A Descriptive Study of the Modern Wolaytta Language

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Abbreviations

ABS.	absolutive
ADV.	adverbial
CAUS.	causative
CONCR.	concrete (see section 4.2.1.4)
CONV.	converb (see section 4.4.3.1)
COUNT.	counting (see section 4.2.3.1.1)
F.	feminine
FUT.	future
IMPF.	imperfective
INDEC.	indeclinable
INFN.	infinitive
INTER.	interrogative
lit.	literally
M.	masculine
NEG.	negative
NMNL.	nominalizer (see section 4.2.5)
NOM.	nominative
nonCONCR.	non-concrete (see section 4.2.1.4)
nonSUBJ.	non-subject oriented (see section 4.4.3.3.1)
OBL.	oblique
OPT.	optative
PASS.	passive, reciprocal, etc. (see section 5.3.2.3)
PF.	perfective
PL.	plural
REL.	relative
SIM.	simultaneous (see section 4.4.3.2)
SG.	singular
SUBJ.	subject oriented (see section 4.4.3.3.1)
SUBOR.	subordination marker (see section 4.4.3.4.1)
VOC.	vocative
v.i.	intransitive verb
v.t.	transitive verb
1	first person

2   second person
3   third person

Summary

Wolaytta is one of the main languages of the Ometo group of the Omotic family, which belongs to the Afroasiatic language phylum. It is spoken in the southwest part of Ethiopia.

This thesis describes the language inclusively and at the same time in detail.

Chapter 0 mainly explains the methodology used in this thesis, and chapter 1 deals with backgrounds of the Wolaytta language, such as its names, its genetic affiliation, its neighboring languages, its population, etc.

Chapter 2 discusses the phonology of Wolaytta. The main conclusions are the following: Wolaytta has 29 consonant phonemes, including voiced glottalized consonants, which have been analyzed as consonant clusters. It also has 5 vowel phonemes, which can be combined to form long vowels and diphthongs. Although apparent tonal phenomena of the language are very complicated, they are explained by "tonal prominences", which are determined lexically and are realized with higher pitch, and "tonal groups", in which all tonal prominences but the first one are ignored.

Chapter 3 deals with the grammatology of Wolaytta. Although the language has not been written until relatively recently, it is sometimes written with the Ethiopic script and the Latin alphabet. This chapter discusses that ordinary native Wolaytta people do not necessarily write their language following the "norms", although the deviation is not completely disordered.

Chapter 4 describes words of each word class morphologically and semantically in particular. First, various nominals are discussed one by one. The main conclusions are the following: The absolutive case is semantically the most unmarked case, and is used to express various meanings. Common nouns distinguish between concrete and non-concrete forms. The former is used when a concrete referent is or can be somehow presupposed, and the latter is used elsewhere. The non-concrete form is unmarked and older. There are few genuine feminine common nouns, although feminine common nouns are derived from masculine common nouns fairly productively. What can only be female biologically are in many cases expressed by derived feminine common nouns. For place-name nouns and person-name nouns, uneven distribution of combinations of morphological classes and tone classes are found. Place-name nouns distinguish only three morphological classes, not four as is claimed in some previous works. Etymologies of place names in Wolaytta are almost all unknown, which might originate from neighboring foreign languages. Vocative forms of person-name nouns are

somehow regarded as representative forms, not as in the case of members of other word classes. Morphology of numerals and their derivatives are very complicated. To refer to a third-person subject of a relatively superordinate clause in a relatively subordinate clause, both reflexive and usual third-person pronouns can be used interchangeably. Thus the last word of "He$_i$ thanked because all the people helped him$_i$." can also be translated as 'himself'. Although direct discourse is preferred in this language, the speaker is usually referred to by a first-person pronoun and the hearer is usually referred to by a second-person pronoun whether they are expressed in a quotation clause or not, as in the case of indirect discourse. This principle is, however, not applied to finite verbs and their subjects in quotation clauses. Thus, sentences like "They$_i$ said that we$_i$ (i.e. they$_i$) would not work with me." are possible. There are nominalizers that are substitutes for concrete nominals. Five demonstrative determiners are bases of different demonstrative expressions. Wolaytta has three "dative" postpositions, which are not necessarily interchangeable. The postposition *-daani* 'like' is composed of a nominal and the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. There are grammatical elements that are found in more than one word class.

   Chapter 4 then discusses various indeclinables, such as interjections and conjunctions, paying special attention to their semantics.

   The chapter then moves on to deal with various verb forms. The main conclusions are the following: Imperfective forms are forms unmarked morphologically and semantically. Perfective forms are based on converb forms. Future forms are actually nominals (infinitives). Converb forms are general subordinators, since all that they do is to convey information on subjects. Converb forms can be followed by auxiliaries. A simultaneous form is used to emphasize imperfectivity of a situation described by it. At the same time the form indicates that the situation and that described by a verb in its superordinate clause temporally overlap each other. There are two kinds of relative forms: true relative forms and derived relative forms. True relative forms distinguish between subject oriented and non-subject oriented forms, the former of which is used when a head nominal of a relative clause would function as a subject in the relative clause, while the latter of which is used elsewhere. A nominalizer that is modified by a relative form can co-occur with its substituted word in the relative clause, if the word would function as a subject in the relative clause. Relative forms are used in different idiomatic subordinate expressions. Most indeclinable subordinate verb forms in this language have the *-i* ending, "subordination marker", that immediately follows a verb stem. Very occasionally *-ii-ni* forms and *-i-shiini* forms, which are indeclinable subordinate verb forms, can also be used when their subjects and the subjects of

predicates in their superordinate clauses refer to the same participant, contrary to the claims of some previous works. The future infinitive is based on the postpositional phrase with *-ni* 'in, at, by'. Wolaytta distinguish two completive infixes according to whether attention is focused on a change of the referent of the subject relating to the completion of a situation or on such a change of something other than the referent of the subject.

Chapter 4 concludes with a brief section that lists linguistic elements on which further studies are needed in the future.

Most Wolaytta words are divided into a lexical stem and a grammatical ending. A stem may or may not be divided into smaller meaningful parts. Chapter 5 describes how derived stems are formed in this language. For noun stem formation, it is discussed that nouns can be derived by means of stem-forming suffixes, stem modification, and conversion from verbs. Compound nouns, which are tonally distinguished from common nouns modified by another common noun in the oblique case, are also dealt with. Then verb stem formation is discussed. The main conclusions are the following: *-iss-* derivatives are used for causative expressions, in which a causee is expressed by an absolutive nominal or an object of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. Factors that determine the choice are complicated. Addition of the suffix *-iss-* and transitivization are not the same. In principle, an *-ett-* derivative is used when the referent of a subject is directly affected by a situation that does not originate in the referent itself, thus it is used for passive, reciprocal, and other expressions. Double *-ett-* derivatives are used to express reciprocality clearly. There are different complex voices, although they are uncommon.

Chapter 6 deals with syntax. For basic constituent order, it is discussed that Wolaytta is a typical OV language, although the use of appositive constructions may give a false impression that this is not the case. The chapter also discusses different irregular agreements between the subject and its predicate verb.

Chapter 7 briefly discusses sociolinguistic aspects of Wolaytta. The main conclusions are the following: In the vocabulary of Wolaytta there are many loan words from Amharic, which are not homogeneous. Second- and third-person plural forms of verbs and pronouns also serve as second- and third-person singular honorifics, respectively. Literary Wolaytta is not necessarily the same as modern colloquial Wolaytta.

Chapter 0   Introductory Notes

0.1   Aim of This Thesis

The aim of this thesis is to describe the modern Wolaytta language.

This thesis does not focus only on one or a few particular topics of Wolaytta. I will treat and discuss all linguistic phenomena of the language, as far as I can. Cultural backgrounds will also be mentioned, when necessary.

This thesis is not a brief sketch of the language. I will analyze and describe each linguistic phenomenon of the language in great detail, as well as I can. Sometimes theoretical issues interesting to general linguistics will be mentioned.

This thesis, I hope, will be a useful cornerstone for future studies on the Wolaytta language, Omotic languages, and Afroasiatic languages[1].

0.2   Features of this Thesis

As far as I know, two comprehensive and detailed works on Wolaytta have been published so far: Adams (1983) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997). Both have more or less succeeded in achieving the aims mentioned in section 0.1. The former in particular is of great value. I owe much to him, and I also follow him in many respects.

Thus, the raison d'être of the present thesis must be asked. For this I give the following five points.

a) There remain many linguistic phenomena that were only poorly or inadequately treated in previous works. Such phenomena include tone, word formation, syntax, grammatology, linguistic culture such as naming, and so on. These will be adequately, if not thoroughly, discussed in relevant sections in the following.

b) It is sometimes very difficult even for linguists, let alone ordinary people, to read and understand Adams (1983) because it is based on a particular theory called tagmemics, which, pace Dr. Adams and others, does not seem to be a pervading or a well-accepted theory. The present work will be written in a standard way so that any linguist can understand and commentate on it. I also hope that many intelligent Wolaytta people who are interested in their own language will find the present work understandable enough.

c) However, that I am not prejudiced in favor of a particular linguistic theory does not mean that the contents of this thesis are boring or conventional. Although Wolaytta may

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[1] For the Omotic and Afroasiatic languages, see section 1.3.

not be an unusual or bizarre language, readers will find many interesting descriptions that are stimulating and thought-provoking for general linguistics and/or comparative linguistics. In other words, the present work will be written in the hope that it will make a large contribution toward linguistics. This is of course enabled partly because the present work is bulkier than the previous works. I hope that it will also contribute to the humanities and eventually to humankind.

d) In this thesis, any conclusions will be drawn inductively from the Wolaytta language itself. This thesis is not devoted to a particular linguistic theory developed from studies of other languages. Thus I try in particular not to be affected unnecessarily by notions popular in previous works or by phenomena in other languages. Adams's (1983: 79-82, 86-97) discussion concerning some postpositions seems to illustrate the lack of this objective attitude toward a language. According to him, postpositional phrases with the same postposition may be divided into two categories: obligatory ones and non-obligatory ones[2]. For example, the underlined postpositional phrases in (0.2-1a) and (0.2-2a) are obligatory, and those in (0.2.-1b) and (0.2-2b) are not obligatory in his sense (the notation is his except for *T*, which is a dotted *t* in the original text).

(0.2-1a)

?išatammu	bira	gidiya:ga:	?immida:ga:-ra
fifty	birr ("dollar")	that which is	the one who gave-"with"

gaittidi . . .
having met

'Having met the one who had given about fifty birr . . .' (From Adams (1983: 81))

(0.2-1b)

de:šša:	mi:zza:-ra	he:mmite!
goat	cattle-"with"	herd!

'Herd the goat(s) along with the cattle!' (From Adams (1983: 89))

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[2] Needless to say, his terminology and definitions are much more complicated. However, it is not necessary for the purpose of this section to enter into a detailed discussion of them.

(0.2-2a)

?eta	?ubba-ni		ge:šša	?a:yyanai		kumidi . . .
them	all-"in"		Holy	Spirit		having filled

'The Holy Spirit having filled all of them . .' (From Adams (1983: 81))

(0.2-2b)

Ba:lota	ma:yuwa:	sa:Tiniya:	giddo-ni	be?a:su.
Baaloti	clothes	box	inside-"in"	she saw

'Baaloti saw the clothes inside the box.' (From Adams (1983: 93))

I guess that he is affected by, apart from the tagmemic theory, the fact that some of these postpositional phrases are expressed as direct objects in the corresponding English translations while others are as postpositional phrases, the former corresponding to the "obligatory" and the latter the "non-obligatory". A similar kind of unnecessary division of a postpositional phrase can be seen in Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 66-68) too. Thus, *keett-aa-ppe* 'from the house' (the notation is theirs) is in "the ablative case" while the same linguistic form glossed 'out of the house' is "in the exitive case"[3]. Although a postposition may have indeed many meanings and uses, unnecessary division will eventually result in unnecessarily complicated description. I assume that if different meanings can be expressed by one and the same linguistic form, they have something in common *in the world of the language*. Although there can be true homonyms, we should not divide one linguistic form a priori.

e) The present work is mainly based on data that were collected, observed and analyzed by myself. I was also able to check pronunciations, meanings and so on for most of the written materials utilized here with the help of my linguistic informants (hereafter *consultants*). Thus almost all materials found in this thesis are firsthand. I never mean that the data found in Adams (1983) or Lamberti and Sottile (1997) are secondhand. However, it is clear from Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 5-6), i.e. their foreword, that a preliminary draft of the work (except for the chapter entitled *Lexicology*) was written by Sottile, who mainly employed as the basis for it the data of Lamberti, who had actually consulted fieldwork and later participated in revising and re-elaborating the draft with Sottile. Adams's (1983) thesis could not have been accomplished in a short time without texts transcribed by some 16 Wolaytta men who

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[3] In their analysis, however, *-ppe* is a case ending, not a postposition.

had been trained to write their language, and materials prepared by Wolaytta secondary school students and university students (the particulars are described in Adams (1983: 31-32))[4].

0.3 Methodology of This Thesis

In this section, I will sketch out in some detail how the data on which the present work is based were collected.

0.3.1 Fieldwork

As was mentioned in section 0.2, this thesis is mainly based on my own data. Most of this data was of course collected by a field method, which consisted mainly of interviews with native speakers of the Wolaytta language. The fieldwork was conducted in Addis Ababa, the capital of Ethiopia, and in Boditi, the capital town of the Damot Gale Woreda[5] of the Wolaytta Zone.

0.3.1.1 Fieldwork in Addis Ababa

My first and preliminary linguistic research was carried out in Addis Ababa.

The linguistic consultant for this work is Mr. Alemu Koyra. He was born in 1935 in the Ethiopian calendar (that is, 1942 or 1943 A. D.)[6] at Jage in Damot Gale. He got his first 8-year education there and in Sodo, the capital of the whole of Wolaytta. Having received further education in Addis Ababa, he visited many places as an electrical engineer, and now lives in Addis Ababa.

With his help, I was able to collect more than one thousand basic Wolaytta words and could investigate a basic grammatical structure of the language in my first research (in 1997). In my later research trips (i.e. in 1998, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2004, and 2006) too, I was able to get more detailed data with his cooperation during my stay in the capital. His contribution includes, for example, translating Amharic or English sentences given by me into Wolaytta, composing sentences that meet the conditions given by me, checking and correcting my composition, and so on. In addition to carrying out these elicitation works, I also collected oral texts of the language that he told. He also helped me transcribe and analyze these recorded texts, sometimes even those told by other

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[4] In case readers did not know yet, Dr. Adams himself is without doubt one of the best foreign speakers of Wolaytta.
[5] Woreda is an administrative unit.
[6] See section 4.2.3.5.

persons.

0.3.1.2　Fieldwork in Wolaytta

In addition to Addis Ababa, I conducted fieldwork also in Wolaytta, six times in all since 1998. I spent most of my time in the town called Boditi.

My main consultant in Boditi is Mr. Asela Gujubo. He was born in 1961 A. D. at Korkedoge in the Boloso Sore Woreda. He was educated eight years at Areka Dubo in Boloso. Then he went to Sodo, the capital of the whole of Wolaytta, for high school education. Having graduated Addis Ababa University, he now lives in Wolaytta again.

The research method adopted in Boditi is almost the same as that mentioned in section 0.3.1.1. That is, it includes translation of foreign languages, free composition, correcting my composition, recording and analyzing oral texts, and so on. He also took me out to many places. Through these "excursions", I was able to realize some aspects of the traditional culture and of the topography of Wolaytta.

In addition, Mr. Merid Tekle Maryam and Mr. Mesele Maguje allowed me to record valuable oral texts. I also bought cassette tapes on which modern pop songs in the Wolaytta language are recorded.

In Boditi (and other places in Wolaytta), so many people communicate with each other in the Wolaytta language in their daily life. Hearing their conversations was a valuable experience for me, although at times I could not understand what they were saying with my poor knowledge of the language. Of course I also had many opportunities to talk with my friends there in Wolaytta. I was also able to ask them some questions. All of them answered my questions and taught me the language with pleasure. Although these make up only a relatively small percentage in my research, I was able to get some hints for my study through them. In this sense, all the Wolaytta people who came in contact with me contributed to the present work, including those children who were joyfully calling out to me on the street.

I express my gratitude to all the Wolaytta people mentioned above again.

0.3.2　Written Materials

Although this thesis is mainly based on the firsthand data collected through interviews, I benefit from many written materials too. These include the following.

a) Previous works on Wolaytta and the related languages. See section 1.6.

b) Mark of the Holy Bible translated into Wolaytta in the Latin alphabet. The booklet was given to me by Dr. Bruce A. Adams when I made contact with him in Sodo, the

capital of Wolaytta. All the example sentences adopted from Mark in the following pages are based on this booklet unless otherwise noted, although I also have a Bible published in the Wolaytta language in the Ethiopic script.

c) Other published materials such as school textbooks. The textbooks were collected with the gracious help of my Wolaytta friends. Other published materials are extremely limited in number.

d) Manuscripts by native speakers of Wolaytta. These are used for the purpose of the grammatological study of the language. Some of them were written voluntarily, and others were not. For the details see chapter 3.

When I adopted example sentences from these written materials, as said in section 0.2, I checked their pronunciations, meanings, grammaticalities, etc. with the help of the consultants, unless otherwise mentioned.

0.4   Notation Used in This Thesis
0.4.1   Notation for Wolaytta
In this thesis, the Wolaytta language is transcribed in the Latin alphabet. The notation is original. It is of course based on the Wolaytta phonology. It would also be convenient typographically. For the details, see chapter 2.

I do not mean that my notation will prove to be the best orthography of Wolaytta. See the discussion in section 3.1.2.

A hyphen (-) is used to indicate a morpheme boundary, although it is often omitted when indicating a boundary is not necessary or irrelevant to the discussion in question.

0.4.2   Notation for Amharic
The Amharic language is prevailing and often used as a lingua franca in Ethiopia. Thus it will be mentioned repeatedly in the following pages. Amharic is usually written in the Ethiopic script. Thus in this thesis too the script is used. For readers who are not familiar with the script, however, it is followed by the transcription in the Latin alphabet.

In the Latin transcription many symbols have the usual IPA value. However, *c* stands for the voiceless alveolar affricate, *j* for the voiced alveolar affricate, *7* for the glottal stop, and *y* for the palatal approximant [j]. Capitals *P*, *T*, *C*, *S*, and *K* stand for the glottalized equivalents of the plain consonants *p*, *t*, *c*, *s*, and *k*, respectively. The capital letter *W* and *Y* indicate that the preceding consonant is labialized and palatalized,

respectively. As for the vowels, *a* stands for raised [a], *A* for open [a], *E* for the close-mid vowel, [e], and *e* for the mid central schwa-like vowel.

In this thesis, the Latin notation for Wolaytta and that for Amharic are similar. However, note that the voiceless postalveolar fricative is represented as *sh* in the former while as *sY* in the latter since it is regarded as palatalized [s]. As for the vowels, note, for example, that the same symbol *e* represents different sounds in the two notation systems ([e] in Wolaytta and the schwa-like vowel in Amharic) and that almost the same vowels represented by [e] are written differently (*e* in Wolaytta and *E* in Amharic), since all vocalic symbols in the former notation (i.e. *i*, *e*, *a*, *o*, and *u*) have the usual IPA value while not in the latter. Such discrepancies as these are indeed inconvenient and undesirable. However, they cannot be avoided since the phonological systems of the two languages are different and the number of symbols typographically convenient are rather limited.

Chapter 1 Backgrounds of the Wolaytta Language

1.1 Location of Wolaytta

1.1.1 Wolaytta as an Administrative Unit

It is a famous fact that Wolaytta people were relatively independent from the central government of Ethiopia and had their own kings until the late 19th century. As for the exact borders of the kingdom, Chiatti (1984: 13) quotes the following words from Borelli, J. (1890) *Éthiopie méridionale. Journal de mon voyage aux pays amhara, oromo et sidama. Septembre 1885 à novembre 1888*. Paris, Quantin: Libraires-imprimeries reunies: 'The country is limited northward by Timbaro; eastward by the Bilate River which divides it from Arussi: southward by Lake Abala [Abaya] and Kucha; westward by the Omo' (page 436)[7]. The Omo is a famous, large river in Ethiopia.

In the period of Emperor Hayle Selassie, Ethiopia, including Eritrea, was divided into 14 provinces (ክፍለ ሀገር *kefla hAgar*). Each province consisted of several "Awrajas" (አውራጃ *AwrAjjA*). Each "Awraja" in turn consisted of several "Woredas" (ወረዳ *waradA*). The Wolaytta kingdom mentioned above came to correspond to one "Awraja", which consisted of seven "Woredas". The Wolaytta "Awraja" itself belonged to the Province of Sidamo.

The Wolaytta "Awraja" has been an administrative unit until now, although names of units, the number of its constituting smaller units, and its affiliation at provincial level, etc. were changed several times. Now, the district has become an independent "Zone" in the Southern Peoples, Nations and Nationalities Regional State.

The Wolaytta district is located in the southwestern part of Ethiopia. It is about 400 km southwest of Addis Ababa. Adams (1983: 26) says it 'is just northwest of Lake Abbay.' Its total area is about 3500 sq. km.

The capital of the Wolaytta Zone is Sodo, which is almost at the center of the zone. Boditi, where I conducted fieldwork, is about 30km northeast of Sodo.

1.1.2 Definition of the Wolaytta Language

My consultant in Addis Ababa, Mr. Alemu, is from the neighborhood of Boditi. He and native people in Boditi call their own language "Wolaytta" (*wolaittáttuwa* in their

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[7] Unfortunately I could not access Borell's work. The quoted English here is copied from Chiatti's work.

language) (for its location, see the last paragraphs in section 1.1.1).

Another consultant, Mr. Asela, is from Boloso, which is in the northern part of the Wolaytta Zone. He also insists that his mother tongue is Wolaytta. Although as is often the case the two consultants' languages are not exactly the same (see section 7.2.2), the differences are very small and they can perfectly make themselves understood to each other in their mother tongues. Thus we can conclude that they speak the same language, Wolaytta.

As far as I can judge from my experiences, people in Sodo, the zonal capital, also speak the same language. During my one-day trip to Bele, which is in the western part of the Wolaytta Zone, I heard people speak the same language.

Since I have not been to the southern and eastern parts of the Zone, and I do not have friends from these areas, I have no firsthand materials to judge what language is spoken there. However, people in Boditi seem to think that the language in those areas is also Wolaytta although sometimes it may show considerable dialectal differences.

Thus, let's conclude and define that the Wolaytta language is a language that is spoken in the Wolaytta Zone (and the same linguistic variety in other places, if any[8]).

This is a definition in the rather narrow sense. Readers may object to equating administrational boundaries with language boundaries. We will return to this issue later in section 1.3.2.

1.2   Names of the Language
1.2.1   "Wolaytta" or the Like

The district where I conducted fieldwork is called *woláíttá* in the Wolaytta language. The self-referent of the people there is *woláítta*. This word can also be used as a name of their language, although *wolaittáttuwa* is more common. The language is also referred to as *woláítta dóónaa* (lit. mouth of Wolaytta) or *woláítta Káálaa* (lit. word of Wolaytta).[9]

These words are said to relate to the Wolaytta verb root *walakk-* 'to mix (v.t.)' and their derivatives such as *walah-étt-* 'to be mixed, to mingle with', *waláh-aa* 'mixture', *waláh-ett-aa* 'mixing', and so on. According to my consultants, this naming reflects the

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[8] In map 77 of Christopher and Asher (1994: 285), a region where the Wolaytta language is spoken is more expanded southwards. Thus, all the west coast region of the Lake Abaya is considered to be an area where Wolaytta is spoken.

[9] As will be discussed in section 4.2, tone and morphology of Wolaytta nominals are rather complicated. The description here is too simplified to be accurate. However, here readers have only to realize that the proper noun in question is "Wolaytta".

history or origin of Wolaytta people: they claim that many races or tribes mixed with each other to form Wolaytta.

We can find several different spellings for this language name in previous works written in the Latin alphabet. As far as I know, they include the following.

(1.2.1-1)

Wolaytta	Labmerti and Sottile (1997), Gordon (ed.) (2005), and others
Wolaitta	Adams (1983) and others
Wolayta	Bekale (1989)
Wolaita	Chiatti (1984)
Welaita	Bender (1987) and others

Phonologically, "Wolaitta" seems to be the best as Dr. Adams suggests. However, I adopt "Wolaytta" in this thesis. There are almost no persuading reasons for it. I just wanted to pay my respects to Gordon (ed.) (2005), i.e. Ethnologue, which is at present more accessible and more prevailing than Dr. Adams' unpublished dissertation.

1.2.2 "Welamo" or the Like

There is another set of names for Wolaytta. However, they are becoming obsolete now, and are based on a term that outsiders in Ethiopia used for Wolaytta, i.e. ወላሞ *walAmo*. They are spelt differently in previous works written in the Latin alphabet. As far as I know, they include the following.

(1.2.2-1)[10]

Welamo	Ohman and Hailu (1976) and others
Wolamo	Cerulli (1929) and others
Uolamo	Moreno (1938)
Wolaamo	Adams (1972)
Wollamo	Chiomio (1938)
Uallamo	Da Luchon (1938)
Uollamo	Padri Missionari (1969a, b)

In addition to the above, Gordon (ed.) (2005) lists the following, whose sources I do not know: Wellamo, Wallamo, Walamo, and Ualamo.

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[10] Unfortunately I could not access the last four works. For their bibliographical data, see section 1.6.1.

The etymology of these names is not clear. One person says that they derive from a person named Wolabo. Another person says that they derive from the Amharic expression **ወይ ላሞች** *way lAmocc* 'O cows'. Whilst yet another person says that they derive from the Wolaytta expression *wóla m-óos* 'hi, let's eat (together)'.

In any case, the name "Welamo" or the like is not proper. It is not a self-referent of Wolaytta. As Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 15) say, 'Wolaytta speaking people nowadays do not like to be called "Wol-amo"'. Nevertheless it had been widely accepted by outsiders in Ethiopia. Thus in 1975, some Wolaytta people, including Mr. Alemu, my consultant, petitioned the Mengistu government to change, or rather, return the inappropriate name to "Wolaytta". This petition was accepted and the name "Wolaytta" has been officially adopted since then.

Incidentally, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 15) say that: 'Of the two terms found in literature, "Wolamo" (also "Wallamo", "Wellamo" and the like with the suffix -amo like Sidamo) seems to act as a collective noun and thus to refer to the totality of the population, while "Wolaitta" (also "Wolaitta", with the Common Cushitic singulative suffix -tta) seems, instead, to be used for the single individual or for the language . . .' Judging from what Wolaytta people say, however, I doubt Lamberti and Sottile's claim.

1.3   Comparative Linguistics on Wolaytta
1.3.1   The Afroasiatic Language Phylum

According to a most prevailing and popular opinion, the Wolaytta language belongs to the Afroasiatic language phylum.

The Afroasiatic language phylum is usually subdivided into six families: Berber, Chadic, Egyptian, Semitic, Cushitic, and Omotic. For example, Hayward (2000a), one of the latest introductions to this language phylum, follows this grouping. If we follow this, the Wolaytta language belongs to the Omotic language family.

However, there has been a controversy about subdivision of this language phylum, especially about that of Cushitic and Omotic languages, if we use the terms introduced above.

One side of the controversy, the so-called Omotic Hypothesis, is represented by Hayward (2000a). Below I introduce his (ibid., pp. 80-82.) classification of the two language families in question, together with representative languages that belong to them[11]. The points of this classification are: 1) The Omotic family is independent from

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[11] Hereafter, I follow his terminology unless otherwise mentioned.

the Cushitic family within the Afroasiatic phylum. 2) There is a close genetic relationship between the South and North Omotic languages, and thus they are grouped together as a language family.

(1.3.1-1) Hayward's (2000: 80-82) Classification of Cushitic and Omotic Languages[12]
Cushitic
   1. Northern Cushitic
    i.e. Bedawi/Beja
   2. Central Cushitic (Agaw languages)
    e.g. Bilin, Kemant, Kwara, Xamtanga, Awngi
   3. Highland East Cushitic
    e.g. Burji, Sidamo, Kambata, Hadiyya
   4. Lowland East Cushitic
    (i) A northern subgroup
      i.e. Saho, Afar
    (ii) The Oromoid subgroup
      e.g. Oromo, Konso
    (iii) Omo-Tana
      Eastern division   e.g. Rendille, Boni, Somali
      Western division   e.g. Daasenech, Arbore, Elmolo
      (Isolated) Bayso
   5. Dullay, Tsamay, and 'Gawwada'
   6. Southern Cushitic
    e.g. Iraqw, Gorowa, Burunge, Mbugu/Ma'a, Asax, Kw'adza, Dahalo

Omotic
   1. South Omotic   e.g. Aari, Hamer-Banna, Karo, Dime
   2. North Omotic
    (i) Dizoid   e.g. Dizi, Nayi, Sheko
    (ii) Gonga-Gimojan
      (a) Gonga proper   e.g. Kaficho, Shakacho, Boro, Anfillo
      (b) Gimojan
          (b-1) Yemsa
          (b-2) Gimira-Ometo
             (b-2.1) Gimira   e.g. Bench

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[12] The numbers and alphabets are not totally of his.

(b-2.2) Ometo   e.g. Wolaytta, Gamo, Gofa, Basketto, Male, Chara
(iii) Mao (somewhere within North Omotic)
    (a) Eastern group   e.g. Bambassi
    (b) Western group   e.g. Hozo, Seze

Because this Omotic Hypothesis was in effect proposed by Harold C. Fleming, we would have to survey his works at first, especially Fleming (1969). He (ibid., pp. 16-17.) points out the following grammatical differences between Omotic ("West Cushitic" or "Ari-Kafa" in the work) and the proto-Cushitic: (a) grammatical gender, (b) verb roots, (c) conjugational patterns of verbs, and (d) independent pronouns. In terms of vocabularies too, Omotic 'has failed to participate in innovations which can be found in' Cushitic languages (ibid., p. 17.). According to him, these systematic differences can be referred back to proto-Omotic (ibid.).

In addition, Fleming utilizes lexicostatistical evidence. Fleming (1969: 19) states that about 12 per cent of common retention can be estimated between North Omotic and South Omotic. This is about the same level as that pertaining between branches of the Cushitic or Chadic language families. Thus, the North and South Omotic languages constitute a language family within the Afroasiatic phylum. On the other hand, between Omotic and branches of Cushitic, 'retention consistently falls below the 10 per cent level', which is 'about the same level as that pertaining between the families of' Afroasiatic ("Hamito-Semitic", in his terminology) (ibid., p. 19.). Thus, Omotic and Cushitic are independent families of the Afroasiatic pylum. Furthermore, the commonality between Dizi ("Maji" in his terminology) and either Berber or Chadic is about 4 to 5 per cent, which is 'probably the lowest percentage of retention within' Afroasiatic. Thus he concludes that Omotic 'generally is most likely to represent the earliest separations from' Afroasiatic in Africa (ibid., p. 20.).

Fleming (1976a: 35-38) says that 'The reasons for establishing Omotic as a distinct family opposed to Cushitic are numerous.' He gives the following as 'eight of the most important' reasons, which do, however, seem to overlap at times: (a) phonological pattern (b) the status of grammatical gender[13] (c) gender distinction in 2nd person pronouns (d) person marking suffixes in verb conjugations (e) independent pronouns (f) type of grammar (g) vocabulary (h) lexicostatistics.

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[13] He (ibid., p. 36.) says that the *k/t* gender distinction popular in Cushitic is 'apparently totally absent from the Omotic languages' with some proviso. See, however, Hayward (1989).

Tucker (1967) partially anticipates Fleming's classification. Having compared some "orthodox" Cushitic and other languages in terms of patternings in pronominal and conjugational systems, he concludes that his "Ometo group", which is composed of Ometo, Yemsa, and Kaficho ("Kaffa" in his terminology), belongs to Afroasiatic ("Erythraic" in his terminology) phylum, and that these languages 'seem to lack the specifically 'Cushitic' pronominal and conjugation patterns', admitting need for further studies.

Ehret (1978) inquires mutual relationship of each family in the Afroasiatic phylum. He uses, as criteria, isoglosses of sixteen reliable cognates and rates of common root shared by each possible combination of two different families in 100 basic vocabularies. He concludes not only that Omotic should not be grouped together with Cushitic, but also that it is the first offshoot of the phylum[14].

At present, Richard J. Hayward seems to be one of the most enthusiastic and persuasive advocators of the Omotic Hypothesis. Hayward (1998) supports the hypothesis, giving as evidence the fact that some of the agreement elements of the verb conjugation in North Omotic correspond to those in South Omotic (Aari, Hamar) and also to their pronouns.

Hayward and Tsuge (1998) back up the hypothesis with reflexes of the proto-Omotic accusative marker *-m and the proto-Omotic oblique case marker *-n, both of which are somehow preserved in both South and North Omotic languages.

Although these arguments of Hayward (and Tsuge) do not include the comparison with Cushitic languages, the conclusions are surely in favor of the Omotic Hypothesis in that they emphasize a close relationship between South and North Omotic languages.

The other side of the controversy, the so-called Cush-Omotic Hypothesis, is well represented by Marcello Lamberti. He (1991: 560) concludes by saying that 'The differences between Ari-Banna [i.e. South Omotic] and West Cushitic [i.e. North Omotic] are too big to establish them in a unique group, although both are unquestionably a part of Cushitic.'

Having said that reliable genetic classification of languages should be based on morphological criteria because the morphology represents the most conservative and intimate part of a language, Lamberti (1991: 556-558) gives the following as evidence

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[14] Hayward (1990a: ix) says that 'there have been those who have felt unhappy about the inclusion of Omotic within Afroasiatic at all', and refers to Newman, P (1980) *The classification of Chadic within Afroasiatic*. Universitaire pers Leiden. Unfortunately I could not access the work.

to group Cushitic and Omotic together, although some of them are not followed by any examples: the suffix for agent nouns *-aam-*, the suffix for the formation of nouns *-tee*, the affix to form the infinitive *ma/mo*, the suffix to mark feminine nouns *-yee*, the formation of singulars by the suffix *-ttaa*, some endings of the case system, the formation of plural (*-Vt(t)V*, *-(V)na*, reduplication), the demonstrative forms (*kwV*, *sV*, *anna*), some personal pronouns, the interrogative pronouns "who", "which", and "where", some numerals, some verbal formatives (the causative *-ish-*, *-t-*, the benefactive *-ad'-/-at-*, the reduplication for iteration), the suffixes of the negative verbal inflection *-t-*, *-kke-*, and *-ba*, the copulative suffixes *-ko* and *-ne*. He also points out numerous lexical conformities between Cushitic and Omotic. He (ibid., p. 560.) also gives the following as evidence to separate South Cushitic from North Cushitic: a genitive marker found only in South Cushitic, different dative/benefactive markers, different object markers[15], different directive markers, retention of a feminine article in South Cushitic, different sets of personal pronouns, and differences in verbal inflections.

Andrzej Zaborski may also be counted among supporters of the Cush-Omotic Hypothesis. Thus, he (1983) deals with basic numerals in Omotic, and implies, but never asserts, the possibility that some of them, especially *lamma/nama* 'two', are of common Omotic-Cushitic heritage. He (1986: 528) also says that 'It is possible that Omotic is the most innovating group within Cushitic and not an independent branch of the Afroasiatic language family' on the basis of verb conjugations, although he adds that 'this is still only a hypothesis.' According to him, 'the remnants of the Common Cushitic suffix conjugation survive' in Janjero (i.e. Yemsa) Past and Present, Kefa (i.e. Kaficho) Past, and Gofa Jussive. He (1990: 628) also concludes by saying that 'case markers seem rather to indicate a possible direct Cushitic-Omotic relationship' although he admits that the suggestions made in the work are highly tentative. 'Dative -s is the strongest Omotic-Cushitic isogloss and goes back to Afroasiatic. Less certain is the relationship of Omotic nominative and accusative -a : -i with Cushitic' (ibid.). Other resemblances in case morphemes between Cushitic and Omotic are also pointed out.[16]

According to Lamberti (1991: 553), Moreno subdivided the larger "Cushitic"

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[15] According to Hayward and Tsuge (1998), however, these markers are evidence to group South and North Omotic together.

[16] Hayward (1989: 24-25), who now rejects the Cush-Omotic Hypothesis, also mentions a common feature between Cushitic and Omotic, that is, a *t* (feminine): *k* (masculine) opposition in the morphologies. As he (1989: 29-30) says, however, because this opposition is also attested in some Chadic languages and the feminine element *t* is prevalent in all Afroasiatic, no special relationship between Cushitic and Omotic may be intended.

(Cushitic and Omotic in my terminology) in two main groups, "*ani/ati* languages" (i.e. Cushitic) and "*ta/ne* languages" or "West Cushitic" (i.e. North Omotic)[17]. According to Fleming (1992: 521), Charles Beke took a position which was more like Moreno's position already in 1845. Thus the Cush-Omotic Hypothesis is a considerably conservative view in terms of the history of Afroasiatic linguistics, although in Beke's and Moreno's times South Omotic had not been recognized yet.

Nowadays, the Omotic Hypothesis seems to be prevailing. Thus, I follow it, and it would be convenient for most readers.

As has been repeatedly claimed in previous works, basic and reliable materials for most, or rather, all Cushitic and Omotic languages are definitely lacking. With the poor, insufficient, and probably incorrect data that is available to us at present, we cannot hope for any important progress in the field of Omotic comparative linguistics. I was impressed that the heated 'duel' between Lamberti (1991, 1993a) and Fleming (1992, 1993) converged on a detailed discussion on pronominal forms. Thus, in principle, I try to describe linguistic phenomena of the Wolaytta language in as great detail as possible in the following pages, without being deeply involved in the problem of its genetic affiliation.

1.3.2   North Omotic

Both Omotic and Cush-Omotic Hypotheses consider that "North Omotic" languages constitute a relatively close-knit group. Different proposals for subdivision of the group have been made. Some of them are found in Fleming (1976a, b) and Bender (2000)[18]. Partial suggestions for this issue are not few. For example, Zaborski (1983: 380) says that basic numerals confirm the genealogical tree presented by Fleming (1976b), in which Yemsa ("Janjero" in his terminology) is related to the group consisting of Gimira, Chara, and Ometo. Azeb (1994) argues that North Ometo, which is represented by Kullo or Wolaytta, is excluded from other Ometo groups on the basis of derivational morphemes. Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 26) argues for distancing Yemsa ("Janjero" in their terminology) from other languages within the Gimojan branch on the basis of a lack of the innovation of the nominative marking system in the former. To discuss them and others in detail would be beyond the scope of this thesis, and would not be fruitful for the same reason as that mentioned at the last paragraph of the last section, 1.3.1.

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[17]   Moreno, Martio Mario (1940) *Manuale di Sidamo*. Milano: Mondadori. Unfortunately I could not access this work.

[18]   These works deal with not only North Omotic but also South Omotic.

According to previous works, Ometo constitute a considerably close-knit group without doubt. Thus a trivial, but practically very serious, question arises: Are members of this group independent languages or dialects of a language?

Many scholars prefer the latter alternative. Thus, Moreno (1938: 15-17) defines Ometo as the language, fundamentally one as for grammar and lexicon not withstanding the regional and dialectal differences, spoken in Malo (not Male), Gofa, Zala, Ubba, Dauro or Kullo or Konta, Kucha, Welamo (= Wolaytta), Borodda, Gamo and near regions[19]. Chara, Doko, Basketo (= Basketto), Haruro and even Koyra and Zayse seem to be included in this Ometo. Fleming (1976a: 51) says that: 'Except for Chara in the west, all other Ometo languages should be considered as dialects of Welamo [= Wolaytta] type. Perhaps Oyda in the south should be considered as a somewhat separate language of the Welamo [= Wolaytta] type.' Fleming (1976b: 310) uses 'the lexicostatistical criterion of 75% or less of the short Swadesh list' as a cutoff, to see if there is any reasonable indication of blockage in communication or not. He states that Central Ometo is 'a huge dialect cluster intergrading from Gofa and Malo on the west through the Gemu [= Gamo] varieties on the east, then north to what is probably not a monolithic Welamo [= Wolaytta], to the Dauro (Kullo-Konta) varieties across the Omo in Kefa Province.' Hayward (1987: 229) says that: '<u>Vis à vis</u> each other Wolaitta [= Wolaytta] and Gofa have only the status of dialects.' Adams (1983:26) says that Kullo, Gemu [= Gamo], and Gofa are dialects of Wolaytta. Finally, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 21) say that: 'Wolaytta forms with the other North Ometo idioms (i.e. Zala, Dawro, Gamu [= Gamo], Gofa, etc.) such a close unit that these are rather to be regarded as dialects of the same language (North Ometo) than self-standing tongues.'

One of my Wolaytta friends also insists that linguistic varieties spoken in the Wolaytta Zone and its neighboring areas are mutually intelligible and they should be regarded as dialects of a language, Wolaytta.

If we follow these opinions, we have to say that the Wolaytta language is widely spoken outside of the Wolaytta Zone with a few (or, perhaps considerable?) dialectal varieties, and have to modify or extend the definition of the Wolaytta language in section 1.1.2.

On the other hand, another one of my Wolaytta friends claimed that the linguistic

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[19] The original text in Italian is as follows: 'Col nome di <<ometo>> si designa nel presente lavoro la lingua, fondamentalmente una per grammatica e lessico nonostante le differenze refional e dialettali, parlata nel Malo, Gofa, Zala, Ubba, Dauro o Cullo, Conta, Cuccia, Uolamo, Borodda, Gamo e regioni vicine.'

variety spoken in the Wolaytta Zone is different from those in its neighboring areas. The reason is mainly lexical. According to him, for example, *7úr-aa* means 'person' or 'slave' in Wolaytta while it means 'lord, master' in Malo or Gofa. Girard (1993: 11) also assumes that Wolaytta 'is significantly different from Gofa, Gamo, and Dawro-Kullo' on the basis of his lexicostatistical study, although he (ibid.) says that 'since Ch'ancha-Dorze and Wolayta share such a high percentage of apparent cognates . . . we can consider them to be the same speech community.' Remember Azeb's (1994) claim that Wolaytta and Kullo as a whole are excluded from other Ometo groups (see above in this section).

I have no idea regarding this question, since I have neither firsthand nor reliable detailed data on the varieties in question. All I can say is that mutually understandable varieties may be considerably different from a view of linguistic structure, and thus each of them needs and is worth detailed description for its own sake. Japanese geographical dialects, for example, would illustrate this well. It is time for us to develop Omotic studies at such a level.

To realize the above aim, this thesis tries to give detailed description of the variety of the Wolaytta Zone, or rather, of Boditi and its neighboring areas. Thus in this thesis "the Wolaytta language" means the variety of those areas. In other words, I do not expand the definition mentioned in section 1.1.2. This does not necessarily mean that Wolaytta and other Ometo or Omotic varieties are independent languages. I just want to refrain from talking about something which I do not know.

1.4   Neighboring Languages of Wolaytta

According to Bender et al. (1976: foldout map) and Christopher and Asher (1994: 285, Map 77), neighboring languages of Wolaytta in the north are Hadiyya and Kambata ("Kembata" or "Kambaata" in their notation, respectively). The map of Bender et al. also gives Timbaro, while that of Christopher and Asher locates it in an area somewhat distant from the Wolaytta Zone. Neighboring languages of Wolaytta in the east are Sidamo and Oromo, although the two maps disagree as to where both of these languages are spoken exactly. Oromo belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic branch and others to the Highland East Cushitic branch. See (1.3.1-1).

According to Christopher and Asher (1994: 285, Map 77), neighboring languages of Wolaytta in the west and the south are Kullo, Gamo, Gofa, Oyda, Dorze, Zayse-Zergulla. According to the foldout map of Bender et al. (1976), they are Kullo, Kucha, Borodda,

Dorze, Gemu [= Gamo], Zala, Dache, Zergulla, and Zayse, although the exact boundaries are often obscure. These languages are so-called Ometo languages of the Omotic family, as well as Wolaytta. On their distribution and others, further studies are definitely needed.

1.5 The Population of Wolaytta Speakers

It is difficult to state what the population of native Wolaytta speakers is, at least to me. I have no competence to count it myself or to evaluate published statistics on this issue. Furthermore, the figure fluctuates depending on a definition of the Wolaytta language: if we include, for example, so-called Ometo "languages" spoken outside the Wolaytta Zone the number increases, and if we exclude them the number decreases (see section 1.3.2).

In the following, different figures that I encountered are listed.

520,000

This is seen in Bender et al. (1976: 15) as the mother-tongue population of Welamo (= Wolaytta). The figure is an estimate 'from various experts acquainted with local linguistic situations' (ibid., p. 16.). According to them, the population of the 'Welamo dialect cluster', that is, Wolaytta plus Dorze, Gemu-Gofa (i.e. Gamo and Gofa), Kullo-Konta, Malo, and Oyda, is 908,000.

1,100,000

This is cited in Azeb (1996: 111) as the approximate population of speakers, and is based on OPHCC. (1991: 48) *The 1984 population and housing census of Ethiopia: Analytical report at the national level*. Addis Ababa: Office of the Population and Housing Census Commission, Central Statistical Authority, which unfortunately I could not access.

1,152,426

This is cited in Hirut (1999: 1) as the population of Wolaytta native speakers, and is based on the census of 1987, which I also could not access.

1,229,371

This was provided me by courtesy of the Embassy of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia in Japan, and is based on the 1994 census. The above figure is the

total number of Wolaytta speakers, which includes 32,560 speakers who live outside the Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Region. The total number of Wolaytta is 1,269,491, of which 59,256 lives outside the Southern Nations Nationalities and People's Region.

1,231,673

This is cited in Gordon (ed.) (2005) as the population, and is based on the 1998 census, which I could not access. According to him, 999,694 are monolinguals, and the Ethnic population is 1,269,216. There are 89,801 second-language speakers.

1,800,000 - 2,000,000

This is cited in Adams (1983: 27) as an estimate of the number of 'speakers of Wolaitta [= Wolaytta]'. Here speakers of the 'Gemu [= Gamo], Gofa, Kucha, and Kullo dialects' are also included. 'This estimate is based on <u>Report on a Survey of Gamu Gofa Province</u>, 1967, and <u>Report on a Survey of Sidamo Province</u>, 1968, both published by the Ethiopian Government Central Statistical Office. It is also based on information obtained from the Administrative Office of districts within Gemu [= Gamo] Gofa that contain Wolaitta [= Wolaytta] speakers' (ibid., p. 278.).

2,000,000

This is cited in Grimes (ed.) (1988: 224), and is based on United Bible Societies (1987) *World translations progress report*. London: United Bible Societies, which again I could not access. Here Gemu (= Gamo), Gofa, and Zala are regarded as dialects of Wolaytta. Hayward (2000a: 82) gives the same number following the 13th edition of the book (Grimes (ed.) 1996), which is based on United Bible Societies (1991) *World translations progress reports and supplements*. London: United Bible Societies, which I could not access. In this edition, Zala is regarded as a dialect of Wolaytta.

The same number is seen in Sim (1994: 4988). He (ibid.) says that 'Dialects include Gemu [= Gamo], Gofa, Kucha, Kullo, and Zala.' The source is not clear, but he (ibid.) says that 'This overview is based on Adams (1983).'

More than 3,000,000

This is an estimation of one of my Wolaytta friends. I do not know on what this figure is based.

Thus, even if we adopt the narrow definition of the Wolaytta language given in

section 1.1.2, it would be certain that the population of this language is at least more than 1,200,000.

In other words, Wolaytta is a relatively large language in terms of the number of speakers. According to Gordon (ed.) (2005), of 84 living languages of Ethiopia, only the following surpass Wolaytta in the number of speakers. However, it should be borne in mind that to distinguish between language and dialect is always difficult and problematic. Some people, for example, may prefer uniting smaller "languages" not given below.

(1.5-1)

	Population
Amharic	17,372,913
Oromo, West central	8,920,000
Oromo, Eastern	4,526,000
Oromo, Borana-Arsi-Guji	3,634,000
Somali	3,334,113
Tigrigna	3,224,875
Sidamo	1,876,329
Gamo-Gofa-Dawro	1,236,637

On the other hand, we should not forget the fact that the population of Wolaytta speakers amounts to only a few percent of the total population of Ethiopia. See also the discussion at the end of section 7.1.

1.6   Previous Works

Adams (1983: 14) says that: 'Until the present no in-depth study of the Wolaitta language has been published.' Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 13) also say that: 'While there are several, more or less short descriptions of different Ometo dialects, the data published until now on Wolaytta is quite poor'. Sadly, I have to repeat the same here.

In the following sections, works that deal with the Wolaytta language or its closely related languages will be listed. I am afraid that I have overlooked important works, especially those written in languages that I cannot read, like Russian.

In the following lists, works that I could not access are also included. For works referred to in the text of this thesis, of course, see the "References" section at the end.

Reviews and criticisms of these works are given at appropriate places in the following pages, although not all the works are examined. See also the useful appraisal of Adams (1983: 32-41).

1.6.1 Works on the Wolaytta Language

In the following, works focused on the Wolaytta language itself are listed. "E.C." stands for the Ethiopian Calendar, for which see section 4.2.3.5.

(1.6.1-1)

Abebe Mehretu (1982) The role of suprasegmentals in Wolaytta. Unpublished senior essay, Addis Ababa University.

Adams, Bruce A. (1972) A Wolaamo fable: The editing of oral literature. *Notes on Literacy* 13: 24-29.

Adams, Bruce A (1973) Letter frequency counts in Wolamo. Addis Ababa: S. I. M. Mimeo.

Adams, Bruce A (1974) Marking consonant Gemination in Wolamo. Addis Ababa: S. I. M. Mimeo.

Adams, Bruce A. (1983) A tagmemic analysis of the Wolaitta language. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, The University of London.

Adams, Bruce A. (1990) Name nouns in Wolaitta. In: Hayward, Richard J. (ed.) *Omotic language studies*, 406-412. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.

Alemaayehu Doogamo and Tereezzaa Hayile Messqqalo (1991 E.C.) *Wolayttatto qaalatu Amaaratto birshshettaa* [Wolaytta-Amharic dictionary]. Addisaaba: Tophphiyaa Doonatu Xinaatiyaanne Pilggettaa Ooso Keettaa, Addisaaba Yuniversttiyaa.

Azeb Amha (1996) Tone-accent and prosodic domains in Wolaitta. *Studies in African Linguistics* 25 (2): 111-138.

Azeb Amha (2001) Ideophones and compound verbs in Wolaitta. In: Voeltz, F. K. Erhard and Christa Kilian-Hatz (eds.) *Ideophones* (Typological Studies in Language, Volume 44), 49-62. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Azeb Amha (2002) The Wolaytta Language, by Marcello Lambreti and Sottile (Book review). *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics* 23(1): 79-87.

Azeb Amha (2006) Wolaitta. In: Brown, Keith et al (eds.) *Encyclopedia of language & linguistics* (second edition), 607-612. Oxford: Elsevier.

Bekale Seyum (1989) The case system in Wolayta (GB-approach). Unpublished master thesis, Addis Ababa University.

Blažek, Václav (1999) Review: Lamberti and Sottile: The Wolaytta language. *Afrikanistische Arbeits Papier* 58: 143-156.

Cerulli, Enrico (1929) Note su alcune popolazioni Sidāmā dell'Abissinia meridionale [Notes on some Sidama people in southern Ethiopia]. *Rassegna di studi Orientali* 12: 1-69.

Chiomio, Giovanni (1938) *Brevi appunti di lingua Wollamo: grammatica e dizionario* [Brief notes on the Welamo language: grammar and dictionary]. Torino: Istituto Missioni Consolata.

Da Luchon, P. Carlo (1938) *Grammatica della Lingua Uallamo* [Grammar of the Welamo language]. Roma.

Fetlework Tsigie (1984) A contrastive analysis of Wolaytta and Amharic segmental phonemes. BA thesis, Addis Ababa University.

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1.6.2   Works on Languages Closely Related to Wolaytta

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(1.6.2-1)

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1.7   Ethnology of Wolaytta

During my stay in Wolaytta (and Addis Ababa), I was able to learn a lot of ethnological aspects of Wolaytta by collecting spoken texts. The topics include religion, topography, agriculture, traditional craftsmanship, horse culture, cuisine, wedding, hunting, history, etc. etc. I would like to publish them in the future. I also had chances to observe Wolaytta culture directly.

I would not need to summarize what I learned about Wolaytta culture here. I am not an expert in ethnology, and thus I am incompetent to analyze and describe them properly. What is more, useful summaries on this issue are found in Adams (1983: 26-27) and in Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 15-19). Also the following works given in (1.7-1) would be useful. "E.C." stands for the Ethiopian Calendar, for which see section 4.2.3.5.

(1.7-1)

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Here, however, it may be worth noting belief in a supreme Sky-God, the practice of circumcision, and belief in the "evil eye" in Wolaytta, since they pervade the Afroasiatic peoples according to Hayward (2000a: 83).

Chapter 2   Phonology

2.1   Consonants

The consonantal phonemes used in Wolaytta are the following:

(2.1-1) Wolaytta Consonantal Phoneme Inventory[20]

Voiceless

Stop	p, t, k, 7
Fricative	s, sh, h, nh
Affricate	c

Voiced

Stop	b, d, g
Fricative	z, zh
Affricate	j
Nasal	m, n
Liquid	r, l
Approximant	w, y

Glottalized

Voiceless	P, T, K, C
Voiced	D, L, M, N

In the following part of this section, each of these phonemes is described. Incidentally, the notion of consonantal triad, which is composed of voiceless, voiced, and glottalized (or emphatic) consonants, is popular in Afroasiatic linguistics, although it usually concerns only obstruents.

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[20] The transcription used here, which will be explained in the following sections, is: *y* for the palatal approximant [j], *sh* for the voiceless postalveolar fricative, *c* for the voiceless postalveolar affricate, *j* for the voiced postalveolar affricate, *7* for the glottal stop, capitals *P*, *T*, *K*, *C*, *D*, *L*, *M*, and *N* for the glottalized equivalents of the plain consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, *c*, *d*, *l*, *m*, and *n*, respectively. Other symbols have the usual IPA value.

2.1.1 Voiceless Consonants

2.1.1.1 Voiceless Stops

/p/

Although I classify this phoneme as a stop, it can also be realized as a fricative. Thus Adams's (1983: 43) term "obstruent" might be better. The fricative realizations vary from [f] to [Φ] (in IPA notation). Although Adams (1983) distinguishes [f] from [Φ], it seems to be impossible in Wolaytta to discriminately classify each fricative realization of this phoneme into either of these two variants. Thus I transcribe all the fricative realizations under discussion as [f], regarding them to be the same. The stop and fricative variants under discussion (i.e. [p] and [f]) contrast phonemically in no environment in this language. Adams (1983: 42) says that '[pʰ~Φ] as free variants word initially, [f~Φ] as free variants in non-geminated medial occurrences' for non-geminated /p/, and gives only [p:ʰ] as a realization of geminated /pp/ (ibid., p. 48.)[21]. Although I consider that the labiodental fricative [f] can also occur word-initially, Adams's omission of it in his description would be trivial since it cannot be distinguished clearly from the bilabial fricative [Φ]. Here suffice it to say that the stop and fricative realizations of the phoneme under discussion can indeed alternate word-initially.

(2.1.1.1-1)[22]

póó7-uwa ~ fóó7-uwa	'light'
par-áa ~ far-áa	'horse'
pé7-iis ~ fé7-iis	'he spent the day'

The rest of his claim is, however, not without problem, since for any word-medial environments I found examples of alternation between the stop and fricative realizations in question (i.e. [p] and [f]).

(2.1.1.1-2)

7ép-uwa ~ 7éf-uwa	'way of taking'
shemp-úwa ~ shemf-úwa	'penis'
Kopp-íis ~ Koff-íis	'he thought'

---

[21] Adams claims that the second consonant of a consonant cluster is also geminated. See section 2.3.

[22] Representation here and in (2.1.1.1-2) is phonemic except for /p/, whose realizations are distinguished into stop and fricative variants.

From the data in (2.1.1.1-1) and (2.1.1.1-2)[23], we may conclude that both the stop and fricative sounds in question, [p] and [f], are free variants of one and the same phoneme /p/. My standpoint might thus be close to that of Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23), who say that 'p seems to alternate freely with f'[24].

However, we have to admit that Adams's (1983: 42) observation of distribution of the allophones of /p/ is correct as a rule. At least, he succeeded in capturing the tendencies. We should also note his (1983: 44) description that Wolayttas who are more highly educated 'feel that /p/ is "more correct" word initially, and that /f/ is "more correct" in word medial position.' Thus while the Amharic word **ፈረንጅ** *faranj* 'white foreigner' is very often rendered into Wolaytta as [paránjaa][25], even the proper noun "Japan" is often rendered as [jafániya]. The fact that the same word is sometimes pronounced with gemination, i.e. as [jappániya], is also favorable for his claim[26].

There is a more serious problem for the claim that [p] and [f] are free variants of one and the same phoneme /p/. For example, I have never heard the postposition *-ppe* 'from' realized as [ffe], as far as I can remember. Likewise, I have never heard the loanword *polís-iya* 'police' realized as [folísiya]. In my lexical investigation, while most words that begin with /p/ were given with initial [f], some words were given with initial [p], such as [pángaa] 'robber' or [pengíya] 'door'. Thus, although I could not examine whether all the morphemes that contain the phoneme /p/ allow both the variants of it, my impression is that each of the morphemes might have its own preference for or even restriction to one of the variants. For the time being I consider that the claim at the

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[23] This phoneme, as well as most other consonants, does not occur word-finally.

[24] On the other hand, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23) also say that the *p* sound is 'almost rare in Wolaytta' and that in their data it occurs only in a very limited number of words and morphemes. I guess that they want to say that words and morphemes in which *p* never alternates with the fricative variants are almost rare, if so their claim is not completely true though. Hayward (2000: 408) reviews Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23-24) saying that 'it is surprising to learn that the variant stop/fricative pronunciations of the voiceless bilabial obstruent extended in *W*[olaytta] to post-nasal and geminate environments.' However, no example of its fricative pronunciation in post-nasal environment is not given on the pages in question, although such examples are indeed attested in my data (see (2.1.1.1-2)).

Incidentally, Hirut (1999: 22) says that /p/ has a bilabial fricative variant occurring before a vowel, and that /p/ changes to its respective fricative intervocalicly and before a vowel (ibid., p. 32.).

[25] Representation with letters embraced with square brackets in this and the next paragraphs is phonemic except for /p/, whose realizations are distinguished into stop and fricative variants.

[26] The actual length of the geminated phoneme in question may be half-long, unlike other geminated consonants.

beginning of this paragraph is correct, but it should be sustained with the above proviso. Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 23) opinion that 'The status of the labials b, p, p' [the ejective, *P* in my notation] and f is, as so often in West Cushitic [i.e. so-called Omotic] quite problematic' is not without reason. Incidentally, Cerulli (1929: 11), Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155), and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23) regard [p] and [f] as different phonemes, while Adams (1983: 42), Yitbarek (1983: 50), and Hirut (1999: 17) do not.

In terms of diachronic linguistics, Wolaytta seems to be now reducing [p] to [f].

For the aspiration, see the discussion below under the headword /t/.

/t/

This is realized as a voiceless dental stop. Adams (1983: 42) calls this "voiceless coronal obstruent", but it would be difficult to guess the real pronunciation from this term.

While Adams (1983: 42) gives only [t^h] as a realization of /t/, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 26) say that 'In contrast to p which is strongly aspirated, t and k are pronounced without any aspiration.' Yitbarek (1983: 30-31) gives both aspirated and non-aspirated variants for this phoneme (the former occurring 'word initially and when stressed word medially' (ibid., p. 56.)). Hirut (1999: 22) is of the same opinion. In my observation, the phoneme is usually somewhat aspirated, although this may not be the case word-medially. This also applies to other voiceless stops in Wolaytta. In any case, aspiration is not phonemic in this language. I will not pursue this issue here.

/ti/ was very occasionally observed to be slightly palatalized and affricated, thus to be close to /ci/.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /t/.

(2.1.1.1-3)

tir-áa	'chest'
tookk-íis	'he carried'
met-úwa	'problem'
misat-íis	'he seemed'
kawótett-aa	'kingdom'
wott-íis	'he put'
gist-íya	'wheat'
ment-íis	'he broke'

/k/

This is realized as a so-called voiceless velar stop. Yitbarek (1983: 35-36) distinguishes between fronted and back variants of this phoneme, saying that /k/ is 'fronted before front vowels' (ibid., p. 60.). Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 26) also say the same thing. They are of course right. Existence of variants of this type for /k/ would be universal, unless there is another distinct phoneme articulated around the soft palate. For the *k* sound, I would like to notice Cohen's (1936: 34) description concerning Amharic that *k* is articulated by raising the dorsal part of a tongue against the hard palate[27], since it seems to me that even before a back vowel a so-called velar stop is articulated by the hard palate, though by the most posterior part of it. At least an important role played by the hard palate in "velar" stops should not be ignored.[28]

While Adams (1983: 42) gives only [kʰ] as a realization of /k/, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 26) say that 'In contrast to p which is strongly aspirated, t and k are pronounced without any aspiration.' Yitbarek (1983: 35-36) gives both aspirated and non-aspirated variants for this phoneme (the former occurring 'word initially and when stressed word medially' (Yitbarek 1983: 56)). For my opinion, see the brief discussion on this matter under the headword /t/.

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 28) say that 'As usual in other Ethiopian languages, if the velars g, k and k' [*K* in my notation] are followed by an o, they are often labialized, especially if the vowel is long'. Apart from natural and inevitable labialization that accompanies the rounded vowel *o*, however, I could not notice any extraordinary labialization, which Lamberti and Sottile represent by the superscript ʷ, in those environments in Wolaytta.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /k/.

(2.1.1.1-4)

keett-áa	'house'
kokkor-íis	'he trembled'
kak-áa	'cliff'
7akeek-íis	'he became careful'
líkk-e	'correct'
mokk-íis	'it grew'

---

[27] His original text in French is as follows: 'Les deux premières de ces consonnes [i.e. *k* and *g*] sont articulées par relèvement du dos de la langue contre le palais dur.'

[28] For the glottalized counterpart /K/, Cerulli (1929: 11) has already pointed out that it is post-palatal, not velar.

| Cark-úwa | 'wind' |
| Tisk-íis | 'he slept' |

Morphologically, /k/ can be related to /h/: that is, /h/ often occurs where geminated /kk/ is expected to become non-geminated /k/ in stem formation processes. Thus we can consider that /h/ is in some cases a reduced realization of /k/.

(2.1.1.1-5)

| 7áákk-iis | 'it became wide' |
| 7ááh-o | 'wide' |

| yeekk-íis | 'he cried' |
| yeeh-úwa | 'mourning at a funeral' |

| shaakk-íis | 'he divided' |
| shaah-étt-iis | 'it was divided' |

| dáákk-iis | 'he tore' |
| dááh-ett-aa | 'tear, rent' |

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 27) even say that 'it is evident that intervocalic k appears almost exclusively as geminate.' However, their claim is too strong. Consider, for example, the following, which shows that /k/ and /h/ are obviously free variants[29].

(2.1.1.1-6)

| Kákk-iis | 'he kicked' |
| Kák-ett-iis ~ Káh-ett-iis | 'he was kicked' |

/7/

The use of the Arabic numeral to represent this phoneme is adopted from an old-fashioned orthography (see section 3.2.1).

When this phoneme is geminated, it is obviously realized as a glottal stop.

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[29] The exact condition on which /k/ and /h/ can be free variants is not known. The two passive forms in (2.1.1.1-5) might be examples in which /k/ and /h/ alternate freely as in the case of those in (2.1.1.1-6).

(2.1.1.1-7)

ló77-o	'good'
ha77í	'now'
ba77-íis	'he bore on one's back'
go77-íis	'he served'

When it is not geminated too, we can usually recognize that the phoneme is realized as a glottal stop.

(2.1.1.1-8)

7aaw-áa	'father'
7eCer-íya	'mouse'
7imm-íis	'he gave'
7oott-íis	'he worked'
7úy-iis	'he drank'

(2.1.1.1-9)

yáá7-aa	'meeting'
geelá7-iyo	'young virgin'
be7-íis	'he saw'
kaa7-íis	'he played'

In word-medial position, however, this phoneme is often so reduced that a plosion produced by the glottis cannot be heard. In other words it may possibly be not realized as a stop any more, but as a compression of the larynx or weakening of expiratory pressure. It may even disappear completely together with its neighboring vowel, although such cases are very restricted.

(2.1.1.1-10)

na7-áa ~ n-áa	'child'
de7-ées ~ d-ées	'he lives'

A word-initial glottal stop is also reduced very much when it is closely associated with its preceding modifying element. It may disappear completely. For example, while *7ish-áa* 'brother' is pronounced with its initial glottal stop when uttered separately, if *ta-* 'my' modifies this word the glottal stop is usually not heard and the diphthong [ai] is

formed: /ta 7isháa/ [tai∫áa]. Of course this kind of loss is not obligatory.

This observation leads us to another interpretation of a status of the word-initial glottal stop: It is a means for the 'default epenthesis', which is 'supplied to ensure that an underlyingly vowel-initial word has an initial consonant in pronunciation', if we use Hayward's (2000: 408) expression. However, I do not adopt this alternative, since I want to simplify a description of Wolaytta syllable structure, that is, since I want to say that all Wolaytta syllables begin with a consonant. In other words, a word-initial glottal stop constitutes an important part of the word, and is a realization of a stable phoneme, which has to be established by other evidences in any case.

However, the status of non-geminated glottal stops in this language is still problematic when we consider those in word-medial position, since most, but probably not all[30], of them appear at the end of a morpheme. Thus they might have been inserted as glides to avoid vowel contact. Consider the examples in (2.1.1.1-9) and (2.1.1.1-10), where morpheme boundaries are shown by hyphens. However, it would not be possible to claim that geminated and non-geminated glottal stops are never related to each other, since a derivative of a word that contains the former may contain the latter. For example, the passive form of *go77-íis* 'he served' in (2.1.1.1-9) is *go7-étt-iis* 'he was served, he used', in which the non-geminated glottal stop does not seem to be a glide (cf. *7imm-íis* 'he gave', *7im-étt-iis* 'it was given').

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 29) say that 'In word-initial position . . . ʔ and h seem to alternate freely, at least they do so by some lexemes'. However, Azeb (2002: 80) denies it, and I agree with her. There is no free variation between /7/ and /h/. Thus Hayward's (2000: 408) '(ongoing??) innovation, namely epenthesizing **[h]** in underlyingly vowel-initial words' cannot be sustained.

Very occasionally /7/ is interchangeable with /K/ or /C/: *su7-úwa ~ suK-úwa* 'fart', *sho7-íis ~ shoC-íis* 'he hit'. The condition on which these alternations can happen is not known.

For glottal stops in so-called consonant clusters, see section 2.1.3.3.

2.1.1.2 Voiceless Fricatives
/s/

This is realized as a voiceless alveolar fricative. Adams (1983: 43) calls this phoneme a "voiceless coronal sibilant".

