 2000, March-August 2001, and April-July 2003. I was always hosted by the family of Beze Laybo in the village of Luqa, in the northern part of the Ts'amakko area. Beze and his cousin Bašare Manka were my main informants. Beze's brother Šelo Laybo, who is a local policeman, and Haylu, a local student, assisted me in a number of working sessions. The elicitation has been carried out using Amharic. Beze learned this language while trading. Bashare, Šelo and Haylu have learned it at school. Some stories were collected from Ankaso Manka, Bashare's brother. My corpus consists of about 60 hours of audio-recorded material, some video recordings, 2000 elicited sentences, 17 folktales, 16 non-literary texts about Ts'amakko life and historical events, 5 riddles and songs.

2. Phonology

2.1. Consonants

2.1.1. Inventory of phonemes

There are 29 consonant phonemes. Table 1 contains a list of the phonemes and their realisations. The defalt realisations are listed first in each row. The conditioned allophonic realisations are in brackets. The I.P.A signs, in the standard squared brackets, are used for the phonetic realisations. The conventional spelling applying in this grammar is used for the phonemes. The I.P.A. convention will also be used in the rest of the grammar when a more detailed phonetic transcription is needed.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes and their realisations

/p/	[p] ([p ^h] ([f] ([Φ]	Voiceless bilabial pulmonic stop Voiceless aspirated bilabial pulmonic stop) Voiceless labiodental pulmonic fricative) Voiceless bilabial pulmonic stop)
/b/	[b]	Voiced bilabial pulmonic stop
/t/	[t]	Voiceless alveolar pulmonic stop
/ d /	[d]	Voiced alveolar pulmonic stop
/k/	[k]	Voiceless velar pulmonic stop
/g/	[g]	Voiced velar pulmonic stop
/2/	[?]	Voiceless laryngeal pulmonic stop
/s/	[s]	Voiceless alveolar pulmonic fricative
/ z /	[z]	Voiced alveolar pulmonic fricative

/š/	[\$]	Voiceless palatal pulmonic fricative
/ ž /	[3] ([d3]	Voiced palatal pulmonic fricative Voiced palatal pulmonic affricate)
/x/	[χ] ([χ̃]	Voiceless uvular pulmonic fricative Voiceless trilled pulmonic uvular fricative)
/ħ/	[ħ] ([ħ]	Voiceless pharyngeal pulmonic fricative Voiceless trilled pharyngeal pulmonic fricative)
/የ/	[ʔ] ([ʔˀ]	Voiced pharyngeal pulmonic fricative Voiced glottalised pharyngeal pulmonic fricative)
/h/	[h]	Voiceless laryngeal pulmonic fricative
/m/	[m]	Voiced bilabial pulmonic nasal
/n/	[ŋ]	Voiced alveolar pulmonic nasal Voiced velar pulmonic nasal
/ɲ/	[ɲ]	Voiced palatal pulmonic nasal
/c/	[t[]	Voiceless palatal pulmonic affricate
/c'/	[t \ ']	Voiceless palatal ejective affricate
/q'/	[q'] ([qx'] ([d] ([G]	Voiceless uvular ejective stop Voiceless uvular ejective affricate) Voiceless uvular implosive stop) Voiced uvular implosive stop)

/ts'/	[ts'] ([s']	Voiceless alveolar ejective affricate Voiceless alveolar ejective fricative)
/6/	[გ] ([გ])	Voiced bilabial implosive stop Voiceless bilabial implosive stop)
/ d /	[d]	Voiced apico-alveolar implosive stop Voiced alveolar implosive stop)
/g/	([â] [â]	Voiced velar implosive stop Voiceless velar implosive stop)
/w/	[w]	Voiced bilabial pulmonic glide
/ y /	[j]	Voiced palatal pulmonic glide
/1/	[1]	Voiced alveolar pulmonic lateral
/r/	[r]	Voiced alveolar pulmonic trill

The phonemes can be clustered in classes that share the same phonological behaviour. A general binary division is between obstruents and non-obstruents. The obstruent phonemes include the stops $/\mathbf{p}/$, $/\mathbf{b}/$, $/\mathbf{t}/$, $/\mathbf{d}/$, $/\mathbf{c}/$, $/\mathbf{k}/$, $/\mathbf{g}/$ and $/\mathbf{l}/$, the fricatives $/\mathbf{s}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$, and the glottalic phonemes $/\mathbf{b}/$, $/\mathbf{t}\mathbf{s}'/$, $/\mathbf{d}/$, $/\mathbf{g}/$, $/\mathbf{q}'/$ and $/\mathbf{l}/$. The non-obstruent (or sonorant) phonemes include the glides $/\mathbf{w}/$ and $/\mathbf{l}/$, the nasals $/\mathbf{m}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$ and $/\mathbf{l}/$, the lateral $/\mathbf{l}/$ and the trill $/\mathbf{r}/$. A special class is formed by the sibilant palatal phonemes $/\mathbf{s}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$, $/\mathbf{c}/$ and $/\mathbf{c}'/$ on the basis of a rule of sibilant palatal harmony (see 2.7.8.).

Table 2 below indicates the parameter 'type of articulation' on the vertical axis and the parameter 'place of articulation' on the horizontal axis. The consonant phonemes are distributed in its cells. The left part of each column hosts the voiceless phonemes, the right part is occupied by the voiced phonemes. A wider cell in the column of the palatals isolates the palatal sibilants.

	Bila	bial	Alve	eolar	Pa	latal	Ve	elar	Uv	ular	Pha	ryng.	Laı	ryng.
	-V	$+_{\mathbf{V}}$	-v	$+_{V}$	-v	$+_{V}$	-V	$+_{V}$	-V	$+_{\rm V}$	-V	$+_{V}$	-V	$+_{\rm V}$
Obstruents														
Stops	p	b	t	d	c		k	g					?	
Fricatives			S	Z	š	ž			X		ħ	ያ	h	
Glottalic		б	ts'	ď	c'			g	q'					
Non-									_					
obstruents														
Glides		\mathbf{W}				y								
Lateral				l										
Trill				r										
Nasals		m		n		(n)								

Table 2: Grid of the consonant phonemes

All consonant phonemes also occur geminated (and phonetically long). The exceptions are the phonemes /p/ and /c/, which only appear geminated. /pp/ is only attested in loanwords. /cc/ is only attested in lexical entries and has an historical correlation with /šš/ (see 2.2.14.). The occurrence or the shape of some geminated phonemes depends on their position within the stem or across morpheme boundaries. The sibilant /š/, the laryngeal /h/ and the implosives /g/ and /b/ are never geminated in lexical entries but only across morpheme boundaries. Geminated /šš/ in lexical entry corresponds historically to /cc/ (see 2.2.14.). The realisation of geminated /p/ correlates with its position in the lexeme or in the morphological make up of the word (see 2.2.14.). See the following table:

Table 3: Geminated consonants /pp/, /šš/, /66/, /gg/, /hh/, /cc/ and /nn/

	Within lexical entries	Across morphological boundaries
/ pp /	[p:] Voiceless long bilabial pulmonic stop ([ph:] Voiceless long aspirated bilabial pulmonic stop)	[f:] Voiceless long labiodental pulmonic stop
/šš/		[5:] Voiceless long palatal pulmonic fricative
/66/		[6:] Voiced long bilabial implosive stop

/gg/		[g:] Voiced long velar implosive stop
/hh/		[h:] Voiceless long laryngeal ricative
/cc/	[t\[\]:] Voiceless long palatal pulmonic affricate	
/pp/	[n:] Voiced lonc palatal pulmonic nasal	

The other geminated consonants have the same realisation in lexical or grammatical context. They are listed in table 4:

Table 4: Geminated consonants with one realisation

	Lexical and morphological context
/bb/	[b:] Voiced long bilabial pulmonic stop
/tt/	[t:] Voiceless long alveolar pulmonic stop
/dd/	[d:] Voiced alveolar pulmonic stop
/kk/	[k:] Voiceless long velar pulmonic stop
/ gg /	[g:] Voiced long velar pulmonic stop
/??/	[?:] Long laryngeal pulmonic stop
/ žž /	[dg:] Voiced long palatal pulmonic affricate
/ss/	[s:] Voiceless long alveolar fricative

/zz/	[z:] Voiced long alveolar fricative
/ xx /	[χ:] Voiceless long uvular fricative
/ħħ/	[ħ:] Voiceless long pharyngeal fricative
/የየ/	[9:] Voiced long pharyngeal fricative
/mm/	[m:] Voiced long bilabial nasal
/nn/	[n:] Voiced long alveolar nasal
/q'q'/	[q':] Voiceless long uvular ejective stop ([q':] Voiceless long uvular implosive stop) ([g':] Voiced long uvular implosive stop)
/c'c'/	[tʃ'] Voiceless long palatal ejective affricate
/ts'ts'/	[ts':] Voiceless long alveolar ejective affricate ([s':] Voiceless long alveolar ejective fricative)
/dd/	[²d:] Voiced long apical preglottalised alveolar stop
/ww/	[w:] Voiced long bilabial glide
/ yy /	[j:] Voiced long palatal glide
/11/	[1:] Voiced long alveolar lateral
/rr/	[r:] Voiced long alveolar trill

2.1.2. Minimal pairs and distribution

The following lists show some (near) minimal pairs. The words are arranged in a way to demonstrate the phonological opposition between consonants that are phonetically reatively close. When possible, the phonemes concerned are compared in initial, intervocalic and final positions. Some of the words pairs oppose consonants differing in the voice parameter. They are $/\mathbf{p}/$ and $/\mathbf{b}/$, $/\mathbf{t}/$ and $/\mathbf{d}/$, $/\mathbf{k}/$ and $/\mathbf{g}/$, $/\mathbf{s}/$ and $/\mathbf{z}/$, $/\mathbf{s}/$ and $/\mathbf{z}/$. Other pairs have been arranged according to the pulmonic or glottalic articulation of the phonemes in opposition. These pairs of words show the contrast between $/\mathbf{b}/$ and $/\mathbf{b}/$, $/\mathbf{d}/$ and $/\mathbf{d}/$, $/\mathbf{g}/$ and $/\mathbf{g}/$, $/\mathbf{s}/$ and $/\mathbf{t}/$.

A group of pairs show phonological oppositions between phonemes articulated in the velar, uvular, pharyngeal and laryngeal areas of the oral cavity. These pairs are introduced because sounds of the posterior regions in several languages of the area sound particularly similar. Therefore, the determination of the phonemes and their allophonic realisations is not self-evident. The pairs are /g/ and /q'/, /q'/ and /k/, /g/ and /g/, /h/ and /h/, /h/ and /h/. Ts'amakko is spoken in a linguistic area in which the realisation of posterior phonemes changes a lot from language to language. The contrasts in this area all involve at least two different points of articulation. The exceptions are the oppositions between /g/ and /h/, a contrast of two laryngeal sounds.

Two last pairs differentiate non-obstruent sounds. They are /r/-/l/ and /l/-/n/, that in many languages represent a single phoneme. All the groups of pairs include contrasts of the geminated consonants.

See the lists of pairs below:

/ p / and	/b/ palq'e poolo puɗi	broken piece of gourd cloud it flowered	balq'is boolo buli	make sprout! scrabble he separated
	daapakko ?iipe ?apo	blind eyelashes steam	dabakko kibe Saabo	mouse dry season grandmother
	siippo	sweat	?ibbo	riddle
	rap	sleep!	gab	take!
/ t / and /	d/ tarbitto teerikko toollo	kind of trumpet dust long walking stick	darbe deli doolle	drum he has sewn ox-hunch

	tuuɗe	piece of buffalo or	duubde	buttock
	q'ato q'aata kaata	hippo skin black spot on the skin trigger of firearm broken thing	bado q'eeda keeda	hunger he is licking corridor between house and fence
	?uttufo	small pole in roof	puddo	cotton
	pat	vomit!	bood	dig!
/k/ and	/g/ kacce	shoulders	gac'c'e	tef (Eragrostis abyssinica)
	karre	door	garro	ground squirrel (Xerus rutilus)
	kere kiili	seat he helped	ger?e gilo	thieves meeting for dead people
	seke buke	stick of roof wooden club	segele duge	grass of roof truth
	wakki	speak once!	žaggi	insert once!
	?ook wak	change! speak!	zoog žag	float! insert!
/s/ and	/z/ saq'i saarko	he stored chief of village	zaq'i zaalko	he slaughtered hole made by water
	sori soq'o	he ran salt	zoora zoogo	it is sweet parent-in-law
	baasallo	calabash used to pour	?azo	brother
	gaasse	water horns	gazze	shadow
	Lugis	make drink!	?azaz	order!
/š/ and	/ž/ šaalko	pool made of river water	žaalko	'godmother'
	pašo	field	mažo	cilindric bead
	Sašše	lots of grass	?ažže	smells
	gooš	tend cattle!	?ažaž	order!

/ b / and	/6/ bado buli baalko	hunger he separated flower of maize	6adi 6uli 6alko	he hid he jumped lowland plain
	q'aba?	listen!	q'a6a	instrument for cutting thorns
	Saabo	grandmother	kaɓo	sheep or goat hide
	kibbe	dry seasons	xibbe	lips
	gab	take!	there are	no words with final /6/
/ d / and	/d/ dawle deeħ doolle duuko	lowland give! ox-hunch back	Cawri Ceek Coollo Cuge	he has forbidden sharpen! leather mat truth
	boodas	make dig!	200das	make walk!
	booddo	digging	200ddo	walking
	bood	dig!	200d	walk!
/g/ and	/g/ gay gaare gee?i gilo gooħ	arrive! trees he belched meeting for dead people roar!	gab gaante gee?i giile	take! udder he wants calabash for butter grow!
	gaage logi ?agi žag	small water tortoise he spoiled he uprooted insert!	Paage bogi Pagi laag	birds he killed he stays turn!
	loggi	he spoiled at once	boggi	he killed at once
	žug	extract!	nug	have sex!
/s/ and	/ts'/ saarre seke sire	chiefs of village stick of roof jewellery	ts'aare ts'ekile ts'iire	last drops of milk elbow male

	basa	he is doing	q'ets'a	he is cutting
	gisso	mongoose sp.	gits'ts'o	flea sp.
	bas	do!	q'ats'	bend arms and legs of the corpse!
/g/ and	/q'/ gara gab gor	he looks alike take! chase!	q'arara q'aw q'od	it hurts chew! dig!
	?aagi ligi	he went back home he went out	baq'i šiq'i	it melted he farted
	nuggo	having sex	ɗooq'q'o	carrying on the shoulder
	nug	have sex!	ɗooq'	carry on the shoulders!
/ q '/ and	d /k/ q'aro q'eeda	side he is licking	karo keeda	dog corridor between house and fence
	q'ole q'ummi	cattle he ate grains	kole kumi	they returned it is finished
	woq'q'e q'aq'q'e	hot sun barks of tree	?okke kakko	cubs kernel
/Ƴ/ and	žoq' šiq'	beat! fart!	200k Cik	change! count!
	/?/ Sare Sašše Sarto Pagi	coffee lots of grass smoke he stays	Pare Pašše Parti Paagi	they know highland you know he went back home
	bose	manure	boo?e	irrigation pond
	rasso	shot	ka??o	getting up
	ras	shoot!	ka?	get up!

/h/ and				
	halko	old man	ħaarko	hand
	šoohi	he washed	šooħi	he urinated
	gohho	growth	goħħo	roaring
	goh	grow!	gooħ	roar!
/1 / 1	, ,			
/h/ and	/x/ halle	old people	xalle	pigeon sp.
	gohi	he grows	c'oxi	he milks
	gohho	growing	boxxakk	o pus
	goh	grow!	boox	concimate!
/x/ and	/ħ/			
	xarše xurri	boiled beans give up!	ħaarke ħulli	hands come in!
	c'oxi	he milked	šooħi	he urinated
	maaxxe c'oxxo	gourds milking	lahho gohho	bird sp. roaring
	boox	concimate!	šooħ	urinate!
/ q '/ and	d /x/ q'aro q'alše q'alle	side belt for men they started singing	xaro xarše xalle	crocodile boiled beans pigeon sp.
	ɗooq'i	he carries on the shoulder	muxi	he cuts
	q'aq'q'e	barks of tree	Paxxe	milk
	žoq'	beat!	c'ox	milk!

/ ? / and	l/h/ ?alge ?ažo	leather sacs	halko hac'anɗe	old man body scarification
	lo?o ga?ali	cow he got married	Yoholko Yahayte	greedy milk and blood
	ko??o	setting on (fire)	gohho	growing
	ko?	set on (fire)!	goh	grow!
/r/ and	/l/ rap rooko	sleep! curved towards the head (horn)		sell! cow
	tibire xare ?ara ħoro	rod fish he knows inside part of a gourd	daale g saala l	ron arrow goats kind of trumpet scrabble sp.
	garro	ground squirrel	q'allo s	starting singing
	mur sor	pay! run!		separate! come back!
/I/ and	/n/ labale lußi longo	kind of rifle it was hot shield	nabale nugi nolo	bealt of beads he had sex brain
	malali silitte zilanq'a ?oolaɗi	he is tired feather rainbow I spent time	manaq'o šiininko ?inanko ts'onaq'o	yoke butter boy bee
	tallaħo billayko tillile	tree sp. knife bird sp.	bannado ?innakko kinnisa	black scrabble flies pimple
	kiil	help!	šiin	smear!

Table 5 contains words showing the phonemes in various positions, as well as in consonant clusters. In the words of the first column the phonemes are in initial position; in the second column they are in intervocalic position; the third column contains the geminated counterparts of the phonemes; in the fourth column they are in postconsonantal position; in the fifth column they

are in preconsonantal position; in the sixth, and last, column the phonemes are in final position. Discussion on the distribution of some phonemes follows the list of occurrences.

Table 5: Distribution of consonant phonemes

/p/					
pari	c'ipano	siippo	žumpo	bapko	rap
he died	boy	sweat	iron point	python	sleep!
/ b /					
biye	q'aba?i	?ibbo	?erbo	gabdi	ts'iib
land	I heard	riddle	male sheep	you took	clean!
/ t /					
tire	bote	katte	?aanto	getko	pat
liver	pumpkin	fire	now	wooden	womit!
				seat	
/d/					
daalte	sido	middakko	ganda	šudni	q'od
goat	eyelashes	rope	neighbours	we dressed	dig!
/ k /					
katte	ħeeko	kallikko	ħaerko	d'akše	ɗeek
fire	chest	sun	hand	animal sp.	sharpen!
/ g /					
gaarko	zigammo	šiggire	?ingiye	c'egde	žug
tree	length	razor	mother	blood	extract!
/2/					
?ingiye	boo?e	ža??arko		de?se	kicca?
mother	irrigation	rectus		kidneys	laugh!
	pond				
/s/					
sinde	gasarko	gassaɗi	gawso	bisko	las
nose	buffalo	I asked	chin	body	sell!
/ z /					
zaante	?azo	gazze	gelzakko	?uzge	
branch	younger	shadow	baboon	fire stones	
	brother				
/š/					
šaTalko	?ošonko	Lašše	?awši	?išti	200š
older	coldness	lots	It boiled	she	wipe!
brother		of grass		refused	
/ <u>ž</u> /		<u>-</u>			
ži?o	?ažo	božže	?alžo		
food	smell	white clay	walking		
		,	stick		

121					
/c/ 		picce			
		curds			
/ x /					
xumßi	maaxatto	?axxe	borxo	sooxmatte	cox
all	gourd	eyes	ember	tree sp.	milk!
/ħ/					
ħezge	?ukaħe	kaħħa	worħanko	šumaħto	salaħ
star	egg	it is hard	war	sand	four
/የ/					
Yare	biΩa	leΥo	darto	raΩti	raΥ
coffee	white	moon	ashes	you shoot	shoot!
/ h /					
hucci	?oholko	gohho		gohti	goh
I fill up	greedy man	growing		you grow	grow!
/ß/	8	8 8		<i>J - 11 B - 11</i>	8
balko	kaɓo	lußße	gombo		
lowland	sheep or	feet	kraal		
plain	goat hide	1000	muu		
/ts'/	gout mac				
ts'onaq'o	mits'o	gits'ts'o	q'ants'e	q'ets'ti	q'ets'
bee	sorghum	flea sp.	thorn	you cut	cut!
000	beer	nea sp.	tilom	you cut	cut:
/d/					
doollo	q'oode	muɗɗe	Sande		200C
leather	snail	handle of a	water		walk!
icathei	Siluii	headrest	water		want.
/c'/		nedarest			
c'ayde	q'aac'a	gac'c'e	kirinc'e		
fence	charcoal	tef	spur		
/g/	Charcoar	tci	spui		
ginase	mugaste	nuggo	maango	nugti	lig
rib	head	having sex	sorghum	you had	get out!
110	nead	naving sex	Sorghum	sex	get out:
/q'/				JCA	
74 / q'awko	ts'eq'o	woq'q'e	sonq'a	loq'ti	loq'
•	C CI		klind of	-	swallow!
man	firefly	hot sun	guitar	you swallowed	swallow!
/w/			guitai	swanowed	
/w/ wa?ko	gawa Olya	a ² anna		gawee	galleyy
	gawa?ko thunder	q'awwo		gawso chin	gallaw
god	munaer	biting		CHIH	night
/ y /	-ivo	a?axx		Ivaviac	max
	ziya	q'ayya		kaysa	mayyi
	warrior	it is good		there	kiss!
<u>/r/</u>		0		1 1	1 *1 *
reento	?ure	?orro	sawro	darbe	kibir

hippo	wax	forest	dik dik	drum	dance!
/m/					
manne	goomaro	zammo	garmo	gombo	?ooxam
house	throat	honey	lion	kraal	exchange!
/n/					
na??a	zano	paannatte	?awne	c'ingo	q'aan
small	street	after	in the	mosquito	chew!
child			evening	-	
/p/					
		senno			
		Monday			
/1/					
lakki	?ilmale	doollo	gurlo	?ilge	šal
two	tears	leather mat	cat	teeth	light (adj)

The least frequent consonant phonemes are /p/, /c/ and /h/. The first two only occur geminated and never as simple /p/ and /c/. /pp/ is only attested in loanwords. /h/ appears in few roots and never in postconsonantal position. Also the sibilants /ž/ and /c'/ appear in a particularly low number of roots and never occur in preconsonantal and final positions. The laryngeals and the glides do not appear in postconsonantal position. The implosive /d/ is not attested before consonants. /y/ and /p/ are the only consonants that do not occur word initially. /y/ may, however, be the onset of a root medial or root final syllable. Even though the phoneme /z/ has not been included among the consonants occurring in word final position, it is attested word finally in ?azaz 'order!', which is the Imperative singular form of the verb of Amharic origin ?azaz- 'to order'. This verb has a free variant ?ažaž-, which in the singular Imperative form, ?ažaž 'order!' shows the only case of a final palatal fricative.

The following section, 2.2., contains a discussion on the phonetic realisations of the consonant phonemes.

2.2. Realisations of consonant phonemes

2.2.1. Final unreleased realisation

All stops and glottalised obstruents are partially released in word final position. The only exception is $/\mathbf{p}/$, which appears as $[\mathbf{f}]$, in this position (see 2.2.13.):

See examples of final /b/, /g/ and /ts'/:

```
ts'iib [ts'i:b] clean!
meeg [me:g] pour!
tuuts' [tu:ts'] push!
```

2.2.2. Glottal stop deletion

The glottal stop may drop in medial position if followed and preceded by identical vowels.

/?/ optionally
$$\rightarrow$$
 ø between V_1 V_1

Example:

2.2.3. Trilled realisation

The uvular fricative has a trilled articulation before high vowels.

$$/x/ \rightarrow [\tilde{\chi}]$$
 before $V_{[high]}$

Example:

The voiceless pharyngeal fricative may be pronounced with a particularly powerful airflow, which produces a trilling effect, probably of the epiglottis.

$$/\hbar$$
/ (optionally) \rightarrow [\hbar]

Example:

2.2.4. Apical realisation

The stricture point of the alveolar implosive $/\mathbf{d}'$ is normally localised in the postalveolar region. The articulation is apical, and optionally laminal.

$$d/ [d]_{postalveolar} \sim [d]_{postalveolar}$$

Examples:

doollo[do:l:o]
$$\sim$$
 [do:l:o]leather matdiim[diim \sim diim \sim diim \sim leather mat

2.2.5. Preglottalisation

When d is geminated one clearly perceives a glottal stricture before the release of the stop, which is postalveolar and apical.

Example:

muɗɗe [mu²d:e] handle of a headrest

2.2.6. Reduction to glottal stop and to zero

A preceding /I/ may cause reduction of / \mathbf{d} / to glottal stop, or / \mathbf{d} / is assimilated to the preceding lateral /I/. The assimilation is probably favoured when the glottal stop resulting from the reduction of / \mathbf{d} / is found in postconsonantal position:

$$/d/(\rightarrow)$$
 [2](\rightarrow) [1]/1

Example:

gaaldawti [ga:1?awti] or [gal:awti] she became pregnant

2.2.7. Change in air-stream direction

The articulation of the uvular ejective $/\mathbf{q}^2$ may be implosive. There are two implosive realisations, voiced and voiceless.

$$/q^{\prime}/$$
 (optionally) \rightarrow [G] \sim [q]

Example:

2.2.8. Devoicing

The glottalic /g/ can be devoiced.

$$/g/ \rightarrow optionally [g]$$

Example:

?ilgakko [?ilgak:o] tooth

2.2.9. The phoneme $/\Omega$ /

After the voiced pharyngeal fricative a glottal stop is often perceived, particularly in initial and geminated positions.

$$/ \Im / \to \left[\Im^{\, \Im} \right] / \#_{\underline{}}$$

$$/\Upsilon\Upsilon/ \rightarrow [\Upsilon:^2]$$

Example of initial /\(\begin{aligned}
\gamma/\cdot\):

Example of geminated / \?/:

2.2.10. Affricate realisation of ejective

The ejective $/\mathbf{q}$ has an affricate as a free variant.

$$/q^{\prime}/$$
 (optionally) \rightarrow [q χ ']

Example:

2.2.11. Affricate realisation of fricative

/ž/ appears as an affricate in postconsonantal and geminated positions.

$$/\mathbf{z}/ \rightarrow [\mathbf{d}\mathbf{3}]/\mathbf{C}_{-}$$

$$/\check{z}\check{z}/ \rightarrow [d\mathfrak{Z}:]$$

Example of /**ž**/ in postconsonantal position:

Example of geminated /ž/:

2.2.12. Fricative realisation of affricate ejective

The ejective affricate /ts'/ has an ejective fricative as a free variant:

$$/ts'/$$
 (optionally) $\rightarrow [s']$

Examples:

2.2.13. The voiceless labial consonant /p/

The voiceless labial consonant is characterised by ill-understood variations between stop and fricative word initially; it is realised as a stop after a nasal consonants and in lexical internal gemination; and it is realised as a labiodental or bilabial fricative after non-nasal consonants and in intervocalic, preconsonantal, and final positions. In the present discussion, the only voiceless labial consonant of the Ts'amakko phoneme inventory is considered neutral to the phonological categories 'stop' and 'fricative'. In spite of this problem of classification, the symbol **p** will be used to indicate the phoneme in concern.

Initial p

Word initially, \mathbf{p} appears as plain stop $[\mathbf{p}]$, aspirated stop $[\mathbf{p}^h]$, bilabial fricative $[\mathbf{q}]$ or labiodental fricative $[\mathbf{f}]$. The variations exist within the speech of the same speaker for the same words. In principle all variants are possible for all words. An example of a word with the complete allophonic variations of the initial \mathbf{p} we have recorded is \mathbf{puddo} 'cotton':

$$[pud:o] \sim [p^hud:o] \sim [\phi ud:o] \sim [fud:o]$$
 cotton

Even though a careful analysis of the \mathbf{p} -initial words has been carried out, it was not possible to establish restrictions on the variations of initial \mathbf{p} .

Intervocalic p

In intervocalic position **p** appears as **[f]** or **[\phi]**. The example below shows the allophonic realisations of **p** in intervocalic position. In most cases both fricative variants are possible, as the word **laapa** 'bat' shows:

$$[la: \phi a] \sim [la: fa]$$
 bat

When a mid round vowel precedes, $[\Phi]$ is the only possible realisation. See the only two examples in the corpus:

[?o:\documents] wild pea [mo\documents] long pole of a plough

Some words have been recorded with **[f]** as the only realisation. See some examples:

[tifa]straight[?afo]steam[\$arifo]kind of rifle[?ut:ufo]small pole in roof

The last three examples show that the labiodental pronunciation is also possible before round vowels and that round vowels do not bring about the bilabial pronunciation.

The word [fo:fis] 'to blow' always shows the realisation [f] in initial and medial position. [fo:fis] may be explained as the result of the reduplication of the phonetic onomatopoeic segment.

Preconsonantal p

 ${\bf p}$ is normally realised as ${\bf [f]}$ in preconsonantal position. See the example below, in which ${\bf p}$ is in root final position preceded by the suffix $-{\bf ti}$ (second person feminine Unmarked):

Postconsonantal p

p can only be preceded by an homorganic nasal, $/\mathbf{r}/$ or $/\mathbf{l}/$. If the preceding sonorant is the nasal $/\mathbf{m}/$, **p** is represented by the aspirated $[\mathbf{p}^h]$. See below the example of **p** after nasal:

If the preceding sonorant is $/\mathbf{r}/$ or $/\mathbf{l}/$, \mathbf{p} appears as $[\mathbf{f}]$. See the examples after $/\mathbf{r}/$ and $/\mathbf{l}/$:

[c'irfa] braids[gilfa] bellows pump

Final p

p always appears as **[f]** in final position. See below the example of the **p**-final verb **rap** 'to sleep' in Imperative singular conjugation:

Geminated p

As for the shape of \mathbf{p} in geminated position, there is a difference between gemination within morphemes and gemination across morpheme boundaries related to grammatical rules. Root internally a geminated \mathbf{p} normally appears as an aspirated bilabial stop $[\mathbf{p}^h:]$. See the following examples:

[?uph:i]he blew[?uph:iti]you blew[giiph:i]he went to sleep[giiph:iti]you went to sleep[buph:i]he starved[buph:iti]you starved[siph:o]sweat[siph:ad:e]lots of sweat

p emerges as $[p^h:]$ or [f:] if geminated for grammatical reasons. The grammatical contexts are the formation of the past Negative verbal stems and the plural nominal derivation by gemination. In all these cases we can assume that there is an option between applying the gemination to the two main realisations, the stop or the fricative.

In the formation of the Negative stem by gemination of the last root consonant, some verbs such as **rap** 'to sleep', **tup** 'to spit', **biip** 'to eat' show alternation between the two variants of geminated **p**. In the examples below the verbs are conjugated for the singular persons of the Unmarked and Past Negative paradigms. The inflection of the first person and third masculine singular person of the Unmarked is **-i**. The inflection of the second person and third feminine singular person of the Unmarked is **-ti**. When the roots in question are followed by **-i** the **p** is found in intervocalic position. When the **-ti** follows the **p** is found in preconsonantal position. In both cases its appearance as **[f]** is regular. As for the Negative paradigm, a single stem is used for all the singular persons. The singular Negative stem is formed by gemination of the last root consonant and the suffixation of the paradigm vowel **-a**. See the examples:

1Sg/3MSg	2Sg/3FSg	All singular persons
Unmarked	Unmarked	Past Negative
[bi:fi]	[bi:fti]	[bi:pʰ:a] ~ bi:f:a]
he had a meal	you had a meal	he did not have a meal
[rafi]	[rafti]	[rapʰ:a] ~ [raf:a]
he slept	you slept	he did not sleep
[tufi]	[tufti]	[tupʰ:a] ~ [tuf:a]
he spit	you spit	he did not spit

The gemination of \mathbf{p} in the verb **buup-** 'to bless' is always based on the realisation [f]. The result is that its Negative stem shows only the realisation [f:] and never [\mathbf{p}^h :]. See the examples:

1Sg/3MSg	2Sg/3FSg	All singular persons	
Unmarked	Unmarked	Past Negative	
biipi [bi:fi]	biipti [bi:fti]	biippa [bi:pʰ:a] ~ [bi:f:a]	
he had a meal	you had a meal	he did not have a meal	

buufi	[bu:fi]	buupti	[bu:fti]	buuppa	[bu:f:a]
he bless	sed	he blesse	ed	he did not	bless

A kind of plural derivation operates by gemination of the last noun root consonant. In addition, the plural derivation suffix $-\mathbf{e}$ is added. Our corpus provides only one example of a noun root ending in \mathbf{p} , [kefo] 'kind of rifle', which is likely to be a loanword. The basic noun of this root shows the masculine gender suffix $-\mathbf{o}$. The gemination of \mathbf{p} in the plural form of this noun root is only realised as [f:], as the following example shows:

[kefo] kind of rifle [kef:e] kind of rifle (pl)

In the gemination process the input seems to be the phonetic realisation [f] or [p]. The geminated [p:] emerges when the phonetic entity [p] is taken as the unit of gemination. This happens exclusively in lexical context. Across morpheme boundaries the phonetic entity [f] may also optionally be taken as the unit of gemination and long [f:] may emerge. Since the long consonants [p:] and [f:] cannot be considered as the geminated occurrence of a phoneme /p/ or /f/, this is another indication of the impossibility to determine whether the underlying phoneme is a voiceless labial stop or fricative. As a conclusion, I prefer to analyse the voiceless labial consonant in Ts'amakko as undetermined in its stricture parameter. In order to keep the transcription close to the actual pronunciation, p will be used in initial and postnasal positions and in root internal gemination; f will be used in intervocalic, preconsonantal, postconsonantal and final positions and in grammatical gemination.

Table 6 presents a summary of the phonetic realisations of **p**, their conditions and the respective symbols used in the text:

Initial $[\mathfrak{p}^{\mathsf{h}}], [\mathfrak{f}], [\mathfrak{f}]$ [f], $[\phi]/V_{[round]}$ Intervocalic Preconsonantal $[f], [\phi] / CV_{[round]}$ Postconsonantal [f](except after nasal) [p^h Postnasal Final [f]Geminated [p^h:] within roots $[f:] \sim [p^h:]$ across morpheme boundaries

Table 6: Phonetic realisations of the voiceless labial consonant

2.2.14. The geminate counterparts of /š/

The palatal sibilant **š** occurs geminated as **šš** [5:] only across morpheme boundaries. Two grammatical contexts in which **š** appears geminated are

plural noun formation by gemination and punctual verbal derivation. In cases where the basic root with final /š/ has been lost, the plural formation has /šš/, followed by the plural gender suffix –e (see 3.4.2.). See the examples below:

```
Saš-ko
                 Չaš-š-e
          (m)
                            (p)
                                 grass
biš-ko
          (m)
                 biš-š-e
                                 body
                            (p)
laš-ko
                 laš-š-e
                                 kind of food
          (m)
                            (p)
?iš-te
                 ?iš-š-e
          (f)
                            (p)
                                 rib
```

Another context of gemination is the punctual derivation. In the example below the simple and derived stems the verbs are in the Unmarked conjugation. The person is in the 3SgM, marked by the suffix –i:

```
?ooš-i he wiped ?ooš-š-i he wiped once taš-i he thatched taš-š-i he made one thatching movement
```

No $\S\S$ is attested within lexical stems. In this position $\S\S$ is represented by $\S\S$ which is a relic of a historical rule $\S\S$ $\to [\S\S]$. This rule is synchronically obliterated and only in lexical contexts some traces appear.

Geminated **š** is represented by **cc** in the verbal roots ?acc- 'to go', ?ucc- 'to fill up (tr.)', kicca?- 'to laugh' and q'aacc- 'to open', as well as in three nominal roots, kacc-e 'shoulder', picc-e 'curds' and kallacc-o 'rectus', and the adverbial macce 'always'. Another root including **cc** is **geecc-**, which appears as the stem of the adjectives **geeccakko** 'old (m)', **geeccatte** 'old (f)' and **geeccayke** 'old (p)'. The segment [cc] also occurs in the Amharic loanword bicca 'only, alone'. Another probable loanword of unclear origin is **šicca** 'kind of rifle'. The word **pacce** 'fields', the plural counterpart of **pašo** 'field', is the only example of cross boundary gemination in which **cc** appears instead of the regular **šš**. This is probably due to the fact that this plural noun is considered as a lexical and underived item (cf. 3.5.3.).

The historical origin of **cc** from geminated **š** is also indicated by the alternation of the two elements in the stems **geešuw**- 'to become old' and **geecc**- 'old person'. **geešuw**- is a verbal stem which shows a frozen inchoative suffix **-uw**; **geecc**- is an adjectival root.

Our historical hypothesis gets support on comparative grounds. Most of the Dullay cognates of the Ts'amakko roots containing **cc** show **š**, including most of the lexemes for which synchronically there is no evidence for an origin in **š**. The examples from the dialects Dobase, Harso and Gollango are extracted from Amborn, Minker and Sasse (1982). The Gawwada and Gorose correspondences have been provided by Tosco (p.c.). See table 7.

Ts'amakko field pašo (m) Gawwada pašo (m), pašše (pl) fields pacce (pl) geeccakko (m) Gollango g'eešakkó (m), old man g'eešatté (f), old woman geeccatte (f) g'eešawhe (pl) old people Gawwada geešakko (m), old man geeccayke (pl) geešatte (f), old woman geešawħe (pl) old people Gawwada geešuv to become old geešuw Dobase, ašš-?acc-Gollango to go Gawwada kicca? Gollango kišaΥto laugh Harso q'aacc-Dobase q'aašto open Gawwada Harso heššé, shoulder hešáad'e (pl), shoulders kacce (pl) Gorose hešše shoulder kaccitte (f) hešaɗɗe shoulders Gollango hašitto one shoulder Gawwada hašše (pl) shoulders haššitto (m) one shoulder

Table 7: Dullay correspondences with Ts'amakko cc

The relation between **š** and **cc** that can be observed nowadays is problematic. Since **cc** is not the result of a synchronic phonological rule, it functions as an independent phonological element. This can be seen from the following contrasts with **cc**, that from the strictly synchronic phonological point of view must be taken as proof of phonemic opposition:

?acce	they go	Lašše	lots of grass	(pl. of ?aško 'grass')
picce	curds	bišše	bodies	(pl. of biško 'body')
pacce	fields	lašše	kind of food	(pl. of laško)

The present description attributes phonemic status to **cc**. However, this conclusion contradicts the fact that all other geminated consonants, with the exception of /pp/, have single counterpart, while no element /c/ is attested in the language.

2.3. Vowels

Ts'amakko has 5 short and 5 long cardinal vowel phonemes. Our spelling conventions make use of the I.P.A. signs [i], [u], [e], [o], [a] for the short vowels. The doubling of the short vowels indicates vowel length. See the full inventory below:

See the following (near) minimal pairs:

ɗib	to rain	ɗiim	to swim
buske	castrated (p.)	buuše	beard
berko	raining season	beelko	cattle sharing
nolo	brain	poolo	cloud
2ag	to be located	Yaag	to go back home

After the pharyngeal $\mbox{\bf ?}$ and $\mbox{\bf h}$ the mid-vowels back vowel $\mbox{\bf o}$ sounds more open than elsewhere.

The long vowels never occur word finally. The only exception is shown by the interrogative word **moo** 'what?'.

2.4. Tone

2.4.1 High tone (H) and Low tone (L)

Two tones, High tone and Low tone, are distinguished in Ts'amakko. Tone is associated with the short or long syllable vowel. High tone is marked by the acute accent ' and Low tone is marked by the grave accent '. The accents appear on the vowel symbols. Both symbols of long vowels are accented. On long vowels, high tone appears as a continued high pitch and low tone appears as a continued low pitch along the vowel. Only in two nouns the long vowel is pronounced with a raising pitch along. These cases are accounted for by analysing the long vowels as the sequence of two morae, the first one carrying low tone and the second one carrying high tone. The raising pitch is the tonal contour resulting from the low-high tonal sequence. See the nouns below:

The analysis of long vowles as the sequence of two morae is limited to these marginal cases and will not be adopted for the rest of the long vowels because the establishment of vocalic morae is not functional to the general analysis of long vowels.

2.4.2. The tonal system

The Ts'amakko tonal system is functionally restricted. The following facts characterise the use of tone:

- Two, or more, High tones must be part of a single string.
- Tone is lexically determined in nominals and in verbs.
- The vast majority of nominals show low tone on the final syllable and high tone on the preceding syllable(s). Other distributions of tone are exceptional.
- Basic nouns are never distinguished only by tone. The only near minimal pair which deserves mention is shown below and includes one of the marginal nouns having a long vowel with rising pitch contour:

LHL gàántè udder HL gáántè woman

- The tonal lexical distinction in verbs is only manifested in the inflectional suffixes of the Unmarked paradigm.
- Tone has a role in grammar.
- Every verbal paradigm is characterised by a tonal pattern.
- Modal and aspectual opposition are often expressed only by tone.
- One grammatical function is expressed only by tone in nominal morphology.
- Tonal change in nouns occurs in one case of cliticisation.

2.4.3. Tone in basic nouns and other nominals

The tone of most basic nouns, pronouns, adverbials and numerals is largerly predictable: the vast majority of them show low tone on the final syllable and high tone on the preceding syllable(s). Therefore the most common pattern in disyllabic nominals is HL and the most common pattern in trisyllabic nominals is HHL. A minority of disyllabic basic nouns shows the pattern LL and a minority of trisyllabic basic nouns show the patterns LHL. The distribution LLL is attested in one noun and one adverbial. Only two disyllabic nominals cannot be included in the patterns HL and LL. These are the basic nouns with bimoaic long vowels which have been mentioned in 2.4.1. There two numerals and one interrogative with a HH pattern.

Examples of nominals with **HL** pattern:

?áylò working meeting

Sárè coffee

?áwnè in the evening

?ísè she

Examples of nouns with **HHL** tonal pattern:

SárráfkòtonguexíbírèbathábúràwindSámmákèproperlySúfúnGèthey

Examples of nouns with **LHL** tonal pattern:

?ìrgá?òaxešìnšállèants

?àbétò sorghum sp.

Examples of nouns with LL pattern:

bàfkò pythonbìyè earth

bàndà fowl's faecesdòòllò leather matpààgè birds

Below are the noun and the adverbial with LLL pattern:

bàlgìddò ostrich?èlèlè together

The two numerals and the interrogative with **HH** tonal distribution are the following:

lákkí two kúnkó ten Páħá who?

2.4.4. Nominal tone in suffixation and cliticisation

With two exceptions, grammatical marking has no influence on the tonal pattern of nouns.

The VCCV number derivation suffixes, e.g. **-itt** and **-add** (see 3.5.2.), the locative case suffixes (see 3.7.) and the Distal demonstrative suffixes (see 3.8.) carry high tone on the initial vowel and low tone on the final vowel. These suffixes replace the final vowel of basic nous (which, as explained in 3.4.2., is a gender suffix). See examples of suffixation:

kárò	dog	HL	kár-íttò	one dog	HHL
šìnšállè	ants	LHL	šìnšáll-íttè	one ant	LHHL
bàlgìddò	ostrich	LLL	bàlgìdd-áɗɗè	ostriches	LLHL
dúúkò	back	HL	dúúk-ílò	at the back	HHL
gúbálè	rabbit	HHL	gúbál-áttè	by the rabbit	HHHL
dale	goats	HL	dáál-étè	by the goats	HHL
ďòòllò	leather	LL	đòòll-ússà	that leather	LHL
	mat			mat	
mánnè	house	HL	mánn-íssà	that house	HHL

The case clitics =**nù** 'from', =**yày** 'with' and =**tà** 'upon' cause no change in the tone distribution of the noun they attach to. The nouns followed by the case clitic =**mà** 'to/in' have high tone on the final vowel and low tone on the preceding vowels. See examples (for the lengthening of the first word vowel see 2.5.7.):

zí?tè	pot	zìì?té=mà	in the pot
gábáyà	market	gààbàyá=mà	to the market
kúttúnkò	mountain	kùùttùnkó=mà	on the mountain

A morpheme used for proximal demonstrative and vocative is expressed by the tone distribution LH. As it happens with the nouns marked by =ma, nouns modified by this morpheme show high tone on the final vowel and low tone on the preceding vowels. The final high tone syllable vowel is most often rised: e becomes i and o becomes u. Nouns following this tone pattern may have proximal demonstrative or vocative meaning. See examples:

```
gààntí tè béézè
woman.Prox/Voc.F PronF Beze.Poss
This is Beze's woman. [gàántè 'woman']
```

đàllí!

children.Prox/Voc.P children! [dállè 'children']

This tonal morpheme also applies to some adverbials (see 8.1.)

2.4.5. Tone in verbs

Tone is lexically determined in verbs. There are two classes of verbs, the High tone class (class A) and the Low tone class (class B). Most verbs, about 80%, belong to class A. In most situations lexical tone differences are neutralised. They are only manifested in the singular and first plural inflectional suffixes of the Unmarked paradigm (see 6.3. and 6.5.1.). The inflectional suffixes of these persons carry a High tone in Class A verbs and a Low tone in class B verbs. The tone of the Unmarked inflectional suffixes of 2 and 3 plural makes no distinction and it is always Low. See table 8.

Table 8: Tone in Unmarked inflection

	Class A verb	Class B verb
	ያùg 'to drink'	žì? 'to eat'
1Sg	Րúg-í	ží?-ì
2Sg	Րúg-dí*	ží?-tì
3SgM	Րúg-í	ží?-ì
3SgF	የúg-dí*	ží?-tì
1Pl	Րúg-ní	ží?-nì
2P1	የúg-dè*	ží?-tè
3Pl	Չúg-è	ží?-è

(*As shown in 2.7.1. $/t/\rightarrow [d]$ after **b**, **d** and **g**

Tone shows the highest functional load in verb morphology. It contributes to the syntactic and modal distinction of the verbal paradigms. The tone patterns depend on the numbers of syllables of the verb forms. Verbs based on CVC stems are predominantly disyllabic because their stem is in most of the cases followed by a suffix containing one vowel. In those cases in which the suffix has two vowels, the CVC verbs are trisyllabic and show a three-tone pattern. The patterns followed by CVC verbs are listed below along with the indication of the verb forms showing the patterns and relative examples:

Table 9: Verb tone patterns

Pattern	Verb forms	Examples
Н	Imperative singular A	Չúg 'drink!'
	Unmarked B	ží?ì 'he ate'
	Unmarked A	
	(only 2 and 3 plural)	Yúgdè 'you drink'
HL	Marked-Imperfective	
	(only singular persons)	Yúgà 'I am drinking'
	Main Future	5
	(only singular persons)	Yúgnà 'I will drink'
	Unmarked A	
	(except 2 and 3 plural)	Yúgí 'I drink'
	Subordinate Future	
	(only 1Sg, 3SgM, 3Pl)	Yúgní 'I will drink'
	Consecutive A and B	Ŷúgá (A) 'and I drink'
	(only singular persons)	ží?ó (B) 'and I eat'
НН	Non-Past Negative	ží?é 'they do not eat'
	Past Negative	
	(only singular persons)	ží??á 'he did not eat'
	Future Negative	
	(only 1Sg, 3SgM, 3Pl)	žì?ní 'I will not eat'
	Jussive Negative	
	(only singular persons)	ží?ú 'don't let me eat'
	Imperative plural A	Չùgá 'drink (pl)!'
LH	Imperative singular B	žì?á 'eat!'
	Jussive	
	(except 3SgF)	የugná 'let's drink'
	Marked-Imperfective	Yúgánkì 'we are drinking'
	(only plural persons)	
HHL	Main future	ží?nánkù 'you will drink'
	(only plural persons)	
	Consecutive A and B	Yúgínkì (A) 'and they drink'
	(only 2Sg, 3SgF, 1Pl and 2Pl)	ží?ónkì (B) 'and they eat'
LHH	Jussive (only 3SgF)	Yùgítá 'let her drink'
	Imperative plural B	žì?ínďá 'eat (pl)'
	Subordinate future	
	(only 2Sg, 3SgF, 1Pl and 2Pl)	Yúgnínní 'we will drink'
	Past Negative	
ннн	(only plural persons)	ží??ánkú 'you did not eat'
	Future Negative	
	(only 2Sg, 3SgF, 1Pl and 2Pl)	žì?íntí 'she will not eat'
	Jussive Negative	
	(only 2Sg, 3SgF, 1Pl and 2Pl)	ží?únkú 'do not eat (pl)!'

Several verb forms are distinguished only by tonal change. This is the case for the forms of the Unmarked paradigm of class B and the forms of the Non-Past Negative paradigm. The first one shows high tone on the stem vowel only, while the second shows high tone on both the stem and the inflectional vowels. See the comparison below:

	ži? '	to eat'
	Unmarked	Non-Past Negative
	(HL)	(HH)
1Sg	ží?-ì	ží?-í
2Sg	ží?-tì	ží?-tí
3SgM	ží?-ì	ží?-í
3SgF	ží?-tì	ží?-tí
1Pl	ží?-nì	ží?-ní
2P1	ží?-tè	ží?-té
3P1	ží?-è	ží?-é

The same tonal difference can be observed from the comparison between the second and the third persons plural of the Unmarked paradigm of class A and the Non-Past Negative.

	Չúg	'to drink'
	Unmarked	Non-Past Negative
	(HL)	(HH)
2P1	Ŷúg-dè	Ŷúg-dé
3P1	Չúg-è	۲úg-é

Another tone difference appears when comparing the third plural persons just shown with their Jussive counterpart. The Jussive form differs in that it has a low tone on the stem vowel and a high tone on the inflectional vowel.

		የúg 'to drink'	
	Unmarked	Non-Past	Jussive
	(HL)	Negative	(LH)
	, ,	(HH)	, ,
3P1	Չúg-è	Ŷúg-é	Րùg-é

See also the tonal difference between the HL pattern of the third plural Marked-Imperfective form and the LH pattern of the first singular Jussive form.

Չúg	'to drink'
Marked-Imperf.	Jussive
3Pl (HL)	1Sg (LH)
Yúg-à	ያùg-á

One more example of an exclusively tonal distinction is between the first plural Unmarked B, which has a HL pattern, and the first singular subordinate future, which has a HH pattern. Example:

ži? 'to eat'
Unmarked Subord. Future
1Pl (HL) 2Pl (HH) **ží?-nì ží?-ní**

The same tone patterns that apply to CVC stem verbs can be considered valid for stems with more than one syllable. This is because all the syllables of the longer verbs have H or L tone depending on the tone of the corresponding verb form in CVC verbs. If the short vowel of the CVC verb form has H, all the syllables of the corresponding longer stems have H; if the CVC verb form has L, all the vowels of the corresponding longer stems have L.

Verbs with more than one syllables in the stem are the disyllabic verbs with initial long vowel (CVVC) and plurisyllabic verbs. The stem of a plurisyllabic verb can be made up by a root or by the root plus derivational suffixes. The full verbal paradigms of verbs with CVC, CVVC, CVCVC and CVC-VC stems are presented in chapter 5.

2.4.6. Tone in clitics, conjunctions, pronominal particles, locative pronoun and sentence marker

The case clitics =nù 'from', =yày 'with', =tà 'upon' and =mà 'to/in', the sentence conjunctions bà and nà, the sentence marker kà, the pronominal particles kò (m), tè (f) and kè (p), the locative pronoun nà and the homonymous locative clitic nà have always low tone. The conjunctions ?áákà and yáákà, the pronominal words formed by the locative pronoun na and a clitic (see 5.6.) and those based on the pronominal particles (see 5.5.) follow the pattern HL.

2.4.7. Tone vs. pitch accent

The distribution of high-pitched syllable vowels in Ts'amakko is best accounted for in the context of a tonal system. However, as it happens in the Cushitic languages, the Ts'amakko tonal system shows accentual features.

There is a tendency to create one prominency in the attribution of one high pitch to the word. The tendency to prominency is manifest in the proximal demonstrative/vocative tone pattern and in the cliticisation of the clitic =mà (to/in). In both cases the noun looses its tonal pattern and a High tone sits on the last vowel of the noun. Although this fact can be better accounted for within an accent theoretical background, an analysis as pitch-accent rather than restricted tone would not simplify the analysis and would make it difficult to justify the presence of words without accent and words with two or more accents.

Even though several words have more than one high pitched morae, one may note that they appear in a string along the word and attribute this fact to the tendency to create one prominence. Indeed, a string of High tone morae is never interrupted by one or more Low tone morae. However, in accentual languages, the accent appears in one syllable or mora in the word, unless a rule of accent spread is established. A rule of this kind can be established for most of the nominal and verbal forms. The rule says: if the final vowel is low pitched, all preceding vowels are high pitched. However, this rule does not work for all nominals and verbs and does not cover the cases in which the final vowel is high pitched.

Our conclusion is that the (alleged) characteristics of accentual systems observable in Ts'amakko do not render the Ts'amakko system merely accentual.

2.4.8. A note on tone marking

The analysis of tone has been limited to nominals, verbs and the elements described in 2.4.6. No conclusions could be reached on the tonal behaviour of the definite suffix **-se** and most of the interrogatives.

Tone will only be marked on the nominals that do not show the HL and HHL tonal distribution. Tone in verbs will not be marked because it is always predictable from the paradigm they belong to (see 2.4.5.). The tonal characteristics of conjunctions, case clitics, locative pronoun, sentence marker and pronominal particles is also predictable on the basis of the information found in 2.4.6. A general rule is that all CV elements have low tone, while longer elements show the HL or HHL tonal distribution.

2.5. Syllables

The onset and the coda of a Ts'amakko syllable cannot be occupied by more than one consonantal segment. Any short or a long vowel is in the nucleus. The possible phonemic syllable types are:

CV	(open syllable with short vowel)	<u>ka</u> .ro	dog
CVV	(open syllable with long vowel)	poo.lo	cloud
CVC	(closed syllable with short vowel)	zi?.te	pot
CVVC	(closed syllable with long vowel)	g <u>aar.</u> ko	tree

2.5.1. Onset

Any consonants can be the onset of a syllable. The vowel initial syllables V, VV, VC and VVC appear only word initially. The presence of these syllable shows that the onset can be null if the syllable is in initial position. In these cases the universal rule of onset insertion applies. This rule prevents a syllable to begin with a vowel and has an optional application depending on the speed of speech.

The segment inserted as onset is the glottal stop ?. See the following examples of onset insertion:

Insertion of A onset

<u>/i</u> .nan.ko/	[<u>?i</u> .nan.ko]	boy
<u>/aa</u> .ge/	[<u>?aa</u> .ge]	birds
<u>/ay</u> .ra/	[<u>?ay</u> .ra]	friend
<u>/aal</u> .lit.te/	[<u>?aal</u> .lit.te]	shin-bone
/ <u>or</u> .ro/	[<u>?or</u> .ro]	forest
/ <u>ook</u> /	[<u>?ook</u>]	change!

If we take the word-initial glottal stop as an underlyingly present consonant that is optionally deleted, one may say that Ts'amakko operates with four syllables CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC.

2.5.2. Coda

All consonants can be the coda of a closed syllable. The only exception is \mathbf{c} , which is not attested as a coda. The sonorants $/\mathbf{r}/$, $/\mathbf{l}/$, $/\mathbf{m}/$, $/\mathbf{m}/$, $/\mathbf{w}/$ are the coda of the vast majority of closed syllables. The preference for sonorants in coda position is connected to the restriction in consonant sequence at word-structure level. This is because the first element of a consonant cluster, which is most often sonorant, corresponds to the coda of a closed syllable (see 2.6.).

2.5.3. Insertion of an epenthetic vowel as nucleus and degemination

In some verbal contexts, syllabic well-formedness requires the insertion of an epenthetic vowel, which takes the shape **i**. In nouns, syllabic well-formedness is achieved by degemination. Epenthetic insertion and degemination apply when three consonants come together or a cluster of two consonants appears stem finally. A cluster of three consonants is the result of the affixation of a consonant initial suffix to a CC final stem or, only in verbs, the affixation of a CC initial suffix. Two consonants appear stem finally in the Imperative singular form of class A verbs.

If a consonant initial suffix is added to a stem without a final consonant cluster no cluster of three consonant is realised. See for example the form <code>\text{Qugni}</code> 'we drank', which is made up by the verb stem <code>\text{Qug-'}</code> to drink', followed by the first person plural suffix of the Unmarked paradigm <code>-ni</code>. Stems ending with geminated consonant can be basic or the result of punctual derivation by gemination of the last root consonant. An example is the verb with punctual derived stem <code>\text{Qugg}\$ 'sip'</code>, derivation of <code>\text{Qug-'}</code> to drink'. The punctual stem followed by, for example, <code>-ni</code> gives *\text{Quggni}, which is a form with an unacceptable syllable structure. No correct syllabification is possible because the middle consonant of the three segment cluster <code>ggn</code> cannot be part of the preceding syllable, that would generate an unaccepted long coda, it cannot be syllabified as a separate syllable, because there are no C syllables in the language, and it cannot be considered as onset of a

following syllable together with **n**, because there are no syllables with a consonant cluster as onset. The problem is solved by adding an epenthetic vowel, which acts as the nucleus of a syllable having the stem-final consonant as onset. The verb form becomes **?ug.gi.ni**.

An example of CC initial suffix is $-\mathbf{nti}$, the second person suffix of the Subordinate Future paradigm. This suffix is made up of the second person suffix of the Unmarked paradigm preceded by the future element \mathbf{n} . When attached to a stem, the cluster \mathbf{nt} needs to be separated the final stem consonant by the epenthetic \mathbf{i} . The suffix therefore appears as $-\mathbf{inti}$. See the suffix attached to the verb $\mathbf{\hat{Y}ug}$ 'to drink' and $\mathbf{\hat{Y}ugg}$ 'to sip':

```
Yug- to drink Yu.gin.ti you will drink *Yugnti
Yugg- to sip Yug.gin.ti you will sip *Yuggnti
```

No epenthesis is necessary in the suffixation of Subordinate Future suffix with simple initial consonant. It is the case of the third person masculine singular $-\mathbf{ni}$. Also this suffix is composed by an Unmarked paradigm inflection, the third person masculine singular suffix $-\mathbf{i}$, and the future marker \mathbf{n} . See an example:

```
?ug- to drink ?ug.ni he will drink
```

The Imperative singular form of verb class A coincides with the verb root. If the verb root is CC final, the form ends with a final consonant cluster. In order to solve the problem of syllabification caused by this cluster, an epenthetic vowel is added at the end of the stem/root. See for example:

```
dawr- to forbid daw.ri forbid!
```

The same epenthesis appears in the Imperative singular form of the punctual derived stem of class A verbs, which is formed by gemination of the last root consonant. See the Imperative singular forms of the basic and the punctual stems of an A verb.

```
basic ?ug- to drink ?ug drink! punctual ?ugg- to sip ?ug.gi sip!
```

Degemination works when a consonant initial suffix follows a nominal stem ending in long consonant. An example is the suffixation of the masculine Singulative suffixes -ko to the noun dòòll-ò 'leather mat'. The clustering of three consonants in *doollko is avoided by degemination of the stem final l. The result is dool-ko.

2.5.4. Ambisyllabic geminate consonants

All geminated consonants function as ambisyllabic segments and appear as the coda of a syllable and the onset of a following syllable. In syllabification geminates function the same way as consonant clusters.

See 2.1.14 for the analysis of geminated $/\mathbf{p}/$ and 2.2.15. For the analysis of geminated $/\mathbf{s}/$.

2.6. Consonant clusters

2.6.1. Consonant clusters in syllable sequences

The clustering of consonants is partially restricted by the structure of the syllables. This is because a sequence of consonants is the consequence of the meeting of the coda of a closed syllable and the onset of the syllable that follows immediately. The coda of the syllable is the C1 of the cluster. The onset of the adjacent syllable is the C2 of the cluster.

The restrictions determined by the internal structure of the syllables are:

- 1) Since coda and onset can be composed by a single consonant phoneme, no clusters of three or more consonants are possible.
- 2) Since the word initial and final syllables, like any other syllable, must have a vocalic nucleus after the consonantal onset, no initial or final consonant clusters are possible.

2.6.2. Root internal cluster restrictions

The possibilities of consonant sequencing in root internal position are determined by cluster restrictions. The inventory of consonants that can form the second element of a consonant cluster is restricted. One notes the absence of $\langle g/, /\hbar \rangle$, $\langle x/, /d/, /d/, /\hbar/, /2/, \hbar/, /2/$, and $\langle w/$ in this position. This restriction does not apply to the second element of geminate consonants.

A number of consonants do not occur as the first element in root-internal consonant clusters: 1) /h, /b, /b, /d, /g, /ts, /c, /e, /q, and /g, and /g, and /d. This includes all glottalic phonemes and most voiced stops. The only exception to the last generalisation is the root **c'egd-e** 'blood'.

2.6.3. Consonant sequences in words

Most of the consonant sequences in words show a sonorant C1 followed by either a sonorant or an obstruent. An obstruent C1 is always followed by another obstruent.

Sequences of sonorants in consonant clusters
When a sonorant follows a sonorant the following restrictions apply:

-The nasals cannot precede any sonorant.

- -The two glides are never in contact.
- $-/\mathbf{r}/$ can be C1 only if $/\mathbf{l}/$, $/\mathbf{n}/$ or $/\mathbf{m}/$ are C2.
- -A sonorant C2 can be only preceded by a sonorant C1.

See some of the words showing a glide as C1. The clusters are wr, wl, wn and yr, yl:

```
dawri 'forbid!'; dawle 'lowland'; ?awne 'in the evening' ?ayra 'friend; ?aylo 'small hoe'
```

See examples of words showing /r/ as C1. The clusters are rl and rn:

```
mirle 'cheetah'; karna 'hip'
```

The following table shows the combination of sonorant clusters:

	C2	W	У	r	1	n	m
C1							
W		////////	-	+	+	+	-
y		-	////////	+	+	-	-
r		-	-	////////	+	+	+
1		-	-	-	////////	-	+
n		-	-	-	-	////////	-
m		-	-	-	-	-	////////

Table 10: Combinations of sonorants

Sonorant-obstruent clusters

A sonorant C1 is very commonly followed by an obstruent C2. Among the sonorants, $/\mathbf{n}/$, $/\mathbf{r}/$ and $/\mathbf{l}/$ can precede a particularly wide range of C2's. Among the phonemes with a common [+obstruent] feature, $/\mathbf{k}/$, $/\mathbf{g}/$, $/\mathbf{t}/$, $/\mathbf{d}/$, $/\mathbf{s}/$ and $/\mathbf{s}/$ appear as C2 in a wider number of consonant combinations.

Sonorant-glottalic clusters

The alveolar sonorant $/\mathbf{n}/$, $/\mathbf{r}/$ or $/\mathbf{l}/$ are the only consonants that appear before the implosives \mathfrak{G} , \mathfrak{G} , and \mathfrak{g} and the uvular ejective \mathbf{q} . The coronal ejectives $/\mathbf{ts}$ / and $/\mathbf{c}$ / are never preceded by the lateral sonorant $/\mathbf{l}/$. The implosive \mathfrak{G} in C2, is only attested after \mathbf{m} , which is the realisation of $/\mathbf{n}/$ after bilabial sound. The realisation of \mathbf{n} before the velar \mathfrak{g} is \mathfrak{g} (see the following section *Nasal-stop cluster*).

