

CHAPTER THREE

A SKETCH OF SHINASHA MORPHOLOGY

by

Franz Rottland

INTRODUCTION:

The data presented here have been recorded outside a Shinasha-speaking community, viz. in Nairobi in 1980, and are from one speaker only, Mr Tewodoros Didi Jaleta, then 24 years old and a refugee in Kenya.

Mr. Jaleta described his area of origin as the Wombera region, west of Debre Zait and near the Sudan border, where Shangila and Oromo are neighbours of the Shinasha. Both his parents were Shinasha. He called his language and his people boró and accepted šinaša and šinitšo as the corresponding Amharic and Oromo terms, respectively¹. He estimated the number of speakers at about 30,000 and was not aware of the existence of any dialects within the group. As for further ethnic distinctions, he referred to clans and sub-clans, identifying himself as a member of the inoro section of the go:ngo clan, other sections of that clan being anfo and šadro.

In addition to the grammatical data presented here I collected a vocabulary of ca. 1,500 items². Much of the data needs further checking, since by the time I was ready to go through my notes in detail, Mr. Jaleta had left Kenya. A further difficulty was that we had to use a meta-language (English) of which he then had only a limited command. During taking notes, I was guided by Herma Plazikowsky-Brauner's (1950) excellent outline. This means that all data given by her were checked by my

informant, and where my data differs from hers or have no equivalent it means that the informant has consciously stated such a difference. Exceptions are relative constructions and particles which have not been properly dealt with. I shall refer to her article (as P.B.) wherever I find it necessary and I basically follow her order of presentation. I have chosen an almost identical title with a spirit of (very respectful) tradition rather than competition³.

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§1. PHONOLOGY:	
§1.1 CONSONANTS:	
	p t k ʔ
	p' t' č' k'
	š
	š'
	b d ĵ g
	f s š h
	z
	m n
	l, r, rh
	w y

Most of the 26 consonants listed here occur probably also in a geminated form (non-initially). The fact that I have only recorded about one third as geminates is to a large extent due to my lack of familiarity with consonant systems of this type⁴. Basically, the consonants have their customary IPA values (except for č', š, ĵ, š̌, š̌', which represent IPA [tʃ', ʃ, dʒ, tʃ̌] and [tʃ̌'] respectively. There is also a velar nasal occurring automatically before a velar stop and written n in this paper. I have heard ĵ also as [dʒ]. Further, I have heard rh mostly as [r]. followed by strong aspiration but also occasionally as a velar fricative. Illustrations of some contrasts:

bírá	<i>red</i>	birha	<i>iron</i>
kásà	<i>wall</i>	naš'a	<i>white</i>
ú:pa	<i>to steal</i>	dú:ba	<i>to dance</i>
i:la	<i>marrow</i>	illá	<i>arm</i>
gó:ka	<i>testicles</i>	ĵó:ga	<i>bow</i>

Except for geminates, there seem to be no restrictions on the occurrence of consonants in various word positions. Clusters may go up to three : maksa *bone*, gubrá *knee*, anzrá *intestines*, bi:mbá *neck*, sigda *rope*.

§1.2. VOWELS:

i	u	i:	u:
e	o	e:	o:
a		a:	

The short mid-vowels are more open than the long ones and may be heard in cases as [ɛ] and [ɔ]. There is, however, no evidence for an opposition e/ɛ and o/ɔ within the short vowels. The two short front vowels have a tendency to be centralized ([ə]) in quick speech.

Examples of length contrasts:

misá	<i>to burn</i>	mí:sa	<i>to laugh</i>
šúsa	<i>stone</i>	šú:sa	<i>name</i>
šoka	<i>thigh</i>	t'oga	<i>arrow</i>

§1.3. TONES:

I distinguish here three levels of pitch, viz. low (L, unmarked), mid (M, ˘) and high (H, ˆ) plus the corresponding glides. The status of the mid tone, however, remains doubtful. There is clearly a pitch "ladder" in some three-syllable words, e.g., š'alāní *this porcupine*; k' ó:rāni *this eagle (f.)*, but in utterances of less than three syllables, there are only two-way contrasts which, going upward, may be interpreted as LM, MH, or LH, going downward as ML, HM, or HL. In addition, a final L is further lowered which may make a preceding L appear as M. My suspicion is that the language has basically L and H and that upstepping and/or down-stepping are involved.