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[30] Exceptions include loanwords, such as *sa7át-iya* 'watch, clock', and a word that I know only through Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.: 20), *baa7ulaa* 'very fat ox'.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /s/.

(2.1.1.2-1)

súútt-aa	'blood'
sikk-íis	'he sewed'
7óós-uwa	'work'
sees-íis	'he was proud of'
Tooss-áa	'god'
hassay-íis	'he remembered'
suls-úwa	'dish made from minced meat, butter, and spices'
wurs-íis	'he finished'
kastóll-iya	'flea'
Tisk-íis	'he slept'

/sh/

This is realized as a voiceless post-alveolar fricative. Adams (1983: 43) calls this phoneme a "voiceless palatal sibilant". His naming is not bad as long as we concern ourselves only with the phonological contrast in Wolaytta, as Adams seems to do. The term, however, would be misleading at least phonetically.

It is unfortunate that I have to use two letters (a digraph) to transcribe this frequent phoneme. The letter "x" might be a better candidate as in Maltese or the Pinyin for Chinese, but unfortunately the letter has been used for a glottalized *t* in Wolaytta and Oromo. The capital "S" might be another candidate, but unfortunately capitals are kept for glottalized sounds in this thesis. When this phoneme is geminated, it is written as "shsh", following the convention (see section 3.2.1). Personally, I think that this notation is ugly. However, it would be proper here in that it obediently reflects the phonological interpretation of Wolaytta geminate consonants that they are two identical phonemes in sequence (see section 2.1.4)[31].

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 32) describe this phoneme as a "voiceless retroflex sibilant". Retroflex articulation of this phoneme is not without attestation in my observation too. However, retroflection is not an important feature of this phoneme. I guess that it is an influence of Amharic.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /sh/.

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[31] My former notation "ssh" for a geminated /sh/ might have given a false impression that it is composed of or originates from two different phonemes, /s/ and /sh/.

(2.1.1.2-2)

shóóshsh-aa	'snake'
shamm-íis	'he bought'
7ushácc-aa	'right'
héTTish-iis	'he sneezed'
shééshsh-aa	'urine'
shiishsh-íis	'he collected'
tólsh-aa	'water blister'
bírsh-iis	'he untied'

Appleyard (2004: 138) says for many Omotic languages that 'a well-formedness condition requires that all the sibilants within a word must agree in palatalization'. Although I could not carry out thorough research on this matter, it seems to be the case in Wolaytta too that while /sh/ and /c/ can co-occur within a word, they and /s/ cannot.

For a relation between the phonemes /sh/ and /c/ in stem formation processes, see section 2.1.1.3.

/h/

This is realized as a voiceless glottal fricative.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /h/.

(2.1.1.2-3)

húúP-iya	'head'
haasay-íis	'he told'
haah-ó	'far, distant'
Koh-íis	'he attacked'

This phoneme cannot be geminated. It cannot appear in a consonant cluster.

This phoneme is very occasionally so reduced that it is hardly heard. For example, *b-aaná han-í-shiini* 'when I was about to go' was once heard as [baanáaniʃin].

See also the description under the headwords /k/ and /7/ in section 2.1.1.1.

/nh/

This is realized as a nasalized glottal fricative. Adams (1983: 36) seems to be the first who pointed out this phoneme.

This is a very rare phoneme, and as far as I know there is only one usual word that contains it: *7ánh-aa* 'corpse'. However, since it is employed in a usual common noun, and since the nasalization cannot be expressed by assimilation to the environment[32], it must be established as an independent phoneme. The vowels surrounding it are also somewhat nasalized, but it is not phonemic. Adams (1983: 36, 44) gives one more example: [moo~ho][33] 'leaky pot'. According to my research, however, the normal *h* is used instead of the nasalized one in this word.

Apart from the usual common noun *7ánh-aa* 'corpse', /nh/ is employed in an interjection: *nhá77~a~a* (the tilde means that its following vowel is nasalized), which is used to express chills or pain on the back. See (4.3.1.2-21).

Two extinct clans' (ጐሳ *gWasA* in Amharic) names also contain the phoneme /nh/. Following is the example thorough which I was able to know their existence.

(2.1.1.2-4)

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	bení	nhínhinhi
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	formerly	(clan's name)

nhánhanha	húwacce	PéreDDo	g-éétett-ida
(clan's name)	(clan's name)	(clan's name)	say-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.

Kómm-oti	de7-óosona	g-éétett-ees.
tribe-NOM.PL.	exist-IMPF.3PL.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is said that formerly in the Wolaytta land there are clans that were being called (lit. said) Nhinhinhi, Nhanhanha, Huwache, Peredo.'

However, one of them, *nhínhinhi*, is morphologically deviant in that it does not seem to be a common noun unlike other words for clan names (see section 4.2.2.1). This and *nhánhanha* might be substitutes for alien or unfamiliar proper names rather than usual nominals.

2.1.1.3 Voiceless Affricate
/c/

This is realized as a voiceless post-alveolar affricate, although Adams (1983: 42)

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[32] Thus in *daddáh-aa* 'roof of grass', for example, nasalization is not found around *h*.
[33] The tilde is above *h* in the original text.

classifies it, again, as a palatal sound.

There are several reasons for regarding this as one phoneme, not as a sequence of two different phonemes, /t/ and /sh/. 1) When it is not geminated, it is short enough to be regarded as one phoneme. Its length is usually the same as that of other non-geminated consonants, and half of that of other geminated consonants or of obvious consonant clusters. 2) It can appear in word-initial position, where only non-geminated consonants can appear. 3) There is no clear example in which a morpheme boundary can be drawn between the stop and fricative elements of this sound. Thus /c/ is one independent phoneme.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /c/.

(2.1.1.3-1)

ciggír-iya	'razor'
cíi	'no!'
7iccác-á	'five'
mácc-iyo	'wife'
Kácc-iis	'he tied'
halc-úwa	'plan'
bonc-íis	'he respected'

Actual pronunciation of geminated *c* is, as Adams (1983: 48) says, [t:ʃ][34]. Thus some may want to claim that it is /t/ followed by /c/, not /c/ followed by /c/. However, I adopt the latter alternative, taking the following facts, which consist of important parts of the Wolaytta phonological system, into consideration. 1) Most Wolaytta consonants can be geminated. 2) Elsewhere, stops, including /t/, cannot be a first member of a consonant cluster in this language. It is restricted to so-called "sonorants" and fricatives (see section 2.3).

However, the status of /c/ as a non-geminated consonant is not so stable. First, there are few words that begin with /c/, although I said just above that /c/ can appear in word-initial position. Thus, Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 28) false claim that 'peculiarly it [/c/] never occurs in word-initial position' is not without grounds. Second, non-geminated /c/ hardly appears between vowels. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 28) also correctly say that it 'almost exclusively appears as geminate.' Thus *7iccác-á* 'five', which is given in (2.1.1.3-1), usually becomes *7iccásh-á*. In stem formation processes too /c/ is very often replaced with /sh/ when degeminated: *kácc-iis* 'he tied', but

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[34] In his original text, all the sings are tied with a slur.

káṣh-ett-iis 'he was tied' (cf. *ʔimm-íis* 'he gave', *ʔim-étt-iis* 'it was given'). Of course these facts do not deny the status of /c/ as an independent phoneme and the existence of its geminated form. However, they do cast some doubt on the assumption that geminated /cc/ is composed of two identical phonemes, /c/.

2.1.2 Voiced Consonants
2.1.2.1 Voiced Stops
/b/

This is usually realized as a voiced bilabial stop.

Yitbarek (1983: 29, 58) and Hirut (1999: 9, 22) mention the existence of its fricative (or continuant, in Yitbarek's term) variant between vowels. Indeed such reduction can be observed. However, we should rather pay attention to the fact that non-geminated /b/ between vowels is quite rare in this language except for derivatives and loanwords.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /b/.

(2.1.2.1-1)

bóll-uwa	'father-in-law'
buuCC-íis	'he mowed'
góób-a	'great'
shóób-ett-iis	'he was invited'
dább-uwa	'relative'
sabb-íis	'he praised'
galb-áa	'skin'
dirb-íis	'he hurried'

/d/

This is realized as a voiced dental stop. It is a voiced counterpart of /t/[35].

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 25) say that this consonant 'has a retroflex realization' unlike /t/. However, this does not seem to be correct. Yitbarek (1983: 31) also uses a diacritic for a dental sound, " ̪", to transcribe this phoneme (and other dentals, including /l/). Furthermore, /di/ was very occasionally observed to be slightly palatalized and affricated as in the case of /t/, thus to be close to /ji/. If Lamberti and Sottile really observed a retroflex realization of /d/, it might be an influence of Amharic, in which /d/ appears usually as a retroflex (see 柘植 (Tsuge 1988a: 451)).

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[35] Thus Adams (1983: 42) describes this as a "voiced coronal obstruent". See section 2.1.1.1.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /d/.

(2.1.2.1-2)

dad-áa	'thunder'
danday-íis	'he could'
badal-áa	'corn'
Kood-íis	'he counted'
daddáh-aa	'roof of grass'
dádd-iis	'he weaved'
mald-úwa	'millet'
7órd-iis	'he became fat'

Judging from the synonyms *7aad-* 'to be tamed' and *7aan-* 'to be tamed', /d/ might be somehow related to /n/, although I have no other evidences.

/g/

This is a voiced counterpart of /k/ discussed in section 2.1.1.1. In other words it is a so-called voiced "velar" stop. For its articulation, see the discussion under the headword /k/, which applies also to /g/.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /g/.

(2.1.2.1-3)

gaamm-úwa	'lion'
giig-íis	'he became ready'
migíd-uwa	'ring'
naag-íis	'he watched'
géégg-iya	'tortoise'
gógg-iis	'it flowed'
balg-úwa	'rainy season'
hirg-íis	'he worried'

2.1.2.2 Voiced Fricatives
/z/

This is realized as a voiced dental fricative. In other words, it is a voiced counterpart

of /s/[36] discussed in section 2.1.1.2.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /z/.

(2.1.2.2-1)

zanz-áa	'towel made from false banana'
zor-íis	'he advised'
wozan-áa	'heart'
7azall-íis	'he become lazy'
zazzár-iya	'sieve'
baizz-íis	'he sold'
7ezg-íis	'he listened'
Tárz-aa	'leftovers (food)'

Although Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 32) say that 'in word-medial position its [z's] occurrence is quite limited and mainly restricted to loans', I do not have such an impression.

/zh/

This is realized as a voiced post-alveolar fricative. In other words, it is a voiced counterpart of /sh/[37] discussed in 2.1.1.2.

This is another rare phoneme in this language, and thus has been overlooked in many previous works. Again, Adams (1983: 36) seems to be the first who pointed out this phoneme. He says that 'there have been only 2 or 3 words observed that contain /ž/ [/zh/ in this thesis], e.g., /požžu giis/, "It was ripped."' The following are other examples I attested.

(2.1.2.2-2)

maazh-íis	'it (liquid) leaked little by little'
dozhzhú g-íis	'it (foot) became numb'

I guess that there would be further examples, although I could not attest them in my own data[38].

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[36] Thus Adams (1983: 43) uses the term "coronal" to describe this phoneme.

[37] Thus Adams (1983: 43) uses the term "palatal" to describe this phoneme.

[38] For example, Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.: 259-260) list *pozhzhattiis* 'it shined' and its related words, and Azeb (2001: 54) lists *dúžgu g-* 'to experience instant

Azeb (2001: 54) says that /zh/ (*ž* in her notation) is 'absent in the (synchronic) inventory of consonant phonemes' of Wolaytta, assuming that it only occurs in ideophonic words. However, since her 'ideophonic words', which is described as preverbs in section 4.2.9.2 in the present work, constitute a well-established nominal category, since the sound in question occurs in the usual verb *maazh-* 'to leak little by little', and since it cannot be explained by voicing of /sh/[39] or reduction of /j/[40] as assimilation to the environments, it would be better to establish it as a rare but independent phoneme.

2.1.2.3 Voiced Affricate
/j/

This is realized as a voiced post-alveolar affricate. In other words, it is a voiced counterpart of /c/[41] discussed in section 2.1.1.3. For its character as an affricate, see the description in section 2.1.1.3.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /j/.

(2.1.2.3-1)

jaban-áa	'coffee pot' (from the Amharic word ጀበና *jabanA*)
jim-áa	'leaves with mild narcotic quality (ጫት *CAt* in Amharic)' (from a foreign place name?)
gujúúb-á	'(male person name)' (Its meaning is unknown.)
guj-étt-iis	'it was added' (derivative of the following)
gujj-íis	'he added'
ganj-íya	'belly'
7anj-íis	'he blessed'

As can be seen from the above, this phoneme can occur in various environments. However, except as a second member of the consonant cluster *nj*, it does not occur frequently. Furthermore, most of such examples are loanwords, proper names whose origins are unknown, or words that seem to be such. In this sense, /j/ is a rare phoneme in this language.

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shock; sudden pain of, e.g., electric shock'.

[39] Thus in *kaash-íis* 'he scooped up', for example, /sh/ is not voiced.

[40] Thus in *gujj-íis* 'he added' and *guj-étt-iis* 'it was added', for example, /j/ is not reduced to a fricative.

[41] Thus Adams (1983: 42) uses the term "palatal" to describe this phoneme.

2.1.2.4 Voiced Nasals

/m/

This is usually realized as a voiced bilabial nasal.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /m/.

(2.1.2.4-1)

maTin-íya	'salt'
miiCC-íis	'he laughed'
tam-áa	'fire'
7omoodd-íis	'he took someone prisoner'
gaamm-úwa	'lion'
dummat-íis	'it became different'
démb-aa	'field'
7amp-íis	'he relied'

As is mentioned in section 2.1.1.1, the phoneme /p/ can be realized as a fricative, [f] or the like. If /m/ is immediately followed by a fricative variant of /p/ as in *shemf-úwa* 'penis' in (2.1.1.1-2), it seems to be realized as a voiced labiodental nasal [ɱ]or the like, in other words, the two phonemes in question seem to be realized as homorganic sounds, although I have neglected to observe the pronunciation carefully.

/n/

The basic allophone of this phoneme is a voiced dental nasal. In this case, it is a nasal counterpart of /d/[42] discussed in section 2.1.2.1. The following are examples of words that contain the basic allophone.

(2.1.2.4-2)

néná	'you (SG.)'
naaKK-íis	'he pushed in'
kan-áa	'dog'
Toon-íis	'he won'
binnáán-aa	'hair'
pínn-iis	'he crossed over'
dend-íis	'he rose'

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[42] Thus Adams (1983: 43) uses the term "coronal" to describe this phoneme.

Other allophones, which are attested in, for example, words given in (2.1.2.4-3), are discussed later.

(2.1.2.4-3)

7ánC-iis	'he minced'
dangárs-aa	'elephant'
zanz-áa	'towel made from false banana'

The phoneme /n/ is never a rare phoneme. It is frequently encountered since some frequent linguistic forms such as the postposition *-ni* 'in, at', the conjunctive indeclinable *-nne* 'and', the infinitive ending *-ana*, contain it. However, there seem to be only a relatively small number of words that contains this phoneme, except for those that have it as a first member of a consonant cluster. This could explain occasional glottalization of the *n* sound in loanwords, such as *KúNN-aa* 'grain measure' (cf. Amharic ቍና *KunnA*) or *7améNNí* 'amen'.

When the phoneme /n/ occurs as a first member of a consonant cluster, it is realized as a voiced velar[43] nasal before velar consonants (/k/, /g/, /K/) and as a voiced palatal nasal before palatal consonants (/c/, /j/, /C/). The former allophone has already been noticed by Adams (1983: 43), Yitbarek (1983: 37), and Hirut (1999: 13), and the latter by Yitbarek (1983: 35) and Hirut (1999: 13). Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 39-40) do not mention these variants. Thus Hayward (2000b: 408), who reviewed their work, says, probably sarcastically, that 'it is most surprising that its place of articulation does not acquire the velarity of following **k**, **k'**, **g** or the post-alveolarity of **c** ([tʃʰ]) and **c'** ([tʃ']).' The phoneme /n/ can be followed by /z/, although such a case is rare. Unfortunately I have neglected to observe the pronunciation carefully. However, I guess that the phoneme is realized as a nasalized voiced dental fricative before /z/. Thus, we can conclude that the phoneme /n/ is assimilated to its immediately following consonant in terms of place of articulation.[44]

This fact brings about a very difficult problem since this type of homorganic assimilation can be observed elsewhere. Namely, [m] occurs before [p] or [b] while [ŋ]

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[43] I use the term "velar" here for the sake of convenience. As mentioned in the description under the headword /k/ in section 2.1.1.1, however, "post-palatal" would be more proper.

[44] Incidentally, the difference between two allophones mentioned by Hirut (1999: 11), [n] (voiced, alveolar, nasal stop) and [n] (voiced, alveolar, nasal stop) [*sic*], is not known although she says that the latter occurs word-finally.

or the like occurs before [f] or the like (i.e. a fricative realization of /p/), as is discussed above in this section. Examples of the former are *démb-aa* 'field' and *7amp-íis* 'he relied' given in (2.1.2.4-1), and an example of the latter is *shemf-úwa* 'penis' given in (2.1.1.1-2) and discussed above in this section under the headword /m/. I assumed that all these nasals, i.e. [m], [ɱ], or the like immediately before /p/ or /b/, are realizations of the phoneme /m/. However, aren't they realizations of /n/, if /n/ assimilates to its following consonant in terms of place of articulation?[45]

We might establish a third nasal phoneme, which is neither /m/ nor /n/. For example, Lass (1984: 46-49) would establish a nasal archiphoneme /N[46]/, whose place of articulation is not specified in itself, also for Wolaytta nasals occurring as a first member of a consonant cluster. In this treatment 'some realization of /N/ will be [m], i.e. the same as those of /m/, some will be [n], etc.' (ibid., p. 49.).

This idea has been adopted in descriptive works of some languages, such as Japanese and some Bantu languages (see 湯川 (Yukawa 1995: 3 etc.)), although the term "archiphoneme" and a special sign for the phoneme may not be used. I am incompetent to discuss whether such treatment is really adequate for Bantu languages. However, I believe, as a native speaker, that the treatment, which is also traditional, is right for Japanese. In Japanese there are nasals or nasalized sounds that are definitely longer than other usual consonants including /n/ and /m/ and show different distribution patterns from them. Their phonetic realizations may differ considerably from each other, but can be explained as assimilation of one nasal phoneme to the environment. Consider the following examples: /ani/ [ani] 'brother', /aNi/ [a~ii][47] 'state of being easy', /aNni/ [anni] 'implicitly', /aNki/ [aŋki] 'learning by heart', /aNpi/ [ampi] 'safety', /aNzi/ [anʥi] 'hint, suggestion'.

For Wolaytta, however, so far I have not been able to find any strong necessity to establish an abstract nasal phoneme different from /m/ and /n/. Indeed it would not be impossible to do so. If we establish the nasal phoneme, however, I do not know how to determine whether [mm] in, for example, [gaammúwa] 'lion' is /mm/ or /Nm/ since both geminated consonants and consonants clusters are abundant in this language (see sections 2.1.4 and 2.3).

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[45] Haileyesus (1988: 14), for example, says that /n/ in Basketo (Masketo) occurs as [m] before bilabials.

[46] In this thesis the capital *N* is in principle used for a glottalized nasal (see section 2.1.3.3). In this and following several paragraphs, however, the same letter is used for the third nasal phoneme under discussion. Since the glottalized nasal is always geminated in this language, this notation will not bring about any confusion.

[47] The tilde means that its following vowel is nasalized.

On the other hand, there would be problems also for an analysis that does not accept /N/ for Wolaytta. Lass (1984: 49) would say that such an analysis does 'force *ad hoc* and unrevealing assignments of phones to phonemes' in that it has to assign, for example, a velar nasal to /m/ or /n/ arbitrarily, and that it misses a generalization that all the concerning clusters are homorganic. To assign, for example, a labiodental nasal [ɱ] to /m/ and a velar nasal [ŋ] to /n/ invoking their phonetic similarity or distance between places of articulation may be arbitrary, although it would not be unnatural. It might also be sorry that the same analysis cannot explain why a non-homorganic cluster such as /mt/ does not exist[48], although such phonotactic restriction seems to be phonetically natural.

In short, both the analyses have merits and demerits. It might be impossible to solve the question in this language. Since all the nasals under discussion can be handled somehow only with the two nasal phonemes /m/ and /n/, which are indispensable in any case, I dare not multiply the number of phonemes (and/or levels as Lass (1984: 49) says?) for the time being.

Previous works on Wolaytta do not consider this matter enough, or give ambiguous statements. Apart from [m] and [n], Adams (1983: 43) mentions only [ŋ]. According to him, it is an allophone of /n/, but there is no explanation for it. Yitbarek (1983: 35) just says that 'Nasal consonants become homorganic', while to which phoneme the palatal ñ and the velar ŋ belong remains unclear. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 39) say for the structure 'sonorant + consonant' that 'before b and p the nasal sonorant always appear as m' and that 'before all other consonants the nasal is realized as n'. However, the phonemic status of their "nasal" is not known. Hirut (1999: 17) establishes only two phonemes (/m/ and /n/) as nasals. She (1999: 31) also says that ň (palatal nasal) and ŋ (velar nasal) are allophones of /n/.

There are [n] sounds before a dental stop that seem to be morphophonologically derived from the phoneme /m/. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 42) have also noticed the first case of the following.[49]

(2.1.2.4-4)

| kum-íis | 'it became full' |
| kun-t-íis | 'he filled' |

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[48] However, such a consonant cluster can be posited in morphophonological processes. See the discussion below in this section.

[49] Stem formation will be discussed in chapter 5. For the examples here, especially see sections 5.2.1 and 5.3.2.2.

Cf.

7amman-íis   'he believed'
7amman-t-íis   'he made (someone) believe'

(2.1.2.4-5)
héémm-   'to watch, drive (cattle)'
héén-t-aa   'way of watching, driving (cattle)'

For the possible relationship between /n/ and /d/, see the description under the headword /d/ in section 2.1.2.1.

For [ɲ] (ñ, ň)

Cerulli (1929: 11) says that Wolaytta does not have *ñ*, and that *ñ* in imported foreign words is changed into *n*. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155) also say that in Wolaytta 'there is no /ň/'. As a phoneme other works do not even mention this sound, although some works mention it as an allophone of /n/ before a palatal consonant (see above in this section).

Nowadays, however, this sound is not so rare in Wolaytta because, in addition to the palatal allophone of /n/ discussed above, many Amharic words that contain it are used without much modification. Some of the examples are the following:

(2.1.2.4-6)[50]

gWAddannY-áa 'friend'   Cf. ጓደኛ *gWAddannYA*
AmArennY-áa 'Amharic'   Cf. አማርኛ *AmArennYA*.

Nevertheless I do not consider that the palatal nasal should be established as an independent phoneme in this language, since its occurrence is restricted to loanwords and a first member of a consonant cluster whose second member is a palatal consonant. However some may want to object to this treatment since loanwords can no more be neglected in modern Wolaytta. In the future no one might deny the status of /ñ/ as a phoneme.[51]

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[50] Here stems, which are on the left side of the hyphen, are transcribed with the notation for Amharic (see section 0.4.2).

[51] To tell the truth, I cannot prove that words that contain the rare phonemes (/zh/ and /nh/) are not loanwords. Even if they are, however, the rare phonemes can be established

2.1.2.5   Voiced Liquids

/r/

This is realized as a voiced alveolar or postalveolar tap. Adams (1983: 43), Yitbarek (1983: 33) and Hirut (1999: 11) distinguish between flap and trill variants of this phoneme, the former occurring before vowels and the latter before consonants. However, I could not find such clear distribution.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /r/.

(2.1.2.5-1)

raadóón-iya	'radio'
rúúb-iya	'quarter' (from Amharic ሩብ *rub*)
sarót-aa	'greeting'
seer-íis	'it melted'
garrap-iss-íis	'he made whip' (From Amharic ገረፈ *garrafa* 'to whip')
harg-íya	'sick'
dirb-íis	'he hasted'

Initial /r/ is found only in loanwords, as Lamberti and Sottile(1997: 34) point out.

Geminated /r/, which is phonetically realized as a long trill, is also usually found only in loanwords, as Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 34-35) say. However, it has also been attested in the interjection *7arrá* 'come on! (for a goat or sheep to urge it to copulate)' (see section 4.3.1.2).

The phoneme /r/ is related to the glottalized phoneme /D/. See the discussion in section 2.1.3.2.

/l/

This is realized as a voiced dental lateral.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /l/.

(2.1.2.5-2)

leemís-uwa	'example'
laagg-íis	'he drove'
7úl-uwa	'belly'
walakk-íis	'he mixed'
maallád-o	'morning'

since now people think that the words are really Wolaytta.

Teell-íis	'he saw'
wolK-áa	'power'
galc-íis	'(everybody) gathered'

2.1.2.6 Approximants

Adams (1983: 43), Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23, 36), and Hirut (1999: 12, 14) use the term "glide" for the phonemes discussed in this section. They are so-called semivowels (Hirut (1999: 17) uses this term too).

/w/

This is realized as a voiced labiovelar approximant.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /w/.

(2.1.2.6-1)

word-úwa	'lie'
wúúKK-iis	'he stole'
kaw-úwa	'king'
saw-íis	'it perfumed'
dawwal-íis	'he rang, telephoned'

Yitbarek (1983) does not mention geminated /w/. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 36) also say that /w/ 'never occurs geminated in the material analysed.' On the other hand, Adams (1983: 58) admits the existence of geminated /w/, whose example is '[baw:iʲa:] "the bole of a tree"' (ibid., p. 44.). Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.: 30), however, do not list it, but they do *bawuyiyaa* instead, whose meaning is described as 'something like gravel, which is created like a fruit on the tree but is not a fruit'[52]. Unfortunately I forgot to ask the consultants whether such word exists or not. All the words that contain geminated /w/ in my data are *dawwal-* 'to ring, telephone' and its derivatives, which originate in Amharic. In any case, geminated /w/ is very rare in original or "proper" Wolaytta, if any.

The phoneme /w/ is not observed in consonant clusters (however, see the discussion on diphthongs in section 2.2.3).

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[52] Thus, it seems to be a knot, not a bole. The original text in Amharic is as follows: 'በእንጨት ላይ እንደ ፍሬ የሚፈጠር ግን ፍሬ ያልሆነ፡ ጠጣር [*sic*] ነገር'.

/y/

This is realized as a voiced palatal approximant.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /y/.

(2.1.2.6-2)

yoh-úwa	'matter'
yáyy-iis	'he feared'
wuyig-íya	'floor'
yuuy-íis	'he turned around'
miyy-íya	'side'
kóyy-iis	'he wanted'

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 36) say that /y/ 'does and can be clearly perceived, if used as geminates, thereby in this latter case it fully develops its consonantal character.' However, I often took a lot of trouble with determining whether the phoneme is geminated or not in given linguistic forms. The situation is reflected in a publication of Mark, in which the stem of *ʔaayy-íyo* 'mother' is transcribed with or without gemination: *aayyiyo* (Mark 6:24) but *aayeeyyo* (Mark 6:28)[53].

The phoneme /y/ is not observed in consonant clusters (however, see the discussion on diphthongs in section 2.2.3).

2.1.3 Glottalized Consonants
2.1.3.1 Voiceless Glottalized Consonants

The sounds discussed in this section, /P/, /T/, /K/, and /C/, have been called in some previous works in English "ejective": see Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155), Yitbarek (1983: 38 etc.), Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23 etc.), and Hirut (1999: 17 etc.). I do not claim that the term is wrong. However, one thing that we have to note is that in Wolaytta so-called ejective sounds very often do not accompany ejection much stronger than plosion of usual voiceless stops (i.e. sounds discussed in section 2.1.1.1). Thus, although I was able to differentiate the "ejectives" from the usual stops without any trouble in pronouncing since I was able to use the typical "ejective" sound with strong ejection, I was often obliged to differentiate between the two with a lot of difficulty in hearing. In other words, some strain and thus occlusion at the glottis will do in order to

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[53] The former is in the absolute case (*ʔaayy-íyo* in my notation), and the latter is in the oblique case and is followed by the postposition *-yyo* 'to, for' (*ʔaayy-ée-yyo* in my notation).

pronounce the phonemes under discussion distinctively from the usual stops. Existence or absence of the peculiar strong ejection is not important. Thus I prefer the term "glottalized" to "ejective" for the phonemes. Adams (1983: 42-43 etc.) also uses the same term, although I do not know the reason why he uses it. This choice has another advantage that with the same term we can handle voiced sounds that accompany some strain at the glottis, which are discussed in the following two sections.

As Cerulli (1929: 11) says, the voiceless glottalized sounds are followed by glottal occlusion in their articulation. However, each of these sounds should be analyzed as one phoneme, not as a sequence of two different phonemes (/p/ and /7/ etc.) for the following reasons: 1) When a glottalized sound is not geminated, it is short enough to be regarded as one phoneme. Its length is the same as that of other non-geminated consonants, and half of that of other geminated consonants or of obvious consonant clusters. 2) It can appear in word-initial position, where only non-geminated consonants can appear. Thus each of the voiceless glottalized consonants is one independent phoneme.

As Ferguson (1976: 66) says, the existence of these glottalic consonants and their contrast with voiceless-voiced pairs of non-glottalic consonants are phonological features that are common to many Ethiopian languages. Such or similar triads are found in other Afroasiatic languages too. See, for example, Hayward (2000a: 94).

/P/

This is realized as a voiceless glottalized bilabial stop. Azeb's (2006: 608) Wolaytta consonant inventory does not list /P/, but lists a labial implosive instead. Judging from one of her examples, *šoɓɓa* 'armpit' (compare *shoPP-áa* 'armpit' in (2.1.3.1-1)), she appears to interpret my /P/ as an implosive. However, this is not the case, at least in the dialects that I was able to observe. Incidentally, Azeb (2002: 80) criticizes Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23) since 'in the inventory of consonants the implosive ɓ is missing'. The inventory includes *p'* (a labial ejective), about which she does not mention anything. In Azeb (2001: 58) too we can find ɓ: *ɓank'a* 'very sour', which is also another example given in Azeb (2006: 607). However, *p'* is also found here and there in Azeb (2001). In Azeb (1996), we can find one example that contains *p'*, but none that contains ɓ.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /P/.

(2.1.3.1-1)
PuuPúll-iya   'egg'
Póól-iis   'it shined'

TaP-úwa	'root'
suuP-íis	'he supped'
shoPP-áa	'armpit'
koPPett-íis	'he scooped with his hands'
zarP-íya	'bridge'
sírPi g-íis	'he became quiet'

This phoneme is considerably rare indeed. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 24) claim even that examples containing /P/ 'are certainly not more than ten'. However, it too exaggerates the state, although they could have found not more than ten such words.

The verb "to split" is *PálK-* in the Wolaytta variety on which I carried out fieldwork. However, I found *balqqiis* 'he split' in Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa's (1991 E.C.: 25) dictionary, as well as *phalqqiis* 'he split' (ibid., p. 397.) (*q* is a glottalized velar stop, and *ph* is a glottalized bilabial stop). Incidentally Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 253) establish a (less common) phonetic correspondence between Wolaytta medial /P/ and Dawro /b/.

/T/

This is realized as a voiceless glottalized dental stop. In other words, it is a glottalized counterpart of /t/[54].

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /T/.

(2.1.3.1-2)

Tugúnt-aa	'nail'
Teell-íis	'he saw'
TííTint-aa	'coal'
paT-íis	'he recovered'
héTTish-iya	'sneeze'
KaTTar-íis	'he circumcised'
7írT-a	'cold'
KanT-íis	'he cut'

/K/

This is a glottalized counterpart of /k/ discussed in section 2.1.1.1. In other words it is a so-called voiced "velar" stop. For its articulation, see the discussion under the

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[54] Thus Adams (1983: 42) uses the term "coronal" to describe this phoneme. See section 2.1.1.1.

headword /k/ in section 2.1.1.1, which applies also to /K/.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /K/.

(2.1.3.1-3)

KuTars-áa	'porcupine'
Kákk-iis	'he kicked'
meKétt-aa	'bone'
baKat-íis	'he ran away'
wóKK-aa	'how much'
kaKK-íis	'he hanged down'
7urK-áa	'mud'
TinK-íis	'it stank'

Very occasionally /K/ is interchangeable with /7/: *suK-úwa* ~ *su7-úwa* 'fart'. The condition on which this alternation can happen is not known.

/C/

This is realized as a voiceless glottalized post-alveolar affricate. In other words, it is a glottalized counterpart of /c/[55]. For its character as an affricate, see the description under the headword /c/ in section 2.1.1.3.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /C/.

(2.1.3.1-4)

Cark-úwa	'wind'
Cooy-íis	'he vomited'
CooC-íya	'furnace'
KááC-iis	'he scratched'
máCC-a	'female'
diCC-íis	'he grew'
marC-úwa	'ancient currency in Wolaytta'
CinC-íis	'he became cunning'

Very occasionally /C/ is interchangeable with /7/: *shoC-íis* ~ *sho7íis* 'he hit'. The condition on which this alternation can happen is not known.

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[55] Thus Adams (1983: 42) uses the term "palatal" to describe this phoneme.

2.1.3.2　Voiced Glottalized Stop

/D/

In this language, there is one voiced glottalized stop: /D/. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155), Adams (1983: 48), Yitbarek (1983: 38), Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23, 25-26), and Hirut (1999: 10) use the term "implosive" to describe this phoneme. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 25) say even that it is 'very implosive'. However, an ingressive air current peculiar to the typical implosive is not observed for Wolaytta /D/, although Yitbarek (1983: 38) says that it 'is produced with ingressive lung air.' It seems to me that the important feature of this phoneme is some strain at the glottis. Since this feature is found also in consonants discussed in the immediately preceding section, I prefer to use the term "glottalized" and to classify these sounds (i.e. so-called "ejectives" and "implosive" in Wolaytta) together into one larger class (as well as other sounds discussed in the next section).

Wolaytta /D/ is realized with some retroflexion, as Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155) have already pointed out. However, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 23) regard this as 'alvd [alveo-dental]' while the usual /d/ as retroflex. The case is opposite. Hirut (1999: 10) also regards /D/ as 'alveolar'. Yitbarek (1983: 38) regards it as 'palato-alveolar' while /d/ as 'dental'. Although he (1983: 34, 39) also regards the post-alveolar affricates /c, j, C/ as 'palato-alveolars', he might have noticed the retroflexion of /D/. Adams (1983: 48) uses the term 'coronal' as in the case of /d/, although he seems to have used the term taking only the phonological opposition into consideration. His (1983: 48) phonetic transcription of the geminated /D/ is '[ʔɗ]', but this seems to me to be completely a misprint.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /D/.

(2.1.3.2-1)

yéD-ett-aa	'way of treading'
meD-iss-íis	'he made (someone) create'
baDDéés-aa	'season for sowing'
7ááDD-iis	'he passed'

As Adams (1983: 58) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 25) say, this phoneme does not occur word-initially. However, a main consultant of mine could pronounce syllables in which this phoneme is followed by a vowel, such as *Da* and *Du*, by itself with ease, for the purpose of giving me opportunities to observe the pronunciation of /D/.

Adams (1983: 58) does not admit the existence of non-geminated /D/, and Lamberti

and Sottile (1997: 25) also claim the same thing. However, I attested some examples that contain it. Some of them are given in (2.1.3.2-1). Note, however, that all the examples are derivatives that underwent degemination of /DD/ in the course of stem forming processes (see chapter 5). What is more, some (or most) prefer /r/ instead of non-geminated /D/ in these processes: for example, *mer-iss-íis* 'he made (someone) create', instead of *meD-iss-iis* given above, from *meDD-íis* 'he created'. The retroflex pronunciation of /D/, which the dentals /t/, /d/, and /T/ do not show, might be explained by this relationship with /r/, which is alveolar or postalveoral, not dental. Note also *quoDē*[56] 'neck' and *siDē* 'nose' in Cerulli (1929: 33 and 34, respectively), which are *Kóór-iya* and *síír-iya* in my data. Finally, Yitbarek (1983: 38) admits the existence of non-geminated /D/. Judging from his examples, however, he appears to have misheard geminated /DD/ as non-geminated /D/.

For the relationship between /D/ and /L/, see the next section.

2.1.3.3 Voiced Glottalized Sonorants
/M/, /N/, /L/
There are glottalized counterparts of the usual phonemes /m/, /n/, and /l/. They are transcribed here as /M/, /N/, and /L/, respectively.

The following are examples of words that contain such glottalized sonorants.

(2.1.3.3-1)

7áMM-iyo	'widow'
gaMM-íis	'he remained'
máNN-iya	'place'
ziNN-íis	'he slept'
7áLL-o	'expensive'
zaLL-íis	'he traded'

These sounds have usually been analyzed as the consonant clusters *m* followed by *7*, *n* followed by *7*, and *l* followed by *7*, respectively.

There are facts that support or are favorable for this conventional interpretation. 1) These sounds are always long (i.e. geminated), and never appear word-initially. Thus their distribution is the same as that of Wolaytta consonant clusters. 2) Native speakers wrote down these sounds as consonant clusters. They may even insert the vowel *i* between the two consonants when they use the Latin alphabet (see section 3.2.2). 3) As

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[56] In the original text, *D* is a dotted *d*.

long as the glottal stop is pronounced clearly, the pronunciation in which a sonorant is not glottalized is also possible. 4) There is indeed a consonant cluster whose first member is a sonorant and the second one is a glottal stop: *r7* as in *mor7átt-iis* 'he wept'. The sound in question is not a glottalized sonorant to my ears too. However, these can be argued against as follows in order. 1) The distribution of the phoneme /D/ is also almost the same as that of consonant clusters. 2) Native speakers' writing itself cannot be a direct evidence for phonological analyses. It may be influenced by a traditional "orthography", which may not be phonological in the strict sense. Even the insertion of the vowel may be a result of false imitation of the "orthography". 3) In this language glottalization is often very weak (see the discussion in section 2.1.3.1). 4) The consonant cluster /r7/ is very rare and exceptional. Judging from the alternation between them discussed in the immediately preceding section, we might consider that /D/ is a glottalized counterpart of /r/.

On the other hand, there are facts that support or are favorable for my interpretation that the sounds in question are glottalized sonorants. 1) In careful pronunciations, the sonorants are indeed glottalized, contrary to the observation by a 'native speaker linguist', Azeb (2002: 80). This is the main reason for my treatment. 2) At least some native speakers think that it is difficult for foreigners to pronounce these sounds correctly. 3) Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 31 etc.) describe these as 'preglottalized sonorants'. If the sounds are really sonorants followed by glottal stops, they would not have misheard them as preglottalized. It is since the sounds are glottalized from the beginning of their articulation that they misheard them as preglottalized ones[57].

Diachronically, however, now the glottalized sonorants (*MM*, *NN*, *LL*) seem to be changing into the consonant clusters (*m7*, *n7*, *l7*), or the reverse.

In any case, what is important for these sounds is some strain at the glottis, which is shared with *P*, *T*, *K*, *C*, and *D* discussed in the preceding sections (so-called "ejectives" and an "implosive").

The phoneme /L/ seems to have some relationship with /D/. Compare *tadd'-* 'to borrow' in Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 515) and *taLL-* 'to borrow, to lend' in my data. A Wolaytta friend of mine once wrote the word "finger" as *birali77iyaa*, which is *biráDD-iya* in my data.

For /N/ corresponding to /n/ in loanwords, see section 2.1.2.4.

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[57] By the way Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 37) say that the preglottals 'never appear as geminates in the corpus analysed'. In my opinion, however, the glottalized sonorants are always geminated as said above.

2.1.4   Geminated Consonants

As is described and/or exemplified in the above sections, Wolaytta has both geminated and non-geminated consonants. The potential of each consonant for gemination can be summarized as follows.

(2.1.4-1)

Consonants that cannot be geminated: *h*, *nh*

Consonants that must be geminated: *M*, *N*, *L*

Consonants that may or may not be geminated: others (but *j*, *r*, *w* and *D* are with reservations)

That gemination is phonologically distinctive in this language is clear from the following minimal pairs.

(2.1.4-2)

mát-aa	'near one'
mátt-aa	'bee'
7ag-íis	'he fermented'
7agg-íis	'he ceased'
Cim-íis	'he became old'
Cimm-íis	'he deceived'

Adams (1983: 45-48) interprets Wolaytta long consonants as geminates, i.e. 'two identical consonants in sequence', instead of 'single consonants which contain the feature of length'. Although his argument is unnecessarily complicated because of his false observation that a Wolaytta consonant cluster has always the structure $C_1C{:}_2$ (i.e. the second consonant is always long), it is convincing as a whole. It is summarized as follows: 1) Long consonants do not have the distribution of short single consonants. 2) Long consonants share the distributional restriction of consonant sequences. 3) In terms of pitch, long consonants are the same as consonant sequences. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 38) also reached the same conclusion, although Hayward (2000b: 410) criticizes them saying that 'since the inception of non-linear phonologies, a statement such as 'geminates . . . are considered here as biphonemic sequences' . . . seems decidedly out of date.'

It would be worth noting Adams's (1983:36-37) claim that 'Even those who use gemination in their own language are inconsistent in their recording of such.' I myself had much trouble in determining whether given consonants are geminated or non-geminated despite the fact that my mother tongue, Japanese, distinguishes between the two clearly. There might be different phonetic realizations of "geminated" consonants among these languages. Detailed (experimental) phonetic studies seem to be needed on this matter[58].

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 38) mention the 'syntactic gemination', which applies across word boundary. Such gemination indeed exists in this language. In the following, first consonants of the syntactic gemination are parenthesized.

(2.1.4-3)

ha	(d)dani7él-á	7anjúll-ó	s-óó-ní
this	(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-OBL.	home-OBL.M.SG.-in

  'in the house of this Daniel Anjulo'

(2.1.4-4)

he	(b)bana	met-ída	b-a-u
that	themselves	trouble-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-OBL.M.SG.-for

  'for that thing that troubled them'

This type of gemination can also take place within seemingly one word. For example, the demonstrative pronoun *hagáá* 'this' (see section 4.2.6.2) can, if not must, be now regarded as one word. However it was originally composed of two dependent words *ha* 'this (demonstrative determiner)' and *g-áá* '(nominalizer)'. Thus the syntactic gemination can take place between these two: *haggáá* 'this'.

Since the syntactic gemination is optional and not phonologically distinctive, I will not transcribe it hereafter. However, it should not be ignored when we consider Wolaytta phonological system. It may endanger the phonological distinctiveness of gemination exemplified in (2.1.4-2). In fact, now *hagáá* 'this' and *haggáá* 'this'

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[58] As mentioned in section 2.1.2.6, I had especially much trouble in differentiating /yy/ from /y/. Elucidating the reason for it would be helpful for understanding the phonetic aspect of Wolaytta geminated consonants.

discussed in the preceding paragraph are interchangeable (although the latter is by far rarer). The syntactic gemination might be a remote cause for the difficulty in differentiating between geminated and non-geminated consonants in this language.

According to Cerulli (1929: 12), in Wolaytta, as in Lowland and East Cushitic languages, a long vowel followed by a non-geminated consonant is equivalent to a short vowel followed by a geminated consonant. Cohen (1988: 15) also says that VCC are often interchangeable with VVC in Afroasiatic languages. His Ometo (to which Wolaytta belongs) example is *eríkke ~ eri:ke* 'I do not know'. However, I could not attest such phenomenon.

2.2 Vowels

I establish the following five vowels as vowel phonemes of Wolaytta: /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, and /u/.

2.2.1 Short Vowels

There are five short vowel phonemes in Wolaytta. There is no previous work that disagrees with me on this point.

/i/

This is usually realized as a high front vowel.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /i/.

(2.2.1-1)

7ish-áa	'brother'
7iTT-íis	'he hated'
migíd-uwa	'ring'
7idimm-íis	'he embraced'
miissh-í	'money (NOM., non-concrete)'
g-íídí	'he having said'

Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155) say that '*I* frequently occurs in place of *i*'. In fact, the phoneme /i/ is occasionally centralized.

(2.2.1-2)[59]

maTin-íya ~ maTIn-íya	'salt'
haddírs-aa ~ haddÍrs-aa	'left'

For weakening of this phoneme, see section 2.2.4.

/e/

This is realized as a mid front vowel.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /e/.

(2.2.1-3)

7etá	'them'
7er-íis	'he knew'
7eCer-íya	'mouse'
dereKK-íis	'he opened his eyes wide'
léé7-e	'thin'
7ekk-ité	'take!'

Very occasionally this phoneme was lowered, for example, as in the first vowel of *meKétt-aa* 'bone'

/a/

This is realized as a low vowel.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /a/.

(2.2.1-4)

7acc-áa	'tooth'
7átt-iis	'he was saved'
7apál-aa	'tunic'
7onakk-íis	'he did so-and-so'
támm-á	'ten'
7agg-á	'cease!'

Ohman and Hailu (1976: 155) say that ' ɛ [frequently occurs] in place of *a*'. Adams (1983: 44) says that 'Although the short vowel /a/ generally corresponds to [ʌ],' in some

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[59] A schwa-like mid vowel is transcribed as *I*.

words 'the short vowel corresponds to cardinal [a]', and yet in other words 'the short vowel approximates even to [ə].' However, I could not notice such alternations.

/o/

This is realized as a mid back round vowel.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /o/.

(2.2.1-5)

7og-íya	'way'
7ol-íis	'he threw'
goromóót-iya	'evil eye'
bottokon-íis	'he thatched'
deeT-ó	'heavy'
7anj-ó	'may he bless'

/u/

This is realized as a high back round vowel.

The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /u/.

(2.2.1-6)

7ubb-áa	'all'
7útt-iis	'he sat'
7usúppun-a	'six'
daapur-íis	'he became tired'
tiit-ú	'(person name, NOM.)'
búúCC-ú	'let her mow'

For weakening of this phoneme, see section 2.2.4.

Yitbarek (1983: 61) says that 'Vowels are nasalized when they precede a nasal consonant.' Hirut (1999: 18-21, 31) is of the same opinion. They are not wrong. However, more precisely it would be the case that vowels that are adjacent to one or more nasal consonants, whether the former precede the latter or not, are somewhat nasalized.

2.2.2 Long Vowels

Corresponding to the five short vowels discussed in the immediately preceding section, there are five long vowels in this language: /ii/, /ee/, /aa/, /oo/, and /uu/. The following are examples of words that contain these long vowels.

(2.2.2-1)

7íít-a	'bad'
7isíín-ó	'eleven'
lo77-íi	'is it good?'
7ees-úwa	'speed'
sharéécc-uwa	'witch doctor'
gid-anée	'is it enough?'
7aatt-íis	'he transferred'
biTáál-aa	'bridle'
bullácc-aa	'wedding'
7oorátt-a	'new'
goromóót-iya	'evil eye'
gód-oo	'lord!'
7úúz-iya	'stingy one'
KunCúút-iya	'thread'

These five long vowels are phonologically distinctive from their short counterparts, as the minimal pairs given by Adams (1983: 54) prove. Some other examples are:

(2.2.2-2)

Ciimm-á	'deep'
Cimm-á	'deceive!'
léé7-e	'thin (ABS.)'
léé7-ee	'thin one (NOM.)'

| 7aw-áa | 'sunlight' |
| 7aaw-áa | 'father' |

There is no previous work that denies that vowel length is phonemic in Wolaytta, although Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 45) are very prudent when saying that 'the question whether vowel quantity is phonologically relevant in Wolaytta, must be for the moment left unresolved here' while noticing minimal pairs and the unpredictability of the distribution of the long and short vowels. Incidentally, vowel length is often inaccurately recorded in previous works.

As will be discussed in relevant sections later, vowel length may be sometimes neutralized. For example, before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' both long and short vowels can be used interchangeably (see section 4.2.8.2). Before the postposition *-ra* 'with' a short vowel must be lengthened (see section 4.2.8.2). For the converb, both *7eh-íídí* 'he having brought', which seems to be original, and *7eh-ídí* are observed nowadays (see section 4.4.1.3).

A vowel can be phonetically extremely long at the end of a sentence, which may be a quoted one as in (2.2.2-4). Such lengthening is of course phonologically not distinctive. The following are examples of it found in my data.

(2.2.2-3)

| galat-ídí | simm-<u>ée</u>s. [simm<u>éééééé</u>s] |
| thank-CONV.3M.SG. | return-IMPF.3M.SG. |

  'He thanks and returns.'

(2.2.2-4)

| ha | na7-áa | goromóót-ee | m-íis<u>i</u> [míis<u>iiiií</u>] |
| this | child-ABS.M.SG. | evil eye-NOM.M.SG. | eat-PF.3M.SG. |

g-ées
say-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'He says "The evil eye ate this boy."'

Thus the functional load of vowel length is practically not so heavy in this language,

which is also spurred by the fact that minimal pairs that differ only in vowel length are relatively rare. This might lead native speakers to the indifference toward vowel length in actual utterances, and might be a remote cause for the fact that authors of previous works on Wolaytta often could not record it correctly. I myself had sometimes trouble in determining whether a given vowel is short or long, despite the fact that my mother tongue, Japanese, distinguishes between short and long vowels clearly. As in the case of gemination, detailed (experimental) phonetic studies seem to be needed on this matter[60].

Adams (1983: 54) shoots a question whether 'long vowels should be interpreted as two vowels in sequence, or as a vowel containing the feature of length.' It seems to me that it is difficult to answer this question. His definite answer is the latter. His reasons for it are as follows. 1) In this language, 'double vowel sequences, v_1v_2, have not been observed'. 2) 'The pronunciation of Wolaitta [*sic*] long vowels does not have two syllabic entities or pulses separated by an [*sic*] hiatus'. 3) The duration and pitch of long vowels are the same as those of Wolaytta diphthongs, each of which is one complex vowel. 4) The distribution of long vowels is the same as that of short vowels and diphthongs. Thus much of his reasoning, 1), 3), and partly 4), owes the claim that a Wolaytta diphthong is one complex vowel, not composed of two vowels. As we will see in the next section, this claim is not so convincing. The absent of hiatus mentioned in 2) would be explained by some kind of assimilation. The fact that the distribution of the long vowels and that of the short vowels are the same seems to be favorable for Adams. I also followed Adams, who takes distribution into consideration, when analyzing geminated consonants (see section 2.1.4). However, while the geminated consonants and the consonant clusters share idiosyncratic distributional restriction different from that of the usual (non-geminated) consonants, such restriction cannot be observed for the vowels (see section 2.3). Thus Adams's argument 4) introduced in this section is less convincing than 1) and 2) in section 2.1.4.

I consider that there may be sequences of two identical vowels if there are sequences of two identical consonants (i.e. geminated consonants) in this language. This interpretation asks less phonemes, which would help to make the description simpler. Thus I conclude that each of the Wolaytta long vowels is composed of two identical vowels. However such conclusion may not have outstanding advantages compared to

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[60] My impression is that before or after /y/ it is difficult to determine whether a given vowel is short or long. Elucidating the reason for it would be helpful for understanding phonetic aspects of the Wolaytta long vowels.

Adams's conclusion.[61]

2.2.3   Diphthongs

Wolaytta has following diphthongs: /ai/, /au/, /oi/ and /ui/. The following are examples of words that contain these diphthongs.

(2.2.3-1)

7aill-íya	'slave'
7upáítt-iis	'he rejoiced'
lááT-ai	'lunch (NOM.)'
7au-g-áá	'which one'
shamm-áusu	'she bought'
dad-áu	'O thunder!'
7oicc-íis	'he asked'
kóír-o	'first'
met-ói	'problem (NOM.)'
kuiTáár-uwa	'small shallow basin'
súíK-iis	'he whistled'
suill-íya	'shin'

Adams (1983: 49-51) claims the existence of /ei/. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 48) also claim the existence of the diphthong /ey/. I could not ascertain the existence of Adams's only example [hej] 'receive it' during my research trips, and judging from their examples, Lamberti and Sottile's *ey* is /ee/[62]. I often hear the first long vowel in *deeshsh-áa* 'goat' be pronounced as [ei]. However, it would be explained by

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[61] Hayward (2000: 409) uses the term 'bimoraic monophthong' for the long vowels. The term seems to be of the 'Weight Theory', which is described by Hyman, L. M. (1985) *A theory on phonological weight*. (Publications in language sciences, 19.) Dordrecht: Foris Publications. Unfortunately I cannot argue further because of my ignorance.

[62] Azeb's (2002: 81) observation in this regard seems to be the same as that of Lamberti and Sottile. However, she says that '**ey** occurs only in morpheme boundaries . . . and could thus be excluded from the list of diphthongs.' This logic of her would not be maintained in usual phonological theories.

assimilation to the following post-alveolar consonant. Thus I do not establish it as an independent diphthong in this language.

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 49) also say that Wolaytta has the diphthong *ew*. Their examples are personal pronouns ending with *e* followed by the postposition *-u* 'to, for' in my analysis. However, such combinations cannot be allowed in this language, at least in its variety that I was able to research (see section 4.2.8.4.1).

As can be inferred from their transcription, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 47-48) consider that second members of Wolaytta diphthongs are consonants, *y* or *w*, although they do not give any reason for this treatment. On the contrary, Adams (1983: 49-50) considers that they are vocalic. His reasons for it are as follows. 1) While consonants cannot occur in word-final position, the diphthongs can. 2) While a consonant is phonetically geminated when it follows immediately some other consonant, it may not be geminated when it follows immediately a diphthong. Since his phonetic observation on consonant clusters is not always correct (see section 2.3), 2) cannot be maintained. However, since 1) is basically correct (for the exceptions, see the next section), I also regard second elements of Wolaytta diphthongs to be vocalic. One may cite Hayward (2000b: 409), who came to the same conclusion through a theoretical framework employing the mora.[63]

Adams (1983: 50-51) shoots a question whether Wolaytta diphthongs 'consist of two vowels, or are one complex vowel.' His answer is the latter, and the reasons for it are as follows. 1) Each of them bears one pitch level, and thus constitutes one syllable. 2) The distribution of diphthongs is the same as that of short vowels. For the former, the observation of pitch is not always correct (although he (1983: 279) admits the existence of 'the up gliding or down gliding pitches on . . . diphthongs'[64]. In any case, I do not consider that a syllable cannot contain more than one vowel. For the latter reason, as said in section 2.2.2, it is less convincing because idiosyncratic distributional restriction cannot be observed for the vowels.

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[63] There is another big problem: Can we distinguish, for example, /ai/ from /ayi/? How, if we can? In my opinion, *xaissanau* 'in order to perish' in Mark 1:24 should be *xayissanau*, or *Tay-iss-an-á-u* (be lost-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to) in my notation, if we take its word structure into consideration. However, if we take only phonetic facts into consideration, can we, or should we really distinguish /ai/ from /ayi/? If we cannot, how can we assure that, for example, the word for 'slave' is *7aill-íya* 'slave', not *7ayill-íya*?

[64] Judging from the type, this statement seems to be a rewrite.

I consider that there may be sequences of two different vowels if there are sequences of two different consonants (i.e. consonant clusters) in this language. This interpretation asks less phonemes, which would help to make the description simpler. Thus I conclude that each of the Wolaytta diphthongs is composed of two different vowels. However, such conclusion may not have outstanding advantages compared to Adams's conclusion.[65]

2.2.4   Weakening of a Vowel

Some vowels at the end of verb endings may optionally be devoiced. The most notable one, which thus is mentioned in previous works differently, would be that of 3F.SG. imperfective and perfective endings (see sections 4.4.2.1.1 and 4.4.2.2.1), in which the high back round vowel /u/ following /s/ is usually, but never obligatorily, devoiced.

(2.2.4-1)[66]

shóóbb-ausu   ~ shóóbb-aus[u]

invite-IMPF.3F.SG.   'she invites'

m-áasu   ~ m-áas[u]

eat-PF.3F.SG.   'she ate'

Although previous works but Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 171-173) do not mention it, the last mid front vowel /e/ of the 1SG. negative imperfective and perfective endings (see sections 4.4.2.1.2 and 4.4.2.2.2) is often devoiced.

(2.2.4-2)

shamm-íkke   ~ shamm-íkk[e]

buy-NEG.IMPF.1SG.   'I do not buy'

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[65] Hirut (1999: 23) says that 'A diphthong is a sequence of two vowels.' The reason for it is not clear, but her following statement might be: 'Most of the diphthongs in Wolayitta arise as a result of juxtaposition of vowels belonging to separate morphemes.' If so, however, her logic would not be maintained, as Azeb's (2002: 81) quoted in footnote 62 would not. Hirut (1999: 24) also says that 'a glide can replace the second member of a diphthong'. She does not seem to have considered the question discussed in this and the two preceding paragraphs. Finally most of her examples of diphthongs are actually those of the structure "vowel-approximant-vowel".
[66] Here devoiced vowels are indicated by superscripts.

As far as I was able to notice, the last mid back round vowel /o/ of the 1PL. negative perfective ending (see section 4.4.2.2.2) may be devoiced.

(2.2.4-3)
m-írg-ibe7ókko   ~ m-írg-ibe7ókk^{o}
eat-completely-NEG.IMPF.1PL.   'we had not eaten'

The high front vowel /i/ of the syllables /si/ and /ni/ is often lost. This vowel loss is especially common in the case of verb endings that end with /si/ and of postpositions that end with /ni/.

(2.2.4-4)
b-íisi   ~ b-íis
go-PF.3M.SG.   'he went'

balg-úwa-ni   ~ balg-úwa-n
rainy season-OBL.M.SG.-in   'in the rainy season'

Adams (1983: 45) and others would claim that here the high front vowels are devoiced, but not lost. Such an interpretation has an advantage since by interpreting so we can say that all Wolaytta words end with a vowel and can simplify a description of Wolaytta syllable structure. However, phonetically the phenomenon in question is not devoicing, but definitely vowel loss. Furthermore, for the syllable /ni/, it may lose its vowel even in word-medial position. This happens rarely. In this case, however, it is more evident that the phenomenon is not devoicing, and it would support the claim that Wolaytta vowels may be perfectly lost.

(2.2.4-5)
wáán-idi   ~ wáán-di
become what-CONV.3M.SG.   'how (lit. he having become what)'

It is difficult to determine on which level we should argue phonemes. I respect systematic interpretation and simplicity of description, but do not want to distort the facts. Thus I admit vowel loss in Wolaytta.

Incidentally, occasionally a syllable composed of a consonant followed by a short

vowel may be lost. For example, *7e* of *7ekk-* 'to take' and *gi* of *gid-* 'to become' are sometimes not heard in fast speech.

(2.2.4-6)

miishsh-áa	(7e)kk-áas.
money-ABS.M.SG.	take-PF.1SG.

   'I made money.'

(2.2.4-7)

ne-7aK-úwa	7óíKK-iyo-g-áá
your-property-OBL.M.SG.	seize-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

Táll-a	(gi)d-énn-a-n
only-ABS.	become-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in

   'it is not only taking your property, but . . .'

The following would be an example of the same or a similar phenomenon.

(2.2.4-8)

hé-pint-aa-<u>ni-nne</u>	---> [hépinta<u>nne</u>][67]
that-side (of the waters)-OBL.M.SG.-in-and	

   'in the other side of the waters and (in this side of the waters)'

   Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 47, 155) give also other examples of devoicing that are not mentioned here. For some of them, however, I was not able to observe devoicing and for some other their interpretation of vowel quality itself is wrong. See section 4.4.2.1.1.

2.3 Syllable Structures and Phonotactics

   Possible syllable structures of Wolaytta can be formulated as CV(V)(C), in which C

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[67] The shortening of /aa/ is caused by the postposition -ni 'in, at, by'. See sections 2.2.2 and 4.2.8.3.

stands for a consonant and V a vowel, parenthesized segments being optional[68]. This formulation applies to any positions of a word. This is enabled partly by admitting the existence of word-initial glottal stops (see section 2.1.1.1) and the word-final vowel loss (see section 2.2.4)[69]. If we consider following Adams (1983) that each of the long vowels and the diphthongs is one complex vowel, we can further simplify the formulation: CV(C). However, I do not so for the reasons mentioned in section 2.2.2 and 2.2.3.

For vowels, there is not much phonotactical restriction in this language. However, the diphthong /ui/ has been observed only in word-initial syllables, and it does not occur before consonant clusters. Remember also that possible combinations of two different vowels, i.e. diphthongs, are relatively limited in this language. Only 4 combinations (/ai/, /au/, /oi/, and /ui/) out of the logically possible 20 combinations are attested (see section 2.2.3)[70]. As Adams (1983: 58) says long vowels and diphthongs do not occur before consonant clusters. For a possible counterexample to this, see footnote 71 in this section.

There is more phonotactical restriction on consonants, as illustrated in the preceding sections.

There are no words that begin with /nh/, /zh/, /D/, /L/, /M/, or /N/. Word-initial /c/, /j/, and /r/ are very restricted.

As an onset (first consonant of a syllable) of a word-medial or word-final syllable that does not follow a coda (last consonant of a syllable), that is, as a word-medial non-geminated consonant, /L/, /M/, and /N/ cannot occur in this language. The same restriction can be found for /c/, /b/, /j/, and /D/ to a certain extent.

A coda of a word-initial or word-medial syllable represents a first member of a geminated consonant or of a consonant cluster, and an onset of a word-medial or word-final syllable may represent a second member of a geminated consonant or of a

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[68] There are two types of exceptions: syllables ending in geminated consonants and "ultra heavy" syllables. Both are resultants of sound loss. See below in this section.

[69] Thus the interpretation of mine mentioned in section 2.2.4 has its own advantage that Adams's "devoicing" interpretation does not have, although most words indeed end in vowels.

[70] The insertion of *7*, a letter representing a glottal stop, in, for example, *Bo7anerggesa* 'Boanerges' in Mark 3:17, which is a transcription of a foreign name, would reflect the sense that the vowel sequence *oa* is not allowed in this language, irrespective of its actual pronunciation.

consonant cluster. For geminated consonants, the potential of each consonant for gemination was summarized as follows in section 2.1.4.

(2.3-1)

Consonants that cannot be geminated: *h*, *nh*

Consonants that must be geminated: *M*, *N*, *L*

Consonants that may or may not be geminated: others (but *j*, *r*, *w* and *D* are with reservations)

Possible consonant clusters in this language found in my data are listed in (2.3-2). Since my lexical research is far from perfect, other combinations may be found in the future[71].

(2.3-2) Possible Consonant Clusters

sp			mp			
st				nt		lt
sk	shk			nk	rk	
					r7	
					rs	ls
					rsh	
				nc		lc
			mb		rb	lb
				nd	rd	ld
		zg		ng	rg	lg
				nz		
				nj	rj	
		zn				
						lw

---

[71] It is sometimes difficult to determine whether a given sound is a consonant cluster or two consonants between which a weakened, but true vowel is inserted. I have not been able to determine, for example, whether the word for a traditional dish made from meat is *KooCKóóC-uwa* or *KooCiKóóC-uwa*. If the former is the case, not only one more possible combination is added to (2.3-2), but also the restriction that long vowels do not occur before consonant clusters must be revised. On the contrary, some combinations in (2.3-2) might turn out not to be true consonant clusters.

I left loanwords out of consideration. However, words that contain rare or non-frequent combinations might be loanwords in ancient times or those that are borrowed from languages I do not know.

```
                              rP
                    nT        rT
                    nK        rK        lK
                    nC        rC
```

The following are examples that contain each of the clusters.

(2.3-3)

hóspuna	'eight'
gist-íya	'wheat'
Tisk-íis	'he slept'

mashk-úwa	'traditional underskirt'

7ezg-íis	'he listened'
7azn-áa	'husband'

Tomp-íya	'light'
démb-aa	'field'

Toolínt-iya	'star'
shank-áa	'hunting'
bonc-íis	'he respected'
dend-íis	'he rose'
Káng-iis	'he coursed'
zanz-áa	'towel made from false banana'
7anj-íis	'he blessed'
KanT-íis	'he cut'
mánK-uwa	'poor one'
7ánC-iis	'he minced'

borkót-aa	'pillow made from false banana'
mor7átt-iis	'he wept'
dors-áa	'sheep'
bírsh-iis	'he untied'
harbainn-úwa	'rabbit'

gord-íis	'he closed'
harg-íya	'sick'
górjant-iya	'esophagus'
sírPi g-iis	'he became silent'
7írT-a	'wet, cold'
7urK-áa	'mud'
marC-úwa	'ancient currency in Wolaytta'
kált-aa	'axe'
teegúls-aa	'hearthstone'
halc-úwa	'plan'
galb-áa	'skin'
mald-úwa	'millet'
balg-úwa	'rainy season'
wolwol-úwa	'boat'
wolK-áa	'power'

Adams (1983: 57), Yitbarek (1983: 68), Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 39-41), and Hirut (1999: 26-28) discuss the same matter. Although I do not introduce their conclusions in detail here, there are not a few disagreements among them and I cannot completely agree with any of them.

   Adams (1983: 56) says that 'The second consonant [of a consonant cluster] has been observed phonetically to occur only geminated'. However, I do not assume that this is the case. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 39) seem to agree with me on this matter, and thus say that 'the use of geminated consonants is not allowed within the cluster.' Perhaps the existence of a time gap necessary for transition from a consonant to another consonant, especially to that unlike in terms of articulation, would give Adams a false impression that there is gemination. He does not seem to have taken the necessity of the gap into consideration. In fact his pronunciation of consonant clusters without "gemination", which once I heard directly, was very unnatural and gave me an impression that he uttered quick only clusters. However, occasionally the gap is unnecessarily lengthened and certainly second consonants become close to geminated consonants phonetically. Thus, Yitbarek (1983: 68) says that 'the consonant that comes next to it [the third member of the CVC syllable] across the syllable boundary in word medial position can be either geminated or short.' In any case, the seeming "gemination" is not phonologically distinctive. Adams (1983: 56-57) also admits that, and says that 'since

single consonants never occur as the second member of a consonant cluster, on the basis of complementary distribution the second consonant is here phonemically interpreted as a single consonant.'[72] Incidentally, the transition may give an opposite impression. In the consonant cluster /nj/, for example, a consultant judged the first consonant to be longer, probably since it is a continuous sound while the second one is not.

For codas of word-final syllables, they can be represented only by /s/ or /n/. They all are resultants of vowel loss, which is discussed and exemplified in section 2.2.4. As far as I was able to notice, a word-final syllable may exceptionally end in the geminated consonant /ss/. This is also a resultant of vowel loss.

(2.3-4)
7ubb-á   galláss-(i)
all-OBL.   day-ADV.

   'every day'

The reduction of a glottal stop, which was discussed in section 2.1.1.1, may change syllable structures of phrases. When *ta-7ish-áa* (my-brother-ABS.M.SG.) 'my brother' becomes *ta-ish-áa*, for example, the syllable structure is changed from CV-CV-CVV to CVV-CVV. Note that now the first syllable is across the two words.

Furthermore, this kind of reduction may bring about "ultra heavy" syllables such as CVVV and CVVVC. When *ta-7aaw-áa* (my-father-ABS.M.SG.) 'my father' becomes *ta-aaw-áa*, for example, the syllable structure is changed from CV-CVV-CVV to CVVV-CVV. In the case of *keett-a-aayy-íya* deriving from *keett-a-7aayy-íya* (house-OBL.-mother-ABS.F.SG.) 'mistress of a house', the syllable structure is changed from CVVC-CV-CVVC-CV-CV to CVVC-CVVVC-CV-CV. Such "ultra heavy" syllables are exceptions to the generalization made at the beginning of this section[73].