See examples with δ , \mathfrak{d} , \mathfrak{g} and \mathfrak{q} ' as C2:

```
šamb-o 'child'
land-e 'spleen'; Yard-o 'ox'; gold-e 'penis'
Yang-o 'jaw'; marg-e 'wrinkles of forehead'; Yilg-e 'teeth'
sonq'-a 'sort of guitar'; turq'ayn-a 'squirrel sp.'; palq'-e 'broken
piece of gourd'
```

See examples of coronal ejective as C2:

```
q'ants'-e 'thorn'; marts'-a 'young acacia';
gonc'-o 'lower part of back bone'; q'urc'-o 'central part of the
stomach'
```

The situation of the sonorant-glottalic clusters is summarised in the following table:

 C1
 C2
 C3
 C3
 C3
 C3
 C3
 C3
 C4
 C5
 C5
 C6
 C6
 C7
 C6
 C7
 C6
 C7
 C6
 C7
 C6
 C7
 C6
 C7
 C7
 C6
 C7
 C7
 C6
 C7
 <

Table 11: Sonorant-glottalic clusters

Nasal-stop clusters

The nasals \mathbf{n} , \mathbf{m} and \mathbf{n} in C1 position are homogranic to a stop C2. Preconsonantal nasals are considered realisation of a the nasal phoneme $/\mathbf{n}/$.

Examples of **m** before bilabial stop:

žumpo iron pointkomba necklace?ombo tree sp.

Examples of n before velar stop:

kirriŋko tail gataŋko sixth month

Examples of **n** before alveolar stop:

lande spleen kantale tree sp. ganda neighbourhood

Clusters of obstruents

In the cases in which C1 is an obstruent, the following C2 must also be an obstruent.

A few additional combinations are allowed in some Amharic loanwords. The only examples attested are the clusters nz_{\pm} found in **ganzabu** 'money'; **zm**, found in **mazmare** 'nail'; and **st**, found in **lastige** 'plastic object'.

See below a table of all the attested combinations. The C1 are listed in the vertical axis and the C2 in the horizontal axis. On the axis, the phonemes are listed according to their clustering possibility, from the most common to the less common. Those scoring relatively high clustering possibilities are separated from the rest of the phonemes of the respective axis. Therefore the sonorants make a separate group in the C1 axis and the obstruents /t/, /k/, /d/, /g/, /s/ and /s/ make a separate group on the C2 axis. The possible clusters are marked by + in the cell formed by the intersection of the two axis. The clusters attested only in loanwords are marked by \pm . The impossible or unattested clusters are marked by a blank. The clustering of the same consonant is marked by a shaded cell.

C2 b | d | g | q' | ts' c' ž r b ħ gs p m $\mathbf{n} \mid \mathbf{z}$ C1+ +++ + ++++ +++++r 1 + + + + + + + + + + + + + ++++++ + \pm + n + + + + + + У + + + + ++ + + W 2 +++š + +ħ + + + + m + p \pm +S + t Z k ++X +

Table 12: Possible consonant clusters

2.7. Phonological rules

2.7.1. Voice assimilation

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ assimilates to the voicing of a preceding voiced pulmonic stop:

$$/t/\rightarrow [d]$$
 after $/b/$, $/d/$ or $/g/$

The assimilation can be observed in the suffixation of **t**-initial morphemes such as the suffix –**ti** of 2 Sg of the Unmarked paradigm. See the examples:

2.7.2. Devoicing

The implosives /6/, /g/ and /d/ have voiceless allophones before /t/. The first two appear as ejectives. The third one devoices and in addition looses glottalisation.

$$/\beta, g, d/ \rightarrow [p', k', t]$$
 before $/t/$

See the example of noun root final /6/ followed by the feminine suffix -te and the example of verb root final /g/ followed by the suffix of 2Sg -ti of the Unmarked paradigm:

q'a6-te	[q'ap'te]	leather sac
bog-ti	[bok'ti]	you killed
?ood-ti	[?o:tti]	you walked

The voiced nature of the phonemes $/\mathbf{b}/$ and $/\mathbf{z}/$ is apparent in gemination for Plurative derivation. The phonemes are devoiced when in contact with the voiceless velar \mathbf{k} of the masculine derivation suffix $-\mathbf{ko}$. The attested examples are:

2.7.3. Phonation assimilation

The alveolar implosive looses the glottalisation following /n/:

$$/d/ \rightarrow [t]$$
 before $/t/$

The assimilation works after the addition to a **d**-final verb roots of the $-\mathbf{ni}$ of 1Pl Unmarked paradigm. In the following examples the verb **?ood**- 'to walk' is followed by $-\mathbf{ni}$ and by the suffix of 1Sg $-\mathbf{i}$ of the same Unmarked paradigm:

```
?ood-ni [?o:nni] we walk cf. ?ood-i [?o:di] I walk
```

2.7.4. Nasal assimilation

An alveolar nasal assimilates its place of articulation to a following velar or bilabial. This rule is in accordance to the cluster restriction by which the nasals are followed only by homorganic stops (see *Nasal-stop clusters* under 2.6.3.).

$$/n/ \rightarrow [\mathfrak{H}]$$
 before $/k/$, $/g/$ or $/g/$
 $/n/ \rightarrow [m]$ before $/p/$, $/b/$, $/b/$ or $/m/$

In masculine derivation by means of the suffix $-\mathbf{ko}$, the **m** geminated for plural derivation turns to \mathbf{n} (see 3.5.5.). Examples:

```
kirrin-ko (m) kirrim-m-e (pl) tail
šiinin-ko (m) šiinim-m-e (pl) butter
```

The first person verbal proclitic \mathbf{n} = changes to \mathbf{m} = before bilabial initial verbs (see 4.5.1.). Example:

q'ayna ka m=bayy-ini tomorrow Sent 1=start-1SgSubFut I will start tomorrow.

2.7.5. Vowel lenghthening

Nouns, pronouns and names followed by the case clitic =ma 'to/in' lengthen the vowel of their initial syllable. See example of clitic following the noun manne 'house' and the locative pronoun na:

maanne=ma to the house

naa=ma in it

The initial syllable vowel of nouns showing the locative case suffix, may be optinally lengthened.

The lengthhening is regular in possessive constructions. Names in this position do not show the locative case, which is the common way to mark a possessor (see 3.7.):

haarko beeze Beze's hand

2.7.6. Vowel deletion

The vowel of the second of a string of four open syllables is deleted. This happens because an initial open syllable cannot be followed by three open syllables and has to become close. The onset of the syllable that looses the nucleus becomes the coda of the initial closed syllable. In the following example, the verb **gere?i** 'to steal' appears in basic from and in middle derived form. The suffixation of the middle marker **-ac** results in the addition of a syllable and the deletion of the second syllable vowel **e**.

ge.re.?i he has stolen ger.?a.di he has stolen for his own advantage *gere?a.di

A rule of vowel deletion which is not morphological conditioned operates in the formation of plural forms having the CVC_1C_2 template. The deleted vowel is the second syllable vowel of the basic noun. See example:

c'ifan-o (m) c'ifn-e (pl) unmarried boy

2.7.7. Metathesis

Unaccepted consonant sequences which result from vowel deletion are affected by metathesis. In the following example metathesis works in order to solve the irregular sequence caused by syllabic vowel deletion. The context is the causative derivation of the verb **kibir-** by suffixation of **-as** (see 7.3.1.):

ki.bi.ri he danced kir.ba.si he made dance *kib.ra.si

In the example below, metathesis works in the context of the CVC_1C_2 plural formation by vowel deletion (see 3.5.3.)

?agil-e (m) ?alg-o (pl) newborn calf *?agl-o

2.7.8. Sibilant palatal harmony

The Omotic and Cushitic groups of languages often show a natural class of sibilant phonemes. The phonemes of this class are distinguished by the absence or presence of the [palatal] feature. There is a co-occurrence restriction affecting this class of phonemes: if two or more sibilants are found in a word all of them agree in palatalisation. In other words, all of them belong to the [+palatal] or [-palatal] set of sibilants. In Ts'amakko, palatal harmony can be only observed in the behaviour of the Causative derivational suffix **–Vs**. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ of this suffix becomes palatal if the verbal stem contains a palatal sibilant of the group š, ž, c and c'. See the examples below:

šukuy- to be scared **šukuy-aš** to scare **ži?-** to eat **ži?-aš** to feed

?ucc-	to fill up	?ucc-aš	to make fill up
c'ur-	to throw	c'ur-aš	to make throw

See examples with non-palatal sibilants:

bas-	to do	bas-as	to make do
zaq'-	to slaughter	zaq'-as	to make slaughter

From a phonetic point of view **s**, **z**, **š**, **ž**, **c**' and **ts**' are the candidate group of sibilants. If one limits oneself to the root, it is interesting to note that a sibilant is the exact copy of another sibilant. Therefore, a kind of root sibilant harmony extends to all the features of the sibilant and does not involve only the palatalisation feature. The examples, however, involve only **s**, **z**, **š** and **ts**', while there is no co-occurrence of two instances of **ž**, **c**, **c**' in a root. See the examples below:

siis-e honey water sass-abbe scorpion sp.

ziiz-a back-bone

šaaš-e cloth covering the head of a groom

šinš-alle ants

ts'its'ts'-o black bead

The only example of a root with different sibilants is the probable borrowing **šicca** 'kind of rifle'. However, according to the description in 2.2.15., **cc** may be considered the historical geminated counterpart of **š**.

3. Nominal morphology

Nouns can morphologically be recognised by their ability to express gender, number, and case. From a syntactic point of view, nouns can be the head of a noun phrase and the subject of a verb. There are groups of nouns with different syntactic and morphological behaviour. The attributive nouns, adjectives and numerals are treated in this chapter. The relational nouns are described in 8.2.

There are two kinds of bound morphemes to the noun: suffixes and clitics. The suffixes are inflectional or derivational nominal markers that are attached to the noun stem. The stem may correspond to the simple root or may be made up of the root plus other suffixes. The clitics are a property of the noun phrase and appear at the right edge of the noun phrase. Their presence after a noun is therefore limited to those cases in which the final element of a phrase is represented by a noun.

3.1. Interaction between gender and number

Gender and number in Ts'amakko, as in the other Cushitic languages, show a great deal of interaction. The two categories must be distinguished because gender is a classificatory category, which includes nouns with common lexical or semantic characteristics reflected on agreeing words, while number is a grammatical category, which operates through derivational processes. Basic nouns are morphologically gender-specific but number-neutral. They become morphologically number-specific, i.e. singular or plural, after Singulative or Plurative derivation. Other manifestations of number are to be attributed to semantic factors.

An overview of the interaction between gender and number focuses on the following points:

- 90% of the basic nouns in Ts'amakko are classified in the gender classes masculine (m) and feminine (f). Masculine nouns agree with third person masculine verbs and feminine nouns agree with third person feminine verbs. A third group of basic nouns, covering the remaining 10 %, has no masculine or feminine but plural agreement. They are associated to third person plural verbs and accordingly included in the gender class called plural (p).
- The labels 'masculine', 'feminine' and 'plural' are conventional and, according to normal procedure, have been established on the basis of the presence of inherently masculine, feminine and plural nouns in the gender classes and on the basis of the agreement with verbs. Therefore, the masculine class includes sex-inherent masculine nouns and a wider number of semantically undetermined nouns which agree with third person masculine verbs. The feminine class includes the sex-inherent feminine

nouns and a wider number of semantically undetermined nouns which agree with third person feminine verbs. The class labelled as 'plural' includes nouns that can be considered inherently plural and one number-undetermined noun, all of which agree with third person plural verbs. Inherent plural nouns are those expressing a collective entity, such as names of peoples, mass nouns, nouns indicating entities perceived as a group, such as teeth, firestones and feathers, but also eggs, tears and flies. However, there are also mass and collective nouns with plural meaning that are found in the masculine and feminine classes.

- The vast majority of the masculine and feminine nouns have the gender assigned arbitrarily. This means that only lexical considerations are taken into account in the inclusion of a noun in the gender categories. In other words, the fact that a noun is said to be 'masculine' means that it is *formally* and not semantically masculine. Gender is assigned *semantically* in sex-inherent masculine and feminine nouns. Semantic assignment of gender also applies to most of the plural gender nouns.
- Every basic noun is followed by a gender sensitive suffix. The shape of the gender suffix normally reflects the gender of the noun. Lack of correspondence between gender of the noun and the shape of the suffix is possible if the noun has sex-determined meaning. The gender suffix that follows most of the masculine nouns is -o. Feminine nouns suffixes are -a and -e. A suffix -e also appears after most of the plural gender nouns. The situation is summarised in table 13.

	suffix –o	suffix –a	suffi	х –е
non-sex-inherent	masculine	feminine	feminine	plural
nouns	agreement	agreement	agreement	agreement
sex-inherent	semantic	semantic	sema	antic
nouns	agreement	agreement		ement
	(mostly	(mostly	(mostly	females)
	males)	females)		
inherent plural-	masculine	feminine	plu	ıral
nouns	agreement	agreement	agree	ement

Table 13: Gender suffixes and agreement

- The status of the basic nouns belonging to the plural class needs clarification. The term 'plural gender' distinguishes a class of basic nouns with plural agreement, as opposed to the basic nouns with masculine agreement and the basic nouns with feminine agreement. The gender suffix -e, which follows most of the plural basic nouns, does not indicate plurality and is not a plural number marker. It will be called 'plural gender suffix'. The plurality of the plural gender nouns may be grammatically determined through pluralisation. It is therefore possible to talk about the

pluralisation of a plural gender noun. The suffixes which determine the plurality of a noun are called Plurative suffixes.

- Most of the masculine and feminine basic nouns are only gender determined and they express no number. This also applies to one plural gender basic noun, while most of the basic nouns with plural agreement are sematically plural in number. Some masculine and feminine nouns referring to populations are also semantically plural. Therefore, a basic noun is either unspecified for number or semantically plural. It either expresses a number-unspecified reference to an entity, or it indicates plurality.
- In the European languages an underived noun expresses singular number, unless it has a collective meaning. In Ts'amakko, and in the languages of the area, the underived nouns are by default 'unspecified' in meaning. A semantically unspecified noun expresses a concept and not a number-specific entity and it is used whenever the number of an entity is not important in the communication or whenever its number is understood from the context. The unspecified number of the underived Ts'amakko nouns can be explained looking at the sentences below:

?akk-o wor-add-ite ?ag-i wild.animal-M forest-Pl-LocP be.located-3SgMUnm The wild animal lives in the forests.

gerg-e ?addis abeba ?ag-tiAmhara-F Addis.Ababa be.located -3SgFUnm
The Amharas live in Addis Ababa.

mann-e garis-i house-P build-3SgMUnm He builds houses

When uttering these sentences the speaker does not reveal if he or she is talking about one 'wild animal' or many 'wild animals', one 'Amhara' or many 'Amhara's' or one 'house' or many 'houses'. The speaker is expressing only concepts that are specified in terms of number by the context. In formal terms, the gender suffix of a noun root expresses an overt m, for p gender, while number is unspecified and only vaguely understood.

- Number determining morphemes are the Singulative and Plurative derivation suffixes, which appear before the gender suffix. Number derivation, like most derivational processes, does not apply regularly and not all the nouns may be derived to express singularity and plurality. Whenever either or both Singulative and plural number forms do not appear among the derived forms of a noun, the basic, underived, form is used instead of the missing derived form(s). For example, if a nominal lexeme has a derivation for plural but not for singular, the basic form is used to express singular in

place of the Singulative form. The basic noun in this context is still morphologically basic and it does not carry any number indication. Semantic plural nouns, most of which belong to the plural gender class, have inherently plural meaning and for this reason they are normally not derived for Plurative. In those cases in which Plurative derivation is possible, it indicates particularly high quantity. **manne** (p) 'house' is the only plural gender noun that can only be derived for Plurative and has a basic form used in place of the Singulative form.

- In some exceptional cases, a noun has two basic forms. One form has unspecified meaning and agrees with masculine, while the other form has plural meaning and shows a plural gender suffix. The passage from unspecified to plural is therefore indicated by change of gender suffix and is not due to a derivational process.
- In formal terms, number derivation is an expression of gender. The number derivation suffixes indicate or stress the membership of a noun in one of the three gender classes. Singulative derivation is always masculine or feminine gender specific. Plurative derivation is always plural gender specific.
- A derived noun showing a Singulative suffix may represent the unit for pluralisation. In this case the Singulative suffix looses its number property and the noun acquires plural meaning. The word shows only one gender suffix, which follows the last derivative element, and which expresses the gender of this last element. The most common Singulative suffixes -itt and -att have no own indication of gender. These suffixes are gender distinguished by means of the gender suffix -o (m) and -e (f). The gender suffix elides when followed by the Plurative suffixes and they do not manifest gender distinction. An example is the noun karitt-acc-c'dogs/bitches', which can represent the pluralisation of either kar-itt-o 'dog' or kar-itt-e 'bitch'. The Plurative derivation is realised by affixation of the pluralising suffix -acc (followed by the plural gender suffix -e). See below the composition of the noun:

kar-	-itt	-aɗɗ	-e
Root	Singulative	Plurative	plural
'dog'	derivation	derivation	gender suffix

3.2. Basic and derived form

An underived noun is made up of a nominal plus a gender suffix. There are three gender suffixes: **-o** for masculine gender nouns, **-e** and **-a** for feminine gender nouns and **-e** for plural gender nouns. Their role as gender markers is described in 3.4.2.

With derived (non-basic) nouns we mean noun roots followed by number derivation suffixes. These suffixes can be attached to another number derivation suffix. The possible structures of a derived noun are exemplified below:

Root (-number derivation) (-number derivation)-gender suffix

An example of noun with a maximal number of suffixes is **gurl-itt-adde** 'male or female cats'

gurl-	-itt	-aɗɗ	-е
Root	Singulative	Plurative	plural
'cat'	derivation	derivation	gender suffix

See 3.5.2. For an inventory of number derivation suffixes and 3.7. For a description of the locative case suffixes.

3.3. Basic nouns

Most basic nouns are disyllabic. Their root have the shape CV(V)C(C)-. The majority of these disyllabic nouns have a short internal root vowel.

See some examples of CVC-V and CVCC-V nouns:

CVC-V	bot-e	(f)	pumpkin
	fug-a	(f)	blacksmith
	?až-o	(m)	smell
CVCC-V	mann-e	(p)	house
	fudd-o	(m)	cotton
	c'irf-a	(f)	braid
	?ilg-e	(p)	teeth

See examples of the less common CVVC-V and CVVCC-V basic nouns:

CVVC-V	ħeek-o	(m)	chest
	q'aac'-a	(f)	charcoal
	diig-o	(m)	gall bladder
CVVCC-V	ďòòll-ò	(m)	leather mat
	siipp-o	(m)	sweat
	ħeesk-o	(m)	women
	maalk-a	(f)	flute

Few nouns have three, four or five syllables. See examples:

žabbarn-a(f)belt with pocketsYaarma?-e(f)plant sp.dambala??-e(f)snake sp.mic'angall-e(f)arm bone

The longest nouns are the result of reduplication. See two examples:

kuttakutt-o (m) small braid **dangadangac'c'-o** (m) porcupine

3.3.1. Nouns with two basic forms

Few nouns have two basic forms. The roots **lo?**- 'cow', **?ard**- 'ox', **sogg**'magician' and **ħark**- 'hand' can be followed both by the masculine gender
suffixes **–o** and the plural gender suffix **–e**. The masculine gender form has
unspecified meaning and the plural gender form has plural meaning. The
plural form **le?-e** 'cows', which is the plural counterpart of **lo?-o**, shows
irregular vowel harmony. However, this case could be seen as an instance of
lexical (suppletive) plural (see 3.5.6.). See the examples:

lo?-o (m) cow le?-e (p) cows Sard-o (f) ox የarɗ-e (p) oxen sogg-o (m) magician sogg-e magicians (p) ħark-o (m) hand ħark-e hands (p)

In one case two basic forms are used to express a distinction in sex. The root **?az-** can be the stem of a masculine and a feminine basic noun.

?az-o (m) younger brother **?az-e** (f) younger sister

3.4. Gender

3.4.1. Manifestation of gender

A classic definition states that 'Genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words' (Hockett 1958:).

In Ts'amakko the gender of a noun determines the shape of several elements associated with the noun. The shape of these elements reveals if the noun is masculine, feminine or plural.

The Unmarked paradigm verbs show the gender of the agreeing noun in their suffixes. The Unmarked verb suffix $-\mathbf{i}$ of the third singular masculine person indicates that the noun belongs to the masculine category. The Unmarked verb suffix $-\mathbf{t}\mathbf{i}$ of third singular feminine person indicates that the noun is a member of the feminine category. If the verbal ending is $-\mathbf{e}$, it means that the associated noun is plural in gender. Nouns with inherent masculine, feminine and plural meaning are marked with b. in the examples; the others with a.

Masculine nouns

a.	dar?-o	biΥ-i	The ashes fell.
b.	ashes-M šamβ-o	fall-3SgMUnm ži?-i	The child ate.
	child-M	eat-3SgMUnm	

Feminine nouns

a.	layb-e	biΥ-ti	The cloth fell.
	cloth-F	fall-3SgFUnm	
b.	šitt-e	ži?-ti	The girl ate.
	girl-F	eat-3SgFUnm	

Plural nouns

<i>a</i> .	mann-e	gondam-e	The house broke.
	house-P	break-3PlUnm	
<i>b</i> .	gor-e	ži?-e	The people ate.
	people-P	eat-3PlUnm	

Adjectives also adapt their shapes to the gender of the associated noun. Masculine nouns require adjectives ending in **-akko**; feminine nouns require adjectives ending in **-akke**:

Masculine nouns

<i>a</i> .	tooll-o	geecc-akko	old walking stick
	walking.stick-M	old-AdjM	
<i>b</i> .	z00g-0	q'anc'arl-akko	ugly father-in-law
	father.in.law-M	ugly-AdjM	

Feminine nouns

a.	tunt-a	geecc-atte	old hammer
	hammer-F	old-AdjF	
<i>b</i> .	q'alat-e	q'anc'arl-atte	ugly jackal
	jackal-F	ugly-AdjF	

Plural nouns

a.	sil-e	geecc-ayke	old feathers
	feathers-P	old-AdjP	
b.	gor-e	q'anc'arl-ayke	ugly people

people-P ugly-AdjP

3.4.2. Gender suffixes

Every noun, derived and underived, ends in a gender suffix. The gender suffixes are reflections of gender rather than carriers of gender. This is in accordance with the fact that only very few nouns have the possibility of different gender suffixes with the same base, and that the suffix —e refers to both feminine and plural gender.

The gender suffixes do not belong to the lexical entry. From the examples above it is possible to notice that masculine nouns end in the gender suffix -o, feminine nouns end in -e and -a, and plural nouns end in -e. See more examples below:

Masculine nouns

?aylo 'small hoe'; dar?o 'ashes'; duuko 'back'; giršo 'porcupine sp.'; gurlo 'wild cat'; maango 'sorghum'; ?aško 'grass'; c'arro 'grasshopper'; dawwo 'snake'; gazo 'hair'; nolo brain; šumaħto 'sand';?arditto 'ox', q'awko 'man'; gaarko 'tree'; maaxatto 'calabash'; teerikko 'dust'.

Feminine nouns

bìyè 'earth'; daažimale 'ginger'; game 'maize'; ?ingiye 'mother'; parše 'beer'; xaaše 'leaf'; šitte 'girl'; ?arritte 'she-donkey'; makkatte 'plough'; daalte 'goat'; dalba 'pond'; paana 'footprint'; laaša 'kind of bread'; marts'a 'young acacia'; mirža 'kudu'; q'aac'a 'charcoal'; q'awa 'rifle'; sarba 'calf'.

Plural nouns

Yarde 'oxen'; manne 'house'; Yande 'water'; punge 'sheep without fat tail'; Yaxxe 'milk'; Yukahe 'eggs'; Yašše 'highland', Yilge 'teeth', Yilmale 'tears'; Yuzge 'firestones'; denge 'neck'; kirde 'testicles'; marge 'wrinkle of forehead', c'ifne 'unmarried boys', baartadde 'huts'; geerinne 'house poles'; dabanne 'mice'.

One piece of evidence that the gender suffixes are not final vowels belonging to the root is the fact that no nouns end in a consonant, or in vowel $\bf u$ or $\bf i$. All nouns end in $\bf o$, $\bf e$ and $\bf a$ (see 3.4.5. for exceptions in borrowings). If the final segments of the Ts'amakko nouns were part of the lexical entry one would expect there any of the five Ts'amakko vowels $\bf u$, $\bf i$, $\bf o$, $\bf e$ and $\bf a$.

A further proof that the final vowels are gender suffixes is their replacement with vowel initial suffixes such as the plural suffixes -add- and -ann, the Singulative suffix -itt and the Distal demonstrative suffixes -ussa (m) and -issa (f/p). However, this argument is not conclusive, as instead of morphological replacement these could be considered as cases of phonological coalescence or vowel deletion aiming to avoid an unaccepted vocalic cluster (see 2.6.3). The clusters in these cases would be composed by

the last vowel of the noun and the first vowel of the morphemes. I opt for an analysis of the final vowels as suffixes according to the statement at the beginning of this paragraph.

See below some examples of replacement:

Replacement of the masculine gender suffix **-o**:

haburk-o raandaha co haburk-acce raandahanki co haburk-ussa raandaha th

gannatt-o bogami gannatt-add-e bogame gannatt-ussa bogami

koš-o xinawa koš-add-e xinawanki koš-ussa xinawa

Sard-o ko biSa Sard-itt-o ko biSa Sard-ann-e ko biSanki Sard-ussa ko biSa

girš-o bodi girš-itt-o bodi girš-add-e bode girš-ussa bode

c'ifan-o gaSalna c'ifan-itt-o gaSalna c'ifan-itt-e gaSalnay c'ifn-e gaSalnanki c'ifan-ussa gaSalna cold winds cold winds that cold wind

The lizard has been killed. The lizards have been killed. That lizard has been killed.

The dung stinks. The dung stinks. That dung stinks.

white ox a white ox white oxen that white ox

The porcupine digs. One male porcupine digs. The porcupines digs. That porcupine digs.

The boy will marry One boy will marry One girl will marry The boys will marry That boy will marry

Replacement of the feminine gender suffix -a:

na??-a gohti na??-adde gohe na??-issa gohti

The small child grew. The small children grew. That small child grew.

žabbarn-a titta žabbarn-aɗɗ-e kitta žabbarn-issa this belt these belts that belt bàndà xinaway bànd-áccc-è xinawanki bànd-íssà xinaway The excrement of chicken stinks. The excrements of chicken stink. That excrement of chicken stinks.

gand-a xafe gand-itt-o xafi gand-itt-e xafti The neighbours came. A male neighbour came. A female neighbour came.

ɗang-a taayu ɗang-itt-e taayu ɗang-aɗɗ-e taani my uvula my uvula our uvula's

laaf-a boganti laaf-itt-o bogami laaf-itt-e boganti laaf-add-e bogame laaf-issa boganti The bat has been killed. A male bat has been killed. A female bat has been killed. The bats have been killed. That bat has been killed.

Replacement of the feminine/plural gender suffix –e:

feminine nouns

bìy-è raandaħay bìy-áαα-è raandaħanki bìy-íssà raandaħay cold soils that cold soil

q'esk-e boganti q'esk-add-e bogame q'esk-issa boganti The louse has been killed. The lice have been killed. That louse has been killed.

bo?-e xinaway bo?-add-e xinawanki bo?-issa xinaway The manure stinks. The manures stink. That manure stinks.

kird-e pugaɗe kird-itt-e pugatti kird-aɗɗ-e pugaɗe kird-issa pugatti The testicles swell. One testicle swell. The testicles swell. That testicle swell.

hezg-e ligti hezg-itt-e ligti hezg-add-e lige The star went out.
The female star went out.
The stars went out.

?ooš-e boddi ?ooš-itt-o bodi ?ooš-itt-e boddi ?ooš-acc-e bode The fox digged. One male fox digged. One female fox digged. The foxes digged.

?ooš-issa boddi

that fox digged

plural nouns

Sard-e pareThe oxen died.Sard-ann-e pareThe oxen died.Sard-itt-o pariOne ox died.

q'omayk-e ke q'ayyanki good shoes **q'omayk-issa ke q'ayyanki** those shoes are good

Yand-e Yawšanki The water boils. Yand-itt-e Yawšay A little water boils.

mann-e ke q'ayyanki good house mann-issa ke q'ayyanki that house is good

Pilg-e buPadeThe teeth hurt.Pilg-akk-o buPadiThe tooth hurts.

?axx-e pugame The eyes swell. **?axx-itt-e puganti** One eye swell.

The example below shows the replacement of the gender suffix following a number derivational suffix by the masculine locative case suffix –il:

kar-itt-o one male dog **kar-itt-ilo** by the male dog

There are cases of lack of correspondence between gender and gender suffixes. These cases are linked to semantically masculine, feminine and plural determined nouns that are assigned to a gender according to their meaning despite their formal shape (see 3.4.3.and 3.4.4.).

3.4.3. Semantic assignment of gender

Some nouns take the masculine, feminine and plural gender agreement according to some inherent gender characteristics of their meaning. Basic nouns such as 'man', 'warrior' and 'son' are masculine, basic nouns such as 'sister', 'daughter' and 'grandmother' are feminine. Inherently plural basic nouns are collective names, such as names of peoples and nouns indicating entities that are thought in a group, such as teeth, feathers, firestones, flies, eggs and tears. Different from masculine and feminine nouns, semantically plural nouns are not automatically assigned to the plural gender class and not all semantically plural nouns are part of the plural gender class. Some of them are masculine or feminine. Semantic assignment of gender is in most cases reflected on the gender suffixes. The exceptions are accounted for in the following paragraph 3.4.4.

See a few examples of basic nouns showing a gender suffix which reflects their semantic gender:

masculine q'awk-o (m) man ?inank-o (m) boy ša?alk-o older brother (m) ?erb-o (m) male sheep feminine gaant-e (f) woman šitt-e (f) girl ?alawt-e (f) older sister ža?-a wife of the 'godmother' (f) plural ?uzg-e firestones (p) sil-e (p) feathers ?ilg-e teeth (p) sir-e ornamental objects (p)

3.4.4. Lack of congruence between semantic gender and gender suffixes

In some exceptional cases, the gender indicated by the agreeing elements is not reflected in the gender suffix: sex-inherent nouns with feminine gender can irregularly end in $-\mathbf{0}$; sex-inherent nouns with masculine gender and agreement can irregularly end in $-\mathbf{e}$ or $-\mathbf{a}$ and inherently plural gender nouns can end in $-\mathbf{0}$ and $-\mathbf{a}$. I regard these cases as instances of *semantic* gender agreements with lack of congruence between the semantic gender of the noun and the gender suffix. Thus, as a rule, agreement is formal, but for sex-inherent and plural-inherent nouns the agreement is semantic. For most sex-inherent nouns and plural-inherent nouns formal and semantic agreement cannot be distinguished. It is only in these exceptional cases that we can see semantic agreement at work. See the examples:

lo?-o cow.F- <u>M</u>	par-ay die-3Sg <u>F</u> Impfv	The cow is dying.
sobor-e castrated.calf.M- <u>F</u>	ɗabaɗ-i disappear -3Sg <u>M</u> Unm	The castrated calf disappeared.
ziy-a warrior.M- <u>F</u>	xaf-i come-3Sg <u>MUnm</u>	The warrior came.
?add-a uncle.M- <u>F</u>	geecc-akko old-Adj <u>M</u>	old uncle
?org-o	xaf-e	The Bannas came.

banna.P-<u>M</u> come-3PlUnm

heesk-o xaf-e The women came.

women.P-M come-3PlUnm

There are also original Ts'amakko proper names whose gender agreement pattern depends on the sex of the person to which it is given. Here too some names end with the 'wrong' gender suffix. See some example of names and agreements:

masculine names feminine names

Beze ?akkorro Bašare ?aylo Tasama ?oyto

Beze mirža ra?-i

Beze kudu shoot-3SgMUnm Beze shot a kudu.

?akkorro na??a ?abun-av

Pakkorro small.child rock-3SgFImpfv Pakkorro is rocking the child.

Some of these names also appear as ordinary nouns with the gender as expected because of the suffix. For example **Beze** means 'light at sun set' and **?akkorro** is etymologically a compound of **?akko** 'wild animal' and **?orro** 'forest'. The probable original meaning was 'animal of the forest'. When these nouns are used as proper names, their gender changes according to semantic factors.

Proper names with irregular suffixes and no meaning in Ts'amakko are borrowings. Therefore, they are treated in 3.4.5.

In derived forms no semantic agreement takes place. For example, **ħeeskatto**, the derived Singulative form of **ħeesko** 'women' takes a masculine derivation suffix and agrees with masculine. See the example:

heesk-att-o xaf-i

women-Sg-M come-3SgMUnm One woman came.

3.4.5. Feminine gender of loanwords

All loanwords that are not sex-inherent are categorised by default as feminine and have feminine agreement. In such cases one of the feminine suffixes $-\mathbf{e}$ and $-\mathbf{a}$ is suffixed, or the word remains unchanged, and therefore lacks morphological gender marking. One remarks that final $-\mathbf{o}$ and $-\mathbf{u}$,

which would obviously too much resemble the masculine suffix **-o** are always replaced by the suffix **-e**. Examples:

The Amharic word silk 'telephone' appears as silke.

silk-e garn-ay telephone-F be.useful-3SgFImpfv The telephone is useful.

The Amharic **tep** 'tape' became **tebba** and acquired the meaning 'tape recorder, radio'.

tebb-a gonɗan-ti radio-F brake-3SgFUnm The radio broke.

Loans originally ending in **u** follow the general pattern by replacing this vowel with -e. For example, the Amharic **?aysuzu** 'truck' is realised as **?aysuze**.

?aysuz-e zow-ti truck-F go-3SgFUnm The truck went.

Several loanwords have no feminine gender suffix. They appear with the original final segment, e.g.

kilaaš Kalashnikov (Amharic kīlaaš 'kalashnikov') batteri torch (Amharic batteri 'torch')

batteri bi\(\text{1-ti}\) torch.F fall-3SgFUnm The torch fell.

3.4.6. Gender of sex-inherent loanwords

Borrowed sex-inherent nouns in Ts'amakko get semantic gender agreement like any sex-distinguishable noun (see 3.4.3.). Irrespective whether they are feminine or not they receive the feminine suffix –**e**, just like most other loanwords. The result is that a noun with masculine agreement may end in a feminine marker, as shown in the following example:

šuume chief (Amharic **šum** 'chief')

šuum-e xaf-i chief.M-F come-3SgMUnm The chief came. This is an indication that the gender suffixes are not the carriers of gender because the suffix —e is automatically attached to loanwords without regard of the gender. Thus, it seems that gender assignment only takes place on a formal basis with non-sex nouns and on a semantic basis with sex-inherent nouns.

3.4.7. Semantic gender of borrowed proper names

The following proper names are probably borrowings because no meaning can be reconstructed from their structure. These names do not change their final vowel, as it happens with some of the borrowed nouns (see 3.4.6.). Since they are inherently sex determined, they take semantic gender regardless of their shape (cf. 3.4.5.):

masculine names feminine names

PollePoytoBašareBedoBaq'q'alaBalo

Tasama

See below the example of the masculine name Baq'q'ala:

Baq'q'ala (Amharic bäqqäl 'to sprout')

baq'q'ala žinka=ma zow-i

Baq'q'ala.M Jinka=to/in go-3SgMUnm Baq'q'ala went to Jinka.

The feminine names ending in **-o** are irregular because this ending is never retained during the borrowing process with normal nouns (see 3.4.5).

3.5. Number

3.5.1. Number derivation and gender

Morphological number can be determined by derivational processes. The number derivation process implies the use of Singulative and Plurative suffixes. Plurative derivation can be also achieved by two kinds of non-suffixal processes (see 3.5.3.).

There is a relation between number derivation and gender. According to their agreement, nouns derived for number are classified in one of the three gender classes established for the basic nouns. This means that both basic and derived nouns can formally be distributed in the three gender classes. Basic and derived nouns differ in the relation with number. While basic nouns are not number-determined, every derived m, f or p noun is always number-specific in meaning, i.e., either singular or plural. Moreover, number distribution is restricted in derived nouns. Masculine and feminine gender derived nouns are always singular and never plural. Plural gender derived

nouns are always plural and never singular. The situation is schematised in table 14:

	Und	Underived nouns		D	erived nouns	<u> </u>
'Gender'	m	f	p	m	f	p
'Number'	T I	Unenacified		cinqular	cinqular	plural

Table 14: Relation between gender and number

3.5.2. Number derivation suffixes

The number derivation suffixes are morphemes that specify the number of a noun and indicate its gender. Every derivation suffix is followed by a gender suffix that reflects the gender of the derived noun. The Singulative suffixes impose masculine and feminine gender. There are masculine Singulative and feminine Singulative suffixes. The plural derivation suffixes impose plural gender.

In formal terms, a noun showing a derivation suffix changes or confirms the gender of its basic form. For example, a masculine Singulative suffix attached to a masculine basic noun indicates the singularity of the noun it attaches to and confirms its membership in the masculine class. The plural derivation of the same masculine noun implies the changing of its gender to the plural class. Plural basic nouns must change its gender to masculine or feminine when derived for Singulative. The choice between the two gender depends on the noun. Normally, masculine and feminine basic nouns do not change their gender in Singulative derivation. Masculine Singulative suffixes attach to masculine basic nouns and feminine Singulative suffixes attach to feminine basic nouns. But there are exceptions. Most of the sex-inherent masculine and feminine basic nouns can show both masculine and feminine Singulative derivation.

Singulative and Plurative derivation are not obligatory. If the number of the noun is understood from the context no number derivation is used and the noun appears in the basic form. Grammatical number provides a stronger sense of singularity or plurality as compared to context-attributed number. The nominal lexemes differ in the extension of their derivational possibilities giving raise to derivational patterns. These patterns are described in 3.5.4.

The number derivation suffixes have the structures -C and -VCC. They are: Singulative masculine -k, -akk, -ikk, (followed by the masculine gender suffix -o) and Singulative feminine -t, (followed by feminine gender suffix -e). The only Singulative derivation suffixes that fail to express gender distinction are -itt and -att. These suffixes can follow either masculine or feminine nouns and can be followed by either the masculine suffix -o or the feminine suffix -e. The Plurative suffixes are: -n, -add, -ann, -inn. The Plurative suffixes are always followed by the plural gender suffix -e.

Henceforth the suffixes will be shown with the following gender suffix. The suffixes are presented in table 15:

Table 15: The number derivation suffixes

Singulative M and F	Singulative M	Singulative F	Plurative
-itt-o (m)	-k-o	-t-e	-aɗɗ-e
-itt-e (f)	-akk-o		-ann-e
-att-o (m)	-ikk-o		-inn-e
-att-e (f)			-n-e

The Singulative masculine suffix **-att-o** is scarcely productive. The Plurative suffix **-n-e** only appears in cases of derivation from lost units.

Another important limitation is that feminine Singulative derivation suffixes are always followed by the gender suffix -e and never -a.

The examples below show nouns with Singulative masculine, Singulative feminine and Plurative number derivation suffixes:

masculine nouns with masculine Singulative suffixes

```
garm-itt-o (m) 'one male lion' (from garm-o (m) 'lion')
heesk-att-o (m) 'one woman' (from heesk-o (p) 'women')
?ol-ko (m) 'one thing' (from ?ol-a (f) 'thing')
?ilg-akk-o (m) 'one tooth' (from ?ilg-e (p) 'teeth')
gontor-ikk-o (m) 'one eland' (from gontor-e (f) 'eland')
?ats'ts'-ikk-o (m) 'white stone' (from a lost unit, which is also attested in Plurative form ?ats'ts'-inn-e (p) 'white stones')
```

feminine nouns with feminine Singulative suffixes

```
?arr-itt-e (f) 'one she-donkey' (from ?arr-e (f) 'donkey')
?inn-att-e (f) 'one spider' (from ?inn-e (f) 'spider')
maar-t-e (f) 'one female calf' (maar-e (p) 'female calves')
```

plural nouns with Plurative suffixes

```
goll-add-e (p) 'rivers' (from goll-e (f) 'river')

Yerb-ann-e (p) 'male sheeps' (from Yerb-o (m) 'male sheep')

bayš-inn-e (p) 'wounds' (from bayš-e (p) 'wound')

Yorgay-n-e (p) 'male goats' (from a lost unit, which is also attested in Singulative form Yorgay-k-o (m) 'white stones')
```

3.5.3. CVCC template Plurative formation

A group of nouns are derived for Plurative by transformation to a CVCC-template. The Plurative stem is directly followed by the plural gender suffix $-\mathbf{e}$. Insertion into the template is reached by gemination of the last consonant of CVC- roots or deletion of the second root vowel of CVCVC- roots. For the phenomena of change $\mathbf{\check{s}} \rightarrow \mathbf{cc}$ and $\mathbf{n} \rightarrow \mathbf{mm}$, and metathesis affecting some Plurative nouns see 2.2.15, 2.7.4. and 2.7.7. respectively:

```
CVC \rightarrow CVC_1C_1
                                           CVCVC \rightarrow CVC_1C_2
bot-e \rightarrow bot-t-e
                           pumpkin
                                           c'ifan-o
                                                        \rightarrow c'ifn-e
                                                                         unmarried guy
kef-o \rightarrow kef-f-e
                           kind of rifle tebel-e
                                                        \rightarrow telb-e
                                                                         iron arrow
pa\check{s}-o \rightarrow pac-c-e
                           field
                                           c'aq'al-e \rightarrow c'alq-e
                                                                         wasted stalk of
                                                                         sorghum
                                            ?agile
                                                        \rightarrow ?algo
                                                                         newborn calf
zan-o \rightarrow zam-m-e street
```

3.5.4. Derivational patterns

As common in derivation, the number derivation suffixes are not evenly productive. The amount of number derived nouns in one lexeme varies from lexeme to lexeme. The speakers know the derived forms of each noun and its derivational property. A lexeme can have many, some or none of the derivational options. A lexeme shows a full set of derivations when it is derived with a masculine Singulative, a feminine Singulative and a Plurative derivation suffixes (or Plurative template). If a Singulative or a Plurative form is missing, the number-unspecific basic form is used in place of the missing derived form. If the noun is not derived at all, it only appears in the basic form. The nominal number derivation is structured in patterns. Each noun takes derived forms that can be ordered in a derivational pattern. The lexemes can be clustered according to the derivational pattern they belong to. The patterns are shown in table 16.

A lexeme may express 'singular' and 'plural' by Singulative and Plurative derived forms. It is the case of patterns (a) and (b). The patterns with partial number derivation are (c), (d), (e) and (f). The basic form of the lexemes following pattern (c) and (d), i.e. those without Plurative derivation, will replace the missing Plurative form. If a noun follows pattern (e), i.e. it has only a Plurative derived form, its basic form will be used in those context in which a Singulative noun is expected. If a lexeme has no derivations, the basic form will be used in all contexts. It is the case of pattern (f). Most of the cases of patters (a) and (c) involve sex-distinguishable nouns, which can have both masculine and feminine Singulative derivation.

Underived Derived Singulative Plurative Basic 'unspecified' 'plural' (a) 'singular' (2 forms: masculine and feminine) 'unspecified' (b) 'singular' 'plural' (1 form: masculine or feminine) 'unspecified' 'singular' (c) (used in place of the (2 forms: masculine and missing Plurative form) feminine) 'unspecified' (d) 'singular' (used in place of the (1 form: masculine or feminine) missing Plurative form) 'unspecified' 'plural' (e) (used in place of the

Table 16. Nominal number derivational patterns

The Plurative forms of uncountable nouns imply high quantity. Their Singulative forms imply low quantity. For example, **gam-m-e**, the pluralized form of the noun **gam-e** (f) 'maize', indicates a great amount of maize. The noun has two Singulative forms **gam-itt-o** and **gam-itt-e**, both meaning 'little quantity of maize'. The Plurative derivation of basic nouns that are already inherently 'plural' is not commonly attested. Whenever it is realised it indicates a particularly high quantity. For example, the basic noun **?innakk-o** (p) means 'flies'. Its pluralized form **?innakk-add-e** indicates a considerably high number of flies.

missing Singulative form)

(used in place of the missing Singulative and

'unspecified'

Plurative forms)

(f)

In the rest of this paragraph we show examples of derived nouns. They are ordered according to their derivational pattern. Recurrent combinations of kinds of derivations exist within one lexeme in some of the patterns.

Pattern (a). The nouns with the fullest derivation possibilities represent pattern (a). From the lists the nouns appear in the basic form as well as in Singulative masculine, Singulative feminine and Plurative forms. Most of the sex-distinguished nouns belong to this pattern. Most of the Singulative derivations are formed with the Singulative suffix —itt. The gender distinction is given by the gender suffix. Few nouns are not gender distinguished. The semantic difference between the two Singulative

derivations of these nouns is not clear. The plurals are formed by suffixation of **-add** or transformation to CVCC template. See examples:

gurl-o	(m)	cat	gurl-itt-o gurl-itt-e	(m) (f)	gurl-add-e	(p)
?ilaaš-e	(f)	bushpig	?ilaaš-itt-o ?ilaaš-itt-e	(m) (f)	?ilaaš-aɗɗ-e	(p)
Sand-e	(p)	water	Չanɗ-itt-e Չanɗ-itt-e	(m) (f)	Sandadde	(p)
kar-o	(m)	dog	kar-itt-o kar-itt-e	(m) (f)	kar-r-e	(p)
gam-e	(f)	maize	gam-itt-o gam-itt-e	(m) (f)	gam-m-e	(p)
?agil-e	(f)	newborn calf	Yagil-itt-o Yagil-itt-e	(m) (f)	?alg-o	(p)
c'ifan-o	(m)	unmarried person	c'ifan-itt-o c'ifan-itt-e	(m) (f)	c'ifn-e	(p)
q'ol-e	(f)	cattle	q'ol-k-o q'ol-t-e	(m) (f)	q'ol-add-e	(p)
ďòòll-ò	(m)	leather mat	đòòl-k-ò đòòl-t-è	(m) (f)	đòòll-áđđ-è	(p)

Pattern (b). This pattern includes nouns with basic, Singulative and Plurative forms. There are no particular correlations between the kinds of Singulative and Plurative derivations. See examples:

?ayl-o	(m)	small hoe	?ayl-itt-o	(m)	?ayl-aɗɗ-e	(p)
?erb-o	(m)	male sheep	?erb-itt-o	(m)	?erb-ann-e	(p)
ziy-a	(m)	warrior	ziy-itt-o	(m)	ziy-aɗɗ-e	(p)
fung-e	(p)	tailless	fung-itt-o	(m)	fung-aɗɗ-e	(p)
		sheep				
baant-e	(f)	bow	baant-itt-e	(f)	baant-aɗɗ-e	(p)
bayš-e	(p)	wounds	bayš-itt-e	(f)	bayš-inn-e	(p)
?ukaħ-e	(p)	eggs	?ukaħ-itt-e	(f)	?ukaħaɗɗ-e	(p)
?ilmal-e	(p)	tears	?ilmal-itt-e	(f)	?ilmal-aɗɗ-e	(p)
?axx-e	(p)	eyes	?axx-itt-e	(f)	?axx-add-e	(p)
?inn-e	(f)	spider	?inn-att-e	(f)	?inn-aɗɗ-e	(p)
?ilg-e	(p)	teeth	?ilg-akk-o	(m)	?ilg-aɗɗ-e	(p)

Pattern (c). This pattern includes nouns with a basic form and both masculine and feminine Singulative derivation. All of them are derived by means of the suffix $-\mathbf{i}\mathbf{t}\mathbf{t}$ followed by the gender suffix $-\mathbf{o}$ (m) and $-\mathbf{e}$ (f). Many of the nouns of this group are sex distinguished. No Plurative derivation is possible. See examples:

gaark-o	(m)	clan/ members of a clan	gaark-itt-o gaark-itt-e	(m)
morq'-o	(m)	age grade 1/ members of age grade 1	morq'-itt-o morq'-itt-e	(f) (m) (f)
pug-a	(f)	wild cat	fug-itt-o	(m)
gawg a	(f)	Ambara naanla	fug-itt-e	(f)
gerg-e	(f)	Amhara people	gerg-itt-o gerg-itt-e	(m) (f)
zool-e	(f)	stalk of sorghum	zool-itt-e	(m) (f)
kayk-o	(p)	bridegrooms	kayk-itt-o	(m)
			kayk-itt-e	(f)
kays-e	(p)	poor people	kays-itt-o	(m)
			kays-itt-e	(f)

Pattern (d). A group of nouns has a basic form, one Singulative form, and no Plurative derivation. The Singulative derivation is masculine or feminine. Many show the Singulative suffix -itt. The Singulative masculine nouns are also derived with the suffixes -k and -ikk. The Singulative feminine nouns are also derived with the suffixes -t, and -att. Sex inherent masculine nouns have a masculine derivation. Sex-inherent feminine nouns have a feminine derivation. If the basic form is semantically plural, the noun has no unspecified form. See examples:

gaabot-e	(f)	bushbuck	gaabot-k-o	(m)
goontor-e	(f)	eland	goontor-ikk-o	(m)
sir-e	(p)	ornaments	sir-att-e	(f)
pugg-o	(m)	calf from unnatural	pugg-itt-o	(m)
		birth		
?ill-e	(f)	top of the house	?ill-itt-e	(f)
gaar-e	(p)	trees	gaar-k-o	(m)
maar-e	(p)	female calves	maar-t-e	(f)

Pattern (e). It is made up of nouns with basic form and Plurative derivation. Probably, the Singulative derivation of some of these nouns has not been recorded but may be it exists. Most of the lexemes are derived for Plurative by means of affixation of -add-e. Three nouns, two of which are probably loanwords, show the suffix -ann-e. A group of lexemes is derived for Plurative by transformation to the template CVCC-. Most of them are derived by gemination of the last root consonant. See some examples below:

?ikkitt-o	(m)	sound, voice	?ikkitt-aɗɗ-e	(p)
?ert-o	(m)	gum	?ert-add-e	(p)
?err-o	(m)	rain	?err-aɗɗ-e	(p)
c'ark-e	(f)	dew	c'ark-aɗɗ-e	(g)

gac'c'-e	(f)	tef	gac'c'-aɗɗ-e	(p)
?ankars-a	(f)	stick with ironed point	?ankars-add-e	(p)
mann-e	(p)	house	mann-aɗɗ-e	(p)
gayt-e	(f)	fire stick	gayt-ann-e	(p)
waštir-e	(f)	kind of rifle	waštir-ann-e	(p)
baalžig-e	(f)	kind of rifle	baalžig-ann-e	(p)
?až-o	(m)	smell	?až-ž-e	(p)
bag-o	(m)	mouth	bag-g-e	(p)
gaz-o	(m)	hair	gaz-z-e	(p)
ker-e	(f)	seat	ker-r-e	(p)
kib-e	(f)	dry season	kib-b-e	(p)
q'ar-e	(f)	border	q'ar-r-e	(p)
tebel-e	(f)	iron arrow	telb-e	(p)
c'aq'al-e	(f)	wasted stalk of sorghum	c'alq'-e	(p)

Pattern (f): This group consists of nouns for which there is only the basic form and no derived forms have been attested.

sarabe	(f)	corpse
zilanq'a	(f)	rainbow

3.5.5. Noun lexemes with only derived forms (pattern g.)

There exist a number of exceptional nouns that only occur in derived forms and have no number-unpecified basic form. All these nouns have a Plurative derivation and one of both Singulative derivations. The Singulative form is used in citation. The pattern followed by these nouns is pattern g. A distinction will be made between nouns with Plurative derivation by means of Plurative derivation suffixes (g.1) and nouns with Plurative derivation by consonant gemination or vowel deletion (g.2). The situation is summarized below:

Table 17: Patterns (g.1) and (g.2)

	Underived	Singulative	Plurative
(g.1)		1: m or f	p (suffixal derivation)
(g.2)		1: m or f	p (CVCC derivation)

In (g.1) nouns there is a correlation between Singulative and Plurative suffix derivations. The combinations are recurrent within one lexeme. The Plurative derivation by CVCC transformation of (g.2) nouns correlates with any Singulative form of the noun.

Pattern (g.1) (suffixal Plurative derivation)

The nouns without base form and with a suffix as Plurative derivation always have a masculine Singulative form. If the masculine Singulative suffix is **-akk-o** the Plurative suffix is **-ann-e**. Nouns with masculine Singulative suffixes **-ikk-o** pattern have a plural derivation in **-inn-e**. See examples:

?ingir-akk-o	(m)	clitoris
?ingir-ann-e	(p)	clitorises
boxx-akk-o	(m)	pus
boxx-ann-e	(p)	lots of pus
dab-akk-o	(m)	mouse
dab-ann-e	(p)	mice
ħanšal-akk-o	(m)	cooked flour
ħanšal-ann-e	(p)	lots of cooked flour
karkar-akk-o	(m)	warthog
karkar-ann-e	(p)	warthogs
mid-ikk-o mid-inn-e	(m) (p)	lower grind stone lower grind stones
?ats'ts'-ikk-o ?ats'ts'-inn-e	(m) (p)	white stone white stones

Three more lexemes are derived for Plurative with the suffix—ne. See the examples:

?orgay-k-o ?orgay-n-e	(m) (p)	male goats
billay-k-o billay-n-e	(m) (p)	knife knives
laY-akk-o laY-n-e	(m) (p)	plain without trees plains without trees

The only noun with a feminine Singulative form is **mirma?-att-e** 'intestine'. See example:

mirma γ-att-e (f) intestine mirma γ-ann-e (p) intestines

Pattern (g.2) (CVCC template Plurative derivation)

Some nouns without a basic form are derived for Singulative by means of masculine and/or feminine Singulative suffixes, while their Plurative form is the result of gemination of the last root consonant or deletion of the second

root vowel, due to the adjustment to the CVCC Plurative template (see 3.5.3.).

The combinations of CVCC- Plurative noun and Singulative derived noun could be included in pattern (b) (basic form/Singulative form). The pluralised noun could actually be a basic form made up by a CVCC- root and a gender suffix. Indeed there are several basic nouns with CVCC-V structure. The Singulative derived form can show any Singulative suffix. In the case of nouns with consonant initial Singulative suffixes, this analysis would be very well possible, as the differences in stem shape (Singulative CVCVC- Plurative CVC₁C₂- and Singulative CVC- Plurative CVC₁C₁) can be accounted for by syllable reshaping in order to avoid a sequence of three consonants (see 2.6.1.). Such an analysis does not explain the cases of suffixation of vowel initial Singulative suffixes, such as -akk and -itt, to a hypothesised CVC₁C₁ basic root. (Nouns with CVC₁C₂ plural are irrelevant because all of them correspond to Singulative with -CV suffixes). As the suffixation of the -VCC suffixes does not result in a cluster of three consonants, a basic stem CVC₁C₁- should remain as such. Instead, the stems of Singulative derived nouns with -VCC suffixes also appear as CVC-.

That gemination and vowel deletion are Plurative derivational rules is also clear from the combinations of a basic noun and a CVCC- pluralised noun that represent pattern (e) (see the pattern under 3.5.4). There is no reason to assume that this pattern is made up of basic CVCC-V nouns with plural agreement and meaning and CVC-V or CVCVC-V nouns derived respectively by de-gemination and vowel insertion. Pattern (g) has the same kind of Plurative formation as some of the nouns of pattern (d). The difference lies in the fact that the nouns of pattern (e) have an attested basic form and no Singulative derivation, while the nouns of pattern (g) have no basic form and an attested Singulative derivation.

Concluding, I consider it appropriate to establish a pattern, pattern (g.2), for those lexemes derived for Singulative by suffixation and for Plurative by transformation to the template CVCC-.

Below are examples of nouns with Plurative form by gemination belonging to pattern (g.2) (for the cases of nasal assimilation and methatesis see 2.7.4. and 2.7.7. respectively):

CVC₁C₂ Plurative

?awal-k-o (m) tombstone **?awl-e** (p) tombstones

gibil-k-o (m) knee **gibl-e** (p) knees

xoxon-k-o (m) hole xoxm-e (p) holes

gara?-t-e (f) belly gar?-e (p) bellies

?agal-t-e (f) leather sac **?alg-e** (p) leather sac

CVC₁C₁ Plurative

gubus-k-o (m) thigh bone **gubuz-z-e** (p) thigh bones

šiinin-k-o (m) butter

šiinim-m-e (p) butter

maax-k-o (m) bead maax-x-e (p) beads

maax-att-o (m) gourd maax-x-e (p) gourds

q'ot-akk-o (m) finger, claw **q'ot-t-e** (p) fingers, claws

?eem-t-e(f)sheep**?em-m-e**(p)sheep (pl)

?alaw-t-e (f) older sister **?alaw-w-e** (p) older sisters

gaan-t-e (f) woman gaan-n-e (p) women

madday-itt-e (f) temple madday-y-e (p) temples ts'iy-itt-e (f) bullet ts'iy-y-e (p) bullets

3.5.6. Lexical number pairs

The plural counterpart of the following four nouns is a basic plural noun:

q'awko	(m)	man
gore	(p)	people
?inanko	(m)	boy
ɗalle	(p)	children
šitte	(f)	girl
?ekađđe	(p)	girls
gaante	(f)	woman
ħeesko	(p)	women

The plural noun **heesko** 'women' can be derived for Singulative with the masculine Singulative suffix **-att-o**. In spite of the feminine inherent characteristic of this noun, the agreement of the Singulative form is masculine. See example:

heesko (p) women heeskatto (m) one woman

The case of **lo?o** 'cow'/ **le?e** 'cows' is not treated as an instance of lexical plural, but as one of a double basic lexeme with the plural meaning form affected by irregular vowel harmony (see 3.3.1.)

3.5.7. Derivation from non-basic units

Plurative from lost unit. The noun **biško** 'body', an ancient Singulative which was reinterpreted as a basic noun, forms the Plurative by gemination on the basis of a lost unit. The masculine and feminine derivations are based on the attested basic form. See example:

bišk-o(m)bodybišk-itt-o(m)one bodybišk-itt-e(f)one bodybiš-š-e(p)bodies

Plurative from derived Singulative unit. A Plurative derivation suffix can be attached to a derived masculine or feminine form. This happens with sex-distinguished nouns. The Plurative form *baakkacce of the feminine noun baakko 'cows without milk' is not attested. A Plurative form by

suffixation of **-add** is possible, however, from the Singulative derived form **baakkitte**. See example below:

baakk-o(f)cow without milkbaakk-itt-e(f)one cow without milkbaakk-itt-add-e(p)cows without milk

Also the basic plural noun **sil-e** 'feathers' has a 'plural' meaning. The Plurative derivation is based on the Singulative feminine derivation **sil-itt-e** 'one feather':

sil-e (p) feathers sil-itt-e (f) one feather sil-itt-acce (p) many feathers

The noun **habur-a** 'wind' is a general feminine noun. It changes gender in the Singulative derivation becoming **habur-k-o**. The Plurative derivation **habur-k-add-e** is based on the masculine Singulative derivation:

habur-a (f) wind habur-k-o (m) wind habur-k-add-e (p) winds

Plurative from Plurative. A noun derived for Plurative can be the base for Plurative derivation. The secondary Plurative derivation conveys a greater sense of plurality. The noun **mažže** 'cylindrical beads' is the Plurative form of the masculine basic noun **mažo**. It can be derived for Plurative again by suffixation of **-acc**. See example:

maž-o (m) cylindrical bead maž-ž-e (p) cylindrical beads maž-ž-add-e (p) lots of cylindrical beads

The noun **q'omayke** 'sandals' is the Plurative counterpart of the feminine noun with lost basic form **q'omatte**. It can be the unit for a secondary Plurative derivation. See example:

q'om-att-e (f) sandal q'om-ayk-e (p) sandals q'om-ayk-add-e (p) lots of sandals

3.5.8. Age grades, peoples and clans

The terms indicating some peoples and the age grades which operate in the Ts'amakko social structure follow a particular kind of number derivation. In the derivation of these words, the element **t** appears in the base of masculine and feminine Singulative forms. This is probably a reflex of the Cushitic suffix *-atu, which distinguished names of people.

With the exception of the name for age grade 1, the number-unspecified form for the age grade terms is always masculine and shows the suffix $-\mathbf{k}-\mathbf{o}$. The form with plural meaning is based on this masculine form. The masculine Singulative suffix is always $-\mathbf{akk}-\mathbf{o}$. The feminine Singulative suffix is always $-\mathbf{itt}-\mathbf{e}$. The term for age grade 1 **morq'o** is exceptional. It is derived as a noun of pattern (c) (cf. 3.5.4.). See examples:

loobar-k-o	(m)	age grade 2
loobar-k-accc-e	(p)	members of age grade 2
loobar-t-akk-o	(m)	male member of age grade 2
loobar-t-itt-e	(f)	female member of age grade 2
bilbil-k-o	(m)	age grade 3
bilbil-k-aɗɗ-e	(p)	members of age grade 3
bilbil-t-akk-o	(m)	male member of age grade 3
bilbil-t-itt-e	(f)	female member of age grade 3
nelbas-k-o	(m)	age grade 4
nelbas-k-aɗɗe	(p)	members of age grade 4
nelbas-t-akk-o	(m)	male member of age grade 4
nelbas-t-itt-e	(f)	female member of age grade 4
gurmal-k-o	(m)	age grade 5
gurmal-k-aɗɗ-e	(p)	members of age grade 5
gurmal-t-akk-o	(m)	male member of age grade 5
gurmal-t-itt-e	(f)	female member of age grade 5
baasar-k-o	(m)	age grade 6
baasar-k-aɗɗ-e	(p)	member of age grade 6
baasar-t-akk-o	(m)	male member of age grade 6
baasar-t-itt-e	(f)	female member of age grade 6

The name indicating the alliance between the clans **?ozbikko** and **?algakko** follow the same pattern

binnas-k-o	(m)	Yozb-ikk-o and Yalgakko alliance
binnas-k-add-e	(p)	members of ?ozb-ikk-o and ?algakko
		alliance
binnas-t-akk-o	(m)	male member of ?ozb-ikk-o and
		?algakko alliance
binnas-t-itt-e	(f)	female member of ?ozb-ikk-o and
		?algakko alliance

The names of some ethnic groups have a basic number-unspecified form which is also used for plural. The agreement of the basic form can be masculine, feminine or plural. No Plurative derivation is possible.

biral-e	(f)	Birale people
biral-t-akk-o	(m)	Birale man
biral-t-itt-e	(f)	Birale woman
Yaal-e	(f)	Gawwada people
Yaal-t-akko	(m)	Gawwada man
Yaal-t-itt-e	(f)	Gawwada woman
murris-o	(p)	Mursi people
murris-t-akko	(m)	Mursi man
murris-t-itt-e	(f)	Mursi woman
Yaar-e	(p)	Ari people
Yaar-t-akko	(m)	Ari man
Yaar-t-itt-e	(f)	Ari woman

The number-unspecified term with feminine agreement **gitam-a**, indicating the outcast group of blacksmiths, is treated as an ethnic term. It differs in the fact that it can be derived for Plurative on the base of the basic form:

gitam-a	(f)	blacksmith
gitam-aɗɗe	(p)	blacksmiths
gitan-t-akko	(m)	male blacksmith
gitan-t-itt-e	(f)	female blacksmith

The clan names form a group of their own in terms of their derivational characteristics. The base of the terms is lost. The reference form is masculine and shows the suffix -ikk-o or -akk-o. The feminine derivation is formed on the basis of the lost basic form. In other words the feminine suffix, which is either -itt-e or -att-e, replaces the masculine suffixes. In particular -itt-e replaces -ikk-o and -att-e replaces -akk-o. The masculine form is made by suffixation of -akk-o to the lost unit characterised by the element -it or -at, rather than simply -t. The first appears if the general form shows -ikk-o. The second appears if the general form shows -akk-o. See examples:

Pozb-ikk-o	(m)	Pozbikko clan
Pozb-itt-e	(f)	Pozbikko woman
Pozb-it-akk-o	(m)	Pozbikko man
?izm-akk-o	(m)	?izmakko clan
?izm-att-e	(f)	?izmakko woman
?izm-at-akk-o	(m)	?izmakko man
reeg-akk-o	(m)	Reegakko clan
reeg-att-e	(f)	Reegakko woman

reeg-at-akk-o	(m)	Reegakko man
Seel-akk-o	(m)	Seelakko clan
የeel-att-e	(f)	Seelakko woman
የeel-at-akk-o	(m)	Seelakko man
?alg-akk-o	(m)	?algakko clan
?alg-att-e	(f)	?algakko woman
?alg-at-akk-o	(m)	?algakko man

The autonym term of the Ts'amakko has the same derivational characteristics as the clan terms. See example:

ts'am-akk-o	(m)	Ts'amakko people
ts'am-att-e	(f)	Ts'amakko woman
ts'am-at-akk-o	(m)	Ts'amakko man

The clan terms **baritto** and **?amacco** have a slightly divergent behaviour. The first has a general form in **-itt-o**. The second shows an unique suffix **-acco**. The root extension making up the base of masculine derivation is **-it** for **baritto** and **-at** for **?amacco**. See examples:

Baritto clan

bai itt o	(111)	Duritto Ciuri
bar-itt-e	(f)	Baritto woman
bar-it-akk-o	(m)	Baritto man
Չam-aɗɗ-o	(m)	Samaddo clan
ያam-at-akk-o	(f)	Samaddo woman
ያam-at-itt-e	(m)	Samacco man

(m)

3.5.9. The masculine kinship suffix -iy

har_itt_0

A masculine gender suffix -iy may follow masculine kinship nouns. The Plurative suffix is always -adde. No Singulative derivation is attested. The kinship suffix has no Singulative meaning.