Although I cannot present a complete tonology, I can at least show that tone is essential, and grammatically more so than lexically. This is especially evident in gender distinctions with H for m. and L for f. (cp. §2.7. and §4. passim).

I am not aware of stress phenomena in Shinasha, but the occasional vowel elision or epenthesis, which I have connected with L and H (cp. §5.4) may be linked with stress.

§2. NOUNS:

§2.1. SEQUENCE STRUCTURE:

Tentatively the following slots may be set up for noun morphology:

- (a) stem
- (b) gender/number
- (c) demonstrative

(d) case

(e) possessive

e.g.	to:hósfisa	<i>for the friends</i>
	to:h - o:si - sa	<i>friend - pl. - appl.</i>
	a b d	
	bollú ma:suki	<i>the women's mule</i>
	ma:s - u - ki	<i>woman - f. - poss.</i>
	a b e	
	ma:nísa	<i>in this house</i>
	ma: - ní - sa	<i>house - dem. - loc.</i>
	a c d	

§2.2. NP vs. N:

While the order of sequence is correct for an NP consisting only of N, the presentation conceals the fact that it is the NP which is marked phrase-finally for gender, number etc. and not the noun. In other words, if the noun is modified, slots (b) - (e) shift to the end of the last modifier⁵. (In such a case, the noun has an invariable suffix -i.) Observe the shifting of the sg. gender vowel -a and of the pl. morpheme -o:si in the following examples. (Plural marking is optional for NPs containing number words.)

bollá	<i>mule</i>	bollo:si	<i>mules</i>
bollí gittá ~ bollí gittáno:si			<i>two mules</i>
bollí gitté e:na ~ bollí gitté e:náno:sí			<i>two big mules</i>

With this caveat, I describe nominal morphology in the order given under §2.1.

§2.3. SIMPLE STEMS:

Most simple stems are monosyllabic (VC, VCC, CV, CVC, CVCC) and have

either H or L; but among the surface L-stems there are probably two groups, each with a different underlying tone structure, which is manifested by the gender vowel -a having either L or H after L-stems. High-toned stems are only followed by low-toned -a; cp. Šoka *thigh*, lo:pá *armpit*, Ší:t'a *nose*.

§2.4. NOMINAL DERIVATION:

	<u>Agent:</u>		-k- (m.)
			-s- (f.)
	<u>Goal/Result:</u>		-e:sk-
	<u>Action:</u>		-i:rw-
e.g.	kó:ta	to lie	ko:tká liar (m.)
			ko:šá liar (f.)
	ú:pa	to steal	u:pe:ská stolen property
	p'e:ra	to hunt	p'e:re:ská object hunted
			u:pí:rwā stealing
			p'erí:rwâ hunting

I have also found forms like u:pí:rwā:nî *thief* and kí:rwā:ni *cook* (cf. kía *to cook*), which probably consist of the action form plus the possessor suffix -ni (cp. §2.9.).

§2.5. GENDER:

There is no grammatical gender in the sense of an obligatory distribution of noun stems; however, nouns denoting living beings may carry a reference to sex, whereby unmarked/masculine contrasts with feminine⁶.

I abbreviate the former as *m.* and the latter as *f.*

In the *m.* noun, the isolated ("absolute") form is marked by -a, and the case form by -o, wherein the term "case form" refers to the noun as subject or object, or as having one of the case suffixes given below (§2.8.)

The feminine marking is always -u.

	abs. form	case form
	m. -a-	-o-
	f.	-u-
e.g.	bolla	<i>mule</i>
	bollú	<i>mule (f.)</i>
	bolló bekre	<i>I see a mule</i>
	bollú bekre	<i>I see a mule (f.)</i>
	bolló warhé	<i>a mule comes</i>
	bollú warhá	<i>a mule (f.) comes</i>

Some nouns invariably have -i instead, or -i in case forms and an optional variation of -a/-i in the absolute. As P.B. has remarked, this seems to apply mainly to kinship terms such as niʔi *daughter*.

§2.6. NUMBER:

There are two ways of forming plurals: (a) reduplicating the stem and the gender vowel, (b) suffixing -o:si to the stem.

In reduplication the first gender vowel is never -a, but either one of the case vowels or zero.