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[72] I agree with him on the conclusion, but, to tell the truth, I cannot understand his logic to reach it.
   Hirut (1999: 26-28) admits two kinds of consonant clusters: those whose second members are geminated and those whose second members are not geminated. Thus the number of possible syllable types is increased.
[73] Another solution to the "ultra heavy" syllable is to establish syllables that begin with vowels: such as VV and VVC. Adams (1983: 75) would consider that in these cases, at least in the latter example (*keett-a-aayy-íyo*), two contiguous vowels caused by the dropping of /7/ become one usual long vowel (I consider that the first element of it is *keett-á* 'house (OBL. non-concrete form)', not *keett-áa* 'house (OBL. concrete form)',

The reduction of a glottal stop discussed above is phonetic. Thus it will be ignored in transcriptions hereafter.

I would like to conclude this section, which has dealt with the arrangement of phonemes, by introducing some examples of metathesis.

(2.3-5)

garaw-áa   ~ gawar-áa   'cat'
baKúl-uwa   ~ balúK-uwa   'mule'
7amár-ida   ~ 7aram-ida[74]   'a little, a few'

2.4　Prosodic Features
2.4.1　Tone

Pitch is used distinctively in Wolaytta. It is evident from the following minimal pairs (syllables with acute accents are pitched higher than those with grave accents).

(2.4.1-1)

[ʔàìllíyà] 'servant'   [ʔáíllìyà] 'hoe'
[ʔàrsáà] 'brown one'   [ʔársàà] 'bed'
[gòdáà] 'wall'   [gódàà] 'lord'
[dòòrîis] 'he chose'   [dóórìis] 'he heaped'

Some previous works try to describe and/or analyze this prosodic phenomenon. Abebe (1982: 16-19) and Yitbarek (1983: 71-73) consider that the phonologically relevant prosodic feature in Wolaytta is stress. Adams (1983: 67-68) mentions a distinctive function of pitch, but in general he also appears to understand the relevant prosodic feature as stress. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 50) say that 'Wolaytta does not seem to be a tone language' and 'the tone has no distinctive or phonological relevance'. Instead, they (1997: 51-52) try to describe locations where stress is marked. Azeb (1996) is comprehensive. She considers that the phonologically relevant prosodic feature is pitch, not stress. According to her (1996: 111) summary, in Wolaytta 'simple

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though. For the concreteness see section 4.2.1.4). In any case, it is sometimes very difficult to determine whether a given vowel is short, long, or extremely long.

[74] This form is isolated from a form that is found in Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.: 14). Unfortunately, I could not ask the consultants whether such a form is really used or not. Thus, tone is ignored.

phonological words are usually restricted to one high tone-accent per word. . . Morphology may alter the pattern in simple lexical forms in the sense that derivation and inflection may result in the presence of more than one high tone-accent in a word or, alternatively, in that they cause shift of the original tone accent.' Hirut (1999: 24) also says that 'Tone is phonemic' in this language, though without describing the system. Finally, Hayward (1994) analyzes the behavior of pitch in Gamo, which is genetically very close to Wolaytta, in the theoretical framework of Autosegmental Phonology. Although I have no firsthand Gamo materials available, I guess that his argument is very suggestive and insightful, as Azeb's (1996) is.

Despite all these efforts, however, the phenomenon does not seem to have been well understood. My analysis of the prosodic phenomenon in question is radically different from those of these works. In the following, I will explain my view on the phenomenon, i.e. on tone in Wolaytta.

In short, the location of tonal prominences[75] of words is the most important in describing Wolaytta tone phonologically. In other words, it is necessary and sufficient to state on which part of each word a tonal prominence is. In principal each word has a tonal prominence, but some words do not have their own tonal prominences. Mostly the tonal prominence equates one syllable, but may be longer or shorter than it. Location and length of tonal prominences are determined lexically. The prominence is phonetically realized as distinctively higher pitch. In this thesis, vowels included in tonal prominences, i.e. tonologically prominent vowels are accentuated with acute accents, as in *god-áa* or *dóór-iis*.[76]

Segments preceding a tonal prominence within a word are usually realized so that the prominence can stand out[77]: very roughly speaking, they are realized as "Low". So far there would be no serious disagreements among, Hayward (1994), who discusses the Gamo language though, Azeb (1996), and the present thesis. However, I assume that

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[75] This term may be misleading, since the term "prominence" is also used to mean a means to emphasize a part of utterance. Thus some may prefer the term "accent".

[76] Despite this notation, I assume that a tonal prominence begins always with a consonant as an onset of a syllable. This enables that voiceless consonants can be "High". Voiceless consonants as codas of syllables are also usually "High". Pitch of voiceless elements can be determined on the basis of pitch glide of their adjacent vowels. See 服部 (Hattori 1928: 11). In any case, my notation may not be perfect in that it does not indicate tonologically prominent consonants for typographical reasons.

[77] Needless to say, a tonal prominence does not need to be preceded by some segments. If a tonal prominence lies at the beginning of a word, the word usually begins with higher pitch than that of the speaker's usual voice (however, see (2.4.1-5)).

such segments do not need to be realized as "Low". Particularly when they are close to a tonal prominence, they may be realized as "High".

(2.4.1-2)
hinnó 'that'　　　[hìnnó] ~ [hínnó] (´ = High, ` = Low)

Segments preceding a tonal prominence may be pitched higher and higher as the utterance proceeds.

(2.4.1-3)
wozan-áa 'heart'　　　　　[wòzànáà] ~ [wòzanáà] (´ = High, ` = Low, no accent = Mid)

　Segments following a tonal prominence within a word are, if any, also usually realized so that the prominence can stand out: very roughly speaking, they are realized as "Low". However, this may not be the case. They may be "High" because of some kind of emphasis.

(2.4.1-4)
maTááp-ati 'books'　　　[màs'ááfàtì] ~ [màs'ááfátí][78]

　A tonal prominence itself may not be realized fully as "High". A syllable with a tonal prominence may begin with "Low", especially if it contains a long vowel or diphthong and it is at the beginning of a word.

(2.4.1-5)
láítt-aa 'year'　　　　　[láíttàà] ~ [làíttàà] (´ = High, ` = Low)

A last one syllable or a last few syllables of a long tonal prominence may be realized as "Low" because of physiological reasons or of "fatigue".

(2.4.1-6)
boddítt-é-ppé[79]　　'from Boditi'　　[bòddíttéppé] ~ [bòddíttèppè] (´ = High, ` = Low)

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[78] [f] is an allophone of /p/. Since this is a loanword, the original glottalized sibilant [s'] may be retained (see section 7.1).

[79] This is composed of two words: *boddítt-é* '(place name) (OBL.)' and *-ppe* 'from'. Here you have only to notice the alternation between [bòdítté] and [bòddíttè].

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In short tonal prominences too, /m/ in *démb-aa* 'field', for example, is often, but never always, pitched lower than the preceding vowel for unknown reasons.

As we have seen, my view on prosodic features of Wolaytta is rather fuzzy. This fuzziness is not found in previous literatures. Although tone of Wolaytta is indeed fuzzy, however, note that it is never disordered. It can be properly described from the viewpoints of locations of phonologically crucial tonal prominences[80] and pitch changes that make them stand out. As is mentioned above, we cannot predict where the rise and fall begin. In other words, the changes may be realized differently even for the same word. However, it does not mean that a Wolaytta word can be uttered with any pitch.

As can be inferred from the statement in the last paragraph, I pay attention and give importance to directions of pitch changes, not to pitch levels. This would be the decisive difference from other works on Wolaytta (and Gamo). My notation using acute accents might lead readers to misunderstanding that two tonological levels, "High" and "Low", must be established in Wolaytta. However, I think, it is pitch changes of words that are important to Wolaytta tone.

Such a dynamic view oriented to directions of pitch changes as mine is not so uncommon in the field of Japanese tonology (or study of "accent"). Thus I admit that I am influenced by the theory, and that I owe my analysis to it much. I also admit that the Japanese study was developed mainly, if not only, to analyze the Japanese language, and that other approaches can be more appropriate for other languages. In fact, it would not be impossible to deal with Wolaytta tone by establishing two pitch levels[81]. Nevertheless, I think, as 川上 (Kawakami [1957b=] 1995b: 112) says, that probably it is rise itself and (steep) fall itself that a human hears first and a sense of "High" and "Low" is thought to have arisen secondarily from them[82]. In addition, a static view oriented to levels of pitch may make us miss some phonetic facts, such as three or more successive rises or falls and a fall followed by a rise in a very short time between two

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[80] However, it is sometimes very difficult to determine for a given word where a tonal prominence begins and where it ends.

[81] In this case, syllables that contain vowels accentuated with acute accents in my notation would be "High" and the rest would be "Low", although "High" may not be pitched as "High" for some reasons and "Low" may not be pitched as "Low" for some reasons.

[82] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '恐らく人がまず聞くのは上昇そのもの及び（急激な）下降そのものであり、上段・下段という意識は其処から二次的に生じたものと考えられる'.

syllables[83]. Thus it would be safe to adopt the dynamic view unless there are strong reasons for adopting the static view.

For actual locations of tonal prominences, I will describe and discuss them in detail at relevant places in chapter 4, together with morphology.

In Wolaytta, an uttered sentence is composed of one or more "tonal groups". A tonal group consists of one or more words. It is not perfectly predictable which words in a sentence are grouped together to form a tonal group. The grouping is mainly determined by the meaning and the location of emphasis (if any), but we are obliged to say that it depends. Thus the same sequence of words can be divided differently in terms of tonal group.

A very important point here is that all tonal prominences but the first one are ignored in a tonal group. Hayward (1994: 486-487, 490-491) (for Gamo though) and Azeb (1996: 130-136) seem to have recognized this phenomenon, although their expressions are different from mine. Phonetically, words that contain tonal prominences but the first one in a tonal group are pitched lower than segments on which the first tonal prominence is. Thus roughly speaking, if a word with the first tonal prominence in a tonal group ends in "High", we can hear a relatively steep fall between that and the next words. For example, (2.4.1-7a) is uttered as (2.4.1-7b). (Hereafter a tonal group is embraced with || ||.)

(2.4.1-7a)

|| ʔí   táná || || beʔ-íis. ||
  he   me   see-PF.1SG.

  'He saw me.'

(2.4.1-7b)
[ʔí tànà bèʔîs]   (´ = High, ` = Low)

If a word with the first tonal prominence in a tonal group ends in "Low", the next word usually takes over the low pitch. Thus (2.4.1-8a), for example, is uttered as (2.4.1-8b).

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[83] For the former see, for example, (2.4.1-3) and for the latter see, for example, 川上 (Kawakami [1957a=] 1995a: 83-84).

(2.4.1-8a)

|| ne-haasáy-aa-ppe || || bágg-ai   túm-a. ||
  your-speech-OBL.M.SG.-from   half-NOM.M.SG.   true-ABS.

   'Half of your speech is true.'

(2.4.1-8b)

[nèhààsáyààppè bággàì tùmà]   (´ = High, ` = Low)

In both cases pitch after the first tonal prominence gets lower and lower as the utterance proceeds because of so-called declination. Sometimes a rather steep fall can be observed during the process. Thus despite the phonetic notation above, which is rough and stopgap after all, we must not consider that all the syllables marked with grave accents are pitched in the same way as "Low". On the other hand, to continue to utter with a low voice may not be easy. It would be for this physiological reason that slight rises can be observed occasionally in the latter part of a tonal group[84]. Thus (2.4.1-9a) was once uttered as (2.4.1-9b).

(2.4.1-9a)

|| 7ááppun   Tarmús-e   záít-iya   koshsh-íi? ||
  how many   bottle-OBL.   oil-ABS.M.SG. be needed-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'How many bottles of oil are needed?'

(2.4.1-9b)

[ʔááppùn t'àrmùsè zàìtéè kòʃʃìì]   (´ = High, ` = Low)

The location of such rises is not predictable. Thus they are not phonologically distinctive.

   Depending on the grouping, minimal pairs may loose their phonological contrast because of this suppression of tonal prominences.

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[84] See also a similar, but not the same, discussion on Japanese by 川上 (Kawakami [1957b=] 1995b: 106-107).

(2.4.1-10a)

|| git-á   god-ái ||

 big-OBL.   wall-NOM.M.SG.   'a big wall'

[gìtá gòdàì]   (´ = High, ` = Low)

(2.4.1-10b)

|| git-á   gód-ai ||

 big-OBL.   lord-NOM.M.SG.   'a great lord'

[gìtá gòdàì]   (´ = High, ` = Low)

In example sentences in the following pages of this thesis, tonal groups are not indicated since their grouping is arbitral after all. On the other hand tonologically prominent vowels are marked for each word with ´. Thus phrases in (2.4.1-10a) and (2.4.1-10b), for example, are always represented differently in this thesis although their actual pronunciations are the same in many cases.

In addition, actual pitch changes of utterances are also affected by such linguistic and non-linguistic factors as intonation, emphasis, meaningless rise occasionally found before pauses or at the end of quotations, etc. Thus actual pitch changes of utterances can be very different from those inferred from the phonological notation in this thesis, and to devise a phonetic notation to represent them properly is very difficult.

In conclusion, the secret of Wolaytta tone lies in the location of tonal prominences of words. This is a very simple fact, and I believe that tone in any language must be such simple. However, actual pitch changes are usually rather complicated because of the factors mentioned in the above paragraphs. The same word can be uttered totally differently. Thus Cerulli (1929: 13) says that the accent of sentences seem to be different from that in single words[85]. He could not analyze the phenomenon, but it seems to me that he could observe it fairly correctly. In any case it is very difficult to extract tonologically essential features of Wolaytta from complicated data. It is not without reason that studies in this field have not developed well, and it took a very long time for me to reach the conclusion sketched here. I am still afraid that I might have a gross misunderstanding about the matter. I would be most grateful if readers could

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[85] His original text in Italian is as follows: 'Dai miei materiali appare che l'accento di frase è diverso dall'accento nelle parole singole'.

suggest better interpretations and/or analyses.

2.4.2   Intonation

Unfortunately, I am incompetent to discuss intonation in Wolaytta in detail.

Readers could refer to Abebe (1982: 19-21), Yitbarek (1983: 73-75), and Adams (1983: 72-75) on this subject, although they do not seem to succeed in understanding the phenomenon.

One thing that is fairly sure is that Wolaytta makes use of a limited amount of superimposed intonation since tone (or tone-accent) of words is phonologically distinctive in this language. See Cruttenden (1997: 9, 12). Probably there are a small number of intonation patterns, each of which has its own meaning. The patterns would have to be regarded as fuzzy, as word tone in this language is.

Chapter 3 Grammatology

3.1 Introductory Notes on Wolaytta Grammatology

3.1.1 Aim of This Chapter

In this chapter, written Wolaytta will be discussed. I will introduce what appear to be norms. However, the principal aim of this chapter is to describe what happens when ordinary Wolaytta people write their language. In doing so, I would also hope to illustrate one of the possible areas of study in this field in the future.

The analysis and discussion here will of course be done linguistically. In the following two sections, I explain the position taken in this chapter. I hope it would be helpful as this field of study has neither made sufficient progress, nor achieved sufficient popularity in linguistics.[86]

3.1.2 Function of Letters

For the function of signs used for written languages, e.g. letters, characters, etc., which are represented by the term "letters" hereafter, I adhere to 河野's (Kōno [1977=] 1994) claims as the follows.

(3.1.2-1)

'It seems to me that the fundamental linguistic function of letters is, whether they are logographic or phonetic, ultimately to express words.' (河野 Kōno [1977=] 1994: 12)[87]

(3.1.2-2)

'Letters are after all means for reading what is written, and understanding of the meaning is the ultimate goal. For this purpose, we have to use words, which bear meanings, as clues.' (河野 Kōno [1977=] 1994: 22-23)[88]

For phonetic representation of letters as well, I follow the 河野 (Kōno)'s claim below.

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[86] The discussion in this chapter is in general based on 若狭 (Wakasa 2006).

[87] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '思うに、表語文字であれ表音文字であれ、文字の根本的な言語的機能は究極には表語ということにあるらしい'.

[88] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '文字はあくまで書かれたものを読む手段であって、意味の理解が究極の目的である。それには意味を荷う語を手掛りとしないわけにはいかない'.

(3.1.2-3)

'If we consider in this way, it becomes clear that the phonetic representation of letters is just one of possible means for representation of words. As is mentioned above, strictly speaking it is impossible to translate or to copy auditory sound sequences and render them into letters as visual forms, which rely on a sense different [from the auditory sense]. Thus phonetic representation does not have to copy phonetic features of words in thorough detail, and it is enough if it can imply them. The reason why the Egyptian and Semitic alphabets indicate only consonants is that it is enough if they can remind us of phonetic features of the words that they should represent.' (河野 Kōno [1977=] 1994: 22)[89]

In other words, Kōno claims that even if ideograms are used and/or even if phonograms cannot represent sounds precisely, writing systems function well enough as long as readers can understand the meanings with the help of "words". This is a very compelling concept. It seems to succeed in inclusively and correctly describing the use of the range of writing systems that have been used in the world.[90]

If we develop this idea, we would be able to say that writing systems are equal in their value as long as they can function well, that is, as long as readers can restore the original spoken languages that are represented by them. Of course there are writing systems that are relatively complicated and those that are relatively simple. However, we cannot say that the latter are superior to the former, just as we cannot say that languages that have relatively simple phonological systems are superior to those that have relatively complicated phonological systems, as long as there is facility of communication.

Furthermore, Kōno's claims are what we have to bear in mind when we create orthographies of languages that have no written component thus far. Nowadays establishment of new orthography often means the standardizing and spreading of phonological writing with the Latin alphabet. However, it may not be the only, or even

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[89] The original text in Japanese is as follows: 'このように考えて来ると、文字の表音は表語の一つの手段に過ぎないということが判って来る。すでに述べたように、聴覚的な音声連続を感覚の異る視覚形象の文字にうつす（移・写）ことは厳密には不可能である。そこで表音といっても語の音形をくまなく写し出すことよりも、暗示できればこと足りるのである。エジプトやセムのアルファベットが子音しか示さないというのもそれで表わすべき語の音形が髣髴できればよいからである'.

[90] However, Kōno seems to excessively emphasize the role of "words" in writing.

the best choice. A writing system functions well if speakers of the language can restore the original spoken words written by it.

Of course I recognize the advantage of phonetic or phonological writing. 河野 (Kōno [1977=] 1994: 16) himself also states as follows.

(3.1.2-4)

'In the case of Chinese characters and Egyptian letters, the writing systems could not be completed without relying on phonetic representation after all. For elements of the vocabulary of a language that should be represented by letters are innumerable, thus we cannot use symbolic means such as a pictograph or simple ideograph for all of them. Thus we are obliged to adopt use of phonetic loan characters, in which existing characters are applied to the homophonous or phonetically resembling words. This was also the case in the case of cuneiform characters invented in Mesopotamia.'[91]

Note, however, that this does not mean there is need for strict phonological representation.

3.1.3 Presupposition of Linguistics

I assume that the first aim of linguistics is "to observe and describe linguistic facts objectively and correctly." Of course it is also important to make academic contributions to other scientific fields. It is perhaps even more important to make concrete contributions appreciated by human societies in general. In any case, however, if a linguist wants to make a contribution that can be done only by linguists, whatever the contribution would be, it would be crucial to "observe and describe linguistic facts objectively and correctly". Linguistics is incompatible with forced unilateral application of norms based on prejudices and/or preconceptions.

Linguists should bear in mind what was said in the preceding paragraph also when dealing with letters, which form an important part of linguistic phenomena. In other words, "to observe and describe use of letters objectively and correctly" is paramount in field of grammatology. I do not assume that establishment of orthography, which is the

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[91] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '漢字の場合も、エジプト文字の場合も、結局、表音という手段に頼らなければ文字体系が出来なかった。これは、元来、文字の表わすべき言語の語彙は無数にあり、その全部に象形とか指事といった象徴的方法を適用することはできない。そのため、どうしても既存の文字を同音または類音の語にあてはめる仮借の方式を採らざるを得ないからである。メソポタミアに発生した楔形文字も同じ状態にあった'.

norm, is an essential work of linguists. Thus in this thesis, I describe grammatological phenomena of Wolaytta, but do not offer any suggestions for Wolaytta orthography.

The positions explained in this and the preceding sections keep some distance from, for example, the claim that 'a practical orthography should be phonemic'[92]. Although in this thesis I use the Latin alphabet for strict phonological representation[93], it does not mean that I recommend use of the alphabet in Wolaytta orthography unconditionally[94]. Phonological representation is one thing, and orthography is another. I would like to emphasize this, since the notation in this thesis might influence future Wolaytta orthography (though of course, it does not bring about any problem in itself). Let me repeat that the aim of this chapter is to describe the use of letters in Wolaytta. Of course it is not meant to support use of the Ethiopic script, which is discussed in section 3.3.

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[92] For example, Hirut (1998?: 471) develops such an argument, quoting Pike's (1947: 208) words, which are the parts in the single quotation marks in this paragraph. However, Pike ignores neither the possibility of choosing syllabic letters nor requirements of speakers of the language in question. Hirut (1998?) is not a thesis, but a suggestion concerning an existing "orthography" with the Latin alphabet. It seems, however, that this misleading quotation of hers, which ignores Pike's important provisos, clearly shows her position on letters as different from mine.

[93] For my phonological notation, see chapter 2. Although I hope that it is appropriate in, for example, linguistic papers by linguists, it would cause many problems if used as a practical orthography. In handwriting, it can be difficult to distinguish *K* from *k*, *P* from *p*, and *C* from *c*. Not a few people would find it unnatural, as sentences or proper names may begin with small letters. Detailed notation of tone and morphological boundaries would be only cumbersome in many cases.

[94] For example, WPXW, which will be introduced in section 3.2.1, gives the following four reasons for choosing the Latin alphabet (pp. 1-3): 1) In Wolaytta there is no 'gi7iizee (letter that contains a vowel element |a|, which will be explained in section 3.3.1)' as in the Ethiopic script. 2) The Latin alphabet is suitable for strict phonological representation. 3) The number of letters in the Latin alphabet is small. 4) The Latin alphabet can clearly represent both vowels and consonants. However, if my understanding is right, these are not persuasive. The second one refers to an unnecessary component of orthography. The last one is misleading, since in fact the Ethiopic script also can represent vowels and consonants, though in a different way. For the first one, I cannot even understand why it can be a reason. (For the third one, see below in this note.) I guess that the author(s) did not consider what is mentioned in this and the preceding sections, and that the author(s) presuppose(s) use of the Latin alphabet, although we cannot blame the author(s) because of these since WPXW is not a linguistic work but a booklet explaining a norm. However, the reasoning such as 'the Latin alphabet is easier to master since the number of letters in it is smaller than that in the Ethiopic script' could be considered an insult to the intelligence of Wolaytta people. I cannot consider that they, who can handle one or more languages, in which there are innumerable signs, cannot grasp a writing system that contains only a few hundreds of letters, although it is difficult to prove either way.

3.1.4   Historical and Social Background of Wolaytta Writing

Until relatively recently, it seems to be rare for native speakers of Wolaytta to write in Wolaytta for official or private purposes. According to Adams (1983: 278), 'In 1934 the Gospel of Mark was produced in the Gofa dialect, and in 1943 the Gospel of John was produced in Wolaitta [*sic*]. However, these had only limited circulation and limited use for a short period of time because of government restrictions.'

Sim (1994: 4988) says that 'Wolaitta [*sic*] is an official language of literacy in Ethiopia, and has had an established written form since the 1970's.' It is not easy to know exactly what he meant from his short description. However, there are indeed what seem to be normative orthographies using the Latin alphabet or the Ethiopic script as will be discussed later, and there are indeed publications (basically) written in them. The Latin alphabet is now adopted in mother tongue education, and there are school textbooks written using it.

However, the total number of the publications is small. In addition, it is not known to what extent the literacy education in Wolaytta is effective, at least to me. As far as I can judge with my little knowledge, most adults, who had no opportunity to learn the orthography at school, do not seem to use it "correctly".

However, writing itself is not unknown to most Wolaytta people. Amharic, which is an official language of Ethiopia and written in the Ethiopic script, is widespread and many Wolaytta people can read and write it. In school English is taught and even used as a means of education, thus not a few Wolaytta people, though not as many as in the case of Amharic, manage to read and write it.[95]

3.2   Wolaytta Written in the Latin Alphabet
3.2.1   Norm of Wolaytta Written in the Latin Alphabet

The Latin alphabet has become a dominant tool for writing the Wolaytta language, partly because it is adopted in mother tongue education in school at present. There seems to be a normative orthography, though it is difficult to answer the question "What is normative?" Unfortunately I do not know the best and easiest way to learn the "officially authorized orthography", if any. Dictionaries, such as Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.) and Lemma (1992 E.C.), give only charts in which values of letters of the Latin alphabet are indicated by letters of the Ethiopic script without further

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[95] The situation described above is that of urban areas where I spent time. I do not know much about education in rural areas, but it does seem to me that they have some opportunity to learn writing.

explanation. Thus it would be appropriate to introduce here the description in *Wolaittatto pitaliyaa xaafiyo wogaa*, which means 'the custom in writing the Wolaytta letters' (hereafter abbreviated as WPXW), published in 1985 E.C.[96] by Wolaitta Qaala Hiwote Maattame Keettaa. As far as I know it is the only work that offers a writing system of Wolaytta with the Latin alphabet in some detail, and "orthographies" in most, or perhaps all, current publications are basically the same as that in WPXW.

Judging from the charts and examples, in principle one letter corresponds to one sound in WPXW. Since the number of letters in the Latin alphabet is not enough large for Wolaytta, however, some sounds are represented by diagraphs. The correspondences can be summarized as follows. For sound values of letters in / /, see chapter 2.

(3.2.1-1) Notation of Wolaytta with the Latin Alphabet in WPXW

Letters	Sound Values	Letters	Sound Values
a	/a/	r	/r/
b	/b/	s	/s/
c	/C/	t	/t/
d	/d/	u	/u/
e	/e/	v	[v]
f	[f]	w	/w/
g	/g/	x	/T/
h	/h/	y	/y/ [j]
i	/i/	z	/z/
j	/j/	ch	/c/
k	/k/	dh	/D/
l	/l/	nh	
m	/m/	ny	(palatalized *n*)
n	/n/	ph	/P/
o	/o/	sh	/sh/
p	/p/	ts	(glottalized *s*)
q	/K/	zh	/zh/
		7[97]	/7/

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[96] 1985 E.C. corresponds to 1992 or 1993 A.D. in the Gregorian calendar. See section 4.2.3.5 for more details.

[97] I have heard that the use of this Arabic numeral for a glottal stop has recently been

The letters *v*, *ny*, and *ts* are needed only in non-indigenized loanwords. As is discussed in section 2.1.1.1, [f] is an allophone of /p/ (it also occurs in non-indigenized loanwords). However, it would be convenient to be able to use these letters, as the use of non-indigenized loanwords is not rare in Wolaytta. WPXW does not explain the value of *nh*, but it would correspond to /nh/ (nasalized *h*, discussed in section 2.1.1.2).

Long vowels and geminated consonants are represented by doubling relevant letters, as in this thesis. In the case of diagraphs, both letters are repeated (eg. *shsh*) as in this thesis. Although there are no explicit explanation on diphthongs, judging from the examples, they are represented by combining vowels, as in this thesis. Tone is completely ignored.

There are some disagreements between the notation of WPXW and mine, which seem to be derived from differences in phonological interpretations. For example, WPXW says on pp. 6-7 that in consonant clusters second consonants must be written with doubled letters as they are geminated, although I do not think this is the case (refer to the discussion in section 2.3).

(3.2.1-2)

Notation in this thesis	Notation following WPXW	
galb-áa	galbbaa	'skin'
dend-á	dendda	'rise up!'
bírsh-ett-aa	birshshettaa	'untying, interpretation'

Geminated voiced glottalized sonorants, /LL/, /MM/, and /NN/, are written as *l77*, *m77*, and *n77*, respectively, in WPXW (remember the discussion in section 2.1.3.3). Word initial glottal stops are not written in WPXW, perhaps as it does not recognize them. Finally, the judgments of WPXW on vowel length in some nominal endings are not the same as mine.

Note especially that in WPXW the plain consonant /c/ is written with the addition of the *h* letter (*ch*) and its glottalized counterpart is written with a single letter (*c*) while the plain consonant /p/ is written with a single letter (*p*) and its glottalized counterpart /P/ is written with the addition of the *h* letter (*ph*). Note also that the glottalized counterparts of *k* /k/ and *t* /t/ are represented as *q* and *x*, respectively, in WPXW. In other words, totally unrelated letters are used. However, orthography does not necessarily need to

replaced by the use of an apostrophe (').

reflect a systematic phonological analysis. In fact Qubee, which is a system based on the Latin alphabet for writing the Oromo language (one of the most major languages in Ethiopia and belongs to the Cushitic family of the Afroasiatic phylum) is the same in this regard, and thus WPXW's writing is convenient if we want to unify the writing systems as much as we possibly can. More importantly, although a writing system based on the presence or absence of glottalization is indeed logical and reasonable in terms of articulatory phonetics, it is not the only possible system, nor is it necessarily the best one. At least in Wolaytta, the occurrence of /P/ is infrequent (see section 2.1.3.1) and the status of /c/ as a non-geminated consonant is not stable (see section 2.1.1.3). In other words, these are marked consonants that have restrictions, and we can assume that the markedness is expressed by the addition of *h* in WPXW. This is of course paralleled by the fact that one of the rare consonants, /zh/, is written with the addition of *h*. Since writing systems function well enough as long as readers can understand the intended meanings with the help of "words" as mentioned in section 3.1.2, we should examine these seeming "inconsistencies" from different viewpoints.

3.2.2   Actual Examples of Wolaytta Written in the Latin Alphabet

In the following, I will introduce some actual examples of Wolaytta written in the Latin alphabet, and analyze them. In the following examples, each upper line represents the original text, and each lower line represents my phonological interpretation of the original[98]. Letters were sometimes illegible, especially in the case of handwritings. It was sometimes difficult to determine whether a given letter was a capital or small letter. My phonological interpretation is never perfect, as I did not ask writers to read out the written words. Parts I was not sure about are indicated by a [?], and excluded from the objects of the analysis. The examples seem to include unintended mistakes. What seem to be obvious mistakes are indicated by [*sic*], and excluded from the objects of the analysis. This chapter mainly deals with Wolaytta written by ordinary people. Thus most examples are taken from private letters (including e-mail) I have received. Though I see no serious problem if the contents of the letters introduced here are known to others, since they concern private matters at all, I omit glosses to and translations of the examples. Since here the Latin letters are in general used phonetically in the broad sense, we can achieve our aim only if we can compare the original text and its phonological interpretation. However, meanings and/or grammatical statuses of words will be mentioned, whenever they are necessary.

In the following, the "deviation" of the ways in which some friends of mine write

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[98]   For the sake of convenience, morpheme boundaries are also included.

their language from the phonological notation or from the norm seen in WPXW will necessarily be a main topic. However, I never mean to deride their "ignorance". Although they happen to have had no chance to learn the Wolaytta "orthography", they are all very intellectual. The examples below are precious texts, written by those who love and are proud of the Wolaytta language. They did this by imitating the "orthography", which is nothing but a new comer, and by pondering over the phonological structure of their mother tongue, and by judging inductively from other written languages. We must be cognizant that the language in the examples below is never "corrupted".

The following examples should be examined while taking notice of what is mentioned above.[99]

(3.2.2-1) A Letter from Mr. A (October, 2001)

Daro   *siko*   *laggia*   *Motomiche*   *aaimala*   *gami7addi?*
dár-o   sííK-o   lágg-iya   motomícc-ee   7áí mal-á   gaMM-ádii?

Ne   *herrayi,*   *Dabbo*   *Assai*   *Sarro*   *de7i?*
ne-héér-ai   dább-o   7as-ái   sár-o   de7-íi?

Ne   *Erra*   *oossoi*   *(Tinnattee)*   *loo7o?*
ne-7ér-aa [?]   7óós-oi   (Tináát-ee)   ló77-oo?

yanna   *gada*   *aaissi*   *Agadi?*
y-aaná   g-áádá   7áí-ssí   7agg-ádii?

Erro   *Sarro*   *De7a.*
7eró   sár-o   de7-á.

Saluwa   *Tossia*   *Sikuwane*   *Sarroteta*   *Neyone*
sal-úwa   Tooss-ái [?]   sííK-uwa-nne   sarótett-aa   né-yyo-nne

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[99] As will be discussed in section 4.2.8.1, vowel length is neutralized before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' and its vowel may be reduced to zero. In the phonological notation in this thesis, its longest variant is used for the sake of tonological representation. In this chapter, however, I adopted its phonetic variants that seem to be the closest to the written forms in question. In examining the following examples, one could ignore this footnote.

Nebitaw_ane[sic] *ubba* *Alamiyawu* *(Saa7a* *ubbawu)* *immo.*
ne-biitt-á-u-nne 7ubb-á 7alám-iya-u (sa7-á 7ubb-á-u) 7imm-ó.

(3.2.2-2) A Letter from Mr. A (December, 2004)
Ta *Darro* *siiqo* *Laggiyaa* *Motomiche* *(kallane*
ta-dár-o sííK-o lágg-iya motomícc-ee (Káál-aa-nne

Hasayya *maara [?]* *Dotoriyawu (Dr.[100]))*.
haasáy-aa [?] [?])

Hashshu *Ne* *Derriarane* *Ne* *siiqo* *AWWarane*
hashshú ne-der-íya-ra-nne ne-sííK-o 7aaw-áa-ra-nne

Ayyera *sarro* *takkassa.*
7aayy-ée-ra sár-o tákk-aasa.

Inte *bitta* *carrikuwa* *hannota* *oddetiyabbape*
7inte-biitt-áa Cark-úwa hanót-aa 7od-étt-iya b-áá-ppé

siyyada hirrigashshini *Lootetta* *neni* *yeddo* *kitape (04/NOV.16)[101]*
síy-ada hirg-áas shííní ló77-o-tett-aa nééní yedd-ó kíít-aa-ppe

be7adda *uuffaitassi.*
be7-ádá 7upáítt-aas.

Wolaitato *donna* *neni* *dukkido* *hayissia kassatiyne*
wolaittátt-o doon-áa nééní duuKK-ído hais-íya kasett-iya-nne [?]

potuwawa[sic] *kittido* *gishshawu* *Gallatayissi*
poot-úwa kiitt-ído gishsh-á-u galat-áis.

---- *Tossi* *Immo* ----- *Sarro* *de7a*
Tooss-í 7imm-ó. sár-o de7-á.

---

[100] Needless to say, this is English.
[101] Needless to say, it represents the date. It is omitted in the lower line.

Zarridi	Tossi	sarro	gaitanawu	maddo
zaar-ídí	Tooss-í	sár-o	gáítt-an-a-u	maadd-ó.

(3.2.2-3) A Letter from Mr. B (March, 1999)

Nen	saro	lo77o!
nééní	sár-o	ló77-oo?

Awaay	Ayiya	ubayka	lo77o	de7iyona?
7aaw-ái	7aayy-íya	7ubb-ái-kka	ló77-o	de7-íyonaa?

Tani	Sorotoga[sic]	ettas	yotta.
táání	sarot-óo-g-áá	7etá-ssí	yoot-á.

Nen	Nu	biitta	siqqidoga	nuuni	keehin	dosida.
nééní	nu-biitt-áa		siiK-ídoo-g-áá	núúní	keehín	dos-ída.

Nena	xosay	anjo.
néna	Tooss-ái	7anj-ó.

Haga	wolaiti	ne	yiyo	wode	hasayana.
hagáá	woláítt-í	né	y-íyo	wod-é	haasay-aná.

(3.2.2-4) A Letter from Mr. B (April, 2001)

WOLatatuwa	qalau	xafido	ban
wolaittátt-uwa	Káál-a-u	Taap[102]-ído	b-á-n

digriyaa	ekkabekki?	Tasi	yoota!
digr-íya [?]	7ekk-ábe7íkkíi?	táá-ssí	yoot-á.

Saluwa	gaxape	sarota	yedidogaw	kehin	kehin	galatays.
sal-úwa	gáT-aa-ppe	sarót-aa	yedd-ídoo-g-á-ú	keehín	keehín	galat-áis.

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[102] This is a loanword from Amharic. It is frequently used. Its actual pronunciation often reflects the original Amharic sound: [s'aaf], irrespective of its normative phonological interpretation.

Simadaka   tana   dogofa.
simm-ádá-kká   tána   dog-óppa.

Xoosay   nena   anjo.
Tooss-ái   néna   7anj-ó.

(3.2.2-5) E-mail from Mr. C (November, 2004)[103]
Ta   siiqo   Motomichi   neeni   ay   malee?
ta-sííK-o   motomícc-ee[104]   nééní   7áí   mál-ee?

Taani   Xoossaa   wolqan   daro   lo7o.
táání   Tooss-áa   wolK-á-n   dár-o   ló77-o.

Hashu   nebiitta   saro   gakkada   ne   keetta   asan
hashshú ne-biitt-áa   sár-o   gákk-ada   ne-keett-a-7as-á-n

saro   gayttadasa.
sár-o   gáítt-adasa.

Hode   ane   neeni   ne   xinaatiya   oottaydda
hodde [?]   7áne   nééní   ne-Tináát-iya   7oott-áidda

metiyabinne   tana   maddes   ne   gaada   qoppiyobi
met-íya b-í-nné   tána   maadd-ées   né   g-áádá Kopp-íyo b-í

diikko   oicha.
d-íí-kkó 7oicc-á.

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[103] Mr. C was living in Beijing when he wrote this mail. At that time e-mail was not common in Wolaytta (and perhaps still isn't).

[104] This represents my Japanese name. I assume that the form with the *-ee* ending (vocative) should be used here, as in the lower line,. However, foreign proper nouns often do not follow the paradigm of Wolaytta. Wolayttas seem to understand easily that my Japanese name should always be "Motomichi" in order to make sense in Japanese. Thus the notation by Mr. C is not necessarily a mistake. See also the discussion in section 4.2.2.3.5.

Taani   *ha7ikka*   *Beijingen*   *uttas.*
táání   ha77í-kká   [?]-e-n [?]   7útt-aas.

Ta   *xinaatiya*   *wurssikko*   *taanikka*   *naa7u*
ta-Tináát-iya [?]   wurs-í-kkó   táání-kká   naa77-ú

aginappe   *guyiyan*   *so*   *simmana.*
7agín-aa-ppe   guyy-íya-ni   s-óo   simm-aná.

Hege   *gakkanaashin*   *e-mayilian*   *gayttana.*
hegéé   gákk-an-aa-shiini   [?]-iya-ni   gáítt-ana.

Hachi   e-mayilia   malse   gam7idooge-   ta   computere
hácci   [?]-iya   máls-ee   gaMM-ídoo-g-éé   ta-[?]-ee

moorettin   *Yahoo*   *mailiya*   *dooyanaw*   *wayissin*
moor-étt-i-n   [?]   [?]-iya   dooy-an-á-u   waiss-íi-ni

issi   *aginaw*   *dooyabeikke.*
7issí   7agín-a-u   dooy-ábe7íkke.

Hachi   *gigisada*   *dooyas.*
hácci   giig-iss-ádá   dooy-áas.

Gam7ido   *gishaw*   *taw*   *yiqirta*   *ootta.*
gaMM-ído   gishsh-á-u   tá-u   [?]   7oott-á.

Ane   *ubbankka*   *saro*   *gam7a.*
7áne   7ubb-á-n-ka   sár-o   gaMM-á.

In the following, I will describe different features observed in the above examples, mentioning other materials where appropriate.

Glottalized and Non-glottalized Sounds

Mr. A often does not differentiate glottalized consonants from non-glottalized

consonants: For example, *siko* /síí<u>K</u>-o/ in (3.2.2-1) l.1, <u>*T*</u>*innattee* /<u>T</u>ináát-ee/[105] in (3.2.2-1) l.3, etc. In (3.2.2-2) as well, the same thing is observed, although *siiqo* /síí<u>K</u>-*o*/ in l.1 and l.3 is written as in WPXW and uses *q* for the glottalized consonant. It should also be noted that it is often difficult to differentiate glottalized consonants from their corresponding non-glottalized consonants when hearing them (see section 2.1.3.1).

Geminated and Non-geminated Consonants

Mr. A sometimes writes non-geminated consonants with doubled letters: For example, *gami7a<u>dd</u>i* /ga<u>MM</u>-ádii/ in (3.2.2-1) l.1, *A<u>ss</u>ai* /7a<u>s</u>-ái/ in (3.2.2-1) l.2, *Ti<u>nn</u>a<u>tt</u>ee* /Ti<u>n</u>áá<u>t</u>-ee/ in (3.2.2-1) l.3, *Sa<u>rr</u>ote<u>t</u>a* /sa<u>r</u>ótett-aa/ in (3.2.2-1) l.6, etc. On the contrary, he also sometimes writes geminated consonants with single letters: For example, *Agadi* /7a<u>gg</u>-ádii/ in (3.2.2-1) l.4, *Sarrote<u>t</u>a* /saróte<u>tt</u>-aa/ and *Ne<u>yo</u>ne* /né-<u>yyo</u>-<u>nn</u>e/ in (3.2.2-1) l.6, etc. Judging from the fact that the same verb ending /-ádii/ is written with a doubled letter in *gami7addi* /ga<u>MM</u>-ádii/ in (3.2.2-1) l.1 and is written with a single consonant in *Agadi* /7a<u>gg</u>-ádii/ in (3.2.2-1) l.4, there seems to be no regular correspondences between his spelling and the gemination of consonants[106]. Needless to say, many others are written as in WPXW.

In the letters of Mr. B as well, geminated consonants are often written with single consonants: For example, *u<u>b</u>ayka* /7u<u>bb</u>-ái-kka/ in (3.2.2-3) l.2, *xo<u>s</u>ay* /Too<u>ss</u>-ái/ in (3.2.2-3) l.5, *wolai<u>t</u>i* /wolái<u>tt</u>-í/ in (3.2.2-3) l.6, etc. In (3.2.2-4) this tendency is much stronger, and doubled consonant letters are found only in *e<u>kk</u>abe<u>kk</u>i* /7e<u>kk</u>-ábe7í<u>kk</u>íi/ in l.2.

Despite this tendency, non-geminated consonants are also occasionally written with doubled letters in the letters of Mr. B. Among them are, *y<u>ott</u>a* /y<u>oot</u>-á/ in (3.2.2-3) l.3 and *si<u>qq</u>idoga* /si<u>iK</u>-ídoo-g-áá/ in (3.2.2-3) l.4, each of which has a long vowel followed by a non-geminated consonant (i.e. /oot/ and /iiK/, respectively) but are written as if they were a short vowel followed by a geminated consonant (i.e *ott* and *iqq*, respectively). This is interesting, as Cerulli (1929: 12) says that in Wolaytta, as in Lowland and East Cushitic languages, a long vowel followed by a non-geminated consonant is equivalent to a short vowel followed by a geminated consonant. As is mentioned in section 2.1.4, I have not observed such an alternation so far in spoken

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[105] Although in my notation capital letters represent glottalized counterparts of consonants that are written with small letters, this is not the case in the notation of Mr. A, judging from the examples. Incidentally it is written as *xinaatee* in WPXW's writing.

[106] However, we could point out tendencies such as that /r/ is very often written with a doubled letter (*rr*) and that the dependant indeclinable *-nne* 'and' is almost always written as *ne*.

Wolaytta. However, the two examples in question (*yotta* /yoot-á/ and *siqqidoga* /siiK-ídoo-g-áá/) are exactly this type of alternation, though in this case between spoken and written languages. Note also that the former is written as *yoota* in (3.2.2-4) l.2. If these are not just careless mistakes, Cerulli's description may indeed be true, at least in some level of consciousness of native Wolayttas, if not in the level of spoken Wolaytta.[107]

Although Mr. C's writing is similar to that of WPXW in general, occasionally geminated consonants are written with single letters in his writing: For example, *lo7o* /ló77-o/ in (3.2.2-5) l.2, *Hashu* /hashshú/ in (3.2.2-5) l.3, *oicha* /7oicc-á/ in (3.2.2-5) l.7, *gigisada* /giig-iss-ádá/ in (3.2.2-5) l.15, etc. His writing seems to avoid especially sequences of four consonants, which are generated when consonants written with diagraphs, such as *sh*, are geminated if we follow WPXW. Related to this avoidance of consonant sequences, the third word in (3.2.2-5) l.2 is written as *wolqan* /wolK-á-n/, instead of *wolqqan*, and the last word in the last line of (3.2.2-5) is written as *gam7a* /gaMM-á/, instead of *gam77a*, although WPXW demands that second consonants of consonant clusters should be written with relevant doubled letters (but other transcriptions that do follow (or happen to follow) the WPXW's norm are also observed: for exampe, *wurssikko* /wurs-í-kkó/ in (3.2.2-5) l.9 or *ubbankka* /7ubb-á-n-ka/ in the last line of (3.2.2-5))

Glottalized Sonorants

In the word *carrikuwa* /Cark-úwa/ in (3.2.2-2) l.5, for example, a seemingly unnecessary vowel, *i*, is written between two successive consonants. Mr. A might have felt it necessary to put some gap between the consonants, /r/ and /k/.

What is interesting in this regard is the way of transcribing the geminated glottalized sonorant /MM/, which is regarded as a consonant cluster composed of a nasal and a glottal stop, *m77*, in some previous works. While the last word in (3.2.2-1) l.1 is written as /gaMM-ádii/ in my notation and as *gam77adii* in WPXW, it is *gami7addi* in Mr. A's writing, in which *m* and *7* are separated by a vowel. Thus his writing seems to support the latter interpretation (/m/ followed by /7/, instead of /MM/), although he might have tried to simply imitate "orthography" without considering phonetic facts.

Incidentally, in *Inte* /7inte-/ in (3.2.2-2) l.5 a vowel is not inserted between *n* and *t*

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[107] This phenomenon is observed also in the letters of Mr. A (in (3.2.2-1) and (3.2.2-2)). In general, however, he prefers doubled consonant letters and, as we will see later, he does not pay attention to vowel length in writing. Thus there is a possibility that the phenomenon is accidental, and therefore I did not mention it in the above text.

perhaps since their places of articulation are the same and gap is not sensed.

Vowel Length

Long vowels are often written with single letters in the examples: For example, in the case of Mr. A, *gami7add<u>i</u>* /gaMM-ád<u>ii</u>/ in (3.2.2.-1) l.1, *loo7<u>o</u>* /ló77-<u>oo</u>/ in (3.2.2-1) l.3, *g<u>a</u>da* /g-<u>áá</u>dá/ in (3.2.2-1) l.4, *b<u>i</u>tta* /b<u>ii</u>tt-<u>áa</u>/ in (3.2.2-2) l.5, *k<u>i</u>tape* /k<u>íí</u>t-<u>aa</u>-ppe/ in (3.2.2-2) l.6, etc., and in the case of Mr. B, *N<u>e</u>n* /n<u>éé</u>ní/ in (3.2.2-3) l.1, *T<u>a</u>ni* /t<u>áá</u>ní/ in (3.2.2-3) l.3, *x<u>o</u>say* /T<u>oo</u>ss-ái/ in (3.2.2-3) l.5, *qalau* /Káál-a-u/ in (3.2.2-4) l.1, *ekkabekk<u>i</u>* /7ekk-ábe7íkk<u>íi</u>/ in (3.2.2-4) l.2, *k<u>e</u>hin* /k<u>ee</u>hín/ in (3.2.2-4) l.3 (twice), etc. However, the same phrase as that in the last example is written as *keehin* in (3.2.2-3) l.4, in which the long vowel is written as in WPXW. Likewise, /T<u>oo</u>ss-ái/ is written as *x<u>o</u>say* in (3.2.2-3) l.5, in which the long vowel is written with a single vowel against WPXW while the very same word is written as *x<u>oo</u>say* in (3.2.2-4) l.5, which is written as in WPXW. Judging from these facts, there seem to be no strict rules for the different spellings for long vowels. In the case of Mr. C as well, we find *m<u>a</u>dd<u>e</u>s* /m<u>aa</u>dd-<u>ée</u>s/ in (3.2.2-5) l.6, *s<u>o</u>* /s<u>óo</u>/ in (3.2.2-5) l.10, *g<u>i</u>gisada* /g<u>ii</u>g-iss-ádá/ in (3.2.2-5) l.15, etc.

In the case of Mr. A, in the same instances, short vowels are occasionally written with doubled letters: for example, *loo7o* /ló77-oo/ in (3.2.2-1) l.3, *S<u>aa</u>7a* /s<u>a</u>7-á/ in (3.2.2-1) l.7, and *<u>uu</u>ffaitassi* /7<u>u</u>páítt-aas/ in (3.2.2-2) l.7.

Diphthongs

Representation of diphthongs is not stable. In the case of Mr. A, we can observe three variants for /ai/: *<u>aa</u>i* as in *<u>aa</u>imala* /7<u>áí</u> mal-á/ in (3.2.2-1) l.1, *ayi* as in *Ne herr<u>ayi</u>* /ne-héér-<u>ai</u>/ in (3.2.2-1) l.2, and *ai* as in *Ass<u>ai</u>* /7as-<u>ái</u>/ in (3.2.2-1) l.2. As is seen in *ooss<u>oi</u>* /7óós-<u>oi</u>/ in (3.2.2-1) l.3, /oi/ is written as in WPXW. However, as is seen in *Alamiy<u>awu</u>* /7alám-iy<u>a-u</u>/ in (3.2.2-1) l.7, /au/ is written differently from the norm of WPXW. In the case of Mr. B too, we can observe two variants for /au/: *au* as in *qal<u>au</u>* /Káál-<u>a-u</u>/ in (3.2.2-4) l.1, and *aw* as in *yedidog<u>aw</u>* /yedd-ídoo-g-<u>á-ú</u>/ in (3.2.2-4) l.3. In the case of Mr. C such fluctuation is not observed. However, as is seen in *<u>ay</u>* /7<u>áí</u>/ in (3.2.2-5) l.1 and *dooyan<u>aw</u>* /dooy-an<u>á-u</u>/ in (3.2.2-5) l.13, he often uses letters for semivowels (*y* and *w*) to represent diphthongs, which differs from WPXW.

Diphthongs are always troublesome when Wolaytta is written in the Latin alphabet. Even in Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa's (1991 E.C.) dictionary we can find fluctuations: for example, *WOL<u>AY</u>TTATTO* 'of the Wolaytta language' is written on the cover and a differing spelling, *Wol<u>ay</u>ittattuwaa* 'the Wolaytta language' is written on page 343 (their stem is /wolaittátt-/ in my notation).

I was able to obtain a school textbook for the Wolaytta language for the 3rd grade published in 1997 A.D. and that for the 5th grade reprinted in 1989 E.C. (1996 or 1997 A.D.), whose first publication was in 1987 E.C. (1994 or 1995 A.D.). They are in general written in the same way as in WPXW. However, it is notable that *y* and *w* are used in their notation for diphthongs differently from WPXW: thus, /ai/ is written as *ay*, /oi/ is as *oy*, and /au/ is as *awu*. In a science textbook reprinted in 1995, whose first publication was in 1992, diphthongs are written in the same way as in WPXW. Thus the "orthography" seems to have changed around the mid-nineties.

Final *i*

In the case of Mr. A, it is interesting that the verb endings /-aas/ and /-áis/, which usually end in the consonant /s/ (see section 2.2.4), are written with final *i*, as in *uuffait*<u>*assi*</u> /7upáitt-<u>aas</u>/ in (3.2.2-2) l.7 and *Gallat*<u>*ayissi*</u> /galat-<u>áis</u>/ in (3.2.2-2) l.9. Although WPXW does not transcribe this final *i*, it seems that these words originally have it as the final *i* appears, for example, when another word follows them or when they are emphatically uttered. Mr. A's notation may reflect this linguistic consciousness.

In the case of Mr. B, on the contrary, it is interesting that sometimes the final *i* is not written, as in *Ne*<u>*n*</u> /néé<u>ní</u>/ in (3.2.2-3) l.1 and *ettas* /7etá-<u>ssí</u>/ in (3.2.2-3) l.3. This might reflect the tendency that the final *i* is often weakened (see section 2.2.4).

Loanwords

In the e-mail from Mr. C some foreign words are found, and the way in which they are transcribed is an interesting subject. For example, *computere* in (3.2.2-5) l.12 represents 'computer', and *mailiya* in (3.2.2-5) l.13 represents 'mail' (the last *e* of the former and *iya* at the end of the latter are nominal endings). Unfortunately I do not know the normative Wolaytta pronunciations of the stems of these words, but they are probably similar to those of the corresponding English words, not the pronunciations [ʧ'omputer] and [mail]. Then why are they not spelled phonemically as *komppiutaree* and *meiliyaa*? The answer is, needless to say, that the writer adopted the original spellings in English. It seems that people think that it is natural for loanwords from languages usually written in the Latin alphabet to be written in the same way as they are written in their original languages when written in the Latin alphabet. On the contrary, however, /kaam-íya/ 'truck, big car', which seems to have existed since relatively early times, is usually written with initial *k*, despite that it seems to be related to *camion* 'truck' in Italian or French. In Wolaytta there are many loanwords from Amharic too. For example, *yiqirta* in (3.2.2-5) l.16 corresponds to ይቅርታ /yeKertA/. Since Amharic

has seven distinctive vowels, as well as plenty of consonants, it is not straightforward to devise a phonemic transcription system of it in the Latin alphabet. In any case, we should observe in the future how new loanwords are written and what happens to their notation when they are indigenized.

Marks

What is written in the first line of (3.2.2-3) is grammatically an interrogative sentence, which roughly means 'are you fine?' or 'how are you?' Thus it may be worth noting that an exclamation mark (!) is added to it. Mr. A has also used an exclamation mark for an interrogative sentence for greetings of this type in other instances.

Forms of Letters

In the above, a letter representing a glottal stop is transcribed with the Arabic numeral *7*. In the case of Mr. A, however, letters for a glottal stop and those for a numeral "seven" are different in their forms, the former resembling *Z*.

Although I have not researched enough published materials yet, I will note some interesting phenomena found in them below.

At present a magazine called *Bakkaaliya* is published in Wolaytta. Although most of the articles are written in Amharic, some articles are written in Wolaytta with the Latin alphabet. Although their notation is almost the same as that of WPXW, they sometimes differ in representation of vowel length and of gemination. *Bakkaaliya* uses an apostrophe for a glottal stop, instead of *7* (see footnote 97 in section 3.2.1).

School textbooks are written almost in the same way as in WPXW. For diphthongs, see the discussion under the heading "diphthong" above in this section.

Some chapters of the Bible published by Wolaitta Qaala Hiwot Church almost exactly follow the norm described in WPXW[108]. This kind of almost perfect faithfulness to WPXW is exceptional. However, this would not be surprising since the publisher of WPXW has a close relationship with the church.

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[108] In fact, there are some exceptions. However, *wolwoluwaa* instead of *wolwwoluwaa* may reflect an interpretation that /w/ is not consonantal here (see (3.2.1-2) and the discussion related to it). *Isra7eela* instead of *Isrra7eela* would be explained by the fact that in this language /r/ cannot be geminated (except for loanwords). Most other deviations are also related to phonological interpretations like these. The only genuine orthographical deviation is the substitution of *nh* (which represents a very rare consonant) with *h*. But this is really trivial.

However, despite the relative faithfulness to WPXW of published materials it is true that when most ordinary Wolaytta people write their language freely in the Latin alphabet they do not adopt strict phonological writing and are indifferent especially to vowel length and gemination as is shown above (although they do not spell words with total indifference to sounds).

Based on this fact, we might be able to claim that in literacy education we should teach the orthography paying attention especially to these "mistakes", or conversely we might be able to claim that the present orthography is against native speakers' linguistic consciousness and should be revised. I consider, however, that such tasks should be done eventually by Wolaytta people, not by linguists. I, a linguist, will not go into these matters further here, and will observe and describe Wolaytta written in the Ethiopic script in the following sections.

3.3 Wolaytta Written in the Ethiopic Script

3.3.1 The Ethiopic Script

The Ethiopic script originates in the Old South Arabic script. It is used in some Ethiopian Semitic languages such as Geez, Amharic, and Tigrinya.

The Ethiopic script, as well as the Amharic language, is very popular and widespread in Ethiopia. It is more familiar than the Latin alphabet to Ethiopians both in the capital (Addis Ababa) and Wolaytta. As an example, when I teach Japanese words to them, they write down the words in the Ethiopic script almost without exception[109]. Mr. D, whose writing will be introduced in section 3.3.3, is very good at reading and writing English, but, he cannot, he says, read and write Wolaytta in the Latin alphabet.

(3.3.1-1) shows the Ethiopic script used in Amharic[110]. It contains three tables: one for basic letters, one for letters for labialized velar consonants, and one for letters for other labialized consonants.

In general each letter of the Ethiopic script is syllabic and represents a consonant followed by a vowel. In this chapter, the letters are transliterated. In the transliteration it would be more convenient to avail ourselves of this structure than, for example, to adopt serial numbers. That is, it would be convenient to analyze the syllabic letters into

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[109] Likewise, most Japanese write down foreign words in their own script called Katakana if they have no time or need to learn a language sufficiently. This is the case especially when the language is not familiar to them. This kind of fact may be a blind spot for linguists.

[110] This thesis deals only with Wolaytta. Thus Geez and Tigrinya, whose influences on Wolaytta can be ignored, are not mentioned here.

"consonantal elements" and "vocalic elements" in the transliteration.

For basic letters, letters that are in the same row in (3.3.1-1) have the same initial consonant and resemble each other in their forms. Let's express this fact by saying that these letters share a "consonantal element". In this thesis the "consonantal elements" of the Ethiopic script are transliterated as follows in the traditional order, i.e. from top to bottom of the first table in (3.3.1-1).

h1 l h2 m s1 r s2 sY K b t c h3 n nY 7 k h4
w ' z zY y d j g T C P S1 S2 f p

Likewise, letters that are in the same column of the first table in (3.3.1-1) have the same final vowel in principle, and have the same feature in their forms in many cases. Let's express this fact by saying that these letters share a "vocalic element". In this thesis the "vocalic elements" of the Ethiopic script are transliterated as follows in the traditional order, i.e. from left to right of the first table in (3.3.1-1).

a u i A E e o

Transliteration of letters is indicated by relevant "consonantal elements" and "vocalic elements" expressed in the Latin alphabet (and numerals) as above. They are enclosed in this order in these type of brackets | |. For example, a letter in the first row on the extreme left, **ሀ**, is transliterated as |h1a|, a letter in the second row on the extreme left, **ለ**, is transliterated as |la|, and a letter in the second row, second from the left, **ሉ**, is transliterated as |lu|.

The other letters in (3.3.1-1) are those for labialized consonants, and are formed by modifying relevant basic letters. In their transliteration, *W* is placed after consonantal elements. For example, a letter in the first row on the extreme left of the second table in (3.3.1-1) entitled "Letters for labialized velar consonants", **ቈ**, is transliterated as |KWa|, and a letter in the second row on the extreme left of the same table, **ኈ**, is transliterated as |h3Wa|.

Note that the notions of "consonantal element" and "vocalic element" are introduced not for the purpose of phonological analysis, but for the purpose of transliteration, i.e. automatic replacement of unfamiliar letters (those of the Ethiopic script, in this case) with familiar letters (those of the Latin alphabet, in this case). Thus in Amharic, different letters, i.e. letters transliterated differently, may have the same phonetic value.

For example, **ພ** |s1a| and **ሰ** |s2a| have different "consonantal elements", but they represent the same sound, /sA/ (their "vocalic elements" are the same). Likewise, **ሐ** |h2a| and **ሓ** |h2A| have different "vocalic elements", but they represent the same sound, /hA/ (their "consonantal elements" are the same). These are due to historical sound changes. The phonological interpretation of the pronunciation in Amharic of each letter is indicated between virgules (/ /) in (3.3.1-1). For the transcription of Amharic in this thesis, see section 0.4.2. Note that the transcriptional system for Amharic and that for Wolaytta, which is described in chapter 2, are not the same. In Amharic, actual phonetic values of the same vowel may be different according to circumstances. Letters that contain the sixth "vocalic element", |e|, i.e. letters that represent open syllables ending with the schwa-like vowel /e/, are also used when vowels do not exist. In other words, they can also represent only consonants.

(3.3.1-1) Letters of the Ethiopic Script Used in Amharic[111]

   * | | indicates transliteration of letters, and / / phonological interpretation in Amharic.

Basic Letters

	|a|	|u|	|i|	|A|	|E|	|e|	|o|
|h1|	ሀ	ሁ	ሂ	ሃ	ሄ	ህ	ሆ
	/hA/	/hu/	/hi/	/hA/	/hE/	/h(e)/	/ho/
|l|	ለ	ሉ	ሊ	ላ	ሌ	ል	ሎ
	/la/	/lu/	/li/	/lA/	/lE/	/l(e)/	/lo/
|h2|	ሐ	ሑ	ሒ	ሓ	ሔ	ሕ	ሖ
	/hA/	/hu/	/hi/	/hA/	/hE/	/h(e)/	/ho/
|m|	መ	ሙ	ሚ	ማ	ሜ	ም	ሞ
	/ma/	/mu/	/mi/	/mA/	/mE/	/m(e)/	/mo/
|s1|	ሠ	ሡ	ሢ	ሣ	ሤ	ሥ	ሦ
	/sa/	/su/	/si/	/sA/	/sE/	/s(e)/	/so/
|r|	ረ	ሩ	ሪ	ራ	ሬ	ር	ሮ
	/ra/	/ru/	/ri/	/rA/	/rE/	/r(e)/	/ro/
|s2|	ሰ	ሱ	ሲ	ሳ	ሴ	ስ	ሶ
	/sa/	/su/	/si/	/sA/	/sE/	/s(e)/	/so/

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[111] Some of the letters are seldom used. Some of the letters may have allographs that are not listed here. In fact other letters can be used (see (3.3.1-2)). There are also unique numerals in the Ethiopic script.

|sY|	ሸ	ሹ	ሺ	ሻ	ሼ	ሽ	ሾ
	/sYa/	/sYu/	/sYi/	/sYA/	/sYE/	/sY(e)/	/sYo/
|K|	ቀ	ቁ	ቂ	ቃ	ቄ	ቅ	ቆ
	/Ka/	/Ku/	/Ki/	/KA/	/KE/	/K(e)/	/Ko/
|b|	በ	ቡ	ቢ	ባ	ቤ	ብ	ቦ
	/ba/	/bu/	/bi/	/bA/	/bE/	/b(e)/	/bo/
|t|	ተ	ቱ	ቲ	ታ	ቴ	ት	ቶ
	/ta/	/tu/	/ti/	/tA/	/tE/	/t(e)/	/to/
|c|	ቸ	ቹ	ቺ	ቻ	ቼ	ች	ቾ
	/ca/	/cu/	/ci/	/cA/	/cE/	/c(e)/	/co/
|h3|	ነ	ኍ	ኒ	ኃ	ኄ	ን	ኆ
	/hA/	/hu/	/hi/	/hA/	/hE/	/h(e)/	/ho/
|n|	ነ	ኑ	ኒ	ና	ኔ	ን	ኖ
	/na/	/nu/	/ni/	/nA/	/nE/	/n(e)/	/no/
|nY|	ኘ	ኙ	ኚ	ኛ	ኜ	ኝ	ኞ
	/nYa/	/nYu/	/nYi/	/nYA/	/nYE/	/nY(e)/	/nYo/
|7|	አ	ኡ	ኢ	ኣ	ኤ	እ	ኦ
	/7A/	/7u/	/7i/	/7A/	/7E/	/7(e)/	/7o/
|k|	ከ	ኩ	ኪ	ካ	ኬ	ክ	ኮ
	/ka/	/ku/	/ki/	/kA/	/kE/	/k(e)/	/ko/
|h4|	ኸ	ኹ	ኺ	ኻ	ኼ	ኽ	ኾ
	/ha/	/hu/	/hi/	/hA/	/hE/	/h(e)/	/ho/
|w|	ወ	ዉ	ዊ	ዋ	ዌ	ው	ዎ
	/wa/	/wu/	/wi/	/wA/	/wE/	/w(e)/	/wo/
|'|	ዐ	ዑ	ዒ	ዓ	ዔ	ዕ	ዖ
	/7A/	/7u/	/7i/	/7A/	/7E/	/7(e)/	/7o/
|z|	ዘ	ዙ	ዚ	ዛ	ዜ	ዝ	ዞ
	/za/	/zu/	/zi/	/zA/	/zE/	/z(e)/	/zo/
|zY|	ዠ	ዡ	ዢ	ዣ	ዤ	ዥ	ዦ
	/zYa/	/zYu/	/zYi/	/zYA/	/zYE/	/zY(e)/	/zYo/
|y|	የ	ዩ	ዪ	ያ	ዬ	ይ	ዮ
	/ya/	/yu/	/yi/	/yA/	/yE/	/y(e)/	/yo/
|d|	ደ	ዱ	ዲ	ዳ	ዴ	ድ	ዶ
	/da/	/du/	/di/	/dA/	/dE/	/d(e)/	/do/
|j|	ጀ	ጁ	ጂ	ጃ	ጄ	ጅ	ጆ
	/ja/	/ju/	/ji/	/jA/	/jE/	/j(e)/	/jo/

|a|	|u|	|i|	|A|	|E|	|e|	|o|
|g|	ገ	ጉ	ጊ	ጋ	ጌ	ግ	ጎ
	/ga/	/gu/	/gi/	/gA/	/gE/	/g(e)/	/go/
|T|	ጠ	ጡ	ጢ	ጣ	ጤ	ጥ	ጦ
	/Ta/	/Tu/	/Ti/	/TA/	/TE/	/T(e)/	/To/
|C|	ጨ	ጩ	ጪ	ጫ	ጬ	ጭ	ጮ
	/Ca/	/Cu/	/Ci/	/CA/	/CE/	/C(e)/	/Co/
|P|	ጰ	ጱ	ጲ	ጳ	ጴ	ጵ	ጶ
	/Pa/	/Pu/	/Pi/	/PA/	/PE/	/P(e)/	/Po/
|S1|	ጸ	ጹ	ጺ	ጻ	ጼ	ጽ	ጾ
	/Sa/	/Su/	/Si/	/SA/	/SE/	/S(e)/	/So/
|S2|	ፀ	ፁ	ፂ	ፃ	ፄ	ፅ	ፆ
	/Sa/	/Su/	/Si/	/SA/	/SE/	/S(e)/	/So/
|f|	ፈ	ፉ	ፊ	ፋ	ፌ	ፍ	ፎ
	/fa/	/fu/	/fi/	/fA/	/fE/	/f(e)/	/fo/
|p|	ፐ	ፑ	ፒ	ፓ	ፔ	ፕ	ፖ
	/pa/	/pu/	/pi/	/pA/	/pE/	/p(e)/	/po/

Letters for Labialized Velar Consonants

	|a|		|i|	|A|	|E|	|e|
|KW|	ቈ		ቊ	ቋ	ቌ	ቍ
	/KWa/		/KWi/	/KWA/	/KWE/	/KW(e)/
|h3W|	ኈ		ኊ	ኋ	ኌ	ኍ
	/hWa/		/hWi/	/hWA/	/hWE/	/hW(e)/
|kW|	ኰ		ኲ	ኳ	ኴ	ኵ
	/kWa/		/kWi/	/kWA/	/kWE/	/kW(e)/
|gW|	ጐ		ጒ	ጓ	ጔ	ጕ
	/gWa/		/gWi/	/gWA/	/gWE/	/gW(e)/

Letters for Other Labialized Consonants

ሏ	ሟ	ሯ	ሷ	ሿ
|lWA| /lWA/	|mWA| /mWA/	|rWA| /rWA/	|s2WA| /sWA/	|sYWA| /sYWA/

ቧ	ቷ	ቿ	ኗ	ኟ
|bWA| /bWA/	|tWA| /tWA/	|cWA| /cWA/	|nWA| /nWA/	|nYWA| /nYWA/

ዛ	ዥ	ዷ	ጅ	ጧ
|zWA| /zWA/	|zYWA| /zYWA/	|dWA| /dWA/	|jWA| /jWA/	|TWA| /TWA/

ጰ	ጷ	ፏ
|PWA| /PWA/	|S1WA| /SWA/	|fWA| /fWA/

In addition to the above, letters representing syllables with initial *v*, which are used for loanwords, are formed from those with the "consonantal element" |b|, and a letter representing /7a/, which is rare in Amharic, is formed from ኸ |7a|, which represents /7A/.