?abb-a	(m)	?abb-iy-o	(m)	?abb-aɗɗ-e	(p)	father
?add-a	(m)	?add-iy-o	(m)	?add-aɗɗ-e	(p)	brother
?akk-a	(m)	?akk-iy-o	(m)	?akk-aɗɗ-e	(p)	grandfather
mogg-o	(m)	mogg-iy-o	(m)	mogg-add-e	(p)	child named after
						'godfather'

3.6. Sub-classes of nouns: Attributive nouns, adjectives and numerals

Attributive nouns, adjectives and numerals are sub-classes of nouns with attributive properties. The morphology of most of the attributive nouns is very similar to the morphology of the ordinary nouns, while adjectives employ a distinctive morphology. Attributive nouns are closer to ordinary nouns than adjectives because they show ordinary nominal derivational

suffixes and patterns. Adjectives, on the other hand, have a morphological behaviour not attested in nominal derivation. Attributive nouns and adjectives are ordered in patterns made up of forms agreeing in gender and number with a head noun. This is also valid for the numeral 'one'. The other numerals are invariable.

From the syntactic point of view, attributive nouns and adjectives differ from nouns in that they cannot appear as subject. Numerals, on the other hand, can take subject position. The nouns belonging to these nominal sub-classes do not show the locative suffixes **-ilo**, **-atte** and **-ete** in modifying position. These suffixes must appear whenever an ordinary noun is used as modifier (see 3.7. 4.1.4. and 4.1.5.).

3.6.1. Attributive nouns

Each lexeme of the attributive nouns takes specific forms agreeing in gender with a basic or derived head noun. The head noun may be basic or derived. Some of the exponents of the attributive nouns are homophonous to the number derivation suffixes of ordinary nouns.

The attributive nouns **q'awt-o** 'new' and **dagg-o** 'young (people)' are made of a base agreeing with plural, and derived forms agreeing with masculine and feminine respectively. See the examples:

```
plural masculine feminine
q'awt-o q'awt-itto q'awt-itte new
dagg-o dagg-itto dagg-itte young (person)
```

One may note that in the basic form the gender suffix is $-\mathbf{0}$ in spite of the plural agreement.

The forms of the attributive noun for 'orphan', built on the stem \mathbf{q} 'awwaɗ-, make use of the highly productive nominal derivational suffixes -itto (m), -itte (f) and -adde (p).

```
masculine feminine plural q'awwaɗ-itto q'awwaɗ-itte q'awwaɗ-aɗɗe orphan
```

Some attributive nouns have more than one basic form and one Plurative form. The attributive noun lexeme **fakal**- 'clever' is attested in a basic form showing **–a**, **fakal-a**, appearing in combination with a masculine head; a basic form in **–e**, **fakal-e**, appearing in combination with a feminine head; and **fakal-adde** agreeing with plural head.

```
masculine feminine plural
pakal-a
pakal-e pakal-adde clever
```

The attributive nouns **kamur** 'rich' and **baxxar** 'beautiful' have a masculine agreement form showing **–ko**, a feminine agreement marker showing **–te** and a plural agreement form showing gemination of the last root consonant.

masculine feminine plural
kamur-ko kamur-te kamur-r-e rich
baxxar-ko baxxar-te baxxar-r-e beautiful

Several attributive nouns have two forms: a basic form, agreeing with masculine and feminine heads, and a Plurative form with the ending -adde, which agrees with plural heads. Attributive nouns with this pattern are numerically predominant. See three examples:

masculine/feminine plural

šilšilk-o šilšilk-adde smooth

zarg-e zarg-adde spotted

warkat-a warkat-adde left

The attributive noun **gaal-e** 'difficult' may appear in the basic form or as **gaal-atte**. The form **gaal-e** appears with any head noun. The form **gaalatte** agrees with feminine head nouns. There is therefore an overlapping expression of agreement with feminine nouns.

any gender feminine gaal-e gaal-atte difficult

There are two attributive nouns meaning 'sterile', one used for men and the other for women. Both attributive nouns have a plural agreement form with CVC_1C_2 template and a form agreeing with masculine or feminine, depending on their inherent gender. The inherently masculine attributive noun has the suffix $-\mathbf{ko}$ while the inherently feminine attributive noun has the suffix $-\mathbf{te}$:

masculine plural
busuk-ko busk-e sterile (man)

feminine plural
meken-te mekn-e sterile (woman)

The attributive noun **sobor** 'castrated (cattle)' has the masculine basic forms **sobor-e** and **sobor-itto**. Plural agreement is expressed by the CVCC form **sorb-e**.

masculine plural sobor-e sorb-e castrated (cattle) sobor-itto The ordinary nouns **gaante**, **gešante**, both meaning 'female person', and **ts'iirakko** 'male person', behave like attributive nouns when defining or confiming the sex of living beings. Examples:

gannatt-o gaan-t-e

lizard-M woman-Sg-F female lizard

lukkal-e gešan-t-e

chicken-F woman-Sg-F hen (female chicken)

lukkal-e ts'iir-akk-o

chicken-F man-Sg-M cock (male chicken)

?org-itt-o ts'iir-akk-odookko

Banna.P-Sg-M man-Sg-M one.M one Banna man

The plural counterparts of these nouns are used with the same aim. The plural form of **tsiirakko** is **tsiire**, which represents its derivational base. The Plurative form of **gaante** is **gaanne** and the Plurative form of **gešante** is **gešanne**. Another term for woman, **heesko**, has no attributive role. See examples of modification of the head noun **gore** 'people':

gor-e ts'iir-e

people-Pmen-P men (male people)

gor-e gešan-n-e

people-P woman-Pl-P women (female people)

gor-e gaan-n-e

people-Pwoman-Pl-P women (female people)

There are some invariable attributive nouns. **xum6i** 'all' is the only (attributive) noun ending in -i. The following is an exhaustive list:

?ayyakkomanymumeentirewaanadifferentq'ammebadxumbiallmeelofresh (milk)

?aberro sour (milk)

lukkurro curved towards the head (of horns)

The invariable attributive nouns **meelo** 'fresh (milk)', **?aberro** 'sour (milk)' and **lukkurro** 'curved towards the head (of horn)' are restricted in application to one particular noun. The first two can only modify the noun **?axxe** (p) 'milk'. **lukkurro** applies only to **gaassakko** 'horn' (m) and **gaasse** (p) 'horns'.

?axx-e meelo

milk-P fresh.Attr fresh milk

?axx-e ?aberro

milk-P sour.Attr sour milk

gaass-akk-o lukkurro

horn-Sg-M curved.towards.the.head.Attr horn curved towards the head

gaass-e lukkurro

horn-P curved.towards.the.head.Attr horns curved towards the head

These adjectives with restricted application end in the nominal masculine marker **-o**, in spite of the fact that they modify plural nouns.

3.6.2. Adjectives

Adjectives form a small category of eleven nouns. It also includes a productive derivation: The adjectives are derived by the suffixes **-akk-o** (masculine agreement), **-att-e** (feminine agreement) and **-ayk-e** (plural agreement). The suffixes used in adjectival agreement can historically be analysed as the combination of an inchoative verbal marker **-ay**, which is sporadically attested synchronically, and the pronominal particles **ko** (m), **te** (f) or **ke** (p) (cf. 5.6).

The adjectives express an abnormal, often detrimental negative human property, as shown in the following exhaustive list:

masculine	feminine	plural	
daaf-akko	daaf-atte	daaf-ayke	blind
toonn-akko	toonn-atte	toonn-ayke	hump
mukkan-akko	mukkan-atte	mukkan-ayke	having a short limb
q'anc'arl-akko	q'anc'arl-atte	q'anc'arl-ayke	ugly
zaar-akko	zaar-atte	zaar-ayke	mad
ħey-akko	ħey-atte	ħey-ayke	widow and orphan

geecc-akko	geecc-atte	geecc-ayke	old
Sarr-akko	Sarr-atte	Sarr-ayke	white (hair, fur)
gaalɗ-akko	gaalɗ-atte	gaald-ayke	pregnant
ginsel-akko	ginsel-atte	ginsel-ayke	begging
c'ubbol-akko	c'ubbol-atte	c'ubbol-ayke	unappreciated
			(person)

The root of some adjectives appears as a verbal stem:

daaf-akko	blind	daaf-	to be blind
zaar-akko	mad	zaar-aw-	to get mad
geecc-akko	old	geeš-uw-	to be old
gaald-akko	pregnant	gaalɗ-	to become pregnant
		aw-	
ginsel-akko	begging	gins-ad-	to beg

The masculine form **gaald-akko** 'pregnant' is used for grammatical agreement. It qualifies, for example, the masculine noun **heesk-atto** (m) 'a woman', which is the Singulative form of the basic plural noun **heesk-o** 'women'.

The adjectival agreement pattern is productive after derived stems showing the morpheme $-(\mathbf{V})\mathbf{l}$, which is used for the derivation of adjectives from nominal roots. See some examples:

```
Yuskakk-ol-akko Yuskakk-ol-atte Yuskakk-ol-ayke dirty
```

buuše (f) beard buuš-ol-akko buuš-ol-atte buuš-ol-ayke bearded

baay-a (f) hair of chestbaay-al-akko baay-al-atte baay-al-ayke having hair on the chest

The adjectives **c'ubbol-akko** 'unappreciated', **ginsel-akko** 'begging' and **q'anc'arl-akko** 'ugly' have absorbed the adjectiviser in the stem:

masculine	feminine	plural	
c'ubbol-akko	c'ubbol-atte	c'ubbol-ayke	unappreciated
ginsel-akko	ginsel-atte	ginsel-ayke	begging
q'anc'arl-akko	q'anc'arl-atte	q'anc'arl-ayke	ugly

The lexeme **q'anc'arl-** 'ugly' has an alternative plural agreement form **q'anc'arre**. This form seems to result from the gemination of **r**, which is the last consonant of the unattested stem ***q'anc'ar**.

The suffixes that characterise the adjectival derivation are homophonouns to number derivation suffixes attested in ordinary nouns. The masculine and feminine agreement suffixes -akk-o and -att-e play a role in nominal derivation and can be recognised in several stems. However, no ordinary nominal lexeme has both of them among its derivational possibilities. The masculine suffix -akk-o is found in about 20 nouns, most of which belong to the derivational pattern (g) (lexemes without base form with a Singulative masculine and a Plurative derived form). Within this pattern, the masculine nouns in -akk-o match with Plurative forms in -anne. The only exceptions are q'ot-akk-o 'finger' and q'ob-akk-o 'nail', which correspond to the geminated Plurative form q'ot-t-e 'fingers' and q'ob-b-e respectively. Two of the nouns in -akk-o are the result of derivation from a basic form. They are ?uzg-akk-o 'firestone', derivation of ?uzg-e 'firestones', and ?ilg-akk-o 'tooth' derived from ?ilg-e 'teeth'. A third one is a noun with attributive value: ts'iir-akk-o 'man' derived from ts'iir-e 'men'. The feminine suffix -att-e is attested in the five nouns mirma?-att-e 'gut', q'om-att-e 'sandals', sir-att-e 'jewel', ?inn-att-e 'spider'. and g'ag'g'-att-e 'bark', and in the feminine agreement form of the attributive noun gaal-e 'difficult': gaal-att-e. mirma?-att-e 'gut' is the only feminine noun corresponding to a Plurative form in -ann-e: mirma?-ann-e 'guts'. sir-att-e 'jewel', ?inn-att-e 'spider' and q'aq'q'-att-e 'bark' are derived from basic forms. These forms are respectively sir-e 'jewels', ?inn-e 'spider' and q'aq'q'-e 'barks'. The suffix -ayk-e is shown only in the noun g'om-avk-e (p) 'sandals', which is combined to another adjective-like form q'om-att-e (f) 'sandal'.

3.6.3. Numerals

Numerals are mostly found in modifying function, following the head noun, but they are also attested in subject, predicate and adverbial positions. The bases are twenty and ten. Higher bases, such as one hundred and one thousand, are borrowed from Amharic.

The numeral 'one' is the only numeral that shows gender distinction. The forms are: **dookko** (m), **dootte** (f), **dookke** (p). The other numerals are invariable.

In modifying position the three forms agree in gender with the head noun. When the plural **dookke** modifies a plural gender noun with plural meaning, it does not indicate an individual entity but one group of entities, such as **?uzge** 'three firestones'. See examples:

Sard-o dookko q'awk-o=nu n-deeħ-i ox-M one.M man-M=from 1-give-3SgMUnm I gave one ox to the man.

q'aw-a dootte ?ag-ay rifle-F one.F be.located-3SgFImpfv There is a rifle.

mann-edookkegaris-ne=nu?ufogee?-ahouse-Pone.Pbuild-3PlSubFut=from3SgMSubjwant-3SgMImpfvHe wants that they build a house.

?uzg-e dookke n-gee?-i

firestones-P one.P 1-want-1SgUnm

I want three firestones.

Gender distinction in subject position has not been recorded for the plural form. See examples or the masculine and feminine forms:

?ardulum-anki=nnay dookko ni par-i

race-3PIImpfv=Backgr one.M Loc.3 die-3SgMUnm While they were racing one of them died.

guuyu dootte ɗal-ti

today one.F give.birth-3SgFUnm Today someone gave birth.

In adverbial position, the numeral 'one' appears invariably in its masculine form **dookko**. In the following sentences it is repeated with the meaning 'one by one' or 'individually':

q'aac'c'-e=ma dookko dookko baccam-inki

bush-P=to/in one.M one.M hide.oneself-3PlConsA One by one they hid thesemlyes in the bush.

See below a list of numerals form '1' to '10':

dookko (m), dootte (f), dookke (p)	1
lákkí	2
zeeħ	3
salaħ	4
xobin	5
tabben	6
tahhan	7
sezzen	8
gollan	9
kúnkó	10

The numbers from '11' to '19' are expressed by the combination of **kúnkó** 'ten' and the unit. The unit 'one' appears as **dookko**. See the list below:

kúnkó dookko	11
kúnkó lákkí	12
kúnkó zeeħ	13
kúnkó salaħ	14
kúnkó xobin	15
kúnkó tabben	16
kúnkó sezzen	17
kúnkó taħħan	18
kúnkó gollan	19

The iteration of the numeral used in adverbial function is attested also for numbers above one. See examples:

xobin xobin ?akkaɗ-inki five five sit.down-3PlConsA They sit in groups of five.

baal-inn-e tabben tabben q'ets'-inki pole-Pl-P six six cut-3Pl-ConsA They cut the poles in groups of five.

'Twenty' is the base for the numbers from twenty onwards. The concept is metaphorically expressed by the noun phrase **q'awko mume** 'an entire person', who is the holder of twenty digits. The units are counted in **bago** 'mouth' and are joined to the ventigisimal base by the Consecutive conjunction **ba**. For example, '21' is expressed by **q'awko mume ba bago dookko** 'one entire person and one mouth', '30' is expressed by **q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó** 'one entire person and ten mouths' and '39' by **q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó gollan** 'one entire person and eleven mouths'. See a reduced list of numerals from 20 to 39:

q'awko mume	20	
q'awko mume ba bago dookko	21	
q'awko mume ba bago lákkí	22	
q'awko mume ba bago zeeħ	23	
q'awko mume ba bago salaħ	24	
q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó		30
q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó de	ookko	31
q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó lá	kkí	32
q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó ze	еeħ	33
q'awko mume ba bago kúnkó sa	alaħ	34

The multiples of twenty are expressed by an exponent after the base expressed by **q'awko** or **gore** 'people'. This option has to do with the fact that in a numeral phrase having a number higher than one as modifier the head noun may be singular or plural (see 4.1.2). The element **mume** is omitted. Therefore, 40 corresponds to **q'awko** (or **gore**) **lákkí** 'two people';

60 corresponds to **q'awko** (or **gore**) **zeeħ** 'three people', and so on. See a short list of the multiples of 20:

```
q'awko (or gore) lákkí forty
q'awko (or gore) zeeħ sixty
q'awko (or gore) salaħ eighty
q'awko (or gore) xobin one hundred
q'awko (or gore) tabben one hundred and twenty
```

See two numerals higher then 39 attested in the corpus:

```
q'awko lákkí ba bago kúnkó salaħ fifty four one hundred and thirty
```

There is a difference in arithmetic function between the juxtaposition **kúnkó lákkí** 'twelve' and the juxtaposition **q'awko lákkí** (20x2) 'forty'. The first one express the addition 10+2, while the second one expresses the multiplication 10x2.

An alternative system is used for counting money. It is a decimal system based on the word **bonde** 'ten', most probably a borrowed term widespread with the same meaning among people speaking South Omotic and Surmic languages. In isolation, this word means 'ten birr' (birr is the name of he Ethiopian currency), but is also possible to specify **bonde dootte**, which often appears as **bondootte** 'ten birr', or to explicitly mention the word **birre** 'birr'. The units are still counted in **bago** 'mouth'. Therefore, 'twenty two birr' is expressed with **(birre) bonde lákkí ba bago lákkí**.

The money counting system includes the Amharic terms **mato** 'one hundred' (from the Amharic **mïto** 'one hundred') and **ši** 'one thousand' (from the Amharic **ši** 'one thousand').

3.7. The locative case suffixes

The locative case suffixes are general location markers. There are used to mark a locative adverbial noun in sentences and as possessive modification in noun phrases. These suffixes are gender sensitive like the number suffixes. The masculine suffix is -il (in some cases -ul), the feminine suffix is -att, the plural suffix is -et (in some cases -it). Each locative suffix is followed by the respective gender suffix. Therefore, the three suffixes will be henceforth transcribed as -ilo, -atte and -ete.

The range of the locative meaning expressed by the locative case suffixes includes positions that we would translate as 'in', 'on', 'from', 'onto' etc.

These English prepositions are only approximations that occur in translation. The suffix indicates a very general sense of location. The details of the location are inferred from other words in the sentence, in particular the verbs, and from the context, that is the story or the observation of the real world. Below are examples of locative nouns marked by the locative case suffixes:

```
General location
```

manne (p) 'house' in:

zow ba mann-ete ħull-a

go. SgImpA Cons house-LocP enter-2SgConsA Go and enter the house.

?alga (f) 'bed' in:

?inank-o ?alg-atte ?ood-i

boy-M bed-LocF walk-3SgMUnm The boy walks on the bed.

pašo (m) 'field' in:

q'awk-o paš-ilo lig-i

man-M field-LocM go.out-3SgMUnm The man goes out of the field.

Ground, surface

zano (m) 'street' in:

zan-ilo makin-a ?ag-a

street-LocM car-F be.located-3SgMImpfv

The car is on the street.

Bounded space

katte (f) 'fire' in:

?ats'ts'-ikk-o bi?-a gabb-a=bba katt-atte

stone.sp.-Sg-M be.white-3SgMAdj take-SgImpB=Cons fire-LocF

Չaɗɗ-i

put -SgImp

Take a white Aats'ts'ikko stone and put into the fire.

All possessors expressed by nouns are marked as locatives by the locative suffixes. The locative suffixes do not appear if the possessor is indicated by a name (see 4.1.4.). Examples:

q'awko (m) 'man' in:

?arr-e q'awk-ilo

donkey-F man-LocM donkey of the man

gosingobo (m) 'lizard' in:

maang-o gosingob-ilo ?awš-i

sorghum-Mlizard-LocM ripen-3SgMUnm The sorghum of the lizard ripened.

?erbo (m) 'male sheep' in:

duub-d-e ?erb-ilo

tail-Sg-F male.sheep-LocM tail of male sheep

hezgitte (f) 'star' in:

kammakk-o hezg-itt-atte

light-M star-Sg-LocF star light

Sarde (p) 'oxen' in:

?abb-a ?ard-ete

father.M-F ox-LocP owner of oxen

?arre (f) 'donkey' in:

c'aaq'-e ?arr-atte

faeces-F donkey-LocF faeces of donkey

šayna (f) 'pump' and dalba (f) 'pond' in:

?olk-o-se ?ano ?and-e šayn-atte dab-i=nu

thing-M-Def 1SgSubj water-P pump-LocF fail-3SgMUnm=from

ka ?ano ?and-e dalb-atte ?ug-i

Sent 1SgSubj water-P pond-LocF drink-3SgMUnm Since I failed (to collect) the water of the pump, I drink the water of the pond.

baaya (f) 'hair of chest' in:

gaz-o baay-atte

hair-M hair.of.chest-LocF hair of the chest

gaarma (f) 'brave person' in:

?ingiy-e gaarm-atte ?asa sukkan-ti

mother-F brave.person-LocF so roll.down-3SgFUnm The mother of the brave one rolls down in this way (Extracted from the tale: 'The squirrel and the Baboon')

A locative noun in modifying position in a noun phrase may also have attributive meaning (see 4.1.4). See, for example:

mann-e Sašk-ilo

house-P grass-LocM grass house

With the verbal complement of kiy- 'to say' the locative case suffix indicates the addressee:

kulile 'guinea fowl' in:

?èlèlè raf-ankigarr-okulil-atte?asatogether sleep-3PIImpfvsquirrel-Mguinea.fowl-LocFso

kiy-i

say-3SgMUnm

The squirrel said this (litt: 'so') to the guinea fowl: 'We will sleep together'.

The locative case indicates the base of comparison. See for example **game** (f) 'maize' in:

maang-o likke gam-atte gura ko q'ayy-a sorghum-M exactly maize-LocF like PronM be.good-3SgMAdj Sorghum is exactly as good as maize.

3.8. The Distal demonstrative suffixes

The Distal demonstrative suffixes **–ussa** (m) and **–issa** (f/p) are attached to the stem of the noun and replace the gender suffix. They are exclusively used for pointing to elements that are far from the speakers.

baasall-ussa

calabash.for.water-DistM that man

gaant-issa

woman.F-DistF/P that woman

gor-issa people.P-DistF/P those people

See 4.1.3. and 5.5.2. For a description of pronominal Distal demonstratives. The function of these demonstratives is not limited to pointing, as is the case of the Distal demonstrative suffix.

3.9. The proximal demonstrative/vocative tone morpheme

The description of the tonal morpheme used for proximal demonstrative and vocative is found within the discussion on nominal tone in suffixation and clitisation (see 2.4.4.).

3.10. The definite suffix -se

A noun can be defined by suffixation of the definite suffix –se. This is the only suffix that follows the case suffix. It has anaphoric function and is mainly used to mark heads modified by relative clauses or locative nouns (see 4.1.4. and 4.2.).

Examples:

?err-o-se dib-i rain-M-Def rain-3SgMUnm The rain fell.

lo?-o-se [ɗal-ti] par-ti

cow.F-M-Def give.birth-3SgFUnm die-3SgFUnm The cow that gave birth died.

šamb-o-se gudurk-ilo child-M-Def hyena-LocM the child of the hyena

4. Notes on syntax

4.1. The noun phrase

A noun phrase is minimally made up of a head noun. Modifying suffixes and modifiers follow the head noun. The suffixes are divided into those that attach to the head noun and those that attach to pronominal particles.

The modifiers are attributive nouns, adjectives, locative nouns, the locative case suffix, definitives, demonstratives, possessives, 'different'-pronominals, 'which'-pronominals, 'whose'-pronominals, and adverbials.

See the follwing noun phrase structures:

Noun phrase with an attributive modifier: head noun + attributive noun

Noun phrase with an adjectival modifier: head noun + adjective

Noun phrase with a definite modifier: head noun + definite suffix head noun + pron-definite suffix

Noun phrase with a demonstrative modifier: head noun + demonstrative suffix head noun + pron-demonstrative suffix

Noun phrase with a possessive modifier: head noun + pron-possessive suffix

Noun phrase with a locative noun modifier: head noun + noun-locative case suffix

Noun phrase with a 'different' modifier: head noun + pron-'different' suffix

Noun phrase with a 'which?' modifier: head noun + pron-'which' suffix

Noun phrase with a 'whose?' modifier: head noun + pron-'whose' suffix

Noun phrase with a locative modifier: head noun + locative case suffix The Distal demostrative suffix, the locative suffixes and the definite suffix -se, as well as attributive nouns, adjectives and numerals are described in the chapter on nominal morphology (chapter 3). The modifiers that attach to the particles of pronominal origin are characterised by the presence of a pronominal particle, which refers to the head noun and agrees with it in gender. Some pronominal modifiers, under certain conditions, may appear suffixed to the head noun. Most of the pronominal modifiers can also take head noun position. The pronominal modifiers are described in section 5.5. and its sub-sections.

4.1.1. Noun phrases with attributive nouns and adjective as modifier

Ts'amakko has a lexical category adjective. Attributive modification in a noun phrase is mainly expressed by two sub-categories of nouns called attributive nouns and adjectives (see 3.6.). Also ordinary nouns modified with locative suffixes may be used attributively (see 3.7., 4.1.4. and 4.1.5.).

The attributive nouns and the adjectives agree in gender with the head noun according to their derivational possibilities. The agreement of an attributive noun with the head noun depends on the derivation pattern followed by each attributive noun, which may distinguish from one to three forms (see 3.6.1.) For example, the attributive noun **daggo** (p) shows three forms, one agreeing with masculine head nouns, one with feminine head nouns and one with plural head nouns. See examples:

dall-e dagg-o children-P young-AttrP young children

as in:

dall-e dagg-o sek-e žaginki children-P young-AttrP sticks.of.roof-P insert-3PlConsA Young children inserted the sticks of the roof.

See also:

?inank-o dagg-itto boy-M young-AttrM young boy

šitt-e dagg-itte girl-F young-AttrF young girl The agreement expressed by the attributive noun **bile** 'other' in modifying context is limited to two forms. One appears in combination with masculine and feminine head nouns, and the other one with plural head nouns. See example:

ži?-o bil-e food-M other-AttrM/F other food

as in:

?ufo ži?-?-o bil-e c'igad-i=kka3SgMSubj food-M other-AttrM/F love-3SgMNonPstNeg=Sent
He does not like other food.

See also:

layb-e bil-e cloth-F other-AttrM/F other cloth

heesk-o bil-adde women.P-M other-AttrP other women

An adjectival modifier is characterised by the regular gender agreement of the adjective with the head noun. The agreement is shown by the derivational suffixes: -akko (m), -atte (f) and -ayke (p). See an example of an adjectival phrases with geecc-atte 'old female being':

lo?-o geecc-atte cow.F-M old-AdjF old cow

as in:

lo?-o geecc-atte=nu gom6-o c'aa6-a cow.F-M old-AdjF=from kraal-M build.a.fence-PlImpA Build a kraal for an old cow!

See also:

q'awk-o geecc-akko man-M old-AdjM old man

gor-e geecc-ayke

people-P old-AdjP old people

Adjectival verbs are modifiers that appear as the predicate of subject relative clauses having the head noun as subject. Verbs with stative meaning may also appear as modifier in the same relative syntactic context (see 6.4.5. and 6.5.3.).

4.1.2. Noun phrases with numeral as modifier

For the gender agreement expressed by the numeral 'one' see 3.6.3. In most cases the head noun modified by numbers higher than 'one' is specially marked as Plurative. Examples:

Yard-ann-e lákkí ox-Pl-P two

two oxen

dal-e q'awk-o mume

goats-P man-M entire twenty goats

The modified noun may appear in its basic form. See examples:

?inank-o dookko

boy-M one.M one boy

gulm-a salaħ

beer.calabash-F four four beer calabashes

The head noun is singular also if it is a loanword, such as **q'ane** 'day' from Amharic **qän** 'day'.

q'an-e salaħ raf-inki

day-F four sleep-3PlConsA He slept four days.

Numerals may modify a pronoun.

?ufo dookko q'arts'eta zeeħ ka c'an-o

3SgMSubj one.M bag.F three Sent load-3SgMConsB He has loaded alone three bags.

Pufuncelákkíkol-ePellePorham-inki3PlSubjtworeturn-3PlUnmeach.otherfight-3PlConsAThe two of them have fought again.

A numeral can modify an attributive phrase.

?org-ayn-e busk-e xobin male.goat-Pl.P castrated-AttrP five five castrated male goats

Numeral phrases are used as unit of measurement. They appear as complex modifiers of a head noun referring to the measured entity. Both the modifiers and the measured element are not in plural form. In following example **duuko kúnkó**, a noun phrase meaning 'ten backs', is a unit measuring the amount of dry grass that can be carried on the back:

roc'ant-e duuk-o kúnkó dry.grass-F back-M ten ten 'backs' of dry grass

4.1.3. Noun phrases with demonstrative as modifier

In demonstrative noun phrases, the head noun is followed by a demonstrative modifier. There are two Proximal and two Distal demonstrative modifiers.

The Proximal modifiers are the pronominal demonstratives **kutta/titta/kitta** and **kusi/tisi/kisi**. The two series differ in that the first one is only used for pointing. Both pronominals may occur in head noun position (cf. 4.6.1.). See examples:

Head noun + kutta

Sardo kuttaox.M PronM.Dist21
this ox

If the head noun ends in **ko**, **te** or **ke**, the pronominal particles may replace these endings. See example:

q'aw-kutta man-PronM.Prox1 This man [q'awko 'man']

Head noun + tisi

gaan-t-e tisi woman.F PronF.Prox2 this woman

The Distal demonstrative modifiers are the suffixes **–issa** (m)/**–ussa** (f/p), and the pronominal demonstratives **kotta/tetta/ketta**. The suffixes **–issa** (m)/**–ussa** (f/p) are only used for pointing. The Distal pronominal demonstratives also appear in head noun position. The Distal demonstrative **kussa** is also attested in this position, but only in very few examples (cf. 4.6.1.). See examples:

Head noun + -issa

mann-issa

house.P-DistF/P that house

Head noun + kotta

gaar-ko kotta

tree.M PronM.Dist1 that tree

In addition to these modifiers, one should mention the use of a tonal morpheme with proximal demonstrative and vocative meaning (see 2.4.4. and 3.9.).

4.1.4. Noun phrases with possessive as modifiers

Possessive modification may by expressed by possessive pronouns or nouns modified by a locative case suffix, and names in possessive form.

Head noun + possessive pronouns

Possessive pronouns are made up of a pronominal particle and a personal possessive suffix (see 5.5.3.). See an example of noun phrase with possessive pronoun:

daal-t-e taayu

goat-Sg-F PronF.1SgPoss my goat

Head noun + noun + locative suffix

Nouns modified by a locative suffix may function as possessive modifiers of a head noun. The head noun is optionally followed by the definite suffix —se (see 4.3.) or one of the pronominal definites kosse (m), tesse (f) or kesse (p). See two examples of head noun modified by a locative noun with possessive meaning:

hand-M man-LocM the hand of the man **šamb-o-se gudurk-ilo** child-M-Def hyena-LocM the child of the hyena

gor-e kesse saabank-ilopeople-P PronP.Def3 neighbouring.field-LocM
The people of the neighbouring fields

as in:

gor-e kesse saabank-ilo booħ-e people-P PronP.Def3 neighbouring field-LocM sow-3PlUnm The people of the neighbouring fields have sown.

The locative noun may be used as attributive modifier (see 3.7. and 4.1.1.). See an example:

dòòll-ò-se toont-atte skin.mat-M-Def poison-LocF poisoned leather mat

as in:

dòòll-ò-se toont-atte=ma sor-i skin.mat-Def poison-LocF=to/in run-3SgMUnm He run towards the poisoned leather mat.

Head noun + name in possessive form

A name can play the role of possessor. In this case its initial vowel is lenghthened. See example:

?arr-e baa**š**are donkey-f bašare.Poss Bašare's donkey

4.1.5. Noun phrases with locative suffix as modifier

A head noun may be modified by a locative case suffix. The meaning of the modifier is general locative if the modified noun is in adverbial position (see 4.5.5.). See an example:

paš-ilo field-LocM in the field

as in:

paš-ilo ?ag-i field-LocM be.located-3SgMUnm He is in the field.

As seen in 4.1.4. the nouns modified by locative suffixes have possessive or attributive meaning when in modifying position.

4.1.6. Noun phrases with definite as modifier

Definite noun phrases are composed of a head noun and a definite modifier. Definite modifiers are the nominal suffix -se (Def1, cf. 3.8.) and the pronominal definites consisting of the pronominal particles and the definite elements -?a, -s(s)a or -sse (cf. 4.6.1.). The pronominal definites are not attested in head noun position. One remarks the strange fact that these pronominal definite noun phrases, with the exception of those showing -sse, must be followed by a clitic. See examples:

Head noun-se

dòòll-ò-se c'aldax-a leather.mat-M-Def be.soft.3SgMAdj the soft leather mat

Head noun + te?a

gaan-t-e te?a=y woman-Sg-F PronF.Def1=Fill the woman

Head noun + ke(s)sa

maang-add-e kessa=y sorghum-Pl-P PronP.Def3=Fill the sorghum plants

Head noun + kesse

gor-e kesse people-P PronP.Def3 the people

4.1.7. Noun phrases with 'whose?', 'which one?', or 'different' as modifier

These noun phrases consist of a head noun followed by the pronominal particles and the elements -aha 'whose?', -nda 'which one?', and -ba

'different'. The 'whose?'-noun phrase and the 'different'-noun phrase must be followed by a clitic (see 5.5.4. and 5.5.6.)

Head noun + taha

?ingiy-e taħa=kka mother-Sg-F PronF.who=Sent whose mother?

Head noun + tinda

hez-itte tinda root-F PronF.which which root?

Head noun + tiba

gaan-t-e ti6a=y woman-Sg-F PronF.diff=Fill a different woman

4.2. Relative clauses

A relative clause is a modifying clause following a head noun or a pronominal particle. When the head noun is not present, the pronominal particles act as relative pronouns. In this function they appear as a head noun incorporating the relativiser. Examples:

ko [gaan-t-e žoq'-i]
PronM woman-Sg-F beat-3SgMUnm
the one who bit the woman

?awš-a=kka, ko [laxx-a] ripen-PstNeg=Sent PronM be.unripe-3SgMAdj It did not cook, it is raw (litt: 'It is the one which is raw').

ko [q'ayy-a] ki ligg-a

PronM be.good-3SgMAdj Sent.3 go.out-3SgMImpfv

Something nice comes out (litt: 'It is the nice one that comes out').

When a nominal head is present, it must be followed by a definite suffix –se or a pronominal particle. The head of subject relative clauses in subject position may be followed by one of the pronominal definites kosse, tesse or kesse. The use of pronominal particles is excluded when the head noun is the object of both the relative clause and the matrix clause and if the subject relative clause is in syntactic positions other than subject and object. In these contexts only –se may follow the head noun. The distribution of pronominal

particles and a definite suffix after the head noun in relative clauses is summarised in the following table:

Table 18: Pronominal particles and definite suffix after head noun in relative clauses

Relative clause →	Subject	Object
Matrix clause ↓		
Subject	pron or –se	pron or -se
	or pron-sse	
Object	pron or –se	-se
Other positions	-se	

Relative clauses in non-subject position are followed by elements such as the sentence marker **ka**, the case clitics or the conjunctions. In some cases, the whole relative clause may be recalled by the locative pronoun **na** or by pronominals based on it. See examples:

Subject relative clause in subject position with -se:

q'awk-o-se xaf-i man-M-Def come.3SgMUnm the man who came

as in:

q'awk-o-se xaf-i ša?al-k-o kaayu man-M-Def come.3SgMUnm brother-Sg-M PronM.1SgPoss The man who came is my brother.

lo?-o-se [ɗal-ti] par-ti
cow.F-M-Def give.birth-3SgFUnm die-3SgFUnm
The cow that gave birth died.

Subject relative clause in subject position with **kesse**:

gor-e kesse q'aru [buka6-e]
people-P PronP.Def3 place gather-3PlUnm
the people who gathered earlier

as in:

gor-e kesse q'aru [buka6-e] ?ise=ma bìy-è people-P PronP.Def3 place gather-3 PlUnm 3 SgF=Dir earth-F laag-e turn-3 PlUnm
The people who gathered earlier turned the earth on her.

Subject relative clauses in subject position with pronominal particle:

gor-e ke [wa?k-o wuyy-am-es-aɗ-anki] ki
people-P PronP god-M call-Pass-Caus-Mid-3PlImpfv Sent.3
naa=ma ?acc-anki
Loc=to/in go-3PlImpfv
The people who pray (lett: make call from themselves) to god go to her.

Subject relative clause in object position with -se:

q'awk-o-se [?ogoy-a] ka ?ano ?ar-a man-M-Def come-3SgMImpfv Sent 1SgSubj know-1SgImpfv I know the man who is coming.

Subject relative clause in object position with pronominal particle:

q'awk-o ko [wožž-a godd-a] ka ?ar-a man-M PronM work-F do-3SgMImpfv Sent know-1SgImpfv I know somebody who works.

Object relative clause in subject position with -se:

q'awk-o-se [ʔano žoq'-i] mann-e man-M-Def 1SgSubj beat-1SgMUnm house-P ʔakim-atte=ma zey-i doctor-LocF=to/in go3-3SgMUnm The man I bit went to the hospital.

Object relative clause in subject position with pronominal particle:

lukkal-itt-o ko [q'aro zaq'-nini] g'ayy-i chicken-Sg-M PronM side slaugher-1PlSubFut remained-3SgMUnm The chicken that we would have slaughtered before remained (alive).

Object relative clause in object position with -se:

ži?-o-se [?ise ga?-ti] ka ?i=nnu food-M-Def 3SgFSubj prepare-3SgFUnm Sent 1Sg=Dat šeeg-a bring-SgImpB Bring me the food she prepared.

Subject relative clause in locative position with -se:

[c'aldax-a]=ma ďòòll-ò-se toont-e godd-i skin.mat-M-Def be.soft-3SgMAdj=to/in poison-F do-3SgMUnm He put poison on the soft leather mat.

The following example of a subject relative clause in locative position shows how to ask for a name. There is a location represented by a subject relative clause headed by q'awk-o 'man', followed by -se, and a located element ma?ko 'name'. The locative pronominal na=ta which appears in the main sentence refers to the location.

> q'awk-o-se [geeray max-xe gassaɗ-i] ma\-ko na=ta man-M-Def yesterday bead-P ask-3SgMUnm name-M Loc=Loc ?áħá

who

What is the name of the man who asked for beads yesterday?

The following is a similar example. The head noun is in an instrumental element:

[na=kka=ya ?ilg-e muc'c'-i] gaar-k-o-se tree-Sg-M-Def Loc=Sent=with teeth-P brush-3SgMUnm nav ma\-ko ?áħá Backgr name-M who What is the name of the tree with which one brushes one's teeth?

Locative relative clause in locative position with -se

?ayk-o-se [bogol-ko na=ta ?ag-i|=ma place-M-Def king-M Loc-Loc be.located-3Sg.M=to/in šeegonki bring-3PlConsB

They have brought it to the place in which the king lived.

The pronominal particles may not appear if the head noun has one of the homohponouns endings ko, te or ke. See examples:

> ?inank-o [gere?-i] šab-am-i steal-3SgMUnm tie-Pass-3SgMUnm The boy that has stolen has been arrested.

?inank-o [takk-a] ?in=nu haalt-e deeh-i boy-M be.small-3SgMAdj 1Sg=Dat cup-F give-3SgMUnm The small boy gave me the cup. (litt: 'The boy who is small gave me the cup').

q'awk-o[?ard-ann-e salaħ šeeg-i]?alaw-t-eman-Mox-Pl-Pfour bring-3SgMUnmsister-Sg-Ftaayuka ga?al-naPronF.1SgPossSent marry-3SgMMainFutThe man who brought four oxen will marry my sister.

gaan-t-e so?-att-e [biš-k-o gab-a] ki woman-Sg-F magician-Sg-F body-Sg-M take-3SgMFocImpfv Sent.3 ?ag-a

be.located-3SgMFocImpfv

There is a woman magician that reads (takes) the body.

Adjectival verbs such as **Gamm** 'be big', **takk** 'be small', **zigam** 'be long', **YidG** 'be red' etc. are inflected attributive elements that form subject relative clauses. Relative clauses formed by verbal adjectives can be interpreted as sentences with verbal adjectives as predicate (see 6.4.5.).

q'awko [damm-a]

man.M be.big-3SgMAdj big man (or 'The man is big'. Litt: 'the man who is big').

Sand-e ke [damm-a]

water-P PronP be.big-3SgMAdj lots of water (or 'The water is a lot'. Litt: 'The water which is big').

?ato te [damm-ay]

2SgSubj PronF be.big-2SgFAdj You (f) are big (or 'You (f) are the big one'. Litt: 'You, who are big').

zan-o kutta ko [zigam-a]
street-M PronM.Prox1 PronM be.long-3SgMAdj
This long road
(or 'This road is long'. Litt: 'This road, which is long').

4.3. Sequences of modifiers

Two modifiers, the second of which is not an attributive noun, an adjective or a numeral, are coordinated by a pronominal particle. In the following example with a Proximal demonstrative and a possessive name, the second is

preceded by a pronominal particle, while in simple possessive phrases it is not preceded by a pronominal particle:

Head noun + Prox. demonstrative + pronom. particle + nominal possessive

gaan-t-e titta te baašare woman-Sg-F PronF.Prox1 PronF Bašare.Poss This is Bašare's wife.

The 'which?' modifier always takes the last position in a string of modifiers. See for example the following complex noun phrase:

Head noun + demonstrative + relative verb + 'which'

q'aw-kutta xoris-a kunga? man-PronM.Prox1 snore-3SgMImpfv PronM.which Who is this snoring person.

The head noun of a locative noun in possessive mofigying position or a subject relative clause is often modified by the definite suffix –se or the definite pronominals kosse, tesse or kesse. See 3.7., 4.1.4., 4.1.6. and 5.5.1.

When functioning as possessive modifier, a noun shows the locative suffix (see 3.7. and 4.1.4.) . However, it carries no locative suffix if it is further modified. In the following example the noun **q'awko** 'man' functions as modifier of the head noun **manne** 'house' and is further modified by a relative clause:

Head noun-se + nominal possessive-se + relative clause

mann-e-se q'awk-o-se [q'om-ayk-e sog-a]

house-P-Def man-M-Def sandal-Pl-P read.shoes-3SgMImpfv The house of the man who reads the shows (i.e. who foresees the future).

as in:

mann-e-se q'awk-o-se [q'om-ayk-e sog-a]=ma

house-P-Def man-M-Def sandal-Pl-P read.shoes-3SgMImpfv gass-o=nu ka?-i

asking-M=from get up-3SgMUnm

He left to ask something at the house of the man who reads the shoes.

In a sequence of two nominal locatives the head noun is followed by -se. The first modifier also act as the head noun of the second modifier, but it

shows no definite article. Moreover, it carries no locative suffix, which normally appears in locative noun modifiers. :

Head noun-se + nominal possessive + nominal possessive

xoxon-k-o-se mann-e gudurk-ilo

hole-Sg-M-Def house-P hyena-LocM The hole in the house of the hyena

as in:

xoxon-k-o-se mann-e gudurk-ilo=ma na=ya hole-Sg-M-Def house-P hyena-LocM=to/in Loc-with ħull-i enter-3SgMUnm
He entered in the hole which was in the house of the hyena.

In a sequence of a nominal possessive and a pronominal possessive, the nominal possessive does not show any marking such as a pronominal particle: the whole complex is followed by the clitic **ta** 'upon' (see 4.5.4.).

Example:

mann-e ?az-o kaayu=ta house-P younger.brother-M PronM.1SgPoss=Upon my younger brother's house

See below two more possible sequences of modifiers:

Head noun + personal pronoun + attributive noun

mann-e kuusunde q'awt-itte house-P PronP.3PlPoss new-AttrF their new house

as in:

mann-e kuusunde q'awt-itte=nu kune=ka gaar-e house-P PronP.3PlPoss new-AttrF=from 2Pl=Obj tree-P q'ets'ts'-o gee?-e cutting-M want-3PlUnm

They want you to cut wood for their new house.

The agreement of the plural gender noun **manne** 'house' with the feminine form **q'awtitte** 'new' is based on wrong interpretation of **manne** as a basic feminine noun (See 3.6.).

Head noun + attributive nouns + demonstrative + relative

Sard-o bus-ukko kotta damm-a ox-M castrated-AttrM PronM.Dist1 be.big-3SgMAdj that big castrated ox

as in:

Sard-obus-ukkokottadamm-akaox-Mcastrated-AttrMPronM.Dist1 be.big-3SgMAdjSentgab-atake-1SgJussLet me take that big castrated ox.

The pronominal particles play a role in noun phrases with locative noun as possessive modifier if the modifying noun refers to a previously modified head noun. In this context these particles appear as resumptive pronouns taking up an earlier head. See the following two examples:

c'aq'-e kulil-atte maang-o ke garr-ulo faeces-P guinea-fowl-LocF sorghum-M PronP squirrel-LocM Yaš-k-o

grass-Sg-M

The faeces of the guinea fowl were sorghum, those of the squirrel grass.

kirrin-k-o kaaki ?aaka ko ?abba=yay tail-Sg-M PronM.2SgFPoss and PronM father.M=with ki ħegg-ini
Sent.3 play-1SgMSubFut
Let me play with your tail and my father's tail.

Two or more noun phrases are joined by the conjunction ?aaka.

?ano ?and-e ?aaka ?axx-e reek-i 1SgSubj water-P and milk-P mix-1SgUnm I mixed water and milk.

4.4.The nominal sentence

Nominal sentences follow the order subject - predicate. The subject may be a simple or modified noun, a name or a pronoun. It may appear equated to the predicate or located/possessed by the predicate. Equational predicates may be attributive nouns and demonstrative pronominals. Locative predicates are nouns marked by the locative suffix or names or noun phrases followed by the case clitic **=ta**. They may also indicate a possessor, as is the case with the locative case suffix (see 3.7., 4.1.4, and 4.1.6.). Their locative meaning may be specified by a relational noun or an adverbial in relational function.

Example of a nominal sentence with attributive noun as equated predicate:

garr-o baxan-itto squirrel-M smart-AttrM

The squirrel is smart.

Examples of a nominal sentence with demonstrative pronominal as equated predicate:

maakk-e gubal-atte ketta=y

tale-P rabbit-LocF PronP.Dist1=Fill That was the tale of the rabbit.

hez-itte te [gar-nay] titta

root-F PronF be.useful-3SgFMainFut PronF.Prox1 The useful root is this one.

Example of a nominal sentence with locative noun as locative predicate:

šam6-o la akk-ilo

child-M field-LocM
The child is in the field.

Example of a nominal sentence with locative noun followed by an adverbial in relational function as locative predicate:

šamb-o mann-ite ?inna

child-M house-LocP on The child is on the house.

Example of a nominal sentence with locative noun followed by relational noun as locative predicate:

zi?-te katt-atte sabb-ete

pot-F fire-LocF top-LocF The pot is on the fire.

The attributive noun **šal** 'light' only appears as predicate and must be associated to the verb **?ag** 'to be located', which has normally a locative or existential meaning:

gaan-t-e šal ?ag-ay

woman-Sg-F light.Attr be.located-3SgFImpfv The woman is light.

Locative nominal sentences may optionally use the verb ?ag 'to be located'.

See examples:

beze paš-ilo ?ag-a

Beze.M field-LocM be.located-3SgMImpfv Beze is in the field.

q'om-ayk-e dunk-atte gid-atte ?ag-e

shoe-Pl-P tent-LocF inside-LocF be.located-3PlUnm The shoes are in the tent.

A locative predicate may appear in topicalised position on the left of the subject. When the constituents of a locative nominal sentence are inverted the verb **?ag** must appear.

gil-atte gid-atte q'awk-o ?ag-a

butter.calabash-LocF inside-LocF man-M be.located-3SgMImpfv In the butter calabash there is a person.

beze=ta bayš-itt-e ?ag-a

Beze=Upon wound-Sg-F be.located-3SgMFocImpfv Bezi has a wound.

The kind of possessive clauses that in many European languages would be translated with the verb 'to have', is expressed by a 'locative' construction **Noun-Loc ?ag-** 'to be located'. The possessor is the location and it is marked by the proper locative suffix. The possessed is the located element:

lo?-ilo ?a6n-e me? ke ?ag-a

cow.F-LocM breast-P how.many PronP be.located-3SgMFocImpfv How many breasts does a cow have?

lo?-ilo ?a6n-e salaħ ke ?ag-a

cow.F-LocM breast-P four PronP be.located-3SgMFocImpfv A cow has four breasts.

If the subject is modified a pronominal particle agreeing in gender with the subject must appear. See the following examples:

gaan-t-e titta te baašare

woman-Sg-F PronF.Prox1 PronF Bašare.Poss This is Bašare's wife.

deng-e kaayu ke [damm-a]

neck-P PronP.1SgPoss PronP be.big-3SgMAdj My neck is big.

?arr-e titta te q'awk-o kutta=nnay donkey-F PronF.Prox1 PronF man-M PronM.Prox1=Loc This donkey belongs to this man.

Stand-e ketta=y ke ts'eeggay water-P PronP.Dist1=Fill PronP Ts'eggay.Poss This water belongs to S'eggay.

4.5. The verbal sentence

Verbal sentences have a verb as their predicate. Information on subject, aspect, mood and negation are indicated in the verbal form.

A verb may constitute a sentence on its own. Lexical subject, object, adverbials, and nouns, noun phrases phrases and verbs in adverbial position may also appear as constituents. In a neutral sentence the subject takes the leftmost position, while the object precedes the verb. Adverbials appear between subject and object. Some adverbials, such as **q'arra** and **q'arratte** 'before', are characterised by their preverbal or initial postion (see 8.1.).

A sentence may also include the sentence marker **ka**. In neutral sentences it appears in preverbal position. It may follow pragmatically marked elements (see 4.7.).

4.5.1. The subject

The lexical subject may be represented by a simple or modified noun, a subject pronoun, a name or one of the pronominals based on a pronominal particle described in 5.5. Among these, only the definite pronominals cannot appear in subject position.

The subject pronouns are mainly used for anaphoric or contrastive purposes. See an example of anaphoric use of the the third person singular masculine subject pronoun **?ufo** 'he', which in the example refers to the squirrel, i.e. **garro**:

kulul-atte kiy-a nay garr-o squirrel-M guinea.fowl-LocF say-3SgMImpfv Backgr berk-o xaf-na ba door-o ži?-onki rainy.season-M come-3SgMMainFut Cons granary-M eat-1PlConsB ?aanto wa??-e ži?-nini vegetables-P eat-1PlSubFut now 2ufo door-o q'ayto xumbi ki ži?-a ka 3SgMSubj granary-M Sent time all Sent.3 eat-3SgMImpfv The squirrel said to the guinea fowl 'When the rainy season comes we eat the (sorghum of the) granary. Now, let's eat vegetables'. He was always eating the (sorghum of the) granary.

See an example of contrast between **?ano** 'I' and **?ato** 'you (sg)' (the third person masculine form of the verb associated to **?ato** 'you (sg)' indicates that this subject is in focus (see 6.4.7.)):

Pabb-aPanoPint-aw-i=kkafather.M-F1SgSubjin.front.of-Incep-1SgNonPstNeg=SentPatoPint-aw-ukiy-išam6-o2SgSubjin.front.of-Incep-3SgMFocConsAsay-3SgMUnmchild-M'Father, I do not go first, you go first' the child said.

Below is an example of possessive pronominal in subject position:

kaayu ka ɗal-iPronM.1SgPoss Sent give.birth-3SgMUnm
Mine gave birth.

In the example below, the subject **?ancle** (p) is used in order to express selective focus. The subject is in focus, as shown by its association to a third person masculine singular form rather then to a third person plural form:

katt-e ka moo bog-i bay-i yaaka
fire-F Sent what kill-3SgMUnm say-3SgMUnm when

Sand-e bog-i
water-P kill-3SgMFocUnm

If someone sais 'Who killed the fire?' (the answer is) the water killed it.

Ts'amakko has only traces of the preverbal subject elements which are attested in the Dullay dialects. They are the first person **n** and the third person **i**. Both of them occur in preverbal position. However, the marker **n** is attached to the verb, while the marker **i** attaches to the case clitic **ma** 'to/in', the adverbial **?asa** 'so', and the sentence marker **ka** when these occur in preverbal position. It replaces the final **a** of these elements. Both subject markers are used irregularly. See examples:

q'awk-o=nu daal-te n=deeħ-i man-M=from goat-F l=give-1SgUnm I gave a goat to the man.

luq'a ka gellekworra n=gay-ni Luq'a Sent day.before.yesterday 1-arrive-1PlUnm We arrived in Luqa the day before yesterday.

ša?alk-o=yay gaabay-a=mi zey-i older.brother-M=with market-F=to/in.3 go-3SgMUnm He went to the market with the brother.

Patomaang-oraw-ikulil-atte2SgMSubjsorghum-Mfinish-3SgMUnmguinea.fowl-LocFPas-ikiy-iso-3say-3SgMUnm'You finished the sorghum', so he said to the guinea fowl.

max-x-e xum6-i ki lass-i bead-Pl-P all.Attr Sent.3 sell-3SgMUnm He sold all the beads.

4.5.2. The object

Objects represented by modified nouns, names and object pronouns are normally followed by the sentence marker **ka**. The sentence marker appears cliticised to the pronouns. See the following examples:

mann-issa ka n-garis-i house-DistF/P Sent 1-build-1SgUnm I have built that house.

bulo ka n-ts'ib-iBulo Sent 1-wash-1SgUnm
I washed Bulo.

?ufo ?ee=ka tamaris-a 3SgMSubj 1Sg=Obj teach-3SgMImpfv He is teaching me.

This marker cannot be considered an object marker because it appears irregularly after simple nouns and may follow elements covering other syntactic roles. It is ultimately analysed as a sentence marker. A discussion on the presence of the sentence marker after an object is found in 4.7.

4.5.3. Noun phrases in adverbial position

The syntactic role of noun phrases in adverbial position is marked by case clitics. These clitics follow and determine the noun phrase. All the case clitics have the shape CV except for the comitative =yay. The final y may be connected to the semantically empty clitic =y which is characterised by irregular behaviour. This clitic does not appear if the comitative clitic follows an object pronoun (see 4.5.3.4. and 5.4.). The clitic =ma has an influence on the tonal structure of the noun it follows: High tone takes position on the final syllable of the noun and all preceding syllables take low tone. Moreover, the initial vowel of the marked noun is lengthened. In our transcription the clitics are separated from the noun phrase by the equal sign =. See a list of case clitics and examples:

```
From
                           from the man
       =nu
              q'áwko=nu
              q'awkó=ma
To/Into = ma
                           towards the man
With
        =vav
              q'áwko=yay
                           with the man
              q'áwko=ta
Upon
                           upon the man
```

The role of the case clitic =ta is described in the section on locative adverbials (see 4.5.5.).

4.5.3.1. =nu ('from')

The case clitic =**nu** indicates directed events. Its exact interpretation depends from the context. The clitic has two basic functions. With movement verbs, =nu expresses an ablative action ('from'). In this case, the element marked by =nu is always inanimate. In other contexts, =nu is used as a marker of affectedness of the element by the action ('for, concerning'). These elements are normally animate, but this is not obligatorily the case. In addition to these two basic functions, some metaphorical extensions occur, such as the use of =**nu** in order to mark the base in a comparative clause.

The clitic is glossed 'from' for practical reasons and because the gloss recalls one of the possible meanings emerging from the interpretation of the clitic. Therefore, this label is not meant to indicate the final value of the clitic.

Non-movement verbs

In a non-movement context, the entity modified by $=\mathbf{n}\mathbf{u}$ is the element affected by the action.

```
Example with beze=nu 'from Beze' and Aoos' 'to wipe, shave'
                beze=nu gaz-o
       ?ano
                                 200š-i
       1SgSubj Beze=from hair-M shave-3.Sg.Unm
       I have shaved Beze.
```

Example with Aabba kaayu=nu 'for my father' and qodas 'to plough' bašare ?abba kaayu=nu Bašare father PronM.1SgMPoss=from field-M

q'od-as-i

plough-Caus1-3SgMUnm Bašare ploughed the field to the benefit of my father.

Example with **bo** \mathbb{E} **olko=nu** 'for the king' and **c'ox** 'to milk' bogol-k-o=nu q'ol-e c'ox-inda king-Sg-M=from cattle-P milk-PlurImpB Milk the cattle on behalf of the king!

Example with maare=nu 'for the heifers' and dayy 'to get' maar-e=nu ?aš-k-o dayy-e heifer-P=from grass-Sg-M get-3PlUnm

They got grass for the female calves.

In the examples below, extracted from folktales, the beneficiary is a personified animal:

Example with garro=nu 'for the squirrel' and kubb 'to pour grains'
booraħ-o kubb-i garr-o=nu
seeds-M pour.grains-3SgMUnm squirrel-M=from
He put the the seeds (in the cup) for the squirrel.

Example with Aarrafko=nu 'for the elephant' and goš 'to tend cattle'
garr-o ?arraf-k-o=nu le?-e goš-i
squirrel-M elephant-Sg-M=from cows-P tend-3SgMUnm
The squirrel tended cattle for the elephant.

In one attested case the action is to the detriment of the marked element. In the example below, also extracted from a folktale, the omitted subject, which in the story is the squirrel, acts in order to create the condition to accuse the guinea fowl. The action of placing his faeces by the guinea fowl goes to the detriment of the guinea fowl (see the text 'The Squirrel and the Guinea fowl').

Example with kulile=nu 'to the Guinea fowl' and saq' 'place'
c'aq'-e kuusu ka kulile=nu saq'-o
faeces PronP.3SgMPoss Sent guinea.fowl=from place-3SgMConsB
He placed his faeces to the guinea fowl.

If the case clitic =nu modifies a human and the non-movement verb indicates projection, =nu marks a recipient or receiver. See examples with the verbs **šeeg** 'to bring' **deeħ** 'to give', and **gaaħ** 'to tell', **gassad** 'to ask', **mur** 'to pay'.

Example with gaante=nu 'to the woman' and šee£ 'bring'
laabl-e gaan-t-e=nu šeeg-i
cloth-F woman-Sg-F=from bring-1SgUnm
I brought the cloth to the woman.

Example with Ainanko kaayu takka=nu 'to my small boy 'and dee™ 'give'

Pinank-o kaayu takk-a=nu ka

boy-M PronM.1SgPoss be.small-3SgAdj=from Sent

n=deeħ-i

1=give-1SgUnm

I gave it to my small boy.

Example with **q'awko=nu** 'to the man' and **gaa**™ 'tell' wor-e q'awk-o=nu gaaħ-i
news-F man-M=from tell-3SgMUnm

He told the news to the man.

Example with qawko=nu 'to the man' and gassaî 'ask'
q'awk-o=nu gassaɗ-i
man-M=from ask-3SgMUnm
He asked the man.

Example with qawko=nu 'to the man' and mur 'pay'
q'awk-o=nu mur-i
man-M=from pay-3SgMUnm
He paid the man.

Since the verb **q'aba?** 'to hear' indicates projection towards the subject, in the sentences with this verb =**nu** is ablative:

?atunde=kka ?abb-ay-o=nu q'aba?-te=kka 2PlSubj=Sent father-Sg-M=from hear-2PlNonPstNeg=Sent You do not listen to your father.

When =nu marks an inanimate, this entity may appear as the final result of the action. This is shows by the following example. In the first one the people assemble and cut (the wood) in order to build the house wall, korkoro, which is marked by =nu:

Example with korkoro=nu 'for the house wall' and ?ergad 'to assemble' korkor-o=nu gor-e ?ergad-e q'ets'-inki house.wall-M=from people-P assemble-3PlUnm cut-3PlConsA The people assembled and cut (wood) for (building) the wall of the house.

In the second example, the sentence asserts that the root is necessary in order to produce the marked element, i.e. **deeso** 'medicines':

Example with **îeešo=nu** 'for the medicine' and **ge¬as** 'to be necessary' **deeš-o=nu hezz-itt-e ge?as-a**medicine-M=from root-Sg-F be.necessary-3SgMFocImpfv

The root is necessary for (making) medicines.

Verbs of movement and inanimates

If the verb expresses movement, the marked element is always inanimate It marks the location from which the subject creates distance. Examples of verbs of movement are **xaf** 'come' and **kol** 'return'. When associated to an element marked by =**nu**, this element indicates the origin of the movement:

Example with manne Beze=nu 'from Beze's house' and xaf 'come' mann-e beze=nu xaf-i

house-P Beze=from come-1SgUnm I came from Beze's house.

Example with **Jinka=nu** 'from Jinka' and **kol** 'return'

žinka=nu kol-i

Jinka=from return-1SgUnm I returned from Jinka.