Forms with case suffixes mainly use reduplication; otherwise the choice seems to be free, but from some translation values that I obtained one may suspect that -o:si has a notion of definiteness, e.g.

bollobollá	<i>mules</i>
gú:sgú:sa ~ gu:só:si	<i>male slaves</i>

§2.7. DEIXIS:

Demonstrative suffixes always co-occur with one of the gender vowels, they are themselves tonally marked for gender. Two degrees of proximity are distinguished.

	near	far
m.	-ní	-iwí
f.	˘ni*	-íwi

(*The representation ˘ni indicates that high tone always occurs on the syllable preceding the suffix.)

The gender vowels before demonstrative suffixes have the normal absolute vs. case distribution, e.g.

tóha:ní	<i>this friend</i>	tóhe:wí(/tóh-a-iwí)	<i>that friend</i>
tóhá:ni	<i>this friend (f.)</i>	tóhé:wi	<i>that friend (f.)</i>

§2.8. CASE:

Nominative/Accusative:

The two cases are not distinguished morphologically and, generally, tonal shapes remain identical in both functions. An exception may be the following.

ašó	ma:sú	šunfé	<i>A man loves a woman</i>
<i>man</i>	<i>woman</i>	<i>love-dur. -šm,</i>	
ma:sú	ašo	šunfá	<i>A woman loves a man</i>

Of case suffixes, some of those listed here may be simply postpositions, while others resemble forms which P.B. lists under "particelle".

<u>Dative:</u>		-s-
<u>Applicative:</u>	('for')	-sa-
<u>Itive:</u>	('towards')	-k(a)-
<u>Associative:</u>	('together with')	-nton(a)-
<u>Instrumental:</u>		-n(a)-
<u>Ventive:</u>	('from')	-(n)o:kna-
<u>Locative 1:</u>		-nasa-
<u>Locative 2:</u>		-is(a)-

Bracketing indicates that I have noted forms with and without the elements in brackets, e.g.

ta: mā:sus bolló imre
 I woman-f.dat. mule give-I
I give the mule to the woman

ta: mā:súsa ti hinirí
 I woman-f.-appl. I work-pres.progr. -I
I work for the woman

ta: mō:k(ā) amre
 I house-m.-it. go-pres.-I
I go to the house

bí: šikontona bí em
 He knife-m.-ass. he go
He has gone with a knife

ta: má:súntón kewére
 I woman-f.-ass. talk-past-I
I talked with the woman

ta: šikóná tu k'uté
 I knife-m.-instr. I cut-I
I cut with a knife

ta: bolló má:súno:kná ti da:sé
 I mule-m. woman-f.-vent. I get-I
I get the mule from the woman

š'ásó ma:súnasa faé
 blood woman-f.-loc. be-3m.
There is blood on the woman

ta: me:is ta:ná
 I house-loc. I-pred.
I am in the house

Other deictic references may be indicated by forming connectives with locational nouns in the locative 1 case.

mã širó:sa	<i>under the house</i>
mã urá:sa	<i>outside the house</i>
mã abá:sa	<i>on top of the house</i>

§2.9. Connectives (possession):

There are three kinds of connective constructions:

(a) possessor	+	possessed
N		N
(b) possessor	+	possessed
N		N -ní (m.)
		˘ni (f.)*

(*The representation ˘ni indicates that high tone always occurs on the syllable preceding the suffix.)

(c) possessed		possessor
N		N -ka (m.)
		-kí (f.)

Construction (b) appears to be like (a) + demonstrative, but the informant insisted that a demonstrative function was not normally implied here.

Construction (c) may also have predicative (+ possessive) function, the vowel pair a/i occurring in nominal predication (cp. §8.).

Gender agreement in both (b) and (c) is with the possessed, e.g.

ma:sú mã	<i>the woman's house</i>
ma:sú mo:ní	<i>the woman's house</i>
bollú ma:súkí	<i>the woman's mule (f.)</i>
bollú ma:súka	<i>the woman's mule (m.)</i>

In all these constructions one of the nouns may be replaced by a pronoun (cp. §4.5.).

§3. ADJECTIVES:

As P.B. has pointed out, adjectives are morphologically not different from nouns; for example cp. §2.2. I have no information on adjectival comparison.