(3.3.1-2)

ቨ	ቩ	ቪ	ቫ	ቬ	ቭ	ቮ
|va|	|vu|	|vi|	|vA|	|vE|	|ve|	|vo|
/va/	/vu/	/vi/	/vA/	/vE/	/v(e)/	/vo/

ኻ
|7'a|
/7a/

There are some punctuations in the Ethiopic script: ፡፡, which roughly corresponds to a period, ፥ and ፤, each of which roughly corresponds to a colon or comma, etc. The punctuation ፡ is used to separate words, although its use is not obligatory. These punctuations will be ignored in transliterations in this thesis.

In Amharic written in the Ethiopic script, spaces are left between words in principle. In our transliteration, letters written without spaces are combined with hyphens. Amharic in the Ethiopic script is written horizontally from left to right, as in English.

The Ethiopic script does not distinguish geminated consonants from non-geminated consonants. Thus in Amharic, for example, ገና |ga-nA| may represent /ganA/ 'yet' or /gannA/ 'Christmas'. Needles to say, this does not bring about any serious problems in its use, at least in the case of Amharic.

3.3.2   Norm of Wolaytta Written in the Ethiopic Script

Although there might be an officially authorized Wolaytta orthography in the

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Ethiopic script, I could not verify its existence. In addition, the Ethiopic script is nowadays being replaced by the Latin alphabet for the purpose of writing the Wolaytta language. Thus it is difficult to define what the norm of Wolaytta "orthography" in the Ethiopic script is. However, there are some publications that explain in some way or other how to write Wolaytta in the Ethiopic script. For example, WPXW, which was introduced in section 3.2.1, gives a table in which Ethiopic letters are matched with syllables they can represent written in the Latin alphabet. According to this, the correspondences of consonantal elements of Ethiopic letters (which are means for transliteration as is explained in section 3.3.1) to Wolaytta consonants are as follows.

(3.3.2-1)
Correspondences of Consonantal Elements of Letters of the Ethiopic Script
to Wolaytta Consonants[112]

Consonantal Element	Wolaytta Consonant	Consonantal Element	Wolaytta Consonant
|h1| ሀ	/h/	|w| ው	/w/
|l| ለ	/l/	|z| ዝ	/z/
|m| ም	/m/	|zY| ዥ	/zh/
|r| ር	/r/	|y| ይ	/y/
|s2| ስ	/s/	|d| ድ	/d/
|sY| ሽ	/sh/	|j| ጅ	/j/
|K| ቅ	/K/	|g| ግ	/g/
|b| ብ	/b/	|T| ጥ	/T/
|t| ት	/t/	|C| ጭ	/C/
|c| ች	/c/	|P| ጵ	/P/
|n| ን	/n/	|S1| ጽ	glottalized [s]
|nY| ኝ	palatalized [n]	|f| ፍ	[f] (/p/)
|7| እ	/7/	|p| ፕ	/p/
|k| ክ	/k/	|v| ቭ	[v]

In the above table, letters unnecessary from a genuine phonemic viewpoint are included. That is, palatalized [n], glotalized [s], and [v] occur only in non-indigenized

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[112] In addition to representation of consonantal elements in the Latin alphabet, Ethiopic letters that contain relevant consonantal elements and the vocalic element |e| are given.

loanwords, and [f] is an allophone of /p/ as is discussed in section 2.1.1.1 (it also occurs in non-indigenized loanwords). However, it would be convenient to be able to use these letters, since the use of non-indigenized loanwords is not rare in Wolaytta[113].

On the contrary, Wolaytta has some sounds that cannot be directly expressed in the Ethiopic script. The most salient of these is /D/, glottalized [d], for which new letters have been created by adding a dot on Ethiopic letters that contain the consonantal element |d|.

(3.3.2-2)

ዷ	ዱ	ዲ	ዳ	ዴ	ድ	ዶ
|Da|	|Du|	|Di|	|DA|	|DE|	|De|	|Do|

Cf.

ደ	ዱ	ዲ	ዳ	ዴ	ድ	ዶ
|da|	|du|	|di|	|dA|	|dE|	|de|	|do|

However, /nh/ is not dealt with at all, perhaps because it is a very rare consonant.[114] Geminated glottalized sonorants, such as /MM/, are written as if they were consonant clusters composed of a sonorant followed by a glottal stop.

The correspondences of vocalic elements of Ethiopic letters (which are means for transliteration as is explained in section 3.3.1) to Wolaytta vowels are as follows.

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[113] Adams (1983: 44) says that to use |f| letters word-medially for non-geminated /p/ in a practical Wolaytta orthography is 'good for in the Ethiopic script there is no way of showing gemination of consonants', and the use 'helps readers differentiate between single and geminated' /p/. That is, in the orthography, in word-medial position, |f| letters are used for non-geminated /p/ and |p| letters are used for geminated /p/. Such differentiation itself is possible, to be sure, but, it would not be phonetically realistic, as [f] and [p] are free variants of the same phoneme, contrary to Adams's claim (see section 2.1.1.1).
[114] In a Bible published by the Bible Society of Ethiopia, *7ánh-aa* 'corpse' is simply written as አህ |7a-h1A|.

(3.3.2-3)

Correspondences of Vocalic Elements of Letters of the Ethiopic Script
to Wolaytta Vowels[115]

Vocalic Element	Wolaytta Vowel	Cf. Representative Phonetic Value in Amharic
|a| ለ	/a/	close [a]
|u| ሉ	/u/, /uu/	[u]
|i| ሊ	/ii/	[i]
|A| ላ	/aa/	open [a]
|E| ሌ	/e/, /ee/	[e]
|e| ል	/i/	schwa-like centralized vowel
|o| ሎ	/o/, /oo/	[o]

    Since ten Wolaytta vowels (five short vowels and five long ones) are allotted to seven vocalic elements of the Ethiopic script, this writing system cannot distinguish between /u/ and /uu/, /e/ and /ee/, and /o/ and /oo/, respectively.

    On the contrary, some different letters that represent the same phonetic value in Amharic are used in Wolaytta to represent different phonetic values. Thus ሀ |h1a| and ሃ |h1A|, both of which represent /hA/ in Amharic, represent /ha/ and /haa/, respectively, in Wolaytta. Also አ |7a| and ኣ |7A|, both of which represent /7A/ in Amharic, represent /7a/ and /7aa/, respectively, in Wolaytta.

    Other elements such as tone are not dealt with.

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[115] In addition to representation of vocalic elements in the Latin alphabet, Ethiopic letters that contain the consonantal element |l| and the relevant vocalic elements are given.

    Incidentally, the phonological notation of Amharic, that of Wolaytta, and the transliteration of the Ethiopic script adopted in this thesis were devised separately. Thus the same letter is not necessarily used in the same way. This may bring about considerable confusion, especially for vowels. This is an inevitable result of essential differences among the systems in question (the phonological system of Amharic, that of Wolaytta, and the writing system in the Ethiopic script) and of the intended avoidance of the use of special characters. This confusion should, perhaps, be solved in the future by unifying the meanss of representation. In any case, I am sorry to ask readers not to forget the differences mentioned here when examining the examples below.

3.3.3 Actual Examples of Wolaytta Written in the Ethiopic Script

In the following, I will introduce some actual examples of Wolaytta written in the Ethiopic script, and analyze them. In the following examples, each upper line represents the original text, each middle line its transliteration (in which virgules are omitted), and each lower line its phonological interpretation by me. Remember again that the transliteration is automatic replacement of unfamiliar letters (those of the Ethiopic script, in this case) with familiar letters (those of the Latin alphabet, in this case). As usual, letters were sometimes illegible, especially in the case of handwritings. For example, it was sometimes difficult to determine whether a given letter contains the vocalic element |a| or |A|. The cautions mentioned at the beginning of section 3.2.2 hold true here. Refer to them again if needed. In this section too, actual examples are given first. Examine them, taking notice of the fact that letters of the Ethiopic script are phonograms.

(3.3.3-1) A letter from Mr. D (March, 1999)

ሰሮ፥   ሎኦ፥   ዴኣይ?
s2a-ro   lo-7o   dE-7a-ye
sár-o   ló77-o   de7-ái?

ታኒ፥   ታማፓቼራነ፥   ታናቱራነ፥   ሰሉዋነ፥   ሰኣነ፥
tA-ni   tA-mA-ca-rA-na   tA-nA-tu-rA-na s2a-lu-wA-na s2a-7a-na
táání   ta-mácc-ee-ra-nne   ta-naatúú-rá-nné sal-úwa-nne sa7-áa-nne

መዲዳ፥   ጦሳ፥   ወልቃኒ፥   ዳሮፔ፥
ma-Di-dA   To-s2A   wa-le-KA-ni   dA-ro-pE
meDD-ída   Tooss-áa   wolK-áa-ni   dár-o-ppe

ሎኦ፥   ዴኣይስ፥
lo-7o   dE-7a-ye-s2e
ló77-o   de7-áis.

ነኒ፥   ጃፓነ፥   ጋኮሳራ፥   የዲዶ፥   ካርደ [?]፥
na-ni   jA-pA-na   gA-ko-s1A-rA ya-di-do   kA-re-da [?]
nééní   japán-e   gákk-oo s-áá-rá yedd-ído   kard-ee [?]

ታሲ: ጋኪስ
tA-s2i   gA-ki-s2e
táá-ssí   gákk-iis.

ናአንቶ: **የዲዶ:**   **ወላይታቶ**   **የታ:**
nA-7a-ne-to   ya-di-do   wa-lA-ye-tA-to   ya-tA
naa77-ánto   yedd-ído   wolaitt-á-tt-o   yétt-aa

ካሴተቲነ: **ፎቶግራፈቲነ:**   **ጋኪደሶና፤**
kA-s2E-ta-ti-na   fo-to-ge-rA-fa-ti-na   gA-ki-do-s2o-nA
kasett-eti-nne [?]   potogirap-eti-nne [?]   gákk-idosona.

ጦሲ: ኢሞ!
To-s2i   7i-mo
Tooss-í   7imm-ó.

ደሮፔ: ገላታሲ
da-ro-pE   ga-lA-tA-s2i
dár-o-ppe   galat-áas.

ጊደሺኒ: **ቦዲተኒ:**   **ወላይታቶ:**   **የታ:**   **የጢዳ:**
gi-da-sYi-ni   bo-di-ta-ni   wa-lA-ye-tA-to   ya-tA   ya-Ti-dA
gid-ées-shííní   boddítt-é(é)-n(í)   wolaitt-á-tt-o   yétt-aa   yeTT-ída

ቢታኒያ፤   **ፎቶግራፊያ:**   **የዳ፤**   **ቤአካ፤**
bi-tA-ni-yA   fo-to-ge-rA-fi-yA   ya-dA   bE-7a-kA
bitán-iya   potogirap-iya [?]   yedd-ábe7ákká.

ሄጋ፤   **አይሲ፤**   **የዳቤኢኪ?**
h1E-gA   7a-ye-s2i   ya-dA-bE-7i-ki
hegáá   7áí-ssí   yedd-ábe7íkkíi?

(Message written in Amharic by the letter writer is omitted here.)

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ጠሳይ:	ኑና:	ናጊደ:	ሰሮ:	ጋቶ
To-s2A-ye	nu-nA	nA-gi-da	s2a-ro	gA-to
Tooss-ái	núná	naag-ídí [?]	sár-o	gátt-o.

Mr. D is one of my main consultants, and I sometimes asked him to write Wolaytta sentences in a notebook in the course of my research[116]. Some materials obtained in such a way are given below as supplementary examples.

(3.3.3-2)

ወላይታ:	ቢታ:	ኤፍያ:	ኦጊያ
wa-lA-ye-tA	bi-tA	7E-fe-yA	7o-gi-yA
woláítt-á	biitt-áa	7ep-íya	7og-íya

(3.3.3-3)

ቢታነ:	ባኬታ	ዳዳህ	ቦቶኮኒስ
bi-tA-na	bA-kE-tA	dA-dA-h1a	bo-to-ko-ni-s2e
bitán-ee	ba-keett-áa	daddáh-aa	bottokon-íis.

(3.3.3-4)

ካራቤ:	ባቀትስ
kA-rA-bE	bA-Ka-te-s2e
karaab-ée	baK-étt-iis.

(3.3.3-5)

ታን	ጪጋይዳ:	ባይስ
tA-ne	Ca-gA-ye-dA	bA-ye-s2e
táání	Ceeg-áidda	b-áis.

(3.3.3-6)

ኢ	ታአይሙዋ:	ሉይትድ:	ቢርሽሲ
7i	tA-7a-ye-mu-wA	lo-ye-te-de	bi-re-sYe-s2i
7í	ta-7áím-uwa	loitt-ídí	bírsh-iis.

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[116] This was done for the purpose of collecting materials for Wolaytta grammatology from the beginning. Needless to say, I myself also wrote down the same sentences in my field notes with my own notation (as well as recording them on tape).

(3.3.3-7)

ነአይ	ኦትዲ	አዛሊስ
na-7a-ye	7o-te-di	7a-zA-li-s2e
na7-ái	7oott-ídí	7azall-íis.

(3.3.3-8)

ሐላይቲ	ከታይ:	ሉኦ	አይፍስ:
h2a-lA-ye-ti	ka-tA-ye	lo-7o	7a-ye-fe-s2e
há-laitt-i	kátt-ai	ló77-o	7áíp-iis.

(3.3.3-9)

ኢ	ባኩሺያ:	ጩጩምቸስ
7i	bA-ku-sYi-yA	Cu-Cu-me-ce-s2e
7í	ba-kúsh-iya	CuuCumm-íicc-iis.

(3.3.3-10)

ሐሪያ:	ገንጀ:	ዳክትስ
h2a-ri-yA	ga-ne-ja	dA-ka-te-s2e
har-íya	ganj-ée	dáák-ett-iis.

The following is a letter from Mr. A, who was introduced in section 3.2.2.

(3.3.3-11) A letter from Mr. A (January, 1999)

ታ	ስቆ:	እሻ:	ሞትሚቼ:	አይማላ	ሣሮ:	ደአይ!
tA	s2e-Ko	7e-sYA	mo-te-mi-cE[sic]	7a-ye-mA-lA	s1A-ro	da-7a-ye
ta-sííK-o		7ish-áa	motomícc-ee	7áí mal-á	sár-o	de7-ái?

ታን:	ነ	ላሞታፔ:	አትን:	ዳሮ:	ሉኦ:	ደአይስ::
tA-ne	na	lA-mo-tA-pE	7a-te-ne	dA-ro	lo-7o	da-7a-ye-s1e
táání	ne-laamót-aa-ppe		7átt-in	dár-o	ló77-o	de7-áis.

ነ	ብት:	ፋያቴታራ:	ጋካድ::
na	be-te	fA-yA-tE-tA-rA	gA-kA-de
ne-biitt-í		páyyatett-aa-ra	gákk-adii?

Sometimes I asked Mr. A to write down Wolaytta sentences just in the same way as I asked Mr. D. Some of the resultant materials are given below.

(3.3.3-12)

ቦኔ፡	ማትዮዴ፡	ካታይ፡	ጫከትድ፡	ዶረተስ
bo-nE	mA-te-yo-dE	kA-tA-ye	CA-ka-te-de	do-ra-ta-s2e
bón-ee	mat-íyo d-é	kátt-ai	Caak-étt-idi	dóór-ett-ees.

(3.3.3-13)

እስቶ፡	እስቶ፡	ግያን፡	ዳሮ፡	ካታ፡	ባይዝዮኔ፡
7e-s2e-to	7e-s2e-to	ge-yA-ne	dA-ro	kA-tA	bA-ye-ze-yo-gE
7issí-too	7issí-too	giy-áa-ni	dár-o	kátt-aa	baizz-íyo-g-éé

ድኔተስ
de-gE-ta-s2e
dig-étt-ees.

(3.3.3-14)

ቀር፡	ናአይ፡	ከታ፡	ፈንግያ፡	ዶይስ
Ka-re	nA-7a-ye	ka-tA	fa-ne-ge-yA	do-ye-s2e
Keerí	na7-ái	keett-áa	peng-íya	dooy-íis.

(3.3.3-15)

ኬታ፡	ፈንገ፡	ቀር	ናአን፡	ዶየትስ፡
kE-tA	fa-ne-ga	Ka-re	nA-7a-ne	do-ya-te-s2e
keett-áa	peng-ée	Keerí	na7-á-n	dooy-étt-iis.

(3.3.3-16)

ጎሻንቻይ፡	ባካታ፡	ቦላፔ፡	ቦሊያ፡
go-sYA-ne-cA-ye	bA-kA-tA	bo-lA-pE	bo-<u>li</u>-yA
goshshánc-ai	ba-kátt-aa	boll-áa-ppe	bool-íya

ደንቲስ
da-ne-ti-s2e
dent-íis

(3.3.3-17)

ሚሻይ፡	ሃሪያ፡	ዞኩዋን፡	ዶጌትስ
mi-sYA-ye	h1A-ri-yA	zo-ku-wA-ne	do-gE-te-s2e
miishsh-ái	har-íya	zókk-uwa-n	dog-étt-iis.

(3.3.3-18)

ቦሌ፡	ብታፔ፡	ጉታ፡	ጉታ፡	ደንድድ	ውርስ፡
bo-lE	be-tA-pE	gu-tA	gu-tA	da-ne-de-de	we-re-s2e
bool-ée	biitt-áa-ppe	gúútt-aa	gúútt-aa	dend-ídí	wur-íis.

(3.3.3-19)

አሳ	ሚሻ፡	ቃሚ፡	ፈንገያ፡	መንትድ፡	ገልድ
7a-s2A	mi-sYA	KA-mi	fa-ne-ge-yA	ma-ne-te-de	ga-le-de
7as-áa	miishsh-áa	Kámm-i	peng-íya	ment-ídí	gel-ídí

ውቅስ
we-Ke-s2e
wúúKK-iis.

(3.3.3-20)

ቱኪያ፡	ሕራይሷን	ሻሚስድ፡
tu-ki-yA	h2e-rA-ye-s2WA-ne	sYA-mi-s2e-de
tukk-íya	hiráís-uwa-n	sham-iss-ídí

In the Wolaytta district, cassette tapes on which pop songs recorded in the Wolaytta language are sold. Unfortunately they do not have lyric sheets, but the titles of the songs are printed in the Ethiopic script on their labels. Although, unlike the materials given above, they are somewhat public in their character, they seem to have been written without adherence to the norm in WPXW or the like. As this is in contrast to the publications introduced in section 3.2.2, some of them would be worth introducing here. The third album of Mr. Fishale Milkano is taken as an example.

(3.3.3-21)

ሆሌ   ሆሌ
h1o-lE h1o-lE
hóóll-ee hóóll-ee

ዲ   አማላይ
di   7a-mA-lA-ye
d-íi   7a-mal-ái?

ፈሪጦይ   ዴንዲዲ
fi-ri-To-ye   dE-ne-di-di
pirííT-oi   dend-ídí

ሂና   አውንሻ
h1i-nA 7a-we-ne-sYA
hinná   7au-nn-íi-shsha?

ሀይቅቤና
h1a-ye-Ke-bE-nA
háíKK-ibe7énná.

ኤኤ   ፍሪጡዋን
7E-7E   fe-ri-Tu-wA-ne
7ée 7ée pirííT-uwa-n.

ሂንዳ   ዴንዳ
h1i-ne-dA   dE-ne-dA
hind-á   dend-á.

አተዳ[sic]   **ምና**
7a-ta-dA   me-nA
7oott-ádá   mínn-a.

ዝኮ
ze-ko
zíkoo

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ኤ	አዋ
7E	7a-wA
7ée	7aaw-áa

In the following, I will describe different features observed in the above examples.

Consonants

The above examples distinguish between different consonants (the rare phonemes /zh/ and /nh/ are not found). The confusion of glottalized and non-glottalized consonants sometimes found in Wolaytta written in the Latin alphabet is not observed here. However, geminated consonants are not distinguished from non-geminated consonants, due to the essential character of the Ethiopic script (see the description at the end of section 3.3.1)[117]. If I am allowed to point out trivial things, homophonous letters in Amharic might be used differently in the above examples as well as in WPXW. For example, in (3.3.3-1) l.5 ሣ |s1A|, which does not seem to be used according to WPXW, is used instead of ሳ |s2A|, and in (3.3.3-8) and (3.3.3-10) ሐ |h2a| is used instead of ሀ |h1a|. However, this would not cause any serious problems for communication.

Vowel /a/

Differently from the norm of WPXW, the vowel /a/ is very often written with letters that contain the vocalic element |A|, instead of |a|: In the case of Mr. D, for example, ታማቻራና |tA-mA-ca-rA-na| /ta-mácc-ee-ra-nne/ in (3.3.3-1) l.2, መዲዳ |ma-Di-dA| /meDD-ída/ in (3.3.3-1) l.3, ጋኪስ |gA-ki-s2e| /gákk-iis/ in (3.3.3-1) l.6, ቤአካ |bE-7a-kA| /-be7ákká/ in (3.3.3-1) l.12, ኑና |nu-nA| /núná/ on the last line of (3.3.3-1), etc.: In the case of Mr. A, for example, ታ |tA| /ta-/ at the beginning of (3.3.3-11) l.1, ሣሮ |s1A-ro| /sár-o/ in the same line, ጋካድ |gA-kA-de| /gákk-adii/ in (3.3.3-11) l.3, etc. This trend is stronger in the case of Mr. A than in the case of Mr. D. The same phenomenon is pervasive in (3.3.3-21), which is taken from a cassette label: For example, ጋካድ |gA-kA-de| /gákk-adii/ in the second line, ሀይቅቤና |h1a-ye-Ke-bE-nA| /háíKK-ibe7énná/ in the fifth line, etc.

However, the syllable /7a/ is written in the same way as in WPXW. This would be because the Ethiopic letter አ |7A| is rarely used in Amharic, perhaps partly because አ

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[117] However, it is not impossible to distinguish between them in the Ethiopic script. Some works of linguistics, for example, distinguish geminated consonants from non-geminated consonants by adding two dots on letters representing the former.

|7a| has come to represent the same phonetic value as that of **ኧ** |7A| and has come to replace **ኧ** |7A|[118]. In short, the use of the less frequent letter **ኧ** |7A| is avoided. This is supported by the fact that in **ሰኧነ** |s2a-7a-na| /sa7-áa-nne/ in (3.3.3-1) 1.2 and **አዋ** |7a-wA| /7aaw-áa/ in (3.3.3-1) l.10 **አ** |7a| is used where WPXW requests the use of **ኧ** |7A| in spite of the fact that the vowel /aa/ is in general written with letters that contain the vocalic element |A| in the above examples.

Vowel /e/

The reason why the vowel /a/ is usually not represented with letters that contain the vocalic element |a| as discussed above might be that Wolaytta people think that the Amharic vowel represented by letters that contain the vocalic element |a| is a vowel close to the mid front vowel [e]. This possibility is supported by the fact that in the writing of Mr. D the vowel /e/ is in many cases written with letters that conain the vocalic element |a|: For example, **ታማቻራነ** |tA-mA-ca-rA-na| /ta-mácc-ee-ra-nne/ in (3.3.3-1) 1.2, **መዲዳ** |ma-Di-dA| /meDD-ída/ in (3.3.3-1) 1.3, **የታ** |ya-tA| /yétt-aa/ in (3.3.3-1) l.7, etc. This phenomenon is also observed in other written materials obtained during my research. However there is a general trend for the postposition *-ppe* 'from' and /e/ preceded by /7/ to be written with letters that contain the vocalic element /E/ as in WPXW. An example of the former is **ዳሮፔ** |dA-ro-pE| /dár-o-ppe/ in (3.3.3-1) l.3 and l.10, and that of the latter is **ኤፍያ** |7E-fe-yA| /7ep-íya/ in (3.3.3-2).

In the case of the writing of Mr. A, however, sometimes the vowel /e/ is represented with letters that contain the vocalic element |a| and sometimes letters that contain |E| as in WPXW. Examples of the former are **ዴአይ** |da-7a-ye| /de7-ái/ in (3.3.3-11) l.1, **ነ** |na| /ne-/ in (3.3.3-11) l.2, etc. and examples of the latter are **ላሞታፔ** |lA-mo-tA-pE| /laamót-aa-ppe/ in (3.3.3-11) l.2, **ፋያቴታራ** |fA-yA-tE-tA-rA| /páyyatett-aa-ra/ in (3.3.3-11) l.3, etc. This holds true for other written materials obtained during research. Since even the same word may be written in both ways, there seem to be no regular correspondences between the vocalic elements and the vowel qualities.

Vowel /ee/

In the case of (3.3.3-1), which was written by Mr. D, the long vowel /ee/, as well as the short vowel /e/, is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |a|: For example, **ታማቻራነ** |tA-mA-ca-rA-na| /ta-mácc-ee-ra-nne/ in 1.2, **ነኒ** |na-ni| /nééní/ in l.5, etc. In the written materials obtained in the course of the research, however, it is often written with letters that contain the vocalic element |E| as in WPXW: For example,

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[118] Nowadays, however, I see this more often than before.

በኬታ |bA-kE-tA| /ba-keett-áa/ in (3.3.3-3), ካራቤ |kA-rA-bE| /karaab-ée/ in (3.3.3-4), etc.

In the case of Mr. A, although (3.3.3-11) happens to lack the long vowel /ee/ except for my name in the first line, in the written materials obtained during the research sometimes it is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |a| like the short vowel /e/ and sometimes it is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |E| as in WPXW. My impression is that the nominative ending of nominals /-ee/ is usually written with letters that contain the vocalic element |E| (as in ቦኔ |bo-nE| /bón-ee/ in (3.3.3-12) and ባይዝዮጌ |bA-ye-ze-yo-gE| /baizz-íyo-g-éé/ in (3.3.3-13)), but there are also counterexamples to it (as in ፈንገ |fa-ne-ga| /peng-ée/ in (3.3.3-15)). Even the same word may be written in both ways. For example, /keett-áa/ is written as ካታ |ka-tA| in (3.3.3-14), and as ኬታ |kE-tA| in (3.3.3-15).

Vowels /i/ and /ii/

According to WPXW, the short vowel /i/ is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |e| and the long vowel /ii/ is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |i|. Actually, however, both vowels may be written with both types of letters.

In the case of Mr. D, examples in which the short vowel /i/ is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |i| unlike in WPXW are ታኒ |tA-ni| /táání/ in (3.3.3-1) l.2, መዲዳ |ma-Di-dA| /meDD-ída/ in (3.3.3-1) l.3, ጋኪዶሶና |gA-ki-do-s2o-nA| /gákk-idosona/ in (3.3.3-1) l.8, etc., and examples in which the short vowel /i/ is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |e| as in WPXW are ታን |tA-ne| /táání/ in (3.3.3-5), ሎይተድ |lo-ye-te-de| /loitt-ídí/ in (3.3.3-6), and ኦተዲ |7o-te-di| /7oott-ídí/ in (3.3.3-7). Since the same vowel of the same linguistic form can be written with letters that contain different vocalic elements (e.g. /ni/ of /táání/ in (3.3.3-1) and (3.3.3-5) and /di/ of /-idi/ in (3.3.3-6) and (3.3.3-7)), there seem to be no regular correspondences between the vocalic elements and the vowel qualities, although there may be tendencies peculiar only to some consonantal elements, such as that ተ |te| representing /ti/ is not rare but ብ |be| representing /bi/ is very rare. While the long vowel /ii/ is all written with letters that contain the vocalic element |i| in (3.3.3-1) as in WPXW, it is occasionally written with letters that contain the vocalic element |e| in the written materials obtained during the research: For example, አይፍስ |7a-ye-fe-s2e| /7áíp-iis/ in (3.3.3-8), ፉፁፉፁምፄስ |Cu-Cu-me-ce-s2e| /CuuCumm-íicc-iis/ in (3.3.3-9), ዳከተስ |dA-ka-te-s2e| /dáák-ett-iis/ in (3.3.3-10), etc.

In the case of Mr. A, the vowels /i/ and /ii/ are almost always written with letters that contain the vocalic element |e|. Examples of the former are እሻ |7e-sYA| /7ish-áa/ in

(3.3.3-11) l.1, **ብት** |be-te| /biitt-í/ in (3.3.3-11) l.3, etc. Examples of the latter, which do not follow WPXW, are **ስቆ** |s2e-Ko| /sííK-o/ in (3.3.3-11) l.1, **ጋካድ** |gA-kA-<u>de</u>| /gákk-a<u>dii</u>/ in (3.3.3-11) l.3, etc. In the written materials obtained during the research, however, he occasionally uses letters that contain the vocalic element |i| for both the vowels. Examples in which the short vowel /i/ is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |i|, unlike in WPXW, are **ቦሊያ** |bo-<u>li</u>-yA| /bool-íya/ in (3.3.3-16), **ሃሪያ** |h1A-<u>ri</u>-yA| /ha<u>ri</u>-íya/ in (3.3.3-17), etc., and examples in which the long vowel /ii/ is written with letters that contain the vocalic element |i| as in WPXW are **ደንቲስ** |da-ne-<u>ti</u>-s2e| /den<u>t</u>-íis/ in (3.3.3-16), **ሚሻዬ** |mi-sYA-ye| /<u>mi</u>ishsh-ái/ in (3.3.3-17), etc.

The same fluctuation for representation of the vowel /i/ is observed on the cassette label, i.e. in (3.3.3-21). There the same word is written as **ፊሪጦዬ** |fi-ri-To-ye| /<u>pi</u>rííT-oi/ (the nominative) in the third line and as **ፍሪጡዋን** |fe-ri-Tu-wA-ne| /<u>pe</u>rííT-uwa-ni/ (the oblique followed by a postposition) in the sixth line.

From the Viewpoint of Vocalic Elements

As we have observed so far, the writing of Mr. A, that of Mr. D, and that of WPXW are not the same. The differences could roughly be summarized as follows from the viewpoint of vocalic elements. Although I did not mention it above, they agree on the use of letters that contain the vocalic elements |u| and |o| (but see the description under the following heading). Letters that contain the vocalic element |e| are also used to represent only consonants in all the cases.

Vocalic element[119]	WPXW	Mr. A (3.3.3-11) etc.	Mr. D (3.3.3-1) etc.	Representative phonetic value in Amharic
|E| **ሌ**	/e/, /ee/	/e/, /ee/	(/e/), /ee/	[e]
|a| **ስ**	/a/	/e/, /ee/	/e/, /ee/, (/a/)	close [a]
|A| **ላ**	/aa/	/a/, /aa/	/a/, /aa/	open [a]
|e| **ል**	/i/	/i/, /ii/	/i/, /ii/	schwa-like central
|i| **ሊ**	/ii/	(/i/, /ii/)	/i/, /ii/	[i]
|u| **ሉ**	/u/, /uu/	/u/, /uu/	/u/, /uu/	[u]

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[119] In addition to representation of vocalic elements in the Latin alphabet, Ethiopic letters that contain the consonantal element |l| and relevant vocalic elements are given. For the sake of convenience the vocalic elements are not ordered in their traditional order as in (3.3.2-3).

| \|o\| ሎ | /o/, /oo/ | /o/, /oo/ | /o/, /oo/ | [o] |

Letters with Initial |w|

In Amharic, **ወ** |wa| is pronounced like [wo]. This would be the reason why **ወ** |wa|, which contains the vocalic element |a|, is used to represent /wo/, as in, for example, **ወልቃኒ** |wa-le-KA-ni| /wolK-áa-ni/ in (3.3.3-1) l.3 and **ወላይታ** |wa-lA-ye-tA| /woláitt-á/ in (3.3.3-2). However, the latter might be just an imitation of the conventional spelling in Amharic.

Although both Mr. A and Mr. D usually represent the vowels /u/ and /uu/ with letters that contain the vocalic element |u| as in WPXW, for /wu/ and /wuu/ Mr. A uses **ወ** |we|, instead of **ዉ** |wu|, as in **ወረስ** |we-re-s2e| /wur-íis/ in (3.3.3-18) and **ወቅስ** |we-Ke-s2e| /wúúKK-iis/ in (3.3.3-19)[120]. This would be related to the fact that the latter letter, **ዉ** |wu|, is rarely used in Amharic.

Labialized Consonant

It would be worth noting that Mr. A very occasionally uses labialized consonants for representation of the nominal ending /-uwa/: For example, **ሕራይሷን** |h2e-rA-ye-s2WA-ne| /hiráís-uwa-n/ in (3.3.3-20).

Needless to say, there are many publications written in (almost) the same way as in WPXW, such as publications by Wolaitta Qaala Hiwot Church, a Bible published by the Bible Society of Ethiopia, and a book edited by Mr. **ጌታቸዉ** (Getachew) and Mr. **ፀጋዬ** (Tsegaye), the last of which was introduced in section 1.7.

However, it is true that when most ordinary Wolaytta people write their language freely in the Ethiopic script they do not write in the same way as in WPXW, especially for the vowels /a/, /i/, /ii/, /e/, and /ee/.

Based on this fact, we might be able to claim that if the Ethiopic script were ever to be adopted in literacy education we should teach the orthography paying special attention to these "mistakes", or conversely we might be able to claim that the present orthography goes against native speakers' linguistic consciousness and should be revised. I assume, however, that such tasks should be done eventually by Wolaytta people, not by linguists. I, a linguist, will not go into these matters further here, and will

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[120] This also seems to apply to Mr. D, although I cannot assert it because I have only scanty information on this matter.

discuss possible studies on grammatology in the future by linguists, especially by fieldworkers, in the next section.

3.4 Grammatology by Fieldworkers

We have observed in the preceding sections what happens when ordinary Wolaytta people write their language freely. The results could be very roughly summarized to conclude there are frequent "mistakes", or more precisely there are differences between their notation and that of WPXW. What does this mean? In what ways can we develop linguistic studies based on this?

The results may reflect how Amharic sounds to native speakers of Wolaytta. As is mentioned in section 3.3.3, for example, it might be because Wolaytta people think that Amharic /a/ (which is represented with Ethiopic letters that contain the vocalic element |a|) is close to Wolaytta /e/ that Ethiopic letters that contain the vocalic element |a| are often used to represent Wolaytta /e/. It might be because Wolaytta people think that Amharic /i/ (which is represented with Ethiopic letters that contain the vocalic element |i|) and Amharic /e/ (which is realized as a schwa-like mid vowel and represented with letters that contain the vocalic element |e|) are similar or difficult to distinguish from each other that both of Wolaytta vowels /i/ and /ii/ may be written with both letters that contain the vocalic element |i| and those that contain |e|. To tell the truth these are counterintuitive to me, whose mother tongue is Japanese. Although both Wolaytta and Japanese have five short vowels, the ways in which each vowel contrasts with other vowels in the phonological system might not be the same, and this might lead to the difference in hearing the seven vowels of Amharic. In this way, the study of writing can be a clue to phonological studies.

Wolaytta people's views on writing would be an interesting subject. As long as they conclude inductively from written Amharic and English (which do not have consistent correspondence between letters and phonemes), they would not conceptualize that there should be one-to-one correspondences between letters and phonemes. The results mentioned in preceding sections might reflect their flexible view on writing. If so, will this view, which is close to the linguistic view introduced in section 3.1.2, remain in the future, or will it change under the influence of literacy education?

There may be some rational reasons for the "mistakes". For example, such elements as tone, syllable structure, morpheme boundaries may influence their writing. Further exhaustive investigations might find orders or rules that I could not.

As mentioned in section 3.1.2, a writing system functions sufficiently if readers can

restore the original spoken language that is represented by it. 中川 (Nakagawa 1995: 204) says on the Ainu language that even if a writing system is not strictly established it can be understood by those who know the Ainu language no matter how it is written[121]. Then can Wolaytta people also read written Wolaytta deviant from the "norm", such as the examples introduced in the preceding sections? This should be investigated in the future. Although it is true that I managed to read them, most native speakers trained in the norm might not be able to read them. If so, pursuing the reason would help for better understanding of the function and essence of letters.

Although I did not discuss it at all in this chapter, a unit for spacing may be an interesting subject. As can be observed in the above examples, the spacing used by native speakers and my spacing do not always coincide. What does this mean? According to 河野 (Kōno 1994 [1977]: 24) it might be said that in using letters to write words, we are, paradoxically, creating those words[122]. Considerations related to this claim should be done in the future.

There would be many other interesting subjects to be studied in the future on these "mistakes". However, if literacy education that promotes "orthography" spreads in the future, interesting "mistakes" such as those introduced in this chapter will be decreased. Everyone may come to write in the same way. If so, it is only now that we can study the Wolaytta language by means of materials written freely by native speakers. It is not that usual for ordinary Wolaytta people who did not learn "orthography" to write their language freely, at least at present. There is no guarantee that such written materials will be preserved properly. Thus we have to collect such materials now.[123]

Another related reason for the urgent need to study the Wolaytta language by means of materials written freely by native speakers is the recent trend for the Latin alphabet to

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[121] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '表記法などきちんと決めなくたって、アイヌ語さえわかっていればどんな書き方であっても理解できるのだ'.

[122] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '逆説的に、文字で表語することによって「語」が出来たと言えるかもしれない'.

[123] However, I do not mean that interesting studies on written Wolaytta will become impossible in the future. Other kinds of studies will be possible. For example, 秋月 (Akizuki 2005) deals with a recent Japanese writing style that deviates from the established traditional writing (i.e. the use of Katakana letters for Japanese or Sino-Japanese words). Although his argument is, in my opinion, not persuasive at all, the subject itself is interesting, which is related to, so to speak, the "poetic function" of written language (Cf. Jakobson (1960:356): 'The set (Einstellung) toward the MESSAGE as such, focus on the message for its own sake, is the POETIC function of language.')

be adopted for writing or orthography without serious considerations. Although Wolaytta is sometimes written in the Ethiopic script at present, it may be completely replaced by the Latin alphabet in the near future. Other Ethiopian languages that have no written form so far might adopt the Latin alphabet as a means of writing from the beginning. However, outsiders should not object to the choice if native speakers are content with it. Thus we might become unable to study uncontrolled ways of application of the Ethiopic script for different languages in the future.

In any case, there are fascinating linguistic phenomena that can be elucidated only by examining materials written naturally by native speakers. To study them would be an urgent mission of fieldworkers of linguistics. I would guess that this applies to other areas of the world besides Ethiopia.

Chapter 4   Word Classes

4.1   Introductory Notes on the Wolaytta Word Class

In Wolaytta, most words can be divided into a lexical stem and a grammatical ending. To illustrate this, let's observe the following Wolaytta verb forms (tone is ignored here).

(4.1-1)
7immiis   "he gave"

(4.1-2)
be7iis   "he saw"

(4.1-3)
7immees   "he gives"

(4.1-4)
be7ees   "he sees"

(4.1-5)
7immaas   "I gave"

(4.1-6)
be7aas   "I saw"

(4.1-7)
7immadasa   "you (sg.) gave"

(4.1-8)
be7adasa   "you (sg.) saw"

(4.1-9)
7immo   "let him give"

(4.1-10)
be7o   "let him see"

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From these, we may easily or intuitively extract the following elements:

(4.1-11)

Lexical Stems:

7imm-   'to give'

be7-   'to see'

Grammatical Endings:

-iis   'perfective, 3rd person, singular, masculine'

-ees   'imperfective, 3rd person, singular, masculine'

-aas   'perfective, 1st person, singular'

-adasa   'perfective, 2nd person, singular'

-o   'optative, 3rd person, singular, masculine'

As will be discussed later, a lexical stem or a grammatical ending of a word may be composed of more than one element. Here, however, we have only to realize that most Wolaytta words are divided into two major parts.

On the other hand some other words cannot be divided further. They do not inflect at all. For example, so-called interjections are included here. The number of such indeclinable words in Wolaytta is relatively small, but they are never rare.

Based on the presence or absence of a grammatical ending, and on the nature of the grammatical ending, if any, Wolaytta words can be classified into three major word classes: nominal, verb, and indeclinable. Indeclinables are words that cannot be divided further and do not inflect at all. Verbs are words that can contain endings that vary according to the person, like those illustrated in (4.1-11). Nominals are the rest, which more or less resemble each other. There are a lot of subclasses of the nominal. The system is rather complicated and sometimes it is difficult to decide to which subclass a given nominal belongs.

In this chapter, each of the word classes will be described. The description is inclusive. In other words, I deal with tone, morphology[124], semantics, syntactic features,

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[124] Here it might be worth quoting the following words of Fleming (1976b: 322): 'Morphologically, Welamo [= Wolaytta] as well as other Ometo dialects must rank in the lowest 1% of the several hundred Afroasiatic varieties in terms of "typicalness"'. For Ometo and Afroasiatic, see section 1.3.

cultural backgrounds, etc. of members of each word class as far as I can.

For practical convenience' sake, sometimes words that do not belong to the same word class will be grouped and discussed together, although that will not be done without specifying it.

4.2   Nominals

4.2.1   Common Nouns

4.2.1.1   Morphology of the Common Noun

In Wolaytta the common noun is defined morphologically. If a given word inflects as a member of one of the four subclasses in the paradigm given in (4.2.1.1-1) (i.e. Masculine Class A, E, O, or Feminine), it is a common noun.

To tell the truth, however, the actual process in which I established this word class is not based only on morphology. At first I collected many words that denote tangible things, and then studied their behaviors in sentences, and finally I found four morphological varieties among them. Thus, without resorting to semantics, I could not have established the word class. This kind of process would be inevitable in establishing any word class in any language. However, genuine semantic definition of the common noun does not work well in this language, since many words that denote something other than tangible things, such as an abstract notion, motion, etc., inflect in the same way as words denoting tangible things, and thus they should be grouped together. This kind of situation would also be universal cross-linguistically.

In the paradigm grammatical functions are also taken into consideration. Thus, in non-concrete and concrete singular masculine common nouns the absolutive case and the oblique case are considered to be separate cases, although they are the same morphologically. This is also to keep uniformity with feminine nouns and concrete plural forms, which have separate forms for these two cases.

Note also that there are common nouns whose declension is incomplete. In other words, some of their expected forms are missing or extremely odd. This will be discussed in sections 4.2.1.5 and 4.2.1.6.

In the following paradigm, only endings are listed. Note also that tone is completely ignored here. It is fully discussed in section 4.2.1.2. Readers may have an impression that these endings can be further analyzed into smaller meaningful elements. For this matter, see section 4.2.10.

(4.2.1.1-1) Endings of the Common Noun

Non-concrete

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-oo
M. Class E	-e	-e	-ee	-ee	-oo, -ee
M. Class O	-o	-o	-oi	-oo	-oo
F.	-o	-e, -i	-a	-oo	-oo

Concrete, Singular

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-aa	-aa	-ai	-ai	-au
M. Class E	-iya	-iya	-ee	-ee	-iyau
M. Class O	-uwa	-uwa	-oi	-oi	-uwau
F.	-iyo	-ee	-iya	-ii	-ee

Concrete, Plural

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-ata	-atu	-ati	-atee	-atoo
M. Class E	-eta	-etu	-eti	-etee	-etoo
M. Class O	-ota	-otu	-oti	-otee	-otoo
F.	-eta	-etu	-eti	-etee	-etoo
	-ota	-otu	-oti	-otee	-otoo

The details are discussed in the following sections.

The following are examples of each subclass. The arrangement is the same as that of the paradigm above.

(4.2.1.1-2)
Masculine Class A
A word for 'dog'

Non-concrete   kan-á, kan-á, kan-í, kan-ée, kán-oo
Concrete, SG.   kan-áa, kan-áa, kan-ái, kan-ái, kan-áu
Concrete, PL.   kan-atá, kan-atú, kan-atí, kan-atée, kan-átoo

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(4.2.1.1-3)

Masculine Class E

A word for 'donkey'

Non-concrete	har-é, har-é, har-éé, har-ée, hár-oo
Concrete, SG.	har-íya, har-íya, har-ée, har-ée, har-íyau
Concrete, PL.	har-etá, har-etú, har-etí, har-etée, har-étoo

(4.2.1.1-4)

Masculine Class O

A word for 'lion'

Non-concrete	gaamm-ó, gaamm-ó, gaamm-óí, gaamm-óo, gáámm-oo
Concrete, SG.	gaamm-úwa, gaamm-úwa, gaamm-ói, gaamm-ói, gaamm-úwau
Concrete, PL.	gaamm-otá, gaamm-otú, gaamm-otí, gaamm-otée, gaamm-ótoo

(4.2.1.1-5)

Feminine

A word for 'sister'

Non-concrete	micc-ó, micc-í or micc-é, micc-á, micc-óo, mícc-oo,
Concrete, SG.	micc-íyo, micc-ée, micc-íya, micc-íi, micc-ée
Concrete, PL.	micc-etá, micc-etú, micc-etí, micc-etée, micc-étoo
	micc-otá, micc-otú, micc-otí, micc-otée, micc-ótoo

Because of its rare use, the non-concrete vocative is not studied well. In the paradigm in (4.2.1.1-1), the *-oo* ending is found not only for all of the non-concrete vocative forms, but also for all of the concrete plural vocative forms. This fact suggests that the ending should be placed somewhere outside the paradigm, perhaps alone. It might be the case that original non-concrete vocative endings were formed by lengthening the corresponding absolutive endings, as in the case of the place-name noun, which does not have a feminine subclass though (see section 4.2.2.2.1). This is also supported by the fact that some Masculine Class E common nouns prefer the *-ee* ending as a non-concrete vocative one, although others prefer the *-oo* ending. Furthermore if it is not a mistake, I attested one example of a Masculine Class A vocative form with the *-aa* ending, which is not included in the above paradigm. Despite all these facts I regard the *-oo* ending in question as that for the non-concrete vocative for the reason that will be mentioned in section 4.2.1.4. This, however, might not be a proper treatment.

Non-concrete forms of the feminine common noun are also not studied well, because they are, again, rarely used. According to one of my main consultants, *-ee* can be a non-concrete interrogative ending for feminine common nouns, as well as *-oo*. However, another consultant judged the former to be very odd. Thus I omitted it in (4.2.1.1-1). Furthermore, Adams (1983: 216) gives a different ending, as will be discussed later in this section.

About the feminine non-concrete oblique too, disagreement has been observed between the main consultants. Because oblique forms of other feminine nominals (e.g. personal pronoun, demonstrative, person-name noun) show *-i* ending, this might be "correct". Adams (1983: 252) also gives *-i* as his "indefinite" (i.e. "non-concrete" in my terminology) oblique ending of the feminine common noun. However, the vowel *i* never occurs before the plural element *-t-* in the plural endings, in which the non-concrete oblique is possibly required (Hayward: 2000: 412-413), while the vowel *e* may occur. In any case, no concluding judgment can be made.

As will be mentioned in section 4.2.1.3.2, a common noun in the oblique case may be immediately followed by a postposition. Since some postpositions affect the length of their immediately preceding vowel, oblique endings that are not listed in (4.2.1.1-1) may arise. Very roughly speaking, short vowels are lengthened before the postposition *-ra* 'with', vowel length is neutralized and both short and long vowels are interchangeably used before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', and the concrete ending *-aa* is shortened to *-a* before the postposition *-u* 'to, for'.

(4.2.1.1-6)
ta-7ish-atúú-rá   < ta-7ish-atú + ra
my-brother-OBL.M.PL.-with

   'with my brothers'

(4.2.1.1-7a)[125]
ta-bóór-aa-ni
my-ox-OBL.M.SG.(concrete)-by

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[125] In the phonological notation of this thesis, vowels before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' are represented as long in principle, as in (4.2.1.1-7a). The notation of (4.2.1.1-7b) is rather phonetic and just for the sake of convenience.

'by my ox'

(4.2.1.1-7b)
ta-bóór-a-n
my-ox-OBL.M.SG.(concrete)-by

'by my ox (the same meaning as above)'

(4.2.1.1-8)
ta-bóór-a-u   < ta-bóór-aa + u
my-ox-OBL.M.SG.(concrete)-for

'for my ox'

See section 4.2.8.2 for the details.

In the following, differences between previous works and the present work in paradigmatic analysis of the common noun will be discussed.

The most notable difference is the introduction of the notion of concreteness, instead of definiteness, in this thesis. The concrete form has been referred to as the definite form, and the non-concrete form as the indefinite form (Adams (1983: 252), Azeb (1996: 120), etc.). The reason for the renaming is discussed in section 4.2.1.4. Incidentally, some works, such as Ohman and Hailu (1976), Lamberti and Sottile (1997), etc., do not notice this opposition at all. Thus I appreciate Adams (1983: 40, 252, 255-257) in that he could realize the opposition, perhaps first.

Adams (1983: 257) also says that: 'In plural nouns, definite forms and indefinite forms differ only in pitch. The final syllable of definite plural nouns is uttered on medium pitch, and of indefinite plural nouns on high pitch.' However, I have not been able to find such a distinction. Azeb (1996: 120) disagrees with Adams, saying that: 'Definite and indefinite are not distinguished in plural nouns as they are in the singular'. By the way, I consider that plural forms are always concrete ("definite"), and that non-concrete ("indefinite") forms are essentially without regard to the notion of number. In other words, Wolaytta common nouns are first divided into non-concrete and concrete forms, and then the latter are divided into singular and plural forms.[126]

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[126] According to Hayward (1994: 485), however, Gamo, which is genetically very close to Wolaytta, distinguishes definiteness in plural nominals too: *harézata* 'the donkeys',

As said above in this section, in non-concrete and concrete singular masculine common nouns, absolutive and oblique forms are the same morphologically. Thus Adams (1983: 252) grouped them together as absolutive forms. In this thesis, however, the two cases are considered to be separate ones for the masculine forms in question too. In this way we can keep uniformity with feminine forms and concrete plural forms. However, there is sound justification for Adams's treatment too.

I included the interrogative "case" in the paradigm of the common noun, along with other traditional cases such as the nominative or oblique. This treatment might seem to be odd, especially from a European point of view. Thus Adams (1983: 216) regards the interrogative endings as part of realizations of the verb "to be". In Wolaytta, however, because many types of nominals can be a predicate without any help of a verb in some circumstances, and on the other hand because something like an auxiliary verb is needed for a nominal predicate in some circumstances, his description of the verb "to be" is fairly complicated and shows 'a heterogeneity of realization' (Adams 1983: 215). In this thesis, if a given form is analyzed as a nominal stem followed by an ending, I regard the ending as a case ending and the whole as a nominal inflected in some grammatical case, whatever the function of the ending is.[127] This would be an inductive treatment that reflects the logic of the Wolaytta language.

There are two series of feminine plurals: that with *-e-* and that with *-o-*. They seem to be free variants. However, Adams (1983) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 65) only give the former, while Azeb (1996) only latter.

Although Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 66-69) description is far from clear, they give the following endings for their "absolutive case": *-a* for Masculine Class A, *-iy^a* for Masculine Class E, *-uw^a* for Masculine Class O, and *-y^u* or *-iy^u* for Feminine. Note the voiceless vowels indicated by superscripts, and the final vowels of the feminine endings (voiceless *u*, instead of *o*). The endings for their "object case" is the same above, although final vowels are not devoiced. All these endings seem to correspond to the concrete singular absolutive endings in this thesis.

For the nominative, Azeb (1996: 120) differs from me in that the non-concrete (her "indefinite singular") ending is *-i*, instead of *-oi*, for Masculine Class O. Although no example is given, Hirut (1999) appears to agree with Azeb (1996) judging from the

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haretá 'donkeys'. Note that they are distinguished mainly by the presence or absence of the definite suffix *-za*, not only by pitch.

[127] Thus I also included the vocative, whose function is rather different from those of other typical cases, in the paradigm, although Adams (1983) has already establishes it in his work. This would be because the vocative is not unknown in European grammars.

description on page 37: 'When a definite noun occurs as a subject of a sentence the definite marker /-a/ gets dropped and replaced by the nominative case marker {-i/y}, leaving the meaning of definiteness to the terminal vowel [i.e. non-concrete absolutive ending]. Similarly, indefinite nouns also lose their terminal vowels to replace it with the nominative case marker.'

For the interrogative, Adams's description (1983: 216) is somewhat complicated, and differs from mine[128]. His description can be summarized as follows (except for the derived feminine common noun (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2), which will be dealt with in (4.2.1.1-10)):

(4.2.1.1-9)
The Interrogative of the Common Noun Based on Adams (1983: 216)[129]

	SG. Definite **+ High pitch**	**SG. Indefinite** **+ High - High Pitch**
M. Class A	-ai	-e:
M. Class E	-e:	-e: + higher pitch
M. Class O	-o:	-o: + higher pitch
F.	-i:	-i: + higher pitch

	PL. Definite	**PL. Indefinite**
M. Class A	-ate:	-e: [sic]
M. Class E	-ete:	-ete: + higher pitch
M. Class O	-ote:	-ote: + higher pitch
F.	-ete:	-ete: + higher pitch

Thus, according to Adams two series in the singular are distinguished only by means of pitch with the exception of Masculine Class A, while I have found segmental differences between them (i.e. the non-concrete and the concrete singular in my terminology) except for Masculine Class E. Incidentally, in Adams (1990: 408) the "definite" singular interrogative of Masculine Class E is described to have medium pitch, although there is no special mention of pitch for other subclasses. For my

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[128] However, he is certainly excellent because as far as I know other scholars have overlooked, or at best ignored, these forms.
[129] Except for Masculine Class A, "indefinite" forms are described as 'same as definite plus higher pitch', without distinguishing number. His description is ambiguous, but perhaps he intended the state seen in (4.2.1.1-9).

interpretation of tone of the interrogative case, see section 4.2.1.2.

According to Adams (1983: 216), interrogative endings when a predicate is a derived feminine common noun are:

(4.2.1.1-10)
The Interrogative of the Derived Feminine Common Noun Based on Adams (1983: 216)

From M. Class A, Definite	becomes F. type
From M. Class A, Indefinite	-e: [sic]
From M. Class E, Definite	becomes F. type
From M. Class E, Indefinite	same as definite plus higher pitch
From M. Class O, Definite	becomes F. type
From M. Class O, Indefinite	same as definite plus higher pitch

However, this would not be the case. The "indefinite" forms concerned here are realized as masculine common nouns. For the details, see section 4.2.1.6.2 below.

As for the vocative, Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 66-69) description is far from systematic. They seem just to list (some of) the forms (that happened to be) encountered. All the vocative examples of theirs include:

(4.2.1.1-11)

M. Class A	na7-ow/ na7-a-w	'eh, boy!'
	7asa-7oow	'eh, man!'
M. Class E	bitann-iy-ow	'eh, man!'
M. Class O	(No examples)	
F.	na7-ey	'eh, girl!'
Plurals	7asa-t-oow	'eh, people!' (M. Class A)
	naaggade-t-oow	'eh, merchants!' (M. Class E)

In addition, there are many obscure points about their principle of hyphenation. However, I guess that probably they heard (some of) the same forms as those I heard. Adams's description fairly agrees with mine. Our disagreement lies in the non-concrete ("indefinite singular") of M. Class E, for which Adams (1983: 252, 1990 407) gives only *-oo* while I give *-ee* too, and in the non-concrete feminine, for which he gives "?" instead of *-oo*.

Works on Wolaytta often disagree on vowel length. There would be no need to list them in detail. One notable disagreement between previous works and the present work concerns the endings *-iya* (the concrete singular absolutive and oblique of Masculine Class E, the concrete singular nominative of Feminine), *-uwa* (the concrete singular absolutive and oblique of Masculine Class O), and *-iyo* (the concrete singular absolutive of Feminine). Adams (1983: 252) claims that the last vowels of these are long, and gives *-iya:*, *-uwa:*, and *-iyo:*, respectively. Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.) and Lemma (1992 E.C.) consider in the same way as Adams. I did hear the longer variants occasionally, however it is almost always before the postpositions *-ra* 'with' or *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.2). Elsewhere the last vowels are almost always short. Thus I consider that they are phonologically short. By considering so we can analyze the endings into smaller elements more coherently (see section 4.2.10). Remember, however, that a final vowel may be weakened in some circumstances in this language (see section 2.2.4). Thus, the endings under discussion might have ended with a long vowel in the past.

4.2.1.2   Tone of the Common Noun

In this section, tone of the common noun is discussed. Remember that the most important in describing Wolaytta tone is a location of a tonal prominence of a word. The location is determined lexically, and realized as distinctively higher pitch. Remember also that tonal prominences are all ignored except that of the first word of a tonal group. See section 2.4.1.

All common nouns in Wolaytta are divided into two major tone classes: Tone Class I, whose members have tonal prominences in principle on their endings[130], and Tone Class II, whose members have tonal prominences in principle on their stems. Note that it is not possible to predict to which class a given common noun belongs[131].

Tone of the common noun is summarized in (4.2.1.2-1). Tonal prominences are indicated by acute accents. For the details see section 2.4.1. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. The details are discussed below.

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[130] The last consonant of a stem may also be prominent.
[131] However, tone of derivative nouns may be predictable from that of their bases. See section 5.2.1.

(4.2.1.2-1) Tone of the Common Noun

Tone Class I

Non-concrete

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-á	-á	-í	-ée	´-oo
M. Class E	-é	-é	-éé	-ée	´-oo, ´-ee
M. Class O	-ó	-é	-óí	-óo	´-oo
F.	-ó	-é, -í	-á	-óo	´-oo

Concrete, Singular

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-áa	-áa	-ái	-ái	-áu
M. Class E	-íya	-íya	-ée	-ée	-íyau
M. Class O	-úwa	-úwa	-ói	-ói	-úwau
F.	-íyo	-ée	-íya	-íi	-ée

Concrete, Plural

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-atá	-atú	-atí	-atée	-átoo
M. Class E	-etá	-etú	-etí	-etée	-étoo
M. Class O	-otá	-otú	-otí	-otée	-ótoo
F.	-etá	-etú	-etí	-etée	-étoo
	-otá	-otú	-otí	-otée	-ótoo

Tone Class II

Non-concrete

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	´-a	´-a	´-í	´-ee	´-oo
M. Class E	´-e	´-e	´-éé	´-ee	´-oo, ´-ee
M. Class O	´-o	´-o	´-óí	´-oo	´-oo
F.	´-o	´-e, ´-i	´-á	´-oo	´-oo

Concrete, Singular

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	´-aa	´-aa	´-ai	´-ai	´-au
M. Class E	´-iya	´-iya	´-ee	´-ee	´-iyau
M. Class O	´-uwa	´-uwa	´-oi	´-oi	´-uwau
F.	´-iyo	´-ee	´-iya	´-ii	´-ee

Concrete, Plural

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	´-ata	´-atu	´-ati	´-atee	´-atoo
M. Class E	´-eta	´-etu	´-eti	´-etee	´-etoo
M. Class O	´-ota	´-otu	´-oti	´-otee	´-otoo
F.	´-eta	´-etu	´-eti	´-etee	´-etoo
	´-ota	´-otu	´-oti	´-otee	´-otoo

Examples of Tone Class I were given in (4.2.1.1-2) to (4.2.1.1-5). Here two of them are repeated for convenience' sake. The arrangement is the same as that of (4.2.1.2-1).

(4.2.1.2-2)
Masculine Class A
A word for 'dog'
Non-concrete   kan-á, kan-á, kan-í, kan-ée, kán-oo
Concrete, SG.   kan-áa, kan-áa, kan-ái, kan-ái, kan-áu
Concrete, PL.   kan-atá, kan-atú, kan-atí, kan-atée, kan-átoo

(4.2.1.2-3)
Masculine Class E
A word for 'donkey'
Non-concrete   har-é, har-é, har-éé, har-ée, hár-oo
Concrete, SG.   har-íya, har-íya, har-ée, har-ée, har-íyau
Concrete, PL.   har-etá, har-etú, har-etí, har-etée, har-étoo

Note that non-concrete and concrete singular nominative forms are distinguished only by means of tone in Masculine Class E and O (e.g. *har-éé* 'donkey (non-concrete)' and *har-ée* 'donkey (concrete SG.)'). See also the discussion on the nominative of Tone Class II below in this section.

In the non-concrete vocative of Tone Class I, a tonal prominence is located on the penultimate syllable of a word, instead of on an ending. Azeb (1996: 121-122) refers to this, although her "vocative suffix" is *-o*. Adams (1983: 64) also says that: 'The recessively stressed morpheme /-o:/, the vocative suffix, causes the post-root positioned-stress to move to the initial syllable of the root . . .' If the vocative suffix that he mentions is the non-concrete vocative ending in this thesis, his statement has slight problems. First, 'stress' should be replaced by "higher pitch". Second, 'the initial syllable of the root' should be "the penultimate syllable of the word". Thus, *garáw-oo* 'oh, cat!', not * *gáraw-oo*. A similar claim is found in Adams (1983: 65) too.

In the plural of Tone Class I, a tonal prominence is on the last syllable of a word, except for the vocative. This means that a tonal prominence is not immediately after a stem, as in the other cases. Adams (1983: 64) regards 'noun-pluralizing SUFFIXES' as 'auto-stressed morphemes', which 'require the stress to be located on themselves'. Azeb (1996: 121) expresses the same phenomenon saying that 'citation form ["non-concrete absolutive" in this thesis] final tone-accent . . . shifts in the plural.'

In the plural vocative, however, a tonal prominence is on the penultimate syllable of a word, as in the case of the non-concrete vocative. Thus the vocative ending *-oo* is stronger than the plural marker *-t-* in determining a location of a tonal prominence of Tone Class I. However, Adams (1983: 65) and Azeb (1996: 122) disagree with me on this matter. Adams (1983: 65) says that: 'when the noun pluralizer morpheme /-t-/, occurs with the vocative /-o:/ morpheme in a suffix, the post-root positioned stress . . . is attracted to the syllable containing the morpheme /-t-/, e.g. /ʔi.ša.'to:/ "oh brothers (def. or indef.)".'[132] Azeb (1996: 122) basically supports Adams's description

The following are examples of Tone Class II. The arrangement is the same as that of (4.2.1.2-1).

(4.2.1.2-4)
Masculine Class O
A word for 'chicken'
Non-concrete   kútt-o, kútt-o, kútt-óí, kútt-oo, kútt-oo
Concrete, SG.   kútt-uwa, kútt-uwa, kútt-oi, kútt-oi, kútt-uwau
Concrete, PL.   kútt-ota, kútt-otu, kútt-oti, kútt-otee, kútt-otoo

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[132] Here again, 'stress' should be "higher pitch". Incidentally, here Adams does not mention definiteness, which, according to him (ibid., p. 257.), is distinguished only by pitch in the plural.

(4.2.1.2-5)

Masculine Class A

A word for 'foreigner'

Non-concrete	paránj-a,	paránj-a,	paránj-í,	paránj-ee,	paránj-oo
Concrete, SG.	paránj-aa,	paránj-aa,	paránj-ai,	paránj-ai,	paránj-au
Concrete, PL.	paránj-ati,	paránj-atu,	paránj-ati,	paránj-atee,	paránj-atoo

(4.2.1.2.-6)

Masculine Class A

A word for 'pea'

Non-concrete	7átar-a,	7átar-a,	7átár-í,	7átar-ee,	(7atár-oo)[133]
Concrete, SG.	7átar-aa,	7átar-aa,	7átar-ai,	7átar-ai,	7átar-au
Concrete, PL.	7átar-ata,	7átar-atu,	7átar-ati,	7átar-atee,	7átar-atoo

As can be seen, in the case of Tone Class II a location of a tonal prominence is lexically fixed on a syllable of a stem in principle.

In the case of the non-concrete nominative, however, a tonal prominence is fairly lengthened, and higher pitch continues until the end of a word in principle, although a location of a beginning of a prominence is constant through inflection. Note that non-concrete and concrete singular nominative forms are distinguished only by means of tone in Masculine Class E and O (e.g. *kútt-óí* 'chicken (non-concrete) and *kútt-oi* 'chicken (concrete SG.)', as in the case of Tone Class I. Although Adams (1983) does not describe tone in detail, he (ibid., p. 256.) says that the non-concrete ("indefinite singular" in his terminology) nominative of Masculine Class E and O has high pitch and the concrete singular ("definite singular" in his terminology) of the same subclasses has medium pitch, unfortunately without no further explanation or definitions of these two types of pitch. Judging from his (ibid., p. 68.) description, however, he might agree with me on tonal analysis, at least on that of the nominative forms in question[134]. He

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[133] I guess that this should be *7átar-oo*, not *7atár-oo*, since a tonal prominence of Tone Class II is stronger than the vocative ending, which may attract a tonal prominence to its immediately preceding syllable, in determining tone of a word in general. I could not collect enough data since it is difficult even to elicit the forms in question.

[134] However, I am not quite sure because it is very difficult to exactly reconstruct the intended sound from a written description. The original texts are as follows (an apostrophe (') indicates stress, a period (.) a syllable boundary, and an upper line high pitch):

'An indefinite [= "non-concrete"] form of a noun containing root initial syllable stress [= "Tone Class II"] such as /'za.re:/ [with an upper line] "a lizard, nom", will have

mentions nothing about pitch of Masculine Class A and Feminine. Strangely, Adams (1990: 406-407) does not refer to pitch at all in his brief description of the noun suffixes.

This tonal distinction between the two tonal classes seems to be falling into disuse as a whole. That is, in the non-concrete nominative, there is a tendency that only the first syllable of a lengthened tonal prominence is pitched higher. Thus Azeb (1996: 120) gives, for example, *mári* 'calf' instead of *már-í*. In the case of Masculine Class E and O, this means that the non-concrete nominative merges into the concrete singular nominative. For example, *shóDD-éé* 'flog (non-concrete)' becomes homophonous to *shóDD-ee* 'flog (concrete singular)'. This would be possible partly because the non-concrete nominative is rarely used in this language. See section 4.2.1.4. Declination might have accelerated the merging process. This merger also enables us to distinguish the place-name noun and the person-name noun on the one hand and the common noun on the other hand (see sections 4.2.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3.2).