The fact that these verbs can be associated to a destination, marked by the clitic =ma 'to', proves that the interpreted meaning 'from' is not inherent in the verbs.

Example with Luuq'a=ma 'to Luqa' and xaf 'come'

ts'eggay Luuq'a=ma xaf-i

Ts'eggay Luq'a=ma come-3SgMUnm Ts'eggay came to Luqa.

Example with Addis Ababa=ma 'to Addis Ababa' and kol 'return'

Addis Ababa=ma kol-i nay ts'eggay=ta

Addis Ababa=to/in return-3SgMUnm Backgr ts'eggay=upon

bay-i=nay

say-3SgMUnm=Backgr

When he returned to Addis Ababa he said to Ts'eggay...

In consideration of this use of =**nu** with inanimates, the noun phrase **mann-e Beeze** 'Beze's house' contained in the following sentence might represent not the origin of the movement but the entity the subject works for.

mann-e beeze=nu xaf-i

house-P Beze.Poss=from come-1Sg.M.Prf I came from Beze's house.

or

I came for (working on) Beze's house.

An animate never appears as the location from which the movement is realised. A sentence such as 'he came from the man' demands the general locative case suffix **-ilo** after 'man' (see.

A head marked by =**nu** unequivocally represents an origin if the verb implicitly indicates motion 'from'. See below the example with the verb **žug** 'take out':

Example with mann-e=nu 'from the house' and žug 'take out'

?ano billay-k-o mann-e=nu žug-i

1SgSubj knife-Sg-M house-P=from take.out-1SgUnm I took out the knife from the house.

Comparative context

The clitic =**nu** indicates the base in a comparative sentence. The other element of the comparison is the subject of a stative, adjectival or middle verb. It can also be the subject of a nominal sentence:

baq'q'ala miša=nu q'arra ki ɗal-aɗ-i

Baq'q'ala Miša=from before Sent.3 give.birth-Mid-3SgMUnm Baq'q'ala was born before Miša.

mann-ekaayumann-ekaako=nukehouse-PPronP.1SgPosshouse-PPronP.2SgPoss=fromPronPdamm-a

be.big-3SgMFocAdj

My house is bigger than your house.

luq'a q'ey?afer=nu defo

Luq'a Qäy Afär=from close Luq'a is close to Qäy Afär.

4.5.3.2. = ma ('to/in')

The case clitics =**ma** has two basic meanings: Movement towards and bounded space.

Movement towards

Example with maanne=ma 'towards the house' and zow 'to go'

?ufo maann-e=ma zow-i

3SgMSubj house-P=to/in go-3SgMUnm He went home.

Example with dalissa kaysa=ma 'towards those goats' and sor 'to run'

dal-issa kaysa=ma sor

goat.DistM/P there=to/in run.SgImpA

Run towards those goats!

Bounded space

Example with ™aalte=ma 'in the calabash' and ¬aq' 'to be left'

saan-k-o takk-a haalt-e=ma saq'-i

meat-Sg-M be.small-3SgMAdj calabash-F=to/in be.left-3SgMUnm Some meat was left in the calabash.

Example with **kuttonko=ma** 'to the mountain' and **ka**îî 'to descend' **q'aw-k-o kuutton-k-o=ma ka**ɗɗ-a

man-Sg-M mountain-Sg-M=to/in descend-3SgMImpfv A man is going down the mountain.

Example with Aakko=ma 'at the wild animal' and Aabaî 'to take'
q'aw-a 'aakk-o=ma gabad-a
rifle-F wild animal-M=to/in take-PlImpA

Aim the rifles at the animal!

When it follows a verbal nouns, the clitic =ma indicates a prolonged activity.

?oodd-o=ma nagay-i

walking-M=to/in spend.the.day-1SgUnm I spent the day walking.

4.5.3.3. = yay ('with')

The case clitic **=yay** means 'with'. The marked element is interpreted as comitative or instrumental

comitative

Example with $\delta a \neg alko = yay$ 'with the brother' and zow 'to go' $\delta a \cdot al - k = yay$ gaabay-a = mazey - i

brother-Sg-M=with market-F=to/In go-3SgUnm He went to the market with his brother

Instrumental

Example with Airgá¬ò=yay 'with the axe' and q'aq' 'to cut'

Pirgá¬ò=yay gaar-ko n=q'aq'-i

axe-M=with tree-M 1=cut-1SgUnm

I cut a tree with the axe

hez-itt-e boytakk-ilo=yay moo godd-ini root-Sg-F boytakko-LocM=with what do-1SgSubFut What will I do with the root of the boytakko tree?

Animates can be interpreted as comitative or instrumental elements. In the example below the cows, le?e, accompany the subject:

le?-e=yay ka??-i

cows-P=with stand up-3SgMUnm He left with the cows

In the following example, extracted from a folktale, the subject uses the hyena **gudurko** to bury someone (it is the squirrel, who ties together the tails of the hyena and the corpse of the lion and makes the hyena run up to the lion's grave):

gudur-k-o=yay may-u

hyena-Sg-M=with bury-3SgMConsA He buried him using the hyena.

4.5.3.4. The semantically empty clitic =y

The clitic =y is an ill-understood element. It is glossed 'Fill' because it fills the space left empty by a case clitics in the context of the pronominals described in 5.5. and sub-sections. In the example below it follows the demonstrative kitta in the nouns phrase dalle kitta 'these children':

dall-e kitta=y baamb-a=ma zow children-PPronP.Prox1=Fill pump-F=to/in go.SgImpA Go to the pump with these children!

The final element of the comitative clitic =yay may be connected to this semantically empty clitic (see 4.5.3.4.). Note that the comitative clitic shows no final y after pronouns, but it may also appear as =yay when it attaches to the locative postposition na (see 4.5.4.). The clitic =y may also be detected in nay, which is an alternative form of the sentence backgrounder na and the homophonous locative pronoun (see 4.6. and 5.6.). The semantically empty clitic is not glossed when it appears in yay and nay.

4.5.4. Locative adverbials: the clitic =ta and the postposition na

Simple nouns in locative adverbial position are marked by a nominal gender suffix. Modified nouns, pronouns, names and interrogatives in adverbial positions are marked by the clitic **=ta** 'upon' or may be followed by the locative postposition **na**. Elements referring to animates appear as possessors.

See examples of sentences with locative adverbials marked by the clitic =ta:

mann-e kaayu=ta q'aw-a dootte ?ag-a

house-P PronP.1SgPoss=upon rifle one.F be.located-3SgMImpfv In my house there is a rifle.

mago=ta q'ane salaħ raf-inki

Mago.park=upon day.F four sleep-3PlConsA They slept for four days in the Mago park.

beze=ta ?ayra lákkí ?ag-a

Beze=upon peer.friend.M two be.located-3SgMImpfv Beze has two peer friends.

?áħá=takibayš-itt-e?ag-tiħaark-ilowho=uponSent.3wound-Sg-Fbe.located-3SgFUnmhand-LocMWho has a wound on his hand?

The postposition **na** may appear as **nay** or may be followed by the clitic **=ta** 'upon'. Under the shape **nay** it may cliticise and geminate its initial consonant.

In the following examples the postposition follows nouns marked by the locative suffixes or the clitic =ma 'to/in':

warž-e žassar-k-ilo na ħull-iti

spear-F rectum-Sg-LocM Loc enter-3SgFUnm The spear entered there, in the rectum.

kiirrin-k-o=ma na ɗabb-iti

tail-Sg-M=to/in Loc cling-3SgFUnm She clung there, on the tail.

kinn-e ?ita deemitte=ma na 6ull-iti

ear.of.cattle-F away middle=to/in Loc jump-3SgFUnm The ear of the cattle jumped to the middle.

In the following examples **na** marks the interrogative element **?akka** 'where':

?akka na ba??ay-ini?

where Loc carry-1SgSubFut Where shall I carry it?

gaar-ko ?akka na q'ets'-i ?ar-i=kka

tree-M where Loc cut-1SgUnm know-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent I do not know how to cut wood.

With the verb **deeh** 'give' the pronoun **na** is interpreted as a dative marker, following the interrogative word **?ahha** 'who?':

warž-e ?áħá na deeħ-ti ?allo?

spear-F who Loc give-2SgUnm Allo To whom did you give the spear, Allo?

na appears as **nay** (or **=nnay**) after noun phrases with a locative noun or a locative name as modifier. In most of the cases the modifiers appears as a possessor.

Sand-e Saka katt-e bìy-è q'awk-ilo nay worhank-o

water-P and fire-F land-F man-LocM Loc war-M

c'ib-e

pierce-3PlUnm

Water and fire started a war in the man's land.

gaar-k-o bilbilk-ilo nay maΥk-o ʔáħá tree-Sg-M Bilbilko-LocM Loc name-M who What is the name of the tree of the Bilbilko clan?

mann-e pawlos baart-e ?aka mann-e s'eggay nay house-P Pawlos hut-F and house-P S'eggay Loc šaark-ilo middle-LocM
Pawlos' house is between the hut and S'eggay's house.

mann-e ts'eggay mann-e pawlos nay duk-ilo house-P ts'eggay house-P Pawlos Loc back-LocM Ts'eggay's house is behind Pawlos' house.

zan-o mann-e beze ?aka ?allo=nnay šaark-ilo road-M house-P Beze and Allo=Loc middle-LocM The road is between the house of Bezi and Allo.

q'awk-o-se saabank-ilo=nnay maŶk-o na=ta gosingoô-o man-M-Defl parallel.field-LocM=Loc name-M Loc=Loc chameleon-M The name of the person of the parallel field is chameleon.

nay may also follow other kinds of noun phrases. In the first of the following examples, the modifier is a demonstrative. In the second one it is the proximal demonstrative/vocative tonal morpheme:

?arr-e titta te q'awk-o kutta=nnay donkey-F F.this Fcon manM PronM.Prox1=Loc This donkey belongs to this man.

lò?-ó=nnay ?ottakk-o bog-ni cow.Prox/Voc.F-M=Loc cub-M kill-1SgSubFut I will kill the calf of this cow.

na is followed by **=ta** 'upon' when it refers to a relational noun or a simple noun followed by the sentence marker **ka**. See examples:

bork-ilo gid-atte na=ta max-xe belly-LocM interior-LocF Loc=Loc calabash-P In her belly there were calabashes.

na?a ka na=ta mudu??o na ħadd-i ba baby Sent Loc=Loc pointed iron Loc add-3SgFConsA Cons loq'-i swallow-3SgFConsA She inserted the pointed iron into the baby and swallowed him. In the following example **na=ta** looks like a partitive marker:

dookko na=ta ko ?ekke zigam-a one.M Loc=Loc PronM very tall-3SgMAdj One of them is very tall.

The particle **na** in isolation may also function as time backgrounding marker. This function can be considered a metaphorical extension of its locative meaning. The background elements provide information about the time setting of the main action. Time information backgrounded by **na** is provided by an advebial noun phrase. See the following three examples:

Example with samminte paann-atte 'week after' and na samminte paann-atte na žinka n=zow-ni week footprint-LocF Loc Jinka 1=go-1Sg SubFut Next week I will go to Jinka.

Example with gize tetta 'that time' and na

gize tetta=nna garo bìy-è taani=ma ts'eggaye time PronF.Dist1=Loc side land-F PronF.1PlPoss=to/in Ts'eggaye salaħ ki kol-i
four Sent.3 return-1SgUnm
Since that time S'eggaye came back three times to our land.

Example with gellenko qaratta 'three days ago' and nay gellenko q'aratte=nnay žiinka=ma n=zow-i three.days before=Loc Jinka=to/in 1=go-3SgMUnm Three days ago I went to Jinka.

Sentences are backgrounded by the homonymous conjunction **na**, which is described in the following section (4.6.).

The postposition **na** is found as part of adverbial words. See some examples below. See 8.1. For details on the adverbials:

Passanna pann-attePufunde xumbiPakkad-eso.Locfootprint-LocF3PlSubjallsit-3PlUnmbaPar-ePug-esit-3PlUnmCons coffee-F drink.3PlUnmAfter that (moment), all of them sat down and drank coffee.

2 Sige Subj give.birth-3SgFUnmyaaka2 Yaysana gar-o2 SgFSubj give.birth-3SgFUnmwhenthen.Locside-M2 inank-o=yaykol-uboy-M=withreturn-3SgMConsWhen she gives birth then he will come back here with the boy.

hayna beze=ta bayš-itt-e ?ag-a

here.Loc Bez2=upon wound-Sg-F be.located-3SgMImpfv Bezi has a wound here.

Panto hayna Pag-i

now here.Loc be.located-3SgMUnm Now I live here.

?aysana lig-ti=kka

from there. Loc go. out-2SgMN on PstNeg=Sent You will not go out from there.

4.6. Sentence conjunctions

There is no morphological marking of subordination. Relatives may be joined by the pronominal particles, as shown in 4.5. Two sentences may be joined by **ba**, **yaaka** and **na**. These conjunctions normally appear between the two sentences, however, **ba** and **na** can also follow the subject of the second sentence. When they follow the verb these two conjunctions may appear with geminated initial consonant. In this case they are cliticised to the verb. **na** often attracts the empty clitic =y. One of the two adjoined sentences, most often the subordinate one, contains the sentence marker **ka** in preverbal position. The sentence marker does not appear in relatives.

The verbs following **ba** express the consequence of what is described in the preceding sentence. For this reason, the conjunction is glossed 'Cons'. In most of the cases the verb following **ba** is in the Consecutive form (cf. 5.6). See example:

Stand-etelig-tibagaama=mawater-LocP get.out-3SgMUnmConsshore=to/inSakkad-isit.down-3SgFConsAHe got out the water and sat on the shore.

The adjunct **yaaka** in most of the cases links two sentences, the first of which describes the temporal or conditional setting of the following one. See examples:

Panokan-booħ-iyaakamaang-ogoh-a1SgSubjSent1-sow-1SgUnmwhensorghum-Mgrow-3SgMJussIf I sow may the sorghum grow.

Patokaži?-?-oga??-ayaaka2SgSubj Focfood-Mprepare-3SgMPstNeg whenži??-anki=kkaeat-1PlPstNeg=Sent

If you did not prepare food we would not eat.

Perr-o ki dib-i yaaka makin-a rain-M Sent.3 rain-3SgMUnm when car-F **zaarb-iti=kka** pass-3SgFNonPstNeg=Sent If *the rain* falls the cars do not pass.

The sentences preceding **na** in most of the cases provide scope or background:

gor-e ke ɗamm-a ki mann-e ts'eeggay=ma
people-P PronP be.many-3SgM Sent.3 house-P Ts'eggay.Poss= to/in
Pogoy-a na rabbaš-e godd-e
come-3SgMImpfv Background disturbing-F do-3PlUnm
Many people go to S'eggay's house and disturb.

or

Many people go to S'eggay's house in order to disturb.

makina=yay xaf-fa=nnay leonšina=yay car.F=with come-3SgM.NegPst=Backgr bus.F=with xaf-i come-3SgMUnm
He did not come by car and be came by bus.

or

He did not come by car, but by bus.

na has backgrounding function. It indicates the temporal, conditional or circumstantial setting of the following sentence.

Examples of temporal setting

?ano q'awk-o da?ad-a nay 1SgSubj man-M wait-1SgImpfv Backgr while I was waiting for the man...

bolg-om-i nay become.king-Pass-3SgMUnm Backgr having become king...

lukkal-itto ka ?awne bìy-è goon-ti na chicken-M Sent evening land-F get dark-3SgFUnm Backgr zaq'-anki slaughter-1PlImpfv

When it became dark in the evening, we slaughtered a cock.

booh-i nay naa=ma kalikk-o haɗɗ-i sow-1SgUnm Backgr Loc=Dir sun-M add-3SgMUnm While I was sowing the sun went down.

?ine ži?-?-o ži?-ni na ka ?atunce xaf-te1PlSubj food-M eat-1PlUnm Backgr Sent youPl come-2PlUnm
You came after we ate.

gabay-a ?ogoy-na na q'ey?afer=ma zow-ni market-F come-3SgMMainFut Backgr Q'äy Afär=to/in go-1SgSubFut When the market (day) comes I will go to Qäy Afär.

kup bay-iti nay gara?-t-e na=ta 6o?-ti kup say-3SgFUnm Loc belly-Sg-F Loc=Loc blast-3SgFUnm She bent and her belly blasted.

Examples of circumstantial setting

Perr-o-sedib-inaka??-itidor-orain-M-Deflrain-3SgMUnmBackgrstand up-2SgUnmgranary-Mbod-naIn this

dig-1PlJuss

Since it is raining, get up and let's collect some grains from the granary.

bìy-è wor-acc-ite na xoris-i=kka na land-F forest-P-LocP Loc snore-3SgMNonPstNeg=Sent Backgr q'aw-kutta xoris-a kunga?
man-PronM.Prox1 snore-3SgMImpfv M PronM.which Nobody snores in the forest, so who is this man who is snoring?

kole?aka tiir-a nay kotta na par-i again run-3SgMImpfv Backgr PronM.Dist1 Loc die-3SgMUnm This one run again and died there.

Examples of conditional setting

PakkaPatoPogoy-intikaPar-ninaywhere2SgSubjcome-2SgSubFutSentknow-1SgSubFutBackgrparš-e ku=nnugonn-ankibeer-F 2SgM=Datbrew-1Pl-MFutIf I had known you came we would have prepared beer for you.

q'aru q'aw-a šeeg-i nay gasar-k-o ka side rifle-F bring-1SgUnm Backgr buffalo-Sg-M Sent **ra?-na** shoot-1PIImpfv If I had brought a rifle we would have shot the buffalo.

ir i maa orougint a riite we would have shot the ourrain.

?ise dòòll-ò=ma ?akkat-ti nay galla na=ta 2SgFSubj skin.mat-M=to/in sit-3SgFUnm Backgr down Loc=Loc

xoxon-k-o ?ag-a

hole-Sg-M be.located-3SgMImpfv She sat on the leather mat. Below it there was a hole.

na often follows the verbs **bay** or **kay**, both meaning 'to say'. The first one introduces or closes direct speech, while the second one is found only at the beginning of direct speech:

Example of bay 'to say' after direct speech

Yano saan-k-o ži?-ni bay-i nay 1SgSubj meat-Sg-M eat-1SgSubFut say-1SgUnm Backgr I said: 'I will eat meat'.

Example of bay 'to say' before direct speech

bay-i nay garr-o moo koo say-3Sg.Unm Backgr squirrel-M what 2SgM.Obj day-i get-3SgMUnm He said: 'Squirrel, what happened to you?'

Example of kay 'to say' before direct speech

Patokay-anayPerr-odib-naba2SgSubjsay-3SgImpfvBackgrrain-Mrain-3SgMMainFutConsdor-ožiP-onkigranaryeat-3PlConsBYou said: 'When it rains we will eat the (grains of the) granary'.

4.7. The sentence marker ka

The sentence marker **ka** may follow a topicalised sentence constituent. The third person subject **i** may attach to **ka**, which appears as **ki**.

In the example below, the topicalised element is the object:

liq'amber-a gor-e ka buska6-i

chief.M-F people Sent gather.Caus-3SgMUnm The chief brought the people together.

maax-x-e xumbi ki lass-i

bead-Pl-P all Sent.3 sell-3SgMUnm He sold all the beads.

ts'eggay Sabn-e Pingiy-atte ki šur-i

Ts'eggay breast.Pl-P mother-LocF Sent.3 suck-1SgUnm Ts'eggay sucks the mother's breast.

Here is an example of adverbial in sentence followed by ki:

pawlos ts'eggay=nu q'arra ki xaf-i Pawlos Ts'eggay=from before Sent.3 come-3SgMUnm Pawlos arrived before Ts'eggay.

5. Pronouns

5.1. Pronoun series

There are subject pronouns, object pronouns and pronominal particles. The subject pronouns are independent. The object pronouns also appear in isolation, but most often they attract the sentence marker **ka** (see 4.7.). This element is glossed 'obj' when cliticised to an object pronoun. The pronominal particles represent and agree in gender with modified heads. They appear in isolation if the modification is expressed by a relative clause. They are also attested in sentences with stative verbs and in interrogative sentences. In most cases they are fused to modifying suffixes with which they form a group of pronominals (see 5.5).

The object pronouns also occur in other syntactic functions. They play the roles of datives, directives, comitatives, and locatives. Each role is indicated by a case clitic, which is bound to the right of the pronoun. The case clitic =nu 'from' follows the datives, the clitic =ma 'to/in' follows the directives (but it also indicates bound location); the clitic =ya 'with' follows the comitatives; locatives are followed by the clitic =ta 'upon'. Before a clitic, the object pronouns keep the shape they have in isolation. However, the datives show some phonological change (see 5.4.). The case clitics are also used to indicate noun phrases in adverbial position (see 4.5.3.).

A series or personal elements to be mentioned here is the personal possessive suffixes. They form possessive pronominals with the pronominal particles and share structural similarities with the pronouns.

Another pronominal element with a more limited application is the invariable third person locative pronoun **na**. It is treated in section 5.7. (see also 5.2).

The subject and object pronouns are shown in table 19. The pronominal particles are shown in table 20. The personal possessive suffixes are shown in table 21. The tables are followed by some comments:

Table 19: The subject and object personal pronouns

	Subject	object
1Sg	?ano	?ee
1Pl	?ine	?ine
2SgM	?ato	koo
2SgF	?ato	kee
2Pl	?atunɗe	kune
3SgM	?ufo	?ufo
3SgF	?ise	?ise
3Pl	?ufunce	?ufunde

Table 20: The pronominal particles

m	ko/ku
f	ke/ki
р	te/ti

Table 21: The personal possessive suffixes

1Sg	-aayu
2SgM	-aako
2SgF	-aaki
3SgM	-uusu
3SgF	-iisi
1Pl	-aani
2Pl	-aakunɗe
3Pl	-uusunde

The Subject series is the only one that fails to distinguish gender in the second singular person.

- The Subject and Object series share the pronouns indicating the person external to the speech act. These are the third person pronouns **?ufo** (3SgM), **?ise** (3SgF) and **?ufunce** (3P) (see 5.2.).
- The third persons Possessive suffixes are distinguished by an element s. Their possessive vocalic marker appears as ii in the 3SgF -iisi and uu in the 3SgM -uusu and 3Pl -uusunde, which is a plural form derived from the 3SgM -uusu. The difference in the initial possessive marker is due to assimilation of aa to the final vowel of the third person Possessive suffixes. The assimilation is realised through s. The third feminine singular -iisi shows ii because of assimilation to the final vowel i, the third masculine singular -uusu show uu because of assimilation to the final vowel u. The

third person plural **-uusunɗe** also shows **uu** because it is derived from the third person singular masculine by suffixation of **-unɗe**.

- A second person marker \mathbf{k} is shared by the Object pronouns and the Possessive suffixes.
- All pronominal series show the derivation of the second and third person plural pronouns from their singular masculine counterpart. The plural derivational marker is -unde except for the second plural object pronoun, that shows -ne (kune). This pronoun is also exceptional because it is based on the dative form of the second person singular masculine object pronoun, i.e. ku. The singular and plural forms of the first persons are independent from each other.
- Masculine/feminine gender distinction can be expressed by vocalic alternation along the front/back parameter. It is the case of the second persons singular possesive suffixes -aaku (m) and -aaki (f) and the third persons singular possessive suffixes -uusu (m) and -iisi (f), where the alternation is masculine u /feminine i (the initial long vowels are assimilated to the gender markers). Another case is the difference between the second person masculine object pronoun koo and the second person feminine object pronoun kee, which show an alternation masculine oo/feminine ee. The shape of the final vocalic element of some other pronouns is reminiscent of the nominal gender suffixes -o (masculine), -e (feminine and plural). The plural pronouns end in e, the third person masculine Subject pronoun ?ufo ends in o, the third person feminine Subject pronoun ?ise ends in e.

5.2. The third person pronouns

The use of the third person pronouns is limited to human referents. However, the reference to human third persons may also be made by means of the generic locative pronoun \mathbf{na} (see 5.6.). This pronoun is not used as subject or object. It may appear in place of the third person object pronoun in dative position before the clitic $=\mathbf{nnu}$, in directive position before the clitic $=\mathbf{ma}$, in comitative position before the clitic $=\mathbf{ya}$, and in locative position before the clitic $=\mathbf{ta}$.

Among the forms of **na**, those indicative of dative and directive function, respectively **nu=nnu/ni=nnu** and **naa=ma**, are the most used for human reference. This is particularly true for the indication of the masculine and feminine singular persons. The dative **nu=nnu/ni=nnu** seems to be taking over the role played by the object third person pronouns in dative position. This form is structurally exceptional because it contains a masculine or feminine vowel gender marker: **u** (masculine and plural) or **i** (feminine). These vocalic elements appear directly before the clitic **=nnu** and replace the final vowel **a** of **na**. Therefore there are two dative forms for the third person locative pronouns: **nu=nnu** (m and p) and **ni=nnu** (f). The use of **na** for comitative feminine and plural human third person is not attested.

The following examples show the use of the third person pronouns. The sentences with the pronouns in dative, directive, comitative and locative positions are compared with sentences showing the third person locative pronoun **na** in the relevant position:

Example with 3SgM in Subject function

?ufo mann-e garis-i 3SgMSubj house-P build-3SgMUnm He built a house.

Example with 3SgF in object function (in isolation)

?usk-akk-o ?ise bog-i dirt-Sg-M 3SgF.Obj kill-3SgMUnm The dirt killed her.

Example with 3SgF in object function (bound to =ka)

Pise=ka gee?-i

3SgF=Obj want-1SgUnm I want her.

Example with 3SgM in dative function **?ufo=nu gaah-ov**

3SgM=Dat tell-3SgMConsB and he told him...

Compare with **nu=nnu** in the following example:

nu=nnu layb-e rakk-iLocM/P=Dat cloth-F hang-3SgMUnm
He hung the cloth for him.

Example with 3SgF in dative function

Pise=nu Pand-e seeg-e

3SgF=Dat water-P bring-3PlUnm

They brought water to her.

Compare with **ni=nnu** in the following example:

ni=nnu xoxon-k-o q'od-onkiLocF=Dat hole-Sg-M dig-3PlConsB
....and they dug a hole for her

Example with 3Pl in dative function

?ufunde=nu deeš-o bitam-i

3Pl=Dat medicine-M buy-3SgMUnm

He bought medicines for them.

Compare with **nu=nnu** in the following example:

PallePaaka

nu=nnu ?i?as-u

LocM/P=Dat show=3SgMConsA

Alle and Bashare went and he showed the sorghum to them.

Example with 3SgM in directive/bound locative function

?ufo=ma ?ogoy-i

3SgM=Dir come-3SgMUnm

He arrived to him.

Compare with **naa=ma** in the following example:

gaarro=ma ger?-int-e naa=ma ?armat-ti

 $squirrel = to/in \ steal-Nom-F \ Loc = Dir \ appear-3SgFUnm$

The squirrel was clearly guilty of stealing.

(litt: 'The stealing appeared on him, on the squirrel'.)

Example with 3SgF in directive/bound locative function

gaar-k-o ?ise=ma bi?-i

tree-Sg-M 3SgF=Dir fall-3SgMUnm

A tree fell on her.

Compare with **naa=ma** in the following example:

gaan-t-e bolgom-i tannu gor-e ki wa?ko

woman-Sg-F become.king-3SgMUnm then people.P Sent-3 god

wuyyamesad-anki ki naa=ma ?acc-anki

make.call-3PIImpfv Sent-3 Loc=Dir go-3PIImpfv

A woman became king and then the people who wanted to communicate with God were going to her.

Example with 3SgPl in directive/bound locative function

šukuy-i ba ?ufunce=ma sor-u

be.scared-3SgM Cons 3Pl=Dir run-3SgMConsA

He got scared and ran to them.

Compare with **naa=ma** in the following example:

naa=ma zey-i

Loc=Dir go-3SgMUnm He went to them.

Example with 3Pl in comitative function

?ufo=ya nassan-na 3SgM=Com rest-1SgMainFut I will rest with him.

Compare with **naa=ma** in the following example:

saar-k-o na?a=kka, so?akko=kka na=ya chief-Sg-M alone=Sent magician=Sent Loc=with ?ag-i be.located-3SgMUnm
The chief is not alone, the magician is with him.

Example with 3SgF in comitative function

?ise=ya nassan-na 3SgM=Com rest-1SgMainFut I will rest with her.

Example with 3Pl in comitative function

?ufunde=ya biif-i

3Pl=Com have.a.meal-3SgMUnm He ate with them.

Example with 3SgM in locative function

?ufo=ta ?ard-o ba?ate 3SgM=Loc ox-M there.is.not He does not have a ox. (Litt: 'A ox is not by him.')

Compare with **na=ta** in the following example:

nu=nukile?-egoš-abana=taLocM/P=DatSent-3 cows-Ptend-3SgMImpfvCons Loc=Locgallaki?ag-adownSent-3 be.located-3SgMImpfvHe was tending the cows for him and was living by him.

Example with 3SgF in locative function

?ise=ta kiy-i 3SgF=Loc say-3SgMUnm He said to her.

Compare with **na=ta** in the following example:

na=ta kiy-i

Loc=Loc say-3SgMUnm He said to her.

Example with 3Pl in locative function

?inank-o ?ufunde=ta bu?ad-i

boy-M 3Pl=Loc get sick-3SgMUnm Their boy got sick. (Litt: 'The boy got sick to them.')

Compare with **na=ta** in the following example:

?eed-acce zigg-umma ?ayyakko ?ag-a

friend-Pl tall-3PlAdj many be.located-3SgImpfv dookko na=ta ko ?ekke zigam-a one.M Loc=Loc PronM very tall-3SgMAdj I have many tall friends. One of them (litt: in them) in very tall.

5.3. The subject pronouns

See some examples of sentences showing the Subject pronouns:

?ano soq'-o godd-i

1SgSubj salt-M add-1SgUnm I added salt.

?ato šitte ɗal-ti

2SgSubj girl.F give.birth-2SgFUnm You gave birth to a girl.

?atunce q'awk-o šukuyaš-te

2PlSubj man-M scare-2PlUnm You (p) scared the man.

The grammatical subject pronouns are facultative in a sentence. Sentences without subject pronoun, or without an explicit subject, are correct. The following examples show the same sentences with and without subject pronouns:

?ano ?ìrgá?-ò =ka ɗeek-i

1SgSubj axe-M=Sent sharpen-1SgUnm I have sharpened the axe.

?ìrgá?-ò =ka ɗeek-i

axe-M=Sent sharpen-1SgUnm I have sharpened the axe.

?ato ?ine=ya nassan-nay 2SgSubj 1Pl=Com rest-2SgMainFut You will rest with us.

?ine=ya nassan-nay 1Pl=Com rest-2SgMainFut

You will rest with us.

?ufošukuy-ibakee=masor-u3SgSubjbe.scared-3SgMUnmCons2SgF=Dirrun-3SgMConsAHe got scared and run towards you.

šukuy-i ba kee=ma sor-u

be.scared-3SgMUnm Cons 2SgF=Dir run-3SgMConsA He got scared and run towards you.

?ufunde luq'a=ma gellekworra gay-e

3PlSubj Luqa=to/in day.before arrive-3PlUnm The day before yesterday they arrived in Luqa.

luq'a=ma gellekworra gay-e

Luqa=to/in day.before arrive-2PlUnm
The day before yesterday they arrived in Luqa.

The subject pronouns contribute to pragmatic interpretation. For example, they appear to stress a contrast with another subject or to focus on a selected subject. In the following sentence, extracted form the folktale 'The squirrel and the *korkiša* get married', the first person singular subject pronoun **?ano**, referring to the squirrel, appears to stress a contrast with the *korkiša*, which is the subject of the previous Imperative verb **gabb-a**, 'take!':

na?-a gabb-a=bba

baby-F take-SgImpB=Cons

?inda ?ano zow-na ba na=ta gassaɗ-a=y

Excl 1SgSubj go-1SgMainFut Cons Loc=Loc ask-1Sg ConsA=Fill Take the baby. *I* will go and ask him.

The following sentence, extracted from the folktale 'The squirrel and the guinea fowl', shows another example of this contrast. The third person singular subject pronoun **?ise**, is used to stress the reference to the guinea fowl in opposition the subject of the previous sentence, i.e. **garro** 'squirrel':

garr-o bukkis-add-e boq'q'-o katt-e naa=ma squirrel-M den-P-Pl stop.hole-3SgMConsB fire-F Loc=Dir ko?u ?ise gidatte riir-ay light-3SgMCons 3SgFSubj inside shout-3SgFImpfv The squirrel stopped the dens and lighted fire in them. She was screaming inside.

From the same folktale has been extracted a sentence showing the selective pragmatic property of the subject pronouns. The second person subject pronouns **?ato** is used to select the participant that is accused to have eaten the grains:

door-o ži?ad-i

granary-M be.eaten-3SgMUnm

?ato door-o ži?-ti kulul-e bay-ti

2SgSubj granary-M eat-2SgUnm guinea.fowl-F say-3SgFUnm

garr-ulo

squirrel-LocM

The grains of the silo were eaten. 'You ate the grains of the silo' said the guinea fowl to the squirrel.

The first persons can be optionally indexed on the verb with the proclitic **n**= (**m**= before bilabial) with no further pronominal indication of the subject. The first personal proclitic is a relic of the preverbal person markers that still function in the other Dullay dialects (Amborn, Minker and Sasse 1982, Hayward 1989). Examples:

žinka=ma n=zey-i

Jinka=to/in 1=go-1SgUnm I went to Jinka.

q'ayna ka m=bayy-ini

tomorrow Sent 1=start-1SgSubFut I will start tomorrow.

dal-a ?aka n=dayy-inini

newborn.calf-F where 1=get-1PlSubFut Where will we get a newborn calf?

bogol-t-e ka mala m=bas-inini

queen-Sg-F Sent how 1=do-1PlSubFut What shall we do with the queen?

5.4. The object pronouns

A single pronominal series is used in object, comitative, directive, locative and dative position.

In order to mark their role as dative, the object pronouns take the dative clitic =**nu/=nnu**. This clitic is =**nnu** after the object pronouns of first person singular (1Sg), first person plural (1Pl), second person singular masculine (2SgM) and second person singular feminine (2SgF).

Ts'amakko is exceptional in the Dullay context in using =nu or =nnu according to the person. The other Dullay dialects described by Amborn, Minkel and Sasse (1982) show only nu for the whole dative series. However, they report the free alternation nu~nnu of the ablative clitic attached to the noun phrase. In the context of a noun phrase, also in Ts'amakko the clitic nu can be interpreted as indicator of ablative function (see 4.5.3.1.), but no gemination of initial n is attested.

The dative forms of the object pronouns of first person singular (1Sg), first person plural (1Pl), second person singular masculine (2SgM) and second person singular feminine (2SgF) are affected by morphologically conditioned changes. These changes can be accounted for as the effect of the cliticisation of =nnu.

Two kinds of processes occur. One is haplology and affects the first person plural **?ine**. The dative from of this pronoun is **?i=nnu**, and not the expected ***?ine=nnu**. The other process is vowel shortening and raising and affects the first person singular **?ee**, the second person singular masculine **koo** and the second person singular feminine **kee**. The result is that the long mid front vowel **ee** of the first person singular and the second person singular feminine becomes **i**; the long mid back vowel **oo** which appears in the second person singular masculine becomes **u**. Therefore the objects pronouns **?ee** (1Sg), **kee** (2SgF) and **koo** (2SfM) in dative position appear respectively **?i=nnu**, **ki=nnu** and **ku=nnu**. With the cliticisation of **=nnu** the vocalic elements of the pronouns **?ee**, **koo** and **kee** are located in a closed syllable. This position conditions their short and raised realisation, which remains invariable if any other clitic is attached. See below the syllabification of the word made up of the object pronouns in question and **=nnu**:

Table 22: Syllabification of 1Sg, 2SgM and 2SgF dative pronouns

1Sg	*?ee=nnu	*?een.nu	?in.nu
2SgM	*koo=nnu	*koon.nu	kun.nu
2SgF	*kee=nnu	*keen.nu	kin.nu

When they appear bound to any other clitic, all of which have a CV structure, the vocalic elements of these pronouns are found in open syllable and no shortening and raising occurs. See below the syllabification of the words made up of the object pronouns in question and the directive clitic =ma, which is taken as representative of the CV clitics:

Table 23: Syllabification of 1Sg, 2SgM and 2SgF directive pronouns

1Sg	?ee=ma	?ee.ma
2SgM	koo=ma	koo.ma
2SgF	kee=ma	kee.ma

The change affecting **?ine** in dative position, is also due to the contact with **=nnu**. The clitic causes the haplology of the final syllable **ne**. The reduction process can be exemplified as follows:

Table 24: Haplology in 1Pl dative pronoun

1Pl regular form	Cliticisation of =nnu	Reduction
?ine	*?ine=nnu	?i=nnu

Even though they are the outcome of two different processes, the dative forms of the first singular and first plural object pronouns are identical, i.e. **?innu**. Paradigmatic levelling is likely to have played a role in achieving a situation in which one form expresses first person singular and the first person plural object pronouns. See the column 'datives' in table 25. This table contains the paradigms of the object pronouns in isolation and as complement of the case clitics (see 4.5.3. For a description of the semantic properties of the case clitics):

Table 25: Full paradigms of the object pronouns in all possible syntactic functions

	Object in isolation	Object =ka	Datives =nu/=nnu
1Sg	?ee	?ee=ka	?i=nnu
2SgM	koo	koo=ka	ku=nnu
2SgF	kee	kee=ka	ki=nnu
3SgM	?ufo	?ufo=ka	?ufo=nu
3SgF	?ise	?ise=ka	?ise=nu
1Pl	Pine	?ine=ka	?i=nnu
2Pl	kune	kune=ka	kune=nu
3Pl	?ufunce	?ufunde=ka	?ufunde=nu
	Comitative =ya	Directive =ma	Locative =ta
1Sg	?ee=ya	?ee=ma	?ee=ta
2SgM	koo=ya	koo=ma	koo=ta
2SgF	kee=ya	kee=ma	kee=ta
3SgM	?ufo=ya	?ufo=ma	?ufo=ta
3SgF	?ise=ya	?ise=ma	?ise=ta
1Pl	?ine=ya	?ine=ma	?ine=ta
2Pl	kune=ya	kune=ma	kune= ta
3Pl	?ufunce=ya	?ufunde=ma	?ufunde=ta

The Comitative clitic does not take the semantically empty clitic =y (see 4.5.3. and 4.5.3.4.). See below an example with the modified noun §a?al-k-uusu followed by =yay:

gabaya=ma šaŶal-k-uusu=yay ki zey-i market.F=to/in brother-Sg-3SgMPoss=with Sent-3 go-3SgMUnm He went to the market with his brother.

See some examples of the object pronoun:

Example in object position (in isolation) **?ošonk-o ?ee bog-i**coldness-M 1Sg.Obj kill-3SgMUnm

The dirt killed me.

Example in object position (=ka)

?ošonk-o ?ee=ka bog-i

coldness-M 1Sg=Obj kill-3SgMUnm

The dirt killed me.

Example in dative position (=nu)

?i=nnu wak-i

1Sg=Dat speak-3SgMUnm
He spoke to me.

Sardo ki=nnu laag-i ox.M 2SgF=Dat turn-1SgUnm I returned to ox to you (f).

Examples in comitative position (=ya)

koo=ya nassan-n-a

2SgMSg=Com rest-MFut-1Sg

I will rest with you.

Examples in directive position (=ma)

gaar-k-o kune=ma bi?-i

tree-Sg-M 2Pl=Dir fall-3SgMUnm

The tree fell towards you (p).

Examples in locative position (bound to =ta)

lub-b-e ?ee=ta lákkí
foot-Pl-P 1Sg=Loc two
I have two legs (litt: two legs are on me).

5.5. The pronominal particles

The main function of the pronominal particles **ko** (m), **te** (f), and **ke** (p) and **ku** (m), **ti** (f), and **ki** (p) is to replace or refer to modified head nouns. These

particles agree in gender with the head they represent. They are used obligatorily in certain kinds of noun phrases and appear sporadically in relative clauses. These particles also have resumptive function (see 4.3.).

The pronominal particles are obligatory whenever the modification is expressed by possessive suffixes, demonstrative suffixes, definite suffixes, the 'different' suffix, the 'which?' suffix and the 'whose?' suffix. Pronominal particles and suffixed modifiers form pronominal words in which the pronominal particles are the stem and indicate the relation with the head noun. These pronominals are classified as definites, demonstratives, 'different' -pronominals, 'which' -pronominals, possessives, and 'whose'-pronominals.

The particles appear optionally when the modifier is a relative clause. They are not used with nominal modifiers such as attributive nouns, adjectives, numerals and possessive nouns followed by the locative case suffix.

These particles can take head, predicative and modifying position in most of the syntactic contexts in which they appear. The exceptions are indicated in the following sub-sections. When the pronominal particles are in modifying positions they refer to the head noun. No other head noun is expressed if the particles act as head or predicate.

The two sets of pronominal particles are semantically and syntactically the same, but differ in the way they are distributed. Each set is associated to certain kinds of modifiers. Only the demonstrative suffix -tta appears with both sets, but with two different meanings. Besides being used in isolation in genitive noun phrases and relative clauses, the pronominal particles ko (m), te (f), and ke (p) combine with the definite suffixes -2a, -s(s)a and -sse in the formation of the definite pronominals and with -tta in the formation of Distal demonstratives. The pronominal particles of set ku (m), ti (f), and ki (p) form Proximal demonstrative pronominals with the suffixes -tta, -si, and combine with the 'different' suffix -6a, and the 'which?' suffix -nda. Moreover, the masculine particle ku is attested in few examples with the Distal nominal suffix -ssa in the formation of a rarely used Distal demonstrative.

When the modification is represented by a relative clause the pronominal particles appear in isolation as relativisers. Only the **ko** (m), **te** (f), and **ke** (p) set is used, while **ku** (m), **ti** (f) and **ki** (p) are never attested as independent words.

It is not possible to establish which pronominal particles appear with possessives and 'whose'-pronominals. This is because the vowel of the particles is deleted before vowel initial suffixes, such as the possessive suffixes and the 'whose' suffix. See examples:

Example with kuusu (ko + -uusu 'his')

Yard-o kuusu

ox.M-M PronM.1SgPoss

my ox

Example with ka™™a (ko + -a™™a 'whose')

Sard-o kutta kaħħa=y

ox.M-M PronM.Prox1 PronM.whose=Fill

Whose ox is this?

In fast speech, the pronominal particles may appear bound directly to the noun if the possessives and the demonstratives with **-tta** are suffixed to head nouns ending in **ko**, **te** or **ke**. See examples:

Example with ša¬al-k-o (m) 'brother' and kuusu 'his'

gabay-a=ma šaŶal-kuusu=yay ki zey-i

market-F=to/in brother-PronM.3SgMPoss=with Sent3 go-3SgMUnm

He goes to the market with his brother.

Example with Aalaw-t-e (f) 'sister' and taayu 'my'
Palaw-taayu ka n=ka??is-i
sister-PronF.1SgPoss Sent 1=let.get.up-1SgUnm
I woke up my sister.

Example with bukkis-att-e (f) 'den' and taayu 'my' bukkis-at-taayu den-Sg-PronF.1SgPoss my den

Example with gaa[™]-k-o (m) 'stone' and kotta 'that (m)'

zow ba gaaħ-kotta ka gabb-a

go.SgImpA Cons stone-PronM.Dist1 Sent take-SgImpB

Go and take that stone.

Example with gaan-t-e (f) 'woman' and tetta 'that (f)'
gaan-tetta paš-o boox-ad-ay
woman-PronF.Dist1 field-M sow-Mid-3SgFImpfv
That woman is sowing the field.

Example with q'aw-ko (m) 'woman' and kutta 'this (m)'
q'aw-kutta max-x-e bitman-ni kiy-i
Man-PronM.Prox1 bead-Pl-P buy-3SgMSubFut say-3SgMUnm
This man said, 'I will buy beads'.

Example with **q'om-ayke** (p) 'shoes' and **kitta** 'this (p)' **q'om-ay-kitta**

shoe-Pl-PronP.Prox1 these shoes

5.5.1. Definites

In a definite phrase the pronominal particles combine with three kinds of definite markers: -?a, -(s)sa, and -sse. These suffixes only appear attached to a pronominal particle. The first suffix is related to a spatial adverbial element ?a (see 8.1.). The definite suffix -sa (or -ssa) is probably related to the nominal Distal demonstrative suffix -ssa (see 3.8.). The pronominal definite suffix -sse is connected with the nominal definite suffix -se (see 3.10).

The three series of definite pronominals resulting from the association of the definite suffixes with the pronominal particles are used for anaphoric and referential purposes. They do not differ in use and meaning. There is a strange difference from the point of view of the relation with case clitics. The suffixes -?a and -(s)sa are always followed either by a case clitic or by the semantically empty clitic =y. The suffix -sse is never followed by a clitic. This means that when the definite noun phrase is modified by a case clitic, the suffix -sse is not used. The definites with -sse have the specific function to mark a head noun modified by a locative noun or a relative clause (see 3.7., 4.1.4. and 4.2.).

The definites are only used in modification. They are not attested in head and predicative positions. This happens because a definite head noun must be expressed. If the head noun is understood, a demonstrative pronoun would be used. See the table 24 of definites below:

Table 26: The definites

m	ko?a	kosa ~ kossa	kosse
f	te?a	tesa ~ tessa	tesse
р	ke?a	kesa ~kessa	kesse

See examples of definites with -2a suffix:

q'awk-o ko?a=y man.M-M PronM.Def1=Fill the man

?om6-o ko?a=ka garr-o ži?-a ?om6o tree-M PronM.Def1=Obj squirrel-M eat-3SgMImpfv **fug-am-u** fill-Pass-3SgMConsA He filled himself eating (the fruits of) the Aom6o tree.

q'awk-o ko?a=kka wuyyi

man.M-M PronM.Def1=Sent call.SgImpA Call also the man.

gaan-te te?a=y

man.F-F PronF.Def1=Fill the woman

wars-a te?a=ka kibir-ni

warsa-dance.F PronF.Defl=Obj dance-1PlUnm We danced the *warsa* dance.

gur-a laag-anki,

gura-dance.F turn-1PlImpfv

gura te?a=kka kibir-anki

gura-dance PronF.Def1=Sent dance-1PlImpfv

We started the *gura* dance and danced also the *gura* dance.

gaan-t-e te?a=nnu šeeg-a

woman-Sg-F PronF.Def1=from bring.SgImpB Bring it to the woman.

gor-e ke?a=y

people-P PronP.Def1=Fill the people

?omb-adde ke?a=kka

Pombo-tree-P PronP.Def1=Sent Also the *ombo* trees.

gor-e ke?a=mma zow

people.P-P PronP.Def1=to/in go-SgImpA Go to the people.

See examples of definites with -s(s)a suffix:

paš-o kosa=y garr-ulo ?awš-a=kka

field-M PronM.Def3=Fill squirrel-LocM ripen-3SgMPstNeg=Sent The field of the squirrel did not produce.

salliss-o kosa=kka zeħ kibir-u

sallisso-dance-M PronM.Def3=Sent three dance-3SgMConsA

bog-u

kill-3SgMConsA

He danced the *sallisso* dance three times and finished it.

wars-a tesa=kka kibir-anki warsa-dance-F PronF.Def3=Sent dance-1 PIImpfv We danced the *warsa* dance.

mang-adde kessa=y ?awš-e sorghum-P PronP.Def2=Fill ripen-3PlUnm The sorgum ripened.

See examples of definites with **-sse** suffix:

q'awko kosse paš-o=ma zey-i
man.M PronM.Def3 field-M=to/in go-3SgMUnm
The man went to the field.

?ise tesse gor-e ži?-ti
2SgFSubj PronF.Def3 people-P eat-3SgFUnm
She eats people.

šaw-w-e kesse q'arra žag-i beehive-Pl-P PronP.Def3 before insert-3SgMUnm first, he put the beehives inside.

5.5.2. Demonstratives

The pronominal particles combine with the demonstrative suffixes $-\mathbf{tta}$, $-\mathbf{si}$ and $-\mathbf{ssa}$ in the formation of demonstrative pronominals. The first suffix is reminiscent of the case clitic $=\mathbf{ta}$ 'upon'. The suffix $-\mathbf{si}$ is probably related to the nominal definite suffix $-\mathbf{se}$ and the pronominal definite suffix $-\mathbf{sse}$. The suffix $-\mathbf{ssa}$ is related to the Distal demonstrative suffixes $-\mathbf{ussa}$ (m) and $-\mathbf{issa}$ (f/p), which are used in noun modification, and to the definite element $-\mathbf{ssa}$ which is part of a pronominal definite (see 3.8. and 5.5.1.).

Both sets of pronominal particles appear with the suffix -tta. The resulting suffixes have opposite meaning: kutta, titta and kitta are Proximal demonstratives; kotta, tetta and ketta are Distal demonstratives. The suffix -si forms with ku, ti and ki a second set of Proximal demonstratives. A rarely attested Distal demonstrative suffix is kussa. It is made up of the masculine pronominal particle ku and the nominal Distal demonstrative suffix -ssa.

The demonstratives are mainly used in pointing, but they may also have anaphoric and referential function. In pointing to close elements, the Proximal demonstratives **kutta**, **titta** and **kitta** are preferred to the Proximal demonstratives **kusi**, **tisi** and **kisi**. In pointing to far elements, the Distal demonstratives **kotta**, **tetta** and **ketta** are much more widely used than the Distal demonstrative **kussa**. A head noun modified for Distal demonstrative is more commonly followed by the suffixes **–ussa** (m) or **-issa** (f/p) rather than by Distal demonstrative pronominals.

The demonstratives can take modifying, head and predicate position, but there are some exceptions. The Distal series **kotta**, **tetta** and **ketta** is rare in predicate position, while the Distal **kussa** is only attested as a head.

See the table 27 of demonstratives:

Table 27: The demonstratives

	Proximal	Proximal	Distal	Distal
m	kutta	kusi	kotta	kussa
f	titta	tisi	tetta	
р	kitta	kisi	ketta	

Examples of Proximal demonstratives kutta, titta and kitta.

Modifying position

laΥ-akko kutta=ka q'od-as-i field-M PronM.Prox1=Obj dig-Caus-3SgMUnm He ploughed this field.

haalt-e titta=y te takk-ay cup-F PronF.Prox1=Fill PronF be.small-3SgFAdj This cup is small.

Sand-e kitta=y k-uusuwater-P PronP.Prox1=Fill PronP-3SgMPoss
This cup is small.

Head position

kutta maaxx-e bitam-iPronM.Prox1 beads-P buy-3SgMUnm
This one buys beads.

kutta=y ?orgo=nu ki xaf-i PronM.Prox1=Fill banna=from Sent-3 come-3SgMUnm This one comes from Banna.

Predicate position

hez-itte te garn-ay titta
root-F PronF be.useful-3SgFMainFut PronF.Prox1
The useful root is this one.

Examples of Proximal demonstrative **kusi**, **tisi** and **kisi**.

Modifying position

q'awk-o kusi=kka max-xe bitam-iman-M PronM.Prox2=Sent bead-P buy-3SgMUnm
Also this man bought beads.

gor-e kisi people.P-P PronP.Prox2 these people.

Head position

kusi?áħákusi?anoPronM.Prox2whoPronM.Prox21SgSubjWho is this? This is me.

Examples of Distal demonstratives kotta, tetta and ketta.

Modifying position

bolt-e tetta=kka garaŶ-t-e=ma biŶ-ti drop-F PronF.Dist1=Sent belly-Sg-F=to/in fall-3SgFUnm That drop fell on the belly.

?ombot-ann-e ketta ka xum6i raaw-i bucket.for.milk-Pl-P PronP.Dist1 Sent all finish-3SgMUnm He finished all those buckets of milk.

Head position

kotta ?ol-a ži?-a
PronM.Dist1 thing-F eat.3SgMImpfv
That one is eating something.

busead-i kiy-ti=ba tetta hotol-ay
be.sick-1SgUnm say-3SgFUnm=and PronF.Dist1 shiver-3SgFImpfv
She said 'I am sick' and she (litt.: that one) was shivering.

Predicate position

maakk-e garr-ilo ?aaka maakk-e gubal-atte tale-P squirrel-LocM and tale-P rabbit-LocF ketta=y PronP.Dist1=Fill That was the tale of the squirrel and the rabbit.

The Distal demonstrative **kussa** is only attested in the following examples. The second one is strange because it shows two Distal demonstratives:

kussa mo?
PronM.Dist2 what
What is that?

kussakottaka?ano?ar-aPronM.Dist2PronM.Dist1Sent 1SgSubjknow-1SgMImpfvI know that one.

5.5.3. Possessives

The possessives consist of pronominal particles and possessive suffixes (see 4.1.4.). The following table shows them in combination with the masculine, feminine and plural pronominal particles:

f 1Sg kaayu taayu kaayu 2SgM kaako taako kaako 2SgF kaaki taaki kaaki 3SgM kuusu tuusu kuusu 3SgF kiisi tiisi kiisi 1Pl kaani taani kaani taakunɗe 2P1 kaakunde kaakunde 3P1 kuusunde tuusunde kuusunde

Table 28: The possessives

See examples of possessives:

Modifying position

Sard-o kaayu damm-a ox-M PronM.1SgPoss be.big-3SgMAdj My ox is big.

daal-t-e taakunde par-ti goat-Sg-F PronF.2PlPoss die-3SgFUnm Your (P) goat died.

lu6-6ekaakixinaw-ankifeet-PPronP.2SgFPossstink-3PIImpfvYour (f) feet stink

Head position

kaayu ka ɗal-i

PronM.1SgPoss Sent give.birth-3SgMUnm Mine gave birth (referred to a ox. Extracted from the folktale 'The Squirrel and the Rabbit').

Predicative position

ži?-o kutta kaayu ?ayid-i=nu food-M PronM.Prox1 PronM.1SgPoss be.Sub-3SgM=from deeħ-i=kka give-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent Since this food is mine, I do not give it.

In the following example, the first person possessive pronoun, **taako** 'your', is in modifying position, while the second one, **taayu** 'my' is in predicative position (for the use of **te** before Adjectival verbs see 5.5.7.):

lo?-o taako te gumm-ay cow-F PronF.2SgMPoss PronF be.black-3SgFAdj taayu te bi?-ay PronF.1SgPoss PronF be.white-3SgFAdj Your cow is black, mine is white.

5.5.4. 'whose?'-pronominals

In the 'whose?' interrogative phrase the pronominal particles are used in connection to the suffix -ahha 'whose?'. This suffix is clearly related to the interrogative word ?áhá 'who?' (see 8.3.). The 'whose?' pronominal series are shown in the following table:

Table 29: The 'whose?'-pronominals

m	kaħħa
f	taħħa
р	kaħħa

The 'whose' pronominals only occur in modifying position.

The semantically empty clitic =y must follow the 'whose'-pronoun if no other clitic or particle appears. In the first of the examples below, the 'whose' pronoun is followed by the sentence marker = $\mathbf{k}\mathbf{k}\mathbf{a}$. In the other examples, in the absence of another clitic, this place is occupied by = \mathbf{y} . Note that the 'whose'-pronominals take the last position in a series of modifiers.

See examples of 'whose'-pronominals:

?ingiy-e taħħa=kka haš haš **?asa** sukkam-nay mother-F PronF.whose=Sent haš xaš so roll down-3SgFMainFut Whose mother will roll down making the sound of leaves?

Sard-o kuttakaħħa=yox-MPronM.Prox1PronM.whose=FillWhose ox is this one?

lo?-o-se bi?-ay taħħa=y cow.F-M-Def be.white-3SgFAdj PronF.whose=Fill Whose is the white cow?

mann-e kitta kaħħa=y house-P PronP.Prox1 PronP-whose=Fill Whose house is this one?

5.5.5. 'which one?'-pronominals

The pronominal particles combine with the interrogative element -nda. The result is a series of pronominals meaning 'which one?'. Like the 'whose' pronominal, these interrogative words only appear as part of the modification and take the last position in a series of modifiers. The 'which one'- pronominals are shown in the following table:

Table 30: The 'which one?'-pronominals

m	kunɗa
f	tinɗa
р	kinɗa

See examples of 'which one?' pronominals:

q'awk-o kunda?

man-M PronM.Mwhich Which man?

q'aw-kutta xoris-a kunɗa?

man-PronM.Prox1 snore-3SgMImpfv PronM.which Which one is the man who is snoring?

ħez-itte tinda ki garn-a

root-F PronF.which Sent-3 be.useful-3SgMImpfv Which root is useful?

gor-e kinda ki xaf-i

people-P Pron P. which Sent-3 come-3 SgMUnm Which people came?

5.5.6. 'different'-pronominals

The 'different'-pronominals are made up of the pronominal particle and the suffix -6a 'different'. Within the relevant nouns phrase these pronominals take modifying and head positions. See in table 31 the 'different'-pronominals:

Table 31: The 'different'-pronominals

m	kuɓa
f	tißa
p	kiɓa

These pronominals are always followed by a clitic.

See examples of 'different'-pronominals:

Modifying position

q'awk-o kuba=y

man-M PronM.Diff=Fill a different man

gaan-t-e tiba=y

woman-Sg-F PronF-Diff=Fill a different woman

gor-e kiba=y kibir-ko ka bog-e

people-P PronP.Diff=Fill dance-M Sent kill-3PlUnm Other people ended the dancing.

Head position

kiba ka bitam-i=kka

PronP.Diff Sent buy-3SgMNonPstNeg=Sent I do not buy different ones.

5.5.7. The pronominal particles and the relative clause

The pronominal particles could be taken to be relative pronouns, but we analyse them parallel to the same particles in other situations of noun phrase internal modification. They may modify or replace the head of subject relative clauses, incorporating the relativiser, or may refer to the head in subject and object relative clauses. Their use and distribution in relative clauses is described in 4.2.

5.5.8. The pronominal particles in sentences with stative verbs

Sentences formed by stative verbs may contain pronominal particles. The verb of the following examples, **zoor** 'sweet', is a stative verb which normally follows the imperfective inflection:

pappaya likke muz-atte gura te zoor-ay

papaya.F exactly banana-LocF as PronF be.sweet-3SgFImpfv The papaya is as sweet as the banana.

The following sentence shows the verb **gaaldaw** 'be pregnant' in Unmarked reduced subject focus form (see 6.4.7). See example:

?ine ke gaalɗaw-i

1PlSubj PronP be.pregnant-3SgMFoc.Unm We are pregnant

The adjectival verb **q'ay-** 'be good' in the following sentence represents the stem of an Unmarked verb.

hez-itte gaark-ulo te q'ay-ti

root-F tree-LocM PronF be.good-3SgFUnm The root of the tree is good.

5.5.9. The pronominal particles in interrogative sentences

The pronominal particles optionally appear in interrogative sentences containing **mala** 'how?'. See two examples with pronominal particles:

parš-e gaan-te=nu deeħ-ti te mala

beer-F woman-F=from give-2SgUnm PronF how

?ag-ay

be.located-3SgFImpfv

How is the beer you gave to the woman?

?inank-ú na ħalt-e deeħ-ti ko mala

boy-M.Prag Loc calabash cup-F give-2SgUnm PronM how How is the boy you gave the calabash cup to?

The second example above is also attested without pronominal particle:

?inank-ú na ħalt-e deeħ-ti mala

boy-M.Prag Loc calabash cup-F give-2SgUnm how How is the boy you gave the calabash cup to?

5.6. The third person locative pronoun na (Loc)

The third person locative pronoun **na** may appear in isolation with generic locative function or as complement of the clitics =**ma** 'to/in'=**ya** 'with', and =**ta** 'upon'. It is also used as a third person dative pronoun; in this case it is bound to the dative clitic =**nnu** and the **na** changes to **nu** if it refers to a masculine or plural element or to **ni** if it refers to a feminine element. The masculine and plural locative pronoun in dative position appears as **nunnu** and the feminine one appears as **ninnu**. No ***nannu** is therefore attested. The elements **u** and **i** are masculine/feminine gender markers that play a certain role in the indication of gender in the pronominal series and the personal possessive suffixes (see 5.1.). The locative pronoun **na** is never followed by the sentence marker **ka**, which often follows pronouns playing the role of object (see 5.4.). When combined to =**ma** 'to/in', the pronoun appears as **naa**. When bound to the locative pronoun, the clitic =**ya** 'with' may appear

as =yay, which is the shape of the comitative clitic after nominal phrase (see 4.5.3.4.).

Table 32 shows the locative pronoun in connection to the clitics:

Table 32: Locative pronoun with case clitics

	3 masculine	3 feminine	3 plural
=ma	naa=ma	naa=ma	naa=ma
=ya	na=ya(y)	na=ya(y)	na=ya(y)
=ta	na=ta	na=ta	na=ta
=nu	nu=nnu	ni=nnu	nu=nnu

The locative pronoun differs from the third person object pronoun in that it may refer to human as well as non-human entities, while the object pronouns are limited to human entities. Whenever the reference is to a human being, the cliticised forms of the locative pronoun **na** may appear instead of the third person object pronouns. In particular, the dative forms **nu=nnu** and **ni=nnu** in most of the attested cases replace the object third person pronouns followed by **=nu** (see 5.2.).

5.6.1. na in locative function

The pronounn **na** has the function of a locative pronoun referring to a known or undetermined element. Since the pronoun appears before the verb, it may also be interpreted as a locative semantic extension of the verb.

In the following sentence, **na** refers to a previously mentioned calabash:

?axx-e na huccaɗ-u milk-P Loc pour-3SgConsA He poured milk in it.

The locative element referred to by **na** in the sentence below is a rifle, which appears at the beginning of a preceding sentence:

ts'iy-itt-e na ?ag-a bullet-Sg-F Loc be.located-3SgImpfv There is a bullet.

In the following example, the first **na**, after **boota** 'place', refers to a previously mentioned truck, while the second **na** refers to the town in which the Subject had to remain:

boota na ba? kiy-i ba na gay-onki
place.F Loc there.is.not say-3Sg.Unm Cons Loc remain-1PlConsB
He said that there was no place and we remained there.

See another example with reference to **reedio** 'radio':

reedio ?ekke wožžać-inti dingay q'awto na žag-di radio.F very work-3SgFSubFut battery.F new Loc insert-2SgUnm The radio will work better if you put new batteries in it.

The referred location may be expressed by an adverbial phrase, such as **?ula guddo** 'down there' in the following example:

?ula guddo garm-o na kiy-i there down lion-M Loc say-3SgMUnm He said: there is a lion over there.

The locative pronoun in locative function may be followed by the case clitic =ta.

na=ta in the following example refers to a previously mentioned fire:

Sard-o na?-itt-o c'ib-a=bba na=ta žag-a ox-M baby-Sg-M pierce-SgImpB=Cons Loc=Loc insert-SgImpB Kill a male calf and put it in it.

Below are two more examples of **na=ta** in locative pronominal function:

nu=nnukile?-egoš-abana=taLocM/P=from Sent-3cow-Ptend-3SgMImpfvCons Loc=Locgallaki?ag-adownSent-3be.located-3SgMImpfvHe tended the cows for him and lived by him.

bannad-ilo gaan-te na=ta ki ?ag-ay beetle-LocM woman Loc=Loc Sent-3 be.located-3SgFImpfv The beetle used to have a wife.