§4. PRONOUNS:

§4.1. PERSONAL MORPHEMES:

There are basic elements referring to person, (gender) and number, which occur in various pronominal constructions. According to the vowels appearing in the singular forms, one may distinguish 3 series:

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>	<i>III</i>
Sg. 1	ta:	tu	ti
2	ne:	nu	ni
3 <i>m.</i>	bí:	bú	bí
3 <i>f.</i>	bi:	bu	bi
Pl. 1	no:	no	no
2	ít	ít	ít
3	bo:	bo	bo

Series *II* and *III* occur (i) with certain verbal forms which require a repetition of the (sentence-initial) subject immediately before the verb (cp. §5.4.) and (ii) in possessives (see §4.4./§4.5.)⁷. In occurrence with verbal forms the choice between *II* and *III* may be a case of regressive vowel assimilation, but if so, the conditions are not yet understood.

The 3rd pl. bo:- often includes 2nd pl. function and thus replaces it.

Note that the tonal gender distinction in 3rd person sg. parallels that of the demonstrative (cp. §2.7.).

I could not hear the difference in length which P.B. distinguishes for gender in 3rd sg.

§ 4.2. ABSOLUTE PRONOUN:

This is formed by adding *-ná* to the series *I* morphemes. It is used in isolation and/or predicatively, e.g.

bi:na	<i>He./It is him</i>
bi:me:is bi:na	<i>She is in the house</i>

§ 4.3. CASE FORMS:

Series *I* person morphemes are used throughout. Accusative forms have an *-n* suffix, which does not seem to occur in nominal flexion. Otherwise, the nominal case markers are used for pronouns as well (including zero for Nominative), e.g.

ta: bí:n bekre	<i>I saw him</i>
bí: ta:n bekre	<i>He saw me</i>
ta: bí:s gizó ímre	<i>I gave him money</i>
ta:sa	<i>for me</i>
ta:ntóna	<i>with me</i>

There is one exception in the Accusative, vis. 2nd pl. is *íti* and not **ítu*.

§ 4.4. ABSOLUTE POSSESSIVES:

The forms are used in isolation and/or predicatively and are formed by adding *-ka* to series *III* morphemes, which involves tonal modifications for *-ka*,

tika	<i>(It is) mine</i>
niká	<i>" yours (sg.)</i>
bíkā	<i>" his</i>
biká	<i>" hers</i>
noká	<i>" yours (pl.)</i>
boká	<i>" theirs</i>

It may be noted that: (1) the tonal opposition of 1st sg. (L) against the rest (H, M) has its parallel in the verbal subject suffixes

(see §5.5.) and that (2) the *-ka* suffix may be the same as the one used in connective construction (c) (see §2.9.). I did not enquire about the possibility of forms with *-ki*.

§4.5. CONNECTIVES:

In connective (a) and (b) constructions (see §2.9.) the possessor may be indicated by a pronoun consisting of a series *III* morpheme, e.g.

tí to:koní	<i>my head</i>
tí tohó	<i>my friend</i>

§5. VERBS:

§5.1. SEQUENCE STRUCTURE:

For simple verbs with a full paradigm, the following order of slots may be indicated:

- (a) root
- (b) derivational morpheme (causative, durative)
- (c) inflexional morpheme (tense/aspect)
- (d) subject marker e.g.

ta: danĩ:tw	<i>I teach</i>
dan-i-itw-e	<i>learn - caus. - pres. - I</i>
a b c d	

§5.2. ROOTS:

As indicated by P.B., monosyllabic roots may have one of the following shapes: C, CV, CVC, CVNC, VC, whereby V may be long or short and C₂ geminated or simple, e.g.

š-	<i>to travel</i>
di-	<i>to grind</i>
ta:w-	<i>to count</i>
konš-	<i>to construct</i>

aš-	<i>to hide</i>
mikl-	<i>to sneeze</i>

There are some bisyllabic and even trisyllabic roots: awaš- *to destroy*, awekets- *to bask (in the sun)*.

As also indicated by P.B., some root-final consonants change in certain grammatical contexts. This will be explained in connection with imperative forms (§5.7).

Root tones are overtly either L or H, but it seems necessary to set up several tone classes. Cp. the following infinitive and 1st sg. present-tense forms.