As can be seen from the above examples, a location of a beginning of a tonal prominence may differ from word to word in the case of Tone Class II. However, in a fairly large number of common nouns of the class, a tonal prominence starts from, or is located on, the syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem, as seen in (4.2.1.2-4) and (4.2.1.2-5).

Most of the exceptions to this tendency are derivative nouns with a stem-forming suffix. For example:

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high pitch on the stressed syllable and high pitch signalling the indefinite on the second syllable. The definite [= "concrete"] form, however, will have a lowering of the pitch on the second syllable, e.g., /'za.re: ↓ / [with an upper line] "the lizard, nom", (the ↓ indicating that the pitch is lowered from the high pitch).

Similarly, an indefinite form of a noun containing stress on the post-root syllable [= "Tone Class I"] such as /za.'re:/ [with an upper line on *re:*] "a relative, nom", will have high pitch on the stressed post-root syllable. And the definite form will indicate the definite by a pitch that is lowered from that of the indefinite form and yet is still higher than the non-stressed root initial syllable, e.g., /za.'re: ↓ / [with an upper line on *re:*] "the relative, nom".'

Incidentally, this part seems to be a rewrite judging from the types and so on.

(4.2.1.2-7) Common Nouns with a Stem-Forming Suffix[135]

bírshett-aa   'interpretation, untying'   Cf. bírsh-   'to untie'

zérett-aa   'seed'   Cf. zér-   'to sow'

dummátett-aa   'difference'   Cf. dumm-á   'different'

lo77ótett-aa   'goodness'   Cf. ló77-o   'good'

   There are, however, apparently derivative stems whose composition is not clear. For example:

(4.2.1.2-8)

másunt-aa   'wound'   Cf. masunT-   'to be wounded'

héKKunt-aa   'hiccup'   Cf. héKKunt-   'to make hiccup'

                                     héKKumm-   'to hiccup'

púúlunt-aa   'gray hair'   Cf. púúlumm-   'to have gray hair'

zúúzunt-aa   'grumbling'   Cf. zúúzumm-   'to grumble'

From these common nouns, it seems to be possible to extract lexical morphemes *mas-, *heKK-, *puul-, and *zuuz-. However, they cannot constitute a stem by themselves. In this sense, they resemble so-called "unique constituents", such as *cran-* in the English word *cranberry* (see Bloomfield (1933:160)). It also seems to be possible to extract the stem-forming suffix *-unt-*. Consider the following tonologically "regular" common nouns with *-únt-aa* too.

(4.2.1.2-9)

7agúnt-aa   'thorn'

gudúnt-aa   'pig'

Tugúnt-aa   'nail'   (Their derivatives of interest have not been found.)

However, the ending does not combine with independent stems, and its exact meaning is not clear.

   Some other similar examples are:

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[135] All the details about the stem-forming suffixes will be discussed in section 5.2.1. Incidentally, Azeb's (1996: 121) tonological observation of derivatives does not coincide with mine.

(4.2.1.2-10)

KáNNish-iya   'riddle'

héTTish-iya, héDDish-iya   'sneeze'

(4.2.1.2-11)

TííTint-aa   'charcoal'

Cf. bidint-áa   'ash'

The following may be explained likewise, although parallel examples have not been found yet.

(4.2.1.2-12)

7áfutt-aa   'tear'

7óshinc-aa   'cold (sick)'

7ííricc-uwa   'shawl-like garment'

górjant-iya   'esophagus'

   In any case, we may conclude that the irregularity in (4.2.1.2-8) etc. can be attributed to morphological complexness[136].

   Another source of tonologically exceptional words is, as Azeb (1996: 116-117) has already pointed out, borrowing. The following seem to be loanwords from Oromo[137] or Amharic[138].

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[136] Azeb (1996: 116) also says that: 'It seems likely that these [tonological exceptions with /-nta/ etc.] are historically complex words consisting of more than one morpheme'.

[137] See sections 1.3.1 and 1.4. Unfortunately, I have no firsthand material of the Oromo language. Gragg (1976: 175) says: 'it seems to be the case for all [Oromo] dialects, however, that pitch and stress need not be represented in a systematic ("phonemic" in some sense of the term) representation or orthography'. Mohammed and Zaborski (1990: XIII) also say: 'It [pitch-accent] is important though minimal pairs of words distinguished only by it do not occur.' Judging from the works, it would be safe to say that 'Tone plays an important part' as Bender and Mulugeta (1976: 133) say, whatever its phonological status is.

[138] In Amharic, spurasegmentals other than intonation are phonologically not distinctive. However, the actual pronunciation of Amharic words is, of course, never monotonous, although whose description seems to be a rather difficult work. In any case, as Leslau (1995: 45) says, 'The question of the accent in Amharic still awaits a thorough investigation.'

(4.2.1.2-13)[139]

7átar-aa　'pea' Cf. Oromo *ʌˈtʌrə*, Amharic **አተር** *Atar* 'pea'

gíbir-aa　'feast' Cf. Oromo *giˈbirə* 'tax' Amharic **ግብር** *geber* 'feast, tax'

shúmbur-aa　'chickpea' Cf. Oromo *ʃumbuˈra:*, Amharic **ሽምብራ** *sYemberA* 'chickpea'

For *héTTish-iya* 'sneeze' given in (4.2.1.2-10), Lamberti and Sottile (1997:394) say as follows, under the headword "hent'ish- [*sic*] to sneeze": 'Etymology unclear, probably this is a loanword from Semitic today very wide-spread in Cushitic too, but it is not excluded that the original Cushitic stem combined with the Semitic one, . . .' Cf. Amharic **አነጠሰ** *AnaTTasa* 'to sneeze'. For *TííTint-aa* 'charcoal' given in (4.2.1.2-11), one of my main consultants said that the word might be a loanword from a neighboring language since charcoal had not been popular in Wolaytta. We should investigate thoroughly whether other tonally exceptional words are also loanwords or not. For example, *húwacc-iya* and *PéreDD-uwa*, which refer to extinct (?) clans in Wolaytta, might be loanwords.

4.2.1.3　Case of the Common Noun

In the following sections I will discuss various uses of each case of the common noun.

4.2.1.3.1　Nominative

So far, several uses have been observed for the nominative of the common noun. Each of them will be discussed in turn.

(A) Subject

The nominative can be a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that marks the subject of a clause. Although the nominative can be used for something other than the subject as we will see later in this section, a head of the subject must be in the nominative if it is a common noun.

In this language, the subject can be defined syntactically: 1) The subject agrees with its predicate verb (see section 6.2). 2) The subject requires the subject oriented relative form when it is relativized (see section 4.4.3.3.1). However, both the predicate and the relative form can be invariable for any subjects in some cases. What is more, in almost all cases the nominative is used for the subject.

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[139] Oromo examples are based on Tilahun (1989). An apostrophe before a syllable indicates a primary stress.

Semantically the subject of Wolaytta and that of English are similar. They overlap each other in general. This would partly explain why many previous works did not explain the "subject". Thus, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 206) say tautologically that: '**the subject** [i.e. "nominative" in my terminology] **case**: . . . This is the case reserved to the grammatical subject of the sentence and more or less corresponds in its function to the "nominative" of the classical languages', and Hirut (1999: 42) says that: 'The nominative case is a case that indicates subject noun of a sentence.' Since Adams (1983) and Bekale (1989) are based on the tagmimics and the GB theory, respectively, the subject is described in each theoretical framework. Adams (1983: 77) says that: 'The subject governs the person and number marking elements in the predicator. When manifested by a noun phrase, the Head is morphologically marked as nominative . . . An item manifesting Subject may be functionally re-expressed as an item manifesting the Causee tagmeme in a causative entailment, . . .' and (ibid., p. 255.) that: 'The nominative occurs only in the Subject function.' Bekale (1989: 53) says that 'a subject NP may be governed and assigned nominative Case by ASP/TNS in INFL.' However, semantic consideration of the subject is found in neither works.

Needless to say, to describe the subject of Wolaytta or other languages semantically is very difficult. To tell the truth I have no original idea regarding this issue. However, it would be worth introducing a study on the Japanese subject here, 尾上 (Onoe 1997-1998). According to him (1998 Vol.17 (3): 103), the Japanese subject marks the core for cognition of a situation[140]. He (ibid.) also claims that this definition can be applied for other languages in the world in principle, but that the details differ from language to language[141].

Thus anyone or anything that realizes a situation described by a predicate verb in the broad sense can be expressed as a subject. It can be a so-called "actor", "experiencer", etc. etc. Most of them are referred to by 尾上 (Onoe 1997-1998), and expressed as subjects in English.

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[140] The original Japanese is 事態認識の中核.

[141] His original text in Japanese is as follows: '一つの事態を語るとき何を中核におくかは、それぞれの言語の事態把握の慣習による。たしかに地球上の人間の言語である以上、その事態把握の仕方には大きな共通性があって、例えば＜動作主＞や＜属性の持ち主＞などはほとんどの言語で主語になるであろうが、＜情意の対象＞＜感覚の場所＝身体部分＞＜道具＞＜原因＞など周辺的なものになると、それを主語とする言語としない言語とがあろう。諸言語の主語の間に大きな共通性と相違があることは、主語をこのように事態認識の中核という点で捉えてこそ説明されるものである'.

(4.2.1.3.1-1)

mishir-íya	bambar-íya	daaTT-áasu.
woman-NOM.F.SG.	red pepper-ABS.M.SG.	regrind-PF.3F.SG.

   'The woman reground the red pepper.'

(4.2.1.3.1-2)

bitán-ee	bullúkk-uwa	dádd-iis.
man-NOM.M.SG.	blanket-ABS.M.SG.	weave-PF.3M.SG.

   'The man wove the blanket.'

(4.2.1.3.1-3)

kan-ái	bóCC-iis.
dog-NOM.M.SG.	bark-PF.3M.SG.

   'The dog barked.'

(4.2.1.3.1-4)

meeCC-ído	maay-ói	booTT-íis.
wash-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	clothes-NOM.M.SG.	become white-PF.3M.SG.

   'The clothes that I washed became white.'

(4.2.1.3.1-5)

na7-ái	7etí	ziNN-óo-g-áá
child-NOM.M.SG.	they	fell asleep-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

be7-íis.
see-PF.3M.SG.

   'The boy saw them sleeping.'

(4.2.1.3.1-6)

na7-ái	7issí	7ars-á	geelá7-o	na7-íyo
child-NOM.M.SG.	one	red-OBL.	virgin-OBL.	child-ABS.F.SG.

be7-ídí   dos-íis.
see-CONV.3M.SG.   like-PF.3M.SG.

    'The boy saw one red (i.e. not so black) virgin girl, and liked (her).'

(4.2.1.3.1-7)

kais-ói	keetta7aaw-áa	beegót-aa
thief-NOM.M.SG.	householder-OBL.M.SG.	waking up-ABS.M.SG.

kóyy-énná.
want-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The thief does not want the housholder to wake up.'

(4.2.1.3.1-8)

dad-ái	gúúmm-ees.
thunder-NOM.M.SG.	rumble-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The thunder is rumbling.'

(4.2.1.3.1-9)

ta-sa7át-ee	báy-iis.
my-watch-NOM.M.SG.	be lost-PF.3M.SG.

    'My watch is lost.'

(4.2.1.3.1-10)

sainn-óó-rá	Keer-áá-rá	naa77-ú	galláll-ai
Monday-OBL.-with	Saturday-OBL.-with	two-OBL.	day-NOM.M.SG.

ha	7óós-uwa-u	gid-aná.
this	work-OBL.M.SG.-for	be enough-FUT.

    'Monday and Saturday, the two days will be enough for this work.'

(4.2.1.3.1-11)

démb-aa-ni	dár-o	har-etí	de7-óosona.
field-OBL.M.SG.-in	many-OBL.	donkey-NOM.PL.	exist-IMPF.3PL.

'There are many donkeys in the field.'

The nominative can be used in a "passive" sentence. In this case, the subject refers to an affected participant. For the details see the discussion in section 5.3.2.3.

(4.2.1.3.1-12)

bambar-ée	mishir-ée-ni	daaT-étt-iis.
red pepper-NOM.M.SG.	woman-OBL.F.SG.-by	regrind-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The red pepper was reground by the woman.'

Note that in Wolaytta a so-called indirect object of a di-transitive verb may not become a subject of a "passive" sentence of the same verb. For the details see section 5.3.2.3.

(4.2.1.3.1-13a)

* shoor-ói	badal-áa	7im-étt-iis.
neighbor-NOM.M.SG.	corn-ABS.M.SG.	give-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

Intended meaning is 'The neighbor was given corn.'

Cf. (4.2.1.3.1-13b)

badal-ái	shoor-úwa-ssi	7im-étt-iis.
corn-NOM.M.SG.	neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-to	give-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The corn was given to the neighbor.'

(4.2.1.3.1-13c)

shoor-úwa-ssi	badal-áa	7imm-íis.
neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-to	corn-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.3M.SG.

'He gave corn to the neighbor.'

Wolaytta has relatively productive multiple causative constructions. In such causative clauses, the first causer is expressed as a subject. For the details see section 5.3.2.4.

(4.2.1.3.1-14)

kaw-ói	gadaaw-áa	kiitt-ídí
king-NOM.M.SG.	hunt leader-ABS.M.SG.	send-CONV.3M.SG.

7as-áa-ni	godar-íya	wor-is-iss-íis.
people-OBL.M.SG.-by	hyena-ABS.M.SG.	kill-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Having sent the hunt leader, the king made the people kill the hyena. (= The king made the hunt leader make the people kill the hyena.)'

A predicate verb may be copulative.

(4.2.1.3.1-15)

7a-waag-ái	7áLL-o	gid-énná.
his-price-NOM.M.SG.	expensive-ABS.	become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Its price is not expensive.'

Judging from the agreement, the nominative common noun here is a subject. Semantically it refers to what realizes a situation described by the predicate verb in the broad sense. Thus, in the following affirmative counterparts too we may consider that the nominative common nouns are subjects, although there are no predicate verbs.

(4.2.1.3.1-16)

ha	bitán-ee	ta-7astamaar-íya.
this	man-NOM.M.SG.	my-teacher-ABS.M.SG.

'This man is my teacher.'

(4.2.1.3.1-17)

hagéé	maTááp-ai	ló77-o.
this	book-NOM.M.SG.	good-ABS.

'This book is good.'

If these nominative common nouns are relativized, the "copular" verbs stand in the subject oriented relative, if possible. This fact also supports the interpretation. For the details see section 4.4.3.3.1.

(4.2.1.3.1-18a)

ta-7astamaar-íya	gid-íya	bitán-iya
my-teacher-ABS.M.SG.	become-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

'the man who is (lit. becomes) my teacher'

Cf. (4.2.1.3.1-18b)

* ta-7astamaar-íya	gid-íyo	bitán-iya
my-teacher-ABS.M.SG.	become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

In some situations, there are two candidates for the subject for the same verb in the same voice. In other words there are two potential "cores for cognition of a situation", and thus there are two ways of cognition whose voices are the same. For example, in the following pair, the field and good grain are expressed as subjects, respectively, while the verb forms and the intended meanings are the same.

mokk- 'to grow'
(4.2.1.3.1-19a)

bóór-aa-ni	goy-étt-ida	gád-ee
ox-OBL.M.SG.-by	plough-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	field-NOM.M.SG.

ló77-o	kátt-aa	mokk-ées.
good-OBL.	grain-ABS.M.SG.	grow-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In a field that ploughed by oxen, good grain grows.'

(4.2.1.3.1-19b)

bóór-aa-ni	goy-étt-ida	gád-iya-ni
ox-OBL.M.SG.-by	plough-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	field-OBL.M.SG.-in

ló77-o	kátt-ai	mokk-ées.
good-OBL.	grain-NOM.M.SG.	grow-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In a field that ploughed by oxen, good grain grows.'

Unfortunately, I did not collect transparent pairs such as the above. However, the following verbs seem to be similar to *mokk-* 'to grow' mentioned just above in that they allow two types of subjects.[142]

7íít- 'to become bad'
(4.2.1.3.1-20a)

wordot-íya	naatá
tell a lie-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	children (ABS.)

be7-íyo-g-éé	7íít-ees.
see-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	become bad-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Seeing children that tell lies gives (me) an unpleasant feeling.' (The subject is what is displeasing.)

(4.2.1.3.1.-20b)

wordot-íya	naatú-ssí	7aaw-ái
tell a lie-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	children (OBL.)-to	father-NOM.M.SG.

7íít-iis.
become bad-PF.3M.SG.

'The father hates the children that tell lies.' (The subject is one who is displeased.)

dóómm- 'to begin'
(4.2.1.3.1-21a)

7í	7óóshsh-aa	dóómm-iis.
he	quarrel-ABS.M.SG.	begin-PF.3M.SG.

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[142] In the following sentences, subjects that are not expressed by common nouns are also included, since they were not collected systematically for the purpose of this section dealing with the common noun.

'He began quarrel (with someone).' (The subject is an actor.)

(4.2.1.3.1-21b)

harg-ée	dóómm-iis.
sick-NOM.M.SG.	begin-PF.3M.SG.

'A sick began (i.e. caught someone).' (The subject is a phenomenon.)

haasay- 'to speak'
(4.2.1.3.1-22a)

ha	héér-ai	7amaarátt-o	Káál-aa
this	district-NOM.3M.SG.	Ahmaric-OBL.	word-ABS.M.SG.

haasay-ées.
speak-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In this district the Amharic language is spoken (lit. this district speaks the Amharic language).' (The subject is a place.)

(4.2.1.3.1-22b)

ha	héér-aa-ni	7as-ái	7amaarátt-o
this	district-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.	Amharic-OBL.

Káál-aa	haasay-ées.
word-ABS.M.SG.	speak-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In this district people speak the Amharic language.' (The subject is people.)

halliTT- 'to slip'
(4.2.1.3.1-23a)

7ír-ai	bukk-íi-ni	7og-ée	halliTT-íis.
rain-NOM.M.SG.	rain-SUBOR.-in	road-NOM.M.SG.	slip-PF.3M.SG.

'When it rained, the road slipped.' (The subject is a place.)

(4.2.1.3.1-23b)

táání	woTT-áda	b-áidda	7urK-áa-ni	halliTT-ádá
I	run-CONV.1SG.	go-SIM.1SG.	mud-OBL.M.SG.-in	slip-CONV.1SG.

wull-áas.
fall-PF.1SG.

'I slipped and fell in the mud while I was going running.' (The subject is a mover.)

ho77- 'to be hot'
(4.2.1.3.1-24a)

ha	tam-ái	tána	ho77-énná.
this	fire-NOM.M.SG.	me	become hot-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'This fire does not get me warm.' (The subject is what produces heat.)

(4.2.1.3.1-24b)

na7-íya	maallád-o	TalK-íya
child-NOM.F.SG.	morning-ABS.	the morning sun-ABS.M.SG.

ho77-áasu.
become hot-PF.3F.SG.

'The girl sunbathed in the morning.' (The subject is what receives heat.)

kum- 'to fill'
(4.2.1.3.1-25a)

boddítt-é	giy-áa-ni	don-ói
(place name)-OBL.	market-OBL.M.SG.-in	potato-NOM.M.SG.

kum-íis.
full-PF.3M.SG.

'Potato filled the Boditi market (lit. in the market).' (The subject is what occupies a place.)

(4.2.1.3.1-25b)

giy-ái   kum-íis.

market-NOM.M.SG.   fill-PF.3M.SG.

   'The market was filled (with people).' (The subject is a place.)

In the first sentence of the following pair there is not a subject, while there is in the second.

koshsh- 'to make want, to be needed'

(4.2.1.3.1-26a)

tána   miishsh-áa   koshsh-ées.

me   money-ABS.M.SG.   make want-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'I need money.'

(4.2.1.3.1-26b)

tána   miishsh-ái   koshsh-ées.

me   money-NOM.M.SG.   make want-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'I need money.'

   Adams (1983: 255) says that: 'The nominative occurs only in the Subject function.' However, I have observed its some uses other than that described above. That is, nominative common nouns that could not be called subjects or that may be regarded as subjects but show some peculiarities are found. Such uses are dealt with below.

(B) Addressee in the 2nd Person Optative

   In the 2nd person optative, the addressee is usually marked by the vocative in the case of the common noun, not the nominative.[143]

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[143] However, this is not the case when the addressee is expressed by a personal pronoun and/or when the optative is 3rd person.

(4.2.1.3.1-27a)

ta-<u>7</u>ish-áu,	táání	g-íyo-g-áá
my-brother-VOC.M.SG.	I	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

síy-a.
listen-OPT.2SG.

  'My brother, listen what I say!'

(4.2.1.3.1-27b)

* ta-<u>7</u>ish-ái,	táání	g-íyo-g-áá
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.	I	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.NMNL.-ABS.

síy-a.
listen-OPT.2SG.

   (The intended meaning is the same as that of the above.)

    However, there are exceptions. That is, a common noun in the nominative may refer to an addressee in an optative sentence.

    Unfortunately, the condition on which this use of the nominative is called for or possible is not clear yet. One thing is for sure that when there are many addressees this exceptional use is more acceptable.

(4.2.1.3.1-28)

7ubb-á	<u>7</u>as-ái,	táání
all-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.	I

g-íyo-g-áá	síy-ite[144].
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	hear-OPT.2PL.

  'All the people, hear what I say!'

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[144] Note that the verb is in the plural while the nominative common noun is in the singular. This phenomenon will be discussed in section 6.2.

(4.2.1.3.1-29)

7ubb-ái   sár-o   d-iité.
all-NOM.M.SG.   peace-ABS.   live-OPT.2PL.

   'Everybody, live in peace!'

(4.2.1.3.1-30)

7attúm-ai   máCC-ai   tamaar-é   sóo
male-NOM.M.SG.   female-NOM.M.SG.   student-OBL.   home

gel-á.
enter-OPT.2SG.

   'Boys and girls (lit. males and females), go to school (lit. enter a home of student).'

   In spoken texts, however, there are some examples of this use of the nominative in which addressees are a relatively small number of people. In the second example, there is only one addressee. The third example is not even an optative sentence. However, these may not be standard.

(4.2.1.3.1-31)

m-iité   m-iité   ta-naatí   ta-naatí.
eat-OPT.2PL.   eat-OPT.2PL.   my-children (NOM.)   my-children (NOM.)

   'Eat, eat, my children, my children!'

(4.2.1.3.1-32)

hagáá   7óóná-kká   bess-óppa,   ta-mácc-iya
this   who-too   show-NEG.OPT.2SG.   my-wife-NOM.F.SG.

hadará.
please

   'Don't show this one to anyone, my wife, please!'

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(4.2.1.3.1-33)

hayyá	ta-<u>micc-íya</u>	ta-<u>keetta7aayy-íya</u>	hanná
hurrah	my-sister-NOM.F.SG.	my-householder-NOM.F.SG.	this

née-ssa	ta-keetta7aayy-ée-ssa.
you-for	my-householder-OBL.F.SG.-for

   'Hurrah, my sister, my householder, this is for you, for my householder.'

For the same use in insult or abuse, see (c) below.

(c) Insult or Abuse

  The nominative is frequently seen in expressions of insult or abuse.

(4.2.1.3.1-34)

naatí	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá	'ha	<u>7ééyy-ai</u>,
children(NOM.)	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-ABS.M.SG.	this	fool-NOM.M.SG.

ha	<u>7ééyy-ai</u>!'	g-éétett-idosona.
this	fool-NOM.M.SG.	say-PASS.-PF.3PL.

   'The children say "This fool, this fool!" to each other.'

(4.2.1.3.1-35)

ha	<u>kan-atí</u>!
these	dog-NOM.PL.

   'These dogs! (to several persons)'

(4.2.1.3.1-36)

ha	<u>kan-íya</u>!
this	dog-NOM.F.SG.

   'This bitch! (to a woman)'

These are interesting since in this language a semantically unmarked case is not the

nominative, but the absolute as will be discussed in section 4.2.1.3.5.

In this use of the nominative, a tonal prominence may be lengthened or shift leftwards. Consider the following, in which the notation is rather phonetic. The noun "dog" belongs to Tone Class I (see section 4.2.1.2).

(4.2.1.3.1-37)

ha   <u>kán-átí</u>!
these   dog-NOM.PL.

'These dogs!'   Cf. (4.2.1.3.1-35).

(4.2.1.3.1-38)

ha   <u>kán-iya</u>!
this   dog-NOM.F.SG.

'This bitch!'   Cf. (4.2.1.3.1-36)

川上 (Kawakami 1977: 116) points out a possibility that a phonologically distinctive tonal feature of a word may be ignored because of a very strong emotion in Japanese. The above phenomena in Wolaytta should be explained likewise.

Some may consider that the above examples are those of ellipsis of a finite verb. In fact, the following kind of insult is also observed frequently.

(4.2.1.3.1-39)

ha   <u>kán-átí</u>   wáán-iyonaa?
these   dog-NOM.M.SG.   become what-IMPF.INTER.3PL.

'What would be these dogs? (for several persons)'   (The notation is phonetic.)

In the following, however, any finite verb does not seem to be omitted. The nominative common noun, *lóóT-ee* 'pickpocket', does not seem to be a subject of the first word, *kicc-á* 'go away!', since an addressee of a 2nd person optative sentence is usually in the vocative as is discussed above in this section.

(4.2.1.3.1-40)

kicc-á,	ha	lóóT-ee!
go away-OPT.2SG.	this	pickpocket-NOM.M.SG.

'Go away, the pickpocket!'

Finally it is not the case that insult or abuse must be expressed by the nominative. See, for example, (4.2.1.3.3-2).

(d) Topic in a Double Nominative Construction

In addition to apposition and enumeration, there is a construction in which two nominative nominals occur in this language. In this case, the first nominal expresses a topic of its following usual clause.

(4.2.1.3.1-41)

m-íyo	b-í	7áí	b-í
eat-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.	what	thing-NOM.

de7-íi?
exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'For what one eats, what is there?'

(4.2.1.3.1-42)

har-á-nniyo	7ekk-íya	7úr-ai
other-OBL.-NMNL.(ABS.F.)	take-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	person-NOM.M.SG.

7óóní-nné	ba-mácc-ee	boll-áa-ni
who (NOM.)-and	his own-wife-OBL.F.SG.	body-OBL.M.SG.-in

sharammuT-ées.
fornicate-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Anyone who marries another woman commits adultery against his wife. (lit. For a person who takes other female one, whoever commits adultery at the body of his own wife.)'   (From Mark 10:11, revised by the consultant)

(4.2.1.3.1-43)

mikiniyát-ee-kka	tá-u	miishsh-í	báawa.
reason-NOM.M.SG.-too	my-for	money-NOM.	not present

   'The reason is that I had no money.'

However, this double nominative construction is not productive. In most cases the second nominative is restricted to interrogative words as in (4.2.1.3.1-41) and (4.2.1.3.1-42). Furthermore, in these cases the first nominative is also related to the predicate semantically and syntactically, and might be a kind of subject. In (4.2.1.3.1-42) the second nominative might be better analyzed as an adverbial instead of a subject. The last example is also very exceptional, since the first nominative followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too' is a partial loan translation of the popular Amharic phrase **ምክንያቱም** *mekenyAt-u-m* (reason-definite article-too) 'because'. However, in any case it is very interesting that the nominative is used in the translation, since Amharic has no obvious nominative marker.

In spoken texts, the double nominative construction for topicalization is sometimes found.

(4.2.1.3.1-44)

hais-ée-kka	7eee	bení	nu-7aaw-áa
story-NOM.M.SG.-too	uh	old times	our-father-OBL.M.SG.

7aaw-atí	sími	shank-áa	shankat-óosona.
father-NOM.PL.	thus	hunting-ABS.M.SG.	hunt-IMPF.3PL.

   'The story is, uh, in old times our ancestors (lit. fathers of father), so, used to hunt.'

(4.2.1.3.1-45)

bení	woláítt-a	wóg-aa-ni
old times	Wolaytta-OBL.	culture-OBL.M.SG.-in

gél-oi-nne	7éh-oi-nne	na7-íya
entering-NOM.M.SG.-and	taking-NOM.M.SG.-and	child-NOM.F.SG.

| git-á | gid-ádá | . . . | giy-áa |
| big-ABS. | become-CONV.3F.SG. | . . . | market-ABS.M.SG. |

7eKK-áusu.
stand-IMPF.3F.SG.

    'Formerly, in the Wolaytta culture, for marriage (lit. entering and taking), a girl grew up, and . . . she stands in a market.'

I assume, however, that these are not well-organized. For the latter, the text teller himself did not like it when asked about it. The above and other similar examples would be mistakes or not standard at best.

    The following would be an example of apposition in which a word that usually functions as a modifier follows a word that usually functions as a modified. See section 6.1. See also section 4.2.3.4 for a distributive expression by reduplication.

(4.2.1.3.1-46)[145]

| 7as-ái | Téét-ai | Téét-ai-nne |
| people-NOM.M.SG. | hundred-NOM.M.SG. | hundred-NOM.M.SG.-and |

| 7ishátam-ai | 7ishátam-ai-nne | Cít-aa-ni |
| fifty-NOM.M.SG. | fifty-NOM.M.SG.-and | group-OBL.M.SG.-in |

| Cít-aa-ni | 7útt-iis. |
| group-OBL.M.SG.-in | sit-PF.3M.SG. |

    'People sat down in groups of hundreds and fifties.'   (From Mark 6:40)

(e) Citation

    This use has been observed only for one word: *7ubb-áa* 'all'. As will be mentioned in section 4.2.1.3.5, a concrete absolutive form is used for the purpose of citation: that is, most consultants give common nouns in this form when the lexicon is investigated. However, when I asked what the Wolaytta equivalent for the Amharic word ሁ-ሉ- *hullu* 'all' is, the consultant gave the word in the concrete nominative: *7ubb-ái*.

    Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 75) also say that: '7ubbay (all/every) regularly ends in a

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[145] Unfortunately I could not ask consultants about the grammaticality of this sentence.

final -y if used alone (i.e. without any governing noun)'. This form is also used as a headword in their (1997: 275) word list, in which other common nouns are given in the absolute.

Also in Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa's (1991 E.C.: 327) dictionary, in which common nouns are given in the concrete absolute, we find *ubbay* with the Amharic translations ሁሉም *hullum*[146], በሙሉ *ba-mulu*[147], although other forms of the word are also given on the same page: *ubba / ubbakka /*[148] with the translations ፈጽሞ *faSSemo*[149], ጭራሽ *CerrAsY*[150], እንዲያውም *endiyAwem*[151], *ubbabaa / ubbaa*[152] with the translations ሁሉንም ነገር *hullu-n-em nagar*[153], ማንኛውንም ነገር *mAnnennYAw-en-em nagar*[154]. In Lemma's (1992 E.C.: 153) small trilingual dictionary, in which common nouns are again given in the concrete absolute, we find *ubbaykka*[155] with the translations 'all of them', ሁሉም *hullum*, and *ubbaa* with the translations 'all', ሁሉ *hullu*.

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 225) say that: 'In a few cases the noun predicate also appears inflected in the subject [i.e. our nominative] case, this is especially true for feminines of the fourth class, cf.

ha-nna	**gelaawi-ya**	as well as	ha-nna	**gelaawi-y^u**
this-one	girl-subject		this-one	girl-absolutive
	this is a girl			id.

Cf. also

ha-ge	**maahe**	(this is a			beside
this-one	leopard	leopard)		hage	**maahiy^a** (id.);
ha-ge	**hakime**	(this is a			beside

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[146] This means 'all of them, everything, everyone' (Kane 1990: 2).

[147] This means 'fully, in full, wholly, entirely, one hundred percent; throughout, all over, completely, in all' (Kane 1990: 142).

[148] These are a non-concrete absolute form and the same form followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too', respectively.

[149] This means 'completely, utterly, absolutely, entirely; (with negative verb) not at all, never' (Kane 1990: 2348).

[150] This means 'end, close; altogether, completely, entirely; (with negative verb) not at all' (Kane 1990: 2214).

[151] This means 'as a matter of fact, in fact, even, for that matter, rather, in any case; on the contrary, nay' (Kane 1990: 1241).

[152] These are a non-concrete oblique form followed by b-áá 'thing' and a concrete absolute form, respectively.

[153] This means 'all the things (accusative)'.

[154] This means 'everything (accusative)'.

[155] This is a concrete nominative form followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too'.

| this-one | doctor | doctor) | | hage | **hakimiy**[a] (id.).' |

I consider that they are mistaken. The first example of theirs contradicts the fact, and in their last two sets all the common noun predicates are actually in the absolutive. See the paradigm in (4.2.1.1-1). Strangely enough, Lamberti and Sottile do not give a form corresponding to *maahe* or *hakime* in their paradigm (ibid., p. 68.).

4.2.1.3.2 Oblique

In Wolaytta, a common noun that modifies another nominal occurs in the oblique. In other words, the oblique marks the adnominal. As can be seen from the examples below, a modifier precedes its modified in this language. Various semantic relationships can be observed between the two. To properly discuss them we must refer to concreteness, which will be discussed in section 4.2.1.4. For the time being, suffice it to say that oblique common nouns can be noun-like or adjective-like.

In the following, the oblique common nouns express possessors in the broad sense.

(4.2.1.3.2-1)

<u>haakím-iya</u>   keett-áa

doctor-OBL.M.SG.   house-ABS.M.SG.

   'the doctor's house'

(4.2.1.3.2-2)

ta-<u>mácc-ee</u>   kúsh-iya

my-wife-OBL.F.SG.   hand-ABS.M.SG.

   'my wife's hand'

(4.2.1.3.2-3)

<u>baKúl-uwa</u>   7aayy-íya   har-é

mule-OBL.M.SG.   mother-NOM.F.SG.   donkey-ABS.

gid-úkkú.

become-NEG.PF.3F.SG.

   'A mother of a mule is not a donkey.'

In the following, the oblique common nouns are adjective-like[156].

(4.2.1.3.2-4)

<u>git-á</u>   garaw-áa

big-OBL.   cat-ABS.M.SG.

   'a/the big cat'

(4.2.1.3.2-5)

<u>7aduss-á</u>   7og-íya

long-OBL.   way-ABS.M.SG.

   'a/the long way'

(4.2.1.3.2-6)

woláítt-í   <u>har-é</u>   7ash-ó   m-éénná.

Wolaytta-NOM.   donkey-OBL.   meat-ABS.   eat-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'A Wolaytta does not eat donkey's meat.'

Another important use of the oblique is to mark objects of postpositions[157].

(4.2.1.3.2-7)

ta-<u>7ish-atú</u>-ppé

my-brother-OBL.PL.-from

   'from my brothers'

(4.2.1.3.2-8)

ta-<u>micc-ée</u>-ssi

my-sister-OBL.F.SG.-for

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[156] I do not regard the underlined modifiers in the following as adjectives. In my opinion they do not constitute an independent word class in this language. For this issue see section 4.2.1.4.

[157] Thus postpositions in this language can be regarded as nominals. See also section 4.2.8.

'for my sister'

Oblique common nouns may modify nominalizers (see section 4.2.5). This is not surprising since nominalizers are also nominals. However, note that in (4.2.1.3.2-10) a semantic relationship between the oblique common noun and the nominalizer *-nt-* is not transparent.

(4.2.1.3.2-9)

maTááp-ai	lágg-iya-g-éé
book-NOM.M.SG.	friend-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.

báy-iis.
be lost-PF.3M.SG.

'The book, that of the friend, is lost.'

(4.2.1.3.2-10)

7a-7aayy-ée-nt-i	y-íídosona.
his-mother-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.	come-PF.3PL.

'His Mother (honorific) came.'

If the oblique case marks the adnominal as said above, *dár-o* 'much, very' in the following would be regarded to be in the oblique, since it certainly modifies a common noun.

(4.2.1.3.2-11)

dár-o	ló77-o.
much-OBL.	good-ABS.

'It is very (lit. many, much) good.'

(4.2.1.3.2-12)

dár-o	ló77-o	maTááp-aa
much-OBL.	good-OBL.	book-ABS.M.SG.

'a/the very good book'

This treatment might be strange. In fact the corresponding English word "very" is regarded as an adverb in traditional English grammars. This problem would not have arisen if we had not distinguished the oblique and the absolutive in masculine singular common nouns, as Adams (1983) did. However, Adams (1983: 270-271) gives a special status to the word, naming it "intensifier".

4.2.1.3.3　Vocative

　The vocative is the case for the head of a noun phrase that refers to an object of addressing. In other words, the vocative marks the addressee.

　The following are straightforward examples.

(4.2.1.3.3-1)
daann-áu!
judge-VOC.M.SG.

　'Mr. (lit. judge)!' (To stop a male passerby)

(4.2.1.3.3-2)

ha	godal-íyau,	7áí	7oott-ái?
this	hyena-VOC.M.SG.	what	do-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

　'This hyena, what are you doing?' (Insult)

(4.2.1.3.3-3)

paránj-au,	nénáá-rá	Tooss-í	de7-ó.
foreigner-VOC.M.SG.	you-with	god-NOM.	exist-OPT.3M.SG.

　'Oh foreigner, God be with you!'

(4.2.1.3.3-4)

laa	ha	bóór-atoo	7ínténa
hey	this	ox-VOC.PL.	you (PL.)

Koh-iss-íya-i   ha   bóótt-a
harm-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.   this   white-OBL.

bóór-aa   gid-énnée?
ox-ABS.M.SG.   become-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Hey these oxen, isn't one who makes (someone) harm you this white ox?'

   As mentioned in section 4.2.1.3.1, the vocative can mark the addressee in the 2nd person optative.

(4.2.1.3.3-5)
ta-7ish-áu,   táání   g-íyo-g-áá
my-brother-VOC.M.SG.   I   say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

síy-a.
listen-OPT.2SG.

   'My brother, listen what I say!'

(4.2.1.3.3-6)
dad-áu,   dad-áu,   ha   ta-kátt-aa
thunder-VOC.M.SG.   thunder-VOC.M.SG.   this   my-grain-ABS.M.SG.

m-íídaa-g-áá-ssí   7úl-uwa
eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-for   stomach-ABS.M.SG.

puur-iss-á.
inflate-CAUS-OPT.2SG.

   'Oh thunder, thunder, for one who ate this grain of mine, make the stomach inflated.'

   The last example can also be uttered when the weather is fine. This means that an addressee referred to by a vocative form does not have to be present in front of the speaker. Consider also the following, in which the term "addressee" may not be

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appropriate since the vocative is used to emotively express what the speaker wants.

(4.2.1.3.3-7)

7ááyyé 7ána	pár-oo,	par-í	d-íya-kko
woe is me!	horse-VOC.	horse-NOM.	exist-INFN.-if

táání	guyy-é	7átt-iyanaa?
I	back-ABS.	remain-INTER.IMPF.1SG.

'Woe is me, oh horse, if I had a horse I would not be defeated (lit. if a horse exists, do I remain backward?).'

4.2.1.3.4 Interrogative

The interrogative case is the case for the head of a noun phrase that is a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

(4.2.1.3.4-1)

he	mald-úwa	m-íída-i	7íni
that	sorghum-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	there

kap-ói?
bird-INTER.M.SG.

'Is one that ate that sorghum is the bird there?'

(4.2.1.3.4-2)

ne-7ish-ái	7órd-ee?
your-brother-NOM.M.SG.	fat-INTER.

'Is your brother fat?'

(4.2.1.3.4-3)

7etí	kaw-otée?
they	king-INTER.PL.

'Are they kings?'

Negative counterparts of these yes/no questions need an "auxiliary" verb. See also the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.5.

(4.2.1.3.4-4)

ne-7ish-ái	7órd-e	gid-énnée?
your-brother-NOM.M.SG.	fat-ABS.	become-NEG.INTER.3M.SG.

  'Isn't your brother fat?'

This interrogative use of the case is not restricted to yes/no questions.

(4.2.1.3.4-5)

hanná	7ó-macc-ii?
this	whose-wife-INTER.F.SG.

  'Whose wife is this (female)?'

(4.2.1.3.4-6)

nééní	7áwa	biitt-á	7as-ée?
you	where	land-OBL.	people-INTER.

  'Which country are you a man of?'

Because the interrogative is the case for *predicates*, it is not used as a means for echo questions. In echo questions, the word in question remains intact.

(4.2.1.3.4-7)

A: ta-mácc-iya	y-aaná.
my-wife-NOM.F.SG.	come-FUT.

B: mácc-iya?
wife-NOM.F.SG.

  A 'My wife will come.' B 'Wife?'

In Wolaytta, as in other languages, exclamatory expressions are closely related to

interrogative expressions. Thus, the interrogative case can be used in affirmative exclamatory expressions if the predicates are nominals.

(4.2.1.3.4-8)

laa	hagéé	7ái	b-á	minót-ee!
hey	this	what	thing-ABS.	bravery-INTER.

   'What a bravery this is!'

(4.2.1.3.4-9)

hageetí	7áí	b-á	ló77-o	kap-óo!
these	what	thing-ABS.	good-OBL.	bird-INTER.M.SG.

   'What beautiful birds they are!'

4.2.1.3.5　Absolutive

Semantically, the absolutive is an unmarked case in this language. Thus it has different uses. Semantic ranges that cannot be covered by the other cases (i.e. the nominative, the oblique, the vocative, the interrogative and some other minor cases discussed in section 4.2.1.3.6) are all marked by this case.

Its different uses are roughly classified into four major groups: direct object, predicate, citation, and adverbial. These will be discussed in the following in turn.

(a) Direct Object

The absolutive in Wolaytta can be a case for a head of a so-called "direct object" or "patient" of a "transitive" verb[158].

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[158] It is difficult to define these common linguistic terms properly in this language. However, there is no need to do so here if my description of the uses of all the other cases is necessary and sufficient, since the uses of the absolutive are essentially described negatively. These terms are after all labels for the sake of convenience in the present work. Here suffice it to say that many types of "direct objects" or "patients" can be marked by the absolutive, irrespective, for example, of the "transitivity" of their predicate verbs.

(4.2.1.3.5-1)

shóóshsh-aa	bukk-ídí	wor-íis.
snake-ABS.M.SG.	beat-CONV.3M.SG.	kill-PF.3M.SG.

    'He beat and killed the snake.'

(4.2.1.3.5-2)

godar-ée	waass-íyo	waas-úwa
hyena-NOM.M.SG.	cry-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	cry-ABS.M.SG.

7akeek-ádá	síy-a.
be careful-CONV.2.SG.	listen-OPT.2SG.

    'Listen to the cry that the hyena cries carefully (lit. having become careful)!'

(4.2.1.3.5-3)

bitán-ee	bullúkk-uwa	dádd-iis.
man-NOM.M.SG.	blanket-ABS.M.SG.	weave-PF.3M.SG.

    'The man wove a blanket.'

(4.2.1.3.5-4)

lááp-a	na7-ái	láát-aa
lazy-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	inheritance-ABS.M.SG.

naag-ées.
wait for-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'A lazy boy awaits (his) inheritance.' (Proverb)

(4.2.1.3.5-5)

zaLLánc-ai	ba-miishsh-áa	har-íya
merchant-NOM.M.SG.	his own-money-ABS.M.SG.	donkey-OBL.M.SG.

zókk-uwa-ni	dog-íis.
back-OBL.M.SG.-at	forget-PF.3M.SG.

'The merchant forgot his money on the donkey's back.'

(4.2.1.3.5-6)

táání	shóDD-é	dos-íkke.
I	flog-ABS.	like-NEG.PF.1SG.

'I don't like flogs.'

(4.2.1.3.5-7)

dors-á	már-ai	ba-7aayy-íyo
sheep-OBL.	young-NOM.M.SG.	his own-mother-ABS.F.SG.

misat-íis.
resemble-PF.3M.SG.

'The lamb (lit. the sheep young) resembled his own mother.'

(4.2.1.3.5-8)

7í	7óós-uwa	danday-ées.
he	work-ABS.M.SG.	be able to-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He can do the work.'

(4.2.1.3.5-9)

kap-ói	páál-uwa	paall-íis.
bird-NOM.M.SG.	flying-ABS.M.SG.	fly-PF.3M.SG.

'A bird flew (lit. flew a flying).'

(4.2.1.3.5-10)

7utéél-e	keett-áa	b-áas.
hotel-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.	go-PF.1SG.

'I went to the hotel.'[159]

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[159] It may not be proper to consider the noun phrase *7utéél-e keett-áa* 'hotel' to be a "direct object" or "patient" of the "transitive" verb *b-* 'to to'. This use of the absolutive

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Causees in causative expressions are also marked by the absolutive on some conditions. For the details see section 5.3.2.1.

(4.2.1.3.5-11)

bitán-ee	kan-áa	woT-iss-íis.
man-NOM.M.SG.	dog-ABS.M.SG.	run-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

 'The man made the dog run.'

(4.2.1.3.5-12)

7anjúll-óí	7aTaar-íya	7ash-úwa
(person name)-NOM.	butcher-ABS.M.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.

7ánC-iss-iis.
mince-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

 'Anjulo made the butcher mince the meat.'

(4.2.1.3.5-13)

míízz-aa	maat-áa	miz-íis.
cattle-ABS.M.SG.	grass-ABS.M.SG.	make eat-PF.3M.SG.

 'He fed grass to the cattle.'

In the following sentence with the complex voice (see section 5.3.2.4) too, the absolutive is used.

(4.2.1.3.5-14)

mishir-íya	7ót-uwa	bitán-iya-ni
woman-NOM.F.SG.	pot-ABS.M.SG.	man-OBL.M.SG.-in

---

might properly be classified as an "adverbial" use mentioned below in this section. Thus some native speaker think that the "passive" sentence of (4.2.1.3.5-10) is odd, although others think that it is natural as in the case of other typical "transitive" sentences. In any case, here it is sufficient to recognize that the absolutive has different uses and that sometimes it is difficult to classify them decisively. These are natural consequences from the fact that the absolutive is an unmarked case, whose semantics is described negatively.

ba7-is-ett-áasu.
carry on ones back-CAUS.-PASS.-PF.3F.SG.

'The woman was made carry the pot on her back.'

A common noun derived from a "transitive" verb may take a "direct object" in the absolutive.

(4.2.1.3.5-15)
<u>mácc-iyo</u>   7ék-uwa
wife-ABS.F.SG.   taking-ABS.M.SG.

'marrying (lit. taking) a wife'

(b) Predicate
The absolutive case can also be a case for the head of a noun phrase that is a predicate of an affirmative declarative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

(4.2.1.3.5-16)
táání   <u>7a-mácc-iyo</u>.
I   his-wife-ABS.F.SG.

'I am his wife.'

(4.2.1.3.5-17)
ha   na7-ái   <u>tamaar-é</u>.
this   child-NOM.M.SG.   student-ABS.

'This boy is a student.'

(4.2.1.3.5-18)

7í	7aduss-á[160].
he	long-ABS.

'He is tall.'

In these sentences, so-called "tense" is neutralized. That is, these can also refer to situations in the past or the future. Consider the following.

(4.2.1.3.5-19)

táání	heezz-ú	láítt-aa-ppe	kas-é
I	three-OBL.	year-OBL.M.SG.-from	before-ABS.

7oosánc-a.
worker-ABS.M.SG.

'I was a worker three years ago.'

(4.2.1.3.5-20)

táání	heezz-ú	láítt-aa-ppe	dóómm-ada
I	three-OBL.	year-OBL.M.SG.-from	begin-CONV.1SG.

tamaar-é.
student-ABS.

'I have been a student since three years ago.'

(4.2.1.3.5-21)

táání	ha77í	7oosánc-a.	heezz-ú	láítt-aa-ppe
I	now	worker-ABS.	three-OBL.	year-OBL.M.SG.-from

simm-ádá-kká	7oosánc-a.
return-CONV.1SG.-too	worker-ABS.

---

[160] Some might want to consider that this word is an adjective, which belongs to an independent word class distinguished from the common noun. For this issue, see section 4.2.1.4.

'I am a worker now. After three years too, I will be a worker.'

(4.2.1.3.5-22)

táaní	wont-ó-ppé	dóómm-ada	tamaar-é.
I	tomorrow-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.1SG.	student-ABS.

'I will be a student from tomorrow.'

However, if an expression is focused on a change of state, the verb *gid-* 'to become' is used.

(4.2.1.3.5-23)

táaní	wont-ó-ppé	dóómm-ada	tamaar-é
I	tomorrow-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.1SG.	student-ABS.

gid-aná.
become-FUT.

'I will become a student from tomorrow.'

For a copulative use of the same verb, see below in this section.

In general, a nominal cannot be a predicate in subordinate clauses without the "copulative" verb *gid-* 'to become' (see below in this section). However, immediately before the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' with or without *-nne* 'and' (see section 4.3.2) nominals used predicatively may stand in the absolutive without the "copulative" verb[161]. Unfortunately, however, exact conditions on which it is possible are not known.

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[161] Thus, Adams's (1983: 216) claim that 'The verb /gid-/ "be" manifests the Head of a N[oun phrase] when the verb is in the negative polarity, or future tense, or manifests the Head of a V[erb phrase] in the P[redicator] of a subordinant variant' is not correct strictly.

(4.2.1.3.5-24)

táání	dalg-á	hanná	7a-<u>7aayy-íyo</u>-kko[162]-nne
I	(person name)-ABS.	this	his-mother-ABS.F.SG.-whether-and

7oicc-áas.
ask-PF.1.SG.

   'I asked Dalga whether this female is his mother.'

(4.2.1.3.5-25)

táání	7í	7áí	mal-á	7íít-a
I	he	what	look(s)-ABS.	bad-OBL.

<u>kais-ó</u>-kkó	yoot-áas.
thief-ABS.-whether	tell-PF.1SG.

   'I told how bad thief he is.'

(4.2.1.3.5-26)

nééní	7issí	<u>sa7át-e</u>-kko-nne	naag-an-á-u
you	one	hour-ABS.-if-and	watch-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-ábe7íkkíi?
be able to-NEG.INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Couldn't you keep watch even for one hour?'   (From Mark 14:37)

   Elsewhere than the two above cases (i.e. in affirmative declarative sentences and before *-kko(-nne)* 'whether, if'), an absolutive common noun cannot be a predicate by itself.

   In affirmative interrogative sentences, as said above in section 4.2.1.3.4, the interrogative case is used for nominal predicates.

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[162] Adams (1983: 153, 155) seems to assume that this indeclinable is a postposition, *-kko* 'toward' (see section 4.2.8.4.2). However, because *-kko* found here requires its preceding nominal to be in the absolutive, not the oblique as ordinal postpositions do, his claim turns out to be false.

In other circumstances, the "copulative" verb *gid-* 'to become' must be used with predicate nominals, which are, again, in the absolutive. Note also that its original meaning 'to become' does not remain in the copulative use.[163]

(4.2.1.3.5-27)

táání	7á-u	mácc-o	gid-íkke.
I	him-to	wife-ABS.	become-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I am not a wife for him.'

(4.2.1.3.5-28)

ló77-o	gid-énná.
good-ABS.	become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is not good.'

(4.2.1.3.5-29)

dangárs-í	dors-á-ppé	7órd-e
elephant-NOM.	sheep-OBL.-from	fat-ABS.

gid-énnée?
become-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'An elephant is fatter than a sheep, isn't it?'

(4.2.1.3.5-30)

7í	hiyyéés-a	gid-íkkó	. . .
he	poor-ABS.	become-if	. . .

'If he is poor . . .'

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[163] For some nominal stems, however, verb stems can exist. For example:

lo77-énná.
be good-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is not good.'   Cf. (4.2.1.3.5-28)

(4.2.1.3.5-31)

táání	7í	kais-ó	gid-ídoo-g-áá
I	he	thief-ABS.	become-REL.PF.nonSUB.-NMNL.-ABS.

yoot-áas.
tell-PF.1SG.

   'I told that he was a thief.'

(4.2.1.3.5-32)

táání	ha77í	7oosánc-a.	heezz-ú	láítt-aa-ppe
I	now	worker-ABS.	three-OBL.	year-OBL.M.SG.-from

simm-ádá-kká	7oosánc-a	gid-an-á-u
return-CONV.1SG.-too	worker-ABS.	become-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-áis.
be able-IMPF.1SG.

   'I am a worker now. After three years too I may be a worker.'

(c) Citation

The absolutive is also used for citation. That is, consultants give common nouns in this case when the lexicon is investigated. 中野 (Nakano 1988: 1447) says that this phenomenon is fairly common in Cushitic languages, and seen in Berber languages and, when viewed from a historical point, Semitic languages[164].

(4.2.1.3.5-33)

'7amaarátt-o	Káál-aa-ni	"ጥንቸል *Tencal*"
Amharic-OBL.	word-OBL.M.SG.-in	rabbit (Amharic)

---

[164] His original text in Japanese is as follows: '名詞 1 語に言及する際, 絶対格（＝対格）の形で示す現象は, クシ語ではごく一般的で, これは, ベルベル語や歴史的にみたセム語にも共通してみられる.' All the languages mentioned here, as well as Wolaytta and the Omotic languages, belong to the Afroasiatic language phylum. See section 1.3.1.

g-íyo	b-í	7áí	b-á
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.	what	thing-ABS.

g-éétett-ii?'
say-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'harbainn-ó.'
 rabbit-ABS.

   'What is what one calls *Tencal* in Amharic said in Wolaytta?' 'It is *harbainnó*.'

In dictionaries and vocabularies of the Wolaytta language published so far too, headwords are given in the absolutive as far as I know[165]. (However, see section 4.2.1.3.1 (e))

Similarly, the absolutive is used for titles.

(4.2.1.3.5-34)
goromóót-iya.
evil eye-ABS.M.SG.

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	goromóót-e
Wolaytta-OBL.	country-OBL.M.SG.-in	evil eye-ABS.

g-íyo	harg-ée	de7-ées.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	disease-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

(At the beginning of a text) 'The evil eye. In the Wolaytta land, there is a disease that one calls evil eye.'

(4.2.1.3.5-35)
wolaittátt-o	leemís-uwa
the Wolaytta language-OBL.	proverb-ABS.M.SG.

'Proverb of the Wolaytta language' (The title of ጌታቸው (Getachew) and ፀጋዬ

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[165] In Ohman and Hailu (1976: 157) the nominative is also used for citation forms, although it is only for feminine nouns.

(Tsegaye) (1987 E.C.) mentioned in (1.7-1), which is originally written in the Ethiopic script as **ማላይተቶ ሌምሱዋ**)

(4.2.1.3.5-36)

wolaittátt-o	Káál-atu	7amaarátt-o
the Wolaytta language-OBL.	word-OBL.PL.	Amharic-OBL.

<u>bírshett-aa</u>
untying-ABS.M.SG.

'Wolaytta-Amharic dictionary' (The title of Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.), which is originally written as WOLAYTTATTO QAALATU AMAARATTO BIRSHSHETTAA.)

(d) Adverbial

As said at the beginning of this section, semantic ranges that cannot be covered by the other cases are all expressed by the absolutive case. Thus, it may express many different types of marginal meanings. Some of them are difficult to classify. However, all these meanings would be labeled as "adverbial". The following are examples to show the semantic diversity[166].

(4.2.1.3.5-37)

<u>múl-e</u>	dend-ídaa-g-éé
full-ABS.	get up-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

'(the man) who got up perfectly'

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[166] It is difficult to prove that the underlined common nouns in the following examples are really in the absolutive, not in the oblique, since the two cases are morphologically identical in the case of the masculine singular, unlike the feminine and/or the plural. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to replace the ambiguous nouns with their corresponding feminine or plural forms in order to check their grammatical status for semantic reasons. I prefer distinguishing the two cases even in the masculine singular (see 4.2.1.1), but the reason why the underlined nouns in (4.2.1.3.5-37) to (4.2.1.3.5-61) are in the absolutive is just that they do not modify nominals or postpositions. It would not be persuasive. We could have evaded the problem, if we had integrated the two cases in question in the masculine singular as Adams (1983) does.

(4.2.1.3.5-38)

7as-ái	tá-u	mél-a	goinn-ées.
people-NOM.M.SG.	me-for	empty-ABS.	worship-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The people worship me in vain.'   (From Mark 7:6-7)

(4.2.1.3.5-39a)

núúní	sííK-o	d-íída.
we	love-ABS.	live-PF.1PL.

'We lived getting on well with each other.'

Cf. (4.2.1.3.5-39b)

núúní	sííK-uwa-n	d-íída.
we	love-OBL.M.SG.-in	live-PF.1PL.

'We lived in love (= getting on well with each other).'

(4.2.1.3.5-40)

7áí	mal-á	de7-ái?
what	look(s)-ABS.	exist-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'How are you (lit. In what looks do you exist)?'

(4.2.1.3.5-41)

hagéé	zín-o	táání	7od-ído	bázz-uwa.
this	yesterday-ABS.	I	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	desert-ABS.M.SG.

'This is the desert about which I told yesterday.'

(4.2.1.3.5-42)

7issí	wod-é	7issí	bitán-iya-kko
one	time-ABS.	one	man-OBL.M.SG.-toward

kais-ói	gel-ídí	. . .
thief-NOM.M.SG.	enter-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Once upon a time, a thief entered into (lit. toward) (a house of) a man, and . . .'

(4.2.1.3.5-43)

Talót-iya	sing-iss-íyo	wod-é
rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

he	Talót-iya	sing-ída	na7-ái
that	rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-NOM.M.SG.

bajigam-óbare	7abaraad-óbare	. . .
go daft-after	go daft-after	. . .

'When he makes (him) sniff (lit. time when he makes sniff) rue, if that boy that sniffed the rue goes daft or fuss around . . .'

(4.2.1.3.5-44)

Kúm-aa	m-aan-áa-ppe	kas-é
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	front-ABS.

kúsh-iya	meeC-étt-a.
hand-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

'Wash (your) hands before you eat food.'

(4.2.1.3.5-45)

haatt-áa	Kúúl-iya
water-ABS.M.SG.	(river's name)-ABS.M.SG.

pínn-idaa-g-éé	dúg-e
cross-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	lower part-ABS.

hemétt-iiddi	hemétt-iiddi	. . .
walk-SIM.3M.SG.	walk-SIM.3M.SG.	. . .

'While the one who had crossed the Kuliyaa River was walking down and walking down . . .'

(4.2.1.3.5-46)

bitán-ee-kka	keehí	dár-o
man-NOM.M.SG.-too	very	much-ABS.

daapur-ídí	TisK-ídaa-g-éé ...
become tired-CONV.3M.SG.	sleep-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM. ...

   'The man, one who had been tired very much and slept, too . . .'

(4.2.1.3.5-47)

yáshsh-aa	kokkor-ídosona.
fear-ABS.3M.SG.	tremble-PF.3PL.

   'They trembled with fear.'   (From Mark 6:50)

(4.2.1.3.5-48)

wozan-áa	báy-idi
heart-ABS.3M.SG.	be lost-CONV.3M.SG.

   '(with people) crying and wailing loudly'   (From Mark 5:38)

(4.2.1.3.5-49)

maadd-í	dol-á-ppé	wozan-áa
(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.-from	heart-ABS.M.SG.

CinC-ées.
be clever-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Mada is cleverer than Dola.'

(4.2.1.3.5-50)

boll-áa	kállott-iis.
body-ABS.3M.SG.	become naked-PF.3M.SG.

   'He became naked.'

(4.2.1.3.5-51)

yesúús-í	bá-rka	he	bitán-iya	dár-o
Jesus-NOM.	his-only	that	man-ABS.M.SG.	many-OBL.

7as-áa-ppe	gaT-áa	kess-ídí
people-OBL.M.SG.-from	edge-ABS.M.SG.	take out-CONV.3M.SG.

. . .
. . .

   'Jesus took him aside, away from the crowd, and . . .'   (From Mark 7:33)

(4.2.1.3.5-52)

ne-micc-íya	mér-aa	ló77-oo?
your-sister-NOM.F.SG..	look(s)-ABS.M.SG.	good-INTER.

   'Does your sister have good looks? (Is your sister good in terms of the looks?)'

(4.2.1.3.5-53)

polís-iya	be7-ídí	wott-áa
policeman-ABS.M.SG..	see-CONV.3M.SG.	running-ABS.M.SG.

kat-íis.
rush-PF.3M.SG.

   'Having seen a policeman, he rushed (lit. rushed a running).'

(4.2.1.3.5-54a)

7í	miishsh-áa	duret-íis.
he	money-ABS.3M.SG.	become rich-PF.3M.SG.

   'He became rich in money.'

Cf. (4.2.1.3.5-54b)

7í	miishsh-áa-ni	duret-íis.
he	money-OBL.3M.SG.-in	become rich-PF.3M.SG.

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'He became rich in money.'

(4.2.1.3.5-55)[167]

táání	7óshinc-aa	sák-ett-ais.
I	cold-ABS.M.SG.	make sick-PASS.-IMPF.1SG.

'I have caught a cold (lit. I am being made sick cold).'

(4.2.1.3.5-56)

táání	haatt-áa	sáám-ett-aas.
I	water-ABS.M.SG.	make thirsty-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'I was made thirsty for water (i.e., I am thirsty, I want to drink water).'

(4.2.1.3.5-57)[168]

Tooss-ái	7as-á	naatú-yyo	nagar-á
God-NOM.M.SG.	people-OBL.	children-for	sin-OBL.

7ubb-áa-nne	7etí	Cay-íyo	Cashsh-á
all-ABS.M.SG.-and	they	insult-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	insult-OBL.

ubb-áa-nne	7átt-ó	g-aaná.
all-ABS.M.SG.-and	remain behind-OPT.3M.SG.	say-FUT.

'God will say "Let it remain behind." for the sake of children of people for all the

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[167] Adams (1983: 79) considers that the absolutive in this sentence marks an "agent", since 'the item manifesting this unmarked Agent can be functionally re-expressed as the item manifesting the Subject of the entailed active clause, . . .

?oššinc-ai   tana   sakke:si.
cold-def, nom   me   it sickens

The cold sickens me.' However, the "passive" and "active" sentences in question, or perhaps in general, would not be closely related to each other as a whole in terms of syntax. See also the discussion in section 5.3.2.3.

[168] In the case of the verb *g-* 'to say', its "patient" (i.e. one who is said to) is marked by the absolutive. In this and next examples, however, the referents of the underlined absolutive forms cannot be such "patient", judging from the finite verbs. The absolutive nouns under discussion would be translated as 'concerning (the referent)', as Adams (1983: 281) does for a different type of quotation clause.

sins and all the insults that they insult (i.e. God will forgive all the sins and blasphemies for men.).'   (From Mark 3:28)

(4.2.1.3.5-58)

núúní	Tooss-áa	kawótett-aa	7áí
we	God-OBL.M.SG.	kingdom-ABS.M.SG.	what

milat-ées	g-aanée?
resemble-IMPF.3M.SG.	say-INTER.FUT.

   'What shall we say the kingdom of God is like?'   (From Mark 4:30)

(4.2.1.3.5-59)[169]

mishir-íya	ba-na7-áa	húúP-iya
woman-NOM.F.SG.	her own-child-OBL.M.SG.	head-ABS.M.SG.

7óíss-aa	tíy-aasu.
butter-ABS.M.SG.	smear-PF.3F.SG.

   'The women smeared butter on her son's head.'

(4.2.1.3.5-60)

7anjúll-óí	badal-áa	koott-áa
(person name)-NOM.	corn-ABS.M.SG.	hut-ABS.M.SG.

kunt-íis.
fill-PF.3M.SG.

   'Anjullo filled the hut with corn.'

(4.2.1.3.5-61)

7alam-ú	ba-lágg-iya	Kúm-aa
(person name)-NOM.	his own-friend-ABS.M.SG.	food-ABS.M.SG.

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[169] In the following three examples, so-called "di-transitive" verbs are used, and thus each has two absolutive nominals. One of them may be analyzed as a "direct object". Then, however, which one is a "direct object"? What is the other?

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shóóbb-iis.
invite-PF.3M.SG.

  'Alemu treated his friend to a meal.'

In the following, the common noun in the absolutive at the end of the sentence expresses what the speaker prays God for. This use would not be adverbial. However, since I could not find other similar examples I introduce it here.

(4.2.1.3.5-62)

Tóóss-oo,	níyo	galát-a.
god-VOC.	for you	thanks-ABS.

  'Oh God, let thanks be for you!'

So far, we have seen that the absolutive case can express so many kinds of meanings. Thus, it is somewhat strange that previous works that mention uses of this case describe them so simply. Bekale (1989: 57) says on the base of the GB grammar that: 'The object of a verbal head is assigned accusative Case. . . . consistent with the standard assumption of GB in which it is believed that an NP is assigned accusative Case by a transitive verb . . .' Note that he does not distinguish the absolutive and oblique in this thesis. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 206) separate our absolutive case into two cases, and describe them in the following way: '**the absolutive case**: . . . It is applied, if the noun phrase or its governing noun are used in isolated position and thus deprived from any syntactical function, . . .' '**the object case** . . .: it is in this case that the direct object is coded in Wolaytta, . . .' Hirut (1999: 43) just says that: 'Accusative case is a case that indicates direct object of a sentence.' Thus, it seems that they did not notice or did ignore the semantic diversity of the absolutive case in this language. However, they might have meant all the semantic notions introduced above (plus some others) by the term "(direct) object", if we interpret their words favorably.

In this regard, Adams (1983) is the most problematic. He (1983: 255) says that 'Absolutive is considered here to be unmarked.' This is, I think, correct. However, he continues that: 'It occurs in the nouns manifesting Head in the functions O[bject], Ca[usee], Co[mplement], Axis in a PP [= Postpositional Phrase], and the Head of a

N[oun phrase] manifesting the Mod$_{gen}$ [= genitive modifier] in a N. However, in the /e$_2$/ [i.e. "feminine" in my terminology] class of nouns the absolutive case occurs only in O, Ca, and Co.' Since "Axis in a PP" and "the Head of a N manifesting the Mod$_{gen}$ in a N" concern our oblique case, which is homophonous to our absolutive in the masculine singular (see section 4.2.1.1), we can ignore them here. The point is that for the absolutive he establishes only three subclasses: Object, Causee, and Complement. Their definitions are not clear from his work. According to him, however, the Object is expressed by the nominative in the corresponding passive sentence (ibid., p. 78.), the Causee is expressed by the nominative in the corresponding original sentence (ibid., p. 82.), and the Complement concerns copula (ibid., pp. 119-121.). In other words, each seems to be able to be defined positively. Thus, many of the "minor" uses of the absolutive case cited above do not seem to be classifiable. For example, is *miishsh-áa* 'money' in (4.2.1.3.5-54a) an Object, a Causee, or a Complement? Or *Kúm-aa* 'food' in (4.2.1.3.5-61) cannot be an Object since it cannot be a subject in the corresponding passive expression. Then is it a Causee or Complement? I guess that this problem originates in the fact that he totally depends on the tagmemic theory, which has a tendency to oversimplify linguistic phenomena.