With the verb **žug** 'take out' **na=ta** appears as an ablative pronoun. See example:

Sardozaq'-obamoorona=taoxslaughter-3SgMConsBCons fatLoc=Locžug-utake out-3SgMConsAHe slaughtered a ox and added the fat on it.

With the verb **bay-** 'say' **na=ta** appears as an object pronoun. See example:

booh-nanki na=ta bay-i

sow-1PlJuss Loc=Loc say-3SgMUnm He said to him, 'let's sow!'

5.6.2. na as bound space and directive pronoun

When used as bound space or directive pronoun, **na** is followed by the case clitic =**ma** 'to/in'

In the following example, **naa=ma** is a bound space pronoun referring to the holes:

xoxm-e bod-o ba bal-inn-e naa=ma žag-u

holes-P dig-3SgMConsB Cons pole-Pl-P Loc=Dir insert-3SgMConsA He dug a hole and put the poles in it.

Below is an example of **naa=ma** as directive pronoun. The referred entity is a female human:

naa=ma ?acc-anki

Loc=Dir go-3PlImpfv They go to her.

5.6.3. na as instrumental-comitative pronoun

na is followed by the comitative case clitic =**ya** (or =**yay**) 'with' when it acts as an instrumental-comitative pronoun. See examples:

q'awa ka=kka ?ee=ta gabb-u=bba pawlos

rifle.F Sentj=Sent 1Sg=Loc take-3SgConsA=Cons Pawlos

na=yay lig-u

Loc=Com turn-3SgConsA

He took the rifle from me and turned towards Pawlos holding it.

saark-o na?a=kka, so?akko=kka na=ya

chief-M alone=Sent magician=Sent Loc=Com

?ag-i

be.located-3SgMUnm

The chief is not alone, the magician is with him.

q'awko ?i=nnu gaar-e q'ets'-na ba mann-e na=yay

man me=from wood-P cut-3SgMMainFut Cons house-P

Loc=Com

ga??-a ka gee?-i

prepare-1SgMJuss Sent want-1SgUnm

I want someone to cut wood for me so that I will prepare the house with it.

5.6.4. na as dative pronoun

The shape of the locative pronoun **na** in dative position is discussed in sections 5.1. and 5.6.

See some examples below:

Examples with nu=nnu

titta=ka nu=nnu deeħ

this=Obj LocM/P=Dat giveImpSgA Give this to him!

wožža ka ?ato nu=nnu godd-i

work Sent 2SgSubj LocM/P=Dat do.3SgMUnm 2SgMUnm You will do the work for him.

Example with ni=nnu

titta=ka ni=nnu deeħ

this=Obj LocF=Dat giveImpSgA Give this to her!

5.6.5. na without specific reference

In the following example, the entity referred by **na** is uspecified.

titta ka na bitam-ni kiba ka

this Sent Loc buy-1SgSubFut PronM.different Sent

bitam-i=kka

buy-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent

I will buy this one, I will not buy another one.

cox-an-nanki ?axx-e na biif-anki

milk-Mid-1PlMainFut milk-P Loc have.a.meal-1PlImpfv Let's milk and drink the milk as a meal.

As shown by the following examples, when referring to an unspecified entity, the locative pronoun may be followed by **=ma**:

daal-t-e dootte na hadd-i

goat-Sg-F one.F Loc add-1SgUnm I added one goat

daal-t-e dootte naa=ma ħaɗɗ-i

goat-Sg-F one.F Loc=Dir add-1SgUnm I added one goat

5.6.6. na as locative relative pronoun

A specific function of the pronoun **na** is locative relative pronoun. If associated to the verb 'to give' it has dative function. It can also be used as comitative relative pronoun followed by the clitic =**ya** 'with'. When it refers to a bound location or a destination it is followed by the clitic =**ma** 'to/in' or the clitic =**ta**. Its position in the relative sentence is after the noun phrase it recalls, but this is not always true.

Example of **na** in relative locative function:

?awko [na ?and-e ?ugg-i]=ma=kka xaf-oplace Loc water-P drink-3SgM=to/in=Sent come-3SgMConsB
He came to the place where he was drinking the water.

Pano Pawk-o [na gor-e garm-o bog-e]=mma1SgSubj place-M Loc people-P lion-M kill-3PlUnm=to/in **n-zey-i**1-go-1SgUnm
I went to the place where the people killed the lion.

Pano bìy-è [na ɗal-aɗ-i]=ma n-zow-ni1SgSubj land-F Loc give.birth-Mid.1SgUnm=to/in 1-go-1SgSubFut I went to the place where I was born.

Example of **na** in relative dative function:

?inank-o [na halt-e deeh-ti] mala?boy-M Loc cup-F give-2SgUnm how
How is the boy to whom you gave the calabash?

Example with **na=ya** in relative comitative function:

Yola [na=yay may-i] na ki da6-i thing Loc=Com bury-3Sg Loc Sent-3 miss-3SgMUnm He missed something with which he could bury him.

Example with **naa=ma** in relative bound locative function:

?awk-o [naa=ma mann-e ga??-inini] ka garis-iniplace Loc=Dir house-P prepare-1PSubFut Sent make1PlSubFut

We will work on the place where we will prepare the house.

In the following example, the locative pronoun, followed by the locative clitic =ta does not appear after the element it recalls.

Example of **na=ta** in relative locative function:

Payk-o-sebogol-k-o [na=taPag-i]=maplace-M-Defking-Sg-MLoc=Locbe.located-3SgMUnm=to/inšeeg-onkibring-3PlConsBThey brought it to the place in which the king lived.

6. Verb inflection

6.1. Verb root and stem

The most common verb root structures are CVC- and CVCC-. Longer roots are less frequent and have the structure CVCVC- or CVCCVC-. Very few roots have a CVCCVCVC- structure. An example is **?ardulum-** 'to race'.

In stem formation the verb root is immediately followed by one or more derivational suffixes. Stems can also be derived by gemination of the last root consonant or by reduplication of part of the root. Inflectional suffixes appear as the last element of a verb word. The distributional order of verb root and suffixes is summarised below:

Verb stem-Derivational Suffixes-Inflectional Suffix

6.2. Inflectional categories

The expression of inflectional categories in Ts'amakko verbs is exclusively suffixal. The inflectional verbal suffixes are portemanteau morphemes conveying grammatical information on the subject and the situation expressed in the verb.

Subject indexing categories are:

- -Person (1st, 2nd and 3rd)
- -Number (singular and plural)
- -Gender (for third person singular)

The intersection of the subject indexing categories makes the following distinctions:

1Sg

2Sg

3SgM

3SgF

1Pl

2P1

3P1

The paradigms are shown in the following table:

Table 33: The verbal paradigms

-Unmarked (Unm)	
-Marked-Imperfective (Impfv)	
-Past Negative (PstNeg)	-Non Past Negative (NonPstNeg)
-Main Future (MainFut)	-Subordinate Future (SFut)
-Future Negative (FutNeg)	
-Jussive Positive (Juss)	-Imperative Positive (Imp)
-Jussive Negative (JussNeg)	
-Consecutive (Cons)	

A discussion on the tonal properties of the verb paradigms can be found in paragraph 2.4.5. of the chapter on Phonology. The full verb paradigms are given at the end of the present chapter.

6.3. Verb classes

There are two lexically based verb classes: class A and class B. No semantic factors have been found to correlate with this lexical classification. Verbs of class A are numerically predominant and represent about 80% of the verbal lexemes.

The distinction between the two verb classes is manifested in the paradigms Unmarked, Consecutive and Imperative Positive.

The difference in the Unmarked paradigm is tonal. The verbs of class A carry high tone on the paradigm vowel of all the persons except 2Pl and 3Pl, while verbs of class B have low tone Unmarked inflectional suffixes and high tone on all preceding vowels. See below the difference between the verb of class A **?ug**-'to drink' and the verb of class B **ži?**- 'to eat':

Table 34: Difference between Unmarked A and Unmarked B

	Unmarked A	Unmarked B
	'to drink'	'to eat'
1Sg	Րúg-í	ží?-ì
2Sg	የúg-dí*	ží?-tì
3SgM	Րúg-í	ží?-ì
3SgF	Րúg-dí	ží?-tì
1Pl	Րúg-ní	ží?-nì
2P1	የúg-dè	ží?-tè
3P1	የúg-è	ží?-è

*The /t/ regularly changes to [d] after voiced plosives.

In the Consecutive the difference lies in the shape of the suffixes. See in table 35 the comparison of the same two verbs:

Table 35: Difference between Consecutive A and Consecutive B

	Consecutive A	Consecutive B
	'to drink'	'to eat'
1Sg	Չ úg-á	ží?-ó
2Sg	Υúg-áy	ží?-óy
3SgM	Րúg-ú	ží?-ó
3SgF	Րúg-í	ží?-óy
1Pl	Չ úg-ánki	ží?-ónki
2P1	Չ úg-ánku	ží?-ónku
3Pl	૧ մg-ínki	ží?-ónki

The singular of the Imperative A corresponds to the simple verb root while the plural shows high tone on the suffix -á. The singular of Imperative B is inflected by -á while the plural has a suffix -inCá, as shown in table 36:

Table 36: Difference between Imperative A and Imperative B

	Imperative A	Imperative B
	'to drink'	'to eat'
2Sg	Չúg	ži?-á
2Pl	Րug-á	ži?-inɗá

6.4. Suffix sets

The subject-indexing suffixes can be grouped in the four sets shown in table 37. The **V** indicates a vowel that is established by the paradigm and characterises the whole paradigm. This vowel in the paradigms of set 1 is either **i** or **a**. The paradigms following set 2 have either **a** or **o**. The paradigms following set 3 have either **a** or **u**. Set 4 is limited to Consecutive verbs of class A and is the only set that shows no regular paradigm vowel. Set 5 is limited to adjectival verbs.

Table 37: Suffix sets

	Set 1	Set 2	Set 3	Set 4	Set 5
	(V=a/i)	(V=a/o)	(V=a/u)		
1Sg	- V	- V	- V	-á	-á
2Sg	-tV	-Vy	-V	-áy	-áy
3SgM	-V	-V	-V	-ú	-á
3SgF	-tV	-Vy	-V	-í	-áy
1Pl	-nV	-Vnki	-Vnki	-ánki	-úmma

2Pl	-te	-Vnku	-Vnku	-ánku	-úmma
3Pl	-e	-Vnki	-Vnki	-ínki	-úmma

6.4.1. Set 1

The paradigms belonging to set 1 are Unmarked, Non-Past Negative, Subordinate Future, Future Negative and Jussive positive and are shown in table 38.

All of them except the Jussive have the same inflectional suffixes based on the vowel i. The Jussive is different in that the paradigm vowel is -a and is not inflected for the second person. The future suffixes are preceded by the future marker -n. The i appearing in initial position in some of the suffixes is epenthetic.

All Unmarked B suffixes carry low tone. All inherent vowels of the Subordinate Future, Negative and Jussive paradigms carry high tone. The Unmarked series for verbs class A shows high tone vowels in all persons except 2Pl and 3Pl

Table 38: Suffix sets 1

	Unm. B	Unm. A	SFut	N-Pst Neg.	Fut.Neg.	Juss.
1Sg	-i	-í	-ni	-í	-ní	-á
2Sg	-ti	-tí	-inti	-tí	-intí	
3SgM	-i	-í	-ni	-í	-ní	-á
3SgF	-ti	-tí	-inti	-tí	-intí	-tá
1Pl	-ni	-ní	-inni	-ní	-inní	-ná
2P1	-te	-te	-inte	-té	-inté	
3P1	- е	-e	-ne	-é	-né	-é

6.4.2. Set 2

The paradigms belonging to set 2 are Marked-Imperfective, Main Future and Consecutive B (the structure of Consecutive A is discussed in 6.4.4.). The paradigm vowel of the Imperfective and the Main Future is -a. The Main Future shows the future marker -n. The vowels of the Marked-Imperfective suffixes and Main Future carru low tone. The tone of the paradigm vowel $-\acute{\mathbf{o}}$ of the Consecutive B is high, while the final vowels of the plural persons carry low tone. See the paradigms in table 39 below:

Table 39: Suffix sets 2

	Marked-Imperf.	Main Future	Consecutive B
1Sg	-a	-na	-ó
2Sg	-ay	-nay	-óy
3SgM	-a	-na	-ó
3SgF	-ay	-nay	-óy
1Pl	-anki	-nanki	-ónki

2P1	-anku	-nanku	-ónku
3P1	-anki	-nanki	-ónki

6.4.3. Set 3

The paradigms belonging to set 3 are Past Negative, and Jussive Negative. The Past Negative has a paradigm vowel -a. The Jussive Negative has a paradigm vowel -u. All the vowels of any suffix carry high tone in both paradigms See the two paradigms in table 40 below:

Table 40: Suffix sets 3

	Past Negative	Jussive Negative
1Sg	-á	-ú
2Sg	-á	-ú
3SgM	-á	-ú
3SgF	-á	-ú
1Pl	-ánkí	-únkí
2P1	-ánkú	-únkú
3Pl	-ánkí	-únkí

6.4.4. Set 4: Consecutive paradigm

Set 4 has only one member, the Consecutive paradigm of class A verbs. This set is closer to the set 2 and 3 in that the paradigm vowels are followed and not preceded by other segments in complex suffixes. However, it differs from set 2 because no y appears in the 3SgF and it differs from set 3 because the 2Sg suffix has a y. The suffix set 4 has no homogeneous paradigm vowel. All vowels, except the final vowels of the plural persons, carry high tone. See the paradigm Consecutive A below:

Table 41: Suffix sets 4

	Set 4
1Sg	-á
2Sg	-áy
3SgM	-ú
3SgF	-í
1Pl	-ánki
2P1	-ánku
3P1	-ínki

6.4.5. Set 5: Adjectival verbs

The paradigm of the adjectival verbs shows suffix set 5. The tone is high for all the vowels except for the final **a** of the plural persons suffixes of set 5, which carries low tone. Set 5 distinguishes the adjectival verbs from the stative verbs used as adjectival modifiers, which are inflected according to the Marked-Imperfective paradigm. See the suffix set 5 in table 42, which is followed by a list of adjectival verbs:

Table 42: Suffix set 5

	Set 5
1Sg	-á
2Sg	-áy
3SgM	-á
3SgF	-áy
1Pl	-úmma
2P1	-úmma
3P1	-úmma

Most adjectival verbs denote permanent state. Two semantic groups can be isolated: basic colours and size adjectival verbs. A third group includes verbal adjectival verbs denoting general physical quality. Below is a complete list of adjectival verbs:

Colors	
biŶ-	to be white
የiɗɗ-	to be red
gumm-	to be black
laxx-	to be unripe
	_
Size	
ɗamm-	to be big
gaarm-	to be enormous
takk-	to be small
zigam-	to be long
maanga?-	to be short
Physical quality	
raandaħ-	to be cold
reša?-	to be light
kaħħ-	to be hard
xampa?-	to be soft
c'aldax-	to be soft
Others	
c'ab-	to be wet
goob-	to be fertile
q'ayy-	to be good

An adjectival verb may appear in predicative position or in attributive position. In the second case it forms a subject relative clause (cf. 4.1.2.). When in attributive position, the subject is often in focus position and the verb appears in the third singular masculine form for all persons (see 6.4.7.).

q'awko damm-a

man.M big-3SgMAdj

big man (litt: 'the man who is big')

gor-e kaxx-a

people-P be.strong-3SgMFocAdj

strong people (litt: 'the people who are strong')

Not all the permanent states are indicated with an adjectival verb. 'To be hot', for example, has a stative verbal root **lub**- (see 6.5.3.).

6.4.6. Imperative

The only paradigm that does not fit in the suffix sets is the Imperative. This paradigm expresses the inflectional difference between class A verbs and class B verbs (see 6.3.):

	Imperative A	Imperative B
2Sg	-0	-á
2Pl	-á	-inďá

6.4.7. Subject focus verbs

The Unmarked, Marked-Imperfective, Adjectival and Consecutive verbs associated to a subject in focus neutralise person distinction and all the subject persons are indexed with the third person masculine singular suffix. See an example of plural subject in focus with reduced Unmarked verb:

Sand-e Saaka katt-e duul-i

water-P and fire-F go.to.war-3SgMFoc.Unm The water and the fire went to war.

6.4.8. Overview of paradigms

The distribution of the paradigms in the three sets with details on the suffixes is summarised in table 43:

Table 43: Overview of paradigms

Set 1	Set2	Set3	Set4
Unmarked B -(t/n)i -(t)e	Imperfective -a(y~nki~nku)	Past Negative -á(nkí~nkú)	Adjectival verbs -a(y) -umma
Unmarked A -(t/n)í -(t)e	Main future -na(y~nki~nku)	Jussive Negative -ú(nkí~nkú)	
Unmarked Neg/ -(t/n)í -(t)é	Consecutive B -ó(y~nki~nku)		

```
Subordinate
future
-(i)n(t/n)-i
-(i)n(t)-e

Future Negative
-(i)n(t/n)-í
-(i)n(t)-é

Jussive
-(t/n)-á
-é
```

6.5. Unmarked and Marked-Imperfective

The main declarative paradigms are the Unmarked and the Marked-Imperfective. There is no complementary distribution in the division of the aspectual sphere between the Unmarked and the Marked-Imperfective paradigm. The only paradigm that provides a formal expression within the aspectual sphere is the Marked-Imperfective, which describes imperfective situations. The Unmarked form covers the whole aspectual sphere. It can be used to describe perfective and imperfective situations. In other words, it is *not* a Perfective form.

Even though the Unmarked is not a formal expression of perfective it is the only paradigm to be used in perfective situations. The reason for this is accidental: there is no alternative to the Unmarked paradigm. The Unmarked verbs are in most of the cases translated with English Past tense verbs.

The following example is taken from the folktale 'The elephant and the squirrel'. The background setting is expressed by the verb **goš**- 'to tend'. In this role it has Unmarked form and imperfective context. The verb **Gal**- 'to give birth' is also in Unmarked form. It indicates the action inserted in the background situation and it is taken as a temporal whole. In other words it has perfective context:

The Unmarked can be used in imperfective contexts. As the Marked-Imperfective is explicitly imperfective, imperfective situations can therefore be expressed by both paradigms. This in shown by the following examples:

?aanto šamb-o bul-i

now child-M jump-3SgMUnm The child is jumping now.

?aanto šamb-o bula

now child-M jump-3SgMImpfv The child is jumping now.

Informants attributed the same progressive value to the two verbal forms shown above.

The verbs of the two sentences below describe habitual events/situations. The first sentence shows an Unmarked verb. The second shows two Marked-Imperfective verbs:

garr-o ?arraf-ko=nu le?-e goš-i

squirrel-M elephant-M=from cows-P tend-3SgMUnm The squirrel used to tend the cows for the elephant.

gor-e ki wa?k-o wuyyamesad-anki ki naa=ma people-P Sent-3 god-M make.call-3.PlImpfv Sent-3 Loc=Dir

?acc-anki

go-3.PlImpfv

The people who prayed to god used to go to him.

Compare also:

?inank-o ?aanto daale goš-i

boy-M now goats tend-3SgMUnm Now the boy is tending the goats.

?ošonk-o ?ee=ka bog-a

coldness-M 1Sg=Obj kill-3SgMImpfv The coldness is killing me.

?err-o pool-o=yay dib-i

rain-M cloud-M=with fall rain-3SgMUnm The rain falls from the clouds.

hayna guddo ki zey-i kallikk-o ligg-a

so up Sent-3 go-3SgMUnm sun-M go.out-3SgMImpfv When it (the moon) goes up in this way the sun goes out.

These overlaps of the Unmarked and the Marked-Imperfective in imperfective contexts prove that the opposition between the Unmarked and the Marked-Imperfective paradigms is not in the aspectual sphere.

The reason behind the choice between them must reside in some other dimension. This dimension could not be determined in the context of the present study.

6.5.1. Unmarked

The Unmarked paradigm does not attribute a specific aspectual value to a process or a state. This paradigm is used to express a verbal concept in any aspectual and temporal situation. Examples:

Perfective context

Unmarked verbs may express an action that occupies a point in time and is not seen as a process.

In the examples below, the Unmarked forms of the verb **xaf**- 'to come' describe that the subject arrived at a certain point, while someone else was involved in a durative action:

?ise ži?-a=nnay ?ine xaf-ni

3SgFSubj eat-3SgFImpfv=Backgr 1PlSubj come-1PlUnm We arrived while she was eating.

?ine maaxx-ete wag-a wak-anki=nnay baq'q'ala
1PlSubj good-LocP price-F talk-1.PImpfv=Backgr Baqqala
guddo=nu tirmatt-o xaf-i
up=from running-M come-3SgMUnm
While we were talking about the price of the objects Baqqala arrived running.

The Unmarked verb **šiggaroš-i** 'he stopped (tr.)' in the example below indicates an abrupt event: while the subject was driving, he stopped the car. See example:

makin-agor-anaycar-Fdrive-3SgMImpfvdrive-3SgMImpfvBackgrmakin-ašiggaroš-icar-Fstop-3SgMUnmWhile he was driving and driving he stopped the car.

Also the Unmarked verb **kiy-ti** 'she said' appearing in the example below, shows no internal development:

gʻiif-ay bu adʻ-i kiy-ti sleep-3SgFImpfv be.sick-1SgUnm say-3SgFUnm While she was sleeping she said 'I am sick'.

Perfect context

The following example shows the verbs **xaf-** 'come', **gar-** 'be made', **gar-** 'to cook' in the Unmarked form, indicating completed actions:

gudur-k-o xaf-i ba loo?-o-se=ma hyena-Sg-M come-3SgMUnm Cons cow.F-M-Def=to/in da?ad-a na?a wait-3SgMImpfv Cont
The hyena arrived to the cow and waited for the cow. (From the folktale 'The elephant and the squirrel).

ži?-o ki gar-i yaaka **ži?-nanki** eat-M Sent-3 be.made-3SgMUnm when eat-1PlMFut We will eat when the food is ready.

ži?-o-se ?ise ga?-ti ka ?in=nu eat-M-Def 3SgFSubj prepare-3SgFUnm Sentj 1Sg=Dat **šeeg-a** bring-SgImpB Bring me the food she prepared.

Concomitant context

In the example below, the action of the Unmarked verbs **zow-i** 'he was going' and **q'omm-i** 'he was eating grain' are performed along the same time line:

zow-i yaaka q'omm-i go-3SgMImpfv when eat.grains-3SgMUnm While he was going he ate the grains.

Habitual context

The action of the verb **?ug-** in the example below is habitual:

Yuldeq'aytoxumbiweyts'o=taxoronkoYug-iUlde.MtimeallWeyt'o=uponhoney.meaddrink-3SgMUnmUlde in Weyt'o always drinks tej.

Progressive context

The Unmarked is also used with ongoing events. This is shown in the examples below by the verb **godd**- 'to do' and **raf**- 'sleeping':

moo godd-iti

what do-3SgFUnm What is she doing?

She is sleeping now.

PaantoPiseraf-tinow3SgFSubjsleep-3SgFUnm

Future context

The Unmarked is also used for future situations. Its presence in the future context is quite infrequent because of the existence of the proper future paradigms (see 6.6.). In the example below the verb **wal-** has an Unmarked form and indicates a future action:

baq'q'ala ?akim-itt-o godd-i yaaka
baqqala doctor-Sg-M do-3SgMUnm when
paš-o da?t-e ka wal-i
field-M watching.F Sent forget-3SgMUnm
When Baqqala becomes a doctor he will forget how to watch the field.

The Unmarked paradigm may also express an order. See example:

?ee=ta magg-iti 1Sg=Loc leave-2SgUnm Get away from me!

Pammake bay-iti perfect say-2SgUnm Say that correctly!

?inda muunt-o ?eem-ni exhort sky-M look at-1PlUnm Come one let's look at the sky.

6.5.2. Marked-Imperfective

The Marked-Imperfective stresses the internal temporal development of a process or a state. No reference is made to the beginning and the end of the action. The most common meanings of the Marked-Imperfective are durative, habitual and concomitant. The relative time in which the situation is realised is not indicated and is determined by the context. The use of the Marked-Imperfective paradigms is shown in the sentences below.

Durative

The Marked-Imperfective is used to indicate that a situation holds along a certain span of time. In the first two examples below the forms da?ad-a 'he was waiting' and ?ogoy-a 'he was coming' are set in the past. da?ad-a 'he

was waiting' is followed by the continuative marker **na?a**, which can optionally follow a durative verb.

da?ad-ana?abada?ad-ana?abawait-3SgMImpfvContConswait-3SgMImpfvContConsgallaworaf-i

night sleep-3SgMUnm

He was waiting and waiting until at night he fell asleep.

gelzakk-o garr-ulo faann-atte ?ogoy-a
baboon-M squirrel-LocM after-LocF come-3SgMImpfv
garr-o zow-i=nay gelzakk-o xaf-i
squirrel-M go-3SgMUnm=Backgr baboon-M come-3SgMUnm
The baboon was going behind the squirrel. When the squirrel left the baboon arrived.

In the following examples the situation described by the Marked-Imperfective verb **ximba**d-a holds during the time of speech.

?aanto pool-o ximbad-a

now cloud-M be.visible-3SgMImpfv Now the cloud is visible.

Habitual

The Marked-Imperfective forms **fugad-ay** 'you are satiated', **?acc-a** 'he goes' and **lu6as-a** 'it burns' in the three examples below indicate situations occurring habitually:

Patomoo ži?-tibaq'aytoxumbika2SgSubj what eat-2SgUnmCons timeallSentpugad-aybe.satiated-2SgImpfvWhat do you eat to be always satiated?

Pallo q'ayto xumbi gabaya=ma Pacc-a

Allo time all market.F=to/in go-3SgMImpfv Allo goes always to the market.

kaallikk-o lubas-a

sun-M burn-3SgMImpfv The sun burns.

Concomitant

The situations indicated by the Marked-Imperfective verbs **tiir-a** 'he was running', **goš-a** 'I was tending', **?ag-anki** they were' **far-ay** 'she was dying' and **ħotol-ay** 'she was shivering' in the five examples below are concominant to other events. See examples:

tiir-a nay kotta=na par-i nay run-3SgMImpfv Backgr PronM.Dist1=Loc die-3SgMUnm Backgr That one died while he was running.

maar-te ka goš-a gur-i
female calf.F-F Sent tend-3SgMImpfv mate-3SgFConsA
woq'oš-i dal-i
be.pregnant-3SgFCons give.birth-3SgFCons
While I was tending the female calf, she mated, became pregnant

zi?t-ilo?ag-anki=nnaygarm-ogaar-ko=maeating-Locbe.located-3PlImpfv=Backgrlion-Mtree-M=to/inkadd-iba?ufunde=ka?i?-uclimb-3SgMUnmCons3Pl=Objsee-3SgMConsWhile they where eating the lion climbed on a tree and saw them.

far-ay yaaka ?ufo=kka sor-i die-3SgFImpfv when 3SgMSubj=Sent run-3SgMUnm While she was dying he run away.

buggad-i kiy-ti ba tetta hotol-ay be.sick-1SgUnm say-3SgFUnm Cons PronF.Dist1 shiver-3SgFImpfv While she was shivering she said 'I am sick'.

Future context

The Marked-Imperfective has been found in future contexts only once in the corpus. See the example below:

?ato moo godd-ay 2SgSubj what do-2SgImpfv What will you do?

and gave birth.

6.5.3. Stative verbs

In many languages, stative verbs such as 'know', 'think' and 'love' are not inflected with an imperfective paradigm as the stativity of these verbs cannot be described in their internal development (Comrie 1976: 35). In Ts'amakko this holds true only for the verb **gee?**- 'to want', which is inflected only in the Unmarked. A group of stative verbs can be inflected both in Unmarked and Marked-Imperfective. See a list below:

to think to look at to like to know to forget Unm. ?ekkesaɗ-i ?eem-i c'igaɗ-i ?ar-i wal-i Impfv. ?ekkesaɗ-a ?eem-a c'igaɗ-a ?ar-a wal-a

Other qualitative verbs have the Marked-Imperfective paradigm as the only possible option. They are listed below. The list is followed by some example sentences:

3SgM	3P1	
luß-a	lu6-anki	to be hot
maq'al-a	maq'al-anki	to be salty
zoor-a	zoor-anki	to be sweet
xinaw-a	xinaw-anki	to stink

gaar-e lu6-anki

wood-P be.hot-3PlImpfv The wood is hot.

saan-k-o maq'al-a

meat-Sg-M be.salty-1SgMImpfv The meat is salty.

muuz-e zoor-ay

banana-F be.sweet-3SgFImpfv The banana is sweet.

These sentences may also be interpreted as subject relative clauses, in which the stative verb appears as an adjectival modifier. They can be therefore translated as 'hot wood', 'salty meat' and 'sweet banana' respectively (cf 4.1.1.).

6.6. Future

6.6.1 Main Future and Subordinate Future

Future is morphologically expressed by the suffix -n attached to the root or the stem and followed by the suffixes that are formally identical to those of the Unmarked and the Marked-Imperfective paradigms. Therefore there are two paradigms expressing future, and only future, actions. Note, however, that the two future paradigms do *not* indicate Unmarked and Marked-Imperfective situations in the future. The opposition is between a main and subordinate clauses. The Main Future has the inflectional endings of the Marked-Imperfective. The Subordinate Future has the inflectional endings of the Unmarked.

The Subordinate Future is the inflection for a subordinate future verb. Moreover, the Subordinate Future has focusing function in main clauses (see 6.6.3).

6.6.2. Main Future

The Main Future appears only in main sentences and has a basic future meaning. It is commonly used in order to express intention, will, order and exhortation. The following declarative sentences provide examples:

geeray zow-e=bba q'ayna kol-nanki yesterday go-3PlUnm=Cons tomorrow return-3PlMainFut They went yesterday and will come back tomorrow.

?ano zow-na ba na=ta gassaɗ-a 1SgSubj go-1SgMainFut Cons Loc=Loc ask-1SgImpfv I will go and ask him.

Sand-ete gid-atte Sardulum-nanki water-LocP inside-LocF race-1PlMainFut Let's make a race in the water.

ka??-i le?-e c'ox-nanki get up-SgImpA cows-P milk-1PlMainFut Get up! Let's milk the cows.

In main sentences, also the Subordinate Future form can appear. The Subordinate Future paradigm has the same basic future meaning and modal uses of the Main Future.

?anobu?ad-iba?akima=mazow-ni1SgSubj be.sick-1SgUnmConsdoctor.M=to/ingo-1SgSubFutSince I am sick I will go to the doctor.

q'awk-o kotta=y max-x-e bitman-ni kiy-i man-M PronM.Dist1=Fill bead-Pl-P buy-1SgSubFut say-3SgMUnm This man said 'I will buy beads'.

kirrin-ko kaaki ?aaka ko ?abba=yay ki tail-M PronM.2SgFPoss and PronM father=within Sent-3 hegg-ini play-1SgSubFut I will play with your tail and my father's tail.

maar-e=nu=kka gom6-o gass-inini female calves-P=from=Sent kraal-M prepare-1PlSubFut We will prepare a kraal for the female calves.

gabaya ?ogoy-nay na q'ey?afer=ma zow-ni market.F come-3SgFMainFut Loc3 Qäy Afär=to/in go-1SgSubFut When the market (day) comes I will go to Qäy Afär.

The semantic difference between the Main and the Subordinate Future in main clauses is not always evident, but has probably to do with the focussing property of the Subordinate Future. Those cases in which the Subordinate Future clearly functions as focus marker give support to this hypothesis.

6.6.3. Subordinate Future as focus form

There are cases in which the Subordinate Future appears as constituent focus marker or expresses evidentiality.

This is shown in the following examples. The first example is taken from the folktale 'The Squirrel and the Baboon'. The two characters decide to kill their mothers by putting them in a bag and throwing them from a hill. Before doing so they guess about what sound their mothers will produce while rolling down. There are two options: 'haš haš' and 'kuh kuh'. The element focussed by the Subordinate Future, e.g. 'kuh kuh', is the selected option. See example:

Pingiy-e taħħa=kka haš haš Pasa sukkam-nay
mother-F whose=Senthaš haš so roll-3SgFMainFut
Pingiy-e t-aayu kuh kuh Pasa sukkam-inti
mother-F PronF-1SgPoss kuh kuh so roll-3SgFSubFut
Whose mother will roll down making a hash hash-like sound?

My mother will roll down so making a kuh kuh-like sound.

The following example is extracted from the folktale 'The Squirrel and the Guinea fowl'. The squirrel proposes to his friend not to eat the stored grains until the following rainy season. He has to propose to eat another kind of food. He selects **wa??e** 'beans'. The Subordinate Future form of the verb focuses on the selected item.

See example:

ber-ko xaf-na ba dor-o
rainy.season-M come-3SgMMainFut Cons granary-M
ži?-onki=ye
eat-1SgCons=Emph
?anto ži?-ni=kka waŶŶ-e ži?-nini.
now eat-1PlFutNeg=Sent beans-P eat-1PlSubFut
When the rainy season comes we will eat from the granary
Let us not eat from it now, let us eat beans.

Content questions make use of an interrogative element. These interrogative elements represent the pivots of the question and are pragmatically marked by the Subordinate Future. This paradigm has therefore a distinctive function to mark the wh-word as the focus element of a future content questions.

Below are examples of future content interrogative sentences. The focused wh-words are found immediately before the Subordinate Future verb. They are in italics in the translation:

bara zoy-inti

when go-2SgSubFut When will you go?

hez-itt-e boytakk-ilo=yay moo godd-ini star-Sg-F boytakko-LocM=with what do-3SgSubFut *What* will he do with the root of the boytakko-tree?

bogol-t-e ka mala m=bas-inini

queen-Sg-F Sent how 1=do-1PlSubFut *What* shall we with to the queen?

dal-a ?aka n=dayy-inini

newbornFutcalf-F where 1=get-1PlSubFut *Where* will we get a newborn calf?

The focus expressed by the Subordinate Future may enhance evidentiality. This is shown by native speaker judgements concerning sentences that, on first sight, seem to be neutral in meaning. This will be shown by the analyses of the yes/no question 'Will he come tomorrow?' and the related answer 'He will come tomorrow'. They are made up of the same elements. Their intonations differ in that the questions risen their pitch sentence finally. Compare the two questions:

q'avna ?ogov-na?

tomorrow come-3SgMMainFut Will he come tomorrow?

and

q'ayna ?ogoy-ni?

tomorrow come-3SgMSubFut Will he come tomorrow?

The question is presented with a Subordinate Future verb if the person who answers is supposed to be informed and can answer correctly. The first question, with Main Future verb, has no special implication. Who utters this question just wonders and does not expect a precise answer.

The answer 'He will come tomorrow' can also be formulated with both verb forms:

q'ayna ?ogoy-na

tomorrow come-3SgMMainFut He will come tomorrow.

q'ayna ?ogoy-ni

tomorrow come-3SgMSubFut He will come tomorrow.

The second answer, with a Subordinate Future verb, is used if one is really sure that the event, his arrival tomorrow in this case, will happen. The first one, with a Main Future, is a more general statement. It does not imply that the event will surely happen.

The Subordinate Future can express focus. It is used to focus an element of the sentence. The focus element is the one selected among a limited or unlimited group. Moreover, this paradigm indicates the focussed status of interrogative elements in content questions. Evidentiality is enhanced by the sentence focus and the Subordinate Future has also an evidential role. This property has been suggested by the speakers and resulted from the comparison with the Main Future. It was not possible to determine all the contexts in which the Subordinate Future stresses evidentiality.

6.6.4. Future in conditional and final sentences

This Future paradigm is labelled Subordinate because it is used in semantically conditional or final sentences. A future main sentence has a Subordinate Future verb if it indicates the necessary condition for the realization of a coordinated sentence or indicates for which purpose the action of the coordinated sentence is performed. See the examples below:

?ufunde q'ayy-ine=nu šitt-o šiinam-e 3PlSubj be.good-3PlSubFut=from cream-M smear.to.oneself-3PlUnm They smeared cream over themselves to look nice.

ži?-o ga?-inti katt-e ko?-itá food-M prepare-3SgFSubFut fire-F light-3SgFJuss Light the fire so that she will cook.

Prineq'awašeeg-ninaygasar-koka1PlSubjrifle-Fbring-1PlSubFutBackgrbuffalo-MSentra?-nankishoot-1PlMainFutIf I bring a rifle we will shoot the buffalo.

6.7. Positive and Negative

There are several main Negative declarative paradigms. They are distinguished in the tense dimension between Past and Non-Past. A Future Negative paradigm is made up of the Non-Past Negative and the future marker $-\mathbf{n}$.

Formally, the Negative paradigms are not linked directly to the positive paradigms and semantically do not reflect the values of the positive

paradigms. The Past Negative describes past situations and Non-Past Negative describes present and future situations. They are used with no reference to the aspectual development of the event.

See, for examples the two sentences below. Both contain a Past Negative verb and are set in the past. In the first sentence the verb describes a habitual negative event. In the second sentence the aspectual value of the Negative verb is perfect.

luq'a=ta ?akkadd-o c'igadd-a=kka

luqa=upon sitting-M love-3SgMPstNeg=Sent He did not like staying in Luqa.

?inank-o-se=nnay bu??-o waan-na=kka

boy-M-Def=Loc disease-M heal-3SgMPstNeg=Sent The disease of the boy did not heal.

The Negative verbs are followed by the Sentence marker =**kka** when occurring in a main clause. They are followed by a conjunction in dependent clauses

6.7.1. Past Negative

The Past Negative negates situations that occurred before the time of speech. Examples:

šiinin-k-o šeegat-ti

butter-Sg-M bring-2SgUnm Did you bring the butter?

šeegad-da=kka

bring-1SgPstNeg=Sent I did not bring it.

geeray ?err-o dib-ba=kka

ba makin-a

yesterday rain-M rain-3SgMPstNeg=Sent Cons car-F

zaarb-i

pass-3SgFConsA

Since it did not rain yesterday the cars passed.

The Past Negative is the only Negative paradigm that can be subordinated by the temporal conjunction **yaaka** 'when':

Perr-o ki dib-ba yaaka makin-a zaarb-ay

rain-M Sent-3 rain-3SgMPstNeg when car-F pass-3SgFImpfv When it does not rain the cars pass.

6.7.2. Non-Past Negative

The Non-Past Negative paradigm is used for situations occurring at the time of speech, habitual situations and future situations. See two examples of Non-Past Negative forms in habitual context:

?atunce=kka ?abbay=nu ?ol-a q'aba?-te=kka

2PlSubj=Sent father=from thing-F hear-2PlNonPstNeg=Sent You do not listen to your father.

?ilmal-e kaaki ka ?emm-o gee?-i=kka

tears-P PronP.2SgFPoss Sent seeing-M want-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent I do not want to see your tears.

The Non-Past Negative verbs of the following two examples are set in the Future:

titta ka na bitam-ni ki6a=ka

PronF.Prox1 Sent Loc buy-1SgSubFut PronM.different=Sent

bitam-i=kka

buy-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent

I will buy this, I will not buy another one.

ži?-o kutta kaayu ?ayid-i=nu

food-M PronM.Prox1 PronM.1SgPoss be.Sub-3SgMUnm=from

deeħ-i=kka

give-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent

Since this food is mine I will not give it.

The stative verb **gee?**- 'to want' cannot be inflected for Past Negative. The only possible Negative form is Non-Past Negative. This is used even referring to past situations. Example:

?ano gee?-i=kka

1SgSubj want-1SgNonPstNeg=Sent I do not want.

6.7.3. Future Negative

The Future Negative applies only to situations occurring after the time of speech.

?ine guuyu ži?-o ga?-ni yaaka

1PlSubj today food-M prepare-1PlNonPstNeg when

ži?-ni=kka

eat-1PlFutNeg=Sent

If we do not cook today we will not eat.

6.8. Mood: Jussive and Imperative

Orders are expressed by the Jussive and the Imperative paradigms. The Jussive is used for first and third persons. Orders addressed to a second person have an Imperative form. Examples of Jussive:

na?-a ?abun-á

baby-F rock-1SgJuss Let me rock the baby.

?ogoy-é kiy-i come-3PlJuss say-3SgMUnm He said 'let them come'.

The Imperative manifests the verb class distinction. The Imperative of class A shows the verb stem without suffixes in the singular. In case of stem final double consonants an epenthetic $-\mathbf{i}$ is added. The plural of class A shows the suffix $-\mathbf{\acute{a}}$. See examples of class A Imperative forms:

sıngular	plural	
bul	bulá	Jump!
loq'	loq'á	Swallow!
xur	xurá	Give up!
beerri	beerrá	Touch!
?uppi	?uppá	Whistle!
zaarbi	zaarbá	Pass!

Class B Imperative forms show a suffix -**á** in the singular and a suffix -**indá** in the plural. See examples:

singular	plural	
ži?á	ži?inɗá	Eat!
c'oxá	c'oxindá	Swallow!
zag'á	zag'inɗá	Slaughter!

With negations the Jussive paradigm is used for all the persons. The verb form is preceded by the Negative element **?innu** See the whole paradigm of the verb **zow-** 'go':

?ínnu zow-ú	Do not let me go.
?ínnu zow-ú	Do not go.
?ínnu zow-ú	Do not let him go.
?ínnu zow-ú	Do not let her go.
?ínnu zow-únki	Do not let us go.
?ínnu zow-únku	Do not go.
?ínnu zow-únki	Do not let them go.
	Pínnu zow-ú Pínnu zow-ú Pínnu zow-ú Pínnu zow-únki Pínnu zow-únku

6.9. Consecutive

The binary verb class distinction is manifested in the morphology of the Consecutive. There are two Consecutive inflectional series, one for each verb class (See 6.3.).

The Consecutive is an a-temporal paradigm. A Consecutive verb appears both as the last element in a sequence of sentences and as a converb preceding another verb.

In the following example a Consecutive is the last of a series of verbs:

?ano bog-i na=ta kiy-i ba zow-u1SgSubj kill-3SgMUnm Loc=Loc say-3SgMUnm Cons go-3SgMConsA
He said 'I killed her' and left.

In the following example a Consecutive verb precedes a final Consecutive verb:

bukkis-add-e boq'q'-u katt-e naa=ma den-Pl-P close-3SgMConsA fire-F Loc=Dir ko?-u light-3SgMConsA He closed the dens and set fire in it. (From the tale 'The squirrel and the guinea fowl').

The following string of verbs is made up of Consecutive verbs preceding other Consecutives verbs. Only the last Consecutive verb precedes a final Unmarked verb.

booraħ-o nu=nnu kubb-i ka??-u
seed-M LocM/P=Dat pour grains-3SgFConsA get up-3SgMConsA
pacc-e=ma zow-u booħt-e=nu zow-u ba
field-P=to/in go-3SgMConsA sowing-F=From go-3SgMConsA Cons
zann-o q'omm-o ba raaw-i
street-M eat.grains-3SgMConsB Cons finish-3SgMUnm
She poured the seeds for him, he left, he went to the fields and on the road while he was going to sow he ate and finished them.

6.10. Verb paradigms

CVC stem: **?ug (A)** 'to drink' and **ži? (B)** 'to eat'

Positive paradigms

•	Unm A	Unm B	Marke	d Impfv
1Sg	Չúg-í	ží?-i	Չúg-a	ží Ŷ-a
2Sg	Չúg-dí	ží?-ti	ያúg-ay	ží?-ay
3SgM	Րúg-í	ží?-i	Չúg-a	ží?-a
3SgF	Չúg-dí	ží?-ti	Չúg-ay	ží?-ay
1Pl	Չúg-ní	ží?-ni	Չúg-ánki	ží?-anki

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Negati

or or processing				
	Non-Past Neg.		Past Neg.	
1Sg	Չúg-í	ží?-í	Չ úgg-á	ží??-á
2Sg	۲úg-tí	ží?-tí	Չúgg-á	ží??-á
3SgM	Չúg-í	ží?-í	Չúgg-á	ží??-á
3SgF	ያúg-tí	ží?-tí	Չúgg-á	ží??-á
1Pl	Չúg-ní	ží?-ní	Yúgg-ánkí	ží??-ánkí
2Pl	ያúg-té	ží?-té	Yúgg-ánkú	ží??-ánkú
3Pl	Չúg-é	ží?-é	Yúgg-ánkú	ží??-ánkú

Future Negative		Jussive Negative		
1Sg	Րug-ní	ži?-ní	(?ínnu) ?úg-ú	(?ínnu) ží?-ú
2Sg	Չug-íntí	ži?-íntí	(Yínnu) Yúg-ú	(?ínnu) ží?-ú
3SgM	Րug-ní	ži?-ní	(Yínnu) Yúg-ú	(?ínnu) ží?-ú
3SgF	Չug-íntí	ži?-íntí	(Yínnu) Yúg-ú	(?ínnu) ží?-ú
1Pl	Րug-ínní	ži?-ínní	(?ínnu) ?úg-únkí	(?ínnu) ží?-únkí
2P1	ያug-ínté	ži?-ínté	(?ínnu) ?úg-únkú	(?ínnu) ží?-únkú
3P1	Չug-né	ži?-né	(?ínnu) ?úg-únkí	(?ínnu) ží?-únkí

CVVC stem: ?ooy- (A) 'to cry' and bood- (B) 'to dig'

Positive	paradigms
1 Osilive	paraaigms

	Unm. A	Unm. B	Marked	l Imperf.
1Sg	?óóy-í	bóód-i	?óóy-a	bóód-a
2Sg	?óóy-tí	bóód-ti	?óóy-ay	bóód-ay
3SgM	?óóy-í	bóód-i	?óóy-a	bóód-a
3SgF	?óóy-tí	bóód-ti	?óóy-ay	bóód-ay
1Pl	?óóy-ní	bóód-ni	?óóy-ánki	bóód-anki
2Pl	?óóy-te	bóód-te	?óóy-ánku	bóód-anku
3P1	?óóy-е	bóód-e	?óóy-ánki	bóód-anki

	Main	Future	Subordinate Future	
1Sg	?óóy-na	bóód-na	?óóy-ní	bóód-ní
2Sg	?óóy-nay	bóód-nay	?óóy-íntí	bóód-íntí
3SgM	?óóy-na	bóód-na	?óóy-ní	bóód-ní
3SgF	?óóy-nay	bóód-nay	?óóy-íntí	bóód-íntí
1Pl	?óóy-nánki	bóód-nánki	?óóy-nínní	bóód-nínní
2P1	?óóy-nánku	bóód-nánku	?óóy-ínté	bóód-ínté
3P1	?óóv-nánki	bóód-nánki	?óóv-né	bóód-né

	Jussive		Cons. A	Cons. B
1Sg	?ooy-á	bood-á	?óóy-á	bóód-ó
2Sg			?óóy-áy	bóód-óy
3SgM	?ooy-á	bood-á	?óóy-ú	bóód-ó
3SgF	?ooy-ítá	bood-ítá	?óóy-í	bóód-óy
1Pl	?ooy-ná	bood-ná	?óóy-ánki	bóód-ónki
2Pl			?óóy-ánku	bóód-ónku
3P1	?ooy-é	bood-é	?óóy-ínki	bóód-ónki

Imp. A Imp. B
2Sg **?óóy bood-á**2Pl **?ooy-á bood-íncfá**

Negative paradigms

1	Non-Past Negative		Past Negative		
1Sg	?óóy-í	bóód-í	?óóyy-á	bóódd-á	
2Sg	?óóy-tí	bóód-tí	?óóyy-á	bóódd-á	
3SgM	?óóy-í	bóód-í	?óóyy-á	bóódd-á	
3SgF	?óóy-tí	bóód-tí	?óóyy-á	bóódd-á	
1Pl	?óóy-ní	bóód-ní	?óóyy-ánkí	bóódd-ánkí	
2P1	?óóy-té	bóód-té	?óóyy-ánkú	bóódd-ánkú	
3P1	?óóy-é	bóód-é	?óóyy-ánkú	bóódd-ánkú	

	Future 1	Negative	Jussiy	ve Negative
1Sg	ži?-ní	ži?-ní	(?ínnu) óóy-ú	(2ínnu) bóód-ú
2Sg	ži ?-íntí	ži?-íntí	(2ínnu) óóv-ú	(2ínnu) bóód-ú

3SgM	ži?-ní	ži?-ní	(?ínnu) óóy-ú	(2ínnu) bóód-ú
3SgF	ži?-íntí	ži?-íntí	(?ínnu) óóy-ú	(2ínnu) bóód-ú
1Pl	ži?-ínní	ži?-ínní	(?ínnu) óóy-únkí	(2ínnu) bóód-únkí
2Pl	ži?-ínté	ži?-ínté	(?ínnu) óóy-únkú	(2ínnu) bóód-únkú
3Pl	ži?-né	ži?-né	(Pínnu) óóy-únkí	(Pínnu) bóód-únkí

CVCVC stem: q'aba?- (A) 'to hear' and ?abun- (B) 'to rock'

Positive paradigms

	Unm. A	Unm. B	Marked	Imperf.
1Sg	q'ábá?-í	?ábún-i	q'ábá?-a	?ábún-a
2Sg	q'ábá?-tí	?ábún-ti	q'ábá?-ay	?ábún-ay
3SgM	q'ábá?-í	?ábún-ti	q'ábá?-a	?ábún-a
3SgF	q'ábá?-tí	?ábún-i	q'ábá?-ay	?ábún-ay
1Pl	q'ábá?-ní	?ábún-ni	q'ábá?-ánki	?ábún-ánki
2Pl	q'ábá?-te	?ábún-te	q'ábá?-ánku	?ábún-ánku
3Pl	q'ábá?-e	?ábún-e	q'ábá?-ánki	?ábún-ánki

	Main	Future	Subordin	ate Future
1Sg	q'ábá?-na	?ábún-na	q'ábá?-ní	?ábún-ní
2Sg	q'ábá?-nay	?ábún-nay	q'ábá?-íntí	?ábún-íntí
3SgM	q'ábá?-na	?ábún-na	q'ábá?-ní	?ábún-ní
3SgF	q'ábá?-nay	?ábún-nay	q'ábá?-íntí	?ábún-íntí
1Pl	q'ábá?-nánki	?ábún-nánki	q'ábá?-nínní	?ábún-nínní
2Pl	q'ábá?-nánku	?ábún-nánku	q'ábá?-ínté	?ábún-ínté
3P1	q'ábá?-nánki	?ábún-nánki	q'ábá?-né	?ábún-né

	Jus	ssive	Cons. A	Cons. B
1Sg	q'aba?-á	?abun-á	q'ábá?-á	?ábún-ó
2Sg			q'ábá?-áy	?ábún-óy
3SgM	q'aba?-á	?abun-á	q'ábá?-ú	?ábún-ó
3SgF	q'aba?-ítá	?abun-ítá	q'ábá?-í	?ábún-óy
1Pl	q'aba?-ná	?abun-ná	q'ábá?-ánki	?ábún-ónki
2P1			q'ábá?-ánku	?ábún-ónku
3P1	g'aba?-é	?abun-é	α'ábá?-ínki	?ábún-ónki

Imper. A Imper. B
2Sg q'ábá? ?abun-á
2Pl q'aba?-á ?abun-ínďá

Negative paradigms

	Non-Past	Negative	Past Negative		
1Sg	q'ábá?-í	?ábún-í	q'ábá??-á	?ábúnn-á	
2Sg	q'ábá?-tí	?ábún-tí	q'ábá??-á	?ábúnn-á	
3SgM	q'ábá?-í	?ábún-í	q'ábá??-á	?ábúnn-á	
3SgF	q'ábá?-tí	?ábún-tí	q'ábá??-á	?ábúnn-á	
1Pl	q'ábá?-ní	?ábún-ní	q'ábá??-ánkí	?ábúnn-ánkí	
2P1	q'ábá?-té	?ábún-té	q'ábá??-ánkú	?ábúnn-ánkú	
3Pl	q'ábá?-é	?ábún-é	q'ábá??-ánkú	?ábúnn-ánkú	

Future Negative

1Sg	q'aba?-ní	?abun-ní
2Sg	q'aba?-íntí	?abun-íntí
3SgM	q'aba?-ní	?abun-ní
3SgF	q'aba?-íntí	?abun-íntí
1Pl	q'aba?-ínní	?abun-ínní
2P1	q'aba?-íntí	?abun-íntí
3P1	q'aba?-ní	?abun-ní

Jussive Negative

1Sg	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-ú	(?ínnu) ?ábún-ú
2Sg	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-ú	(?ínnu) ?ábún-ú
3SgM	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-ú	(?ínnu) ?ábún-ú
3SgF	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-ú	(?ínnu) ?ábún-ú
1Pl	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-únki	(?ínnu) ?ábún-únki
2P1	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-únku	(?ínnu) ?ábún-únku
3P1	(?ínnu) q'ábá?-únki	(?ínnu) ?ábún-únki

CVC-VC stem:

ka?-is- (A) 'to make stand up' and žoq'-am- (B) 'to be beaten'

Positive paradigms

- F				
	Unm. A	Unm. B	Marked Imperf.	
1Sg	ká?-ís-í	žóq'-ám-i	ká?-ís-a	žóq ³ -ám-a
2Sg	ká?-ís-tí	žóq'-án-ti	ká?-ís-ay	žóq'-ám-ay
3SgM	ká?-ís-í	žóq'-ám-i	ká?-ís-a	žóq'-ám-a
3SgF	ká?-ís-tí	žóq'-án-ti	ká?-ís-ay	žóq'-ám-ay
1Pl	ká?-ís-ní	žóq'-ám-ni	ká?-ís-ánki	žóq'-ám-ánki
2P1	ká?-ís-te	žóq'-án-te	ká?-ís-ánku	žóq'-ám-ánku
3P1	ká?-ís-e	žóq'-ám-e	ká?-ís-ánki	žóq'-ám-ánki

	Main future		Suboro	linate future
1Sg	ká?-ís-na	žóq'-ám-na	ká?-ís-ní	žóq'-ám-ní
2Sg	ká?-ís-nay	žóq'-ám-nay	ká?-ís-íntí	žóq'-ám-íntí

ká ?-ís-1 ká ?-ís-1 ká ?-ís-1	nay žóo nánki žóo nánku žóo	q'-ám-nay q'-ám-nánki q'-ám-nánku	ká?-ís-ní ká?-ís-íntí ká?-ís-nínní ká?-ís-ínté ká?-ís-né	žóq'-ám-ní žóq'-ám-íntí žóq'-ám-nínní žóq'-ám-ínté žóq'-ám-né
	Jussive		Cons. A	Cons. B
1Sg	ka?-is-á	žoq'-am-á	ká?-ís-á	žóq'-ám-ó
2Sg			ká?-ís-áy	žóq'-ám-óy
3SgM	ka?-is-á	žoq'-am-á	ká?-ís-ú	žóq'-ám-ó
3SgF	ka?-is-ítá	žoq'-am-ítá	ká?-ís-í	žóq'-ám-óy
1Pl	ka?-is-ná	žoq'-am-ná	ká?-ís-ánki	žóq'-ám-ónki
2P1			ká?-ís-ánku	žóq'-ám-ónku
3Pl	ka?-is-é	žoq'-am-é	ká?-ís-ínki	žóq'-ám-ónki
2Sg 2Pl	Imper. A ká?-ís ka?-is-á	Imper. B žoq'-am-á žoq'-am-ín d	á	
	ká?-ís-i ká?-ís-i ká?-ís-i ká?-ís-i 1Sg 2Sg 3SgM 3SgF 1Pl 2Pl 3Pl	ká?-ís-nay žóc ká?-ís-nánki žóc ká?-ís-nánku žóc ká?-ís-nánki žóc Jussive 1Sg ka?-is-á 2Sg 3SgM ka?-is-á 3SgF ka?-is-ítá 1Pl ka?-is-ná 2Pl 3Pl ka?-is-é Imper. A 2Sg ká?-ís	ká?-ís-nay zóq'-ám-nay ká?-ís-nánki zóq'-ám-nánki ká?-ís-nánku zóq'-ám-nánku ká?-ís-nánki zóq'-ám-nánki Jussive 1Sg ka?-is-á zoq'-am-á 2Sg 3SgM ka?-is-á zoq'-am-á 3SgF ka?-is-ítá zoq'-am-ítá 1Pl ka?-is-ná zoq'-am-ná 2Pl 3Pl ka?-is-é zoq'-am-é Imper. A Imper. B 2Sg ká?-ís zoq'-am-á	ká?-ís-nay žóq'-ám-nay ká?-ís-íntí ká?-ís-nánki žóq'-ám-nánki ká?-ís-nínní ká?-ís-nánku žóq'-ám-nánku ká?-ís-ínté ká?-ís-nánki žóq'-ám-nánki ká?-ís-ínté ká?-ís-nánki ká?-ís-né Jussive Cons. A 1Sg ka?-is-á žoq'-am-á ká?-ís-á 2Sg ká?-ís-áy 3SgM ka?-is-á žoq'-am-á ká?-ís-ú 3SgF ka?-is-ítá žoq'-am-ítá ká?-ís-ánki 2Pl ká?-ís-ánku 3Pl ka?-is-é žoq'-am-é ká?-ís-ínki Imper. A Imper. B žoq'-am-á ká?-ís-ínki

Negative paradigms

C	Non-Past Negative		Past Negative		
1Sg	ká?-ís-í	žóq'-ám-í	ká??-ís-á	žóq'q'-ám-á	
2Sg	ká?-ís-tí	žóq'-ám-tí	ká??-ís-á	žóq'q'-ám-á	
3SgM	ká?-ís-í	žóq'-ám-í	ká??-ís-á	žóq'q'-ám-á	
3SgF	ká?-ís-tí	žóq'-ám-tí	ká??-ís-á	žóq'q'-ám-á	
1Pl	ká?-ís-ní	žóq'-ám-ní	ká??-ís-ánkí	žóq'q'-ám-ánkí	
2P1	ká?-ís-té	žóq'-ám-té	ká??-ís-ánkú	žóq'q'-ám-ánkú	
3P1	ká?-ís-é	žóg'-ám-é	ká??-ís-ánkú	žóg'g'-ám-ánkú	

Future Negative

1Sg	ka?-is-ní	žoq'-am-ní
2Sg	ka?-is-íntí	žoq'-am-íntí
3SgM	ka?-is-ní	žoq'-am-ní
3SgF	ka?-is-íntí	žoq'-am-íntí
1Pl	ka?-is-ínní	žoq'-am-inni
2Pl	ka?-is-íntí	žoq'-am-íntí
3P1	ka?-is-ní	žoq'-am-ní

Future Negative

1Sg	(?ínnu) ká?-ís-ú	(?ínnu) žóq'-ám-ú
2Sg	(?ínnu) ká?-ís-ú	(?ínnu) žóq'-ám-ú
3SgM	(?ínnu) ká?-ís-ú	(?ínnu) žóq'-ám-ú
3SgF	(?ínnu) ká?-ís-ú	(?ínnu) žóq'-ám-ú
1Pl	(?ínnu) ká?-ís-únki	(Ŷínnu) žóq'-ám-únki
2P1	(?ínnu) ká?-ís-únku	(Ŷínnu) žóq'-ám-únku
3Pl	(ʔínnu) káʔ-ís-únki	(Ŷínnu) žóq'-ám-únki
3P1	(TINNU) KAT-IS-UNKI	(Tinnu) zoq -am-uni

7. Verb derivation

An inflected stem can be basic or derived. A basic stem corresponds to the verb root. A derived stem is a root with derivational suffixes or subject to the derivational process of gemination or reduplication. Derivational affixes can follow a derived geminated or reduplicated stem. They can also follow each other in fixed combinations.

7.1. Derivational suffixes

The derivational suffixes are Causative, Middle, Passive and Inceptive. There are suffixes that modify the valency of verbal roots (see 7.3), and suffixes that verbalise non-verbal roots (the verbalisers are described in 7.2.).

All derivational suffixes have a VC structure. The consonant characterises the derivation: \mathbf{s} expresses the Causative; \mathbf{d} the Middle, \mathbf{m} the Passive and \mathbf{w} the Inceptive. The vocalic element in the valency modifying suffixes is predominantly \mathbf{a} . It may appear as \mathbf{o} in the Causative, the Middle and the Passive. A second Causative suffix shows a vocalic element \mathbf{i} . The vocalic elements \mathbf{a} or \mathbf{o} are also used in the Causative verbalisers and the Middle verbalisers. The only inceptive verbaliser has \mathbf{a} and the only Passive verbaliser has \mathbf{o} . See table 44:

Table 44: Verb derivation suffixes

		Assimilation to radical o	Verbalisers
Causative 1	-as	-os	-as, -os
Causative 2	-is		
Middle	-aɗ	-od	-ad, -od
Passive	-am	-om	-om
Inceptive	-aw		-aw

The s of the Causative suffixes changes to \check{s} if the root contains a palatal sibilant (see 2.7.8.).

Some of the variants with \mathbf{o} can be explained by a kind of irregular vowel harmony with the root vowel \mathbf{o} . This is only attested with verbs ending with \mathbf{q} , \mathbf{h} or \mathbf{g} . One remarks that with consonants having the same place of articulation, such as \mathbf{x} , and $\mathbf{\hat{q}}$ this assimilation is not attested. Moreover, the consonants \mathbf{q} , \mathbf{h} or \mathbf{g} cannot be clustered in the phonological class of glottalised because of the presence of \mathbf{h} , which is not glottalised. It is therefore difficult to establishing a natural class of consonants that allow for \mathbf{o} -perseveration.

All the derivational suffixes of the verb **loq**' show **o** as vocalic element. See example:

loq'	loq'-os	loq'-oɗ	loq'-om
swallow	make swallow	swallow	be swallowed

There are few more examples of this kind of assimilation. See a complete list below:

boq'- to cut off	boq'-os to make cut off
bog - to kill	bog-os to make kill
žoq'- to beat	žoq'-of to be beaten
šooh - to wash	šooh-od to wash oneself
	šooh-om to wash oneself
	žoq'om to have diarrhoea
	roq'om to wrinkle

Harmony of o through a consonant is realised only in verbal derivation and it is not a regular process. For example, the derived affixes of the verb log 'to spoil' show a and not o. The derived forms of this verb are log-as (Causative), log-ad (Middle) and log-am (Passive). The verb žooq' 'to grind' is derived for Causative and Middle. The suffixes of these derivations appear as -aš and -ad respectively. šooh-ad and šooh-od are both accepted as middle forms of the verb šooh- 'to wash'. However, the Passive derivation of the verb bog, which as been listed above, is not bog-om but bog-am. Assimilation is realised in the Causative derivation of the lexeme, bog-os, and not in the Passive derivation bog-am. This is the only case of a lexeme with assimilation in one derived form and not in another.

Not all the cases of vowel **o** in the derivational suffixes can be accounted for by assimilation to the root vowel. See the examples:

žag	to insert	žag-oɗ	to insert for oneself
kaħħ	to be hard	kaħħ-os	to make hard
šiggar	to stop	šiggar-oš	to stop sb.