A	t'ó:la	ta: t'ó:lí:twe	<i>jump</i>
B	k'áza	ta: k'azí:twe	<i>leave</i>
C	bata	ta: batí:twe	<i>forget</i>
D	kíndá	ta: kíndí:twe	<i>enter</i>
E	t'išá	ta: t'iší:twe	<i>finish</i>

§5.3 VERBAL DERIVATION:

Causative: -y-

-s-

The two morphemes do not seem to be interchangeable, each going with different root morphemes. I have not discovered any semantic difference between the two e.g.

daná	<i>to learn</i>	danyá	<i>to teach</i>
k'e:ša	<i>to be hot</i>	k'e:šyá	<i>to heat</i>
š'é:na	<i>to be full</i>	š'ensā	<i>to fill</i>
gu:ra	<i>walk round</i>	gu:rsa	<i>to cause to...</i>

I have also recorded (as P.B.) the following form which I do not analyze.

ma:	<i>to eat</i>	ma:nzya	<i>to feed</i>
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Durative: -f- (cp. §5.8.1)

Varia:

I list a few pairs which - if not coincidental - may point to a derivational process.

sok-	<i>to smell (bad)</i>	sak-	<i>to smell (good)</i>
suw-	<i>to be born</i>	sur-	<i>to bear</i>
keu-	<i>to buy</i>	kem-	<i>to sell</i>

§5.4. TENSE/ASPECT MARKERS:

<u>Present/past aff.</u>	- ϕ -	(§5.8.1.)
<u>Present/future aff.</u>	-itu-	(§5.8.3.)
<u>Past 1 aff.</u>	-(e)r- ⁸	(§5.8.4.)
<u>Past 2 aff.</u>	-(e)ger-	(§5.8.5.)
<u>Subjunctive aff.</u>	-ek-	(§5.8.6.)
<u>Jussive aff.</u>	- ϕ -	(§5.8.7.)
<u>Negative</u>	-as-	(§5.8.2.)

Notes to the table:

- (a) The figures following each morpheme refer to the corresponding illustration of the paradigm given in the conjugation tables (§5.8.).
- (b) The vowels in brackets appear when bearing a high tone (or stress?).
- (c) The two patterns with zero tense/aspect morphemes are distinguished by their subjects suffixes (cp. §5.5.).
- (d) The last vowel of -itu- becomes -w- before a vowel.
- (e) For an additional tense/aspect marker -iri- (cp. §5.6.).
- (f) In the jussive paradigm (§5.8.7) 2nd sg. and pl. are replaced by imperative forms.

It will be noted that tense/aspect marking here varies to some extent from the system given by P.B., but the informant refused to accept a number of forms given in P.B., and gave me others instead. Only the relative and interrogative forms were not fully checked.

P.B. records a simple "perfetto" consisting of the root only. I did not obtain this paradigm, but I recorded one sentence which seems to contain such a form (albeit with a special tone).

ta: kálamyo mó:sa ti keú
I paint house-dat. I buy
I bought paint for the house

§5.5. SUBJECT SUFFIXES:

There are two series of subject suffixes, one (*II*) occurring in the Jussive (§5.8.7.) and Subjunctive (§5.8.6.) the other (*I*) in the Indicative (i.e., in all other simple verb patterns).

	<i>I</i>	<i>II</i>
Sg.1	-e	-a
2	-í	-i
3m.	-é	-a
3f.	-ā	-i
Pl.1	-ó	-o
2	-ít/út	-no
3	-no	-no

Tones for *II* are unclear and therefore have not been indicated; *I* shows a clear distinction of L in 1st sg. and non-L for the rest (cp. the same phenomenon in the possessive (§4.4.)⁹.)

The a:i gender distinction in *II* occurs also in non-verbal predication (cp. § 7.1.).

The distribution of -ít/-út in *I* is unclear. cp.

k'e:wítwūt *You will sleep*
amanítwūt *You will believe*
amitwīt *You will go*

§5.6. COMPLEX VERBS:

The one pattern encountered stands for "present progressive" and is

(Subj.) Root -a Subj. Root -iri

For examples see §5.8.8-10. The examples show that for its 2nd appearance, the subject pronoun comes from series *II* or *III* (cp. §4.1.).

As can also be seen, there are no subject suffixes, but there is a certain amount of tonal subject concord on -iri, for example, in §5.8.10 the alternation of -írí and -irí corresponds to H and L of the initial pronoun.

The 2nd part of the complex, together with the repeated subject, seems to occur also as a simple verb; cp. the 2nd sentence given under §2.8. This is part of the (probably syntactic) problem concerning the determination of the function of the repeated subject pronoun (cp. footnote 7).

§5.7. RESTRICTED PARADIGMS:

Infinitive:

A suffix -a is attached to the root or the derived stem. It has H or L tone, probably under the influence of the tone class of the root (cp. §5.2.).

Imperative:

There are three pairs of imperative suffixes, each apparently linked to a different morphological class of verbs.