On the other hand, Adams (1983: 264, 270) establishes "particle" as an independent word class, which is, according to him, invariable, and includes words such as *zino* 'yesterday' (cf. (4.2.1.3.5-41)), *mela* 'in vain' (cf. (4.2.1.3.5-38)), *duge* 'below' (cf. (4.2.1.3.5-45)), *daro* 'very' (cf. 4.2.1.3.5-46)), etc. Although these are relatively fixed expressions indeed, judging from their endings and their related word forms, they would be better analyzed as common nouns in the non-concrete absolutive. For example, the following enable us to establish a Class O common noun, *zín-uwa* 'yesterday', whose non-concrete absolutive form *zín-o* can be used adverbially as in (4.2.1.3.5-41).

(4.2.1.3.5-63)

<u>zín-oi</u>   ló77-o.
yesterday-NOM.M.SG.   good-ABS.

   'Yesterday was good.'

(4.2.1.3.5-64)

hagéé   <u>zín-o</u>   gaazeeT-áa.
this   yesterday-OBL.   newspaper-ABS.M.SG.

'This is yesterday's newspaper.'

(4.2.1.3.5-65)

<u>zín-uwa</u>   Kopp-íyo   d-e

yesterday-ABS.M.SG.   think-REL.IMPF.nonREL.   time-ABS.

'b-á,   b-á!'   g-ées.

 go-OPT.2SG.   go-OPT.2SG.   say-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'When I think the past (lit. yesterday), I feel that I have to go (lit. it says (to me) 'Go, go!').'

(4.2.1.3.5-66)

nééní   y-íído-i   <u>zín-oo</u>?

you   come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.   yesterday-INTER.

   'Is it yesterday that you came?'

   I have mentioned that the absolutive case is a semantically unmarked one. This seems to be supported by evidence from Afroasiatic comparative linguistics. Hayward (2000a: 88) says that: 'Within the hypothesised P-AA [proto-Afroasiatic] system, the 'basic' nominal form is termed the 'absolutive', and it is most generally characterised by final *-*a*. Cross-linguistically, the core role of the absolutive is to mark the head of a NP [= noun phrase] functioning as the direct object of a verb. In Cushitic however and, as Sasse [(1984)] demonstrates, in Semitic and Berber too, the distribution of the absolutive is considerably more extensive, which justifies treating it as the least-marked, or basic, term.' According to him (2000: 89), however, 'earlier Omotic has almost certainly to be reconstructed with an accusative-marking system', in which 'NP's in subject and nominal predicate functions remain unmarked, while heads (usually definite) or[170] [*sic*] direct object complement NP's receive an accusative case marker' (Hayward and Tsuge 1998: 23), and nominative marking in Wolaytta and other related languages 'is an innovation as far as Omotic is concerned' (Hayward and Tsuge 1998: 25).

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[170] According to Tsuge, one of the authors, this should be "of".

4.2.1.3.6 Minor Case Endings

There are some minor endings that are attached to stems of common nouns but are not given in (4.2.1.1-1). Such minor case endings are discussed below.

4.2.1.3.6.1 Adverbial *-i*

Stems of some common nouns may take the ending *-i* and be used adverbially. Following are the examples, where the ending under discussion is glossed as "ADV.".

(4.2.1.3.6.1-1)

he	<u>biitt-í</u>	b-áas.
that	land-ADV.	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went to that land.'   Cf. *biitt-áa* 'land, country'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-2)

7íít-a	b-í	nu-<u>héér-i</u>
bad-OBL.	thing-NOM.	our-surroundings-ADV.

gákk-ibe7énná.
reach-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

   'No bad thing reached our surroundings.'   Cf. *héér-aa* 'surroundings, region'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-3)

7abb-áa	hé-<u>pint-i</u>	pínn-oos.
sea-ABS.M.SG.	that-side (of bank)-ADV.	cross-IMPF.1PL.

   'Let's go across the sea to that bank.'   (From Mark 4:35) (For *hé-pint-aa*, see section 4.2.1.7.)

(4.2.1.3.6.1-4)

ta-<u>boll-í</u>	haasay-óppa.
my-body-ADV.	speak-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Don't speak while I am speaking.'   Cf. *boll-áa* 'body, the upper part'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-5)

7as-ái	7a-<u>boll-í</u>	miiCC-íis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	his-body-ADV.	laugh-PF.3M.SG.

　　'The people laughed at him.'　　(From Mark 5:40)

(4.2.1.3.6.1-6)

7abb-áa	<u>boll-í</u>	hemétt-iidi	7etá-kkó
lake-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.	walk-SIM.3M.SG.	them-toward

y-íis.
come-PF.3M.SG.

　　'He came toward them, walking on the lake.'　　(From Mark 6:48)

(4.2.1.3.6.1-7)

7ushácc-a	<u>bágg-i</u>	simm-á.
right-OBL.	half-ADV.	return-OPT.2SG.

　　'Turn to the right!'　　Cf. *bágg-aa* 'half, side'

As mentioned above, not all common nouns have this sort of adverbial form; rather it is restricted to a relatively small number of common nouns. For example, the common noun *máNN-iya* 'place', which is semantically close to *héér-aa* 'region, surroundings' seen in (4.2.1.3.6.1-2), does not have this adverbial form with the *-i* ending.

　　All the *-i* adverbial forms above are optional and dispensable in that they can be replaced with absolutive forms and/or postpositional phrases.[171]

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[171] However, there might be semantic differences between the *-i* adverbial and the replacing forms. In other words, the *-i* adverbial might be neither optional nor dispensable. If this is the case, the semantic ranges covered by the absolutive of common nouns that have the *-i* adverbial and those of other common nouns are different, the former being smaller than the latter. Since the semantics of the absolutive is described negatively, however, the description of section 4.2.1.3.5 does not need to be revised.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-8)   Cf. (4.2.1.3.6.1-1)

he	biitt-áa	b-áas.
that	land-ABS.M.SG.	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went to that land.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-9)   Cf. (4.2.1.3.6.1-5)

7as-ái	7a-boll-áá-ní	miiCC-íis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	his-body-ABS.-in	laugh-PF.3M.SG.

   'The people laughed at him.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-10a)   Cf. (4.2.1.3.6.1-7)

7ushácc-a	bágg-a	simm-á.
right-OBL.	half-ABS.	return-OPT.2SG.

   'Turn to the right!'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-10b)   Cf. (4.2.1.3.6.1-7)

7ushácc-a	bágg-a-u	simm-á.
right-OBL.	half-ABS.M.SG.-to	return-OPT.2SG.

   'Turn to the right!'

Thus, we can regard the *-i* ending under discussion as an additional minor case ending for a small number of common nouns.

   Adverbial expressions by means of the *-i* ending are not homogeneous. For example, *7omárs-i* 'in the evening' is composed of a stem of a common noun (Cf. *7omárs-aa* 'evening') and the adverbial ending, just as the adverbial forms discussed above in this section.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-11a)

maallád-o	maay-ído	maay-úwa
morning-ABS.	put on-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

7omárs-i   laamm-íis.

evening-ADV.   change-PF.3M.SG.

   'He changed in the evening the clothes that he put on in the morning.'

However, the combination of the stem and the *-i* ending has become so conventionalized that sometimes postpositions are attached to this adverbial form, not to, or as well as to, the expected oblique form (see section 4.2.1.3.2).

(4.2.1.3.6.1-11b)

7omárs-a-ppe   dóómm-idi

evening-OBL.-from   start-CONV.3M.SG.

   'since the evening'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-11c)[172]

7omárs-i-ppe   dóómm-idi

evening-ADV.-from   start-CONV.3M.SG.

   'since the evening'

Likewise, *há-laitt-i* 'this year', which is composed of a demonstrative determiner[173] and a common noun in the adverbial (cf. *láítt-aa* 'year'), is so conventionalized that postpositions are usually attached to this adverbial form, although in non-conventionalized uses of the same common noun postpositions are, as is expected, attached to the oblique forms.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-12a)

7í   7addisáábá   há-laitt-i   b-íis.

he   Addis Ababa   this-year-ADV. go-PF.3M.SG.

   'He went to Addis Ababa this year.'

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[172] However, one of my main consultants judged this to be ungrammatical.

[173] To tell the truth, it is difficult to analyze this phrase. See the discussion in section 4.2.6.1. The hyphenation and the gloss here are tentative.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-12b)

<u>há-laitt-i</u>-ppe	dóómm-idi
this-year-ADV.-from	start-CONV.3M.SG.

   'since this year'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-13a)

7í	7addisáábá	7ááDD-ida	<u>láítt-i</u>	b-íis.
he	Addis Ababa	pass-REL.PF.SUBJ.	year-ADV.	go-PF.3M.SG.

   'He went to Addis Ababa last year (lit. the year that passed).'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-13b)

7í	7addisáábá	7ááDD-ida	<u>láítt-aa-ni</u>
he	Addis Ababa	pass-REL.PF.SUBJ.	year-OBL.M.SG.-in

b-íis.
go-PF.3M.SG.

   'He went to Addis Ababa last year (lit. the year that passed).'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-13c)

* 7í	7addisáábá	7ááDD-ida	<u>láítt-i-n</u>
he	Addis Ababa	pass-REL.PF.SUBJ.	year-ADV.-in

b-íis.
go-PF.3M.SG.

The conventionalized adverbial forms with the *-i* ending mentioned above (and other similar forms such as *Kámm-i* 'in the night' or *galláss-i* 'day', whose examples are not given above) differ from each other in their details. However, they have a common deviance that their adverbial forms may function as if they were oblique forms.

   What deviates still more is, for example, *ha77-í* 'now'. In fact, it occurs almost always with the *-i* ending. Thus I somewhat hesitate to regard it as a common noun. However, it does inflect when it is used as a predicate of an affirmative declarative sentence or its interrogative counterpart, and the forms remind us of the inflection of the

Masculine Class A common noun[174]. Thus I guess that the word "now" is somehow related to the common noun, although its concrete forms such as *ha77-ái* (NOM.) or *ha77-áa* (ABS.) were rejected by a consultant of mine.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-14)

ha77-í   b-aaná.

now-ADV.   go-FUT.

   'I will go now.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-15a)

ha77-í-ppé

now-ADV.-from

   'from now on'

Cf. (4.2.1.3.6.1-15b)

?? ha77-a-ppe

  now-OBL.-from

(4.2.1.3.6.1-16)

ha77-í   wóg-aa   7er-an-á-u

now-ADV.   culture-ABS.M.SG..   know-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-ais.

want-IMPF.1SG.

   'I want to know the modern (lit. of now) culture'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-17)

nééní   b-aan-ái   ha77-ée?

you   go-INFN.-NOM.M.SG.   now-INTER.

   'Is it now that you will go?'

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[174] Inflection of "adverbs" has been rarely noted in previous works.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-18)

táání	b-aan-ái	<u>ha77-á.</u>
I	go-INFN.-NOM.M.SG.	now-ABS.

   'It is now that I will go.'

Such words as *hácc-i*[175] 'today' and *wón-i* 'at that time' behave in the same way.

   Roughly speaking, the adverbial words *kill-í* 'upward', *hirk-í* 'downward', and *hín-i*[176] 'there' are similar to those words (i.e. *ha77-í* 'now', etc.). That is to say, they occur almost always with the *-i* ending. However, they seem to be related to the Masculine Class E common noun, instead of the Masculine Class A common noun. This is puzzling. See the discussion at the end of this section. See also section 4.2.1.3.6.3.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-19a)

<u>kill-í</u>	b-áas.
upper part-ADV.	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went upward.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-19b)

<u>kill-í</u>-kkó	simm-á.
upper part-ADV.-toward	return-OPT.2SG.

   'Return upward.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-19c)

<u>kill-íya</u>[177]	7er-áis.
upper part-ABS.M.SG.	know-IMPF.1SG.

   'I know the upper part (e.g. a country which lies on a hill).'

   Adverbial words with the *-i* ending that morphologically most deviate from the common noun are *ben-í* 'old times, formerly', *keeh-í* 'very much', *7ín-i* 'at that time'

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[175] For the possible etymology of this, see Greenberg (1950: 61) and section 4.2.6.3.

[176] For the possible etymology of this, see section 4.2.6.3.

[177] This was obtained by elicitation. This form is not used usually.

(and perhaps others). They do not inflect at all. Thus it might not be proper to treat them here in a section discussing the common noun, at least in a synchronic description of the modern Wolaytta language. However, since the *-i* ending of these invariable adverbial words might be related to the additional minor adverbial case of the common noun, I introduce them here. Consider the following examples. The words under discussion do not seem to be used as predicates of sentences, at least naturally.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-20)

hagáá-ppé	kas-é	<u>ben-í</u>	woláítt-a
this-from	front-ABS.	old times-ADV.	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	7as-ái	7issí	b-áí
country-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.	one	thing-NOM.M.SG.

met-óbare,	woí-kkó	. . .
bother-after	or-whether	. . .

    'In old days (lit. front from this), formerly, in the Wolaytta land, people, if one thing bothers or . . .'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-21)

hagéé	wóg-ai	<u>ben-í</u>-ppé	dóómm-idi
this	culure-NOM.M.SG.	old times-ADV.-from	start-CONV.3M.SG.

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'This culture has existed since old times.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-22)

<u>ben-í</u>	b-áá
old times-ADV.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

    'things of old times (i.e. thing that is used in old times, fact that happened in old times, etc.)'

The *-i* ending related to an adverbial function can also be observed elsewhere in this language. As will be discussed in section 4.2.2.2.3, for example, it occurs in adverbial forms of Class A place-name nouns, which express a goal.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-23)

7arákk-í	b-áas.
(place name)-ADV.	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went to Araka.'   Cf. *7arákk-á* (ABS.)

It is a well-known fact that many Ethiopian languages, including Wolaytta, have 'many verbs consisting of a noun-like or interjection-like 'preverb' plus a semantically colourless auxiliary, commonly the verb 'to say'', as Ferguson (1976: 71-72) has pointed out[178]. As will be discussed in section 4.2.9.2, some of the preverbs in Wolaytta end with the vowel *i*. Most of them do not inflect at all, and do not have derivatives or related words. In other words, they are isolated. Thus they may not be common nouns. However, since the final vowel *-i* reminds us of the additional minor adverbial case ending of the common noun discussed so far, it would be worth mentioning them here.

(4.2.1.3.6.1-24)

hagéé	móótt-ai	gashshí	g-ées.
this	neighbor-NOM.M.SG.	(preverb)	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'This neighbor smells very bad.'

(4.2.1.3.6.1-25)

táání	haasay-í-shiini	nééní	sírPi	g-á.
I	speak-SUBOR.-while	you	(preverb)	say-OPT.2SG.

   'Be quiet and pay attention while I am speaking.'

For analysis of the adverbial ending *-i*, Hayward (1987), who discusses terminal vowels in Ometo nominals, might be very suggestive. The terminal vowel (TV,

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[178] Some preverbs can be used with the verb "to do" in this language. See section 4.2.9.2.

hereafter) is a vowel occurring just after a nominal stem[179] and serves to distinguish the subclasses, although it may be omitted or modified in some circumstances. In Wolaytta common nouns, the TV of the Masculine Class A is *a*, that of the Masculine Class E is *e*, and that of the Masculine Class O is *o*, respectively, which are fairly evident, for example, in (4.2.1.1-1) (the TV of the feminine common noun is not discussed in Hayward (1987)). Hayward (1987: 221) hypothesizes that: 'in the language ancestral to the Ometo group there were four classes of nominals distinguished by four distinct TVs, viz: *-e, *-a, *-o and *-i. In the development of Wolaitta [*sic*] . . . all traces of the -i class became obscured in a take-over by the -a class'.

This leads us to a further hypothesis: most, if not all, of the adverbial expressions with the *-i* ending mentioned in this section are traces of non-concrete absolutive forms used adverbially of common nouns belonging to the erstwhile Masculine Class I, which has been taken over by the Masculine Class A. The fact that most, if not all, of the examples under discussion somehow remind us of the inflectional pattern of the Masculine Class A common noun seems to support this hypothesis too. But I leave this issue open here.[180]

4.2.1.3.6.2 Adverbial *-u*

Although quite small in number, stems of some common nouns may take the ending *-u* and be used adverbially. The ending is also glossed as "ADV." here.

(4.2.1.3.6.2-1)

túm-u	han-ída	b-áá	7ubb-áa
truth-ADV.	become-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	all-ABS.M.SG.

y-áádá	7á-yyo	yoot-áas.
come-CONV.1SG.	him-to	talk-PF.1SG.

'I came and told him everything that is true (lit. that became in true).'
(From Mark 5:33 with a modification) Cf. *túm-aa* 'truth'

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[179] Hayward (1987) uses the term "root".

[180] Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 126) regard 'temporal adverbs' ending with *-i* as 'genitive forms', although their genitive forms are not restricted to those with the *-i* ending.

There are also some 'preverbs[181]' that end with the vowel *u*. Some of them are obviously related to common nouns. Thus, the *-u* ending seems to be equated with the additional minor adverbial ending *-u* of the common noun mentioned above.

(4.2.1.3.6.2-2)

TóKKu	g-á.
(preverb)	say-OPT.2SG.

 'Be elevated!' Cf. *TóKK-aa* 'high'

Other preverbs that end with the vowel *u* do not have closely related common nouns or are isolated. Such preverbs may not be common nouns. However, they are similar to the adverbial expressions mentioned above in this section in their forms and functions. For this reason it would be worth introducing them here.

(4.2.1.3.6.2-3)

né	Có77u	g-á.
you	(preverb)	say-OPT.2SG.

 'Be quiet!'

(4.2.1.3.6.2-4)

tá-yyo	haitt-áa-ni	dozhzhú	g-ées.
me-for	ear-OBL.M.SG.-in	(preverb)	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

 'I have a buzzing in my ears.'

(4.2.1.3.6.2-5)

táání	'7eKK-á!'	g-ííshin	7iTT-ídí
I	stop-OPT.2SG.	say-while	reject-CONV.3M.SG.

hemét-aa	lawúhu	g-íis.
walking-ABS.M.SG.	(preverb)	say-PF.3M.SG.

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[181] For the preverb, see sections 4.2.1.3.6.1 and 4.2.9.2.

'When I said 'Stop!', he rejected and started walking.'

In addition, some indeclinable adverbial words end with the vowel *u*. Such words should be introduced here.

(4.2.1.3.6.2-6)

hashshú	sár-o	y-áasa.
fortunately	peace-ABS.	come-IMPF.2SG.

'Welcome! (lit. you come in peace fortunately)'

Because the number of words belonging to this group is fairly small (at least, I could not encounter many actual examples of them), no decisive conclusion can be drawn. However, let me quote Hayward (1987) again. He points out the presence of the -u class in some Northern Omotic languages (1987: 226). He, however, continues that: 'On the Ometo evidence then the most that could be accorded to an *-u in Proto-Ometo would be a free variant status along with *-i in numerals. The evidence does not seem to require us to posit a distinct nominal class in *-u for the proto-language.'

In Wolaytta, however, some numerals have the *-u* oblique, whose *-u* ending is not a free variant along with the *-i* ending (see section 4.2.3.1.1). Moreover, for the masculine person-name noun, Class U can be established as an independent subclass as well as Classes A, E, and O (see section 4.2.2.3.1). Finally, as mentioned in this section, there are adverbial expressions that end with the vowel *u*, which seem to be somehow related to common nouns. Taking all these things into consideration, I am tempted to consider that there might have been Class U common nouns in this language and that the adverbial expressions with the *-u* ending are traces of their non-concrete absolutive forms used adverbially. However, I leave the question open.

4.2.1.3.6.3 Adverbial *-iyo*

The three adverbial words with the -i ending discussed in section 4.2.1.3.6.1, *kill-í* 'upward', *hirk-í* 'downward', and *hín-i* 'there' can also take the adverbial ending *-iyo*.

(4.2.1.3.6.3-1)

kill-íyó	b-á.
upper part-ADV.	go-OPT.2SG.

'Go upward!'

(4.2.1.3.6.3-2)

hirk-íyó	dúg-e	wúrsett-aa
lower part-ADV.	lower part-OBL.	end-ABS.M.SG.

gákk-an-a-u	b-íis.
reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	go-PF.3M.SG.

'He went down until he reached the lower end.'

(4.2.1.3.6.3-3)

hín-iyo	b-á.
that place-ADV.	go-OPT.2SG.

'Go there!'

According to the introspection of the consultant, these endings under discussion are not those of the concrete absolutive of the feminine common noun. They might originate in the *-e* ending of the non-concrete oblique plus the postposition *-yyo* 'for, to', as *níyo* 'for you, to you' does in *né-* 'you (OBL.)' plus the postposition *-yyo* 'for, to' (see section 4.2.4.1.1). However, I leave the question open here too.

4.2.1.3.6.4 Nominative and Oblique in *-u*

The common noun *7aaw-áa* 'father' and compound nouns (see section 5.2.2) whose second elements are this noun have aberrant nominative and oblique forms with the ending *-u*, in addition to normal ones.

(4.2.1.3.6.4-1)

keetta7aaw-ú	báa.
householder-NOM.	not present.

'The householder is not (here).'

(4.2.1.3.6.4-2)

7í	ba-7aaw-ú	sóo	b-íis.
he	his own-father-OBL.	home	go-PF.3M.SG.

  'He went his father's home.'

These forms remind us of the Masculine Class U person-name noun (see section 4.2.2.3.1). They might be evidence for the erstwhile Masculine Class U common noun, which was proposed in section 4.2.1.3.6.2.

4.2.1.4   Concreteness

   As is observed in (4.2.1.1-1), common nouns in Wolaytta distinguish two series of forms: concrete and non-concrete forms. The former is used when a concrete referent is or can be somehow presupposed, and the latter is used elsewhere.

   Concrete forms in Wolaytta sometimes correspond to so-called "definite" forms in English, since concrete referents usually do exist and can be presupposed when the latter are used. Thus, demonstratives usually co-occur with concrete forms.

(4.2.1.4-1)

hegáá	maTááp-aa	7imm-ité.
that	book-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)	give-OPT.2PL.

  'Give (me) that book.'

Likewise, "possessive pronouns" are usually attached to concrete forms.

(4.2.1.4-2a)

ta-par-ái	7áwan	de7-íi?
my-horse-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	where	exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

  'Where is my horse?'

(4.2.1.4-2b)

?? ta-par-í	7áwan	de7-íi?
my-horse-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	where	exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

In Wolaytta, however, we have to note that the concrete form of a common noun can be used not only when both the speaker and hearer can specify the referent as in the above examples but also when only the speaker can do so. For example, the following are openings of spoken texts.

(4.2.1.4-3)

7issí	mant-íya-n	7issí	keett-áa-n
one	district-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-in	one	house-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-in

7aayy-íya-nne	7aaw-ái
mother-NOM.F.SG.(CONCR.)-and	father-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)

d-ííshin	7imatt-ái	y-íi-ni	. . .
live-while	guest-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	come-SUBOR.-in	. . .

'In one district, in one house, while a mother and a father were living, there came one guest, and . . .'

(4.2.1.4-4)

7issí	wod-é	7issí	bitán-iya-kko
one	time-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	one	man-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-toward

kais-ói	gel-ídí	. . .
thief-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	enter-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Once upon a time, a thief entered the house of (lit. toward) a man, and . . .'

The following is an utterance when there has been no mention about the cat in question.

(4.2.1.4-5)

táání	hácci	maallád-o	7issí	git-á
I	today	morning-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	one	big-OBL.(nonCONCR.)

garaw-áa	be7-áas.
cat-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)	see-PF.1SG.

'I saw a big cat this morning.'

Furthermore, the concrete form can be used even when an example of a concrete referent can be pointed out if it is asked. Thus it can be often used in sentences that express generalities.

(4.2.1.4-6)

hagéé	táání	leemis-ídoo-g-éé	wóí
this	I	exemplify-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	or

yoot-íyo-g-éé	7issipétett-ai
tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	unity-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)

maadd-ées,	sííK-oi	maadd-ées,
help-IMPF.3M.SG.	love-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	help-IMPF.3M.SG.

7issí-ppé	gid-á	7úr-ai
one-from	became-REL.PF.SUBJ.	person-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)

hink-ó	b-áá-kká
other-OBL.(nonCONCR.)	thing-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)-too

Toon-ées,	. . .	g-íyo-g-áá
win-IMPF.3M.SG.	. . .	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

yoot-an-áa-ssa.
tell-INFN.-OBL.-to

'This, what I exemplified, or what I tell is to tell that unity helps, love helps, a person who is in union (lit. from one) overcomes others . . .'

(4.2.1.4-7)

dors-ái	d-ées,
sheep-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

<u>par-ái</u>	d-ées,
horse-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

<u>míízz-ai</u>	d-ées,	. . .
cattle-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.	. . .

(An answer to the question "What kinds of animals are there in Wolaytta?") 'There are sheep, horses, cattle . . .'

(4.2.1.4-8)

<u>7ash-úwa</u>	KanT-áis.
meat-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)	cut-IMPF.1SG.

(An answer to the question "What is your job?") 'I cut meat (i.e. I am a butcher).'

For the same reason, the concrete form can often be found in proverbs.

(4.2.1.4-9)

<u>kap-ói</u>	<u>kap-úwa</u>-ppe
bird-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	bird-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-from

<u>yétt-aa</u>	7er-ées.
song-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)	know-IMPF.3M.SG.

'One bird knows songs better than another bird (i.e. Ability differs from person to person).'

(4.2.1.4-10)

<u>zaall-ái</u>	za77-íi-ni
rock-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	break-SUBOR.-in

<u>maat-ái</u>	mokk-ées.
grass-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	grow-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When a rock breaks, grass grows.'

Concrete forms in the absolute were forms encountered in the course of my lexical investigation (see section 4.2.1.3.5). This coincides with the fact that two Wolaytta dictionaries edited by native speakers (i.e. Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.) and Lemma (1992 E.C.)) list common nouns as headwords in the concrete absolutive. In these cases too, concrete examples would be somehow visualized in the native speakers' mind.

Adams (1983) regards our concrete forms to be "definite" forms, and Azeb (1996), Hirut (1999), and Hayward (2000b) also follow him, at least in terms of terminology. Adams' distinction between the "definite" and "indefinite" forms seems to be similar to that of the definite and indefinite articles in English, since a) in his English glosses he uses the definite article for Wolaytta concrete forms, and the indefinite article for Wolaytta non-concrete forms, b) for nominalizers (but not common nouns) he says that the definite form is used when a referent is specific and the indefinite form is used when a referent is not specified (Adams 1983: 232). This claim seems to be correct in some cases, as in the case of (4.2.1.4-1) and (4.2.1.4-2). However, that it is not correct is evident from the above examples in which the English counterpart of the Wolaytta concrete form does not use the definite article.

The non-concrete form is used elsewhere. In other words, it is used when a concrete referent is not or cannot be presupposed in any ways.

There are some different cases where the non-concrete form of a common noun is used. The most outstanding of them is a case where only the notion or category expressed by a stem is in question. Compare the following pair.

(4.2.1.4-11a)

haakím-iya   keett-áa

doctor-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)   house-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

  'the house of a/the doctor'

(4.2.1.4-11b)

haakím-e   keett-áa

doctor-OBL.(nonCONCR.)   house-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

  'clinic'

In the former, where the concrete form *haakím-iya* 'doctor' is used, a concrete doctor is presupposed and what is his property is expressed as a whole. In the latter, where the non-concrete form *haakím-e* 'doctor' is used, a concrete doctor is not presupposed, but the word *haakím-e* modifies the following nominal *keett-áa* 'house' with the meaning 'relating to doctorship or doctorness'. The following is a similar pair.

(4.2.1.4-12a)

7aayy-ée   boin-áa
mother-OBL.F.SG.(CONCR.)   taro-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

   'the mother's taro, the taro that belongs to the mother'

(4.2.1.4-12b)

7aayy-é   boin-áa
mother-OBL.(nonCONCR.)   taro-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

   'corm of taro'

In the following too, only the category is in question.

(4.2.1.4-13)

7á   7áMM-e.
she   widow-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

   'She is a widow.' 'She is classified as widow.'
   Not 'She is the widow in question.'

(4.2.1.4-14)

hageetí   kan-á.
these   dog-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

   'These are dogs.' 'These are classified as dogs.'
   Not 'These are the dogs in question.'

From the above examples, we might say that the concrete form is noun-like and the

non-concrete form is adjective-like. We might also as well remember Jespersen's (1924: 75) words: 'on the whole substantives are more special than adjectives, they are applicable to fewer objects than adjectives . . . The adjective indicates and singles out one quality, one distinguishing mark, but each substantive suggests, to whoever understands it, many distinguishing features by which he recognizes the person or thing in question.'

If we consider in this way, so-called "adjectives" in Wolaytta can be regarded as (part of) common nouns used in the non-concrete form, concerning only the notion or category relating to the stems. For example, *ló77-o* in (4.2.1.4-15a) is a Masculine Class O common noun in the non-concrete oblique, and that in (4.2.1.4-15b) is a Masculine Class O common noun in the non-concrete absolutive.

(4.2.1.4-15a)

<u>ló77-o</u>   míízz-iyo

good-OBL.(nonCONCR.)   cow-ABS.F.SG.(CONCR.)

   'a good cow'

(4.2.1.4-15b)

hagéé   maTááp-ai   <u>ló77-o</u>.

this   book-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)   good-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

   'This book is good.'

Of course, there exists a concrete counterpart, *ló77-uwa*, which refers to a concrete 'good one'.

(4.2.1.4-15c)

<u>ló77-uwa</u>   door-á.

good-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)   choose-OPT.2SG.

   'Choose a good one.'

Thus, both *haakím-iya* 'doctor' in (4.2.1.4-11a) and *ló77-o* 'good' in (4.2.1.4-15a) are regarded as common nouns, which indeed follow the paradigm in (4.2.1.1-1). Although there are common nouns that are in many cases used in the concrete form (i.e. common

nouns that are noun-like) and common nouns that are in many cases used in the non-concrete form (i.e. common nouns that are adjective-like), the distinction is a question of degree. Any stems of the common noun have both forms in principle (for the exceptions see below in this section).

Although the term "adjective" has been frequently used to denote an independent grammatical category in previous works, almost no precise and convincing definition of it has been made. Hayward (2000b: 411-412), for example, mentions 'that subset of nominals that need to be distinguished as adjectives'. Likewise, Azeb (2002: 86) says that: 'there are morpho-syntactic and functional properties which justify proposing a separate syntactic class for adjectives in Wolaitta [*sic*].' It is unfortunate that they do not offer further explanations, although these articles are review articles, not specialized works on Wolaytta grammar. Hirut (1999: 77) says that: 'Adjectives are words that modify nouns by expressing their qualities, colours, sizes etc.' However, she also gives examples of adjectives that are used without any modified noun, which are similar to (4.2.1.4-15c). Furthermore, she also says that: 'the same inflectional morphemes used with nouns are also used with adjectives for the same function.' Ohman and Hailu's description (1976: 158) about "adjectives" is far from clear. One thing is for sure that they do not give a definition of an adjective. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 73) say that: 'indeed Wolaytta, as for other Cushitic languages, does not seem to possess a genuine word class consisting of adjectives'. However, they give an independent section entitled "Adjective", which amounts to six pages and contains a lot of examples. This is criticized by Azeb (2002: 86).

Adams (1983: 266-267) also considers that "adjective" differ from "nouns". The following are examples of "adjectives" he (ibid., p. 267.) gives.

(4.2.1.4-16)
gu:tta 'small', *lo??o* 'good', *gita* 'big', *goba* 'important', *mino* 'strong', *dure* 'rich', *le:?e* 'thin', *?adussa* 'long', *bo:tta* 'white', *muKale*[182] 'dazzling white', *karetta* 'black', *zo??o* 'red', *bulla* 'grey', *?alla:tte* 'spotted'

According to him (ibid., p. 220.), adjective phrases 'manifest only the adjective Modifier function in a N[oun phrase]', although he (ibid., p. 226.) also says that: 'The Adj[ective phrase] may also manifest the Complement function in a stative clause', such as "That boy is very tall." Unlike other authors, He (1983: 266-267) argues for the independent category "adjective" in the following way:

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[182] The capital "K" is the lower-case "k" with a dot beneath it in the original notation.

(4.2.1.4-17) From Adams (1983: 266-267)

Although words classified here as adjectives do resemble nouns that are unmarked [*sic*] for indefinite, absolute, and singular categories, adjectives in Wolaitta differ from nouns in the following respects:

1) Adjectives have not been observed to inflect for case, definiteness, number, or gender like nouns do.

2) Adjectives may be modified by an intensifier, but the intensifier /kehi/ "very" has not been observed modifying a noun directly.

3) If Adjectives were thought to be nouns that manifest the Head of a N[oun phrase] manifesting the genitive Modifier in a N, then because of all the restrictions placed upon them . . . a special type of N would need to be posited, which is no more economical than classifying the word as an adjective that manifests the Head of an adjective Phrase, e.g.,

. . .

4) While adjectives might be considered to be a closed class of words in that there must be fewer items in it than nouns, it is presumed that new adjectives could be included, which would make it an open class of words.

(2) /gu:tta/   "small"   /lo??o/   "good"

  /gita/   "big"   /goba/   "important"

  /mino/   "strong"   /dure/   "rich"

  /le:?e/   "thin"   /?adussa/   "long"

Since words describing colours behave like adjectives, they are treated here as adjectives, e.g.,

(3) /bo:tta/   "white"   /muKale[183]/   "dazzling white"

  /karetta/   "black"   /zo??o/   "red"

  /bulla/   "grey"   /?alla:tte/   "spotted"

(Colours such as green and yellow are not rendered by one word, but by means of a phrase, e.g., /ma:ta mala/ "green",

(4)   grass   like

/?adil?iya: mala/   "yellow").

yellow daisy   like

For his first reason, I say that his "adjectives" do inflect in the same way as his "nouns". As discussed above, "adjectives" and "nouns" are the same morphologically, and have common semantics in each of the concrete and non-concrete forms.

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[183] The capital "K" is a small "k" with a dot beneath it in the original text.

For his second reason, I say that "intensifiers" can modify common nouns in Adams's sense. Even if *ló77-o* 'good' is an adjective as Adams claims, *ló77-oi* in the following would not be an adjective since, according to him, adjectives are indeclinable.

(4.2.1.4-18)

keehí	ló77-oi	d-íí-kkó	shamm-aná.
very	good-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	exist-SUBOR.-if	buy-FUT.

   'If there is a very good one, I will buy (it).'

In the following, the intensifier modifies a verb in the relative form (section 4.4.3.3).

(4.2.1.4-19)

tá-yyo	keehí	7er-íyo-g-éé
me-for	very	know-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

koshsh-ées.
be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'It is needed for me to know well.'

Thus, the use of "intensifiers" completely depends on semantics, not on the word class. "Intensifiers" can modify any words that express notions that can be realized with different degrees. His "adjectives" happen to be such common nouns.[184]

For his third reason, the restrictions placed upon adjective phrases are the following three factors (Adams (1983: 221)): (I) a head of an adjective phrase may not occur in the definite ("concrete" in my terminology) form whereas that of a modifying noun phrase may be in the definite or indefinite ("non-concrete" in my terminology) form, (II) adjective phrases may contain one or more intensifiers (*kehi* 'very' and *daro* 'very'), which never appear in noun phrases, and none of the functions that do occur in noun phrases (i.e. determiner, relative clause, oblique noun phrase, numeral phrase, adjective phrase, postpositional phrase) may occur in adjective phrases, (III) an adjective and a

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[184] I guess that there are "adjectives" that express notions that cannot be realized with different degrees, such as *har-á* 'other', *guyy-é* 'side', *7ubb-á* 'all'. Unfortunately, I could not ask the consultants whether these words can be modified by an "intensifier" or not.

noun phrase cannot be conjoined. The first factor and the problems concerning the intensifier were already discussed in the last two paragraphs. That the different "functions" may not occur in "adjective" phrases would also be explained semantically. Since the attributions expressed by his "adjectives" are happen to be what are usually without relations to the notion of definiteness, number, etc. they would not be modified usually by words that express such notions. This semantic restriction would more or less apply to his "indefinite" noun. What is more, I consider that the "functions" may occur in "adjective" phrases if the resultants make sense. Although it is often difficult for me to judge a given common noun in the non-concrete form is a "noun" or "adjective", at least I consider that his "adjective phrases" may be modified by a postpositional phrase.

(4.2.1.4-20)

hadííy-a	biitt-ái	woláítt-a-daani
(name of a land)-OBL.	land-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	Wolaytta-OBL.-like

ló77-o	biitt-á.
good-OBL.(nonCONCR.)	land-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

    'The Hadiyya land is a good land like Wolaytta.'

(4.2.1.4-21)

ha	zááp-ee	he
this	tree-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	that

zááp-iya-ppe	7aduss-á.
tree-OBL.M.SG.(nonCONCR.)-from	long-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

    'This tree is taller than that tree.'

In my analysis, the "intensifier" *dár-o* 'very' is a common noun in the non-concrete form, and thus an "adjective". The last factor (III), whose examples are not given, seems to correspond to a testing explained by Adams (1983: 86-87), who says that: 'Items which can be conjoined are considered in this thesis to manifest the same tagmeme, and those which cannot be conjoined are generally considered to manifest separate tagmemes', referring to Comrie (1981: 105). However, this reference is not appropriate. Comrie (ibid., pp. 105-107.) argues that in coordination of clauses if a noun phrase in

the second conjunct that is semantically coreferential to a noun phrase in the first conjunct can be omitted they are syntactically treated alike, but he does not say that items that can be conjoined are syntactically alike. What is more, in this language two coordinated modifiers do not seem to be conjoined by a "conjunction" unless the notions expressed by them are closely related in terms of semantics. Consider the following two examples. Two "adjectives" (*git-á* 'big' and *karétt-a* 'black') are just juxtaposed in (4.2.1.4-22), while they are conjoined by the "conjunction" *-nne* 'and' in (4.2.1.4-23).

(4.2.1.4-22)

tá-yyo	heezz-ú	git-á	karétt-a
me-for	three-OBL.	big-OBL.(nonCONCR.)	black-OBL.(nonCONCR.)

kan-atí	de7-óosona.
dog-NOM.PL.	exist-IMPF.3PL.

   'I have tree big black dogs (lit. For me there are three big black dogs).'

(4.2.1.4-23)[185]

ha	túll-e-nne	dúúd-e
this	deaf-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-and	dumb-OBL.(nonCONCR.)

7ayyáán-au	. . .
spirit-VOC.M.SG.(CONCR.)	. . .

   'You deaf and mute spirit . . .'   (From Mark 9:25)

Thus, two linguistic forms may be alike if they can be conjoined, but the reverse is not true. Thus this testing would be invalid for our purpose.

   For his fourth reason, I could not even see why it can be a reason for separating nouns and adjectives. I guess that that was mistakenly inserted in the course of editing. I quoted all the passage above for readers to judge.

   The difficulty of separating "adjectives" from "nouns" in Wolaytta is observable in Adams's description itself too. While he (1983: 267) regards /dure/ 'rich' as an adjective, the homophonous word is used in a paradigm (ibid., p. 216.) in which a "noun phrase"

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[185] Unfortunately, I could not check the grammaticality of this phrase.

manifests a Compliment (i.e. is used as a predicate of a sentence, as in (4.2.1.4-13)). Then, is the word /dure/ an "adjective" or a "noun"? Are there two different but homophonous words?

Common nouns in the non-concrete absolute may modify a verb adverbially. Such uses can be explained in the same way as above. That is, there only the notion or category expressed by a stem is in question.

(4.2.1.4-24)
dár-o   galat-áis.
much-ABS.(nonCONCR.)   thank-IMPF.1SG.

   'I thank a lot.'

(4.2.1.4-25)
mandád-óí   ba-micc-ée-ppe
(person name)-NOM.   his own-sister-OBL.F.SG.(CONCR.)-from

heezz-ú   láítt-a   bairat-ées.
three-OBL.   year-ABS.(nonCONCR.) be older-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Mandado is three years older than his sister.'

(4.2.1.4-26)
núúní   sííK-o   d-íída.
we   love-ABS.(nonCONCR.)   live-PF.1PL.

   'We lived with love.'

There is one use of the non-concrete form that is relatively common but difficult to explain. Consider the following.

(4.2.1.4-27)
púd-e-kko   simm-á.
upper part-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-toward   return-OPT.2SG.

'Return to upward.'

(4.2.1.4-28)

guyy-é-ppé	y-íyo
back-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

d-é	. . .
time-ABS.	. . .

   'After that, when they came . . .'

(4.2.1.4-29)

hageetú	gidd-óó-ní	geelá7-óí
these(OBL.)	inside-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-in	young virgin-NOM.(nonCONCR.)

báawa.
not present

   'There is no young virgin in these.'

(4.2.1.4-30)

7alam-ú	ba-na7-áa
(person's name)-NOM.	his own-child-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

shoor-óó-ní	7aK-iss-íis.
neighbor-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-in	spend the night-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'Alemu made his child sleep in (his) neighbor('s house) (because of a shortage of a bed).'

(4.2.1.4-31)

boll-á-ppé	shákk-uwa-ppe
upper part-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from	shelf-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-from

pir-í-nne	. . .
jump-CONV.3M.SG.-and	. . .

'From above, he jumped down from the shelf, and . . .'

All these underlined words can be regarded as common nouns since they inflect according to the paradigm of the common noun, and they can be regarded to be in the oblique as glossed above since they precede a postposition. However, they might be absolutive forms used adverbially. Remember that in this language an adverbial word can be followed by a postposition if the resultant makes sense: e.g. *ha77-í-ppé* (now-ADV.-from) 'from now on' (see section 4.2.1.3.6.1). Here we see another demerit of treating the oblique and the absolutive separately.

As discussed in section 4.2.1.3.1, the nominative is almost always used to mark a subject, which is semantically a core for cognition of a situation. Thus the common noun in the nominative occurs usually in the concrete form. The non-concrete nominative is not used frequently. However, it is naturally used to mark a subject when it expresses what does not exist from the beginning and thus no concrete referent can be pointed out.[186]

(4.2.1.4-32a)

tá-u	miishsh-í	báawa.
me-for	money-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	not present

'I have no money (i.e. I am poor).'

Cf. (4.2.1.4-32b)

tá-u	miishsh-ái	báawa.
me-for	money-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	not present

'I did not bring the money.' 'I do not have the money at hand now.'

(4.2.1.4-33)

tá-u	par-í	d-íya-kko
me-for	horse-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	exist-INFN.-if

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[186] Incidentally, the non-concrete form seems to be more frequent in negative clauses in general, other things being equal.

táání	guyy-é	7átt-iyanaa?
I	back-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	remain-INTER.IMPF.1SG.

'If I had a horse, would I remain behind? (But actually I do not have a horse.)'

(4.2.1.4-34)

7áí	dó7-í-kká	7ínténa
what	wild animal-NOM.(nonCONCR.)-too	you

be7-énná.
see-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'No wild animal sees you.'

Although the actual attestation is relatively rare, the non-concrete form can be used in sentences that express very abstract or general propositions. In the following, the speakers would have used the non-concrete forms to indicate that the utterances represent generalities that presuppose no concrete referent.

(4.2.1.4-35)

táání	kais-ó	dos-íkke.
I	thief-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	like-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not like thieves.'

(4.2.1.4-36)

baKúl-o	milat-ées.
mule-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	resemble-IMPF.3M.SG.

'It resembles a mule.'

(4.2.1.4-37)

7aaw-á-ppé	7aayy-á
father-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from	mother-NOM.(nonCONCR.)

kéh-a.
kind-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

    ʾA mother is kinder than a father.ʾ

    Note that in some cases whether a concrete referent is presupposed or not does hardly affect the resultant meaning. In such cases, the choice of a concrete or non-concrete form depends on the speaker. In the following, both the concrete and non-concrete forms are used interchangeably.

(4.2.1.4-38a)

7óós-uwa	máNN-iya
work-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)	place-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

    ʾworkshopʾ

(4.2.1.4-38b)

7óós-o	máNN-iya
work-OBL.(nonCONCR.)	place-ABS.M.SG.(CONCR.)

    ʾworkshopʾ

Likewise, in sentences that express generalities, sometimes we find the concrete form (as in, for example, (4.2.1.4-6) to (4.2.1.4-10)), and sometimes the non-concrete form (as in, for example, (4.2.1.4-35) to (4.2.1.4-37)). As mentioned in section 4.2.1.3.5, the concrete absolutive was used as a representative form in the course of the lexical investigation. However non-concrete absolutive forms seem to be natural as representative forms in, for example, the following Wolaytta contexts.

(4.2.1.4-39)

ʾ7amaarátt-o	Káál-aa-ni	"ጥንቸል *Tencal*"
Amharic-OBL.	word-OBL.M.SG.-in	rabbit (Amharic)

g-íyo	b-í	7áí	b-á
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.	what	thing-ABS.

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g-éétett-ii?'
say-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'harbainn-ó.'
  rabbit-ABS.

    'What is what one calls *Tencal* in Amharic said in Wolaytta?' 'It is *harbainnó*.'

(4.2.1.4-40)
woláítt-á   biitt-áa-ni
(place name)-OBL.   land-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-in

goromóót-e   g-íyo
evil eye-ABS.(nonCONCR.)   say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

harg-ée   de7-ées.
disease-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)   exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'In the Wolaytta land, there is a disease that is called *goromóóte*.'

    My impression is that the non-concrete form is much preferred when the common noun is used as a predicate. In such cases, it is not rare that common nouns are modified by a numeral or a "possessive pronoun". This is surprising since such modifiers are elsewhere used only for concrete forms in general.

(4.2.1.4-41)
táání   kóyy-iyo-g-éé   heezz-ú
I   want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   three-OBL.

sunkurúút-o.
onion-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

    'What I want are three onions.'

(4.2.1.4-42)[187]

hagéé   ne-<u>maTááp-ee</u>?

this   your-book-INTER.(nonCONCR.)

  'Is this your book?'

Here again, it would be worth quoting Jespersen's (1924) words. 'Mill (*Logic*, 15) says that "there is no difference of meaning between *round*, and *a round object*." This is to some extent true when *round* is found as a predicative ("the ball is round" = "is a round object"), but not elsewhere' (ibid., p. 79.). 'An adjunct consisting of a genitive or a possessive pronoun always restricts . . . But when these expressions [*my brother* and *John's hat*] are used in the predicative the same degree of definiteness is not found: when a man is introduced with the words "This is my brother" or when I say "That is not John's hat," these words may mean indefinitely 'one of my brothers' and 'one of John's hats'' (ibid., pp. 110-111.). '[T]he subject is comparatively definite and special, while the predicate is less definite, and thus applicable to a greater number of things' (ibid., p. 150).

  As the last quotation from Jespersen (1924) suggests, the reverse is observed in the case of subject. I have already pointed out above in this section that nominative forms usually occur in concrete forms and the non-concrete nominative is not used frequently. In addition, even when a referent of a nominative common noun does not exist from the beginning, that is, even when the use of the non-concrete nominative is expected, the concrete nominative may be used. For example, once when I asked a consultant to translate "I do not have a sister" into Wolaytta, he gave the following.

(4.2.1.4-43)

tá-u   <u>micc-íya</u>   báawa.

me-for   sister-NOM.F.SG.(CONCR.)   not present

Another consultant gave the following as a translation of "There is no elephant (in this country)".

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[187] Here the concrete counterpart can be used too. In that case the resultant meaning is 'Is this the book of yours?' This kind of semantic opposition is not found in the case of (4.2.1.4-2), where the common noun in question is in the nominative.

(4.2.1.4-44)

<u>dangárs-ai</u>　　　　　　　　　báawa.
elephant-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)　　not present

The following is obtained by free composition. Note that the nominative is in the concrete form, whereas the postpositional phrase contains a non-concrete oblique form (this is the only condition that I asked him).

(4.2.1.4-45)

<u>7allág-ai</u>　　　　　　　　dább-o-ppe
enemy-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)　　relative-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from

keeh-énná.
be better-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

　　'An enemy is not better than a relative.'

The following were also obtained in the same way. Here both the concrete and the non-concrete nominatives are possible. However the former was given first.

(4.2.1.4-46a)

púúlunt-a-ppe　　　　　　　　　<u>bo77-ái</u>
gray hair-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from　　baldness-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)

ló77-o.
good-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

　　'Baldness is better than gray hair.'

(4.2.1.4-46b)

púúlunt-a-ppe　　　　　　　　　<u>bo77-í</u>
gray hair-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from　　baldness-NOM.(nonCONCR.)

ló77-o.
good-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

'Baldness is better than gray hair.'

Thus my impression is that the distinction between the concrete and non-concrete nominatives begins to fall into disuse. In fact, there are native speakers who do not tell any differences between the two nominative forms. This trend seems to be accelerated partly because in Masculine Classes E and O the same distinction is made only by tone (see section 4.2.1.2), and only when the nominative noun is at the beginning of a tonal group (see section 2.4).

There are a few curious common nouns. For example, *Tooss-áa* 'god' is very often used in the non-concrete nominative even when the concrete nominative is expected, despite of the tendency described in the last paragraph.[188]

(4.2.1.4-47)

tá-yyo   Tooss-í   na7-á
me-for   god-NOM.(nonCONCR.) child-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

7imm-an-áa-daani   . . .
give-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like   . . .

 'In order for the God to give me a child . . .'

(4.2.1.4-48)

Tooss-í   7imm-ó.
god-NOM.(nonCONCR.)   give-OPT.3M.SG.

 'Thank you! (lit. Let/may the God give.)'

(4.2.1.4-49)

paránj-au,   nénáá-rá
white man-VOC.M.SG.(CONCR.)   you-with

Tooss-í   de7-ó.
god-NOM.(nonCONCR.) exist-OPT.3M.SG.

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[188] Incidentally, in Mark in Wolaytta the non-concrete nominative of the same word is not found while its concrete counterpart is abundant.

'Oh the white man, the god be with you!'

In the above, the non-concrete nominative forms can be replaced by the concrete counterparts. In fact, the concrete form *Tooss-ái* 'god' is used in the following, which precedes (4.2.1.4-49) in the same improvised song.

(4.2.1.4-50)

sal-úwa	Tooss-ái	núú-kkó
heaven-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.).	god-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	us-toward

shiiK-ó,	g-áis.	. . .
come near-OPT.3M.SG.	say-IMPF.1SG.	. . .

Kámm-a	gall-á	núna
night-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	day-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	us

Tooss-ái	maadd-ó.	. . .
god-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	help-OPT.3M.SG.	. . .

'I say that may God in heaven come near toward us! . . . May God help us day and nigit!'

Note also the following fixed expression.

(4.2.1.4-51)

gód-í	7anj-ó.
lord-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	bless-OPT.3M.SG.

'God bless you!'

7as-áa is also a special word in that it means 'a person' or 'people' in the non-concrete form, while it means only 'people' in the concrete form.

(4.2.1.4-52)

7as-í	y-íis.
person, people-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	come-PF.3M.SG.

'There came a man/ people.'

(4.2.1.4-53)

ha	7as-í	7áí-nné
this	person-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	what-and

7íít-a	b-á	7oottí-be7énná.
bad-OBL.(nonCONCR.)	thing-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	do-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'This man has never done evil thing.'

(4.2.1.4-54)[189]

7as-á	wozan-á-ppé
person, people-OBL.(nonCONCR.)	heart-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from

kíy-iya	b-áí
come out-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)

7as-á
person, people-OBL.(nonCONCR.)

tun-iss-íyo-g-áá-ppé
be unclean-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.NMNL.-OBL.-from

7átt-ii-ni	. . .
remain-SUBOR-in	. . .

'What comes out of a heart of a man makes him unclean, but . . .'
(From Mark 7:15)

(4.2.1.4-55)

laítt-aa-ppe	7issítoo	7as-ái
year-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-from	once	people-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)

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[189] Since this example expresses a general proposition, we cannot judge whether the underlined words mean 'person' or 'people'. Both the interpretations result in the same meaning.

shiiK-ídí	7issí-ppe	gid-ídí
gather-CONV.3M.SG.	one-from	become-CONV.3M.SG.

m-íyo	s-áa-ni
eat-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-in

7úy-iyo	s-áa-ni	. . .
drink-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.M.SG.(CONCR.)-in	. . .

'In the place where having gathered and become together (lit. from one) people eat and drink once a year . . .'

(4.2.1.4-56a)

7issí	<u>7as-í</u>	de7-ées.
one	person-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There is a person.'

(4.2.1.4-56b)

* 7issí	<u>7as-ái</u>	de7-ées.
one	people-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'* There is a people.'

At present, I cannot explain how "people" in the non-concrete form and "people" in the concrete form differ from each other, although my impression is that the former is quite rare.

7as-íyo 'maid' seems to occur only in the concrete form. This seems to be morphologically a feminine derivative (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2) of the Masculine Class A common noun *7as-áa* 'people' discussed in the last paragraph. However, the feminine common noun takes neither non-concrete endings of the Masculine Class A common noun with the meaning 'maid' kept nor those of the genuine feminine common noun.[190]

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[190] To understand this paragraph, read section 4.2.1.6.

(4.2.1.4-57a)

7á	7as-íyo.
she	maid-ABS.F.SG.(CONCR.)

   'She is a maid.'

(4.2.1.4-57b)

* 7á	7as-ó.
she	maid-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

Likewise, *bitán-iya* 'man' and *mishir-íyo* 'woman' are almost always used in their concrete forms. If only the notion or category "male" or "female" concerns *7attúm-aa* 'male' or *máCC-aa* 'female' is used. Interestingly these are almost always used in their non-concrete forms.[191] There may be other unbalanced common nouns of this kind.

As is evident from the discussions and examples above, a concrete referent is usually marked by a concrete form. According to the consultant, however, even if a referent is fairly concrete a non-concrete form may be used to express some emotion or emphasis. Thus, according to him, the non-concrete oblique expresses intimacy between the speaker and the referent in the following.

(4.2.1.4-58)

ta-dább-o-ppe	7ekk-áas.
my-relative-OBL.(nonCONCR.)-from	take-PF.1SG.

   'I took (it) from a relative of mine.'

According to the consultant, the donkey referred to in the following is quite unique in its character. Thus it might be an example of a kind of attribute-oriented or adjective-like use.

(4.2.1.4-59)

he	har-é	be7-ái?
that	donkey-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	see-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

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[191] However, see (4.2.1.3.1-30). These can also be followed by a nominalizer to refer to a concrete referent: *7attúm-aa-g-aa*, *máCC-aa-r-o* (see sections 4.2.5.1 and 4.2.5.2).

'Are you looking at that donkey?'

However, this kind of use of the non-concrete form does not seem to be found in natural utterances (the above examples were obtained by means of elicitation).

In the Wolaytta place-name noun and the person-name noun, there is no distinction between concrete and non-concrete forms (see sections 4.2.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.3.1). Because place-name nouns and person-name nouns always refer to specified referents, there is no need to establish the two forms and only one unmarked or default form will do. In terms of morphology, the default endings of place-name nouns and person-name nouns are more similar to the non-concrete endings of the common noun. In other words, if a nominal has only one default form for a given case and number, it is a "non-concrete" form. Thus, we might hypothesize that historically the non-concrete form is an unmarked and older form in the case of the common noun, and that the concrete form is an innovation for a special purpose (i.e. to clarify concreteness). The use of non-concrete forms in (4.2.1.4-48) and (4.2.1.4-51), which are fixed expressions that have perhaps been used for a long time, might support the idea. Note also the use of the non-concrete form in traditional expressions of time.

(4.2.1.4-60)

táání	sa7-ái	poo7-íi-ni
I	world-NOM.M.SG.(CONCR.)	be bright-SUBOR.-in

míízz-í	kar-é
cattle-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	outside-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

kíy-iyo	d-é	y-aaná.
go out-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	come-FUT.

'I will come when cattle go out (i.e. about 8:00 a.m.).'

So far in this section I have ignored plural common nouns in discussing the concreteness. This is because there is no opposition of concreteness in the plural in this language. More accurately, this is because number distinction, which will be discussed in the next section, exists only in the concrete form. Since the notion of number can be applied only for concrete referents, it is absent in the non-concrete form from the

beginning[192]. Although Adams (1983: 257) says that: 'In plural nouns, definite ["concrete" in my terminology] forms and indefinite ["non-concrete" in my terminology] forms differ only in pitch', no such distinction cannot only be observed but also exist logically.

As said in section 4.2.1.1, the arrangement of the vocative endings in the paradigm (4.2.1.1-1) may not be appropriate from the viewpoint of morphology. However, parallelism can be found between uses of the two series of the vocative endings and those of the other case endings. That is to say, the concrete vocative is used to address a concrete person or the like.

(4.2.1.4-61)

ta-7ish-áu,   táání
my-brother-VOC.M.SG.(CONCR.)   I

g-íyo-g-áá   síy-a.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.   hear-OPT.2SG.

  'My brother, listen to what I say!'

(4.2.1.4-62)

paránj-au,   nénáá-rá
white man-VOC.M.SG.(CONCR.)   you-with

Tooss-í   de7-ó.
god-NOM.(nonCONCR.) exist-OPT.3M.SG.

  'Oh the white man, the god be with you!'

On the other hand, the non-concrete vocative is used to address, or rather, to name emotionally someone or something that does not exist from the beginning. In other words, it is used when no concrete referent can be pointed out.

---

[192] This is the reason why we had to notice (4.2.1.4-41), in which a non-concrete common noun is modified by a numeral.

(4.2.1.4-63)

7ááyyé 7ána	mácc-oo,	mácc-á
woe is me!	wife-VOC.F.SG.(nonCONCR.)	wife-NOM.(nonCONCR.)

d-íya-kko	tána	maadd-ékkée?
exist-INFN.-if	me	help-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3F.SG.

   'Woe is me, oh wife, if I had a wife she would help me (lit. if a wife exists, doesn't she help me?) (but I do not have a wife).'

The following, which are used when the speakers do not know whether there is a concrete referent, would be similar to the above.

(4.2.1.4-64)

7áne	ta-lágg-ee	háa	y-á.
please	my-friend-VOC.(nonCONCR.)	here	come-OPT.2SG.

   'If there is anyone who is equal to me (lit. oh, my friend), step forward!'

(4.2.1.4-65)

7oott-ídí	m-íya	b-oo![193]
work-CONV.3M.SG.	eat-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-VOC.(nonCONCR.)

   'Porter (lit. thing that works and eats)! (i.e. isn't there a porter?)'

These are the reasons for the arrangement of the vocative in the paradigm (4.2.1.1-1).
   My impression is, however, that the non-concrete vocative is rather frequent even when the referent is concrete.

(4.2.1.4-66)

Tóóss-oo,	maar-á.
god-VOC.(nonCONCR.)	forgive-OPT.2SG.

   'Oh God, forgive!'   (From a chant sung on the Feast of the Cross (*masKál-aa*))

---

[193] This nominal is not a common noun in the strict sense. See section 4.2.1.8.

(4.2.1.4-67)[194]

y-iité	be7-ité	m-iité	sími	7ekk-ité
come-OPT.2PL.	see-OPT.2PL.	eat-OPT.2PL.	thus	take-OPT.2PL.

<u>gód-oo</u>!
lord-VOC.(nonCONCR.)

   'Please come, see, eat and take (it), oh lord!'

(4.2.1.4-68)

<u>káw-oo</u>,	ta-<u>gód-oo</u>,
king-VOC.(nonCONCR.)	my-lord-VOC.(nonCONCR.)

'ta-gódanta-ssi	7ínté-ssí
my-lord (honorific form)-to	you (pl.)-to

bír-a	7issí	hannó	7imm-aná.'
Birr-ABS.(nonCONCR.)	one	this one	give-FUT

g-áádá	. . .
say-CONV.1SG.	. . .

   'Oh, King, my lord, in order that (lit. I having said) I will give this little money to my lord, to you . . .'

(4.2.1.4-69)

wáán-ai,	<u>7ísh-oo</u>?
become what-INTER.IMPF.2SG.	brother-VOC.(nonCONCR.)

   (With affection) 'How are you, brother?'

(4.2.1.4-70)

7áne	<u>paránj-oo</u>,	yoot-íyo
please	white man-VOC.(nonCONCR.)	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

---

[194] In this sentence and the next, the plural forms are used to express respect. See section 7.2.1.

b-í	d-íya-kko	yoot-á.
thing-NOM.(nonCONCR.)	exist-INFN.-if	tell-OPT.2SG.

(In jest) 'Please, oh foreigner, tell if you have something to tell (lit. if the thing which you tell exists)!'

However, *Tooss-áa* 'god' and perhaps *gód-aa* 'lord' might be words whose non-concrete vocative forms are very natural for some reason (remember (4.2.1.4-47) to (4.2.1.4-49), and (4.2.1.4-51)). In the last two examples, the non-concrete vocative forms are used to express some emotion or emphasis, as in (4.2.1.4-58) and (4.2.1.4-59), according to the consultant. For (4.2.1.4-68), the text teller explained to me that the non-concrete vocative is used to express respect, which would be some kind of special emotion. Thus relative frequentness of the non-concrete vocative itself does not seem to be disadvantage to the arrangement of (4.2.1.1-1).

   Incidentally, a very limited number of common nouns seem to have other minor vocative forms.

(4.2.1.4-71)
7ísh-aa!	'brother'
ta-7ísh-ee!	'my brother'
tá-7ááw-ee!	'my father'

The details, including whether they are really "vocative" forms, are not known, and should be investigated in the future.

4.2.1.5   Number of the Common Noun

   Wolaytta has two numbers: "singular" and "plural". In this section, I will discuss various phenomena on the topic. For common nouns expressing plural females, only genuine feminine common nouns are taken into consideration in this section since there are many things to be noted for other feminine common nouns (see section 4.2.1.6).

   In this language, plural forms of common nouns in the strict sense are formed quite regularly, following the paradigm in (4.2.1.1-1). In the case of *na7-áa* 'child', however, there is also an irregular plural, *naatá*, in addition to the normal *na7-atá*. The former seems to result from the latter through a reduction of a glottal stop to zero, which is not uncommon in this language (see sections 2.1.1.1 and 4.2.1.7). Its inflected forms can be

explained by considering that way.

(4.2.1.5-1)

<u>naatí</u>	keett-áa	gidd-óó-ní
children (NOM.)	house-OBL.M.SG.	inside-OBL.-in

Cábbott-oosona.
chatter-IMPF.3PL.

'The children are chattering in the house.'   Cf. *na7-atí*

(4.2.1.5-2)

7aduss-á	na7-ái	bánáá-rá	d-íya
long-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	his own-with	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

<u>naatú</u>	7ubb-áa-ppe	bairat-ées.
children (OBL.)	all-OBL.M.SG.-from	be elder-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The tall boy is the oldest among the children (lit. from all of the children) who are with him.'   Cf. *na7-atú*

Plurality can also be expressed by the semi-independent common noun *dó7-uwa* (*d-úwa*) 'and company, and others' and the nominalizer *-nta*. For them, see sections 4.2.1.7 and 4.2.5.4, respectively.

The plural form is of course used when there are two or more countable referents of the common noun in question.

(4.2.1.5-3)

naa77-ú	<u>maTááp-ata</u>	shamm-íis.
two-OBL.	book-OBL.PL.	buy-PF.3M.SG.

'He bought two books.'

(4.2.1.5-4)

woláítt-á	wóg-aa-ni	wóí-kkó	woláítt-á
Wolaytta-OBL.	custom-OBL.M.SG.-in	or-if	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á-u
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	wife-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-ida	7as-áa-ssi	mácc-iyo
want-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-for	wife-ABS.F.SG.

7ekk-an-á-u	heezz-ú	7og-etí
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	three-OBL.	way-NOM.PL.

de7-óosona.
exist-IMPF.3PL.

'In a Wolaytta custom, or in the Wolaytta land, for people who wanted to marry (lit. take) a wife, there are three ways to marry the wife.'

So-called "material" nouns may be naturally used in their plural forms in some contexts.

(4.2.1.5-5)
7óíss-ata
butter-ABS.PL.

'parcels of butter wrapped up by leaves'

(4.2.1.5-6)

ta-tukk-etí	mel-íicc-idosona.
my-coffee-NOM.PL.	dry-completely-PF.3PL.

'My coffee trees have completely dried.'

(4.2.1.5-7)

ta-<u>kátt-ata</u>	7a-míízz-ai	m-írg-iis.
my-grain-ABS.PL.	his-cattle-NOM.M.SG.	eat-compeletely-PF.3M.SG.

'His cattle have completely eaten up my grains.' (When there are several fields of grain.)

(4.2.1.5-8)

ha	<u>bidint-atá</u>	be7-ái?
these	ash-ABS.PL.	see-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Are you seeing these ashes (i.e. poor people).) (This is an insult to poor people, the plural noun not referring to ash literally.)

Even from considerably "abstract" common nouns, we can form plural forms: at least, it is logically possible, and I was able to elicit, for example, such plurals as the following.

(4.2.1.5-9)

dummátett-ata	Cf. dummátett-aa	'difference'
góób-ota	Cf. góób-uwa	'state of being brave'
gordett-atá	Cf. gordett-áa	'way of closing'

Nevertheless, most plurals like the above are usually odd and rarely used in actual conversations. Furthermore, my consultants judged that it is very difficult or impossible to derive plural forms from some common nouns. Such common nouns include the following.

(4.2.1.5-10)

?? 7óshinc-ata	Cf. 7óshinc-aa	'cold (disease)'
?? púúlunt-ata	Cf. púúlunt-aa	'grey hair'
* binnáán-ata	Cf. binnáán-aa	'hair'
* dúrs-ata	Cf. dúrs-aa	'dance'
* maat-atá	Cf. maat-áa	'grass'
* máátt-ata	Cf. máátt-aa	'milk'
* wott-atá	Cf. wott-áa	'running'

I guess that the rejected plural forms in (4.2.1.5-10) may be used in some (very unusual) contexts. However, what we should know here is not the exact acceptability of each of these plural forms. It is that there are some common nouns that are almost always used in their singular forms, including those given in (4.2.1.5-9).

More importantly, even when there are plural referents, use of the plural form is not necessarily obligatory and the singular form may be used. For example, (4.2.1.5-11) can be used even when many bees were seen, the plurality being understood only by the context. In (4.2.1.5-12), it would be evident that there are many locusts.

(4.2.1.5-11)

mátt-aa	be7-áas.
bee-ABS.M.SG.	see-PF.1SG.

 'I saw bees.'

(4.2.1.5-12)

bool-ée	biitt-áa-ppe	gúútt-aa
locust-NOM.M.SG.	land-OBL.M.SG.-from	small-ABS.M.SG.

gúútt-aa	dend-ídí	wur-íis.
small-ABS.M.SG.	rise up-CONV.3M.SG.	finish-PF.3M.SG.

 'Locusts rose up from the land little by little, and disappeared.'

Likewise, a singular common noun may be modified by a numeral denoting more than one or by a word indicating quantity. This phenomenon seems to be very common in Ethiopian languages (Ferguson (1976: 72, 75)[195]).

(4.2.1.5-13)

táání	heezz-ú	láítt-aa-ppe	kas-é
I	three-OBL.	year-OBL.M.SG.-from	before-ABS.

---

[195] Although Ferguson (1976: 72) says that 'the plural form is not normally used with numerals or words indicating quantity', my consultants seem to think that the use of the plural is normative in these cases, although the "non-normative" structure, such as (4.2.1.5-13) and (4.2.1.5-14), is found more frequently.

7oosánc-a.
worker-ABS.M.SG.