The causative verb $\S iggar-o\S$ alternates freely with the form $\S iggar-i\S$. Despite the phonological observations, the presence of o in the derivational suffixes is ultimately considered lexical.

There is a series of verbalisers characterized by the vowel **o**: **-os**, **-od** and **-om**. This vocalic element probably resulted from the merger of the inceptive verbaliser **-aw** and the derivational suffixes (See 7.2.).

7.2. Verbalisers

The series of verbalisers is made up of the Causative -as and -os, the Middle -ac and -oc, the Passive -om and the Inceptive -aw. They follow the meaning of the verbal derivational suffixes: -as and -os have similar causative pattern meaning of the Causative suffixes -as and -is; -ac and -oc have the same middle meaning of the Middle suffix -ac; -om has the same passive meaning of the Passive suffix -am; -aw has the same inceptive meaning of the Inceptive suffix -aw. Derived Causative, Middle and Passive verbs can therefore have either a verbal or a nominal root.

The verbalisers in **o** are probably historically derived from the Inceptive suffix -**aw** followed by the derivational suffixes -**as**/-**is**, -**ac** and -**am**. The vocalic element **o** results from the merge of -**aw** and the vowel of the derivational suffixes. See the table below:

Table 45: Verbaliser suffixes

-aw +-as/-is	-os
-aw +-ad	-oď
-aw +-am	-om

The verbalisers are normally attached to the stem of the noun. They take the place of the gender suffix of the noun. See for example **?uskakkod** 'to be dirty', the middle verbalised form of the noun **?uskakko** 'dirt':

?uskakk-o(m) dirt ?uskakk-od to be dirty

In some cases the verbaliser attaches to adjectival stems. See, for example, **zaar-od** 'to get mad', which is based on the stem **zaar** 'mad':

*zaar
zaar-akko (m) mad zaar-od to get mad
zaar-atte (f) mad
zaar-ayke (p) mad

7.2.1. Causative verbalisers –as and -os

The causative verbalisers -as and -os have a limited application. The first -as is attested in the verbalisation of the nominal root bayš-e (p) 'wounds':

bayš-e (p) wounds bayš-aš to wound

moo koo=ka bayš-aš-i

what 2SgM=Obj wound-Caus1-3SgMUnm What wounded you?

-os is attested in the verbalisation of an unattested stem *bogol related to the derived nouns bogol-ko 'king' and bogol-te 'queen'. The meaning is causative:

```
bogol-ko (m) king bolg-os to elect as king bogol-te (f) queen
```

7.2.2. Middle verbalisers -ad and -od

Nouns can become verbs by suffixation of the Middle verbaliser -ad and -od. The verbs convey meanings related to body and mind, which is characteristic of the middle.

The verbaliser **-ad** is only attested in the verbalisation of the following nouns. The derived verbs have to do with grooming:

```
sir-e (p) adornment sir-ad to adorn oneself božž-e (f) white clay božž-ad to smear white clay
```

The verbaliser **-od** has a wider application. See a list of lexemes derived by this middle suffix:

Body activ	ity			
c'o	egd-e (f)	blood	c'egd-od	to bleed
q'	ats'-o (m)	itch	q'ats'-od	to itch
q'	arm-a (f)	cramps	q'arm-od	to have cramps
Body state	!			
ያι	ıskakk-o (m)	dirt	?uskakk-od	to be dirty
ba	id-o (m)	hunger	bad-od	to be hungry
ba	q'ass-o (m)	splitting	baq'ass-od	to have a headache
State of m	ind		_	
za	ar-akko (m)	mad	zaar-oɗ	to get mad
za	ar-atte (f)	mad		
za	ar-ayke (p)	mad		

The suffix **-od** has a variant **-ud** in the formation of the verb **bayš-ud** 'to be wounded':

```
bayš-e (p) wounds bayš-ud to be wounded
```

The roots of a group of middle verbs have absorbed the middle verbaliser suffix **-od**. No lexical nominal root has been attested:

Sac'arkod	to get goosebumps
šikkomoɗ	to be numb
ɗagoɗ	to be angry
gasod	to be happy
Pinsuc	to dream

7.2.3. Verbaliser -om

The verbaliser **–om** has a very limited derivational function. The only example is the derivation of the verb **bolg-om** 'become a king' from the underlying stem **bogol**. The meaning is inceptive:

bogol-ko (m) king **bolg-om** to become king **bogol-te** (f) queen

7.2.4. Inceptive verbaliser –aw

The role of **-aw** as inceptive verbaliser is attested in the following examples:

q'olt-e (f)	female domestic animal	q'olt-aw	to become a female domestic animal
gaald-o (m)	pregnancy	gaald- aw	to become pregnant

Another inceptive verb, **geecc-aw** 'to become old' is derived from the stem ***geecc**. This stem is also found in the adjectives **geecc-akko** (m) 'old man', **geecc-atte** (f) 'old man' and **geecc-ayke** (p) 'old people'. A stem ***geeš** and an inceptive verbaliser **–uw** can be identified in the basic verb **geešuw** 'to become old'. The stem ***geeš** is considered a variant of the stem ***geecc** on the basis of the discussion in 2.2.13 about the origin of **cc** from geminated **š**.

*geecc	geecc-aw	to become old	*geeš	geeš- uw	to become old
	geecc-akko (m) geecc-atte (f) geecc-ayke (p)	old man old woman old people			

Two active verbs **paan-aw** 'to follow' and **?int-aw** 'to precede' are derived from the affixation of the inceptive **-aw** to the noun **paan-a** 'footprint' and to the adverbial **?inte** 'before':

paan-a (f)	footprint	paan-aw	to follow
?int-e	before	?int-aw	to precede

7.3. Valency changing derivation suffixes

7.3.1. Causative –as and –is

The distribution of $-\mathbf{as}$ or $-\mathbf{is}$ in causative verbs is to a large extent lexically determined, although semantics also play a role. The majority of the verbal lexemes selects $-\mathbf{as}$ as causative marker. I will refer to the suffix $-\mathbf{as}$ (and its variant $-\mathbf{os}$) as Causative 1 and to the suffix $-\mathbf{is}$ as Causative 2.

Table 46 shows that the distribution of the two suffixes is not phonologically conditioned:

Table 46: Distribution of -is and -as in similar phonological contexts

f/			
biif-as	to invite	raf-is	to make sleep
d/	to make hide	zormad-is	to cause anger
r/ xorr-as	to make send	gar-is	to build
k/ lekk-as	to make pierce side to side	reek-is	to make mix
rakk-as ħ/	to make hang	rook-is	to make speak
deeħ-as	to make give	gooh-is	to make roar
b/_as c'ib-aš	to make spear	6∕_is ɗaggab-is	to make arrive

The presence of -as and -is is not due to vowel harmony as is the case of -os in some derivations (see 7.1.). The only verb in which assimilation through back consonant may have played a role in the selection of the causative suffix -as is q'aq'-as 'to make cut'. More examples go against the analysis involving the assimilation process. There are verbs with stem final back vowels preceded by i that select -as, rather than -is. See examples of verbs with stem final ig, lig- 'to go out' and i?, ?i?- 'to see':

lig	to go out	lig-as	to make go out
?i?	to see	?i?-as	to show

There are also verbs with stem final back vowels preceded by a that select -is, rather than -as. See examples of verbs with stem final ag, mag'to change direction', and aah, gaah- 'to tell':

mag	to change direction	mag-is	to re-address
gaaħ	to tell	gaaħ-is	to make tell

The presence of **-as** and **-is** is partially predictable from the transitive or intransitive nature of the basic verb. **-is** is used almost exclusively with an intransitive base and **-as** is predominantly used with transitive bases. Examples of transitive base derived by **-as**

?ooš c'ib	to shave to pierce	?ooš-aš c'ib-aš	to make shave to make pierce
diig	to pour	diig-as	to make pour
gabb	to take	gabb-as	to make take
goɗɗ	to make	godd-as	to let sb. make
xorr	to send	xorr-as	to make send
deeħ	to give	deeħ-as	to make give
rakk	to hang sth.	rakk-as	to make sb. hang sth.
bood	to dig	bood-as	to make dig
q'aq'	to cut	q'aq'-as	to make cut
q'aw	to bite sth.	q'aw-as	to make sb. bite sth.
seħ	to collect	seħ-as	to make collect
kibir	to dance	kirb-as	to make dance

Intransitive base derived by -is

žimmir	to be stunned	žimmir-iš	to stun
zormaɗ	to be angry	zormad-is	to cause anger
kicca?	to laugh	kicca?-is	to make laugh
mag	to change direction	mag-is	to re-address
raf	to sleep	raf-is	to make sleep
wak	to speak	wak-is	to make speak
ɗaggaɓ	to arrive	ɗaggab-is	to make arrive
giipp	to go to sleep	giipp-is	to put to sleep
goh	to grow (intr.)	goh-is	to cultivate
ka?	to get up, to wake up (intr.)	ka?-is	to put up, to waken
mugur	to be surprised	murg-is	to surprise
goob	to get fat	goob-is	to make fat

The large number of counter-examples to these generalizations renders an analysis in terms of a functional opposition between the two Causative suffixes impossible. Several intransitive verbs have a Causative form in -as. See some of them in the list below:

?ucc	to be filled up	?ucc-aš	to fill up
lig	to go out	lig-as	to make go out
luß	to be on fire	lu6-as	to set on fire
bay	to say	bay-as	make say
baɗ	to hide	bad-as	to make hide
biΥ	to fall	bi?-as	to make fall
бul	to jump	Bul-as	to make jump
Pooy	to cry	?ooy-as	to make cry
daaf	to be blind	daaf-as	to make blind

One may note that Ts'amakko does not have a difference between patient-subject intransitives and agent-subject intransitives as in Oromo, where patient-subject intransitives require double causative (see Stroomer 1995:).

See, for example, that the semantically similar intransitive verbs wak 'speak' and bay 'say' show different causative suffixes: wak-is and bay-as.

Moreover, there is a group of four Causative verbs with a transitive base showing -is. See a complete list below:

ɗagg	to insult sb.	ɗagg-is	to make insult sb.
šooh	to wash	šooh-iš	to make wash
q'eed	to lick sth.	q'eed-is	to make lick sth.
Ŷazaz	to order	Ŷazaz-is	to make order

(From Amharic azaz- 'to order')

The subject of a Causative verb is a causer. The causer represents an added argument to the valency of the verb.

Due to causative derivation transitives become double transitives. The subject of a transitive verb becomes the object of the derived Causative form. See the example of **šambo** 'child' in the following sentences. In the first one the child is the subject of the underived transitive verb **šur** 'to suck'. Its object is **?ab-ne** 'breast'. In the second one it is the object, together with **?ab-ne** 'breast', of **šur-aš** 'make suck', which is the causative counterpart of **šur**. The mother, **?ingiye**, is the new subject/causer:

šamb-o Sab-ne šur-i

child-M breast-Pl suck-3SgMUnm The child sucks the breast.

?ingiy-e šamb-o=ka ?ab-ne šur-aš-ti

mother-F child-M=Obj breast-Pl suck-Caus-3SgFUnm The mother makes the child suck the breast.

By causative derivation, intransitive verbs may become transitive. See examples:

kadd to climb kadd-as to put on top

gaar-ko=ma kadd-i

treeM=to/in climb-3SgMUnm He climbed on the tree.

?ingiy-e tuusu ka wom6o sabbe=ma mother-F PronF.3SgMPoss Sent wom6o top=to/in kadd-as-i climb-Caus1-3SgMUnm
He put her mother on the wom6o-tree.

?awš to be ripen, to boil (intr.) ?awš-aš to make ripen, to boil (tr.)

Sand-e Sawš-e

water=Pl ripen-3PlUnm Water boiled.

zow-a ba Sand-e Sawš-aš-a

go-PlImpA Cons water=Pl ripen-Caus1-PlImpA Go and boil the water.

ka?? to get up suddenly ka??-is to wake sb. up suddenly

?aanto ka??-i

now get up-1SgUnm I got up now.

?ano q'awk-o ka??-is-i

1SgSubj man-M get up.Pun-Caus2-1SgUnm I woke up a man.

kicca? to laugh kicca?-is to make laugh

moo kicca?-ti?

what laugh-2SgUnm Why are you laughing?

damm-int-e tuusu ki ?ee=ka

be.big-Nom-F PronF.3SgMPoss Sent.3 1SgObj=Sent

kicca?-is-ti

laugh-Caus2-3SgFUnm

His big size makes me laugh.

The expression of the object in sentences with Causative verb is not obbligatory. See, for example:

damm-int-e t-uusu ki kicca?-is-ti

be.big-Nom-F FConn-3SgMPoss Foc3 laugh-Caus2-3SgFUnm His big size makes laugh.

takk-int-e t-uusu ki murg-is-ti

be.small-Nom-F FConn-3SgMPoss Foc3 be.surprised-Caus2-3SgFUnm His small size surprises.

The meaning of some causatives cannot be completely predicted.

q'odto digq'od-asto ploughgee?to wantgee?-asto be necessary

Two basic verbs contain a causative suffix. No corresponding verb form without causative suffix is attested. It is remarkable that one of the two, **?algas** 'to be able' is intransitive:

```
?algas to be able gaagis to carry on the back
```

7.3.2 Middle -ac

The Middle derivation suffix -ad and its variant -od indicate that the effect of the action is experienced by the subject himself, or that the action is performed for the own interest of the subject. The suffix has most of the meanings described by Mous (2004), which re-examines the classification of Middle verbs proposed by Kemmer (1994) from a Cushitic point of view. The Middle suffix can indicate that the action affects the body of the subject. Several body oriented Middle verbs belong to the semantic spheres of grooming and body care:

200š	to shave	?ooš-aɗ	to shave oneself
šiin	to smear	šiin-aɗ	to smear oneself
pil	to comb	pil-aɗ	to comb one's hair
šab	to tie	šab-aď	to wear
pug	to inflate	pug-aɗ	to get satiated

Body affecting Middle verbs have the body itself as agent:

muts'	to reduce	muts'-aɗ	to shrink
ɗab	to miss	ɗab-aɗ	to disappear
		ma?saɗ	to sprain

The Middle verbs with basic forms expressing involuntary body actions such as 'to yawn', 'to breath', 'to sneeze' and 'to hiccup' are shown below:

šamma?šad	to yawn
nassad	to breathe
tiršaq'ad'	to sneeze
?eq'ad	to hiccup

Specification of the body, or spontaneous action, characterises also the Middle derivation of the verb dal 'to give birth':

?ise ?inanko ɗal-ti

2SgFSubj boy give.birth-3SgFUnm She gave birth to a boy.

?inanko ɗal-aɗ-i

boy give.birth-Mid-3SgMUnm A boy was born.

The Middle derivation of **bad** 'to hide something' has to do with body position:

6ad to hide bad-ad to be hidden

Below is a group of basic Middle verbs indicating body position and state:

da?ad to wait
sexad to shelter
gilbad to lay on knees
?akkad to sit

gobad to crouch down

tuuts'ad to twist (e.g. to get into a small hole)

šukkaď to trample upon

bagad to run (only for plural subject)

Several Middle derived verbs indicate that the action aims to affect the subject. The action usually goes to the benefit of the subject. This autobenefactive function of Middle is highly productive (see the same situation in Somali, Saeed 1993:). Only one verb, geq-ad derivation from the verb geeq 'to want', indicates detriment of the subject:

bas	to do	bas-aɗ	to do for oneself
bay	to say	bay-acf	to say for oneself
?add	to add	Sadd-ad	to do for oneself
bitam	to buy	bitm-aɗ	to buy for oneself
gass	to ask	gass-ad	to ask for one's own interest
gee?	to want	gee?-ad	to want (when referring to a situation
-		-	affecting the subject)

Other uses of the Middle extension are reciprocal, passive and stative. See the examples below:

Reciprocal

?ook to change **?ook-ad** to exchange Passive

ži? to eat ži?-ad to be eaten

The meaning of a verb can become stative through affixation of the Middle suffix. See below the cases of **bu?-ad** 'to be sick', **fug-ad** 'to be satiated', **gal?-ad** 'to be married', **log-ad** 'to be spoiled' and **raw-ad** to be finished:

buuያ	to hurt	buu?-aɗ	to be sick
ga?al	to marry	gal?-aɗ	to be married
log	to spoil	log-ad	to be spoiled
raw	to finish	raw-aɗ	to be finished

A number of verbs appear to contain a frozen Middle. Some Middle frozen verbs with stative meaning refer to feeling, mental conditions and mental activity. See examples:

q'abad to feel
c'igad to love
naabad to hate
mi?ad to be sleepy
?ekkešad to think

See two more basic Middle verbs with stative meaning:

dikkad to be completed to be over

In addition, there are a few verbs that do not appear without the Middle suffix which have Middle meaning. Examples:

Body position

baalaabad to put a head rest on the nape **gaftad** to be stuck

Autobenefactive

waysad to mix for oneself darbad to throw for oneself

ginsad to beg

It is problematic to include the rest of the verbs with frozen **-ad** attested in the corpus in one of the middle semantic categories. See a list below:

gullasad to see from far

?oladi to wait, be late, spend the day **q'arrasad** to take mucus out of the nose

naggadad to trade (from Amharic näggädä 'to trade')

gubad to build wožžad to work

žammad to enter (plural subject)

?armad to appear

7.3.3. Passive -am

The Passive derivation suffix -am and its variant -om change a transitive verb to an intransitive one by suppressing the agent and assigning the subject position to the patient.

In the first example below the verb **q'aq'** 'to cut' is in basic form. The inflection indicates that a first singular person is performing the action of cutting. The object is **mars'a dootte** 'a young acacia'. In the second

sentences the same verb **q'aq'** contains the Passive suffix **-am** and is inflected for 3SgF. The agreement is with the new subject **mars'a dootte** 'a young acacia', while there is no indication of the agent. An agent phrase in the Passive is not allowed. See examples:

marts'-a dootte q'aq'-i young.acacia-F one.F cut-1SgUnm I cut a young acacia.

marts'-a dootte q'aq'-am-ti young.acacia-F one.F cut-1SgUnm A young acacia has been cut.

Some Passive verbs show semantic overlap with Middle. No semantic difference could be noticed between the Passive and Middle derivations of the following verbs:

šooh-	to wash	šooh-om	šooh-od	to wash oneself
šiin-	to smear	šiin-am	šiin-aɗ	to smear oneself
wuyy-	to call	wuyy-am	wuyy-aɗ	to call for one's interest

In some cases the surfacing of the middle meaning of 'passive' derived verbs is due to the fact that the subject of a Passive verb does not loose the role of agent. For example, the subjects of the verbs **šooh-om** 'wash oneself' and **šud-am** 'get dressed' are patient and agent at the same time.

```
šooh to wash šooh-om to wash oneself šud to cover šud-am to get dressed
```

bul-am

bul

to separate

The Passive expresses reciprocal action in **bulam** 'to leave each other'. In this respect it functions like a middle in this lexeme.

```
tannu bul-am-anki mann-acce=ma ?aag-onki
then separate-PAS-1PConsA house-P=to go back home-1PConsB
Then we left each other and went home
```

to leave each other

Two verbs that show the Passive suffix in the root, **worham** 'to fight' and **?ooxam** 'to quarrel', have inherent reciprocal meaning. A third one, **sukkam** 'to roll down', expresses body motion:

```
worham to fight (See worhanko 'war')

Yooxam to quarrel

sukkam to roll down
```

The verb **žag** 'to put in' has acquired a different meaning in the Passive:

žag insert žag-am descent

The Passive derivation of the verb **godd** 'to do' has the meaning 'to become'.

godd to do godd-am become

daal-e tannu ɗal-aɗ-e=bba gaan-inki

goat-P then give.birth-Mid-3PlUnm=Cons be.a.lot-3PlConsA

?ayyakko godd-am-inki

many do-Pass-3PlConsA

Then the goats were born and grew in number. There were a lot of them. (Litt: 'They became a lot').

The verbaliser **–om** also has the meaning 'to become'. See example:

bogol-ko (m) king **bolg-om** to become king

Another way to convey to meaning 'to become' is by suffixation of the Inceptive –aw (see the following paragraph 7.3.4.).

The suffix **-om** appears in the following reciprocal verb which has no base form.

karom co-habit

A variant **–um** appears in the following verbs with a frozen extension **um**:

?ardulum to compete **gussum** to follow

?orgošum to grow up (calf)

7.3.4 Inceptive -aw

The suffix -aw indicates that the subject enters into the state or the condition indicated by the derived lexeme. This suffix can be attached to verbal and non-verbal roots. See examples of verbal derivation by -aw:

kahh to be hard kahh-aw to become hard to be green, fresh laxx-aw to become green, fresh

q'onn to be slim **q'onn-aw** to become slim

A variant of -aw is -uw. It is attested in a few verbs. One example is šag-uw 'collect honey', derivation of the verb šag-. No difference of meaning between the basic and the derived form of this root has been recorded:

šag to collect honey šag-uw to collect honey

-aw is -uw can be found in the verbs xinaw 'to stink' and šukuw 'to frighten', but the meaning of these verbs is not inceptive:

7.3.5. Combination of derivational suffixes

A derivational suffix may follow a verb stem already having a derivational suffix. This process results in a sequence of derivational suffixes. The combination of suffixes is restricted by distributional rules. The order of suffixes reflects the order of derivation. The Inceptive –aw is never combined with other suffixes, but it plays a role in the historical background of the verbalisers (see 7.2.).

The general order is Passive-Causative-Middle. In a few exceptional cases, a Middle verb is followed by the Causative suffix -is. The Passive -am can be followed by the Causative2 -is and the Middle -ad. No combination with Causative 1 -as is attested. The use of -is for the causative of a passive is in line with the fact that -is is mainly used with intransitive verbs. Most of the verbs have a root CVC (see 6.1.). The suffixation of two VC morphemes results in a CVCVCVC stem. According to the vowel deletion rule described in 2.7.6., a stem with such a structure looses the second vowel. See below examples of the possible combinations (in the first examples, log 'to rot' and xur 'to give up' are followed by the combination -am-ad. The deleted vowel is the a of -am):

-am-ad

log to rot

log-am to be rotten **log-m-ad** to be rotten to one's disadvantage

?axx-e log wuyy-am-is

wuyy-am-is-ad-m-ad-e

milk-P rot-Pas-Mid-3PlUnm

The milk is spoiled (and now I do not have any to drink)

xur to give up

xur-am to be given up xur-m-ad to be given up on one's behalf

-am-is

?ook to change

?ook-am to be changed **?ook-am-is** to cause to be changed

If the Passive -am is followed by both Causative 2 and Middle suffixes the Causative -is directly follows the Passive and the Middle appears as the last element of the stem. See below the combination of the three suffixes:

-am-is-ad

wuyy- to call

wuyy-am to call on one's behalf wuyy-am-is to make call on one's behalf to make call on one's behalf

A verb derived by the Causative 1 -as can only be followed by the Middle suffix -ad

-as-ad

wuyy-as-ad to make call on one's behalf

No difference of meaning has been recorded between wuyy-am-is, wuyy-am-is-ad and wuyy-as-ad. All of them mean 'to make call on one's behalf'.

A Middle verb with derivation in -acf can only be followed by Causative 2 -is.

-ad-is

dee6de (f) thirst dee6-ad to be thirsty dee6-ad-is to make someone thirsty

A double causative is made up of two Causative 2 suffixes. The double causative is not productive. Few examples are attested:

-is-is

zaaray-is to make mad to cause to make mad

Lexicalised derived verbs can also be derived and their frozen suffix is followed by the derivational suffixes. See the example of the Middle derivation of the lexicalised causative verb **gaagis** 'to carry'. The Passive suffix **-am** appears after the whole stem and, therefore, immediately after **is**. This happens in spite of the fact that according to the normal order the Passive derivational suffix precedes the Causative suffixes:

gaagis to load gaagis-am to be loaded

7.3.6. Marginal unproductive suffix -a6

There is evidence for a marginal derivational suffix -a6. This suffix is considered a 'middle voice formative' by Hayward (1989). In the few cases attested in our corpus in which it has a role in derivation, a6 looks like a verbaliser. The only evidence for derivation from a verb is bazza6 'to be

plenty'. This verb is the derived form of **bazz** 'to be plenty', a loan from the Amharic **bäzz** 'to be plenty'. Verbaliser are often used for loans because loans are treated as nouns. Two denominal verbs with derivation in **-a6** are based on the nouns **buke** 'meeting' and the attributive noun **gaale** 'difficult'.

bazz	to be plenty	bazz-a6	to be plenty
buk-e (f)	meeting	buk-a6	to gather
gaale	difficult	gaal-ab	experience trouble

The verb **kama6** 'to be rich' is possibly connected to the verb **kamur**, which has the same meaning.

Other attestations of -a6 are found in verbs without basic forms. They are listed below:

```
sekab
            to roast meat
koršab
            to weed
            to be brave
porimab
            to be unready
gaansab
bašab
            to defeat
širab
            to turn
            to be straight
pikaß
            to throw wood
žug'untab
tumalsab
            to be paralysed
```

If we allow the derivational suffix -ab to have a variant in -a, one might also add the verb šolob 'to be swollen' to the list.

Some of the verbs ending in $-a\beta$ can be further derived for causative. It is remarkable that the causative derivation is infixed before the unproductive $-a\beta$. This fact supports the evidence for the status of $-a\beta$ as a grammatical unit. The Causative marker s appears infixed in the root in the examples below. This is due to metathesis between k and s. Metathesis worked in order to avoid a cluster ks (see 2.6.3.).

```
buka6 to gather buska6 to collect <*buk-s-a6
pika6 to be straight piska6 to make straight <*pik-sa-6
```

The verb **gaala6** 'to experience troubles' is irregular in that its Causative suffix is palatalised.

```
gaalab to experience troubles gaalsab to cause troubles
```

The verb **baša6** 'to defeat' is derived for Punctual and Passive. The Passive derivation is realised by infixation of the element **-m** before the **-a6**.

```
baša6 to defeat baš-m-a6 to be defeated bašša6 to conquer
```

žuq'unta6 (< ***žuq'u-m-ad-a6**) 'to throw wood' shows a frozen Passive marker and a frozen Middle suffix. The Passive appears as **n** and the Middle as **t**. **tumalsa6** 'to be paralysed' is a root with frozen infixed causative. Both verbs can be derived for Causative with suffixation of the Causative 2 -is.

žuq'unta6 to throw woodtumalsa6 to be paralysedtumalsa6-isto make throw woodto paralyse

7.4. Derivational stems

7.4.1. Punctual geminated stem

Punctual derivation is realized by gemination of the second root consonant. This is usually the root-final consonant.

raw	to finish	raww	to finish in one time
bul	to jump	βull	to make a jump
bitam	to buy	bittam	to buy one thing
baq'ali	sprout	baq'q'ali	to sprout at once

It should be noted that there also exist underived verbs with a CVCC root. These verbs are formally indistinguishable from punctual derived verbs. They do not allow for punctual derivation. See examples with **rakk** 'to hang', **hegg** 'to play', and **hull** 'to enter'.:

layb-e ?i=nnu rakk-i

cloths-F 1Sg=Dat hang-3SgMUnm He hung the cloths for me.

?abbay-o=yay hegg-ini

father-M=with play-1SgSubFut I will play with my father.

mann-e=ma ħull-iti

house-P=to/in enter-3SgFUnm She entered the house.

The punctual derivation marks the punctuality of the action. An example is the difference between **Yug** 'drink' and **Yugg** 'sip'. The former is a general verb expressing the action of drinking. The latter indicates that the action is performed once or at intervals.

Yug to drink Yugg to sip

Other geminated derived verbs expressing punctuality are shown below:

kaɗ	to climb	kaɗɗ	to climb with one movement
fug	to inflate	fugg	to inflate with one blow
ka?	to get up	ka??	to get up suddenly
q'eed	to lick	q'eedd	to lick once
cox	to milk	coxx	to squeeze the udder once

Punctuality often refers to the object of the action, which is understood as one and not more:

šab	to tie	šabb	to tie one thing at one time
ɗiš	to plant	ďišš	to plant one plant at one time

In the case of the verb **gab** 'to take', the attention is moved from the use of the whole hand to the use of the fingers only.

```
gab to take, to catch, to seize gabb to take with the fingers
```

A Punctual verb can indicate that the subject ideally limits the space setting of the action. For example, the verb **lig** 'to go out' implies that the subject leaves a closed space, a house for instance. The derived punctual verb **ligg** 'to go out from an open place' implies that the subject leaves an open space, such as a forest or a field, and delimits with its body the point in which he or she moves out. The verb **ligg** is also used for the movement of the rising sun.

```
lig to go out ligg to go out from an open place
```

The use of the Punctual stem is the preferred option in the Imperative. It gives a more immediate connotation to an order:

mag-g-i change.direction-Pun-SgImpA Leave!

There are no lexical or lexicalised verbs with longer structures. Verbal lexems with final gemination are interpreted as basic verbs with final geminated consonant. Only one attested verb, **q'omm** 'to eat grains', has punctual meaning and is likely to be a lexicalised punctual derived verb.

The meaning of the CVCC verb **godd** 'to de' diverges from the meaning of the correspondent basic verbs. It can either be considered as a derived verb with lexicalised meaning or as a basic verb with final geminated consonant.

god to braid godd to do

The rest of underived CVCC verbs attested in the corpus are listed below:

ħull to enter beerr to touch 2uppi to blow q'acc to open q'all to start singing šumm to work hard kell to help temm to try rakk to hang ko?? to light fire to be filled up **?ucci** ?aɗɗ to add ?acc to go

The lexical or lexicalised CV(V)CC may represent the base stem for suffixal and reduplicative derivational processes, but not for punctual derivation.

7.4.2. Iterative reduplicated stem

A derived stem with intensive and iterative meanings is formed by reduplication of the verb root. The reduplicated part is the initial CV(V)C(C). This means that the reduplicated part corresponds to a syllable having a short vowel and a final consonant (CVC), a syllable with short vowel and final consonant cluster (CVCC) or a syllable with long vowel and a final consonant (CVVC). An epenthetic $\bf a$ is infixed between the base and the reduplicated part.

See examples:

CVC ?el	→ to drop	CVCaCVC ?ela?el	to keep on dropping
CVCVC gere? bitam ?azaz	→ to steal to buy to order	CVCaCVCVC geragere? bitabitam ?aza?azaz	to steal continuously to keep on buying to keep on ordering
CVVC ziir biif	to extract to have a meal	CVVCaCVVC ziiraziir biifabiif	to keep on extracting to have a quick meal
CVCC ?upp ?awš	to blow to be ripe	CVCCaCVCC ?uppa?upp ?awša?awš	to keep on blowing to be ripe for a long time

CVCCVC	$C \rightarrow$	CVCCaCVCCV	C
baq'q'	to sprout at once	baq'q'abaq'q	to sprout at once continuously
al		'al	
bittam	to buy one thing	bittabittam	to keep on buying one thing

The derivation by reduplication indicates that the subject performs the action iteratively or continuously.

ga?	to prepare	ga?aga?	to keep on preparing
bas	to do	basabas	to keep on doing
Pid	to fall	biΩabiΩ	to fall several times
?ook	to change	?ooka?ook	to keep on changing
200š	to shave	200ša 200š	to keep on shaving
bul	to jump	bulabul	to keep on jumping

In some cases the stem indicates that the subject is particularly involved in holding a situation. It is the case of the reduplication of the verb **bad** 'to hide':

bad to hide badabad to keep hidden

Involvement of the subject may result in greater intensity. The following derivations generate intensive verbs:

bog	to kill	bogabog	to destroy
biif	to have a meal	biifabiif	to have a quick meal
bull	to separate	bullabull	to separate violently
?išk	to untie	?iška?išk	to untie violently

The reduplication only affects the meaning of the verb. It does not imply plurality of the subject of an intransitive verb, nor plurality of the object of a transitive verb. In this sense, it differs from a Pluractional.

8. Other word classes

8.1. Adverbials

Adverbials are semantically defined as words providing time, space and manner information to the whole sentence. They do not constitute a morphosyntactic word class. The Ts'amakko adverbials are shown in the following exhaustive lists:

Time adverbials

?aani after **?aanto** now

?awne in the evening **?awnane** in the evening at night gallawo geera yesterday gidano this year today guuyu kaarinko everyday macce never

q'amma the day after tomorrow two days after tomorrow three days after tomorrow three days after tomorrow

q'arra before (also space)

q'ayna tomorrow
q'ane during the day
zingano in the morning
zingatte in the morning
2assanna at that moment
hayyay since then
2assanna then

Space adverbials

?ita away **?ulo, ?ula** on the side

gada on the highland side, up
 guddo on the highland side, up
 galla on the lowland side, down
 gallo on the lowland side, down
 garo side (also time. Adverbial noun)

q'aro side (also time)

kaaysa there kaaysanu from there kaaynu from there Paysanafrom therekaasaherekaakanufrom herehaynaherehaymahere

Manner adverbials

PammakeproperlyPekkeveryPèlèlètogethergilinkasaa littleguraequalkannaquickly

latto naturally, on his own

sollakko slowly

at low volume tahtatti ?asa so, in this way ?asama so, in this way **Passayay** so, in this way so, in this way ?avsa **?avsama** so, in this way so, in this way **?avsavav ?assavav** so, in this way **?avssavav** so, in this way

Many adverbials are similar to nouns in their morphological make up. Moreover, some adverbials can be combined with case clitics. With the exception of **garo** 'side' (see below), adverbials can never appear in head noun position. This shows that they are fundamentally different from nouns syntactically.

garo 'side' is a noun (in adverbial function) and appears also in head noun position. See example:

?ita garo kallikk-o ħulla=ma god-ay away side sun-M enter-3SgMImpfv=ma throw-2SgMConsA Throw it away towards the side where the sun sets.

In the following sentence **garo** has temporal meaning and appears as the head noun of the relational noun **paann-atte** 'before' (for a discussion of this relational noun see 8.2.). The construction **garo paannatte** has the meaning 'some time ago':

garo paann-atte q'ey?afer=ma lu6-6-e=yay zow-ni side footprint-LocF Qäy Afär=to/in foot-Pl-P=with go-1PlUnm Some time ago we went to Qäy Afär by foot.

In adverbial use **garo** is mainly used with the meaning 'towards the speaker or towards the centre of the action'. Example:

garo ?ogoy kiy-ti side come.SgImpA say-3SgFUnm She said 'come towards (me)'.

The other adverbials only function as adverbials. The adverbial **q'aro** 'in the place' is formally similar to **garo** 'side', but it has no nominal syntactic characteristics. The two adverbials are also semantically similar in that both of them can be used with space and time meaning. However, the use of **q'aro** is less restricted. In the following example its meaning may be interpreted as 'in the place of the patient':

Pombot-ann-e q'aro xumbi šeeg-i ka
milk container-Pl-P place all bring-3SgMUnm Sent **Qug-is-i**drink-Caus2- 3SgMUnm
He made her drink all the milk containers that he brough to her.

In the following example **q'aro** 'place' means 'close to each other':

?ufunce q'aro raf-e3PlSubj place sleep-3PlUnm
They slept close to each other.

The adverbial may express the time adverbial meaning 'before', as shown it the following example:

lukkal-itt-o ko q'aro zaq'-nini gayy-i chicken-Sg-M PronM place slaugher-1PlSubFut remained-3SgMUnm The chicken that we would have slaughtered before remained (alive).

The adverbial also appears as a postposition referring to a location or a temporal adverbial. In the examples below it refers to **gaarko** 'tree' and to **zingatte** 'in the morning':

gaar-ko q'aro kaɗɗ-i ba raf-o tree-M place climb-3SgMUnm Cons sleep-3SgMConsB He climbed the tree and slept (there).

zingatte q'aro lukkal-itto kutta=ka zaq'-nini in the morning side chicken-M PronM.Prox1=Sent slaughter-1PlSubFut kay-ini say-1PlUnm

In the morning we said that we would have slaughtered this cock.

Most adverbials share with nouns the property that the final vowel is either **o**, **e** or **a**, which in nouns represent the gender suffixes. Exceptions are **guuyu** 'today', **?aani** 'after' and **tahtatti** 'at low volume' (loanword, from Amharic **tahtat**). See examples:

Example with guuyu 'today'

Panoguuyuži?-oga??-ayaaka1SgSubj todayfood-Mprepare-1SgPastNegwhenPineži?-ni=kka1PlSubjeat-1PlUnm=SentIf today I do not cook we will not eat.

Example with Aaani 'after'

Yano Yaani leonšin-a da Yan-nanki ka m-bay-i 1SgSubj after busF-F wait for-1PlMainFut Sent 1-say-1SgUnm I said: 'Later we will wait for the bus'.

Example with tahtatti 'at low volume'

tahtatti wak at.low.volume speak.SgImpA Speak at low volume.

Some adverbials have variants showing the proximal demonstrative/vocative tonal morpheme (see 2.4.4. and 3.9.). The pattern is characterised by high tone on the final mora and low tone on all preceding morae. The final high tone vowel $\bf o$ and $\bf e$ may be rised to $\bf u$ or $\bf i$ respectively.

The adverbial noun **gáro** 'side' and the adverbial **q'áro** 'side' are also attested as **garú** and **q'arú** respectively. See examples:

ži?-?-o ga66a ba garú ?ine=ma ?ogoy-anku food-M take-PlImpA Cons side.Prox/Voc 1Pl=Dir come-2PlConsA Take the food and come towards us.

?ufunce garú bay-e=nnay galla dal-e na 3PlSubj side.Prox/Voc start-3PlUnm=Backgr down goat-P Loc **ži?-i** eat-3SgMUnm

While they were getting close, down there the goats were eating it.

gor-e kesse q'arú buka6-i people-P PronP.Def3 place gather-3SgMUnm The people gathered in that place.

Other adverbials may also be modified in the same way. See below the examples with **zingáno** and **zinganú** both meaning 'in the morning' and the examples with **?áwne** and **?awní** both meaning 'in the evening' (**?áwne** is the only **e**-final adverbial that is affected by the modification):

?ufo zingáno kol-i q'oš-aɗ-i 3SgMSubj in the morning return-3SgMUnm tend cattle-Mid-3SgMUnm He in the morning when again to tend the cattle.

Pano zinganú boħħ-te na nagay-i

 $1 SgSubj\;$ in the morning sow-Nom Loc spend the day-1 SgUnm I spend the morning sowing.

(Litt: 'In the morning I spend the day sowing').

lukkal-itto ka ?áwne bìy-è goon-ti

chicken-M Sent in.the.evening land-P become.dark-3SgFUnm

na zaq'-anki

Back slaughter-1PlImpfv

In the evening the land became dark and we slaughtered the chicken.

?ufo ?awní badd-am-i

3SgMSubj in the evening hide-Pass-3SgMUnm In the evening he hid himself.

The final vowel of the adverbial $\mathbf{?\acute{a}wne}$ is also attested as $\mathbf{\acute{e}}$, i.e., it carries high tone but it is not raised to $\mathbf{\acute{i}}$.

?awné q'ol-e goom6-o=ma žammad-e in.the.evening domestic.animal-P kraal-M=to/in enter-3PlUnm In the evening the animals enter in the kraal.

An adverbial related to **?awne** is **?awnáne** 'in the evening':

less-o q'ane sacc-ini=nay sawnane

moon-M day go-3SgMSubFut= Backgr in the evening liggi

go out-3SgMUnm

During the day the moon goes (far away) and in the evening it comes out.

Some adverbials can be followed by a case clitic. See example of the combination of **kaysa** 'there' and =**nu** 'from':

makin-a kaysa=nu xaf-ti

car-F there=from come-3SgFUnm
The car comes from there.

In the following sentence the adverbial kaysa appears with no clitic:

zan-o manga?-a zey-i ba kaysa gil-e street-M short-3SgMAdj go-3SgMUnm Cons there milk shaker-F zowu gabb-ac-u go-3SgMConsA take-Mid-3SgMCons
He went along the short way and (once he arrived) there he took the milk shaker.

Some adverbials appear only with a case clitic. See the example of **kaay=nu** 'from there':

tiir-a nay kaaynu šala gay-iti run-3SgMImpfv Backgr from.there Šala arrive-3SgFUnm He run and from there he arrived to Shala.

geera 'yesterday', may show the semantically empty clitic =y with no change in meaning:

Example with geera 'yesterday'

?ato geera moo bitam-ti 2SgSubj yesterday what buy-3SgFUnm What did you buy yesterday?

Example with geera=y 'yesterday'
geera=y 'ano wožžaĆ-i

yesterday=fill 1SgSubj work-3SgMUnm Yesterday I worked.

The adverbial **q'arra** 'before' may show the nominal case marker **-atte**. **q'arr-atte** always appears sentence initially. See example:

q'arr-atte miša ?ingiy-atte ?axx-e šur-ti
before-LocF Miša mother-LocF milk-P suck-3SgFUnm
?aanto ?axx-e dal-ete ki biif-ti
now milk-P goat-LocP Sent-3 have.a.meal-3SgFUnm
Before Misha used to suck her mother's milk, now she drinks goat's milk.

The basic form of the adverbial, **q'arra**, may occur at the beginning and in the middle of the sentence. See example of **q'arra** sentence initially:

q'arra ?ano ?aaka beze božž-e božžan-ni

before 1SgSubj and Beze clay-F smear.clay-1PlSubFut first I and Bezi smear ourselves with clay.

When in the middle of the sentence, **q'arra** could be interpreted as a relational postposition that specifies the relative time of a preceding noun phrase. See two examples:

baq'q'ala miša=nu q'arra ki ɗal-aɗ-i

baq'q'ala Miša=from before Sent.3 give.birth-Mid-3SgMUnm Baq'q'ala was born before Misha.

maang-o legg-e zeh=ta q'arra boox-i sorghum-M moon-P three=upon before sow-3SgMUnm He sowed the sorghum three months ago.

zingatte 'in the morning' also shows the female locative case suffix –atte, but it has no basic form. However, it is related to **zingano** 'in the morning'. See examples with **zingatte** and **zingano**:

biif-ugallawuraf-uzingattehave.a.meal-3SgMConsAat nightsleep.3SgMConsAin.the.morningka??u

get up-3SgMConsA

He had his meal, at night he slept and in the morning he got up.

?ufo zingano kol-i q'oš-aɗ-i 3SgMSubj in.the.morning return-3SgMUnm tend.cattle-Mid-3SgMUnm In the morning he went again to tend the cattle.

The nominal derivation suffixes **-akko** and **-inko** can be recognised in the shape of adverbials such **sollakko** 'slowly' and **kaarinko** 'everyday'. See examples:

sollakko ?ood

slowly walk-SingImpA Go slowly!

kaarinko q'ayto xumbi q'ol-e Pellele goš-ad-e everyday time all cattle-P together tend-Mid-3PlUnm Everyday they were always tending cattle together.

The adverbials **q'ammakko** 'two days after tomorrow', **q'ammatinko** and **q'ammatinte** both meaning 'three days after tomorrow' stem from **q'amma** 'the day after tomorrow' and show nominal morphological material. See examples:

Example with **q'amma** 'the day after tomorrow'

q'amma žinka n-zow-ni day.after.tomorrow Jinka 1-go-1SgMSubFut The day after tomorrow I will go to Jinka.

Example with q'ammakko 'two days after tomorrow'

q'ammakko žinka n-zow-ni two.days.after.tomorrow Jinka 1-go-1SgMSubFut Two days after tomorrow I will go to Jinka.

Example with q'ammatinko 'three days after tomorrow'

q'ammatinko gabaya=ma n-zow-ni three.days.after.tomorrow market=to/in 1-go-1SgMSubFut Three days after tomorrow I will go to Jinka

Example with **q'ammatinte** 'three days after tomorrow'

q'ammatinte gabaya=ma n-zow-ni three.days.after.tomorrow market=to/in 1-go-1SgMSubFut

Three days after tomorrow I will go to Jinka.

The adverbial gada 'towards the higlands' may replace the final a with the

the adverbial **gada** towards the highards may replace the final **a** with the third person subject marker **i**. This subject marker may attach to the background maker **ka** (which appears as **ki**) and the case clitic =**ma** 'in/to' (which appears as =**mi**. See 4.5.1.). See example of **gada** and **gadi**:

max-x-exum6ikilass-ibagadabaamb-a=mabead-Pl-P allSent.3sell-3SgMUnmCons uppump-F=to/inzow-u

go-3SgMConsA

He sold all the beads and went towards the highlands to the pump.

tannu gad-i ?er?aɗ-i

then up-3 go down-3SgMUnm Then (the moon) goes down towards the highlands.

A word medial variation $\mathbf{a} \sim \mathbf{i}$ is shown by $\mathbf{?ammake}$ 'properly', which may appear as $\mathbf{?ammike}$. The alternation is accidental and cannot be explained by the presence of the third person subject marker \mathbf{i} . See examples:

šam6-o garm-o ka ?ammake ?i?-i

child-M lion-M Sent properly see-3SgMUnm The child had clearly seen the lion.

?ano ?ammike mann-e garis-i

1SgSubj properly house-P build-3SgMUnm I built a house properly.

Some adverbials result form the combination of a limited group of elements. The sentence marker **ka**, which appears as **kaa**, the pronominal definite suffix -?a and the element ħa, which has no parallels in the rest of the grammar take initial position in these. They may be followed by semantically empty clitic =y and/or the definite suffix -(s)sa. Most of these adverbials also include a case clitic or the locative pronoun na.

The adverbials with initial **ka** are concrete locative adverbials 'here'. Some of them combine with the clitic =**nu**.

Example with kaaysa 'there'

zan-o mangaŶ-a zey-i ba kaaysa gil-e street-M short-3SgMAdj go-3SgMUnm Cons there shaker-F zow-u gabb-aα-u

go-3SgMConsA take-Mid-3SgMCons

He went along the short way and (once he arrived) there he took the shaker.

Example with kaaysanu 'from there'

makin-a kaaysanu xaf-ti

car-F from there come-3SgFUnm The car comes from there.

Example with kaaynu 'from there'

tiir-a nay kaaynu šala gay-iti run-3SgMImpfv Backgr from.there šala arrive-3SgFUnm He kept on running and from there he arrived to Shala.

Example with kaasa 'here'

kaasa ?ee=ka daħaɗ-a

here 1Sg=Obj wait.for-3SgMImpfv Wait here for me.

The adverbial **kaakanu** is the only one showing the sentence marker **ka**. It has the meaning 'from here'. See example:

Example with kaakanu 'from here'

kaakanu zey-i

from.here go-3SgMUnm He went from here.

The meaning of the adverbials with initial **?a** and **ħa** is more obscure. Those with initial **?a** are given the basic meaning 'so, in this way'. Those with initial **ħa** are given the basic meaning 'there'.

In the following examples, the adverbial **?asa** means 'so, in this way'.

garm-o ?asa ?abb-ay-o ki bog-i

lion-M so father-M-M Sent.3 kill-3SgMUnm The lion killed the father in this way.

The adverbial **?asama**, which incorporates the clitic =ma 'to/in', has the same meaning of **?asa**:

kulile ?asama xoxon-k-o gidde=ma raaw-at-ti

guinea.fowl so=to/in hole-Sg-M inside=to/in finish-Mid-3SgFUnm The guinea fowl died in the hole in this way.

The adverbial base **?aysa** appears in **?aysana**, which incorporates the locative postoposition **na**, **?aysama**, which incorporates the case clitic **=ma** 'to/in, and **?aysayay**, which shows the case clitic **=yay** 'with'. **?aysana** has locative meaning, as can be seen from the following example:

?aysana ligt-i=kka

there go.out-NonPstNeg=Sent You will not get out of there.

The meaning 'so, in this way' emerges in **?aysama** and **?aysayay**. See examples:

?aysama dikkad-inki

so finish-3PlConsA They finished in this way

?aysayay gelzakk-o par-i

so baboon-M die-3SgMUnm The squirrel died in this way.

The adverbial base **?assa** is attested in **?assanna**, **?assayay**. The adverbial **?assanna** has temporal meaning.

Passanna pann-atte Pufunde xumbi Pakkad-e ba

then footprint-LocF 3PlSubj all sit-3PlUnm Cons

Sar-e Sug-e

coffee-F drink-3PlUnm

After that (moment), all of them sat down and drank coffee.

?assayay is attested with the meaning 'so, in this way':

garro ka ?assayay šannaf-i

sqirrel Sent so defeat-3SgMUnm In this way he defeated the squirrel.

?ayssayay is attested only in the following example with the meaning 'so, in this way':

?ayssayay gelzakk-o gaftaɗ-i so baboon-M get.poisoned-3SgMUnm

In this way the baboon got poisoned.

The adverbial base hay is followed by the locative pronoun na in hayna, the clitic =ma 'to in' in hayma and the clitic =yay 'with' in hayyay. The meaning of hayna and hayma is 'here'. hayyay means 'since then'. See examples:

Paanto hayna Pag-i

now here be.located-3SgMUnm Now I live here.

gallawu hayma raf-inki

at night here=to/in sleep-3PlConsA At night he slept here.

hayyay gaan-t-e bolq'-um-ma

here=with woman-Sg-F elect.as.king-Pass-3Sg.Neg Since then no woman was elected as king.

8.2. Relational nouns

The relational nouns have the grammatical function to indicate a position with respect to a location. They show the locative case suffix and appear after the location they relate to. The related location is a noun followed by the locative case suffix or an element of a different class followed by the locative clitic =ta or, more rarely, by the locative pronoun nay.

Even though the relational nouns form a small set, they show two different levels of grammaticalisation. The lowest level of grammaticalisation is shown by a group of four relational nouns that appear in all syntactic positions occupied by common nouns. Their grammatical meaning is connected to the lexical meaning they express in the other syntactic contexts. They are la?akko meaning 'field' and 'outside'; miinte meaning 'forehead' and 'in front of'; duko meaning 'back' and 'behind', paana meaning 'footprint' and 'after'.

 $la \neg akk - o$ (m) 'field' \rightarrow 'outside'

šamb-o paš-ilo la?akk-ilo child-M field-LocM field-LocM The child is outside the field.

miint-e (f) 'forehead' \rightarrow 'in front of'

šamb-o gaark-ilo miint-atte

child-M tree-LocM forehead-LocF
The child is in front of the tree

mann-e pawlos mann-e ts'eggay nay miint-atte

house-P Pawlos house-P Ts'eggay Loc forehead-LocF Pawlos' house is in front of S'eggaye's house

duk-o (m) 'back' \rightarrow 'behind'

šam6-o gaark-ilo duuk-ilo

child-M tree-LocM back-LocM The child is behind the tree

mann-e ts'eggay mann-e pawlos nay duuk-ilo

house-P Ts'eggay house-P Pawlos Loc back-LocM S'eggaye's house is behind Pawlos' house

The noun **paana** 'foorprint' is included in this group even though in relational function the noun appears as **paann-atte** 'after', with irregular gemination of the final consonant. Gemination of the last root consonant is characteristic of nouns; however it is used to form plural derived forms, while the locative suffix attached to **paana** is feminine.

paan-a (f) 'footprint' \rightarrow 'after'

gelzakk-o garr-ilo paann-atte ?ogov-a

baboon-M squirrel-LocM footprint-LocF come-3SgMImpfv The baboon was following the squirrel

paana is the only relational noun that can express a temporal relation.

maksenno senn-ilo paann-atte

Tuesday Monday-LocM footprint-LocF Tuesday is after Monday

paana is irregular also because it has an adverbial function.

?ise=kka paann-atte ħull-iti

2SgFSubj=Sent footprint-LocF enter-3SgFUnm She entered after

ts'eggay pawlos=nu paann-atte xaf-i

Ts'eggay Pawlos=from foortprint-LocF come-3SgMUnm Ts'eggay arrived after Pawlos

The remaining relational nouns are more grammaticalised because they have no manifestation other than in grammaticalised position. However, they still need the locative gender suffix in order to express their grammatical function. Their glosses indicate the hypothetical lexical meaning.

The second group of relational nouns are syntactically more similar to case clitics than to nouns. In spite of this fact, they are classified as nouns because some characteristics of the case clitics are incompatible with the behaviour of the relational nouns: clitics occur as the last element of a phrase—therefore they may appear after a relational noun, while a relational noun cannot follow a case clitic; clitics are never followed by locative case; their CV structure is not characteristic of any noun.

gid-atte 'in the interior, inside'

q'om-ayk-e dunk-atte gid-atte ?ag-e shoes-Pl-P tent-LocF interior-LocF be.located-3PlUnm The shoes are in the tent

Sand-ete gid-atte Sull-anna water-LocP interior-LocF jump-1PlJuss Let's jump into the water

sabb-ete 'on the top, on'

šam6-o gaark-ilo sabb-ete child-M tree-LocM top-LocP The child is on the tree

gul-ilo 'at the bottom, under'

šam6-o gaark-ilo gul-ilochild-M tree-LocM bottom-LocM
The child is under the tree

saark-ilo 'in the middle, between'

boyt-ann-ete šaark-ilo zoog-inki boytakko-P-LocP middle-LocM distribute-3PlConsA They distributed them between the boytakko-trees

q'ey?afer luq'a ?aaka q'aq'o=ta šaark-ilo Qäy Afär Luq'a and Q'aq'o=Upon middle-LocM Qäy Afär is between Luqa and Qaqo

8.3. Interrogatives

Words with interrogative function end in **o** or **a**. Some interrogatives are made up of one of these words and a case clitic. In one case, the locative postposition **na** is cliticised. The interrogative pronouns 'whose?' and the 'which one?', characterised by the presence of the pronominal particles, are described in 5.5.4. and 5.5.5. respectively. See below a list of interrogatives:

moo what?
moonu why?
moona why?
2áħá who?

towards whom? ?aħama with whom? ?aħava where? **?akka** where to? **?akkama ?akkanu** where from? **?akkura** where to? bara when? mala how? me? how many? kaħħa whose? (m/p) taħħa whose? (f) kunɗa which one? (m) tinɗa which one? (f) kinɗa which one? (p)

See examples of the interrogatives in the following sentences:

moo bitan-ti

what buy-2SgUnm What did you buy?

moonu zow-ti

what.from go-2SgUnm Why did you go?

moona goddi-ti

why.loc do-2SgUnm Why did you do it?

gaabay-a=ma ?áħá zow-i

market-F=to/in who go-2SgUnm Who went to the market?

?áħá=ma ?acc-iti

who=to/in go-2SgUnm Who did you go to?

?áħá=ya gabay-a=ma zow-ti

who=with market-F=to/in go-2SgUnm With whom did you go to the market?

?akka ?ag-inti

where be.located-2SgSubFut

Where will you live?

?akka=ma sor-i

where=to/in run-3SgMUnm Where is he running to

?akka=nu xaf-ti

where=from come-2SgMUnm Where is he coming from

?akkura ?acc-iti

where to go-2SgUnm Where are you going?

bara xaf-e

when come-3PlUnm When did they come?

mala wožžat-ti

how do-2SgUnm How did you do it?

gor-e me? xaf-i

people-P how.many come-3SgMFocUnm How many people came?

9. Texts

The following three folktales have been written down in Ts'amakko by Bašare Manka, one of my main informants. The Amharic script has been used for this purpose. Some characters had been adapted to indicate those Ts'amakko sounds that are not present in Amharic. The texts have been recorded, analysed and glossed with the help of Bašare and another main informant, Beze Laybo. The actors of the these folktales are animals. The squirrel, garro, is the main character. It appears as the smartest of all animals in the Ts'amakko oral literature.

9.1. Maakke gelzakkilo Aaaka maakke garrilo

The tale of the baboon and the squirrel

gelzakk-o ?aaka garr-o q'arra le?-e ?èlèlè goš-ad-e

baboon-M and squirrel-M before cows-P together tend.cattle-Mid-3PlUnm One day the baboon and the squirrel were tending cows together.

q'ayt-o xumbi le?e ?èlèlè goš-ad-e

time-M all cows-P together tend.cattle-Mid-3PlUnm They were always tending cows together.

PogoybaPingiy-add-e kaanikacome.SgImpA Consmother-Pl-PPronP.1PlPossSentsukk-as-nankiPeeroll.down-Caus-3PlMainFutokCome and let's make our mothers roll down'. 'Ok!'.

gelzakk-o ?ingiy-e tuusu ka ?agal-t-e=ma baboon-M mother-F PronF.3SgMPoss Sent leather.sac-Sg-F=to/in ?aɗɗ-i ba sukk-as-o put.in-3SgMUnm Cons roll.down-Caus-3SgMConsB The baboon put his mother in a leather sac and let her roll down.

garr-o ?ingiy-e tuusu ka xur-i ba gaaħ-k-o squirrel-M mother-F PronF.3SgMPoss Sent leave-3SgMUnm Cons stone-Sg-M ?agal-t-e=ma ?aɗɗ-i ba sukk-as-o leather.sac-Sg-F=to/in put.in-3SgMUnm Cons roll.down-Caus-3SgMConsB The squirrel left her mother and put a stone in the leather sac and let it roll down.

garr-o kiy-a nay ?ingiy-e taħa=y ki squirrel-M say-3SgMImpfv Backgr mother-F PronF.whose=Fill Sent.3 haš haš ?asa sukk-am-na haš haš so roll.down-Pass-3SgMFocMainFut

The squirrel had said 'Whose mother will roll down making the has has sound of leaves?

?ingiy-e taayu kuh kuh ?as-i sukk-am-inti mother-F PronF.1SgPoss kuh kuh so-3 roll.down-Pass-3SgFSubFut My mother will roll down making the kuh kuh sound of stones.

?ingiy-e garm-atte ?as-i sukk-an-timother-F brave-AdjF so-3 roll.down-Pass-3SgFUnm look.at- SgImpB
The brave mother rolls down like this. Let's see!'.

garr-o ka??-i ba ?ingiy-e tuusu ka squirrel-M get.up-3SgMUnm Cons mother-F PronF.3SgMPoss Sent ?om6-o sabb-e=ma kacc-as-u ?om6o.tree-M top=to/in climb-Caus-3SgMConsA The squirrel left and made his mother climb on top of a Aom6o-tree.

kadd-as-i ba garr-o le?-e goš-i climb-Caus-3SgMUnm Cons squirrel-M cows-P tend-3SgMUnm He made her climbing and the squirrel kept tending the cows.

gelzakk-o maar-e goš-i baboon-M heifers-P tend-3SgMUnm The baboon tended the heifers.

garr-o zingatte zow-a ba ?ingiy-e squirrel-M in.the.morning go-3SgMImpfv Cons mother-F tuusu=ta nats'ir-o ts'iir-akk-o PronF.3SgMPoss=upon mother.of.male.F-M male-Sg-M kaaki=nu war bay-i nay PronM.2SgFPoss=from throw.SgImpA say-3SgMUnm Backgr gaħħis-ti shake-3SgFUnm

The squirrel in the morning went and said to his mother 'Mother of a male child, throw to your male child' and she shook the tree.

Pomboko?a=kkagarr-oži?-obaPombo-tree PronM.Def1=Sentsquirrel-M eat-3SgMConsB Conspug-am-uba?aag-o

fill-Pass-3sgMConsA Cons return.home-3SgMConsB

The squirrel ate the fruit of the Aomóo tree, satiated himself and returned home.

zingatte le?-e=yay ka?-?-i

in.the.morning cows-P=with get.up-Punct-3SgMUnm In the morning he left with the cows.

kole?aka zingatte garr-o le?-e goš-i

again in the morning squirrel-M cows-P tend-3SgMUnm He was tending cows again in the morning.

kole?aka zow-u ba nats'ir-o ts'iir-akk-o
again go-3SgMConsA Cons mother.of.male.F-M male-Sg-M
kaaki=nu war bay-i nay
PronM.2SgFPoss=from throw.SgImpA say-3SgMUnm Backgr
nu=nnu ?om6-o ka gaħħis-ti
Loc=Dat ?om6o.tree-M Sent shake-3SgFUnm

He went again and said 'Mother of a male child, throw to your male child' and she shook the Aomóo tree for him.

ki q'ayto xumbi nu=nnu gaħħis-a=bba ki ži?a
Sent 3 time Mall Loc=Dat shake 3SgEImpfy=Cons Sent 3 are 3Sg

Sent.3 time-M all Loc=Dat shake-3SgFImpfv=Cons Sent.3 are-3SgMImpfv All the time she shook for him and he ate.

gallawo ko pug-ad-i ki ?ogoy-a at.night PronM fill-Mid-3SgM Sent.3 come-3SgMImpfv At night he got satiated and came back.

bayi garr-o ?ato moo ži?-ti ba q'ayto xumbi friend squirrel-M 2SgSubj what eat-2SgMUnm Cons time-M all ka pug-ad-ay
Sent fill-Mid-2SgImpfv
'Friend squirrel, what do you eat to get satiated all the time'.

Pana Pano le?-ete gaass-e rukadi ba gaass-e
1SgSubj.Emph Sent cows-LocP horns-P pinch-1SgUnm Cons horns-P
Pa=nnay deematt-o ka ži?-ad-a ka n-pug-ad-a.
there=Loc cattle.blood-M Sent eat-Mid-1SgImpfv Sent 1-fill-Mid-1SgImpfv
'Me? I pinch the horns of the cows and eat the blood of the horns and get satiated'.

zingatte garr-o le?-ete paann-atte ka??-u in.the.morning squirrel-M cows-LocP footprint-LocF get.up-3SgMConsA In the morning the squirrel left behind the cows.

PaccanayPingiy-attenats'ir-ots'iir-akk-ogo-3SgMImpfvBackgr mother-LocFmother.of.male.F-Mmale-Sg-Mkaaki=nuwarbay-inay

PronM.2SgFPoss=from throw.SgImpA say-3SgMUnm Backgr

nu=nnu gaħhis-ti

LocM=Dat shake-3SgFUnm

While he was going he said to the mother 'Mother of a male child, throw to your male child' and she shook for him.

ži?-o pug-ad-u Saag-o

eat-3SgMConsB fill-Mid-3sgMConsA return.home-3SgMConsB He ate, got satiated and returned home.

gelzakk-o garr-ilo paann-atte ka??-i ki baboon-M squirrel-LocM footprint-LocF get.up-3SgMUnm Sent.3 ?ogoy-a

come-3SgMImpfv

The baboon left after the squirrel and arrived.

garr-o zey-i nay gelzakk-o xaf-i

squirrel-M go-3SgMUnm Backgr baboon-M come-3SgMUnm The squirrel went and the baboon arrived.

nats'ir-o ts'iir-akk-o

go-3SgMImpfv Back mother-LocF mother.of.male.F-M male-Sg-M kaaki=nu war na=ta gelzakk-o kiy-i
PronM.2SgFPoss=from throw.SgImpA Loc=Loc baboon-M say-3SgMUnm
'Mother of a male child, throw to your male child' said the baboon to her.

zik kiv-i ?ag-ti.

zik say-3SgMFocUnm be.located-3SgFUnm She kept silent.