	Sg.	Pl.
1.	-ú	-úr
2.	-áw	-áwr
3.	-∅	-ir

The second pair seems to consist of the first plus a "formal suffix" -a-, which I cannot account for otherwise.

Concerning the 3rd pair, I add two observations combined with diachronic speculations. (i) All verbs occurring here have a L-toned infinitival suffix. The zero imp. suffix may therefore go back to a L-toned vowel, and its disappearance may have been facilitated by the L-tone. (ii) As P.B. has pointed out, there is a change of C_2 with some verbs in some morphological environments. (I have encountered this only in the imperative, not in the infinitive.) What does not appear from P.B.'s data, but does appear in mine, is the fact that at least some instances of C_2 change with some verbs but not with others. Thus we have, for example, u:p : u:p *steal*, but Šip : Šif *sew*, and ki:s : ki:s *show*, but mi:s : mi:č *laugh*. Fleming (1976c:375 and n.d.) has hinted at the possibility that (synchronically and diachronically) the maintenance of C_2 has to do with gemination. My own findings lead me to suspect that the "softening" of C_2 in the Shinasha variant I deal with is historically the result of palatalisation and spirantization under the influence of a high front vowel. The assumption is based on the observation that changes in C_2 occur only with those verbs that form their imperatives with the 3rd pair of suffixes. Judging from the plural, the sg. suffix of this pair would have been -i. cp.

Sg.	Pl.		
misú	misúr	cf. mis-	<i>burn</i>
da:sú	da:súr	cf. das-	<i>get</i>
u:páw	u:pawr	cf. u:p-	<i>steal</i>
mí:č	mi:čir	cf. mi:s-	<i>burn</i>
Šif	Šifír	cf. Šip-	<i>sew</i>

§5.8. CONJUGATION TABLES:

(Abbreviations: R = root, D = durative, S = subject marker)

1.	R - D - Ø - S	2.	R - as - S
	<i>I know/knew etc.</i>		<i>I do not know etc.</i>
Sg. 1	ta: danfe		ta: danase
2	ne: danfí		ne: danasí
3 _m	bí: danfé		bí: dánásē
3 _f	bi danfā		bi: dánásá
Pl. 1	no: danfó		no: dánásó
2	ít danfít		no: dánásó
3	bó: danfnō		bo: danásnō
3.	R - itu - s	4.	R - (e) r - S
	<i>I sleep, shall sleep etc.</i>		<i>I have thrown etc.</i>
Sg. 1	ta: k'e:wítwe		ta: šapre
2	ne: k'e:wítwi		ne: šaprí
3 _m	bí: k'e:wítwě		bí: šaprē
3 _f	bi: k'e:wítwǎ		bi: šaprā
Pl. 1	no: k'e:wítwǒ		no: šaprō
2	ít k'e:wítwūt		ít šaprí
3	bó: k'e:wítú:nō		bó: šapérnō
5.	R - (e) ger - s	6.	R - ek - s
	<i>I threw etc.</i>		<i>I would go etc.</i>
Sg. 1	ta: šapgérê		ta: ameká
2	ne: šapgerí		ne: amekí
3 _m	bí: šapégérē		bí: amékā
3 _f	bi: šapgérá		bi: amekí
Pl. 1	no: šapgeró		no: amekó
2	bo: šapégérnō		ít: améknō
3	bo: šapégérnō		bó améknō

7.	R - S	8.	R - a (Subj.) R - iri
	<i>I go! etc.</i>		<i>I am drinking etc.</i>
Sg. 1	ta: āma		ta: úša tu úširí
2	ne: am		ne: úša nu úširí
3 _m	bí: amā		bí: úša bu úširí
3 _f	bi: ámi		bi: úša bu úširí
Pl. 1	no: amó		no: úša no úširí
2	ít amír		no: úša no úširí
3	bo: aménó		bo: uša bo uširí
9.	R - a (Subj.) R - iri	10.	R - a (Subj.) R - iri
	<i>I am cutting etc.</i>		<i>I am throwing etc.</i>
Sg. 1	ta: k'utá tú kutírí		ta: šapa tí šapírí
2	ne: k'utá nú kutírí		ne: šapa ní šapírí
3 _m	bí: k'utá bú kutírí		bí: šapa bí šapírí
3 _f	bi: k'utá bu kutírí		bi: šapa bi šapírí
Pl. 1	no: k'utá nó kutírí		no: šapa nó šapírí
2	no: k'utá nó kutírí		no: šapa nó šapírí
3	bó: k'utá bó kutírí		bo: šapa bó šapírí

§6. QUESTION WORDS:

These have not been studied systematically, but the following examples show that: (i) they can be marked for case and (ii) there seems to be an interrogative conjugation, as also indicated by P.B., though there are differences as regards the data, e.g.

koní	<i>Who?</i>	ē:bí	<i>What?</i>
é:gise	<i>Why?</i>	á:knē	<i>Where?</i>

e.g.

koní wa?ásó

Who has come?

koní beksó

Whom did you see?

koníse gizó ni ím

who-dat. money you give

To whom did you give the money?