'I was a worker three years ago.'

(4.2.1.5-14)

dár-o	kan-ái	d-ées.
many-OBL.	dog-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There are many dogs.'

Thus, we should understand that the "singular" in this language is indeterminate for number and the "plural" is an optional means for expressing plurality explicitly. For convenience' sake, however, I will continue to use the terms "singular" and "plural" in this thesis.

If a common noun refers to one or more human beings, however, the number distinction is rather rigid in general[196]. That is, if there are plural referents use of the plural form is obligatory.

(4.2.1.5-15a)

* heezz-ú	na7-áa
three-OBL.	child-ABS.M.SG.

(4.2.1.5-15b)

heezz-ú	na7-atá
three-OBL.	child-ABS.PL.

'three children'

(4.2.1.5-16a)

* heezz-ú	7ish-ái	d-ées.
three-OBL.	brother-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

---

[196] However, there are exceptions. Remember the singular forms *7as-ái* 'people (NOM.)' in (4.2.1.4-55) and *7attúm-ai* 'boys < males (NOM.)' in (4.2.1.3.1-30), for example.

(4.2.1.5-16b)

heezz-ú	7ish-atí	d-óosona
three-OBL.	brother-NOM.PL.	exist-IMPF.3PL.

    'There are three brothers.'

On the other hand, the singular form only refers to one referent.

(4.2.1.5-17a)

tá-u	7ish-ái	d-ées.
me-for	brother-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'I have a brother (lit. there is a brother for me).'

Cf. (4.2.1.5-17b)

tá-u	dors-ái	d-ées.
me-for	sheep-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'I have a sheep.' or 'I have several sheep.'

    In addition to *7as-áa* 'people' discussed in section 4.2.1.4, as far as I know there is one collective noun, i.e. a common noun whose singular form always refers to plural referents: *míízz-aa* 'cattle'. When one individual concerns, *bóór-aa* 'ox', *már-aa* 'calf', *7úss-iyo* 'heifer', etc. are used. However, its feminine counterpart *míízz-iyo* 'cow' is not a collective noun. When it is used metaphorically to mean 'illiterate' too, it is not a collective noun.

    The plural of *7aaw-áa* 'father' may express a derived meaning, 'ancestors', as well as the literal meaning 'fathers'.

(4.2.1.5-18)

banta-7aaw-atú	wóg-aa	naag-ídí
their own-father-OBL.OL.	custom-ABS.M.SG.	keep-CONV.3PL.

. . .

. . .

'They holding to the tradition of their ancestors . . .'   (From Mark 7:3)

For number in this language, see also the discussion in section 6.2.

4.2.1.6   Gender of the Common Noun

Wolaytta has two grammatical genders: "masculine" and "feminine". In the following sections, I will discuss various phenomena on the topic in the common noun. Note that the gender distinction is made only in the singular[197].

4.2.1.6.1   Masculine Common Nouns

A masculine form of a common noun can refer to a biologically male being as in the following.

(4.2.1.6.1-1)

ta-<u>7ish-ái</u>   miiCC-íis.
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.   laugh-PF.3M.SG.

'My brother laughed.'

However, the masculine gender is in general a default or unmarked gender in this language. That is, besides common nouns whose referents are biologically male, those whose referents cannot have a biological gender distinction occur usually in their masculine forms, although this may not be the case (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2).

(4.2.1.6.1-2)

ta-<u>migíd-oi</u>   wúúK-ett-iis.
my-ring-NOM.M.SG.   steal-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'My ring was stolen.'

---

[197] If a plural common noun inherently refers only to biologically male beings or only to biologically female beings (like *7aaw-atá* 'fathers' and *7aayy-otá* 'mothers' in their usual uses), we can tell the gender, or rather, sex of the referents. In these cases too, however, we cannot say that the gender distinction is made grammatically.

(4.2.1.6.1-3)

7issipétett-ai	maadd-ées.
unity-NOM.M.SG.	help-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'Unity helps.'

(4.2.1.6.1-4)

7a-waag-ái	7áLL-o.
its-price-NOM.M.SG.	expensive-ABS.

    'The price of it is expensive.'

    Masculine forms of common nouns can also be used to refer to animate beings without distinction as to sex.

(4.2.1.6.1-5)

git-á	shararóót-iya	wor-áas.
big-OBL.	spider-ABS.M.SG.	kill-PF.1SG.

    'I killed a big spider.'

    Masculine common nouns are divided into three classes according to their endings. See the paradigm in (4.2.1.1-1). The classes are lexically determined and to which class a given common noun belongs is not 'predictable either on phonological or semantic grounds', as Hayward (1987: 215) says. Two different masculine common nouns may be differentiated only by their endings.

(4.2.1.6.1-6)

7akát-aa	'ability, power' Masculine Class A
7akát-iya	'rifle' Masculine Class E

(4.2.1.6.1-7)

máár-aa	'sequence' Masculine Class A
máár-uwa	'liquid in which something is dissolved' Masculine Class O

However, a common noun may fluctuate between two classes.

(4.2.1.6.1-8)

7akéék-aa	'attention' Masculine Class A
7akéék-uwa	'attention' Masculine Class O

(4.2.1.6.1-9)

dááh-aa	'elopement' Masculine Class A
dááh-uwa	'elopement' Masculine Class O

For plural forms of masculine common nouns, see section 4.2.1.6.2.2.

4.2.1.6.2 Feminine Common Nouns

There are two kinds of feminine common nouns: "genuine feminine common nouns" and "derived feminine common nouns".

4.2.1.6.2.1 Genuine Feminine Common Nouns

Genuine feminine common nouns are always inflected as feminine common nouns, as *micc-íyo* 'sister' illustrated in (4.2.1.6.2.1-2) is. In other words, their stems never take masculine endings. Although the feminine endings were given in (4.2.1.1-1), they are repeated here for the sake of convenience (tone is ignored).

(4.2.1.6.2.1-1) Endings of the Feminine Common Noun

	Abs.	Obl.	Nom.	Inter.	Voc.
Non-concrete	-o	-e, -i	-a	-oo	-oo
Concrete, Singular	-iyo	-ee	-iya	-ii	-ee
Concrete, Plural	-eta	-etu	-eti	-etee	-etoo
	-ota	-otu	-oti	-otee	-otoo

(4.2.1.6.2.1-2)

A word for 'sister'

Non-concrete	micc-ó, micc-í or micc-é, micc-á, micc-óo, mícc-oo,
Concrete, SG.	micc-íyo, micc-ée, micc-íya, micc-íi, micc-ée
Concrete, PL.	micc-etá, micc-etú, micc-etí, micc-etée, micc-étoo
	micc-otá, micc-otú, micc-otí, micc-otée, micc-ótoo

In terms of semantics, all genuine feminine common nouns express animate beings that are biologically female, as is expected. Thus their plural forms refer to more than one female. In this they are different from plural forms of masculine common nouns, which tell nothing about sex of the referents (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2).

What we should emphasize here is the fact that genuine feminine common nouns are extremely rare in Wolaytta. Adams (1983: 254) has already said that: 'The number of nouns belonging to this inherently feminine noun class is rather limited'. All the examples I was able to collect so far are:

(4.2.1.6.2.1-3) List of Genuine Feminine Common Nouns

7aayy-íyo	'mother'
mácc-iyo	'wife',
micc-íyo	'sister'
mishir-íyo	'woman'
biyy-íyo	'daughter (used only in literature?)'

4.2.1.6.2.2 Derived Feminine Common Nouns

Feminine common nouns can be derived from masculine common nouns. For example:

(4.2.1.6.2.2-1)

kan-íyo	'bitch'	Cf. kan-áa	'dog' (Masculine Class A)
har-íyo	'see-donkey'	Cf. har-íya	'donkey' (Masculine Class E)
gaamm-íyo	'lioness'	Cf. gaamm-úwa	'lion' (Masculine Class O)

We can find the following inflected forms for these and other similar derived words.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-2)
From Masculine Class A (e.g. *kan-íyo* 'bitch')

	Abs.	Obl.	Nom.	Inter.	Voc.
Non-concrete	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-oo
Concrete, Singular	-iyo	-ee	-iya	-ii	-ee
Concrete, Plural	-ata	-atu	-ati	-atee	-atoo

From Masculine Class E (e.g. *har-íyo* 'see-donkey')

	Abs.	Obl.	Nom.	Inter.	Voc.
Non-concrete	-e	-e	-ee	-ee	-oo, -ee
Concrete, Singular	-iyo	-ee	-iya	-ii	-ee
Concrete, Plural	-eta	-etu	-eti	-etee	-etoo

From Masculine Class O (e.g. *gaamm-íyo* 'lioness')

	Abs.	Obl.	Nom.	Inter.	Voc.
Non-concrete	-o	-o	-oi	-oo	-oo
Concrete, Singular	-iyo	-ee	-iya	-ii	-ee
Concrete, Plural	-ota	-otu	-oti	-otee	-otoo

Note that while the concrete singular forms are the same as those of the genuine feminine common noun (see (4.2.1.6.2.1-1)), the non-concrete and the concrete plural forms are the same as those of the original masculine common nouns. The same holds true of their tone, although it is completely ignored above. Thus the paradigm in (4.2.1.6.2.2-2) is a little misleading. Two different series of endings (those of the genuine feminine common noun and those of the masculine common noun) are arranged together in it. We should assume that derived feminine common nouns do not have non-concrete and concrete plural forms of their own. When they are needed, the corresponding masculine forms are used.

To put it another way, or rather, to put it more precisely, the non-concrete form of the "masculine" common noun lacks the notion of gender from the beginning as well as the notion of number (see section 4.2.1.5) because of its non-concreteness, and the concrete plural form of the "masculine" common noun does not distinguish between the two genders.[198]

Thus, the correct paradigm of, for example, *kan-íyo* 'bitch' should be the following (the arrangement in each row is the same as that in (4.2.1.6.2.2-2)).

(4.2.1.6.2.2-3)
Non-concrete (which lacks the notion of gender)

  kan-á, kan-á, kan-í, kan-ée, kán-oo

---

[198] If a plural common noun inherently refers only to biologically male beings or only to biologically female beings, we can tell which gender, or rather, sex concerns. In such a case too, however, we cannot say that the gender distinction is made grammatically.

Concrete, Singular (which usually refers to a male dog)[199]

      kan-áa, kan-áa, kan-ái, kan-ái, kan-áu

Concrete, Plural (which refers to more than one dog without gender distinction)

      kan-atá, kan-atú, kan-atí, kan-atée, kan-átoo

Derived Feminine, Concrete, Singular (which refers to a female dog)

      kan-íyo, kan-ée, kan-íya, kan-íi, kan-ée

   Consider the following.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-4)

hanná   ne-<u>kan-íi</u>?

this (F.) your-dog-INTER.F.SG.(CONCR.)

   'Is this your bitch?'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-5)

hanná   máCC-a   <u>kan-á</u>.

this (F.) female-OBL.   dog-ABS.(nonCONCR.)

   'This is a bitch.'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-6)

hagáá-ní	máCC-a	<u>kan-atí</u>	dar-ídosona.
this-in	female-OBL.	dog-NOM.PL.(CONCR.)	increase-PF.3PL.

   'Here female dogs increased.'

   There are masculine common nouns from which this kind of derived feminine common noun cannot be derived. For example, *7ish-áa* 'brother' does not have the expected feminine counterpart **7ish-íyo* ('sister' is expressed by the genuine feminine common noun *micc-íyo*). Likewise, *7aaw-áa* 'father' does not have **7aaw-íyo* (cf. *7aayy-íyo* 'mother'), *7add-íya* 'rooster, old man' does not **7add-íyo* (cf. *7ind-íyo* 'hen,

---

[199] However, this can refer to more than one dog as in (4.2.1.5-14). This form can also be used when the sex is not the question (see section 4.2.1.6.1).

old woman'). Furthermore, *7um-áa* 'the Omo River' does not have **7um-íyo* for unknown reasons. There may be other masculine common nouns like these. However, these are exceptional. As we will see below in this section, feminine common nouns can be derived productively from most common nouns.

Now what interests us is the fact that what can only be female biologically are in many cases expressed by derived feminine common nouns, not by genuine feminine common nouns. For example, the word *gaCín-iyo* 'woman in childbed' inflects in the following way (the arrangement in each row is the same as that of (4.2.1.6.2.2-2)).

(4.2.1.6.2.2-7)
Non-concrete
　　　gaCín-o, gaCín-o, gaCín-óí, gaCín-oo, gaCín-oo
Concrete, Singular
　　　gaCín-uwa, gaCín-uwa, gaCín-oi, gaCín-oi, gaCín-uwau
Concrete, Plural
　　　gaCín -ota, gaCín-otu, gaCín-oti, gaCín-otee, gaCín-otoo
Derived Feminine, Concrete, Singular
　　　gaCín -iyo, gaCín-ee, gaCín-iya, gaCín-ii, gaCín-ee

Note that the endings of the first three series are the same as those of the Masculine Class O common noun and the endings of the last series are the same as those of the genuine feminine common noun. This suggests that the feminine noun *gaCín-iyo* 'woman in childbed' is derived from a masculine common noun like *gaamm-íyo* 'lioness', and that it is not a genuine feminine noun like *7aayy-íyo* 'mother'.

Some other examples are listed in (4.2.1.6.2.2-8). Note again that the stems always express only female beings.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-8) Derived Feminine Common Nouns
From the Masculine Class A Common Noun
7omooss-íyo　　　'cow that gave birth to recently'
7úss-iyo　　　　'heifer'
dawútt-iyo　　　'co-wife'

From the Masculine Class E Common Noun
7ind-íyo　　　　'hen, old woman'

dangarííT-iyo	'bridesmaid'
garund-íyo	'female old servant'
maggaayy-íyo	'mare'
máínn-iyo	'sterile cow'

From the Masculine Class O Common Noun

| geelá7-iyo | 'young virgin' |

The following are examples in which feminine concrete singular forms of such derived feminine common nouns are used. Note that the endings are the same as those of the genuine feminine common noun, which are used to refer to a female being.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-9)

| hanná | ta-geelá7-iyo. |
| this (F.) | my-young virgin-ABS.F.SG. |

   'This is my daughter of marriageable age/ fiancée.'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-10)

| ha | 7úss-iya | máínn-e. |
| this | heifer-NOM.F.SG. | sterile-ABS. |

   'This heifer is sterile.'

In the following examples, a non-concrete form or a concrete plural form is used to refer to one or more female beings. This is possible because, as said above, the former lacks the notion of gender from the beginning and the latter does not distinguish between the two genders. Note, however, that the endings are not those of the genuine feminine common noun.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-11)

| hageetú | gidd-óó-ní | 7úss-í | báawa. |
| these (OBL.) | inside-OBL.-in | heifer-NOM. | not present |

   'There is no heifer among these.'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-12)

hácci	naa77-ú	geelá7-ota	be7-áas.
today	two-OBL.	young virgin-ABS.PL.	see-PF.1SG.

'Today I saw the two young virgins.'

"Masculine", or rather, "default" concrete singular forms of such derived feminine common nouns as those illustrated in (4.2.1.6.2.2-8) refer only to female beings. Their use is rather rare. They seem to be used especially when the notion expressed by the stem is treated somewhat abstractly, disregarding the natural gender.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-13)

7úss-ai	ha	giy-áa
heifer-NOM.M.SG.	this	market-ABS.M.SG.

gel-énnée?
enter-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Doesn't a heifer enter this market (i.e. don't they trade in heifers in this market)?'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-14)

gaCín-uwa	7anj-an-á	b-áasu.
woman in childbed-ABS.M.SG.	bless-INFN.-ABS.	go-PF.3F.SG.

'She went to bless the woman in childbed.'

The masculine concrete singular of the feminine common noun *saw-íyo* 'divorced woman', which can be regarded to be derived from a Masculine Class O common noun, does not seem to be used, perhaps since it conflicts morphologically with the Masculine Class O common noun *saw-úwa* 'fragrance'.

On the other hand, a feminine common noun does not seem to be derived from *máCC-aa* 'female', although it is semantically related to the feminine gender. However, remember also that this common noun is almost always used in the non-concrete form, as is discussed in section 4.2.1.4. This would be the reason why the expected derived feminine form ?*máCC-iyo*, which is also a concrete form, is very odd at best.

As we have seen so far, derived feminine common nouns are formed quite regularly from masculine common nouns in general. However, a derived feminine counterpart of *bóll-uwa* 'father-in-law, son-in-law' is not **bóll-iyo*, but *bóllot-iyo* 'mother-in-law'. I guess that this feminine form is based on *bóll-ota*, which is a plural of *bóll-uwa* and can also serve as an honorific word for 'parent-in-law'.

Derived feminine common nouns of collective nouns (see section 4.2.1.5) are semantically irregular. From *míízz-aa* 'cattle', a non-collective common noun *míízz-iyo*, which refers to a 'cow', is derived. The expected derived feminine form of *7as-áa* 'people'[200] is *7as-íyo*, which means 'maid', not 'woman, female people'. Judging from their meanings, however, they may not be related to each other. See also the discussion around (4.2.1.4-57).

As is evident from the above examples, derived feminine common nouns are used in order to make it clear that the referents are female in terms of natural gender in the case of so-called animate nouns. For example, *kan-íyo* means 'bitch' instead of 'dog', and *gaamm-íyo* means 'lioness' instead of 'lion'.

However, feminine common nouns can be derived from almost all "inanimate" common nouns. Such derived nouns are used when the referents are regarded as small. In other words, they serve as diminutive forms.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-15)

7agín-iyo   'crescent'

Cf. 7agín-aa   '(full or half-) moon'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-16a)

ha	Tal-íya	Camm-áusu.
this	medicine-NOM.F.SG.	taste bitter-IMPF.3F.SG.

 'This (tiny) medicine tastes bitter.'

Cf. (4.2.1.6.2.2-16b)

ha	Tal-ée	Camm-ées.
this	medicine-NOM.M.SG..	taste bitter-IMPF.3M.SG.

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[200] Its non-concrete form *7as-á* means 'people' or 'person'. See (4.2.1.4-52) to (4.2.1.4-56).

'This medicine tastes bitter.'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-17)

gúútt-a	súútt-iya	gukk-í-kkó	. . .
small-OBL.	blood-NOM.M.SG.	flow-SUBOR.-if	. . .

'If (even) a bit of blood flows . . .'

Incidentally, the feminine gender can be associated with positive assessment such as "good" or "wonderful".

(4.2.1.6.2.2-18)

máCC-a	7úútt-aa
female-OBL.	false banana-ABS.M.SG.

'delicious and nutritious false banana'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-19)

níyo	Tooss-í	máCC-a	wónt-aa	7imm-ó.
to you	god-NOM.	female-OBL.	dawn-ABS.M.SG.	give-OPT.3M.SG.

'God give you a wonderful dawn. (i.e. May tomorrow be a good day!)'

Note, however, that the above common nouns modified by *máCC-a* 'female' are masculine singular forms. This is impossible when *máCC-a* 'female' means literally 'female', except for collective nouns like *míízz-aa* 'cattle' (see section 4.2.1.5).

(4.2.1.6.2.2-20a)

máCC-a	kan-íyo
female-OBL.	dog-ABS.F.SG.

'bitch'

(4.2.1.6.2.2-20b)

* máCC-a	kan-áa
female-OBL.	dog-ABS.M.SG.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-21)

máCC-a	míízz-ai	7attúm-a	míízz-ai
female-OBL.	cattle-NOM.M.SG.	male-OBL.	cattle-NOM.M.SG.

Ká	dors-ái	deessh-ái	d-ées.
also	sheep-NOM.M.SG.	goat-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There are female cattle, male cattle, also sheep and goat.'

As mentioned in section 4.2.1.6.1, the masculine is a default or unmarked gender in this language. However, Lemma's (1992 E.C.) dictionary gives common nouns for 'pigeon', 'rabbit', and 'vervet monkey' in their feminine forms: *haraphphiyoo*, *harbbaynniyoo*, and *qaariyoo*, respectively[201]. Indeed their frequent occurrence in their feminine forms in my data seems to be more than a chance occurrence.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-22)

haraPP-íya	mítt-aa	boll-áa-ni
pigeon-NOM.F.SG.	wood-OBL.M.SG.	body-OBL.M.SG.-at

7útt-aasu.
sit-PF.3F.SG.

'The pigeon perched on top of the tree.'   (Obtained by free composition)

(4.2.1.6.2.2-23)

gaamm-ói	dárotoo	7azaz-an-á-u
lion-NOM.M.SG.	often	order-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-iyo	dó7-atu-ppe
want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	wild animal-OBL.PL.-from

7issí-nn-á	Kaar-íyo.
one-NMNL.-NOM.	vervet monkey-ABS.F.SG.

'One of the wild animals that the lion wants to order is a vervet monkey.'

---

[201] In my notation, these are *haraPP-íyo*, *harbainn-íyo*, and *Kaar-íyo*, respectively.

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(From a text)

In my lexical investigation, the feminine form *harbainn-íyo*, instead of the masculine *harbainn-úwa*, was given first for the word for 'rabbit'. Thus, for these common nouns the feminine may be a default or unmarked gender semantically[202]. The words for 'bush duiker' and 'cat'[203] might be included here.

(4.2.1.6.2.2-24)

worakan-ái	d-ées.	geness-íya-kka
fox-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.	bush duiker-NOM.F.SG.-too

d-áusu.	gaar-ái-kka	d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3F.SG.	bushbuck-NOM.M.SG.-too	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There are foxes. There are bush duikers too. There are bushbucks too.'
(From a text)

(4.2.1.6.2.2-25)

gawar-íya	Ká	dend-ídaa-r-á
cat-NOM.F.SG.	furthermore	get up-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

'#######	7ep-írg-iis.'	g-áádá
(imitation of a mew)	take-completely-PF.3M.SG.	say-CONV.3F.SG.

. . .
. . .

'The cat, who got up, said "Mew, he (i.e. the thief) took (the household goods) completely." and . . .'   (From a text)

For the feminine form of the semi-independent common noun *Táll-aa* 'only', see

---

[202] In Zayse, one of the Ometo languages, the feminine gender is reported to be default. See Hayward (1989).

[203] However, the use of the feminine form in (4.2.1.6.2.2-25) may a result of an influence of Amharic. Its masculine form is used in the same text.

section 6.2, in which agreement is discussed.

4.2.1.7　Semi-independent Common Nouns

Judging from their morphology and tone, nominals discussed in this section are undoubtedly common nouns. However, they are not used by themselves and are always accompanied by modifiers or the like in general. Such less independent common nouns are called "semi-independent common nouns" in this thesis.

Linguistic forms that can accompany semi-independent common nouns are those that can accompany usual common nouns. In addition, as said above, semi-independent common nouns and usual common nouns are the same in terms of tone. Thus semi-independent common nouns can be distinguished from stem-forming suffixes discussed in section 5.3.1.

The following are examples of semi-independent common nouns.

kéén-aa 'equal, what is equal to' (Masculine Class A)

(4.2.1.7-1)

Tooss-í	7imm-ó,	hegáá	kéén-aa
God-NOM.	give-OPT.3M.SG.	that	equal-ABS.M.SG.

7ezg-ído	gishsh-á-u.
listen-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for.

　'Thank you (lit. may God give), for the reason that you listened to that much.'

(4.2.1.7-2)

7aaw-ái	ba-na7-áa	'7oott-ó
father-NOM.M.SG.	his own-child-ABS.M.SG.	do-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

kéén-ai	gid-aná.'	g-íis.
equal-NOM.M.SG.	become-FUT.	say-PF.3M.SG.

　'The father said to his son "What you did (lit. equal that you did) is enough (lit. will become)."'

(4.2.1.7-3)

7etí	ta-kéén-ata.
they	my-equal-ABS.PL.

'They are the equal of me.'

Táll-aa 'only, alone' (Masculine Class A)

(4.2.1.7-4)

ha	bitán-iya	Táll-ai	y-íis.
this	man-OBL.M.SG.	only-NOM.M.SG.	come-PF.3M.SG.

'Only this man came.'

(4.2.1.7-5)

don-úwa	Táll-aa	m-aaná.
patato-ABS.M.SG.	only-ABS.M.SG.	eat-FUT.

'I will eat only potato.'

This semi-independent common noun can be inflected for number and gender.

(4.2.1.7-6)

d-íya-geetí	7eta-Táll-ata.
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	their-only-ABS.PL.

'Only these are there (lit. what exist are their only).'

(4.2.1.7-7)

7i-Táll-iya	y-áádee?
her-only-NOM.F.SG.	come-INTER.PF.3F.SG.

'Did she come alone?'

For this word, see also section 6.2, in which agreement is discussed.

Taláál-aa 'only' (Masculine Class A)

This is a synonym for the preceding, *Táll-aa*. However, this seems to be used with more emphasis. I could not elicit its plural and feminine forms.

(4.2.1.7-8)

7eta-Taláál-aa-ppe   7ekk-íis.

their-only-OBL.M.SG.-from   take-PF.3M.SG.

    'He took only from them.'

(4.2.1.7-9)

ta-Taláál-ai   danday-íkke.

my-only-NOM.M.SG.   can-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'I cannot do by myself.'

dó7-uwa, d-úwa 'and company, and others' (Masculine Class O)

The latter is a contracted form of the former. I could not elicit their plural and feminine forms. Although these are used in the singular and may agree with singular finite verbs, they express plurality in notion.

(4.2.1.7-10)

7a-dó7-oi   hagáá-ní   7áí

his-and company-NOM.M.SG.   this-in   what

7oott-íi?

do-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'What are he and company doing here?'

(4.2.1.7-11)

7óós-uwa   7oott-ída-i

work-ABS.M.SG.   do-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.

ne-d-ói?

your-and company-INTER.M.SG.

'Is it you and company that did the work?'

(4.2.1.7-12)

polís-ee	7a-na7-áa	d-úwa
police-NOM.M.SG.	his-child-OBL.M.SG.	and company-ABS.M.SG.

7óíKK-idi	Kácc-iis.
seize-CONV.3M.SG.	tie-PF.3M.SG.

'The police arrested him and others.'

(4.2.1.7-13)

7ó-do7-oi	y-íídona?
whose-and company-NOM.M.SG.	come-INTER.PF.3PL.

'Who and who came?'

pint-aa 'side (of the waters)' (Masculine Class A)

Linguistic forms that can modify this semi-independent common noun seem to be restricted to some demonstrative determiners (see section 4.2.6.1). All the combinations I have attested so far are:

(4.2.1.7-14)

há pint-aa   'this side of the waters (lit. the side in the nearer place of the water)'
hé-pint-aa   'that side of the waters'
yá pint-aa   'that side of the waters' (lit. the side in the remoter place of the water)'

Since each of them is always uttered in the same tonal group (see section 2.4.1), and since in each of them a demonstrative determiner bears a tonal prominence (see section 2.4.1), we cannot tell where the tonal prominence of the semi-independent common noun, if any, is (remember that all tonal prominences but the first one are ignored in a tonal group).

(4.2.1.7-15)

hé-pint-ai	lo77-énná.
that-side (of the waters)-NOM.M.SG.	be good-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'That side of the waters is not good.'

(4.2.1.7-16)

7abb-áa	hé-pint-i	pínn-oos.
lake-OBL.M.SG.	that-side (of the waters)-ADV.	cross-IMPF.1PL.

    'Let us go over to the other side of the lake.'   (From Mark 4:35)

s-áa 'place' (Masculine Class A)

(4.2.1.7-17)

nu-s-ái	ho77-ées.
our-place-NOM.M.SG.	be hot-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'It is hot in our place.'

(4.2.1.7-18)

giy-ái	7eKK-íyo	s-áa
market-NOM.M.SG.	stand-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	place-ABS.M.SG.

7er-ái?
know-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Do you know where the market is?'

(4.2.1.7-19)

mát-a	s-íyo	b-ái?
near-OBL.	place-ABS.F.SG.	go-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Are you going to a near place?'

In fact, this is not a semi-independent common noun in the very strict sense, since it may occur without any modifiers. However, such cases are quite rare.

(4.2.1.7-20)

s-ái	wáán-ii?
place-NOM.M.SG.	be what-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'How is it the place?'

Some might consider that *s-áa* 'place' is a contracted form of the common noun *sa7-áa* 'land, earth'. This might be the case. However, according to the consultant, the two are distinguished fairly clearly, at least occasionally. The former seems to concern more abstract notion. Thus he translated the two words differently (in Amharic):

(4.2.1.7-21)

s-áa	ወቅት 'time, season, occasion, semester', ሁኔታ 'circumstance, state, condition', ቦታ 'place, spot, site, point (place)'
sa7-áa	መሬት 'earth, ground, soil, terrain, land'

Thus, I tentatively regard them to be different words. However, I do not deny a possibility that the former is a somewhat grammaticalized form historically derived from the latter.[204]

The translations 'time', 'state', etc. in the above would explain the following, for example.

(4.2.1.7-22)

7í	woTT-óo	s-á-ppé	dóómm-idi
he	run-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.3M.SG.

7áí-nné	demm-íbe7énná.
what-and	find-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'He has not found anything since he began to run (i.e. make efforts).'

---

[204] Adams (1983: 151) says that *-sa:-* is a contraction of the noun *sohuwa:* 'the place'. However, he does not explain why they belong to different classes (Masculine Class A and Masculine Class O, respectively).

For the details see section 4.4.3.3.4.

biyy-íyo 'daughter' (Genuine Feminine (see section 4.2.1.6.2.1))

    This word seems to be used only in literature (e.g. war song), and I could not collect many actual examples of it. The following are results of elicitation.

(4.2.1.7-23)
nu-biyy-íyo
our-daughter-ABS.F.SG.

   'our daughter'

(4.2.1.7-24)

7á	kaw-ó	biyy-ó.
she	king-OBL.	daughter-ABS.

   'She is a princess.'

(4.2.1.7-25)

naa77-ú	kaw-ó	biiyy-etá	7ekk-íis.
two-OBL.	king-OBL.	daughter-F.PL.	take-PF.3M.SG.

   'He married two princesses.'

    The following two, *n-áa* 'child' and *d-é* 'time', may not be semi-independent common nouns in the strict sense, but just contracted forms of common nouns. However, since they are similar to typical semi-independent common nouns on some occasions, it would be worth introducing them here.

n-áa 'child' (Masculine Class A)

    This is a contracted form of the common noun *na7-áa* 'child'. Thus, the contracted form is basically not a semi-independent common noun, as the original form is not.

(4.2.1.7-26)

<u>n-ái</u>   y-íídee?

child-NOM.M.SG.   come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

    'Did the boy come?'

However, non-concrete forms of the contracted form, e.g. *n-í* (NOM.), *n-á* (OBL. or ABS.), seem to require modifiers. Probably it is because they are too short.

(4.2.1.7-27a)

<u>ló77-o</u>   n-í   báa.

good-OBL.   child-NOM.   not present

    'There are no good children.'

(4.2.1.7-27b)

?? <u>n-í</u>   báa.

  child-NOM.   not present

d-é 'time' (Masculine Class E)

    This is a contracted form of the common noun *wod-íya* 'time'. The contracted form has been attested only in the non-concrete absolutive and the non-concrete interrogative. Thus I chose the non-concrete, not concrete, absolutive form as a headword. The contracted form *d-é* 'time' never occurs without a modifier. Thus it would be a kind of semi-independent common noun.

(4.2.1.7-28)

tá   simm-íyo   d-é

I   return-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.   time-ABS.

    '(lit. the time) when I return'

Modifiers for this semi-independent common noun or contracted form seem to be restricted to imperfective non-subject oriented relative forms in the case of verbs (see section 4.4.3.3.1). For the non-contracted form, see also section 4.4.3.3.4. For the

interrogative expression *7au-d-é* 'when', see section 4.2.7.3. See also section 5.2.2, in which another type of contraction of *wod-íya* 'time' is discussed.

lódd-aa 'slowness' (Masculine Class A)

As Adams (1983: 262) says, the "manner noun" *lódd-aa* 'slowness' has 'no meaning apart from the postposition'. It is always followed by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at' (the resultant means 'slowly'). Thus, *lódd-aa* would also be a kind of semi-independent common noun.

4.2.1.8   Special Types of Common Nouns

Nominals discussed in this section are similar to usual common nouns but are slightly different from them.

har-áá 'other'

This is basically a Masculine Class A common noun belonging to Tone Class I. However, its tonal prominence in the concrete singular form is usually longer than that of usual common nouns of the same class, and continues to the end of the word.

(4.2.1.8-1)

har-áí   y-íis.
other-NOM.M.SG.   come-PF.3M.SG.

   'The other came.'

(4.2.1.8-2)

har-áá-ppé   7ekk-íis.
other-OBL.M.SG.-from   take-PF.3M.SG.

   'He took (it) from the other.'

Its feminine counterpart is not the expected * *har-íyo*. It is formed with the nominalizer *-nno* (see section 4.2.5.3).

(4.2.1.8-3)

y-íídaa-r-á   har-á-nn-ee?
come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   other-OBL.-NMNL.-INTER.

'Is it the other female who came?'

(4.2.1.8-4)

har-a-nn-íya	báawee?
other-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.F.SG.	not present (INTER.)

  'Isn't there another one (F.)?'

Its plural can be formed regularly. However, the vowel that follows immediately the stem may be lengthened: *har-atá ~ har-aatá*.

(4.2.1.8-5)

zíno	s-óo	gel-ída-i	ha
yesterday	home-ABS.M.SG.	enter-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	these

bitán-eta-kko-nne	har-aatá-kkó-nné	7oicc-áas.
man-ABS.PL.-if-and	other-ABS.PL.-if-and	ask-PF.1SG.

  'I asked whether those who entered the house yesterday were these men or others.'

Keer-áá 'small', 'Saturday'

   This is similar to *har-áá* 'other' discussed above. That is, although this is basically a Masculine Class A common noun belonging to Tone Class I, its tonal prominence in the concrete singular form is usually longer than that of usual common nouns of the same class, and continues to the end of the word. Its feminine counterpart is usually formed with the nominalizer *-nno* (see section 4.2.5.3): *Keer-á-nn-ó* (see (4.2.1.8-12)). Its plural can be formed regularly, although the vowel that follows immediately the stem may be lengthened: *Keer-atá ~ Keer-aatá*.

(4.2.1.8-6)

tá	kóyy-iyo	deeshsh-ái	Keer-áá.
I	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	sheep-NOM.M.SG.	small-ABS.M.SG.

  'The sheep that I want is the small one.'

(4.2.1.8-7)

Keer-áá	gáítt-ana.
Saturday-ABS.M.SG.	meet-FUT.

 'Let's meet on Saturday.'

In addition, its non-concrete oblique may have *-i* ending, as well as the expected *-a* ending.

(4.2.1.8-8)

Keer-á	naatí	tam-á	7acc-áa-ni
small-OBL.	children (NOM.)	fire-OBL.	near-OBL.M.SG.-at

yuuy-í	7ááDD-i	7útt-idosona.
go around-CONV.3PL.	pass-CONV.3PL.	sit-PF.3PL.

 'The small children sat down around the fire (lit. at the near of fire having gone around and passed).'

(4.2.1.8-9)

Keer-í	naatí	7áí-nné	7er-ókkóná.
small-OBL.	children (NOM.)	what-and	know-NEG.IMPF.3PL.

 'The small children do not know anything (lit. what and).'

wogg-áá 'big' 'Sunday'

 This is also a kind of Masculine Class A common noun belonging to Tone Class I, whose tonal prominence in the concrete singular form is longer than that of usual common nouns of the same class. Its feminine counterpart is, however, formed with the nominalizer *-ro* (see section 4.2.5.2), instead of *-nno*.

(4.2.1.8-10)

wogg-áá	m-aan-á-u	kóyy-ais.
big-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-IMPF.1SG.

'I want to eat a big one.'

(4.2.1.8-11)

he	wogg-áí	7íít-a.
that	Sunday-NOM.M.SG.	bad-ABS.

'That Sunday was bad.'

(4.2.1.8-12)

Keer-á-nn-ó	kóyy-ai
small-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.	want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

wogg-á-r-ó	kóyy-ai?
big-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.	want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Do you want the small one (F.) or the big one (F.)?'

b-áá 'thing'

This is also a kind of Masculine Class A common noun belonging to Tone Class I, whose tonal prominence in the concrete singular form is longer than that of usual common nouns of the same class. This is semi-independent (see section 4.2.1.7). That is, it does not occur without a modifier. Its feminine and plural forms are formed regularly. For its irregular non-concrete oblique form, *b-í*, see section 4.2.7.2.

(4.2.1.8-13)

7eta-b-áí	tá-u	7er-étt-énná.
their-thing-NOM.M.SG.	me-for	know-PASS.-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Their affairs are not known to me.'

(4.2.1.8-14)[205]

7amaarátt-o	Káál-aa-ni	"ጥንቸል *Tencal*"
Amharic-OBL.	word-OBL.M.SG.-in	rabbit (Amharic)

---

[205] As this example shows, it seems that the non-concrete nominative form of *b-áá* 'thing' is rather natural unlike that of usual common nouns (see section 4.2.1.4).

g-íyo	b-í	7áí	b-á
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.	what	thing-ABS.

g-éétett-ii?
say-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'What (lit. what thing) is what (lit. thing) one calls *Tencal* in Amharic said in Wolaytta?'

(4.2.1.8-15)

7issí	gúútt-a	b-íya	met-áasu.
one	small-OBL.	thing-NOM.F.SG.	trouble-PF.3F.SG.

    'One tiny thing troubled.'

(4.2.1.8-16)

7issí	7issí	shamm-íyo	b-áá
one	one	buy-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

7óíKK-iyo	b-atá-kká	zókk-uwa-ni
seize-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.PF.-too	back-OBL.M.SG.-at

wott-íis.
put-PF.3M.SG.

    'He also put some (lit. one one) things (i.e. sacks) to carry (lit. that seizes) things that he will buy on the back (of a mule).'

Adams (1983: 232) regards the word under discussion as a nominalizer. This might be partly because its stem consists only of a consonant. However, his judgment is not right. See the discussion in section 4.2.5.1. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 123) give *baa* 'about' as one of their postpositions. However, they themselves admit that this word can also mean 'thing' or 'object'. One of their examples is the following, which means literally 'thing of that matter' and can serve as a direct object of the verb, say, "tell".

(4.2.1.8-17)

he	yohuwa	baa
that	matter	object

　'about that matter'

hink-úwá 'other, that'

　　This is basically a Masculine Class O common noun belonging to Tone Class I. However, its tonal prominence in the concrete singular form is longer than that of usual common nouns of the same class, and continues to the end of the word.

(4.2.1.8-18)

<u>hink-úwá</u>	hámm-a.
other-ABS.M.SG.	bring-OPT.2SG.

　'Bring the other one!'

(4.2.1.8-19)

<u>hink-ó</u>	nééní	7od-óo-g-áá
other-OBL.	you	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

dog-árg-aas.
forget-completely-PF.1SG.

　'I completely forgot that thing you told.'

Its feminine counterpart is formed with the nominalizer *-ro* (see section 4.2.5.2).

(4.2.1.8-20)

<u>hink-ó-r-íí</u>-rá	b-íis.
other-OBL.-NMNL.-OBL.-with	go-PF.3M.SG.

　'He went with the other female.'

(4.2.1.8-21)

<u>hink-o-r-íya</u>   7áu   b-áádee?

other-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.F.SG.   where   go-INTER.PF.3F.SG.

   'Where did the other female go?'

In its plural, the vowel that follows immediately the stem is always lengthened.

(4.2.1.8-22)

<u>hink-ootí</u>   y-íbe7ókkóná.

other-NOM.PL.   come-NEG.PF.3PL.

   'The others did not come.'

(4.2.1.8-23)

<u>hink-ootú</u>-ppé

other-OBL.PL.-from

   'from the others'

7iss-úwá 'one'

   Although this is related to the numeral "1" and thus its non-concrete forms do not exist (possibly except for the interrogative case, see sections 4.2.3.1.1 and 4.2.3.2), it is similar to _hink-úwá_ 'other, that' discussed above. That is, it is also a kind of Masculine Class O common noun belonging to Tone Class I, whose tonal prominence in the concrete singular is longer than that of usual common nouns of the same class. In its plural, the vowel that follows immediately the stem is always lengthened[206].

(4.2.1.8-24)

ta-naatú-ppé   <u>7iss-óí</u>   harg-íis.

my-children (OBL.)-from   one-NOM.M.SG.   fall sick-PF.3M.SG.

   'One of my children fell sick.'

---

[206] For the oblique, there seems to be two variants: the expected _7iss-ootú_ and the irregular _7iss-ootá_.

274

(4.2.1.8-25)

shííK-uwa	gel-ída	7as-atú-ppé
meeting-ABS.M.SG.	enter-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.PL.-from

7iss-ootí	7iss-ootí	haasay-an-á-u
one-NOM.PL.	one-NOM.PL.	speak-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-ibe7ókkóná.
want-NEG.PF.3PL.

　'Some of the people who participated in (lit. enter) the meeting did not want to speak.'

Unlike *hink-úwá* 'other, that', however, the feminine counterpart of *7iss-úwá* 'one' is formed with the nominalizer *-nno* (see section 4.2.5.3).

(4.2.1.8-26)

mishir-é	7issí-nn-ó	be7-áas.
woman-OBL.	one (OBL.)-NMNL.-ABS.	see-PF.1SG.

　'I saw one woman.'

***s-oo* 'home'**

　As Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 71) say, this word 'seems to have an idiosyncratic inflection.' As can be seen from the examples below, however, it resembles a Masculine Class O common noun. Lamberti and Sottile (ibid.) also suggest that 'soo (home/house) might be a contraction of the noun . . . sohuw[a] (place . . .) which in the course of time has obviously acquired another meaning.' The following are the forms I was able to attest in my data.

(4.2.1.8-27) Concrete Nominative

ne-s-ói	7áw-aa-nee?
your-home-NOM.	where-OBL.M.SG.-in

　'Where is your home?'

(4.2.1.8-28) Non-concrete Nominative

s-óí	báínna	7as-í	báa.
home-NOM.	not present	people-NOM.	not present

    'There is no one who does not have home (lit. home does not exist).'

(4.2.1.8-29) Concrete Oblique

táání	s-óó-ppé	y-áis.
I	home-OBL.M.SG.-from	come-IMPF.1SG.

    'I come from (my) house.'

(4.2.1.8-30) Non-concrete Oblique

s-ó	7as-áa
home-OBL.	people-ABS.M.SG.

    'family (lit. people of home)'

(4.2.1.8-31) Concrete Absolutive

s-óo	b-aaná.
home-ABS.M.SG.	go-FUT.

    'We will go home.'

(4.2.1.8-32)

hagéé	ta-s-óo.
this	my-home-ABS.M.SG.

    'This is my home.'

(4.2.1.8-33) Non-concrete Interrogative

hagéé	ne-s-óo?
this	your-home-INTER.

    'Is this your home?'

This nominal may be changed into a common noun, *s-úwa*, which refers to not only a house but also a family, furniture, etc.[207]

(4.2.1.8-34)

ta-<u>s-úwa</u>   siiK-áis.

my-home and others-ABS.M.SG.   love-IMPF.1SG.

   'I love my home and all its belongings.'

4.2.2   Proper Nouns

In this thesis, the term "proper noun" is not defined morphologically or syntactically. It is a casual label for words referring to specific individuals or unique entities. In Wolaytta, such "proper nouns" may be common nouns (see section 4.2.2.1), place-name nouns (see section 4.2.2.2), or person-name nouns (see section 4.2.2.3).

4.2.2.1   Proper Nouns as Common Nouns

As said above in the preceding section, common nouns discussed in section 4.2.1 may refer to specific individuals or unique entities. For example, the Omo River, which is very famous around the district, is referred to by the common noun *7um-áa* 'the Omo River'[208].

(4.2.2.1-1)

<u>7um-í</u>[209]   7áákk-í   gógg-iyo-g-áá

Omo-NOM.   be wide-CONV.3M.SG.   flow-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.

Táll-a   gid-énn-aa-ni   7issí

only-ABS.   become-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in   one (OBL.)

---

[207] The underlined words in (4.2.1.8-27) and (4.2.1.8-28) might also be this common noun.

[208] However, plural forms, derived feminine forms, and a non-concrete vocative form of this noun do not exist. What is more, since the common noun and the place-name noun are very similar in their morphology, I am afraid that some of the words referring to the Omo River in the following examples might actually be place-name nouns.

[209] The concrete nominative, *7um-ái*, is also possible. Here the non-concrete nominative is preferred to express familiarity and intimacy, according to the consultant.

s-aa-ni	7issí	s-aa-ni
place-OBL.M.SG.-in	one (OBL.)	place-OBL.M.SG.-in

Ciimmat-ées.
be deep-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The Omo River is not only what flows with width (lit. having become wide), but also is deep in some places (lit. in one place in one place).'

(4.2.2.1-2)

hagéé	7um-á	kíT-a.
this	Omo-OBL.	swelling-ABS.

'This is of the nature of an overflow of the Omo River.'

(4.2.2.1-3)

7um-áa	haatt-áa	waDD-ádá
Omo-OBL.M.SG.	water-ABS.M.SG.	beat-CONV.1SG.

pínn-aas.
cross-PF.1SG.

'I swam across the Omo River (lit. beat the Omo River's water).'

(4.2.2.1-4)

hagéé	haatt-ái	7um-áa.
this	water-NOM.M.SG.	Omo-ABS.M.SG..

'This river (lit. water) is the Omo River.'

(4.2.2.1-5)

7um-áu	7um-áu	né	be7-á
Omo-VOC.M.SG.	Omo-VOC.M.SG.	you	see-OPT.2SG.

g-íídí	gedéél-aa	Cáll-idi
say-CONV.3M.SG.	protection-ABS.M.SG.	control criminals-CONV.3M.SG.

gedeel-íis.
protect-PF.3M.SG..

'He controlled criminals and gave protection by saying 'O the Omo River, the Omo River, you look!''

(4.2.2.1-6)

7ínté	7ogór-uwa-ni	pínn-ido-i
you	leather poach-OBL.M.SG.-by	cross-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

7um-ée?
Omo-INTER.

'Is it the Omo River that you crossed with a buoy (lit. leather poach)?'

Expressions for other rivers' names are diverse. They may be referred to by place-name nouns, as is discussed in the next section. However, there are examples in which rivers are expressed as common nouns.

(4.2.2.1-7)

wáttar-iya	pínn-ada	Kúúl-iya
(river's name)-ABS.M.SG.	cross-CONV.1SG.	(river's name)-ABS.M.SG.

g-íyo	haatt-áa	pínn-ii-ni
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	water-ABS.M.SG.	cross-SUBOR.-in

. . .
. . .

'When I crossed the Watariya River and crossed a river called Kuliya . . .'

At present *7abb-áa* 'sea' is a usual common noun. However, I guess that it originally referred only to Lake Abaya.

(4.2.2.1-8)

7abb-ái	woláítt-á	héér-aa-ni	ziNN-ída
sea-NOM.M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.	neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-in	sleep-REL.PF.SUBJ.

7ááh-o	haatt-á.
wide-OBL.	water-ABS.

   'Abaya is a big lake (lit. wide water) that lies in the neighbor of Wolaytta.'

Because they do not occur so frequently in casual conversations, I could not collect reliable data to conclude to which word class (or classes) words for names of nations or states belong. According to my personal experience, the common noun *japán-iya* refers to Japanese persons or things and the place-name noun *japán-é* refers to the region (see section 4.2.2.2).

(4.2.2.1-9)

he	japán-iya	be7-ádii?
that	Japanese-ABS.M.SG. (concrete common noun)	see-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Did you see that Japanese?'

(4.2.2.1-10)

7í	japán-e.
he	Japanese-ABS. (non-concrete common noun)

   'He is Japanese.'

(4.2.2.1-11)

japán-éé-ní	d-áis.
Japan-OBL. (place-name noun)-in	live-IMPF.1SG.

   'I live in Japan.'

However, it is almost certain that *toPP-íya*, a Wolaytta word meaning '(the nation of) Ethiopia', is a masculine Class E common noun and there is no place-name noun related

to it. In (4.2.2.1-14), it is considered that an "adjectival" non-concrete oblique form of the common noun, not a place-name noun in the oblique, is used because there only the category is in question (see section 4.2.1.4).

(4.2.2.1-12)

toPP-ée	ló77-o	biitt-á.
Ethiopia-NOM.M.SG.	good-OBL.	coutry-ABS.

    'Ethiopia is a good country.'

(4.2.2.1-13)

nu-toPP-íya-ni	dár-o	7as-ái
our-Ethiopia-OBL.M.SG.-in	many-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There are many people in our Ethiopia.'

(4.2.2.1-14)

toPP-é	7as-áa
Ethiopia-OBL.(non-concrete)	people-ABS.M.SG.

    'Ethiopians (lit. people concerning the nation of Ethiopia)'

Concrete feminine forms with the stem *toPP-* refer to the state itself with pejorative or affectionate nuance (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2), not Ethiopian women. This makes it clear that *toPP-íya* 'Ethiopia' is not a place-name noun (see the discussion in section 4.2.2.2.7). There are no plural forms related to the stem.

(4.2.2.1-15)

toPP-íya	de7-íyo	biitt-áa
Ethiopia-NOM.F.SG.	live-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	country-ABS.M.SG.

gid-úkkú.
become-NEG.IMPF.3F.SG.

'Ethiopia is not a country to live in.'

Words referring to language names, which are usually formed with the stem-forming suffix *-tt-* (see section 5.2.1), are common nouns.

(4.2.2.1-16)

<u>wolaittátt-oi</u>   <u>7amaarátt-uwa</u>-ppe
the Wolaytta language-NOM.M.SG.   the Amharic language-OBL.M.SG.-from

ló77-o.
good-ABS.

   'The Wolaytta language is better than the Amharic language.'

(4.2.2.1-17)

<u>wolaittátt-uwa</u>   haasay-á.
the Wolaytta language-ABS.M.SG.   speak-OPT.2SG.

   'Speak in the Wolaytta language.'

Names of Wolaytta kings (and his family) in ancient times, which do not seem to be familiar to Wolaytta people nowadays, seem to belong to the common noun. That is, in the following example, judging from their endings, *7iláál-aa* and *badigaddál-aa* seem to be Class A common nouns, *mainc-úwa* seems to be a Class O common noun, and *bad-íya* seems to be a Class E common noun. These might be related to clans' names[210].

(4.2.2.1-18)

kóír-o   kaw-ói   . . .   <u>7iláál-aa</u>
first-OBL.   king-NOM.M.SG.   . . .   (king's name)-ABS.

g-éétett-ees.   . . .   <u>7ilaal-áa</u>   7aaw-ái
say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG. . . .   (king's name)-OBL.   father-NOM.M.SG.

---

[210] At least there is a clan called *bad-íya*.

mainc-úwa	g-éétett-ees.	. . .
(person name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.	. . .

mainc-úwa-ppe	simm-ídí	Kássi
(person name)-OBL.-from	return-CONV.3M.SG.	furthermore

7ilaal-áa-ppe	bad-íya	g-éétett-ees.
(king's name)-OBL.-from	(king's name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

bad-íya-ppe	Ká	simm-ídí
(king's name)-OBL.-from	furthermore	return-CONV.3M.SG.

kawot-ída	kaw-ói	badigaddál-aa
become king-REL.PF.SUBJ.	king-NOM.M.SG.	(king's name)-ABS.

g-éétett-ees.
say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The first king is called Ilaalaa. . . Ilaalaa's father is called Mainchchuwaa. . . Following Mainchchuwaa, furthermore, one who follows Ilaalaa is called Badiyaa. Following Badiyaa, furthermore, the king who became king is called Badigaddalaa.'

Names of Wolaytta clans (ጐሳ *gWasA* in Amharic) are usually common nouns.

(4.2.2.1-19) Some Names of Wolaytta Clans
Masculine Class A
bubbul-áa
Kallícc-aa

Masculine Class E
zaamin-íya
gánz-iya

Masculine Class O
gond-úwa

dúbb-uwa

These words are used in their concrete forms when concrete persons of the clans are envisaged (e.g. in (4.2.2.1-20)), and in their non-concrete forms otherwise (e.g. in (4.2.2.1-21), where only the category is in question). This is exactly what is expected from the uses of the two forms of common nouns (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.4).

(4.2.2.1-20)

gánz-iya	7alámb-á	be7-áas.
(name of a clan)-ABS.M.SG.	(person's name)-ABS.	see-PF.1SG.

 'I saw the Ganze man, Alambo.'

(4.2.2.1-21)

tá	7ekk-ído	na7-íya	gánz-e.
I	take-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	child-NOM.F.SG.	(name of a clan)-ABS.

 'The girl that I married is Ganze.'

If I was allowed to use a rather impolite metaphor, these clan names behaves in the same way as names of species of animals, like "dog", "cat", etc.

 However, many Wolaytta clans have now disappeared, and thus I could not elicit the accurate linguistic forms for them. There might have been clans that were not expressed by common nouns. As is discussed in section 2.1.1.2, *nhínhinhi* (name of an extinct clan) does not seem to be a common noun, although it might be a substitute for alien or unfamiliar proper names.

 Names of neighboring tribes, as well as Wolaytta, are common nouns as most Wolaytta clans' names are. Unlike the latter, however, the former are usually related to place-name nouns[211] (see the discussion in section 4.2.2.2.7). The following are some examples.

---

[211] However, *gaall-áa* 'Oromo' is not related to a place-name noun. This might be explained by the fact that Oromo people inhabit a very wide region, not a particular place.

(4.2.2.1-22) Some Names of Neighboring Tribes Related to Place-Name Nouns
Masculine Class A
gergeed-áa
kambáát-aa
sidáám-aa
woláítt-aa

Masculine Class E
7arús-iya

Mascline Class O
daur-úwa
gam-úwa
maaráK-uwa   i.e. 'Hadiyya'
Tambáár-uwa

"Japan" mentioned above in this section can be included here.

   In Mark 14:43, for example, "Judas" is apparently expressed by a Class A common
noun. According to a consultant, this is because of the connotation of "traitor". However,
this may be because of its foreign origin. See also the discussion in section 4.2.2.3.5 on
foreign person names.

(4.2.2.1-23)
támm-á-nné   naa77-ú   7er-iss-íyo
ten-ABS.-and   two-OBL.   know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

7ashkár-atu-ppe   7iss-óí,   yihud-ái,
servant-OBL.PL.-from   one-NOM.   Judas-NOM.M.SG.

sóh-uwa-ra   gákk-i   wóDD-iis.
place-OBL.M.SG.-with   reach-CONV.3M.SG.   fall-PF.3M.SG.

   'One of the Twelve (lit. twelve servants whom he makes know), Judas, appeared
suddenly (lit. reached and fell) on the spot.'

4.2.2.2   Place-name Nouns

4.2.2.2.1   Definition of the Place-name Noun in Wolaytta

In Wolaytta the place-name noun is defined morphologically. As Adams (1983: 257) points out, place-name nouns have their own inflectional pattern. Thus, if a given word inflects as a member of one of the three subclasses in the paradigm given in (4.2.2.2.1-1) (i.e. Class A, E, or O), it is a place-name noun[212]. In the paradigm, only endings are listed. Tone is completely ignored here.

(4.2.2.2.1-1) Endings of the Place-Name Noun

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.	ADV.
Class A	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-aa	-i
Class E	-e	-e	-ee	-ee	-ee	
Class O	-o	-o	-oi	-oo	-oo	

The following are examples of each class. The arrangement is the same as that of the paradigm above.

(4.2.2.2.1-2)

Class A

'Boroda[213]'

borodd-á, borodd-á, borodd-í, borodd-ée, boródd-aa, borodd-í

'Koysha'

kóísh-á, kóísh-á, kóísh-í, kóísh-ee, kóísh-aa, kóísh-í

---

[212] To tell the truth, however, the actual process in which I established this word class is not based only on morphology. At first I collected many words that denote place names, and then studied their behaviors in sentences, and finally I found three morphological varieties among them. Thus, without resorting to semantics, I could not have established the word class. This kind of process would be inevitable in establishing any word class in any language.

[213] Citation forms of Wolaytta (or Ethiopian) place names in English glosses and translations used in this thesis are basically forms found in published maps. However, there is not any well-established transliteration system, and occasionally discrepancies in spellings are found in different maps. Of course, there are many place names that are not found in maps available to me. In any case, I wish to ask readers not to insist on a strict transliteration *in English contexts*, especially for well-known place names.

Class E
'Sore'
soor-é, soor-é, soor-éé, soor-ée, sóór-ee
'Boditi[214]'
boddítt-é, boddítt-é, boddítt-éé, boddítt-ee, boddítt-ee

Class O
'Sodo'
soodd-ó, soodd-ó, soodd-óí, soodd-óo, sóódd-oo
'Hembecho'
hembéécc-ó, hembéécc-ó, hembéécc-óí, hembéécc-oo, hembéécc-oo

   As will be mentioned in section 4.2.2.2.3, a place-name noun in the oblique case may be immediately followed by a postposition or a nominalizer. Since some postpositions and nominalizers affect the length of their immediately preceding vowels, oblique endings that are not listed in (4.2.2.2.1-1) may arise. Very roughly speaking, short vowels of the oblique must be lengthened immediately before the postpositions *-ra* 'with', *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms, and the nominalizers *-gáá* and *-ró*, and they may optionally be lengthened before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form.

(4.2.2.2.1-3)
boddítt-éé-rá
(place name)-OBL.-with

   'by way of Boditi'   (An example of a Class E place-name noun)

(4.2.2.2.1-4)

nééní	d-íyo-i	boddítt-éé-nee?
you	exist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(place name)-OBL.-in (INTER.)

   'Is it in Boditi where you are?'   (An example of a Class E place-name noun)

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[214] "Boditi" is a well-established form to refer to the place in foreign contexts. I cannot explain the *-i* ending of it. I have heard that the town is named after one foreign person, and the ending might reflect the original form.

(4.2.2.2.1-5a)

hembéécc-óó-ní

(place name)-OBL.-in

= (4.2.2.2.1-5b)

hembéécc-ó-n

(place name)-OBL.-in

   'in Hembecho'   (An example of a Class O place-name noun)

Although Adams does not mention these variants, judging from his description (1983: 75-76)[215], he appears to have recognized the phenomenon correctly, at least for the postposition *-ra* 'with'.

   There are some disagreements between Adams (1983: 257-259, 1990: 407-409) and I on the place-name noun. The most salient one among them would be that Adams recognizes the fourth class, "Class a:", while I do not. Concerning this, see section 4.2.2.2.4. Secondly, while I distinguish the oblique case from the absolutive case, Adams regards both of them as "absolutive". For this, see section 4.2.1.1. Thirdly, Adams uses the term "goal" rather than "adverbial" for a case established only for Class A place-name nouns. For this, see section 4.2.2.2.3. Finally, Adams gives *-oi* for the Class O interrogative, while I give *-oo*.

   Other literatures do not refer to place-name nouns.

   As can be seen from the paradigms in (4.2.1.1-1) and (4.2.2.2.1-1), place-name nouns and non-concrete common nouns are very similar to each other. Thus it is often very difficult to determine whether a given word is a place-name noun or a non-concrete common noun. See the discussion in section 4.2.2.2.7. However, I distinguish the place-name noun from the common noun for the following reasons. 1) Vocative forms of Class A members differ between the two. 2) There is no reason for words to be non-concrete common nouns when the referents are concrete places and any special emotions are not attached to them, as in the following (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.4).

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[215] It is worth noting however, that he might not have noticed the obligatory lengthening before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms. See the discussion in section 4.2.8.3.

(4.2.2.2.1-6)

<u>kóísh-í</u>   ló77-o.

(place name)-NOM.   good-ABS.

    'Koysha is good.'

(4.2.2.2.1-7)

<u>boddítt-é</u>   dos-áis.

(place name)-ABS.   like-IMPF.1SG.

    'I like Boditi.'

However, the first one is not very diagnostic, since vocative forms of words referring to places are rarely used and, what is more, it does not work for Class E and O members.

4.2.2.2.2   Tone of the Place-name Noun

All place-name nouns in Wolaytta are divided into two tone classes: Tone Class I, in which a tonal prominence begins at the last consonant of a stem (except for vocative forms, in which a tonal prominence is on a syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem), and Tone Class II, in which a tonal prominence begins at a syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem. Very roughly speaking, endings are "high" in Tone Class I, and stems are also "high" in Tone Class II. It is not possible to predict to which class a given place-name noun belongs. Read section 2.4.1 again if needed.

Tone of the place-name noun is summarized in (4.2.2.2.2-1). An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem. For actual forms, see examples in (4.2.2.2.1-2) in the preceding section.

(4.2.2.2.2-1) Tone of the Place-name Noun

Tone Class I

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.	ADV.
Class A	-á	-á	-í	-ée	´-aa	-í
Class E	-é	-é	-éé	-ée	´-ee	
Class O	-ó	-ó	-óí	-óo	´-oo	

Tone Class II

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.	ADV.
Class A	´-á	´-á	´-í	´-ee	´-aa	´-í
Class E	´-é	´-é	´-éé	´-ee	´-ee	
Class O	´-ó	´-ó	´-óí	´-oo	´-oo	

Compared to the common noun, more forms end with a tonal prominence even if they belong to Tone Class II. I guess that originally this applied also to non-concrete common nouns belonging to Tone Class II.

Adams (1983: 259, 1990: 409) says that interrogative forms of Class E and O accompany high pitch, which is not found for those of Class A. However, I was not able to observe that.

The following are some place-name nouns[216] whose referents are found inside the Wolaytta Zone. They are given in the absolutive.

(4.2.2.2.2-2)
Class A
Tone Class I
(No attestation so far)
Tone Class II
7abbál-á, 7apáám-á, 7arákk-á, 7olóól-á, daamóót-á, dugún-á, gálc-á, gandább-á, gasúúbb-á, gulgúl-á, hamáss-á (river), kóísh-á, KúC-á, lintáll-á (river), loom-é, mokkonís-á, pulláás-á, sorpéll-á, shááP-á (river), waapííK-á, wáj-á, walláCC-á, warbíír-á, záább-á

Class E
Tone Class I
baNN-é, doog-é, jagg-é, jol-é, sakk-é, soor-é, wanc-é
Tone Class II
bál-é, biláátt-é (river), bisáár-é (river), boddítt-é, CarááK-é, Caúkar-e[217], gáál-é, Kúúl-é (river), siibáy-é

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[216] Some of them do not express place names in the strict sense, as indicated in parenthesis. See the discussion in section 4.2.2.2.6.
[217] This is tentatively classified here, although its tonal prominence is on the antepenultimate syllable. This is the only tonally exceptional place-name noun found so far.

Class O

Tone Class I

7ar-ó, 7edd-ó, buKúl-ó, dalb-ó, diiday-ó, humb-ó, kind-ó, paaracc-ó, soodd-ó, shant-ó, woib-ó,

Tone Class II

7ijááj-ó (river), bolóós-ó, gaaccéén-ó, hambarícc-ó, hembéécc-ó

Interestingly enough I could not find any place names that are represented by Class A place-name nouns belonging to Tone Class I in the Wolaytta Zone. All the attested Class A and Tone Class I place-name nouns refer to places found outside the Wolaytta zone: *7ajjoor-á* (waterfall), *borodd-á*, and *gergeed-á*. Of course I did not investigate all possible Wolaytta place-name nouns. However, I tentatively point out this uneven distribution of combinations of the morphological classes and tone classes, which is more clearly found in person-name nouns (see section 4.2.2.3.2).

4.2.2.2.3   Case of the Place-name Noun

In this section, we will survey different uses of each case of the place-name noun.

Nominative

In the place-name noun too, the nominative case is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that marks the subject of a clause, which is defined syntactically (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.1).

(4.2.2.2.3-1)

boddítt-éé	dár-o-ppe	ló77-o	katam-á.
(place name)-NOM.	much-OBL.-from	good-OBL.	town-ABS.

'Boditi is a very good town.'

(4.2.2.2.3-2)

soodd-óí	balg-úwa-ni	meegg-ées.
(place name)-NOM.	rainy season-OBL.M.SG.-in	be cold-IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is cold in Sodo in the rainy season.'

Since place-name nouns refer to places or regions, place-name nouns in the

nominative do not show as much semantic variety as common nouns in the nominative do. For example, place-name nouns in the nominative usually do not express "agents" of actions in active sentences. What is more, I have not encountered those that are not regarded as subjects, like those expressing addressees in 2nd person optative sentences (see section 4.2.1.3.1 (B) to (E)), but one possible exception, in which a place-name noun in the nominative expresses a topic of its following clause if *7áí-nné* is really a subject (see the discussion in section 4.2.7.2).

(4.2.2.2.3-3)

boddítt-éé	7áí-nné	báa.
(place name)-NOM.	what-and	not present

  'For Boditi, there is nothing (bad).'

Oblique

  This is a grammatical case for a nominal that modifies its following nominal, including postpositions. In other words, we may name this case "adnominal".

(4.2.2.2.3-4)

soor-é	7as-áa
(place name)-OBL.	people-ABS.M.SG.

  'people of Sore'

(4.2.2.2.3-5)

boddítt-é	katam-á
(place name)-OBL.	town-ABS.

  'the Boditi town'

(4.2.2.2.3-6)

táání	ha77í	soodd-ó-ppé	y-áas.
I	now	(place name)-OBL.-from	come-PF.1SG.

  'I came from Sodo just now.'

(4.2.2.2.3-7)

táání	7arákk-áá-ní	diCC-áas.
I	(place name)-OBL.-in	grow up-PF.1SG.

    'I grew up in Araka.'

(4.2.2.2.3-8)

soor-é-ttuwa[218]	7áákk-ees.
(place name)-OBL.-like	be wide-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'It is wide like Sore.'

A place-name noun may be modified by another place-name noun in the oblique case. There are two types of such constructions. One is used to clarify where the place in question is. In this case, the preceding place-name noun denotes a superordinate place in which the place in question is found. This construction is effective especially when there are several homophonous places.

(4.2.2.2.3-9)

gasúúbb-á	7apáám-á
(place name)-OBL.	(place name)-ABS.

    'Afama (found in the) Gasuba (district) (lit. Gasuba's Afama)'

The other consists of compound place names formed from two different and adjacent place names.

(4.2.2.2.3-10)

bolóós-ó	soor-é
(place name)-OBL.	(place name)-ABS.

    'Boloso Sore'

Boloso Sore is one of seven Woredas (see section 1.1.1) in the Wolaytta Zone, which is

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[218] For this "postposition", see section 7.2.2.

composed of two districts: Boloso and Sore. This kind of expression is unique in that the function of the oblique is not to restrict its following word semantically, but just to connect two proper nouns (place-name nouns)[219].

Vocative

As is the case with the common noun, the vocative of the place-name noun is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that refers to an object of addressing. Because it is fairly rare for place names to be addressed, vocative forms of place-name nouns are rarely encountered. The following examples are obtained by elicitation.

(4.2.2.2.3-11)

laa	haah-ó	kóísh-aa!
hey	far-OBL.	(place name)-VOC.

   'Hey, distant Koisha!'

(4.2.2.2.3-12)

boddítt-ee	síy-oppa,	hagéé
(place name)-VOC.	hear-NEG.OPT.2SG.	this

7áí	b-ée?
what	thing-INTER.