Peem-akadd-inabakallacc-o kinnilook.at-SgImpBclimb-1SgMainFut Cons rectum-MPronF.3SgFPossmiint-e=mašabb-aforehead-F=to/intie-3SgMJuss

'Look! I will climb and I will tie your rectum on your forehead'.

kaɗɗ-u ba kallacc-o ka miint-e=ma ninnu climb-3SgMConsA Cons rectum-M Sent forehead-F=to/in LocF=Dat šabb-u

tie-3SgMConsA

He climbed and tied the rectum on her forehead.

zingatte garr-o xaf-o nats'ir-o ts'iir-akk-o in.the.morning squirrel-M come-3SgMConsB mother.of.male.F-M male-Sg-M

kaaki=nu war bay-i nay
PronM.2SgFPoss=from throw.SgImpA say-3SgMUnm Backgr
In the morning the squirrel arrived and said 'Mother of a male child, throw to your male child'.

zik kiy-i ?ag-ti. zik say-3SgMFocUnm be.located-3SgFUnm She kept silent.

tannu gallawo ag-o ba ki agoy-a ba then at.night return.home Cons Sent.3 cry-3SgMImpfv Cons garr-o moo koo day-i bay-i nay squirrel-M what 2SgMObj get-3SgMUnm say-3SgMUnm Backgr Then at night he returned home and cried and he said 'What happened to you squirrel?'.

le?-e ?ee=ka kirrim-me=yay tu66-a ka n-?ooy-a cows-P 1SgM=Obj tail-P=with beat-3SgMFocImpfv Sent 1-cry-1SgImpfv 'I cry because the cows beat me with the tails'.

Pinto Polk-o-se Pano koo=ta Pingiy-e taako ka wow thing-M-Def 1SgSubj 2SgM=Loc mother-F PronF.2SgMPoss Sent bog-i=nu ka Pasa godd-iti mu Pasa bay-i kill-3SgMUnm=from Sent so do-2SgUnm or so say-3SgMUnm nay kicca?-i
Backgr laugh-3SgMUnm
'Wow! Or you do like this because I killed your mother to you?' he sai

'Wow! Or you do like this because I killed your mother to you?', he said so and laughed.

?olk-o-se ?ato ?ingiy-e taayu ka bog-i thing-M-Def 2SgSubj mother-F PronF.1SgPoss Sent kill-3SgMFocUnm **kiy-i** say-3SgMUnm 'Is it true that you have killed my mother?' he said.

?inni ?ano bog-i na=ta kiy-i ba zow-u yes 1SgSubj kill-3SgMUnm Loc=Loc say-3SgMUnm Cons go-3SgMConsA 'Yes I killed her' and left.

nu=nnu dòòll-ò=ma toont-e šiin-u ba Pufo
LocM=Dat skin.mat-M=to/in poison-F smear-3SgMConsA Cons 3SgMSubj
gelzakk-o rigad-u
baboon-M call-3SgMUnm
He smeared poison on a leather mat and called the baboon.

baami ?ogoy bagan-nanki q'awk-o dòòll-ò

friend come.SgImpA run-1PlMainFut man-M leather mat-M c'aldax-a=ma giipp-i tsíirakk-o kiy-i

be.soft-3SgMAdj=to/in sleep-3SgMUnm male-Sg-M say-3SgMUnm He said 'Friend! Come, let us run. Who sleeps on the soft leather mat is the man'.

dòòll-ò-se c'aladax-a naa=ma toont-e godd-i=ma skin.mat-M-Def be.soft-3SgMImpfv Loc=to/in poison-F do-3SgMUnm=to/in bagad-inki

run-3PlConsA

They run towards the soft leather mat on which he had put poison.

gelzakk-o dòòll-ò-se toont-atte=ma sor-i ba baboon-M skinmat-M-Def poison-LocF=to/in run-3SgMUnm Cons giip-p-u

sleep-Punct-3SgMConsA

The baboon ran towards the poisoned leather mat and slept.

garr-o dooll-o biŶ-a=m-i giip-p-i. squirrel-M skin.mat-M be.white-3SgMAdj=to/in-3 sleep-Punct-3SgMUnm The squirrel slept on the white leather mat.

hayssa=yay gelzakk-o gaftaɗ-i

so=with baboon-M get.stuck-3SgMUnm In this way the baboon got stuck.

toont-e duuk-o=ma gab-di

poison-F back-M=to/in take-3SgFUnm The poison covered the back.

tannu bayi gelzo ka??i le?-e c'ox-nanki

then friend baboon. Voc get.up. SgImpA cows-P milk-1PlMainFut Then 'Friend baboon, get up, let's milk the cows'.

ka??-i=kka malal-i dooll-o ?èlèlè get.up.3SgMNonPstNeg=Neg be.tired-1SgUnm skin.mat-M together ka??-i

get.up-1SgUnm

'I do not get up. I am tired. I get up together with the leather mat'.

Yano le?-e c'ox-na g'iif kiy-i garr-o1SgSubj cows-P milk-1SgMainFut sleep.SgImpA say-3SgMUnm squirrel-M
The squirrel said 'I will milk the cows. Sleep!'.

haysa=yay gelzakk-o par-i

so=with baboon-M die-3SgMUnm In this way the baboon died.

biddir-e-se ?ingiy-e tuusu=ta ka garr-o laag-i

debt-F-Def mother-F PronF.3SgMPoss=Upon Sent squirrel-M turn-3SgMUnm The squirrel returned the debt of his mother.

9.2. Maakke kulilatte Aaaka maakke garrilo

The tale of the guinea hen and the squirrel

(With the word **kulile** the Ts'amakko indicate the guinea fowl irrespective of its sex. In this folktales, however, the animal is considered female. Therefore in the translation it is called guinea hen and is referred to as a female entity).

garr-o ?aaka kulil-e paš-o ?èlèlè q'od-e=bba pašo squirrel-M and guinea.fowl-F field-M together dig-3PlUnm=Cons field-M ?awš-u

ripen-3SgMConsA

The squirrel and the guinea hen dug the field together and the field ripened.

?èlèlè door-o door-ac-inki

together granary-F prepare.granary-Mid-3PlConsA They prepared the granary together.

garr-o kulil-atte kiy-a nay ber-k-o

squirrel guinea.fowl-LocF say-3SgMImpfv Backgr rainy.season-Sg-M

xaf-na ba door-o ži?-onki ?aanto wa??-e ži?-nini come-3SgMMainFut Cons granary-M eat-3PlConsB now beans-P eat-1PlSubFut

The squirrel said to the guinea hen 'The rainy season comes and we will eat the grains of the granary. Now let's eat beans'.

?ufo door-o ka q'ayt-o xumbi ki ži?-a

3SgMSubj granary-M Sent time-M all Sent.3 eat-3SgMImpfv He was eating the grains of the granary at all times.

tannu ?err-o dib-u kulil-e garr-ilo gassadd-o then rain-M rain-3SgMConsA guinea.fowl-F squirrel-LocM asking-M xaf-oy

come-3SgFConsB

Then, the rain came and the guinea hen came to ask to the squirrel.

garr-o ?err-o-se dib-i na ka??-iti=bba door-o squirrel-M rain-M-Def rain-3SgMUnm Back get.up-2SgUnm=Cons granary-M bod-na ba booħ-anki na=ta bay-i nay dig-1PlJuss Cons sow-1PlImpfv Loc=Loc say-3SgMFocUnm Backgr 'Squirrel, the rain has come, get up and let's dig in the granary and let's sow'

tannu garr-o ?as-i kiy-i muga?-ti bi?-ay

then squirrel-M so-3 say-3SgMUnm head -F.pragm be.white-3SgFAdj ?a=nna le?-ite šooħ-e ?i?ti ba ?erro ɗib-i

there=Loc cows-LocP urine-F see-2SgUnm Cons rain-M rain-3SgMUnm

kay-ay

say-2SgImpfv

Then the squirrel said so 'White head! You saw cow's urine and say that the rain came'.

duuk-o konGusk-u?a=nna?atokiy-anayback-Mbroken.back-M.Prox/Voc there=Loc 2SgSubj say-3SgMFocImpfv Backgr?err-o dib-naba door-o ži?-onki kiy-abarain-Mrain-3SgMMainFut Cons granary-Meat-3PlConsB say-3SgMFocImpfvCons

?ano=kka xaf-o

1SgSubj=Sent come-1SgConsB

'Broken back! You said 'The rain comes and we will eat the granary' and I came'

zow ba door-o bod-d-ay garr-o ?as-i go.SgImpA Cons granary-M dig-Punct-2SgConsA squirrel-M so-3 kiy-i kulil-atte

say-3SgMUnm guinea.fowl-LocF

The squirrel said so to the guinea hen 'Go and dig in the granary'.

kaysa xaf-ti na door-o ži?-aɗ-i

there come-3SgFUnm Back granary-M eat-Mid-3SgMUnm When she arrived there the granary had been eaten.

?ato door-o ži?-i kiy-iti kulil-e garr-ilo 2SgMSubj granary-M eat-3SgMFocUnm say-3SgFUnm guinea.fowl-F squirrel-LocM

The guinea hen said to the squirrel 'You ate the sorghum of the granary!'.

?inda c'aq'-nanki c'aaq'-e ?ille=ta ?eem-nini kiy-i come.on defecate-1PlMainFut faeces-F self=upon look.at-1PlSubFut say-3SgMUnm

garr-o kulil-atte

squirrel-M guinea.fowl-LocF

The squirrel said to the guinea hen 'Come on, let's defecate and let's look at our own faeces'.

?inda muunt-o ?eem-ni c'aaq'-onki come.on sky-M look.at-1PlUnm defecate-3PlConsB

kulil-atte garr-o ?as-i kiv-i

guinea.fowl-LocF squirrel-M so-3 say-3SgMUnm

The squirrel said so to the guinea hen 'Come on, let' s look at the sky and defecate'.

kulil-e ?aaka garr-o c'aq'-e=nnay garr-o

guinea.fowl-F and squirrel-M defecate-3PlUnm=Backgr squirrel-M
c'aq'-e kulil-atte ka hark-o=yay xurr-i ba
faeces-F guinea.fowl-LocF Sent hand-M=with send-3SgMUnm Cons
gab-b-o ba ?ille=nu saq'-q'-ad-o
take-Punct-3SgMConsB Cons self=from store-Punct-Mid-3SgMConsB
While the guinea hen and the squirrel were defecating the squirrel stretched

his hand and took the faeces of the guinea hen and placed it to himself.

c'aq'e kuusu ka kulil-e=nu saq'-o faeces-F PronM.3SgMPoss Sent guinea.fowl-F=from store-3SgMConsB He placed his faeces by the guinea hen.

c'aq'-e tannu ?ille=ta ?eem-na kiy-i kulul-atte faeces-F then self=upon look.at-1PlJuss say-3SgMUnm guinea.fowl-LocF Then he said to the guinea hen 'Let's look at our own faeces'.

?eem-e=nnac'aq'-e kulul-attemaang-o kelook.at-3PlUnm=Backfaeces-F guinea.fowl-LocF sorghum-M PronPgarr-ilo?aš-k-osquirrel-LocM grass-Sg-M

When they looked at the faeces of the guinea hen, they were sorghum and those of the squirrel were grass.

tannu garr-o na=ta kiy-a nay ?ato maang-o then squirrel-M Loc=Loc say-3SgMFocImpfv Backgr 2SgSubj sorghum-M raaw-i kulil-atte ?as-i kiy-i finish-3SgMUnm guinea.fowl-LocF so-3 say-3SgMUnm Then the squirrel said so to the guinea hen 'You finished the sorghum!'.

?inda ?ille=ta ža??ar-r-ite gaar-e žag-nanki ?eem-onki come.on self=upon anus.Pl-LocP trees-P insert-1PlMainFut look.at-1PlConsB 'Come on! Let's insert a wooden stick in our own anus and let's look at them'

gaar-e žag-e=nnay žassar-k-o garr-ulo nay trees-P insert-3Pl=Backgr anus.Sg-M squirrel-LocM Back maang-o ?ag-a žassar-k-o kulil-atte na sorghum-M be.located-3Sg,Impfv anus.Sg-M guinea.fowl-LocF Loc ?aš-k-o ?ag-a grass-Sg-M be.located-3SgImpfv

They inserted the wooden stick and in the anus of the squirrel there was sorghum, in the anus of the guinea hen there was grass.

tannu garr-o=ma ger?int-e haysa=yay ?armat-ti then squirrel-M=to/in theft-F so=with appear-3SgFUnm So, squirrel's theft appeared in this way.

maang-o ka ?ato raaw-i ba ?ato maang-o

sorghum-M Sent 2SgSubj finish-3SgMFocUnm Cons 2SgSubj sorghum-M

raaw-i ?ee=ta kay-ay

finish-3SgMFocUnm 1Sg=Loc say-2SgMImpfv

'You finished the sorghum and you told me 'you finished the sorghum'!'.

Peši Pogoy zow-nanki Pelele gallawu raaf-anki

ok come.SgImpA go-1PlMainFut together at.night sleep-1PlImpfv

garr-o kulul-atte kiy-i

squirrel-M guinea.fowl-LocF say-3SgMUnm

The squirrel said to the guinea hen 'Ok, come, let's go and sleep together tonight'.

2ufo q'arra 2ita ħull-i

3SgMSubj before away enter-3SgMUnm He entered first.

bukkis-att-e lig-u

den-Sg-F get.out-3SgMConsA He got out the den.

?ise=kka paann-atte ħull-iti

3SgFSubj=Sent footprint-LocF enter-3SgFUnm She entered after.

garr-o bukkis-add-e boq'q'-o.

squirrel-M den-Pl-P close.a.hole-3SgMConsB

The squirrel closed the dens.

kaysa=nu xaf-o ba ?awk-o-se q'ar-o

there=from come-3SgMConsB Cons place-M-Def place-M

žammade=mma katt-e ko?-u.

enter.P-3PlUnm=to/in fire-F light-3SgMConsA

He came from there and lit fire on the place in which they had entered.

Pise gid-atte riir-ti na

3SgFSubj inside-LocF scream-3SgFUnm Loc

bayi kululla šummi na=ta kiy-i

friend guinea.fowl.Voc resist.SgImpA Loc=Loc say-3SgMUnm

While she was screaming form inside he said 'Friend guinea hen, resist!'.

kulil-e ?aysa=mma xoxon-k-o gid-d-e=ma raaw-at-ti

guinea.fowl-F so=to/in hole-Sg-M inside-Pl-P=to/in finish-Mid-3SgFUnm The guinea hen died in the hole in this way.

9.3. Maakke garrilo Aaaka maakke gubalatte

The tale of the squirrel and the rabbit

buy-3SgFUnm

One day the squirrel bought a ox and the rabbit bought a heifer.

maar-t-e gubal-atte gur-ti ba woq'oš-i heifers-Sg-F rabbit-LocF mate-3SgFUnm Cons get.pregnant-3SgFConsA ba ɗal-i

Cons give.birth-3SgFConsA

The heifer of the rabbit mated, got pregnant and gave birth.

maar-t-e dal-ti=nnay garr-o kiv-a heifers-Sg-F give.birth-3SgFUnm=Backgr squirrel-M say-3SgMImpfv nav kaavu ka ɗal-i kiv-i ba Backgr PronM.1SgPoss Sent give.birth-3SgMUnm say-3SgMUnm Cons ?ard-ilo turd-itt-e sort -o ?aɗɗ-a ki ox-LocM buttocks-Sg-F placenta-M Sent.3 put.in-3SgMImpfv After the heifer gave birth the squirrel said 'Mine gave birth' and put some placenta in the buttock of the ox.

gubal-e gor-e buska6-ti rabbit-F people-P gather.Caus-3PlUnm The rabbit gathered people.

gor-e zingatte sa?at-e lákkí=yay buka6-e ba
people-P in.the.morning hour-F two=with gather-3PlUnm Cons
gubal-e sa?at-e salaħ ki xaf-ti
rabbit-F hour-F four Sent.3 come-3SgFUnm
The people gathered at two in the morning and the rabbit came at four.

gor-e kiy-anki=nnay ?ine ka buska6-ti ba
people say-3PlImpfv=Backgr 1PlSubj Sent gather.Caus-3SgFUnm Cons
?ato ?akka=ma bad-ay kiy-e
2SgSubj where=to/in hide-2SgImpfv say-3PlUnm
The people said, 'You gathered us and where do you disappear?'.

gaaħk-o gond-am-i ba dell-o=ma ?olad-i stone-Sg-M break-Pass-3SgMUnm Cons sewing-M=to/in spend.the.day-1SgUnm ?ise ka kiy-iti 3SgFSubj Sent say-3SgFUnm She said 'A stone broke and I spent the day sewing it'

gor-e kesse buka6-i kiy-anki=nnay

people-P PronP.Def3 gather-3SgMFocUnm say-3PlImpfv=Backgr

gaaħ-k-o moo gond-am-u ba ka deel-ay gubal-atte stone-Sg-M what break-Pass-3SgMConsA Cons Sent sew-2SgConsA rabbit-LocF kiy-e

say-3PlUnm

The people who gathered said to the rabbit 'How come that a stone breakes and you sew it?'.

Pisekiy-a=nnayPard-o moo ki3SgFSubj say-3SgFImpfv=Backgr ox-Mwhat Sent.3dal-ad-anu=nnubukab-ankukiy-itigive.birth-Mid-3SgMImpfvLocM=Dat gather-2PlConsA say-3SgFUnmShe said 'How come that a ox gives birth and you gather for him?'.

tannu ?ise ka bolg-om-is-i

then 3SgFSubj Sent be.king-Pass-Caus-3SgMFocUnm Then, she was made king.

tannu garr-o kiy-a nay bogʻol-k-o=nu q'ol-e then squirrel-M say-3SgMImpfv Backgr king-Sg-M=from cattle-P c'ox-ind'a milk-PIImpB

Then, the squirrel said 'Milk cattle for the king!'.

Pombott-ann-ekúnkó=yay Paxx-e c'ox-onki=bbagand-amilk.container-Pl-P ten=withmilk-P milk-3PlConsB=Cons neighbourhood-Fxumbi c'ox-anki=bbanu=nnuPawk-o-sebogol-k-o na=taallmilk-3PlImpfv=ConsLocM=Dat place-M-Def king-Sg-MLoc=LocPag-i=mašeeg-onki

be.located-3SgMUnm=to/in bring-3PlConsB

They milked ten containers, the whole neighbourhood milked and brought it to the place where the king lived.

bogol-k-o ?ombott-o Չug-is-i king-Sg-M milk.container-M drink-Caus-3SgMUnm Backgr dookko ?a=kka ?ugg-is-i ?ombott-o there=Sent drink-Punct-3SgMUnm Backgr milk.container-M one.M ?ombott-o dookko ?a=kka ?ugg-is-i milk.container-M one.M there=Sent drink-Punct-3SgMUnm Backgr **?ombot-ann-e** q'aru šeeg-e xumbi Yug-is-i drink-Caus-3SgMUnm milk.container-Pl-P place bring-3PlUnm all He made the king drink the milk containers. After he made her drink one milk container, after he made her drink another milk container, he made her drink all the milk containers they had brought to the place.

?ombot-ann-e ketta xum6i raaw-ti nay bolt-e milk.container-Pl-P PronP.Dist1 all finish-3SgFUnm Backgr drop-F

takk-a ki Sag'-i

be.small-3SgMFocAdj Sent.3 be.left-3SgMFocUnm After she finished all those milk containers a small drop remained.

bolt-e tetta=kka gara?-t-e=ma bi?-i

drop-F PronF.Dist1=Sent belly-Sg-F=to/in fall-Reduc-Unm That drop fell on the belly.

ɗawr-a bogol-k-o haark-o=yay gab-b-i=kka

taboo-F king-Sg-M hand-M=with take-Punct-3SgMNonPstNeg=Sent

kup bay-i ba q'eed-d-a loq'-a

kup say-3SgMUnm Cons lick-Punct-3SgMConsA swallow-3SgMConsA

bogol-t-e=kka kup bayi-ti nay gara?-t-e na=ta

king-F-F=Sent kup say-3SgFUnm Backgr belly-Sg-F Loc=Loc

6o?-ti

blast-3SgFUnm

Taboo! A king does not take it with the hand. He bends, licks and swallows. When the queen bended, the belly blasted

Pasa tannu gubal-atte mala day-i gubal-e ka par-ti

so then rabbit-LocF how get-3SgMUnm rabbit-F Sent die-3SgFUnm So, then, what happened to the rabbit? The rabbit died.

maakk-e garr-ilo ?aaka maakk-e gubal-atte ketta=y

tale-P squirrel-LocM and tale-P rabbit-LocF PronP.Dist1 That was the tale of the squirrel and the rabbit.

10. Glossaries

10.1. Ts'amakko-English

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-?a – definite suffix
Paage f.; -adde p. – amniotic fluid
Paage p.; -itte f. – bird
?aaka conj. - conjunction of head nouns
Paallitte f.; -adde p. - shin-bone
?aani adv. – after
?aanto adv. – now
?aare p.; ?aartakko m., ?aartitte f. – Ari people
Paaza f. – arrow with iron point
?abba m.; -iyo m., -adde p. - father
?aberro attr. – sour (milk)
?abeto m. – sorghum sp.
Pacc v. – to go
?adda m.: -ivo m..-adde p. - younger brother
?addisabeba – Addis Ababa
?afo m.; -adde p. - steam, blow
\mathbf{2ag}\ v. – to uproot
?agal*; ?agalte f., ?alge p. – sac made of leather
?agile f.; ?agilitto m., ?agilitte f., ?algo p. – newborn calf
?agumu m. – sorghum sp.
?ag v.; (Redupl) – to be located
?ahayte f.; -adde p. – milk and blood
?aha interr. – who?; ?ahama – towards whom?; ?ahaya – with whom?
?akima m.; -itto m., -itte f., -adde p. - doctor
?akka m.; -iyo m., -adde p. – grandfather
?akka interr. – who?; ?akkama – where to?; ?akkanu – from where?
?akko m.; -itto m., -itte f., -adde p. - wild animal
?akkura interr. – where to?
?alaw*; ?alawte f., ?alawwe p. – older sister
Palbine f.; -adde p. – kind of rifle
\mathbf{\hat{r}} = \mathbf{\hat{r}} - \mathbf{\hat{r}} = \mathbf{\hat{r}} - \mathbf{\hat{r}}
?algakko m.; ?algatakko m., ?algatte f. - clan name
?algas v. – to be able
Palla ? e f. – predatory birds
?allo m.; -adde p. – fresh local beer
?alžo m., ?alže p. – stick, walking
?amarko m.; ?amartakko m., ?amartitte f., ?amarkacce p. – Hamer
people
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?amate f. – sorghum sp.
?ammake adv. – properly
?amule f.; -adde p. - stone sp. (salty)
Pankarsa f.; -adde p. - stick with iron point
?ano – I
\mathbf{Par} \ v.; (Caus2, Pass) – know
?ara – eyes' disease
?ara – tree sp.
?arafko m. – elephant
?araša f. – ox pecker
?ardulum v. – to race
?argakko m. – tree sp.
?arka f. – animal sp.
?armad v. – to appear
?armante f. – weed sp.
?arre f. – donkey
?asa adv.; ?asama – so, in this way
Passanna adv. – at that moment, then
Passayay adv. – so, in this way
?ašawa f. – white bracelet
\mathbf{?ašše}\ p. – highland
?atare f. – pulse sp.
?ato - you (sg)
?atunde – you (pl)
?abun v. – to rock
?awal*; ?awalko m., ?awle p. – tombstone
?awko m., ?ayko m. - place
?awne adv.; ?awnane – in the evening
?awš v.; (caus) – to ripen, to boil; ?awšo m. – fruit
\mathbf{Paxxe} \ p.; -itte f, adde p. – eye
?axxe p. – milk
?aylo m.; -itto m., -adde – small hoe
?aylo – meeting, working
?aylobate f. – sorghum sp.
?ayra m. – friend
?aysa adv.; ?aysama, ?aysayay – so, in this way
?aysana adv. – from there
Payssayay adv. – so, in this way
?aysuze f. – truck (Amh. aysuzu)
?ayya f. – mother
?azaz (also ?ažaž) (Caus2) ?aza?azaz keep on ordering – order
?azo m.; ?aze f.; ?azze p. – younger brother/sister
\mathbf{\hat{2}ažo}\ m.; \mathbf{\hat{2}ažže}\ p. – smell
?e??a f. – soghum sp.
?eeda m. – relative
?eem v. – to look at
?eero m. – grass sp. (edible)
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?eger*; ?egerko m., ?egerre p. – tree sp.
?ekadde p. – girls
?ekke – very
?ekkešaď v. – to think
?el v.; (Redupl) – to drop, to flow
?elele – together
?elele adv. – to together
?elle adv. – to each other
?eq'ad v. – to hiccup
?erbo m.; -itto m., -anne – ram
?erro m.; -adde p. - rain
?erto m.; adde p. – gums
2i2 v.; (Caus1) – to see
?ibbo – riddle
?iddinte f. – redness
?igo m. – line of the father
?iife f. – eyelashes
?ikkitto m.; adde p. – sound, voice
?ilaaše f. – animal sp.
Pilge p.; -akko m., -adde p. - tooth
?ille f.: -itte f. - top of the house
?ilmale p.; -itte f, -adde p. - tear
?immon f. – kind of rifle
?inanko \sim ?inawko m. – boy
2ine - we
?ingive f.; -adde p. - mother
?ingir*; ?ingirakko m., ?ingiranne p. – clitoris
?innakko p.; -itto m.-adde p. - fly
?inne f.; -atte f, -adde p. - spider
?insud v. – to dream
?inte adv. – before, oneself; ?intaw v. to precede
?ir?o m. − collar for women
2irga \circ m. – axe
?irriš v. – to prohibit
?ise − she
2iš v. - to refuse
2iš*; 2ište f., 2išše p. – rib of sternum
?išk v.; (Redupl.) – to tear
?ita adv. – away
?izmakko m.; ?izmatakko m., ?izmatte f. – clan name
?odol*; ?odolko m., ?odle p. – spotted goat
Pogoy v. – to come (only with plural persons as subject)
?oholko m., ?oholte f., ?oholle p. attr. – greedy
?ola f.; -ko m. – thing
?ongoro m. – outer part of the buttocks
?ood v. – to walk; ?ooddo m. – journey, trip
Poofe f. – pea sp. (wild)
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Pook v. – to change (Mid, Redupl, Pass-Caus)
Poolad v. – to spend time
?ombotto m. – container for milk made of wood
?oongo m. – fruit of kuvatto tree
?ooš v.; (Caus1, Mid, Punct, Redupl) – to wipe, to shave
?ooše f. – jackal
?ooxam v. – to quarrel; ?ooxmatto m. – quarrel
?oov v. – (Caus 1) to cry
?orgay*; ?orgayko m., ?orgayne p. – male goat
?orgo p.; -itto m., -itte f. -adde p. - Banna people, Banna and Hamer
peoples
?orgošum v. – to grow up (calf)
?orro m.; -adde p. - forest; ?orro - name of a Ts'amakko village
?orša?te f. – rhinocerous
\mathbf{?ošo} \mathbf{?} \mathbf{v}. – to scent
?ošonko m. – coldness
?ottakko m., ?okke p. – cub, newborn of any animal
?ozbikko m.; ?ozbitakko m., ?ozbitte f. – clan name
?ucc v.(Caus1) – to fill up
2ufo - he
?ufunde – they
Pukahe p.; -itte f., -adde p. - egg
?ukunte f. – fence for goats
?ula, ?ulo, ?ulu adv. – on the side
2upp v.; (Redupl) – to blow, to whistle
?ure f. – wax
?urre f., ?ayidurre f. – domestic
?usk*; ?uskakko m., ?uskanne p.- dirt; ?uskakkod v. - to be dirty;
?uskakkolakko m., ?uskakkolatte f., ?uskakkolayke p. adj – dirty
?uttufo m. – pole in roof (small)
?uunto m. – soot
?uzge p. – firestones
የ
Saabo f. – granmother
\mathbf{\hat{Y}}aag v.B – go back home
Yaale p.; Yaaltakko m., Yaaltitte f. – gawwada people
\mathbf{\hat{r}} aarma?e f. – plant sp. (wild and edible)
Sabun*; Sabunko m., Sabne p. – breast; Sadinko m. – breast
Yac'arkod v. – to get goosebumps
\mathbf{\hat{Y}} and \mathbf{\hat{V}}.; (Mid) – to put
\mathbf{\hat{r}} akkad \mathbf{v}. – to sit down
\mathbf{\hat{Y}} alge f. – plant sp. (used to make ropes)
Samaddo m.; Samatakko m., Samatitte f. – clan name
\Omega ammo m. – strip of leather wore by young girls
\mathbf{\hat{r}} and \mathbf{\hat{r}} p.; -itto m., -itte f., -add \mathbf{\hat{r}} p. - water
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Yango m. – molar and palate
\mathbf{\hat{Y}}ardo m., \mathbf{\hat{Y}}arde p.; -anne p. - ox
?are f. − coffee
Sarrafko m., Sarrabbe p. – tongue
Sarrakko m., Sarratte f., Sarrayke p. adj. – white (hair, fur)
\mathbf{\hat{r}}arto m. – smoke
\mathbf{\hat{Y}a\mathbf{\check{S}^*}}; \mathbf{\hat{Y}a\mathbf{\check{S}ko}}\ m., \mathbf{\hat{Y}a\mathbf{\check{S}\mathbf{\check{S}e}}\ p}. – grass
Yawde p. – plane of mud for threshed sorghum
\mathbf{\hat{Y}e}\mathbf{\hat{Y}}\mathbf{\hat{y}}\mathbf{\hat{k}}\mathbf{\hat{k}}\mathbf{\hat{o}}\ m. – tree sp.
Seelakko m.; Seelatakko m., Seelatte f. – clan name
Seem*; Seemte f., Seemme p. – sheep
\Upsilonel*; \Upsilonelko m., \Upsilonelle p. — wells
\mathbf{\hat{Y}}idd \mathbf{adj.}v. – to to be red
Sombo m. – fontanelle
?ombo m. – tree sp.
\mathbf{\hat{Y}ug} \ v.; (Caus2, Punct) – drink
Yugisso m. – thing to drink
b
ba conj. – conjunction of consecutive sentences
baakko f., baakkitte f., baakkittadde p. – cow with no milk
baal*; baalitte f, baalinne p. – poles of house
baalaabad v. – put a head rest on the nape
baalgiddo m. – ostrich
baalko m. – flower of maize
baalžige f.; anne p. – kind of rifle
baante f. – bow
baaro m. – armpit
baarte f. — hut
baasallo m. – calabash used to pour water
baasarko m.; baasartakko m., baasartitte f., baasarkadde p. – age grade
baay v. – to start
baaya f. – hair of chest; baayalakko m., baayalatte f., baayalayke p. adj.

    having hair of chest

ba??ay v. – to carry with both arms
bado m. – hunger; badod – to be hungry
bafko m. – python
bagad v. – to run (only for plural subject)
bago m.; bagge p. – mouth
bala f. – skull, bold head
bal\Omegaas*; bal\Omegaasko m., bal\Omegaazze p. – house foundement, site
balka f. – kind of calabash
banda f. – fowl's faeces
banga f. – machete
bannado m. – kind of black scrabble
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baq' v. – to melt
baq'al v.; (Caus2 balq'is, Punct, Redupl.) – to sprout;
baq'as v. – split; baq'asso m. – splitting; baq'assod v. – to have an
headache
bara interr. – when?
barbara f.– Ethipian pepper (Amh. barbarre)
bardaq'o m. – kind of black scrabble
bargade f. – collar bone
barido m. – man shouting without saying anything
baritto m.; baritakko m., baritte f. – clan name
barlo m. – spotted bird
bas v.; (Mid, Redupl) – to do
baša6 v.; (Caus bašša6, Pass bašma6, Redupl) – to defeat
batteri f. – torch (Amh. batteri)
bax v. – to be smart
bax*; baxko m., baxxe p. – small pond
baxxarko m., baxxarte f., baxxarre p. attr. – beautiful; baxxaninte f. –
beauty
bay v.: (Caus1, Mid) – to say
bayše p.; bayšitte f. – wound; bayšaš v. – to wound; bayšuđ v. – to be
wounded
bazz v.: (Mid bazzaβ) – to be plenty
beel*: beelko m., beelle p. – cattle sharing
beerr v. – to touch
ber*: berko m., berre p. – rainy season
bero adv. – really
biŶ adj.v. − to be white
bi? v.; (Caus1, Redupl) – to fall; bi?inte f. – falling thing
bicca adv. – only
biddir v. – to borrow; biddire f. – debt
biif v.; (Caus1, Redupl) – to have a meal; biife f. – meal
bilbilko m.; bilbiltakko m., bilbiltitte f., bilbilkadde p. – age grade 3
bile m./f. attr. – other
billay*; billayko m., billayne p. – knife (Amh. billawa)
binnasko m.; binnastakko m., binnastitte f., binnaskadde p. – alliance
between the clans ?ozbikko and ?algakko
bira f.– beer (Amh. bira)
birale p.; biraltakko m., biraltitte f. – Birale people
birbir*; birbirko m., birbirre p. – tree sp.
birts'e f. – worm sp. (kosotel)
bisko m. – flower
biš*; biško m., biškitto m., biškitte f., bišše p. — body
bitam v.; (Mid bitmad, Punct, Redupl, Punt-Redupl) – to buy
biye f. – land, soil
bose f. – manure
bog v. – (Caus bogos, Pass, Redupl) – to kill
bogol*; bogolko m., bogolte f., bolge p. – king; bolgos v. – to elect as
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king; bolgom v. to become king; bolgomis v.— to be elected as king
bonde f., bondotte f. num. – ten birr
boo?e f. – irrigation pond
boo?e f. – soil ploughed one time
bood v.; (Caus1) – dig
booh v. – to sow: boohto m. – seed
boolo m. – scrabble sp.
booro m. – calabash for milking
boorto m. – barley
boositte f. – pubic hair
boox v. – to concimate
bopp v – to starve
boq' v.; (Caus boq'os) – to cut off
borde attr. – spotted
bordolo m. – spotted small mongoose
borxo m. – ember
bote f.; botte p. – pumpkin
boxx*; boxxakko m., boxxanne p. – pus
božže p. – white clay for dance adornment; božžaď v. to smear white clay
bu??o m. – fever; disease
buu\(\text{$\nu}\).; (Mid) – to hurt
buda f. – evil spirit
buka6 buska6 - gather
buke f. – wooden club
buke f. bukab gather - meeting
bukkisa f. – tunnels underground
bul v.; (Pass, Punct, Redupl) – to separate, to put apart
burde f. – vagina
burza f. – fruit eaten by donkey and goat
busante f. – plant, grass
buska f. – small seed form the oil
busukko m., buske p. attr – sterile man
buup v. – to bless
buuše f. – beard; buušolakko m., buušolatte f., buušolayke p. – bearded
გ
6ad v.; (Caus 1, Mid, Redupl)
6alko m. – plain, in lowland
6izze f. – animal sp.
6ul v.; (Caus1, Punct, Redupl) – to jump; 6ullo m. – jump
c,
\mathbf{c'aa6} v. – to build a fence
\mathbf{c'aaq'} v. – to defecate; \mathbf{c'aaq'} e f. – faeces
c'abala f. – twisting bracelet
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\mathbf{c'ab} adj.v. – to be wet
c'aldax v.; (Caus2) – to be soft
\mathbf{c'an} \ v. — to load
c'aq'ale f.; c'alq'e p. – sorghum, stalk of remained on the field
\mathbf{c'aq'ante} f. – tree sp.
c'aq'om v. – to close with a lid; c'aq'q'omme f. lid
c'arke f.; adde p. – dew
c'arro m. – grasshopper
c'ayde f., c'ayye p. – fence
c'egde f. – of bleed – blood
c'ib v.; (Caus2) – to pierce
c'ifano m.; -itto m., -itte f., c'ifne p. – unmarried person
c'igaɗ v. – to love
c'ingo m. – mosquito
c'irfa f. – braids, kind of
c'ooro m. – cricket
c'ox v.; (Pass, Redupl) – to milk
\mathbf{c'oxxe} f. — mud with rain
c' ubbolakko m., c'ubbolatte f., c' ubbolayke p. adj. – unappreciated
(person)
c'ummo m. – tree sp. (small)
\mathbf{c'ur} \ v. - to throw
c'uruq'e f. – bird sp.
\mathbf{c'uube} f. – sickle not used here
d
daaf v.; (Caus1) – to be blind
daafakko m., daafatte f., daafayke p. adj – blind
daale p.; -te f. – goat
da a d v. - to wait
da\Omegaan*; da\Omegaanko m., da\Omegane p. – food gemfo
dab*; dabakko m., -dabanne p. – mouse
dada?anko m. – centre of foot palm
daggo m.;-itto m., -itte f. – young (person)
daħan*; daħante f., daħne p. – calabash used to fetch water
dalba f. – pond
dambala??e f. – kind of snake
dangadangac'c'o m. – hedgehog
dara?ukuli f. – zebra
dar o m. − ashes
darbad v. – to throw for oneself
darbe f. – drum
\mathbf{daw} \ v. – to get, to find
dawle f. – highland
dawwo m. – snake
daažimale f. – ginger
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dee\hbar v. – (Caus1) – to give
deelo m. – flat plane
del v.; – (Mid) – to sew
diig v.; (Caus1) – to pour
diigo m. – gall bladder
dildila f. – bridge
dingeša f. adde – animal sp.
do??e f. – tattoo
do?osko m. – waterbuck
doc'a f. – fat, dark mouse
dodolko m. – animal sp.
dongo m. – tree sp.
dookko m, dootte f., dookke p. num. – one
doolle p. – ox-hunch
dooma f. – pointed metal of hoe
dooro m. – pile of sorghum; doorad v. – to make a pile of sorghum
dooyi – someone
dubaza f. – animal sp.
dullayko – Weyt'o River
dunka f., dunkayna f. – tent (Amh. dunkan)
dunko m. – pointed part of a bullet
duub*; duubde f., duubbe p. – buttock, tail, wasted tail of sheep after
emptied of fat and meat
duuko m. – back, behind
duul v.; (Caus2) – to go to war; duule f. – going to the war; duulko m. –
war
duunko m. – eye, coloured part
duzze f. – plant
ď
daammo m. – flour
daatt*; daattakko m. daattanne p. – acacia
dab v.; (Mid) – to miss
\mathbf{dagg} \ v.; (Caus2) – to insult
dagod v. – to be angry
daggab v.; (Caus2) – to arrive
dakše f. – animal sp.
dal v.(Mid) – to give birth
Galle p. – children
damay*; damayko m., damayye p. – flour of any cereal
damatto m. − giraffe
damm adj.v. – to be big; damminte f. – bigness
ɗanga f. − uvula
\mathbf{dawr} \ v. -  to forbid
dayte f. – fire-stick
de?se f. – kidney
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dee6te f. – thirst; dee6ad v.; (Caus2) – to be thirsty
deek v. – to accuse
deek v. – to sharpen
deem*; deematto m.deemitte f., deemme p. – horn scretch
deešo m. – medicine
denge f. – neck
dib v.; (Caus1) – to rain
diile f. – calabash for shaking milk
diim v. – to swim
diire f. – tree sp.
diit v. – to step on, to crush
\operatorname{dik} v. – to count
dikkad – be completed
\operatorname{\mathbf{din}} v. – to judge
\mathbf{din} \ v. – to recove, to heal
diš – plant
dišš – plant one plant at one time
doollo m.; -ko m., -te f., -adde p. - leather mat
dooq' v. — to carry on the shoulder
duge f. – truth, condition
g
gaabote f.; -ko m. – bushbuck (tragelaphus scriptus)
gaage f. – tortoise, small water
gaagis v.; (Pass) – to carry
gaah*; gaahko m, gaahhe p. – stone
gaa\hbar v.; (Caus2) – to tell
gaaho m. – affair, matter
gaaldo m. – pregnancy; gaaldaw v. – to become pregnant; gaaldakko m.,
gaaldatte f., gaaldayke p. adj. – pregnant
gaale m./f./p., gaalatte f. attr. – difficult; gaala\delta v.; (Caus gaal\deltaa\delta) – to
experience trouble
gaamayle f. – camel
gaan v. – to be plenty
gaan*; gaante f., gaanne p. – woman
gaansa6 – be unready
gaaraboq'o m. – ankle
gaare p.;-ko m. – tree, wood
gaarko m.;-itto m., -itte f. – clan
gaarm adj.v. – to be enormous
gaarre p. – horse carriage
gaas v. – to fish
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gaasse p.; -akko m. - horn
ga? v.; (Mid, Redupl) – to prepare
gaayye f. – tobacco
ga?al v.; (Mid gal?adi, Punct) – to marry
gabaya f. – market
gabate f. – funnel
gac'c'e f.; adde p. – t'ef (Eragrostis abyssinica)
gada adv. – on the highland side, up
gafko m. – clan
gaftad v.; (Caus2) – be stuck
galaba p. – Dhaasanach people
galla adv. – on the lowland side, down
gallawo - at night
gallo adv. – on the lowland side, down
game f.; -itto m., -itte f., gamme p. - maize
gana?*; gana?ko m., gana??e p. – central internal point of foot and hand
ganda p. – neighbourhood
ganzabu f. – money
gar v.; (Caus2) – to prepare, to build
gara\Upsilon*; gara\Upsilonte f., gar\Upsilone p. – belly
garmo m. – lion
garn v. – to be useful
garo m. – place, base for beehive
garo m. - side
garro m. – ground squirrel (Xerus rutilus)
gasar*; gasarko m., garse p. – buffalo
gasod – be happy
gass v. (Mid) – ask; gasso m. – request
gawa?*; gawa?ko m., gawa??e p. – thunder and lightening
gawarakko m. – bird sp.
gawge f. – maxilla bone
gawso m. – chin
gav v. – to arrive
gayit*; gayitakko m. gayitanne p. - scorpion
gayte f.; anne p. – fire stick
gazo m. gazze p. – hair
gazgo m. – grain
gazze f. – shadow
gee? v_{\cdot} – to belch
geera, geeray adv. – yesterday
geerinne p. – house poles
geeš*; geešuw – become old, to
geeccakko m, geeccatte f., geeccayke p. adj. – old
gelzakko m. adde – baboon
gengo m. – top of penis
gere? mid - steal
gere? v.; – to steal; gere?ko m., gere?te f., ger?e p. – thief; ger?inte f. –
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theft
gerekko m. – trunk for roof, big
gerge f.; -itto m., -itte f.– Amhara people
gešan*; gešante f., gešanne p. – woman
getko m. – wooden seat
gibdo m. – meeting, dancing
gibil*; gibilko m., gible p. – knee
gilbad - lay on knees
gidanko m. – braid of women
gidano adv. – this year
giire f. – tree sp.
gillad v. – to divine
gil v. – to tell a lie; gillo m. – lie
gilfa f. – bellows pump
gilinkasa adv. – bit, a little
gilo m. – meeting for dead people
giršo m. – porcupine sp.
gisso m. — mongoose sp.
gitama m.; gitantakko m., gitantitte f., gitamadde f. – blacksmith
gits'ts'o m. – flea sp.
go??av adv - next
go?*; go?akko m., go??e f. - hoof, nail
godd v.; (Caus1, Pass) – to do, to put
golde f. – penis
gollan num. - nine
golle f. – river
gombo m. – cattle camp, kraal
gonc'o m. – lower part of the back bone below the ziiza
gongala f. – carved wood for several uses, canoe
gongollo m. – calabash for coffee, pipe belly
goob v.; (Caus2) – to be fat, to be fertile; goobinte f. – fat, grease
goodo m. – mole
googa f. – tree, big dead
goo\hbar v. – to roar
goomaro m. – throat
goontore f., ; -ikko m. – eland
gorda f. – sorghum sp.
goorko m. – belt for pregnant woman
gooš v.; (Mid) – to tend cattle
gor v. – to drive
gordisa f. – wild animal with long tail eating chickens
gore p. – people
gorle f. – hook shaped thorn
goržo m. – cheetah
goyte f. – kind of tree that gives fresh shadow
gubale f. – rabbit
gubus*; gubusko m., gubuzze p. – thigh bone
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guddo adv. – on the highland side, up
gudur*; gudurko m., gudurre p. – hyena
gufa? v.; gufa??o m. – cough
gula f. – lizard, very tiny
gulfo m. – cold
gullasad – see from far
gulma f. – calabash for beer
gura adv. – equal
gurdo m. – animal sp.
gurlo m.; -itto m., -itte f., -adde p. - wild cat
gurmalko m.; gurmaltakko m., gurmaltitte f., gurmalkadde p. – age
gurragala f. – last vertebra behind the neck
gussum v. – to follow
gummo m. – sorghum sp.
guuyu adv. – today
g
\mathbf{gaab} \ v. – to be worried
gaahsindo m. – sperm
gaante f. – udder
gab v.; (Mid, Punct, Punct-Caus, Punct-Mid) – to take
gannatto m. – lizard
gar v. – to look like
gayy v. – to remain
gee? v.; (Caus1, Mid) - to want; <math>gee??om. - wish
giip v.; (Punct, Punct-Caus) – to go to sleep
gim v. – to reap; gimakko m. – harvest
gina \Re f. – rib
ginante f. — wasted meat of the rear legs
ginsad v. – to beg; ginselakko m., ginselatte f., ginselayke p. adj. –
girro m. – instrument from cutting wood
gobad v. – to crouch down
goh v.; (Caus2) – to grow
gond v.; (Pass) – to break
gor v. - to chase, to lead
gorqummo m. – plant
gubad - build
gumm Adj.v.— to be black; gumminte f.—blackness
h
hac'ande f. – scarification of body
hal*; halko m. halle p. – old man, husband
haq'ayte f. – month coming after the rainy season
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hats'ts'ikko m. – kind of white stone

ħ

haarko m., haarke p. – hand habura f. haburko m. haburkadde – wind handura f.: handurte f. – umbellical chord ħandurra f., ħandurre f. – humbellical chord hanšal*; hanšalakko m., hanšalanne – flour, cooked ħavma adv. − here hayna adv. – here hayyay – since then heeko *m*. heekke *p*. − chest heenge f. – internal part of panicle \hbar **eesko** p. – women \hbar eeyatte f. – tree sp. \hbar ello m. – magician heyakko m., heyatte f., heyayke p. adj. – ,widow; orphan \hbar **ezge** f.; **-itte** f. – star \hbar **ezgitte** f. – star, female \hbar **ezze** p. – root, vein ħ**oro** *m*. − internal waste of pumpkin \hbar **ul** v.(Punct) – to enter

k

ka – sentence marker kahha m./p., tahha f. interr.— whose? kaakanu adv. – from here **kaale** f. – spoon **kaalkome** *f.* – kneading **kaallikko** *m.* – sun general **kaanšima** *f.* – entrails **kaarinko** adv. – to in agreement kaasa adv. – here **kaata** f. – broken and wasted thing ka? v.; (Caus2, Punct) – to get up; ka??o m. – getting up **kaaynu** *adv.* – from there kaaysa adv. – there; kaaysanu – from there **kabo** m., **kabbe** p. – hide of sheep or goat **kacce** f.; **-itte** f., **-adde** p. – shoulder **kad** v.; (Punct, Redupl, Punct-Caus) – to climb kahh adj.v. – to be hard; kahhaw v. – to become hard **kakko** *m*. – kernel **kalko** m. – holy bone **kallacco** *m*. – rectum kama6 – be rich

kammakko m. – light **kamur** v. – to be rich kamurko m., kamurte f., kamurre p. attr. – rich **kamurinte** f. – richness **kanna** *adv.* – quickly **kantale** f. – tree sp. karam6a f. – calabash to drink coffee **karawko** *m*. – guereza karkar*; karkarakko m., karkaranne p. – warthog karna f. – hip **karo** m.; -itto m., -itte f., **karre** p. - dog **karom** v. – to co-habit **karre** *f*. – door **kaskale** f. – animal sp. **kata** \hbar **o** m. – stick to carry stuff on the shoulder **katte** f. – fire **kay** v. – to say **kayko** m.; -itto m., -itte f. – bridegrooms **kayse** f.; **-itto** m., **-itte** f. – poor person **ke** – plural pronominal particle **keeda** f. – corridor between house and fence **kefo** m., **keffe** p. – kind of rifle **kellefer** *f.* – kind of rifle **kere** *f.* **kerre** *p.* **–** headrest, carrying seat **kibe** f.; **kibbe** p. – dry season kibay – be named **kibir** v.; (Caus **kirbas**) – to dance; **kibirko** m., **kirbe** p. – dance **kicca?** v.; (Caus2) – to laugh kiil – to help **kilaaš** f. – kalashnikov (Amh. **kïlaaš**) **kinnisa** *f.* – pimple **kirde** f. – testicle **kirinc'e** f. – bone protuberance, spur **kirrin***; **kirrinko** m. **kirrimme** p. – tail of all the animal of sheep only smal bone end kiy – say **ko** – masculine pronominal particle **ko?** – set on (fire), roast, to koka f. – iron point **kokakko** m. – bird sp. (it eates calves) **kol** v. – to come back **kolkoško** *m.* – wasted broken big calabash **komba** *f.* – necklace of beads **kongo** m. – plane konso p. – konso **koolo** m. – wing

koor v. – to refuse

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korkoro m. – house fence or small places for animal
korondo m. – spur
koršab v. – weed
košo m. – dung, dry manure
kubba\mathbf{d} \times \mathbf{0} – fill a calabash
kubbaya f. – cup
kufe f. – tortoise
kulile f. kulule – guinea fowl
kullumme f. – catapult
\mathbf{kum} \ v. – to be finished
kumbala f. – food
kunda m., tinda f., kinda p. interr. – which one?
kunko num. - ten
kurfa f. – cooked blood
kurumo m. – wooden milk container
kušte f. – top of a house
kuttakutto m. – braid, small
kutton*; kuttonko m., kuttomme – mountain
kuuškuušo m. – cock's mane
kuyyo m. – termite hill
1
laaddahe f. – lower rib
laafa f. – bat sp.
laag v. – to give back
laale f. – animal sp.
laalo m. – bird sp.
la?*; la?akko m., la?ne p. - plain, border
labale f. – kind of rifle
lable f., laybe f. – cloths of any size
la6ša f. – scapula
laade f. – rope used to keep cattle
laħħawko m. – dried thing, dead small tree
laħħo m. — bird sp.
lakkay p. – twins
lakki num. – two
lande f. – spleen
laq'a f. – fruit like onion that is not eaten
laq'a f. – wart, sixth finger
las v. – to sell
lastige f. – plastic goods
laša f.; laško m., lašše p. – kind of bread
latto – naturally, on his own
laax*; laaxko m. laaxxe – wooden arrrow
laxx adj.v. – to be unripe; to be green; laxxaw v. – to become unripe, to
become green
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le \Omega o m. — moon, month
lekk v.; (Caus 1) – to pierce from side to side
lenc'iš v. – to train (animals)
lonšina f. – bus (Amh. loncina 'truck', from Italian leoncino 'name of a
truck')
lig v. - to resemble
lig v.; (Caus1, Punct) - to get out
liq'ambare m. – chief (Amh. liqambär)
loobarko m.; loobartakko m., loobartitte f., loobarkadde p. – age grade 2
log v.; (Mid, Pass-Mid logmad) – to spoil, to break
longo m. – shield
lo?o f. - cow
luß adj.v.; (Caus1) – be hot
lu6*; lu6te f., lu66e p. – foot
lukkale f. -itto m., -itte f., -adde - chicken
lukkurro m./p. attr. – curved towards the head (horn)
lulle f. – plant sp.
m
ma clit. – towards, within
maakke p. – story, tale
maalka f. – flute, pipe stem
maaltitte f. – fenugreek
maanga? adj.v. – to be short
maango m. – sorghum
maarama f. – possessive spirit of god
maaraša f. – plough
maare p.; -te f. – female calf
maaršo m. – teller
ma?sadv. - to sprain
ma?še p. – end, border
maax*; maaxko m., maaxxe p. – bead
maax^*; maaxatto m., maaxxe p. – gourd
mas*; masko m. masse p. - name
macce adv. – always
mac'c'e – cabbage sp.
madalakko m. – muscle of arm
madday*; maddayitte f., maddayye p. – tempia
maga f. – goat's weed
magal*; magalko m. malge p. – hammer of rifle
\mathbf{mag} \ v. – to change direction, to readdress
makkatte f. – plough
mala interr. – how?
malal v. – to be sick, to be tired
manaq'o m. – yoke
mango m. – mango
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maango m. – sorghum
manne p.; adde p. – house
mano m. – family
mano m. – spot, place, container
maq'al v. – to be salty
marge f. – wrinkles of forehead
markam f. – kind of rifle
marrahe f. – edible wild plant
marrote f. – red bracelet
marts'a f. – young acacia
masano m. – rainy month
mato num. – one hundred birr (Amh. mïto 'one hundred')
may v. – to bury
mayo m. – tomb
mayle f. – more evident palm lines
mayy v. – to kiss; mayyo m. – kiss
mazmare f. – nail (Amh. mäzmär)
mažo m., mažže p., mažžadde – kind of cilindric bead
me? interr. – how many?
meeg v. – to pour
meelo p. attr. – fresh (milk)
meeq'e p.; meeq'te f. – bone
meeše f. – devil spirit of dead
meken*: mekente f. .mekne p. attr. – sterile (woman)
mi?*; mi?te f., mi??e p. – fruit sp.
mi?ad – be sleepy
mic'angalle f. – arm bone
mid*midikko m. midinne – grind stone, lower
midd*; middakko m. middanne middakkadde – rope
middo m. – bracelet for pulse
miinte f. – forehead
miire f. – pond, gurf
mir v. - to squeeze cloths
mirle f. – cheetah
mirma?*; mirma?atte f., mirma?anne p. – intestines
mirša f. – kind of black stone
mirža f. – kudu
mits'o m. mits'ts'e p. – sorghum beer
mofara f. – thin and long wood of the plough
moggo m.; -iyo m., -adde p. - child named after 'godfather'
mogol*; mogolte f. molge p. – bracelet, black iron
moo interr. – what?
moonu, moona interr. – why?
mooro m. – hard internal part of animal fat
moralle f. – bird sp.
morq'o m.; -itto m., -itte f. – age grade 1
moyle f. – genenuk (red meda fiel)
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moylo m. – in which place
muc'c' - brush
mudo??o m. – sort of thorn to sew strong things
muɗɗe f. – handle of a headrest
muga ?*; muga ? te f. muga ? ? e p. – head
mugur v.: (Caus2 murgis) – to be surprised
mukkanakko m., mukkanatte f., mukkanayke p. adj. – limb, having a
mume m./f./p. attr. – entire
mur v. – to pay
murriso m., murristakko m., murristitte f. – mursi people
muts' v.; (Mid) – to reduce
muunto m. – sky
muuq'um v. – to be powerful
muuze f. – banana
mux v. - to cut
n
na, nay – locative pronoun, locative postposition, backgrounder
naabad v.– to hate
naa6a m.− enemy
na??a f. - child, small
nabale f. – belt of beads
nagav v. – to spend the day
naggadad v. – to trade (Amh. näggäd)
narfe f. – needle
nassad v. – to breath, rest
nats'ar v. – to take aim; nats'ire f. – gun sight
nats'iro m. – mother of a boy
nelbasko m.; nelbastakko m., nelbastitte f., nelbaskadde p., – age grade 4
niyarroge f. – earing chain
nolo m. – brain
nu, nnu clit. – from; to
nug v. – to have sex; nuggo m. – having sex
nure f. – woman leaving her husband
p
paanaw to follow
paana f. – trace, footprint; paannatte relat. – after, later
paappaya f. – papaya
pagad – be over
pakala m., pakale f., pakaladde p. attr. – intelligent, clever
palde f. – iron arrow
palke f. – grass growing with the new rains
palq'e f. – gourd, broken piece of
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pandalte f. – goat skin for women
par v. – to die
paranc'a f. – foreigner
pararo m. – spotted multicolor insect
pardo m. – horse
parše f. – beer, local
pašo m.; pacce p. – field, cultivated
pat v. – to vomit; pate f. – vomit
pec'e f. – bean, black
pelampelo m. – butterfly
pelta f. – dirt of calabash
picce f. – curds
pika6 piska6 – be straight
pil v.; (Mid) – to comb
piška f. – whistle
po? v. – to dry
ponq'a f. – point of arrow
poolo m. – cloud
porima6 – be brave
puddo m. – cotton
pud v. – to flower
pug v.; (Mid 'to get satiated', Pass, Redupl) – to inflate
puga f. – blacksmith
puga f.; -itto m., -itte f. – wild cat
puggo m.; -itto – male calf from unnatural birth
pulle f. – hole
punge p. – sheep without fat
pure f. – bead, big
q'
\mathbf{q'aacc} \ v. – to open
q'aac'a f. – charcoal
q'aac'c'e f. – bush
\mathbf{q'aan} \ v. – to chew
q'aan*; q'aante f. q'aamme p. — ear
q'aara f. – pepper
q'aarakko m. – monkey
\mathbf{q}'aaš \mathbf{v}. – to open a fence
q'aata f. – trigger of firearm
q'aba? v. – to listen to
q'abad – feel
q'a6a f. – instrument for cutting thorns
q'a6te f. – hide basket
q'ac'ara f. – small bell for goats and sheeps
q'alate f. – jackal, sïmyän fox (canis simensis)
q'alay*; q'alayte f. q'alayye p. – rest of a bullet expelled after shooting
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\mathbf{q'all} \ v. – to start singing
q'alq'alko m. – tree sp.
q'alše f. – belt for men; water carrier
q'amma adv. – day after tomorrow
q'ammatinko – three days after tomorrow
q'ammatinte – three days after tomorrow
q'ammakko – two days after tomorrow
q'amme m./f./p. attr. – bad
q'anc'arlakko m., q'anc'arlatte f., q'anc'arlayke p. adj. – hugly
\mathbf{q'ane} f. – day (Amh. \mathbf{q\ddot{a}n})
q'ane – during the day
q'anta f. – granary
q'ants'e f. – sprout, thorn
q'aq' v.; (Caus1) – to cut
q'aq'q'e p. q'aq'q'atte f. – bark
\mathbf{q}'arar v. – to be hurt, be sick; \mathbf{q}'ararro m. – illness
\mathbf{q'arma} f. – cramps; \mathbf{q'armod} v. – to have cramps
q'aro m. q'arre p. - side
q'arra adv. – before (space and time)
q'arrasad – take mucus out of the nose
q'arts'eta f. – bag for grain (Amh. qärts'a)
q'ats'o m. – itch; q'ats'od – to itch
\mathbf{q}'ato m. – spot on the skin, black
q'ats' v. – to bend arms and legs of a corpse
q'aw v.; (Caus1) – bite
q'aw*; q'awte f. q'awwe – gourd
q'awa f. - rifle
\mathbf{q}'awko m. – man
q'awto p. q'awtitto m., q'awtitte f. attr. – new
q'awwaditto m., q'awwaditte f., qáwwadadde p. – new
q'ayile f. – dried sorghum or maize panicle
q'ayna adv. – tomorrow
q'ayto m. – time
q'ayy adj.v. – to be good, be nice
q'ayyinte f. – good quality, beauty
q'eedd – lick once
q'eed v.; (Caus2) – to lick
\mathbf{q}'emame f. – spice
q'enta f. – long chain metal earring
q'erts'a f. – thin calabash
\mathbf{q}'eske f. – louse
q'ets' v. – to cut
q'ob*; q'obakko m., q'obbe p. – nail, big toe
q'od ; q'odas (caus) plough – dig
q'ofte f. – cave
\mathbf{q}'ole p.; -\mathbf{ko}, -\mathbf{te}, -\mathbf{adde} - cattle; \mathbf{q}'oltaw v. - to become a domestic animal
q'olfe f. – edible plant
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q'olfe f. – key
\mathbf{q}'olse f. – sorghum panicle without grains
q'omatte f., q'omayke p,, q'omaykadde p. – sandal, shoe
q'omm v. – to eat grains
q'onc'or – stir something
q'onn aw become – be slim
q'ontar*; q'ontarko m., q'ontarre p. – hide put underground to dry
used to make knife holders.
q'onts'a f. – kind of rifle
q'onts'e f. – upper grind stone
q'oode f. – snail
\mathbf{q}'ooš v. – to hunt; \mathbf{q}'oošo m. – hunting
\mathbf{q}'ooše f. – flap ears
q'orke f., q'orka f. – curved thing
q'ormo m. – dance phase in which the men chase the women
q'orq'oro m. – latta, pots etc.
q'orq'oro m. – bell made of tortoise house
q'osor*; q'osorko m. q'osorre p. – plant for rope
\mathbf{q}'oš \mathbf{v}. – to scretch
q'ot*; q'otakko m. q'otte p. – finger, claw
q'otyo m. – ploughing ox
q'oyto m. – red stone grinded to make a powder for the hair
\mathbf{q}'ucc \mathbf{v}. – to fill (intr.)
q'urc'o m. – intersection of the two parts of the stomach
q'urrube f. – bird sp.
q'uts'o m. - bird sp.
r
raa? v. – to be bitter
raandaħ adj.v. – to be cold
ra\mathbf{r}\mathbf{v}. – to shoot; ra\mathbf{r}\mathbf{r}\mathbf{o} \mathbf{m}. – shot
raf v.; (Caus2) – to sleep
rakk v.; (Caus 1) – to hang; rakkinde f. – handle, strap
rammo m. – belly jerm
raww – finish in one time
raw v.; (Mid) – to finish
reegakko m.; reegatakko m., reegatte f. – clan name
reek v.; (Caus2) – to mix
reento m. – hippo
reše? v. – to be light
rifanko m; -adde p. - fur
rig v. - to smear
rigad – go towards someone, leave somewhere
riir v. – to shout
ringa f. – beans, big, similar to chick peas
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roc'ante f. – grass, kind of dry
rook v.; (Caus2) – to speak
rooko attr. – curved away from the head (horn)
rog'om v. - to wrinkle
rukad v. – to pierce, to shoot
rumma te p. – Arbore people
ruuk v.(Mid) – to throw somth. for chasing
S
-s(s)a – definite suffix
saala f. – horn of orix (šaalto) used as trumpet, rifle's mouth
saamuna f. – soap
saar*; saarko m, saarre p. – head of village
saara f. – consumed wasted cloth
saarko m. adde – panicle's threads
sa'e f. – child carrier made of rope, small flea which is not in the rural area
saabanko m., saabankadde p., saabanne p. – strip of field
sabbe p. – top
sagan*; saganko (also sa?anko m.) sagne – meat
salaħ num – four
samminte f. – week
sanaxe f. – skin around two bones of thrback of the knee
saq' v.: (Punct) – to store
sarabe f. – corpse
sarba f. – calf, ankle
sassabbe f. – kind of scorpion
sawro m. – dik dik
-se – definite suffix
seere f. – dry meat
segele f. – grass of roof
seħ v.; (Caus2, Mid) – to collect
sekab v. – to roast meat
seke f. – stick of roof
sexad - shelter
sezzen num. – eight
sibil*; sibilko m., sible p. – iron
siibde f., siibbe p. – hand made rope; trap
siido m. – eyebrow
siine f. − mucus
siippo m. – sweat
siise f. — honey water
silke f. – iron trap
silke – telephone (Amh. sïlk)
sile p.; silitte f., silittadde p. – feather
simbale f. – sorghum sp.
sinde f. – nose
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sine f. — mucus, what comes out of nose
sire p.; -atte f. – jewellery, ornamental objects; sirad v. – to adorn oneself
sobore m., soboritto m., sorbe p. attr. – castrated (cattle)
\mathbf{sog}\ v. – to divine
soggo m, sogge p. — magician
sollakko adv. – slowly
somba f., sompa f. – lung
sonq'a f. – guitar, kind of
sooxmatte f. – edible wild tree
soq'o m. – salt
sor v. – to run (only singular persons as subject)
sorto m. – placenta
sufe f. – sunflower
sukk*v.; sukkas – to make roll down; sukkam – to roll down
sure f. – gathering place
surke f. – arm bone
suutta f. – very small bird
š
šaalko m. – pool made of river water
šaalo m. – house store
šaalo m. – top of foot
šaalto m. – oryx
šaaše f. – cloth used by old an man to cover his head
šaal*; šaalko m., šaalte f., šale p. – brother, older
šab v.; (Pass, Punct) – to tie
\mathbf{\check{s}ag}, \mathbf{\check{s}aguw} v. – to collect honey
šam6o m. – newborn
šamma?šaď v. – to yawn
šarifo m. – kind of rifle
šaw*; šawte f. šawwe p. – beehive
šayna f. – water pump
\check{s}eeg \times 0 - bring
šibde f. – tree sp.
šibo m. – part of rifle, where the bullet pierces
šicca f. – kind of rifle
šiggar v.; (Caus šiggariš, šiggaroš – to stop
šiggire f. – razor
šiin v.; (Mid) – to smear
šiinin*; šiininko m. šiinimme p. – butter
šitte f. – girl
šikkomoď – be numb
šilšilko m./f., šilšilkadde p. attr. – smooth
šinšalle p.; -itte f. – ants
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šiq' v. – to fart; šiq'ne f. – fart
širab v. – to turn
šolo6 – be swallen
šooh v.; (Pass šoohom) – to wash
šoo\hbar v.; to urinate; šoo\hbare p. – urine
šoona f. – reedbuck
soonte f. – skin used to carry flour, earth and similar
šorke f. – honey calabash
šuď v.; (Pass 'get dressed') – to cover
šukkaď v. – to trample upon
šuko m. – wooden handle of knife
šula f. – sorghum sp.
šuma\hbarto m. – sand
šum v. – to work hard, to do any kind of work, to try hard
šunkurte f. — onion
šunšule f. – hair adornment with mud
šur v.; (Caus1) – to suck
šurrabe f. – sweater
šurte f. – hair with clay
šuume m. – chief (Amh. šum)
t
ta clit. – upon
tabben num. – six
tahtatti – at low volume
taħħan num. – seven
takk adj.v. - to be small
takkaditto m. – star, male
takkinte f. – smallness
tallaħo m. – tree giving edible leaf
tamar v.; (Caus2 'to teach') – to learn
tarbitto m. – kind of trumpet (played in occasion of the gilo meeting)
taš v. - to thatch
taygo m. – watching tower
te – feminine pronominal particle
tebba f. – radio (Amh tep, from English tape)
tebele f.; telbe p. – iron arrow (shot to pierce a bull's neck)
teerikko m. adde – dust
tel v. – to build a wall with stones
temm - to try
tibire f. – hook
tibire f. – tree sp.
tillile f. – bird sp.
tipa f. – straight think
tire p, tirre – liver
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tir v. - to run
tiršaq'ad' – sneeze
tokon*; tokonko m.kme p. – heel
toolingo m. – stick for married man
toollo m. – walking stick, long
toonnakko m., toonnatte f., toonnayke p. adj. – hump
toonte f. – poison
tub v.; (Punct) – to whip
tuf v. - to spit
tumalsa\delta v.; (Caus2) – be paralysed
tumo m. – garlic
tunta f. – hammer of iron
tuntuma f. – punch
turde f. – lower buttocks
turq'ayna f. – squirrel sp.
tuude f. – hippo and buffalo skin, piece of (taken by the bride)
tuuts' v. – to push
tuuts'ad v.- to twist (e.g. in order to get into a small hole)
ts'
ts'aalq'o m. – small tree
ts'aare f. – drops of milk left in the bucket
ts'agade f. – frame of roof
ts'amakko m., ts'amatakko m., ts'amatte f. – Ts'amakko people
ts'ats'a f. - ring
ts'e??o m. – grasshopper
ts'ekile f. – elbow
ts'eq'o m. – firefly
ts'iib v. – to clean
ts'iire p. ts'iirakko m., – male
ts'iirinte f. – manhood
ts'iloote f. – thread of blue colour
ts'its'ts' o m. – bead, black, which is found in the final section of a collar
ts'iy*; ts'iyitte f., ts'iyye p. – bullet
ts'onaq'o m. – bee
ts'ulde f. – rat with long mounth
ts'una''e f. – game with stones and 6 holes
W
waalko m. – calabash used to pour water
waan v. – to recover, heal
waana m./f./p. attr. – different
waaq'e p. – saliva
warsa f. – dance phase
wa??e f. – vegetables
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wak v.; (Caus2, Punct) – to speak
wal v. – to forget
walka f. – small thin piece of wood
wallale f. – stalk of sorghum
wallare f. – arrow, body of
walta f. – genet
war v. – to throw
warkata m./f., warkatadde p. – left
warna f. – red tree
warrakko m. – guinea fowl sp.
warže f. – spear
waštire f.; -anne p. – kind of rifle
waysad – mix for oneself
wayte f. – blessing by blowing
wog v. – to step on
woq'oš v. – to be pregnant (animal)
\mathbf{woq'q'e} f. – hot sun of midday
worham v. – to fight; worhanko m. – war
wožža f. – work; wožžaď v. – to work
wuyy v.; (Mid, Pass, Pass-Caus2, Pass-Mid) – to call
X
xaaše f. itte xašše – leaf
\mathbf{xaf} v. – to come (only with singular person as subject)
xalle f. – bird sp.
xampa? adj.v. – to be soft
xare f. – fish
xariš*; xariško m. xarše f. – beans, boiled
xaro m. – crocodile
xawše f. – sugar cane
xerero m. – plant sp
xi6*; xi6te f. xi66e p. – lip
xiibire f. – bat sp.
xinawno m. – bad smell
xinaw – stink
xobin num. – five
xoonsitte f. – mithic animal
xoronko m. – honey mead
xoronko m. – male
xorr v.; (Caus1) – to send
xos v. – to enlight
xoxon*; xoxonko m. xoxme p. – hole
xumbi attr. – all
xur v.; (Punct, Pass-Mid xurmad) – to give up, to leave
```

zow v. – to go