ē:bí:ne beksó

What-acc.

What did you see?

§7. NUMERALS:

§7.1. CARDINAL NUMBERS:

Apart from slight phonological differences and the fact that their suffixes are -a "absolute" and -e/-u "case form", number words up to 50 are identical with those given by P.B.. Tens from 60 onwards are different and are, according to the informant, loans from Oromo.

1 íkka	9 ĵe:riyá/ye:riyá	60 ĵa támá
2 gittá	10 tása	70 torba támá
3 ke:zá	11 táse ikka	80 sade:t támá
4 áwddá	etc.	90 ságal támá
5 u:sá	20 hi:yá	100 bálla
6 šeríta	30 ša:šá	200 gittú gála
7 šawáta	40 habá	etc.
8 šimíta	50 ballé kása	1000 kúmá

§7.2. ORDINAL NUMBERS:

From 2 onwards, ordinals are formed by adding -ili to the cardinal

number word, which loses its final vowel. "First" is indicated by Šinásí. There is no change in final vowels, i.e., there are no case or gender suffixes. The ordinal precedes the noun, e.g.

má ikka	<i>one house</i>
Šinásí mâ	<i>the first house</i>
gittílí mâ	<i>the second house</i>

§7.3. CALCULATING:

P.B.'s "multiplicativo" was interpreted by my informant as predicative:

gittinó:ni	<i>They are two</i>
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In calculating, the cardinal numbers take the -o suffix.

gittó nahí gittó äwddā	$2 \times 2 = 4$
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§8. NON-VERBAL PREDICATION:

As stated above the absolute forms of nouns and pronouns are also predicatives. If preceded by a subject, the nominal predicate has gender agreement, viz. -i (f.) and -a (m.). This goes also for locative predicates.

bí: Šenga	<i>He is good</i>
bi: Šengi	<i>She is good</i>
masú meisí	<i>The woman is in the house</i>
na'ó meisa	<i>The boy is in the house</i>

There is no agreement when the predicate is a pronoun.

bi: más(u) bi:na	<i>She is a woman</i>
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I noted one case in which the nominal case seems to take the verbal subject suffix.

bó: má:sno	<i>They are women</i>
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NOTES

- * Fieldwork for this study was made possible by a research grant from the German Research Foundation (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft), to whom I express my sincere gratitude.
1. Hé translated "Shinasha" as bor(o) in his mothertongue. Cp. ta:bor ta:ná *I am a Shinasha* and ta: borino burúnonó danfé *I know Shinasha*.
 2. The list has already been used by Hal Fleming for Gonga reconstructions (Fleming n.d.). I would like to express my thanks to him for letting me have the ms. as well as other unpublished data.
 3. P.B. does not say where the Shinasha she recorded was or is spoken. According to Haberland's introduction to her posthumous 1970 article, she encountered and worked with her informants in Addis Ababa.
 4. The section on consonants is probably the weakest of the presentation: at any rate it is the one I feel least certain about. When working with the informant, I made no sound recordings. He later sent me a reading of the wordlists recorded on a cassette, which however, has only partly improved my hearing of consonant differences.
 5. I cannot guarantee the entire correctness of this statement, since I have no data for extended NPs which are marked for case.
 6. The exception is kaffu *bird* which the informant often used in the feminine form even in a generic sense, i.e., for this one word, both kaffa and kaffu could be used as unmarked forms.
 7. Alternatively, one could say that series *II* and *III* are used when the subject pronoun has to be repeated. This seems to be syntactically conditioned, since the repetition occurs with some nominal cases and not with others (cp. the sentences under §2.8.).
 8. In my notes there are some verb forms with -(e)rh.

9. I cannot account for the high-toned $-é$ 1st sg. in the 6th and 7th sentence given under § 2.8.
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