```
y clit – semantically empty clitic
yaaka conj. – subordinate conjunction
ya, yay clit. – with
Z
zaaf – crawl
zaal*; zaalko m., zaalle f. – hole made by water
zaan*; zaante f. zaamme, – branch
zaaq'e f. – thread
zaar*; zaaraw, zaarod v.– to get mad; zaarays v. – to make mad;
zaaraysis v.– to cause to make mad; zaarakko m., zaaratte f., zaarayke p.
adj. – mad; zaarinte f. – madness
zaarbi v. – pass, to
za?*; za?ko m., za??e p. - heart
zalbate f. – clasp
zammo m. – honey
zanga f. – wood for the fence of the house
zano m.; zamme p. – street
zaq'v. – to slaughter
zargano m. – tree sp.
zarge m./f., zargadde p. – spotted
zarikko m. – leopard
zayte f. – oil
zeeħ num. – three
zi?*; zi?te f., zi??e p. – pot of clay
zigam adj.v. – to be long
zigammo m. – height
zigo m. – wooden spear
zigo m. – porridge
zilang'a f. – rainbow, lizard sp.
ziir v.; (Redupl.) – to take out one by one
ziiza f. – back bone
zimba f. – tree sp.
zingano adv.; zingatte.— in the morning
zit v. – to pull
ziya m. - warrior
zoog v. - to float, to put one on the other
zoogo m. – father-in-law
zoola f. – calabash, kind of long
zoole f. – shank
zoole f.; -itto m., -itte f. – stalk of sorghum
zoor adj.v. – to be sweet
zormad v.; (Caus2) – be angry
```

```
zuba??e f. – stink-ant
```

ž

ža?a f. – wife of 'godfather' **ža?al***; **ža?alko** *m*. **ža?alte** *f*. – godfather / godmother ža??ar*; ža??arko m., ža??arre p. – anus **žabbarna** f. – belt with pockets \check{z} ag v.; (Punct) – to insert **žaga** f. – bird sp. $\mathbf{\check{z}agam} \ v$. – to go down **žalamba** f. – bird sp. **žammad** v. – to enter (with plural persons as subject) **žegela** f. – twisted wood, side scoliosis $\mathbf{\check{z}i?} v.$; (Mid) – to eat $\check{z}i$ **?o** m. – food **žimmir** v.; (Caus2) – to stun **žinka** – Jinka (administrative centre of the Southern Omo Zone) **žinnare** f. – belt for bullet žoq' žoq'oš caus žoq'od mid – beat, hit, grind **žog'omi** – have diorrhea **žumpo** m. – iron point žug'unta6 v.; (Caus2) – to throw wood

10.2. English-Ts'amakko

a

```
acacia – daatt*; daattakko m. daattanne p.
acacia, young – marts'a f.
accuse, to - deek v.
Addis Ababa – ?addisabeba
affair, matter – gaa\hbaro m.
after - ?aani adv.
age grade 1 - morq'o m; -itto m, -itte f.
age grade 2 - loobarko m.; loobartakko m., loobartitte f.,
    loobarkadde p.
age grade 3 – bilbilko m.; bilbiltakko m., bilbiltitte f., bilbilkadde p.
age grade 4 – nelbasko m.; nelbastakko m., nelbastitte f., nelbaskadde p.
age grade 5 – gurmalko m.; gurmaltakko m., gurmaltitte f.,
    gurmalkadde p.
age grade 6 – baasarko m.; baasartakko m., baasartitte f., baasarkacce p.
all – xum6i attr.
alliance between the clans ?ozbikko and ?algakko – binnasko m.;
    binnastakko m., binnastitte f., binnaskadde p.
always – macce adv.
Amhara people – gerge f.: -itto m.. -itte f.
amniotic fluid – \mathbf{?aage} f.: -adde p.
animal sp. – ?arka f.
animal sp. - ?ilaaše f.
animal sp. - 6izze f.
animal sp. – dingeša f. adde
animal sp. – dodolko m.
animal sp. – dubaza f.
animal sp. - dakše f.
animal sp. - gurdo m.
animal sp. – kaskale f.
animal sp. - laale f.
animal, wild – \mathbf{?akko}\ m.; -itto m., -itte f., -adde p.
ankle – gaaraboq'o m.
ants – šinšalle p.; -itte f.
anus – ža??ar*; ža??arko m., ža??arre p.
appear, to - ?armad v.
Arbore people – rumma te p.
Ari people – ?aare p.; ?aartakko m., ?aartitte f.
arm bone – mic'angalle f.
arm bone – surke f.
armpit – baaro m.
arrive, to -daggab v; (Caus2)
arrive, to -\mathbf{gay} v.
```

```
arrow with iron point — ?aaza f.
arrow, body of — wallare f.
arrow, wooden — laax*; laaxko m. laaxxe
ashes — dar?o m.
ask, to — gass v. (Mid); gasso m.
at low volume — tahtatti
at night — gallawo
at that moment, then — ?assanna adv.
away — ?ita adv.
axe — ?irga?o m.
```

b

```
baboon – gelzakko m. adde
back bone – ziiza f.
back, behind – duuko m.
bad – q'amme m./f./p. attr.
bad smell – xinawno m.
bag for grain (Amh. qärts'a) – q'arts'eta f. (Amh. qärts'a)
banana – muuze f.
Banna people, Banna and Hamer peoples – \mathbf{?orgo}\ p.; -itto m., -itte f.
    -adde p.
bark – \mathbf{q'aq'q'e} p.
barley – boorto m.
bat sp. - laafa f.
bat sp. - xiibire f.
be able, to - 2algas v.
be angry, to - dagod v.
be angry, to - zormad v.; (Caus2)
be big, to - damm adj.v.; damminte f.
be bitter, to -\mathbf{raa} \mathbf{\hat{r}} v.
be black, to - gumm Adj.v.; gumminte f.
be blind, to – daaf v.; (Caus1)
be brave, to - porimaß
be cold, to - raandaħ adj.v.
be completed, to – dikkad
be enormous, to – gaarm adj.v.
be fat, be fertile, to - goob v.; (Caus2); goobinte f.
be finished, to -\mathbf{kum} \ v.
be good, be nice, to -\mathbf{q}'ayy adj.v.
be happy, to - gasod
be hard, to - kahh adj.v.; kahhaw v.
be hot – lu6 adj.v.; (Caus1)
be hurt, be sick, to -\mathbf{q'arar} \ v.; \mathbf{q'ararro} \ m.
be light, to -\operatorname{reše} \Omega v.
```

```
be located, to - ?ag v.; (Redupl)
be long, to - zigam adj.v.
be named, to - kibay
be numb, to – šikkomod
be over, to – pagad
be paralysed, to - tumalsa\delta v.; (Caus2)
be plenty, to -\mathbf{bazz} v.; (Mid \mathbf{bazza6})
be plenty, to - gaan v.
be powerful, to - muuq'um v.
be pregnant, to (animal) - woq'oš v.
be red, to - ?idd adj.v.
be rich, to – kama6
be rich, to - kamur v.
be salty, to - maq'al v.
be short, to – maanga? adj.v.
be sick, be tired to - malal v.
be sleepy, to - mi?ad
be slim, to -\mathbf{q}'onn aw become
be small, to - takk adj.v.
be smart, to -\mathbf{bax} v.
be soft, to -\mathbf{c'aldax} \ v.: (Caus2)
be soft, to - xampa? adj.v.
be straight, to - pikab piskab
be stuck, to - gaftad v.: (Caus2)
be surprised, to - mugur v.: (Caus2 murgis)
be swallen, to - šolo\delta
be sweet, to -\mathbf{zoor}\ adj.v.
be unready, to – gaansa6
be unripe, be green, to - laxx adj.v.;; laxxaw v.
be useful, to - garn v.
be wet, to -\mathbf{c'a}\mathbf{b} adj.v.
be white, to -\mathbf{bi} \mathbf{\hat{y}} adj.v.
be worried, to - gaab v.
bead – maax*; maaxko m., maaxxe p.
bead, big - pure f.
bead, black, which is found in the final section of a collar – ts'its'ts'o m.
bean, black – pec'e f.
beans, big, similar to chick peas – ringa f.
beans, boiled - xariš*; xariško m. xarše f.
beard – buuše f.; buušolakko m., buušolatte, buušolayke p.
beat, hit, grind, to - žoq' žoq'oš Caus žoq'od Mid,
beautiful – baxxarko m., baxxarte f., baxxarre p. attr.; baxxaninte f.
become old, to – geeš*; geešuw
bed (Amh. alga) – ?alga f. (Amh. alga)
bee - ts'onaq'o m.
beehive – \check{s}aw^*; \check{s}awte f. \check{s}awwe p.
beer (Amh. bira) – bira f. (Amh. bira)
```

```
beer, fresh local – ?allo m.; -adde p.
beer, local - parše f.
before (space and time) – q'arra adv.
before, oneself – ?inte adv.; ?intaw v.
beg, to -ginsad v; ginselakko m, ginselatte f, ginselayke p. adj.
belch, to -\mathbf{gee} \mathbf{v}.
bell made of tortoise house -\mathbf{q'orq'oro}\ m.
bellows pump – gilfa f.
belly – gara\Upsilon*; gara\Upsilonte f., gar\Upsilone p.
belly jerm – rammo m.
belt for bullet – žinnare f.
belt for men; water carrier -\mathbf{q'alše} f.;
belt for pregnant woman - goorko m.
belt of beads – nabale f.
belt with pockets – žabbarna f.
bend arms and legs of a corpse, to -\mathbf{q'ats'} v.
Birale people – birale p.; biraltakko m., biraltitte f.
bird – \mathbf{?aage}\ p.; -itte f.
bird sp. - c'uruq'e f.
bird sp. - gawarakko m.
bird sp. - laalo m.
bird sp. – lahho m.
bird sp. - moralle f.
bird sp. - q'urrube f.
bird sp. - q'uts'o m.
bird sp. − tillile f.
bird sp. - xalle f.
bird sp. - žaga f.
bird sp. - žalamba f.
bird sp. (it eates calves) – kokakko m.
bird, spotted – barlo m.
bird, very small – suutta f.
birds, predatory – ?alla?e f.
bit, a little – gilinkasa adv.
bite, to -\mathbf{q'aw} \ v.; (Caus1)
blacksmith – gitama m.; gitantakko m., gitantitte f., gitamadde f.
blacksmith – puga f.
bless, to - buup v.
blessing by blowing – wayte f.
blind – daafakko m., daafatte f., daafayke p. adj
blood – \mathbf{c'egde} f. of
blow, whistle, to -2upp v.; (Redupl)
body – biš*; biško m., biškitto m., biškitte f., bišše p.
bone – meeq'e p; meeq'te f.
bone protuberance, spur – kirinc'e f.
borrow, to – biddir v.; biddire f.
bow – baante f.
```

```
boy – 2inanko ~ 2inawko m.
bracelet for pulse – Middo m.
bracelet, black iron – mogol*; mogolte f. molge p.
bracelet, red – marrote f.
bracelet, white - ?ašawa f.
braid of women – gidanko m.
braid, small – kuttakutto m.
braids, kind of -\mathbf{c'irfa} f.
brain - nolo m.
branch – zaan*; zaante f. zaamme,
bread, kind of – laša f.; laško m., lašše p.
break, to - gond v.; (Pass)
breast - Sabun*; Sabunko m., Sabne p.; Sadinko m.
breath, rest, to - nassad v.
bridegrooms – kayko m.; -itto m., -itte f.
bridge – dildila f.
bring, to -\$eeg \times 0
brother, older – \$a\$al*; \$a\$alko m., \$a\$alte f., \$al\$e p.
brother, younger – \mathbf{?adda}\ m.; -iyo m., -adde p.
brother/sister, younger - ?azo m.; ?aze f.; ?azze p. /
brush, to - muc'c'
buffalo – gasar*; gasarko m., garse p.
build a fence, to -\mathbf{c'aa6} v.
build a wall with stones
                                , to – tel \nu.
build, to - gubad
bullet – ts'iy*; ts'iyitte f., ts'iyye p.
bury, to - may v.
bus – lonšina f. (Amh. loncina, from Italian leoncino)
bush – q'aac'c'e f.
bushbuck (tragelaphus scriptus) – gaabote f.; -ko m. (tragelaphus scriptus)
butter – šiinin*; šiininko m. šiinimme p.
butterfly - pelampelo m.
buttock, outer part – ?ongoro m.
buttock, tail, wasted tail of sheep after emptied of fat and meat - duub*;
    duubde f., duubbe p.,
buy, to - bitam v.; (Mid bitmad, Punct, Redupl, -Redupl)
C
cabbage sp. – mac'c'e
calabash for beer – gulma f.
calabash for coffee, pipe belly – gongollo m.
calabash for milking – booro m.
calabash for shaking milk – diile f.
calabash to drink coffee – karam6a f.
calabash used to fetch water – daħan*; daħante f., daħne p.
calabash used to pour water – baasallo m.
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calabash used to pour water – waalko m.
calabash, kind of – balka f.
calabash, kind of long – zoola f.
calf, ankle – sarba f.
calf, newborn – Pagile f.; Pagilitto m., Pagilitte f., Palgo p.
call, to – wuyy v.; (Mid, Pass, Pass-Caus2, Pass-Mid)
camel - gaamayle f.
carry on the shoulder, to -\mathbf{dooq}' v.
carry with both arms, to - ba??av v.
carry, to – gaagis v.; (Pass)
carved wood for several uses, canoe – gongala f.
castrated (cattle) – sobore m., soboritto m., sorbe p.
cat, domestic – ?urre f., ?ayidurre f.
catapult – kullumme f.
cattle – q'ole p.; -ko, -te, -adde; q'oltaw v.
cattle camp, kraal – gombo m.
cattle sharing – beel*; beelko m., beelle p.
cave - q'ofte f.
central internal point of foot and hand - gana?*; gana?ko m., gana??e p.
centre of foot palm – dada?anko m.
change direction, readdress, to - mag v.
                       (Mid, Redupl, Pass-Caus)
change, to -200k v.
charcoal – q'aac'a f.
chase, lead, to -\mathbf{gor} v.
cheetah - goržo m.
cheetah – mirle f.
chest – \hbareeko m. \hbareekke p.
chew, to -\mathbf{q'aan} v.
chicken – lukkale f. -itto m., -itte f., -adde
chief (Amh. liqambär) – liq'ambare m. (Amh. liqambär)
chief (Amharic šum ') – šuume m. (Amh. šum)
child carrier made of rope, small flea which is not in the rural area - sa'e f.
child named after 'godfather' – moggo m; -iyo m., -adde p.
child, small – \mathbf{na??a} f.
children – Galle p.
chin - gawso m.
clan – gaarko m.;-itto m., -itte f.
clan – gafko m.
clan name – ?algakko m.; ?algatakko m., ?algatte f.
clan name – ?izmakko m.; ?izmatakko m., ?izmatte f.
clan name – ?ozbikko m.; ?ozbitakko m., ?ozbitte f.
clan name – Samaddo m.; Samatakko m., Samatitte f.
clan name – Seelakko m.; Seelatakko m., Seelatte f.
clan name – baritto m.; baritakko m., baritte f.
clan name – reegakko m.; reegatakko m., reegatte f.
clasp – zalbate f.
clean, to - ts'iib v.
```

```
climb, to - kad v.; (Punct, Redupl, Punct-Caus)
clitoris – ?ingir*; ?ingirakko m., ?ingiranne p.
close with a lid, to -\mathbf{c'aq'om} \ v.; \mathbf{c'aq'q'omme} \ f.
cloth used by old an man to cover his head - šaaše f.
cloths of any size - lable f., laybe f.
cloud - poolo m.
club, wooden – buke f.
cock's mane – kuuškuušo m.
coffee – Sare f.
co-habit, to - karom v.
cold - gulfo m.
coldness – ?ošonko m.
collar bone – bargade f.
collar for women – ?ir?o m.
collect honey, to - šag, šaguw v.
collect, to - seħ v.; (Caus2, Mid)
comb, to - pil v.; (Mid)
come back, to - kol v.
come, to (only with plural persons as subject) – \mathbf{?ogov} v.
come, to (only with singular person as subject) – xaf v.
concimate, to -\mathbf{boox} v.
conjunction of consecutive sentences – ba conj.
conjunction of head nouns - ?aaka conj.
consumed wasted cloth – saara f.
container for milk made of wood – ?ombotto m.
cooked blood – kurfa f.
corpse – sarabe f.
corridor between house and fence – keeda f.
cotton – puddo m.
cough, to - gufa? v.; gufa??o m.
count, to -\operatorname{dik} v.
cover, to - sud v.; (Pass)
cow - lo?o f.
cow with no milk – baakko f., baakkittadde p.
cramps – \mathbf{q}'arma f.; \mathbf{q}'armod v.
crawl, to -zaaf
cricket - c'ooro m.
crocodile – xaro m.
crouch down, to - gobad v.
cry, to -200y v. (Caus 1)
cub, newborn of any animal - ?ottakko m., ?okke p.
cup – kubbaya f.
curds - picce f.
curved away from the head (horn) – rooko attr.
curved thing – q'orke f., q'orka f.
curved towards the head (horn) – lukkurro m./p. attr.
cut off, to -\mathbf{boq'}v.; (Caus \mathbf{boq'os})
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```
cut, to - mux v.
cut, to -\mathbf{q'aq'} v.; (Caus1)
cut, to -\mathbf{q'ets'} v.
d
dance phase – warsa f.
dance phase in which the men chase the women -\mathbf{q}'ormo m.
dance, to – kibir v.; (Caus kirbas); kibirko m., kirbe p.
day (Amh. q\ddot{a}n) - q'ane f. (Amh. q\ddot{a}n)
day after tomorrow – q'amma adv.
defeat, to – baša6 v.; (Caus bašša6, Pass bašma6, Redupl)
defecate, to -\mathbf{c'aaq'} v; \mathbf{c'aaq'e} f.
definite suffix – -?a
definite suffix --s(s)a
definite suffix – -se
devil spirit of dead – meeše f.
\text{dew} - \mathbf{c'arke} f; adde p.
Dhaasanach people – galaba p.
die, to - par v.
different – waana m./f./p. attr.
difficult – gaale m./f./p., gaalatte f. attr.; gaala6 v.; (Caus gaalša6)
dig - bood v.; (Caus1)
dig – q'od;q'odas (Caus) plough
dik dik – sawro m.
dirt – ?usk*; ?uskakko m., ?uskanne p ?uskakkoď v.; ?uskakkolakko
    m., ?uskakkolatte f., ?uskakkolayke p. adj
dirt of calabash – pelta f.
divine, to - gillad v.
divine, to -\mathbf{sog}\ v.
do, put, to -\mathbf{godd} v.; (Caus1, Pass)
do, to - bas v.; (Mid, Redupl)
doctor - 2akima m.; -itto m., -itte f., -adde p.
dog - karo m.; -itto m., -itte f., karre p.
donkey - ?arre f.
door – karre f.
dream, to - ?insuɗ v.
dried thing, dead small tree – lahhawko m.
dried sorghum or maize panicle – \mathbf{q}'ayile f.
drink, to - Sug v.; (Caus2, Punct)
drive, to -\mathbf{gor} v.
drop, flow, to - ?el v.; (Redupl)
drops of milk left in the bucket - ts'aare f.
drum – darbe f.
dry meat - seere f.
dry season – kibe f.; kibbe p.
dry, to -\mathbf{po?} v.
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```
dung, dry manure – \mathbf{košo} m.
during the day -\mathbf{q}'ane
dust – teerikko m. adde
e
each other - ?elle adv.
ear – q'aan*; q'aante f. q'aamme p.
earing chain – niyarroge f.
eat grains, to -\mathbf{q'omm} v.
eat, to -\mathbf{\check{z}i?} v.; (Mid)
edible plant -\mathbf{q'olfe} f.
edible wild plant – marraħe f.
edible wild tree – sooxmatte f.
egg - ?ukaħe p.; -itte f., -adde p.
eight – sezzen num.
eland – goontore f.,; -ko m.
elbow – ts'ekile f.
elephant – ?arafko m.
ember – borxo m.
end, border – \mathbf{ma?še} p.
enemy – naa6a m.
enlight, to -xos v.
enter – \hbarul v.(Punct)
enter, to (plural persons as subject) – žammaď v.
entire – mume m./f./p. attr.
entrails – kaanšima f.
equal – gura adv.
evil spirit – buda f.
extract, to -\mathbf{\check{z}ug}\ v.
eye – \mathbf{?axxe} \ p.; -itte f, adde p.
eye, coloured part – duunko m.
eyebrow – siido m.
eyelashes – ?iife f.
eyes' disease - ?ara
f
fall, to - bi? v.; (Caus1, Redupl); bi?inte f.
family - mano m.
fart
fart, to -\sin^2 v.; \sin^2 ne f.
fat, dark mouse – doc'a f.
father – \mathbf{?abba}\ m.; -iyo m., -adde p.
father-in-law – zoogo m. --
feather – sile p.; silitte f., silittadde p.
feel – q'abad
```

```
female calf – maare p.; -te f.
fence – \mathbf{c'ayde} f., \mathbf{c'ayye} p.
fence for goats – ?ukunte f.
fenugreek – maaltitte f.
fever: disease – bu??o m.:
field, cultivated – pašo m.; pacce p.
fight, to – worham v.; worhanko m.
fill (intr.), to -\mathbf{q}'ucc v.
fill a calabash, to - kubba\mathbf{d} \times \mathbf{0}
fill up, to - ?ucc v.(Caus1)
finger, claw – q'ot*; q'otakko m. q'otte p.
finish in one time, to - raww
finish, to -\mathbf{raw} \ v.; (Mid)
fire – katte f.
fire stick – gayte f.; anne p.
firefly - ts'eq'o m.
fire-stick – \mathbf{dayte} f. -
firestones – \mathbf{?uzge}\ p.
fish - xare f.
fish, to - gaas v.
five – xobin num.
flap ears -\mathbf{q'ooše} f.
flat plane – deelo m.
flea sp. - gits'ts'o m.
float, put one on the other, to -zoog v.
flour – daammo m.
flour of any cereal – damay*; damayko m., damayye p.
flour, cooked – ħanšal*; ħanšalakko m., ħanšalanne
flower – bisko m.
flower of maize – baalko m.
flower, to - pud v.
flute, pipe stem – maalka f.
fly – 2innakko p.; -itto m.-adde p.
follow, to - gussum v.
fontanelle – \mathbf{Sombo} m.
food – kumbala f.
food - \check{z}i?o m.
food gemfo - da?an*; da?anko m., da?ne p.
foot – lu6*; lu6te f., lu66e p.
footprint – paanaw
forbid, to - dawr v.
forehead – miinte f.
foreigner – paranc'a f.
forest - ?orro m.; -adde p.; ?orro
forget, to - wal v.
four – salaħ num
fowl's faeces – banda f.
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```
frame of roof - ts'agade f.
fresh (milk) – meelo p. attr.
friend – ?ayra m.
from here – kaakanu adv.
from there - ?aysana adv.
from there – kaaynu adv.
from; to - nu, nnu clit.;
fruit eaten by donkeys and goats – burza f.
fruit like onion that is not eaten - \log^2 a f.
fruit of kuyatto tree – ?oongo m. kuyatto
fruit sp. - mi?*; mi?te f., mi??e p.
funnel - gabate f.
fur – rifanko m; -adde p.
g
gall bladder – diigo m.
game with stones and 6 holes – ts'una''e f.
garlic – tumo m.
gather, to - bukab buskab
gathering place – sure f.
gawwada people – Saale p.; Saaltakko m., Saaltitte f.
genenuk (red meda fiel) – moyle f.
genet – walta f.
get goosebumps, to - ?ac'arkod v.
get mad, to
mad
made
madness – zaar*; zaaraw, zaarod v.; zaarays v.; zaaraysis v. Caus;
    zaarakko m., zaaratte f., zaarayke p. adj.; zaarinte f.
get out, to - lig v.; (Caus1, Punct)
get up, to -\mathbf{ka?} v.; (Caus2, Punct); \mathbf{ka??o} m.
get, find, to -\mathbf{daw} \ v.
ginger – daažimale f.
giraffe – dam?atto m.
girl - šitte f.
girls – ?ekadde p.
give back, to - laag v.
give birth, to - dal v.(Mid)
give up, leave, to -\mathbf{xur} v.; (Punct, Pass-Mid \mathbf{xurmad})
give, to - dee\hbar v. (Caus1)
go back home, to - Saag v.B
go down, to - žagam v.
go to sleep, to -giip v.; (Punct, Punct-Caus)
go to war, to - duul v.; (Caus2); duule f.; duulko m.
go towards someone, leave somewhere – rigad
go, to - ?acc v.
```

```
go, to -\mathbf{zow} v.
goat – daale p.; -te f.
goat skin for women – pandalte f.
goat, male – ?orgay*; ?orgayko m., ?orgayne p.
goat, spotted – ?odol*; ?odolko m., ?odle p.
goat's weed – maga f.
godfather / godmother – ža?al*; ža?alko m. ža?alte f. /
good quality, beauty – q'ayyinte f.
gourd – maax*; maaxatto m., maaxxe p.
gourd – q'aw*; q'awte f.
gourd, broken piece of – palq'e f.
grain - gazgo m.
granary – q'anta f.
grandfather – \mathbf{?akka}\ m.; -iyo m., -adde p.
granmother – \mathbf{\hat{r}}aabo f.
grass – \mathbf{\hat{r}a\mathbf{\check{s}^*}}; \mathbf{\hat{r}a\mathbf{\check{s}ko}}\ m., \mathbf{\hat{r}a\mathbf{\check{s}\check{s}e}}\ p.
grass growing with the new rains – palke f.
grass of roof - segele f.
grass sp. (edible) - ?eero m.
grass, kind of dry - roc'ante f.
grasshopper – c'arro m.
grasshopper – ts'e??o m.
greedy – ?oholko m., ?oholte f., ?oholle p. attr.
grind stone, lower – Mid*Midikko m. Mid
grow up, to (calf) – \mathbf{?orgošum} \ v.
grow, to - goh v.; (Caus2)
guereza – karawko m.
guinea fowl – kulile f.
guinea fowl sp. – warrakko m.
guitar, kind of - song'a f.
gums – \mathbf{?erto}\ m.; \mathbf{adde}\ p.
h
hair - gazo m. gazze p.
hair adornment with mud - \mathbf{\check{s}un\check{s}ule} f.
hair of chest – baaya f.; baayalakko m., baayalatte f., baayalayke p. adj.
hair with clay - šurte f.
Hamer people – ?amarko m.; ?amartakko m., ?amartitte f.,
    ?amarkadde p.
hammer of iron – tunta f.
hammer of rifle – magal*; magalko m. malge p.
hand – \hbaraarko m., \hbaraarke p.
handle of a headrest – mudde f.
handle of knife, wooden - šuko m.
hang, to - rakk v.; (Caus1); rakkinde f.
hard internal part of animal fat - mooro m.
```

```
hate, to – naabad v.
have a meal, to – biif v.; (Caus1, Redupl); biife f.
have diorrhea, to – žoq'omi
have sex, to
having sex – \operatorname{nug} v.; \operatorname{nug} \operatorname{go} m.
he - 2ufo
head – muga ?*; muga ? te f. muga ? ?e p.
head of village – saar*; saarko msaarre p.
headrest, carrying seat – kere f. kerre p.
heart – za?*; za?ko m., za??e p.
hedgehog – dangadangac'c'o m.
heel – tokon*; tokonko m.kme p.
height - zigammo m.
help, to – kiil
here – \hbarayma adv.
here – ħayna adv.
here – kaasa adv.
hiccup, to - ?eq'ad v.
hide - 6ad v.; (Caus 1, Mid, Redupl)
hide basket – \mathbf{q}'a\mathbf{b}te f.
hide of sheep or goat - kabo m., kabbe p.
hide dry (used to make knife holders) -\mathbf{q}'ontark; \mathbf{q}'ontarko m.
    q'ontarre p.
highland – \mathbf{?ašše} p.
highland – dawle f.
hip – karna f.
hippo - reento m.
hippo and buffalo skin, piece of (taken by the bride) – tuuɗe f.
hoe, small – 2aylo m.; -itto m., -adde
hole – pulle f.
hole – xoxon*; xoxonko m. xoxme p.
hole made by water - zaal*; zaalko m., zaalle f.
holy bone – kalko m.
honey - zammo m.
honey calabash - šorke f.
honey mead - xoronko m.
honey water - siise f.
hoof, nail -\mathbf{go}?; \mathbf{go}?akko m., \mathbf{go}??e f.
hook − tibire f.
hook shaped thorn - gorle f.
horn – gaasse p.; -akko m.
horn scretch – deem^*; deematto m.deemitte f., <math>deemme p.
horn uor orix (šaalto) used as trumpet, rifle' mouth – saala f.
                                                                    (šaalto)
horse - pardo m.
horse carriage – gaarre p.
                                    Mid
hot sun of midday - woq'q'e f.
house – manne p.; adde p.
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house fence or small places for animal – korkoro m.
house foundement, site – bal\as*; bal\asko m., bal\azze p.
house poles – geerinne p.
house store - šaalo m.
house, top of the - ?ille f.; -itte f.
how many? – me? interr.
how? – mala interr.
hugly – q'anc'arlakko m., q'anc'arlatte f., q'anc'arlayke p. adj.
humbellical chord – handurra f., handurre f.
hump – toonnakko m., toonnatte f., toonnayke p. adj.
hunger - bado m.; badod
hunt, to -\mathbf{q}'ooš v.; \mathbf{q}'oošo m.
hurt, to -\mathbf{buu} \mathbf{\Omega} v.; (Mid)
hut – baarte f.
hyena – gudur*; gudurko m., gudurre p.
i
I - 2ano
in agreement – kaarinko adv.
in the evening – ?awne adv.; ?awnane
in the morning – zingano adv.; zingatte.
in which place - moylo m.
inflate, to - pug v.; (Mid , Pass, Redupl)
insert, to -\mathbf{\check{z}ag} \ v.; (Punct)
instrument for cutting thorns -\mathbf{q}'a\mathbf{b}a f.
instrument for cutting wood - girro m.
insult, to - dagg v.; (Caus2)
intelligent, clever – pakala m., pakale f., pakalacce p. attr.
internal part of panicle – heenge f.
internal waste of pumpkin – \hbaroro m.
intersection of the two parts of the stomach -\mathbf{q'urc'o} m.
intestines – mirma?*; mirma?atte f., mirma?anne p.
iron – sibil*; sibilko m., sible p.
iron arrow - palde f.
iron arrow (shot to pierce a bull's
neck) – tebele f.; telbe p.
iron point – koka f.
iron point - žumpo m.
iron trap - silke f.
irrigation pond – boo?e f.
itch – q'ats'o m.; q'ats'od
j
jackal – ?ooše f.
jackal, sïmyän fox (canis simensis) – q'alate f.
```

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jewellery, ornamental objects – sire p.; -atte; sirad v.
Jinka (administrative centre of the Southern Omo Zone) – žinka
judge, to -\sin v.
jump, to - 6ul v.: (Caus1, Punct, Redupl): 6ullo m.
k
kalashnikov (Amh. kïlaaš) – kilaaš f. (Amh. kïlaaš)
kernel – kakko m.
\text{key} - \mathbf{q'olfe} f.
kidney – \mathbf{de?se} f.
kill, to -\mathbf{bog} v. (Caus \mathbf{bogos}, Pass, Redupl)
kind of black stone – mirša f.
kind of cilindric bead – mažo m., mažže p., mažžadde
kind of rifle – markam f.
kind of scorpion - sassabbe f.
kind of snake – dambala??e f.
king – bogol*; bogolko m., bogolte f., bolge p.; bolgos v.; bolgom v.;
    bolgomis v.
kiss, to - mayy v.; mayyo m.
kneading – kaalkome f.
knee – gibil*; gibilko m., gible p.
knife (Amh. billawa) – billay*; billayko m., billayne p. (Amh. billawa)
know, to - ?ar v.: (Caus2, Pass)
konso – konso p.
kudu – mirža f.
1
land; soil – biye f.
last vertebra behind the neck – gurragala f.
latta, pots etc. -\mathbf{q'orq'oro}\ m.
laugh, to - kicca? v.; (Caus2)
lay on knees, to – gilbad
leaf – xaaše f.
learn, to - tamar v.; (Caus2)
leather mat – doollo m.; -ko m., -te f., -adde p.
left – warkata m./f., warkatadde p.
leopard – zarikko m.
lick once, to -q'eedd
lick, to -\mathbf{q'eed} \ v.; (Caus2)
lie, to - gil v.; gillo m.
light - kammakko m.
limb, having a short – mukkanakko m., mukkanatte f., mukkanayke p.
    adj.
line of the father – 2igo m.
lion - garmo m.
```

```
lip - xib*; xibte f. xibbe p.
listen to, to -\mathbf{q'aba?} v.
liver – tire p, tirre
lizard – gannatto m.
lizard, very tiny – gula f.
load, to -\mathbf{c'an} \ v.
locative pronoun, locative postposition,
backgrounder – na, nay
long chain metal earring -\mathbf{q}'enta f.
look at, to - ?eem v.
look like, to -gar v.
louse - q'eske f.
love, to -\mathbf{c'igad} v.
lower buttocks – turde f.
lower part of the back bone below the ziiza - gonc'o m.
lung – somba f., sompa f.
m
machete – banga f.
magician — \hbarello m.
magician — soggo m sogge p.
maize - game f.; -itto, -itte, gamme p.
male – ts'iire p. ts'iirakko m.,
male – xoronko m.
male calf from unnatural birth – puggo m.; -itto
man - q'awko m.
man shouting without saying anything – barido m.
mango - mango m.
manhood – ts'iirinte f.
manure – bo\Omegae f.
market – gabaya f.
marry, to - ga?al v.; (Mid gal?adi, Punct)
maxilla bone - gawge f.
meat - sagan*; saganko (also sa?anko m.) sagne
meat, wasted of the rear legs – ginante f.
medicine – \mathbf{dee}\mathbf{\check{s}o}\ m.
meeting – buke f. \delta
meeting for dead people - gilo m.
meeting, dancing – gibdo m.
meeting, working - ?aylo
melt, to -\mathbf{baq}' v.
milk - 2axxe p.
milk and blood – ?ahayte f.; -adde p.
milk container, wooden – kurumo m.
milk, to -\mathbf{c'ox} \ v.; (Pass, Redupl)
miss, to -\mathbf{dab} \ v.; (Mid)
```

```
mithic animal - xoonsitte f.
mix for oneself, to – waysad
mix, to - reek v.; (Caus2)
molar and palate – \mathbf{\hat{r}ango}\ m.
mole - goodo m.
money – ganzabu f.
mongoose sp. - gisso m.
mongoose, spotted small – bordolo m.
monkey -q'aarakko m.
month coming after the rainy season – haq'ayte f.
moon, month – le \Omega o m.
more evident palm lines – mayle f.
mosquito - c'ingo m.
mother - 2ayya f.
mother – \mathbf{?ingive} f.; -adde p.
mother of a boy - nats'iro m.
mountain – kutton*; kuttonko m., kuttomme
mouse – dab*; dabakko m., -dabanne p.
mouth – bago m.; bagge p.
mucus - siine f.
mucus, what comes out of nose -\sin e f.
mud with rain – \mathbf{c}'oxxe f.
mursi people – murriso m., murristakko m., murristitte f.
muscle of arm - madalakko m.
n
nail (Amh. mäzmär) – mazmare f. (Amh. mäzmär)
nail, big toe -\mathbf{q'ob*}; \mathbf{q'obakko} m., \mathbf{q'obbe} p.
name - mas*; masko m. masse p.
naturally, on his own – latto
neck – denge f.
necklace of beads – komba f.
needle – narfe f.
neighbourhood – \mathbf{ganda} p.
new – \mathbf{q}'awto \mathbf{p}. \mathbf{q}'awtitto m., \mathbf{q}'awtitte attr.
new – q'awwaditto m., q'awwaditte f., qáwwadadde p.
newborn − šam6o m.
next - gossay adv
nine - gollan num.
nose – sinde f.
now - ?aanto adv.
0
oil – zayte f.
old – geeccakko m, geeccatte f., geeccayke p. adj.
```

```
old man, husband – hal*; halko m. halle p.
on the highland side, up – gada adv.
on the highland side, up – \mathbf{guddo} adv
on the lowland side, down – galla adv.
on the lowland side, down - gallo adv.
on the side – ?ula, ?ulo, ?ulu adv.
one - dookko m, dootte f., dookke p. num.
one hundred birr (Amh. mïto 'one hundred') – mato num. (Amh. mïto )
onion – šunkurte f.
only – bicca adv.
open a fence, to -\mathbf{q'aa}\mathbf{\check{s}} v.
open, to -\mathbf{q'aacc} v.
order, to – ?azaz ( ?ažaž) (Caus2) ?aza?azaz
oryx – šaalto m.
ostrich – baalgiddo m.
other – bile m./f. attr.
ox – \mathbf{\hat{Y}ardo}\ m., \mathbf{\hat{Y}arde}\ p.; -anne p.
ox pecker – ?araša f.
ox-hunch – doolle p. -
p
panicle's threads – saarko m. -adde
papaya – paappaya f.
part of rifle, where the bullet pierces - šibo m.
pass, to - zaarbi v. Pass,
pay, to -\mathbf{mur} v.
pea sp. (wild) – ?oofe f.
penis – golde f.
people – gore p.
pepper – \mathbf{q}'aara f.
pepper, Ethiopian (Amh. barbarre) – barbara f. (Amh. barbarre)
pierce from side to side, to - lekk v.; (Caus 1)
pierce, shoot, to - rukaɗ v.
pierce, to -\mathbf{c'ib} \ v.; (Caus2)
pimple – kinnisa f.
place - ?awko m., ?ayko m.
place, base for beehive - garo m.
placenta – sorto m.
plain, border – la?*; la?akko m., la?ne p.
plain, in lowland – 6alko m.
plane – kongo m.
plane of mud for threshed sorghum – \mathbf{\hat{r}}awde p.
plant – duzze f.
plant - gorqummo m.
plant, to -\mathbf{diš}
plant for rope - q'osor*; q'osorko m. q'osorre p.
```

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plant one plant at one time, to -\mathbf{dišš}
plant sp - xerero m.
plant sp. - lulle f.
plant sp. (used to make ropes) – \mathbf{Salge} f.
plant sp. (wild and edible) – ?aarma?e f.
plant, grass – busante f.
plastic goods – lastige f.
plough – maaraša f.
plough - makkatte f.
plough, thin and long wood of the - mofara f.
ploughing ox -\mathbf{q} otyo m.
point of arrow – ponq'a f.
pointed metal of hoe - dooma f.
pointed part of a bullet – dunko m.
poison – toonte f.
pole in roof (small) – ?uttufo m.
poles of house – baal*; baalitte f., baalinne p.
pond – dalba f.
pond, gurf – miire f.
pool made of river water - šaalko m.
poor person – kayse f.; -itto m., -itte f.
porcupine sp. - giršo m.
porridge – zigo m.
possessive spirit of god – maarama f.
pot of clay – zi?*; zi?te f., zi??e p.
pour, to – diig v.; (Caus1)
pour, to - meeg v.
pregnancy – gaaldo m.; gaaldaw v.; gaaldakko m., gaaldatte f.,
    gaaldayke p. adj.
prepare, build, to -\mathbf{gar} v.; (Caus2)
prepare, to -\mathbf{ga?} v.; (Mid, Redupl)
prohibit, to - ?irriš v.
pronominal particle, feminine – te
pronominal particle, masculine - ko
pronominal particle, plural – ke
properly – ?ammake adv.
pubic hair – boositte f.
pull, to -\mathbf{zit}\ v.
pulse sp. - ?atare f.
pumpkin – bote f.; botte p.
punch – tuntuma f.
pus – boxx*; boxxakko m., boxxanne p.
push, to - tuuts' v.
put a head rest on the nape, to - baalaabad v.
put, to - Sadd v.; (Mid)
python – bafko m.
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q

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quarrel, to - ?ooxam v.; ?ooxmatto m.
quickly – kanna adv.
r
rabbit – gubale f.
race, to - ?ardulum v.
radio (Amh tep, English tape) – tebba f. (Amh tep, English tape)
rain – \mathbf{?erro}\ m.; -adde p.
rain, to - dib v.; (Caus1)
rainbow, lizard sp. – zilanq'a f.
rainy month – masano m.
rainy season – ber*; berko m., berre p.
ram - 2erbo m.; -itto m., -anne
rat with long mounth - ts'ulde f.
razor - šiggire f.
really – bero adv.
reap, to -gim v.; gimakko m.
recove, heal, to – \operatorname{\mathbf{din}} v.
recover, heal, to – waan v.
rectum - kallacco m.
red stone grinded to make a powder for the hair -\mathbf{q'oyto}\ m.
redness – ?iddinte f.
reduce, to - muts' v.; (Mid)
reedbuck – šoona f.
refuse, to -2išv.
refuse, to - koor v.
relative – ?eeda m.
remain, to -gayy v.
resemble, to - lig v.
rest of a bullet expelled after shooting – q'alay*; q'alayte f. q'alayye p.
rhinocerous – ?orša?te f.
rib – gina se f.
rib of sternum – 2iš*; 2ište f., 2išše p.
rib, lower – laaddahe f.
rich – kamurko m., kamurte f., kamurre p. attr.
richness – kamurinte f.
riddle - ?ibbo
rifle – \mathbf{q}'awa f.
rifle, kind of - ?albine f.; -adde p.
rifle, kind of - ?immon f.
rifle, kind of – baalžige f.; anne p.
rifle, kind of - kefo m., keffe p.
rifle, kind of – kellefer f.
rifle, kind of – labale f.
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rifle, kind of -\mathbf{q}'onts'a f.
rifle, kind of - šarifo m.
rifle, kind of - sicca f.
rifle, kind of – waštire f.; -anne p.
ring – ts'ats'a f.
ripen, boil, to - ?awš v.; (Caus); ?awšo m.
river – golle f.
roar, to -\mathbf{gooh} v.
roast meat, to - seka\delta v.
rock, to - ?abun v.
roll down, to - sukk*v.; sukkas; sukkam
root, vein -\hbarezze p.
rope – Midd*; Middakko m. Mid Midacce
rope used to keep cattle – laade f.
rope, hand made, trap – siibde f., siibbe p.
run, to (only with plural persons as subject) – bagad v.
run, to (only with singular persons as subject) – sor v.
run, to (only with singular persons as subject) – tir v.
S
sac made of leather - ?agal*; ?agalte f., ?alge p.
saliva – waaq'e p.
salt - soq'o m.
sand – šuma\hbarto m.
sandal, shoe – q'omatte f., q'omayke p,, q'omaykadde p.
say, to - bay v.; (Caus1, Mid)
say, to -\mathbf{kay} v.
say, to - kiy
scapola – la6ša f.
scarification of body – hac'ande f.
scent, to -2050? v.
scorpion – gayit*; gayitakko m. gayitanne p.
scrabble sp. - boolo m.
scrabble, black, kind of - bannado m.
scrabble, black, kind of – bardaq'o m.
scretch, to -\mathbf{q}'oš v.
seat, wooden – getko m.
see from far, to - gullasad
see, to - ?i? v.; (Caus1)
sell, to - las v.
semantically empty clitic – y clit
send, to -\mathbf{xorr} \ v.; (Caus1)
sentence marker – ka
separate, put apart, to – bul v.; (Pass, Punct, Redupl)
set on (fire), roast, to -\mathbf{ko?}
seven – taħħan num.
```

```
sew, to - del v.; (Mid)
shadow – \mathbf{gazze} f.
shank - zoole f.
sharpen, to - deek v.
she - ?ise
sheep – \mathbf{Seem}^*; \mathbf{Seemte} f., \mathbf{Seemme} p.
sheep without fat – punge p.
shelter, to - sexad
shield – longo m.
shin-bone – \mathbf{?aallitte} \ f.; -adde p. -
shoot, to -\operatorname{ran} v; \operatorname{rann} m.
shoulder – kacce f.; -itte f., -adde p.
shout, to - riir v.
sickle not used here -\mathbf{c'uube} f.
side – garo m.
side – \mathbf{q}'aro m. \mathbf{q}'arre p.
since then – hayyay
sister, older – ?alaw*; ?alawte f., ?alawwe p.
sit down, to - Sakkad v.
six – tabben num.
skin around two bonesof thrback of the knee – sanaxe f.
skin used to carry flour, earth and similar – šoonte f.
skull, bold head – bala f.
skv - muunto m.
slaughter, to -zaq v.
sleep, to -\mathbf{raf} v.; (Caus2)
slowly – sollakko adv.
small bell for goats and sheeps -\mathbf{q}'ac'ara f.
small pond – bax^*; baxko m., baxxe p.
small seed form the oil – buska f.
small thin piece of wood – walka f.
small tree – ts'aalq'o m.
smallness – takkinte f.
smear, to -\operatorname{rig} v.
smear, to - šiin v.; (Mid)
smell – \mathbf{?ažo}\ m.; \mathbf{?ažže}\ p.
smoke - Sarto m.
smooth – šilšilko m./f., šilšilkadde p. attr.
snail - q'oode f.
snake – dawwo m.
sneeze, to - tiršag'ad'
so, in this way – ?asa adv.; ?asama
so, in this way - ?assayay adv.
so, in this way – ?aysa adv.; ?aysama, ?aysayay
so, in this way – ?ayssayay adv.
soap — \mathbf{saamuna} f.
soghum sp. - ?e??a f.
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```
soil ploughed one time - boo?e f.
someone – dooyi
soot – \mathbf{?uunto}\ m.
sorghum – maango m.
sorghum – maango m.
sorghum beer – mits'o m. mits'ts'e p.
sorghum panicle without grains – \mathbf{q} olse f.
sorghum sp. - ?abeto m.
sorghum sp. – ?agumu m.
sorghum sp. - ?amate f.
sorghum sp. - ?aylobate f.
sorghum sp. - gorda f.
sorghum sp. – gummo m.
sorghum sp. - simbale f.
sorghum sp. - šula f.
sorghum, pile of - dooro m.; doorad v.
sorghum, stalk of – wallale f.
sorghum, stalk of – zoole f.; -itto m., -itte f.
sorghum, stalk of remained on the field -c'aq'ale f; c'alq'e p.
sort of thorn to sew strong things – mudo??o m.
sound, voice - ?ikkitto m.; adde p.
sour (milk) – ?aberro attr.
sow, to - booh v.: boohto m.
speak, to - rook v.: (Caus2)
speak, to - wak v.; (Caus2, Punct)
spear – warže f.
spear, wooden – zigo m.
spend the day, to - nagay v.
spend time, to - ?oolad v.
sperm – gaaħsindo m.
spice – \mathbf{q}'emame f.
spider – \mathbf{?inne} f.; -atte f, -adde p.
spit, to - tuf v.
spleen – lande f.
split, to - bag'as v.; bag'asso m bag'assod v.
spoil, break, to -\log v.; (Mid, Pass-Mid logmad)
spoon – kaale f.
spot on the skin, black – \mathbf{q}'ato m.
spot, place, container – mano m.,
spotted – borde attr.
spotted – zarge m./f., zargadde p.
spotted multicolor insect – pararo m.
sprain, to - ma?sad v.
sprout, thorn -\mathbf{q} ants'e f.
sprout, to - baq'al v.; (Caus2 balq'is, Punct, Redupl.)
spur – korondo m.
squeeze cloths, to -\min v.
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squirrel sp. – turq'ayna f.
squirrel, ground (Xerus rutilus) – garro m.
star - \hbar ezge f.; -itte f.
star, female – ħezgitte f.
star, male – takkaditto m.
start singing, to -\mathbf{q'all} v.
start, to - baay v.
starve, to - bopp v
steal, to - gere? Mid
steal, to - gere? v.;; gere? ko m., gere? te f., ger? e p.; ger? inte f.
steam, blow – \mathbf{?afo}\ m.; -adde p.
step on, crush, to – diit v.
step on, to -\mathbf{wog} v.
sterile (woman) – meken*; mekente f, mekne p.
sterile man – busukko m., buske p. attr
stick for married man - toolingo m.
stick of roof - seke f.
stick to carry stuff on the shoulder – kata\hbaro m.
stick with iron point – ?ankarsa f.; -adde p.
stick, walking – ?alžo m., ?alže p.
stink - xinaw
stink-ant-zuba??e f. -
stir something – q'onc'or
stone – gaah*; gaahko m_i. gaahhe p_i.
stone sp. (salty) – ?amule f.; -adde p.
stop, to – šiggar v.; (Caus šiggariš, šiggaroš
store, to -\mathbf{saq}' v.; (Punct)
story, tale - maakke p.
straight think - tipa f.
street – zano m.; zamme p.
strip of field – saabanko m., saabankacce p., saabanne p.
strip of leather wore by young girls – \Omega ammo m.
stun, to - žimmir v.; (Caus2)
subordinate conjunction – yaaka conj.
suck, to -\mathbf{\check{s}ur} \ v.; (Caus 1)
sugar cane - xawše f.
sun general – kaallikko m.
sunflower - sufe f.
sweat – siippo m.
sweater – šurrabe f.
swim, to – diim \nu.
t
t'ef (Eragrostis abyssinica) – gac'c'e f.; adde p.
tail of all the animal of sheep only smal bone end – kirrin*; kirrinko m.
    kirrimme p.
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take aim, to - nats'ar v.; nats'ire f.
take mucus out of the nose, to -q'arrasaɗ
take out one by one, to -\mathbf{ziir} v.; (Redupl.)
take to – gab v.; (Mid, Punct, Punct-Caus, Punct-Mid)
tattoo – do??e f.
tear – ?ilmale p.; -itte f, -adde p.
tear, to -2išk v.; (Redupl.)
telephone (Amh. sïlk) – silke (Amh. sïlk)
tell, to - gaa\hbar v.; (Caus2)
teller – maaršo m.
tempia – madday*; maddayitte f., maddayye p.
ten – kunko num.
ten birr – bonde f., bondotte f. num.
tend cattle, to -\mathbf{goos} \ v.; (Mid)
tent (Amh. dunkan) – dunka f., dunkayna f. (Amh. dunkan)
termite hill – kuyyo m.
testicle – kirde f.
thatch, to - taš v.
there – kaaysa adv.; kaaysanu
thev – ?ufunde
thigh bone – gubus*; gubusko m., gubuzze p.
thin calabash - q'erts'a f.
thing - ?ola f.; -ko m.
thing to drink – \mathbf{\hat{r}ugisso}\ m.
thing, broken and wasted – kaata f.
think, to - ?ekkešaď v.
thirst – deebte f.; deebad v.; (Caus2)
this year – gidano adv.
thread - zaaq'e f.
thread of blue colour – ts'iloote f.
three – zeeħ num.
three days after tomorrow – q'ammatinko
three days after tomorrow – q'ammatinte
throat - goomaro m.
throw for oneself, to - darbad v.
throw somth. for chasing, to -\mathbf{ruuk} \ v. (Mid)
throw wood, to - žuq'unta\delta v.; (Caus2)
throw, to -\mathbf{c'ur} v.
throw, to -\mathbf{war} v.
thunder and lightening – gawa?*; gawa?ko m., gawa??e p.
tie, to - šab v.; (Pass, Punct)
time - q'ayto m.
tobacco – gaayye f.
today – guuyu adv.
together - ?elele
together – ?elele adv.
tomb - mayo m.
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tombstone – ?awal*; ?awalko m., ?awle p.
tomorrow – q'ayna adv.
tongue – Yarraf*; Yarrafko m., Yarrabbe p.
tooth – ?ilge p.; -akko m., -adde p.
top - sabbe p.
top of a house – kušte f.
top of foot - šaalo m.
top of penis – gengo m.
torch – batteri f. (Amh. batteri)
tortoise – kufe f.
tortoise, small water - gaage f.
touch, to - beerr v.
towards, within - ma clit.
tower, watching – taygo m.
trace, footprint – paana f paannatte relat.
trade, to - naggadad v. (Amh. näggäd)
train, to (animals) – lenc'iš v.
trample upon, to - šukkaď v.
tree giving edible leaf – talla\hbaro m.
tree sp. – ?ara
tree sp. – ?argakko m.
tree sp. – ?eger*; ?egerko m., ?egerre p.
tree sp. - ?e??akko m.
tree sp. - ?om6o m.
tree sp. – birbir*; birbirko m., birbirre p.
tree sp. - c'aq'ante f.
tree sp. - dongo m.
tree sp. - diire f.
tree sp. - giire f.
tree sp. - heeyatte f.
tree sp. - kantale f.
tree sp. - q'alq'alko m.
tree sp. - šibde f.
tree sp. - tibire f.
tree sp. - zargano m.
tree sp. - zimba f.
tree sp. (small) – \mathbf{c'ummo} m.
tree that gives fresh shadow, kind of - goyte f.
tree, big dead – googa f.
tree, red – warna f.
tree, wood – gaare p.;-ko m.
trigger of firearm
                                          -q'aata f.
truck – ?aysuze f. (Amh. aysuzu)
trumpet, kind of (played in occasion of the gilo meeting) – tarbitto m.
trunk for roof, big – gerekko m.
truth, condition – duge f.
try, to - temm
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Ts'amakko peoplw – ts'amakko m., ts'amatakko m., ts'amatte f.
tunnels underground – bukkisa f.
turn, to - šira6 v
twins – lakkay p.
twist, to (e.g. in order to get into a small hole) – tuuts'ad v.
twisted wood, side scoliosis – žegela f.
twisting bracelet – c'abala f.
two – lakki num.
two days after tomorrow – q'ammakko
u
udder – gaante f.
umbellical chord – handura f.; handurte f.
unappreciated (person) – \mathbf{c}' ubbolakko m., \mathbf{c}'ubbolatte f.
              c' ubbolayke p. adj.
unmarried person – c'ifano m.; -itto m., -itte f., c'ifne p.
upon – ta clit.
upper grind stone -\mathbf{q}'onts'e f.
uproot, to - ?ag v.
urinate, to -\$oo\hbar v.; \$oo\hbar e p.
uvula – \mathbf{danga} f.
\mathbf{V}
vagina – burde f.
vegetables - wasse f.
very – ?ekke
vomit, to - pat v.; pate f.
W
wait, to - da \Omega a \Omega v.
walk, to -2000 \text{ } v.; 20000 \text{ } 0 \text{ } m.
walking stick, long - toollo m.
want, to -gee? v.; (Caus1, Mid); gee??o m.
warrior – ziya m.
wart, sixth finger – laq'a f.
warthog – karkar*; karkarakko m., karkaranne p.
wash, to - šooh v.; (Pass šoohom)
wasted broken big calabash – kolkoško m.
water
                                              - \Omega - \Omega
water pump - šayna f.
waterbuck – do?osko m.
wax - ?ure f.
we - ?ine
weed sp. - ?armante f.
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weed, to - korša\delta v.
week - samminte f.
well – \Upsilonel*; \Upsilonelko m., \Upsilonelle p.
Weyt'o River – dullayko
what? – moo interr.
when? – bara interr.
where to? - ?akkura interr.
where? - ?akka interr.; ?akkama; ?akkanu
which one?
- kunɗa m., tinɗa f., kinɗa p. interr.
whip, to - tub v.; (Punct)
whistle – piška f.
white (hair, fur) - Yarrakko m., Yarratte f., Yarrayke p. adj.
white clay for dance adornment – božže p.; božžaď v.
white stone, kind of - hats'ts'ikko m.
who? – ?aħa interr.; ?aħama; ?aħava
whose? – kahha m./p., tahha f. interr.
why? – moonu, moona interr.
widow, orphan – \hbareyakko m., \hbareyatte f., \hbareyayke p. adj.
wife of 'godfather' – ža?a f.
wild animal with long tail eating chickens – gordisa f.
wild cat – gurlo m.; -itto, -itte f., -adde p.
wild cat – puga f.; -itto m., -itte f.
wind – habura f. haburko m. haburkadde
wing - koolo m.
wipe, shave, to – ?ooš v.; (Caus1, Mid, Punct, Redupl)
with - ya, yay clit.
woman – gaan*; gaante f., gaanne p.
woman – gešan*; gešante f., gešanne p.
woman leaving her husband – nure f.
women – \hbareesko p.
wood for the fence of the house - zanga f.
work – wožža f.; wožžaď v.
work hard, do any kind of work, try hard, to - šum v.
worm sp. (kosotel) – birts'e f.
wound – bayše p.; bayšitte f.; bayšaš v.; bayšuď v.
wrinkle, to -\mathbf{roq'om}\ v.
wrinkles of forehead – marge f.
y
yawn, to - šamma?šad v.
yesterday – geera, geeray adv.
yoke – manaq'o m.
you (pl) - ?atunɗe
you (sg) - 2ato
young (person) – daggo m.;-itto m., -itte f.
```

Z

zebra – **dara?ukuli** f.

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