   'Oh Boditi, don't hear, what is this?!'

Interrogative

The interrogative case is the case for the head of a noun phrase that is a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

(4.2.2.2.3-13)

hagéé	katam-ái	boddítt-ee?
this	town-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-INTER.

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[219] However, there is no decisive evidence that the form in question is in the oblique case, not the absolutive case.

'Is this town Boditi?'

(4.2.2.2.3-14)

hagéé   héér-ai   woib-óo?

this   region-NOM.M.SG.   (place name)-INTER.

    'Is this region Woibo?'

    The following is an example in which the interrogative is used for exclamatory effects (cf. section 4.2.1.3.4).

(4.2.2.2.3-15)

hagéé   7áí   b-á   7arákk-ee?

this   what   thing-OBL.   (place name)-INTER.

    'What Araka it is (i.e. what a, for example, bad place Araka is)?!'

Adverbial *-i*

    This case is found only for Class A.

    This case is used to indicate the goal of motion in the broad sense.

(4.2.2.2.3-16)

kóísh-í   b-áas.

(place name)-ADV.   go-PF.1SG.

    'I went to Koysha.'

(4.2.2.2.3-17)

7arákk-í   laagg-áas.

(place name)-ADV.   drive-PF.1SG.

    'I drove to Araka.'

(4.2.2.2.3-18)

soodd-ó-ppé	gasúúbb-í	y-áas.
(place name)-OBL.-from	(place name)-ADV.	come-PF.1SG.

   'I came to Gasuba from Sodo.'

(4.2.2.2.3-19)

ta-bóll-uwa-ni	gáítt-an-a-u
my- father-in-law -OBL.M.SG.-in	meet-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

guur-ádá	7arákk-í	mandar-áas.
go out in the mornng-CONV.1SG.	(place name)-ADV.	travel-PF.1SG.

   'To meet my father-in-law, I, having left early in the morning, traveled to Araka.'

(4.2.2.2.3-20)

7a-keett-áa	peng-ée	7arákk-í
his-house-OBL.M.SG.	door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-ADV.

simm-íis.
return-PF.3M.SG.

   'His house's door faces toward (lit. returned to) Araka.'

(4.2.2.2.3-21)

7arákk-í	Teell-áas.
(place name)-ADV.	look-PF.1SG.

   'I looked toward Araka.'

It is very interesting to note the resemblances between this "goal" form and the minor adverbial form of the common noun discussed in section 4.2.1.3.6.1. Morphologically both end with -i, and are restricted only to Class A (with some possible exceptions in the case of common nouns). Semantically and/or syntactically both of them are adverbial. These do not seem to be coincidences. The two forms seem to be related to each other at least historically. Thus I do not prefer establishing the "goal" form as a unique case not

found elsewhere as Adams (1983) does. Instead I call both of the two "adverbial".

Furthermore, the adverbial case of the place-name noun is not indispensable. For example, all the adverbial forms seen in the above examples can be replaced with postpositional phrases with the postposition -*u* 'to'[220], and in addition to that those in (4.2.2.2.3-20) and (4.2.2.2.3-21) can be replaced with postpositional phrases with the postposition -*kko* 'toward'.

(4.2.2.2.3-22)

kóísh-á-ú	b-áas.
(place name)-OBL.-to	go-PF.1SG.

　　'I went to Koysha.'　　Cf. (4.2.2.2.3-16)

(4.2.2.2.3-23a)

7a-keett-áa	peng-ée	7arákk-á-ú
his-house-OBL.M.SG.	door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-to

simm-íis.
return-PF.3M.SG.

= (4.2.2.2.3-23b)

7a-keett-áa	peng-ée	7arákk-á-kkó
his-house-OBL.M.SG.	door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-toward

simm-íis.
return-PF.3M.SG.

　　'His house's door faces toward (lit. returned to) Araka.'　　Cf. (4.2.2.2.3.-20)

For linguistic expressions of "goal", see also the discussion just below under the heading of "Absolutive".

Absolutive

Semantically, this is the most unmarked case in this word class too. It is used

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[220] However, in this case the postpositional phrases may also express another meaning, 'for the sake of'. See section 4.2.8.4.1.

everywhere that the other cases discussed so far in this section cannot be used. However, since referents of place-name nouns are places or regions, place-name nouns in the absolute case do not show as much semantic variety as common nouns in the same case do (see section 4.2.1.3.5).

(4.2.2.2.3-24)

hagéé	katam-ái	boddítt-é.
this	town-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-ABS.

   'This town is Boditi.'

(4.2.2.2.3-25)

táání	7arákk-á	dos-áis.
I	(place name)-ABS.	love-IMPF.1SG.

   'I love Araka.'

(4.2.2.2.3-26)

woláítt-ai	TúúKK-ido	s-ái
Wolaytta-NOM.M.SG.	explode-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-NOM.M.SG.

kínd-ó	g-éétett-ees.
(place name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG..

   'The place where Wolaytta originated in (lit. exploded) is called (lit. said) Kindo.'

   For Class E and O place-name nouns, the absolute case is used to indicate the goal of motion in the broad sense.

(4.2.2.2.3-27)

soor-é	b-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went to Sore.'   Cf. (4.2.2.2.3-16)

(4.2.2.2.3-28)

boddítt-é	laagg-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	drive-PF.1SG.

'I drove to Boditi.' Cf. (4.2.2.2.3-17)

(4.2.2.2.3-29)

soodd-ó	mandar-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	travel-PF.1SG.

'I traveled to Sodo.' Cf. (4.2.2.2.3-19)

(4.2.2.2.3-30)

soodd-ó	Teell-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	lood-PF.1SG.

'I looked toward[221] Sodo.' Cf. (4.2.2.2.3-21)

For Class A place-name nouns, as mentioned above in this section, adverbial forms or postpositional phrases are used for this purpose. Incidentally, the postposition *-u* 'to' does not co-occur with Class E and O place-name nouns for a phonological reason (see section 4.2.8.4.1).

Furthermore, the absolutive does not basically replace the adverbial in the case of Class A place-name nouns.

(4.2.2.2.3-31)

?? kóísh-á[222]	b-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	go-PF.1SG.

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[221] With this nuance, however, the use of the postposition *-kko* 'toward' is preferred.
[222] According to one of my main consultants, the use of the absolutive case here is a "common" mistake and sometimes we observe it. Also in my field notes, the following is found.

soodd-ó-ppé	7arákk-á	y-áas.
(place name)-OBL.-from	(place name)-ABS.	come-PF.1SG.

'I came to Araka from Sodo.'

Cf. (4.2.2.2.3-16) and (4.2.2.2.3-22)

In other cases, alternatively, the replacement brings about a change in meaning. For example, while Araka is a goal of motion in (4.2.2.2.3-32a), it is a place through which the speaker passed in (4.2.2.2.3-32b).

(4.2.2.2.3-32a)

7arákk-í	kant-áas.
(place name)-ADV.	pass-PF.1SG.

   'I passed (somewhere and went) to Araka.'

(4.2.2.2.3-32b)

7arákk-á	kant-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	pass-PF.1SG.

   'I passed Araka (on the way to somewhere).'

The former, (4.2.2.2.3-32a), can be paraphrased with the postpositional phrase *7arákk-á-kkó* 'toward Araka'.

(4.2.2.2.3-32c)

7arákk-á-kkó	kant-áas.
(place name)-OBL.-toward	pass-PF.1SG.

   'I passed (somewhere and went) to Araka.'

In the case of Class E and O place-name nouns, both counterparts of (4.2.2.2.3-32a) and (4.2.2.2.3-32b) may use absolutive forms, although postpositional phrases with the postposition *-kko* 'toward' may also be used to avoid the ambiguity when the place in question is a goal, as in (4.2.2.2.3-32c).

(4.2.2.2.3-33a)

soodd-ó	kant-áas.
(place name)-ABS.	pass-PF.1SG.

'I passed (somewhere and went) to Sodo.'

'I passed Sodo (on the way to somewhere).'

(4.2.2.2.3-33b)

soodd-ó-kkó	kant-áas.
(place name)-OBL.-toward	pass-PF.1SG.

'I passed (somewhere and went) to Sodo.'

In other words, the semantic range covered by the absolutive is smaller in the case of Class A place-name nouns. We can summarize the situation as follows.

(4.2.2.2.3-34)

	Goal of motion	Direct object, Predicate
Class A	ADV.[223]	ABS.
	(4.2.2.2.3-16) etc.	(4.2.2.2.3-25) etc.
Class E, O	ABS.[224]	ABS.
	(4.2.2.2.3-27) etc.	(4.2.2.2.1-7) etc.

Thus a reasonable alternative is to regard all place-name nouns expressing the "goal of motion" to be in the adverbial (or goal) case distinct from the absolutive case, whether they are morphologically identical with absolutive forms or not.

The reason why I do not so here is that I want to make paradigms as similar as possible between the place-name noun and the common noun. As said above in this section under the heading of "Adverbial -*i*", there are morphological, syntactic, and semantic resemblances between the adverbial case of the Class A place-name noun and the minor adverbial case of the common noun. Accordingly, since the latter is regarded to be a minor or peripheral case principally limited to Class A members I want to consider that its counterpart in the place-name noun should be regarded to be minor or peripheral.

However, there are no other positive reasons for this treatment. Furthermore, there are also differences between the two. First, while all Class A place-name nouns have adverbial forms, many Class A common nouns do not. Secondly, while all Class A place-name nouns in the adverbial are fairly homogeneous in meaning, their

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[223] This can be replaced with postpositional phrases always, as is discussed above.

[224] This may be replaced with postpositional phrases sometimes, as is discussed above.

counterparts in the common noun are not. Thirdly, Class A common nouns in the adverbial may be replaced with those in the absolutive or with postpositional phrases without any semantic differences, while their counterparts in the place-name noun are principally not. See the discussions in section 4.2.1.3.6.1 and in this section under the heading of "Adverbial -*i*". Thus the treatment here may not be a proper one.

4.2.2.2.4   The Fourth Class of the Place-name Noun

As we have seen above, place-name nouns are classified into three morphological classes. However, Adams (1983: 257-259, 1990: 407-409) claims that there is one more class of the place-name noun, "class -a:". Examples of this class that he gives are only two in all: *ʔar-a:* and *ʔank-a:* in his notation. For the former, I could not find anyone who could identify it through Adams's spelling[225].

The latter, *ʔank-a:*, is relatively close to Boditi, where I conducted fieldwork mainly, if Adams and the acquaintances of mine envisaged really the same place. In any case, attested forms for this place name, which are from different sources, are as follows. Their tone is ignored for the time being, the reason of which will be explained shortly. They are not the same in acceptability, which will also be discussed shortly.

Nominative

(4.2.2.2.4-1)

7ank-ai	dé7-uwa-ssi	ló77-o.
(place name)-NOM.	life-OBL.M.SG.-for	good-ABS.

   'Anka is good to live in.'

(4.2.2.2.4-2)

7ank-i	dé7-uwa-ssi	ló77-o.
(place name)-NOM.	life-OBL.M.SG.-for	good-ABS.

   'Anka is good to live in.'

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[225] However, my research is far from exhaustive. Incidentally, there is a place-name noun, *7ar-ó*, which belongs to Class O.

Oblique

(4.2.2.2.4-3)

boddítt-éé	7ank-aa-ssi	mát-a.
(place name)-NOM.	(place name)-OBL.-to	near-ABS.

    'Boditi is close to Anka.'

(4.2.2.2.4-4)

hagéé	7ank-aa	bóór-aa.
this	(place name)-OBL.	ox-ABS.M.SG.

    'This is an ox from Anka.'

(4.2.2.2.4-5)

7ank-a	biitt-áa
(place name)-OBL.	land-ABS.M.SG.

    'the Anka land'

Vocative

(4.2.2.2.4-6)

?ank-au
place name-VOC.

    'Oh, Anka!'   From Adams (1990: 409)

(4.2.2.2.4-7)

7ááyyé 7ána	7ank-oo!
woe is me	(place name)-VOC.

    'Woe is me, oh, Anka!'

(4.2.2.2.4-8)

7ank-aa	síy-oppa,	hagéé	7áíbee?
(place name)-VOC.	hear-NEG.OPT.2SG.	this	what

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'Oh Anka, don't hear, what is this?!'

Interrogative

(4.2.2.2.4-9)

7í	b-íído-i	7ank-ai?
he	go-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(place name)-INTER.

'Is it Anka that he went to?'

(4.2.2.2.4-10)

hagéé	biitt-ái	7ank-ee?
this	land-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-INTER.

'Is this land Anka?'

Absolutive

(4.2.2.2.4-11)

hagéé	héér-ai	7ank-aa.
this	region-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-ABS.

'This region is Anka.'

(4.2.2.2.4-12)

tá	7ank-aa	dos-áis.
I	(place name)-ABS.	love-IMPF.1SG.

'I love Anka.'

(4.2.2.2.4-13)

zín-o	7ank-aa	b-áas.
yesterday-ABS.	(place name)-ABS.	go-PF.1SG.

'I went to Anka yesterday.'

(4.2.2.2.4-14)

hagéé	7ank-a.
this	(place name)-ABS.

    'This is Anka.'

Adverbial *-i*

(4.2.2.2.4-15)

7ank-i	b-áas.
(place name)-ADV.	go-PF.1SG.

    'I went to Anka.'

    The endings attested in my data are summarized as follows. Those that are sometimes judged to be unnatural or those that seem to be relatively rare are in brackets.

(4.2.2.2.4-16) The Endings for the Place Name "Anka"

NOM.	-ai, (-i)
OBL.	-aa, (-a)
VOC.	(-au), (-oo), (-aa)
INTER.	-ai, -ee
ABS.	-aa, (-a)
ADV.	(-i)

I consider that all these endings are either those of the Class A common noun (see the paradigm in (4.2.1.1-1)) or those of the Class A place-name noun (see the paradigm in (4.2.2.2.1-1)), although often it is difficult to determine decisively to which word class a given example belongs since there are many morphological similarities between the two word classes. As we will see later (in section 4.2.2.2.7), stems of place-name nouns may take endings of the common noun to express different but related notions (e.g. a person who lives in the place). The examples given above do not express such notions. Nevertheless many of them have endings possibly of the common noun.

    For their tone, most Wolayttas seem to classify the proper noun as Tone Class I: *7ank-áa* (ABS.), etc. However, one of my main consultants classified it as Tone Class II: *7ánk-aa* (ABS.), etc.

What is more, the word *ʔánk-aa* has, as a normal common noun, another meaning essentially not related to a place: it means 'croton macrostachys (a kind of tree)', or 'በሳና *besAnnA*' in Amharic. And the Anka region is full of *ʔánk-aa* trees.

Thus, the scenario seems to be the following. The place name Anka originated in the common noun *ʔánk-aa* 'croton macrostachys'. This common noun has come to be used to refer to the region in question, since the region is characterized by the tree. In this process, the common noun *ʔánk-aa* kept its status as a common noun, and still keeps it usually. However, we can now observe a tolonogical fluctuation between, for example, *ʔánk-aa* and *ʔank-áa* when the word refers to the place. The latter (i.e. Tone Class II) is an innovation to differentiate the place name from the tree's name, if these are not dialectal variants. Although he does not indicate tone, Adams's description seems to reflect this stage. Nowadays the place name is sometimes regarded as a Class A place-name noun too (e.g. (4.2.2.2.4-2), (4.2.2.2.4-15), etc.). Some people, however, still judge these innovated place-name noun forms to be wrong, and this makes the things more complicated.

If we consider in this way, we can find a few other "nickname-like" place names expressed by common nouns. They include the following (the second one might not represent a region, but a small point).

(4.2.2.2.4-17)
(humb-ó)[226] Tabál-aa   originally 'holy water'
(dangár-á) zig-áa   originally 'podocarpo' (ዝግባ *zegbA* in Amharic)

In the following, the place name Tabala inflects apparently as a Class A common noun.

(4.2.2.2.4-18)

<u>Tabál-ai</u>	ló77-o	héér-a.
(place name)-NOM.M.SG.	good-OBL.	region-ABS.

'Tabala is a good region.'

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[226] The parenthesized elements are true place-name nouns in the oblique case, which are used as modifiers. See section 4.2.2.2.3.

(4.2.2.2.4-19)

Tabál-aa	míízz-aa
(place name)-OBL.M.SG.	cattle-ABS.M.SG.

   'cattle from Tabala'

In the following, the same place name inflects apparently as a Class A place-name noun.

(4.2.2.2.4-20)

humb-ó	Tabál-í	dé7-uwa-ssi
(place name)-OBL.	(place name)-NOM.	life-OBL.M.SG.-for

ló77-o.
good-ABS.

   'Humbo Tabala is good to live in.'

   Because these place names can be regarded either as Class A common nouns or Class A place-name nouns, I do not establish an independent subclass of the place-name noun for them, as Adams does. However, as mentioned above in this section and below in section 4.2.2.2.7, it is often difficult to determine to which word class a given attested form belongs.

4.2.2.2.5   Foreign Place Names

   Adams (1990: 411) says: 'Wolaitta [*sic*] speakers categorize all-non-Wolaitta names according to the classes of Wolaitta place-name nouns and person-name nouns. All Wolaittas seem to be able to categorize non-Wolaitta names in the same manner, and they do it in an automatic and systematic way.' He (1990: 411) describes the rules as follows[227]:

'Place-name Nouns:
(1) Any name ending in -a: [*sic*] becomes a Class <u>a</u> place-name noun, e.g.
   Amharic dilla *Dilla town* -> Wolaitta dill-i *Dilla town (nom)*.
(2) Any name ending in -o or -u becomes a Class <u>o</u> place-name noun.

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[227]   For the person-name noun, see section 4.2.2.3.5.

(3) Any name ending in any other form becomes a Class e̱ place-name noun.'

I do not claim that these are not valid. However, exceptions to these rules are not so rare. For example, in a Wolaytta version of Mark (the New Testament), which is relatively rich in foreign place names, while Bethphage, Capernaum, Dalmanutha, Gennesaret, Gethsemane, Idumea, Jericho, Jerusalem, and Nazareth certainly follow the rules, there are apparent exceptions like the following[228]. In each of the following illustrations, a place name is given in English in the first line, its Amharic counterpart is given in the second line, and then attested Wolaytta forms are listed with their grammatical contexts and sources.

(4.2.2.2.5-1)
'Arimathea'
አርማትያስ *ArmAteyAs*
Armmaatiyaasa   ABS.   Mark 15:43

This foreign place name ends in a consonant and thus is expected to become a Class E place-name noun according to Adams' rules. However, here the Wolaytta form, *Armmaatiyaasa*, belongs to Class A if it is really a place-name noun[229].

(4.2.2.2.5-2)
'Syrian Phoenicia'
ሲሮፊንቄ *sirofinKE*
Siroofiniqa   ABS.   Mark 7:26

This foreign place name ends in the vowel [e] and thus is expected to become a Class E place-name noun according to Adams' rules. However, here the Wolaytta form belongs to Class A if it is really a place-name noun.

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[228] Some attested forms are left out of consideration because of their ambiguity. For example, in *Sidoonaaranne* 'through Sidon and' (Mark 7:31) we cannot determine whether the length of the long vowel *aa* is inherent in the proper noun or is caused by the postposition *-ra* 'with, through' (see sections 4.2.2.2.1 and 4.2.8.3).
    I take it for granted that foreign place names in the Wolaytta Bible are based on those in Amharic Bibles. This supposition would not be inappropriate.
[229] However, one of my main consultants made a Class E place-name noun from this place name when asked to indigenize it, as is expected from Adams' rules.

(4.2.2.2.5-3)

'Bethany'

ቢታንያ *bitAneyA*

| Bitaaniyaa | ABS. | Mark 11:11 |
| Bitaaniyaa | OBL. | Mark 11:12, 14:3 |

'Bethsaida'

ቤተ ሳይዳ *bEta sAydA*

| Beeta Saidaa | ABS. | Mark 6:45, 8:22 |

'Galilee'

ገሊላ *galilA*

Galiilaa	ABS.	Mark 1:14
Galiilaa	ABS. indicating a goal	Mark 14:28, 16:7
Galiilaa	OBL.	Mark 1:9, 1:16, 1:28, 1:39, 3:7, 7:31

'Golgotha'

ጎልጎታ *golgotA*

| Golgottaa | ABS. | Mark 15:22 |

'Sidon'

ሲዶና *sidonA*

| Sidoonaa | ABS. | Mark 7:24 |
| Sidoonaa | OBL. | Mark 3:8 |

These foreign place names end in the vowel [a], and thus are expected to become Class A place-name nouns according to Adams' rules. Judging from their endings, however, here the Wolaytta forms are not even place-name nouns. The final *-aa* in the Wolaytta forms would be an imitation of the original Amharic ending[230].

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[230] However, the Wolaytta forms might be Class A common nouns, or in the case of Bethany they might be Class E common nouns judging from responses of one of my main consultants. Fluctuation between Class A place-name nouns and Class A common nouns was also observed when the consultants were asked to indigenize Bethsaida and Galilee.

(4.2.2.2.5-4)

'Tyre'

ጢሮስ *Tiros*

Xiroosa	ABS.	Mark 7:24
Xiroosa	OBL.	Mark 7:31
Xiroose	OBL.	Mark 3:8

Here the indigenized Wolaytta forms fluctuate between Class A and Class E if they are really place-name nouns, although only the latter is expected according to Adams' rules[231].

(4.2.2.2.5-5)

'Decapolis'

አሥር ከተማ *Asser katamA*

| Tammu Katamaa | ABS. | Mark 5:20, 7:31 |

This is a totally different type of exception, and an example of loan translation: አሥር *Asser* and *támm-ú* mean 'ten' and ከተማ *katamA* and *katam-áa* mean 'city, town'. In Wolaytta *katam-áa* is a Class A common noun, and thus this is an example of place name expressed by a common noun.

Because such foreign names are after all alien to the Wolaytta language, sometimes they do not fit into the Wolaytta system. In any case, Adams' rules can never be regarded as absolute ones.

By the way, it is interesting to consider what foreign names are in Wolaytta. I will return this question in section 4.2.2.2.8.

4.2.2.2.6　Semantics of the Place-name Noun

In this section, we will investigate the semantic range that is covered by the place-name noun. In other words, we will examine what are expressed as place-name nouns in this language.

As said above in section 4.2.2.2.1 and elsewhere, however, it is often difficult to determine whether a given word is used as a place-name noun or not. I consider that

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[231] One of the main consultants made a Class E place-name noun from this foreign place name when asked to indigenize it, as is expected from Adams' rules.

words that refer to concrete notions (see section 4.2.1.4) without any special emotions and take endings given in (4.2.2.2.1-1) are place-name nouns. However, it might not be a technical procedure and sometimes it does not work (for instance, see the discussion concerning the oblique case in section 4.2.2.2.7).

As is evident from preceding sections, most Wolaytta and many other place names are expressed by place-name nouns. However, some place names in one or another sense may not be expressed by place-name nouns. For example, Anka and others are usually expressed by common nouns (see section 4.2.2.2.4). The word for 'Ethiopia' is a common noun (see section 4.2.2.1). Some foreign place names may not fit into the Wolaytta place-name noun paradigm (see section 4.2.2.2.5).

The nominal stem *7uráy-* takes a Class A place-name ending when it is used as a substitution for another place-name noun: *7uráy-á* 'so-and-so'.

(4.2.2.2.6-1)

<u>7uráy-í</u>   b-áádii?

so-and-so -ADV.   go-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Did you go to So-and-so?'

(4.2.2.2.6-2)

<u>7uráy-á</u>-ppé   y-áádii?

so-and-so -OBL.-from   come-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Did you come from So-and-so?'

This word is related to the common noun *7uráy-aa* 'so-and-so', the verb *7uray-* 'to do so-and-so', and the person-name nouns *7uráy-á* 'So-and-so (male)' and *7uráy-ó* 'So-and-so (female)' (see section 4.2.2.3.4).

When individual mountains (*der-íya*), fields (*démb-aa*), cliffs (*zár-aa*), caves (*kaashsh-áa*), deserts (*bázz-uwa*), swamps (*Car-íya*), springs (*púlt-uwa*), etc., are referred to, place-name nouns are often used as modifiers to explain where they are. In the following, the former halves of the complexes are place-name nouns in the oblique case, and the latter halves are common nouns.

(4.2.2.2.6-3)

daamóót-á der-íya	'Mt. Damot'
dugún-á der-íya	'Mt. Duguna'
laaréén-á démb-aa	'the Larena Field'
sorpéll-á démb-aa	'the Sorpela Field'
shókk-é zár-aa	'the Shoke Cliff'
mashíng-á zár-aa	'the Mashinga Clif'
gúrm-ó kaashsh-áa	'the Gurmo Cave'
badday-é kaashsh-áa	'the Badaye Cave'
7abbál-á bázz-uwa	'the Abala Desert'
mashíng-á bázz-uwa	'the Mashinga Desert'
sorpéll-á Car-íya	'the Sorpela Swamp'
kokkáát-é púlt-uwa	'the Kokate Spring'

However, the common nouns can be dispensed with in some contexts. In these cases, we can say that the place-name nouns refer to mountains, fields, etc.

(4.2.2.2.6-4)

daamóót-í	git-á	der-é.
(place name)-NOM.	big-OBL.	mountain-ABS.

   '(Mt.) Damot is a big mountain.'

(4.2.2.2.6-5)

sorpéll-í	7aah-ó	démb-a.
(place name)-NOM.	wide-OBL.	field-ABS.

   '(The) Sorpela (Field) is a wide field.'

(4.2.2.2.6-6)

kind-óí	7er-étt-ida	kaashsh-á.
(place name)-NOM.	know-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	cave-ABS.

'(The) Kindo (Cave) is a famous cave.'

(4.2.2.2.6-7)

sorpéll-í	7er-étt-ida	Car-é.
(place name)-NOM.	know-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	swamp-ABS.

'(The) Sorpela (Swamp) is a famous swamp.'

When the famous Ajora Falls is referred to, the common noun *sooss-úwa* 'waterfall' may or may not be used as a modifier as the following show. The word *7ajjoor-á* is a Class A place-name noun. However, "Ajora" is not a name of a place or region as place-name nouns in (4.2.2.2.6-3) are. It always refers to the waterfall. Thus *7ajjoor-á* is an example of a place-name noun that does not refer to a place in the narrow sense.

(4.2.2.2.6-8)

7ajjoor-á	sooss-úwa
(waterfall's name)-OBL.	waterfall-ABS.M.SG.

'the Ajora Falls'

(4.2.2.2.6-9)

7ajjoor-á-ppé	y-áas.
(waterfall's name)-OBL.-from	come-PF.1SG.

'I came from (the) Ajora (Falls) (i.e. I saw the Ajora Falls and came back).'

The way in which individual rivers are referred to in Wolaytta is complicated and heterogeneous. Some rivers are expressed in the same way as mountains, fields, etc. That is, place-name nouns referring to places can also refer to rivers.

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(4.2.2.2.6-10)

wáj-í	7er-étt-ida	haatt-á.
(place name)-NOM.	know-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	water-ABS.

   '(The) Waja (River) is a famous river (lit. water).'

Some rivers are expressed in the same way as the Ajora Falls. That is, there are place-name nouns referring only to rivers.

(4.2.2.2.6-11)

shááPP-í	7er-étt-ida	haatt-á.
(river's name)-NOM.	know-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	water-ABS.

   '(The) Shapa (River) is a famous river.'

However, other rivers are expressed as common nouns. See (4.2.2.1-1) to (4.2.2.1-7). In any case, further studies are needed on rivers' names.

4.2.2.2.7   Relationship with Other Word Classes

   Stems of place-name nouns can take endings of the common noun. Such common nouns denote something of the places referred to, usually persons. In that case, Class A place-name nouns take endings of the Class A common noun, Class E place-name nouns those of the Class E common noun, and Class O place-name nouns those of the Class O common noun. Tone classes are not changed. However historical direction of the derivation is not known. Place-name nouns might have been derived from common nouns, or vice versa, or it might depend on the case.

(4.2.2.2.7-1)

ha	soodd-úwa	be7-á.
this	(place name)-ABS.M.SG.(Class O common noun)	see-OPT.2SG.

   'See this Sodo man!'   Cf. soodd-ó (Class O place-name noun)

(4.2.2.2.7-2)

laa	wórK-ú	7ingidáy-ó
hey	(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-ABS.

g-íyo	boddítt-iyau!
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	(place name)-VOC.M.SG.(Class E common noun)

   'Hey, the Boditi man, who is called Worku Ingidayehu!'
    Cf. boddítt-é (Class E place-name noun)

The following is an example of a place-name stem with a non-concrete absolutive ending of the common noun, in which only the category or attribute expressed by the stem is in question.

(4.2.2.2.7-3)

táání	boddítt-e.
I	(place name)-ABS. (Class E common noun)

   'I am a Boditi man.'   Cf. boddítt-é (Class E place-name noun)

Place-name stems may take plural endings of the common noun. Adams (1983: 258) says that: 'If a place-name noun occurs in a plural form such as /ʔoton-ata/, it does not refer to the fact that there are a number of places called Otona, but refers to the "people of Otona", and is an inhabitant name type of noun rather than a place-name type of noun, . . .' His example is analyzed as follows:

(4.2.2.2.7-4)

7otón-ati	y-íídosona.
(place name)-NOM.PL. (Class A common noun)	come-PF.3PL.

   'The people of Otona came.'   Cf. 7otón-á (Class A place-name noun)

Almost the same thing is repeated in Adams (1990: 408-409). Place-name stems may also take feminine concrete endings of the common noun to refer to, for instance, concrete female persons.

(4.2.2.2.7-5)

woib-íyo
(place name)-ABS.F.SG. (common noun)

'a Woybo woman'

Words for names of neighboring tribes (see section 4.2.2.1) should be in principle understood likewise. In other words, most of the stems may take endings of both the common noun and the place-name noun.

(4.2.2.2.7-6)

7issí	7arús-iya	be7-áas.
one	Arussi-ABS.M.SG. (common noun)	see-PF.1SG.

'I saw one Arussi person.'

(4.2.2.2.7-7)

táání	7arús-é	b-áas.
I	Arussi-ABS. (place-name noun)	go-PF.1SG.

'I went to Arussi.'

As can be inferred from the above examples, a common noun related to a place-name noun usually refers to a person (or persons) of the place in question. However, it is not always the case. Such a common noun may refer to all concrete components of the place in question at once.

(4.2.2.2.7-8)

hagéé	soodd-ói?	7ée	soodd-úwa.
this	(place name)-INTER.M.SG.	yes	(place name)-ABS.M.SG.

'Are they all what constitute Sodo? Yes, they are all what constitute Sodo.'

If some place is famous for something, the thing can be expressed by a common noun with a stem referring to the place.

(4.2.2.2.7-9)

he	japán-iyo	hámma.
that	(place name)-ABS.F.SG.	give me

'Give me that (lovely) Japanese product.'

However, this use is relatively rare. For example, an ox of *boddítt-é* 'Boditi' cannot be expressed by the common noun *boddítt-iya*.

In the following, the *-i* endings may be nominative endings of the Class A place-name noun, not non-concrete nominative endings of the Class A common noun, since the words in question refer semantically to places. If this is the case, they are examples of place-name nouns derived from common nouns.

(4.2.2.2.7-10)

woláítt-á	biitt-í	met-ó	biitt-á.
(place name)-OBL.	land-NOM.	problem-OBL.	land-ABS.M.SG.

  'The Wolaytta land is a problematic land.'

(4.2.2.2.7-11)

ne-héér-í	7áw-ee?
your-region-NOM.	where-INTER.

  'Where is your region?'

Because place-name stems may take endings of both the place-name noun and the common noun, and because endings of the two word classes are often identical or very similar in form, sometimes it is difficult to determine which form is used in a given example. Semantic may help the decision in some cases: if a word refers to a concrete notion (see section 4.2.1.4) without any special emotions and takes an ending found in (4.2.2.2.1-1), it is a place-name noun (remember the diagnostic procedure adopted in section 4.2.2.2.6). However, this may not work well in the case of the oblique case. For example, 'the Wolaytta land' is expressed in the language as [wòláíttá bììttàà] or [wòláíttà bììttàà] (The phonetic notation is intentional). In each of these, the former half refers to a place name and modifies the latter half, the common noun meaning 'land'. Thus, the former halves are in the oblique case, but of which word class? We can assume that they are place-name nouns, of course, but also can assume that they are common nouns and as a whole mean 'related to Wolaytta people', 'that has some

attribute concerning Wolaytta people', or the like. I intuitively prefer the former interpretation, but there seems to be no decisive synchronic evidence for it. Tone would not help here since it is fuzzy as is discussed in section 2.4.1. Thus I hesitate about concluding that [wòláíttá] is a Class A place-name noun and [wòláíttà] is a Class A common noun based on (4.2.1.2-1) and (4.2.2.2.2-1). Diachronically endings of the place-name noun and those of the non-concrete common noun might be related to each other, and the question raised here might be meaningless (see section 4.2.10).

Very occasionally, a place-name noun and a person-name noun (see section 4.2.2.3) share the same stem. All the examples I was able to collect are given in (4.2.2.2.7-12), in which A, E and O represent morphological classes (see section 4.2.2.2.1 and 4.2.2.3.1), and I and II represent tone classes (see section 4.2.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3.2).

(4.2.2.2.7-12)

Place-name noun	Person-name noun
gálc-á (A, II)	galc-á (A, I)
gánt-á (A, II)	gant-á (A, I)
daamóót-á (A, II)	daamóót-á (E, II)
7apáám-á (A, II)	7apáám-á (O, II)
dangár-á (A, II)	dangár-á (O, II)
pulláás-á (A, II)	pulláás-á (O, II)

It might not be accidental that all the place-name nouns here are Class A (and therefore Tone Class II, see section 4.2.2.2.2).

Some place names might have been named after ancient person names, as they say. Such place names are found in all the three morphological classes of the place-name noun. However, the etymologies of such person names are unclear. See section 4.2.2.2.8.

Places themselves may be expressed by feminine nominals, if they are regarded as small, lovely, etc. (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2). In this case place-name stems take endings of the concrete feminine common noun or those common to many other feminine nominals (see, for example, 4.2.5.2 for the nominalizer).

(4.2.2.2.7-13)

woib-íyo		kant-ádá	b-á.
(place name)-ABS.F.SG.. (common noun)		pass-CONV.2SG.	go-OPT.2SG.

   'Go by way of (lovely) Woybo!'

(4.2.2.2.7-14)

kind-ó	halaal-á	ló77-o	máNN-e.
(place name)-OBL.	(place name)-NOM.F.	good-OBL.	place-ABS.

   '(Lovely or small) Kindo Halale is a good place.'

(4.2.2.2.7-15)

ha	hínii-ni	beett-íya-r-á
this	there-in	be seen-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

boddítt-ii?
(place name)-INTER.F.[232].

   'Is this small one that is seen there Boditi?'

However, these feminine forms are rarely used.

4.2.2.2.8 Etymology of Place Names

As can be seen from preceding sections, there are many place names in the Wolaytta Zone. Nevertheless, their etymologies are almost all unknown; at least the vocabulary of modern Wolaytta cannot explain them. A few exceptions are those discussed in section 4.2.2.2.4, which are in fact common nouns.

According to one of my main consultants, some place names make sense in Wolaytta. For example, *daamóót-á* means *de7-á móót-a* 'live-OPT.2SG. region-ABS.', *soor-é* means *só héér-a* 'home region-ABS.', *bolóós-ó* means *bóll-o só* 'father-in-law -OBL. home', and *soodd-ó* means *só dé7-o* 'home life-ABS.'. According to him, again, *7arákk-á* is related to the Amharic word አረካ *ArakkA* 'to satisfy'. He also says that

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[232] This ending may be that of a concrete feminine common noun or of other nominals. In any case, this is the only possible choice for feminine place names in the interrogative case.

there are place names named after famous persons or races. They include *kind-ó*, *KúC-á*, *kóísh-á*, *borodd-á*, *boddítt-é*, etc. However, he could not interpret their meanings in Wolaytta or other languages. His explanation is fascinating to me, but we cannot be too prudent in discussing etymologies of place names.

There is a place that is called *jagg-é* near to Boditi. This place name is interesting because it begins with a voiced postalveolar affricate, /j/, which is extremely rare in word-initial position in Wolaytta (see section 2.1.2.3). This fact might suggest that the name originated from some language other than Wolaytta, and that the place was formerly inhabited by some tribe other than Wolaytta. Something like this might apply to many other Wolaytta place names, and most Wolaytta place names might be originally foreign words.

In any case, place names in Wolaytta need further investigation.

4.2.2.3   Person-name Nouns
4.2.2.3.1   Definition of the Person-name Noun in Wolaytta

In Wolaytta the person-name noun is defined morphologically. As Adams (1983: 257) points out, person-name nouns have their own inflectional pattern. Thus, if a given autonomous word inflects as a member of one of the five subclasses in the paradigm given in (4.2.2.3.1-1) (i.e. Masculine Class A, E, O, U, or Feminine), it is a person-name noun[233]. In the paradigm, only endings are listed. Tone is completely ignored here.

(4.2.2.3.1-1) Endings of the Person-Name Noun

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
Masculine Class A	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-aa
Masculine Class E	-a	-e	-ee	-ee	-ee
Masculine Class O	-a	-o	-oi	-ee	-oo
Masculine Class U	-a	-u	-u	-ee	-oo
Feminine	-o	-i	-a	-ii	-ee

The following are examples of each class. The arrangement is the same as that of the paradigm above.

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[233]   To tell the truth, however, the actual process in which I established this word class is not based only on morphology. At first I collected many words that denote person names, and then studied their behaviors in sentences, and finally I found five morphological varieties among them. Thus, without resorting to semantics, I could not have established the word class. This kind of process would be inevitable in establishing any word class in any language.

(4.2.2.3.1-2)

Masculine Class A

'Kusa[234]'

kuuss-á, kuuss-á, kuuss-í, kuuss-ée, kúúss-aa

'Sana'

sáánn-á, sáánn-á, sáánn-í, sáánn-ee, sáánn-aa

Masculine Class E

'Gobe'

goob-á, goob-é, goob-éé, goob-ée, góób-ee

'Motole'

motól-á, motól-é, motól-éé, motól-ee, motól-ee

Masculine Class O

'Anjulo'

7anjúll-á, 7anjúll-ó, 7anjúll-óí, 7anjúll-ee, 7anjúll-oo

Masculine Class U

'Tito'

tiit-á, tiit-ú, tiit-ú, tiit-ée, tíít-oo

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[234] There is a problem on choice of citation forms of person-name nouns in English translations. Adams (1983, 1990) seems to basically choose absolutive forms for this purpose. For example, he (1990:40) translated a Wolaytta sentence containing a Masculine Class O person-name noun in the oblique case as 'They played with Agaga'. Readers might think that this is reasonable because the absolutive case is the most unmarked case in this language (see section 4.2.1.3.5). However, his stance is not always consistent. Thus we find 'Baaloti' (based on OBL.) for a Feminine person-name noun in the nominative case (1983: 93), 'Gaminee' (based on VOC.) also for a Feminine person-name noun in the nominative case (1983: 130), and 'Bargane' (based on INTER.??) for a Masculine Class A person-name noun in the nominative case (1983: 141). Moreover, as far as I was able to observe, when Wolaytta people write their native names down on paper in isolation or use them in foreign contexts, they do not use absolutive forms, but vocative forms. For a more in-depth discussion, see section 4.2.2.3.3. In this thesis I follow this convention in English contexts. For segmental elements of person-name nouns it seems to be usual to ignore length of vowels and gemination of consonants. I follow this convention too. In any case, as I have already said at footnote 212 in section 4.2.2.2.1, I wish to ask readers not to insist on a strict transliteration *in English contexts*.

Feminine

'Dalgite'

dalgít-ó, dalgít-í, dalgít-á, dalgít-ii, dalgít-ee

As will be mentioned in section 4.2.2.3.3, a person-name noun in the oblique case may be immediately followed by a postposition or a nominalizer. Since some postpositions and nominalizers affect the length of their immediately preceding vowels, oblique endings that are not listed in (4.2.2.3.1-1) may arise. Very roughly speaking, short vowels of the oblique must be lengthened immediately before the postpositions -*ra* 'with', -*ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms, and the nominalizers -*gáá* and -*ró*. These may optionally be lengthened before the postposition -*ni* 'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form.

(4.2.2.3.1-3)

<u>7anjúll-óó</u>-rá

(person name)-OBL.-with

   'with Anjulo'   (An example of a Masculine Class O person-name noun)

(4.2.2.3.1-4)

7í	sunt-étt-ido-i	kaw-ó
he	name-PASS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	king-OBL.

<u>goob-éé</u>-ná.

(person name)-OBL.-by

   'It is by King Gobe that he is named (i.e. bestowed a title).'

(4.2.2.3.1-5a)

<u>goob-éé</u>-ní	gód-ai-kka	7úr-ai-kka
(person name)-OBL.-by	lord-NOM.M.SG.-too	individual-NOM.M.SG.-too

daal-íis.

get one hundred cattle-PF.3M.SG.

= (4.2.2.3.1-5b)

goob-é-n   gód-ai-kka   7úr-ai-kka

(person name)-OBL.-by   lord-NOM.M.SG.-too   individual-NOM.M.SG.-too

daal-íis.

get one hundred cattle-PF.3M.SG.

'All people became rich (lit. lords as well as individuals got one hundred cattle) by Gobe.'   (An example of a Masculine Class E person-name noun)

The analysis of person-name nouns here is actually identical with that found in Adams (1983:259-261, 1990:409-411) as far as segmental elements are concerned. Although Adams does not mention the variants caused by the postpositions and nominalizers mentioned above, judging from his description (1983: 75-76)[235], he appears to have recognized the phenomenon correctly, at least for the postposition *-ra* 'with'.

Other literatures do not pay special attention to person-name nouns.

4.2.2.3.2   Tone of the Person-name Noun

All person-name nouns in Wolaytta are divided into two tone classes: Tone Class I, in which a tonal prominence begins at the last consonant of a stem (except for vocative forms, in which a tonal prominence is on a syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem), and Tone Class II, in which a tonal prominence begins at a syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem. Very roughly speaking, endings are "high" in Tone Class I, and stems are also "high" in Tone Class II. It is not possible to predict to which class a given person-name noun belongs. Read section 2.4.1 again if needed.

Tone of the person-name noun is summarized in (4.2.2.3.2-1). An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem. For actual forms, see examples in (4.2.2.3.1-2) in the preceding section.

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[235] It is worth noting however, that he might not have noticed the obligatory lengthening before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms. See the discussion in section 4.2.8.3.

(4.2.2.3.2-1) Tone of the Person-name Noun

Tone Class I[236]

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
Masculine Class A	-á	-á	-í	-ée	´-aa
Masculine Class E	-á	-é	-éé	-ée	´-ee
Masculine Class O	-á	-ó	-óí	?	(´-oo)
Masculine Class U	-á	-ú	-ú	-ée	´-oo
Feminine	-ó	-í	-á	?	(´-ee)

Tone Class II

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
Masculine Class A	´-á	´-á	´-í	´-ee	´-aa
Masculine Class E	´-á	´-é	´-éé	´-ee	´-ee
Masculine Class O	´-á	´-ó	´-óí	´-ee	´-oo
Masculine Class U	´-á	´-ú	´-ú	´-ee	´-oo
Feminine	´-ó	´-í	´-á	´-ii	´-ee

As in the case of the place-name noun, compared to the common noun, more forms end with a tonal prominence even if they belong to Tone Class II. It is likely that originally this applied also to non-concrete common nouns belonging to Tone Class II.

Adams (1983: 260, 1990: 410) says that interrogative forms of Masculine Class E accompany high pitch, which is not found for those of other classes. However, I was not able to observe that. Judging from the description on page 256 of the same work, it appears that in Adams (1983: 260) a macron on the nominative ending of Masculine Class E indicates medium pitch, and an acute accent on the vocative ending of the same class indicates high pitch,. However, I was not able to observe this either.

The following are some person-name nouns that are "traditional". Some of them are clearly related to modern Wolaytta words while others are not. The latter may have originated in other languages spoken around Wolaytta, such as Kambata and Hadiyya, although they are felt to be traditional names. In the following list, person-name nouns are given in the absolute case.

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[236] In this tone class, Masculine Class O and Feminine members are extremely rare, and thus I could not obtain enough data. For examples, see (4.2.2.3.4-36).

(4.2.2.3.2-2)

Masculine Class A

Tone Class I

7anj-á, 7anz-á, 7arj-á, 7occ-á, 7upaiss-á, Ciishsh-á, de7-á, daadd-á, dol-á, dos-á, gaagg-á, go77-á, gujj-á, gun-á, koir-á, kuuss-á, maadd-á, ment-á, saat-á, seebb-á, shaag-á, shank-á, teeKK-á, Toon-á, waadd-á, zaar-á, zaass-á, zaug-á

Tone Class II

7aldáád-á, 7amóón-á, 7áns-á, bááll-á, baDDéés-á, boorícc-á, goobán-á, kumét-á, langánn-á, sáánn-á

Masculine Class E

Tone Class I

7al-á, 7alb-á, 7arsh-á, badd-á, bugg-á, bulc-á, dal-á, goob-á, laLL-á, sokk-á, taj-á, waacc-á

Tone Class II

7adáár-á, 7antíl-á, bargán-á, daamóót-á, déll-á, kastóll-á, motól-á, saabóór-á, saamóór-á, sááz-á, túbb-á,

Masculine Class O

Tone Class I

(No attestations)

Tone Class II

7áákk-á, 7agáág-á, 7alááh-á, 7anjúll-á, 7árg-á, 7ilíl-á, 7ukkúm-á, 7ushácc-á, booráág-á, Ceemís-á, gáásh-á, gujúúb-á, guttúll-á, kán-á, kaníd-á, samáág-á, shíy-á, wadíll-á

Masculine Class U

Tone Class I

7ashk-á, 7ond-á, 7oonn-á, 7orC-á, balg-á, dad-á, dand-á, dangars-á, gallass-á, geesh-á, geleshsh-á, jald-á, man-á, marC-á, panC-á, tamm-á, tant-á, tiit-á

Tone Class II

(No attestations)

Feminine

Tone Class I

(No attestations)

Tone Class II

7adáb-ó, 7ombósh-ó, 7ukkúm-ó, 7upáíss-ó, 7urKát-ó, baalót-ó, baazzít-ó, bantál-ó, bataám-ó, dalgít-ó, jaanáám-ó, galtóór-ó, gamásh-ó, gamín-ó, hidóót-ó, maatáp-ó, shongít-ó, támm-ó, walKáKK-ó, waltóór-ó, woogét-ó, zaazóót-ó

It is very interesting that 1) all Masculine Class O person-name nouns belong to Tone Class II, 2) all traditional Masculine Class U person-name nouns belong to Tone Class I (but see below in this section), and 3) all Feminine person-name nouns belong to Tone Class II. The reason being there is uneven distribution of combinations of the morphological classes and tone classes, which is also observed for place-name nouns (see section 4.2.2.2.2).

Thus, while the Masculine Class U person-name noun *tamm-á* and the Feminine person-name noun *támm-ó* have a common etymology (Cf. the numeral *támm-á* 'ten'), they belong to different tone classes.

Note also that the Masculine Class O and U are in complementary distribution; traditional members of the former belong to Tone Class II and those of the latter to Tone Class I. Judging from the fact that Class U is not attested in other nominal word classes, the two morphological classes might have originally constituted one class, which was to be separated into two classes for tonological reasons (or conversely the two morphological classes were merged into one class in other word classes).

The following are some person-name nouns that are *not* "traditional". They originate in Amharic person names or are taken from the Holy Bible. Such obvious foreign names are very popular in the modern Wolaytta society and many Wolaytta people go by these names (see section 4.2.2.3.5). Usually they are indigenized and fit into the Wolaytta person-name noun's paradigm. For details, see section 4.2.2.3.5. In the following list, person-name nouns are given in the absolutive case.

(4.2.2.3.2-3)
Masculine Class A
Tone Class I
(No attestations)
Tone Class II
7abbáb-á, 7eeliyáás-á, 7isiyáás-á, daawíít-á, dassáál-á, kabbád-á, maatiyóós-á, marKóós-á, solomón-á, taakkál-á, yaiKóób-á, yoonáás-á, zakkaráás-á

Masculine Class E
Tone Class I
(No attestations)
Tone Class II
dárg-á, galááy-á, kaasáy-á, píKr-á, shawáy-á, taspááy-á, waagáy-á

Masculine Class O
Tone Class I
(No attestations)
Tone Class II
7alimááy-á, getáácc-á

Masculine Class U
Tone Class I (see the discussion below)
7alam-á, waad-á
Tone Class II
7aklíl-á, ballíh-á, mangíst-á, múl-á, nigáát-á, wórK-á, záúd-á

Feminine
Tone Class I
(No attestations)
Tone Class II
7abarrásh-ó, 7alamít-ó, 7almááz-ó, 7asallafácc-ó, 7astér-ó, bánc-ó, birtukáán-ó, dinKinásh-ó, hánn-ó, kabbabúsh-ó, maariyáám-ó, píKr-ó,

Again, we observe an uneven distribution: "non-traditional" person-name nouns in principle belong to Tone Class II. This applies even to Masculine Class U person-name nouns, which all belong to Tone Class I if they are "traditional". However, a few of the "non-traditional" Masculine Class U person-name nouns are usually recognized as members of Tone Class I. In (4.2.2.3.2-3), I gave such irregular person-name nouns as examples of Tone Class I.

Obviously I could not collect all Wolaytta person-name nouns and thus the result shown above might possibly be caused by chance.

4.2.2.3.3　Case of the Person-name Noun

In this section, we will survey different uses of each case of the person-name noun.

Nominative

In the person-name noun too, the nominative case is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that marks the subject of a clause, which is defined syntactically (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.1). Other uses have not been found so far.

(4.2.2.3.3-1)

goob-éé	y-íis.
(person name)-NOM.	come-PF.3M.SG.

　　'Gobe came.'

(4.2.2.3.3-2)

dalgít-á	y-áasu.
(person name)-NOM.	come-PF.3F.SG.

　　'Dalgite came.'

(4.2.2.3.3-3)

7aldáád-í	ló77-o	na7-á.
(person name)-NOM.	good-OBL.	child-ABS.

　　'Aldada is a good boy.'

(4.2.2.3.3-4)

dalg-í	ba-shoor-úwa	maay-úwa
(person name)-NOM.	his own-neighbor-OBL.M.SG.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

ba-lágg-etu-ssi	yoot-ídí
his own-friend-OBL.PL.-to	tell-CONV.3M.SG.

bor-is-iss-aná.
criticize-CAUS.-CAUS.-FUT.

'Dalga will tell some of his friends about clothes of his neighbor, and will make them make (someone else) criticize it.'

Oblique

This is a grammatical case for a nominal that modifies its following nominal, including postpositions. In other words, we may name this case "adnominal".

(4.2.2.3.3-5)

7alb-é   lágg-iya
(person name)-OBL.   friend-ABS.M.SG.

   'a friend of Albe'

(4.2.2.3.3-6)

dalgít-í-ppé   7ekk-áas.
(person name)-OBL.-from   take-PF.1SG.

   'I took (it) from Dalgite.'

(4.2.2.3.3-7)

hagáá   7oott-ído-i   7anjúll-óó-ra.
this   do-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.   (person name)-OBL.-with

   'It is with Anjulo that I did this.'

One peculiar use of the oblique case of the person-name noun is to modify another person-name noun to express a lineage. In Wolaytta culture, there has been no concept of "family name". Each Wolaytta has his or her own "given" name. If necessary, his or her father's "given" name is added to his or her own "given" name in order to show the lineage. His or her paternal grandfather's "given" name may further be added to those names if needed.

Traditionally, the name of a person in question is preceded by his or her father's name, which is in turn preceded by his or her grandfather's name. Words for lineal ascendants' names, if any, are always inflected in the oblique case. This is explainable because they

syntactically modify their following person-name nouns, expressing "possessors" in the broad sense. The word for the name of the person in question, which is the last element of a "person-name phrase", is of course inflected according to the context. For example, consider the following.

(4.2.2.3.3-8)

guttúll-ó	gujúúb-á	be7-áas.
(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-ABS.	see-PF.1SG.

   'I saw Gujuba (of) Gutulo.'

In this example, the person whom the speaker saw is Gujubo. His father is Gutulo. The word for the father occurs in the oblique case, since it is a modifier of its following person-name noun, expressing a "possessor" (remember the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.2). The word for the son, or the person in question, occurs in the absolutive case, since it functions as (a head of) an object of the main verb *be7-* 'to see' (for the use of the absolutive case, see below in this section). If the same "person-name phrase" functions as a subject of a sentence, the last word, i.e. the word for the person in question; the son in this case, is inflected in the nominative case. Meanwhile the word for the father remains in the oblique case, as the following shows.

(4.2.2.3.3-9)

guttúll-ó	gujúúb-óí	y-íis.
(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-NOM.	come-PF.3M.SG.

   'Gujubo (of) Gutulo came.'

   However, this system is being changed and now the order is often reversed, if not always. That is, in the modern Wolaytta language the name of the person in question comes first, which is followed by his or her father's name if necessary, which is in turn followed by his or her paternal grandfather's name if necessary. This seems to be an influence of the Amharic language. In this new order, all person-name nouns but the last one are inflected in the oblique case, and the last one, which may not refer to the person in question, is inflected according to the context. Thus, the same meanings as those of (4.2.2.3.3-8) and (4.2.2.3.3-9) can be expressed in the following way in the modern Wolaytta language.

(4.2.2.3.3-10)

gujúúb-ó	guttúll-á	be7-áas.
(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-ABS.	see-PF.1SG.

   (The same meaning as that of (4.2.2.3.3-8), but lit. 'I saw Gutulo of Gujubo.')

(4.2.2.3.3-11)

gujúúb-ó	guttúll-óí	y-íis.
(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-NOM.	come-PF.3M.SG.

   (The same meaning as that of (4.2.2.3.3-9), but lit. 'Gutulo of Gujubo came.')

   These new constructions are odd, because their grammatical heads refer to semantically auxiliary elements (i.e. lineal ascendants) and semantically main elements (i.e. persons in question) are realized as grammatical modifiers in the oblique case. This oddness becomes clearer when the person in question is female and is expected to be expressed as a subject of a sentence.

(4.2.2.3.3-12)

dalgít-í	7anjúll-óí	y-áasu.
(feminine person name)-OBL.	(her father's name)-NOM.	come-PF.3F.SG.

   'Dalgite (of Anjulo) came.'

In this sentence, the main verb is conjugated in the 3rd person feminine singular because the person who actually came is one female. Here, however, a nominal in the nominative case, which usually agrees with a finite verb, is a masculine person-name noun expressing her father, *7anjúll-óí*. The reason being, in this language it is the last element of a nominal phrase that shows grammatical information of the phrase, such as case. Thus, the result is a twisted gender agreement between a surface subject and a finite verb![237] However, even in the modern Wolaytta language this kind of oddness does not take place so often, because usually person-name nouns are not accompanied by ancestors' names.

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[237] In this language, however, this kind of twisted agreement is occasionally observed elsewhere. This is because semantics is considered more important than surface forms in agreement. See the discussion in section 6.2.

Vocative

In this word class too, the vocative is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that refers to an object of addressing.

(4.2.2.3.3-13)

laa	sáánn-aa!
hey	(person name)-VOC.

  'Hey, Sana!'

It is often used in imperative (or rather, 2nd person optative) sentences.

(4.2.2.3.3-14)

dalgít-ee,	háa	y-á!
(person name)-VOC.	here	come-OPT.2SG.

  'Dalgite, come here!'

In addition to this expected use, vocative forms of person-name nouns seem to be regarded as representative forms when person names are written in isolation or are used in foreign contexts, as mentioned in footnote 234.

Thus, when I asked one of the main consultants how Wolaytta persons named, for example, *bááll-á tiit-á* and *tiit-ú bááll-á*[238] would write their names on paper in the Ethiopic script, he wrote on a notebook as follows (for the transliteration see section

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[238] These names are grammatically analyzed as

bááll-á	tiit-á
Class A person name-OBL.	Class U person name-ABS.

and

tiit-ú	bááll-á
Class U person name-OBL.	Class A person name-ABS.

respectively. Here absolutive forms are used as representative forms (remember the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.5(c)). For the use of the oblique case here, see the preceding paragraphs under the heading of "Oblique" in this section.

3.3.1):

(4.2.2.3.3.-15)
ባለ ቲቶ | bA-la   ti-to |
ቲቱ ባለ | ti-tu   bA-la |

For these, we can assume that the preceding names are in the oblique case as explained above in this section, and the following (or last) names are in the vocative case: the vocative form of the Masculine Class U person-name noun *tiit-á* is *tíít-oo*, and that of the Masculine Class A person-name noun *bááll-á* is *bááll-aa*. This is also confirmed by the following attestations taken from labels of music tapes for sale, on which Wolaytta pop songs are recorded.

(4.2.2.3.3-16)
FISHALE MILKANO

Note: This represents a singer's name, and is written, as is seen, in the Latin alphabet (in addition to the Ethiopic script). English and Amharic are used on the label, except for the titles of the songs. *pishsháál-á* (Masculine Class E) is the singer's name, and *milkáán-á* (Masculine Class O) is his father's name. The oblique form of the former is *pishsháál-é*, and the vocative form of the latter is *milkáán-oo*.

(4.2.2.3.3-17)
መርኪኔ ሹልጋዶ |ma-re-ki-nE   sYu-le-gA-do|

Note: This represents a singer's name, and written, as is seen, in the Ethiopic script. Almost all the information printed on the label is, except for the titles of the songs, in Amharic. *markín-á* (Masculine Class E) is the singer's name and *shulgáád-á* (Masculine Class O) is his father's name. The oblique form of the former is *markín-é*, and the vocative form of the latter is *shulgáád-oo*.

Likewise, when another main consultant of mine writes letters to me, he writes his name in the Latin alphabet as follows:

(4.2.2.3.3-18)
Asela Gujubo

Note: **አሰላ** *AsallA* is his own (Amharic) name, and *gujúúb-á* (Masculine Class O) is his father's name. The vocative form of the latter is *gujúúb-oo*.

Thus, when a Wolaytta native person name is written in isolation, its vocative form is used as a representative form for the "last" name.

As far as I can remember, one of the main consultants gave Wolaytta native person names in the vocative when I asked him in Amharic to list them. He also used their vocative forms as citation forms when he taught me different aspects of Wolaytta person names in Amharic. This coincides with my observation that native Wolaytta person names occurred in the vocative (or forms based on their vocative forms) when people were speaking in Amharic. Thus, when a Wolaytta native person name is used in a foreign context its vocative form seems to function as a representative form[239].

Interrogative

The interrogative case is the case for the head of a noun phrase that is a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

(4.2.2.3.3-19)

7í	tiit-ée?
he	(person name)-INTER.

'Is he Tito?'

The following is an example in which the interrogative is used for exclamatory effects (cf. section 4.2.1.3.4).

(4.2.2.3.3-20)

7áí	b-á	7anjúll-ee?
what	thing-OBL.	(person name)-INTER.

'What Anjulo it is (i.e. what a, for example, bad person Anjulo is)?'

---

[239] (4.2.2.3.3-16) to (4.2.2.3.3-18) may be examples that should be included here.

Absolutive

Semantically, this is the most unmarked case in this word class too. It is used everywhere that the other cases discussed so far in this section cannot be used. However, person-name nouns in the absolutive case do not show as much semantic variety as common nouns in the same case do (see section 4.2.1.3.5), and there are no adverbial examples that are difficult to explain.

(4.2.2.3.3-21)

7á	7ukkúm-ó.
she	(person name)-ABS.

'She is Ukume.'

(4.2.2.3.3-22)

7anjúll-á	siiK-áis.
(person name)-ABS.	love-IMPF.1SG.

'I love Anjulo.'

(4.2.2.3.3-23)

7a-lágg-ee	dalg-á	mítt-aa
his-friend-NOM.M.SG.	(person name)-ABS.	wood-ABS.M.SG.

ment-iss-íis.
break-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'A friend of his made Dalga break the wood.'

(4.2.2.3.3-24)

wolaitt-a	maall-áa	kaw-ói	kóír-oi
Wolaytta-OBL.	royal family-OBL.M.SG.	king-NOM.M.SG.	first-NOM.M.SG.

7otóór-á	g-éétett-ees.
(person name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The king of the Wolaytta Mala, the first one, is called Otoro.'

(4.2.2.3.3-25)

7alam-á-kkó-nné	wói-kkó	7óóná-kkó-nné
(person name)-ABS.-whether-and	or-whether	who (ABS.)-whether-and

yáa	b-íis.
to there	go-PF.3M.SG.

　'Alemu or someone (lit. whether Alemu or whether who) went there.'

Absolutive forms of person-name nouns seem to be somehow regarded as representative forms in a Wolaytta context. Thus, when I asked some Wolayttas in the Wolaytta language to list some Wolaytta person names, they were given in the absolutive case. Absolutive forms in isolation were also encountered during my interview research to collect Wolaytta person names, though we used the Amharic language as a means of communication then. Note, however, that vocative forms can be used as representative forms in other contexts. See the discussion under the heading of "Vocative" in this section.

4.2.2.3.4　Semantics of the Person-name Noun

In this section, we will investigate the semantic range that is covered by the person-name noun. In other words, we will examine what are expressed as person-name nouns in this language.

As is evident from the above examples, words for names given to individual human beings are person-name nouns. However, words for what are not names of "human beings" in the strict sense can also be person-name nouns.

One such example is *7azzáK-ó* (the name of a female monster), which is grammatically a feminine person-name noun.

(4.2.2.3.4-1)

hagáá-ní	7azzáK-á	d-áusu.
this-in	(monster's name)-NOM.	live-IMPF.3F.SG.

　'(The monster called) Azake lives here.'

(4.2.2.3.4-2)

táání	7azzáK-ó	yáyy-ais.
I	(monster's name)-ABS.	fear-IMPF.1SG.

   'I fear (the monster called) Azake.'

These linguistic forms referring to the monster cannot be regarded as non-concrete forms of a genuine feminine common noun (see section 4.2.1.6.2.1) from a semantic point of view. Furthermore, the stem cannot take concrete endings of the feminine common noun to mean the monster. If it does, the resultant form means 'an evil woman like Azake'.

   Interestingly however, other words expressing monster-like beings, such as *Talah-íya* 'devil', *moitíll-iya* 'ghost, soul', *daidánt-aa* 'evil spirit', and *seeTáán-aa* 'Satan', are common nouns.

   There are a few words that can be used as substitutions for person-name nouns, meaning 'so-and-so'. Judging from their inflection they are person-name nouns.

   7ebél-á (Masculine Class O), and *7ebél-ó* (Feminine) are examples of such words. These words are inflected only as person-name nouns, and used only as substitutions for person-name nouns.

(4.2.2.3.4-3)

7ebél-á	be7-ádii?
so-and-so -ABS.	see-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Did you see (Mr.) So-and-so?'

(4.2.2.3.4-4)

7ebé-óí	daal-ídaa-g-áá
so-and-so -NOM.	get one hundred cattle-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

   '(Mr.) So-and-so, who became the owner of one hundred cattle'

(4.2.2.3.4-5)

7ebél-ó	be7-ádii?
so-and-so -ABS.	see-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Did you see (Ms.) So-and-so?'

Similar pairs are *7onákk-á* (Masculine Class O) and *7onákk-ó* (Feminine) 'so-and-so'.

(4.2.2.3.4-6)

7onákk-óí	y-íídee?
so-and-so -NOM.	come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

'Did (Mr.) So-and-so come?'

(4.2.2.3.4-7)

bii	7onákk-ee!
hey	so-and-so -VOC.

'Hey, (Ms.) So-and-so!'

Unlike *7ebél-á* and *7ebél-ó* 'so-and-so', the stem may take endings of the common noun, *7onákk-uwa* 'so-and-so'. This common noun is used as a substitution for another common noun. There is also a morphologically related verb, *7onakk-* 'do so-and-so'.

Another similar pair is *7uráy-á* (Masculine Class E) and *7uráy-ó* (Feminine).

(4.2.2.3.4-8)

7uráy-éé	y-íídee?
so-and-so -NOM.	come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

'Did (Mr.) So-and-so come?'

(4.2.2.3.4-9)

7uráy-í-ppé	7ekk-áas.
so-and-so -OBL.-from	take-PF.1SG.

'I took from (Ms.) So-and-so.'

These are related to the common noun *7uráy-aa* 'so-and-so', the verb *7uray-* 'to do so-and-so', and the place-name noun *7uráy-á* 'So-and-so' (see section 4.2.2.2.6).

I observed in one of the spoken texts I collected that the Amharic word **እከሌ** *ekalE* 'so-and-so' is borrowed: *7ekél-á* (illustrated in (4.2.2.3.4-10)). This is a Masculine Class E person-name noun, which is confirmed by (4.2.2.3.4-11) and (4.2.2.3.4-12), which are obtained by elicitation. I could not, however, elicit its feminine counterpart.

(4.2.2.3.4-10)

daann-á	7ekél-á	be7-ídetii?
judge-OBL.	so-and-so -ABS.	see-INTER.PF.2PL.

   'Did you see Mr. (lit. judge) So-and-so?'

(4.2.2.3.4-11)

daann-á	7ekél-é-ppé	7ekk-áas.
judge-OBL.	so-and-so -OBL.-from	take-PF.1SG.

   'I took (it) from Mr. (lit. judge) So-and-so.'

(4.2.2.3.4-12)

daann-á	7ekél-éé	y-íídee?
judge-OBL.	so-and-so -NOM.	come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'Did Mr. (lit. judge) So-and-so come?'

   híKK-á (Masculine Class O) and *híKK-ó* (Feminine) are person-name nouns meaning 'etc.', which are used when person-name nouns are listed in some way.

(4.2.2.3.4-13)

7aldáád-aa,	tánt-oo,	híKK-oo
(male person name)-VOC.	(male person name)-VOC.	etc.-VOC.

g-íídí	sunt-óosona.
say-CONV.3PL.	name-IMPF.3PL.

   'They name (saying) Aldada, Tanto, etc.'

(4.2.2.3.4-14)

7alamít-á		báawa,	7astér-á
(female person name)-NOM.		not present	(female person name)-NOM.

báawa,	híKK-á	híKK-á	báawa
not present	etc.-NOM.	etc.-NOM.	not present

g-íídí	yoot-íis.
say-CONV.3PL.	tell-PF.3M.SG.

 'He told saying "Alemitu is absent, Aster is absent, So-and-so and others are absent".'

The related common noun that is used when common nouns are listed is *híKK-aa* 'etc.'

 Some address and reference terms for persons resemble person-name nouns in their morphology.

 ta-7aawúl-á 'My Fatherʾ and *ta-7ishíl-á* 'My Brotherʾ, which are affectionate and honorific expressions, are almost undoubtedly Masculine Class E person-name nouns (with personal pronouns).

(4.2.2.3.4-15)

ta-7aawúl-á	Téég-a.
my-Father-ABS.	call-OPT.2M.SG.

 'Call My Father!'

(4.2.2.3.4-16)

ta-7aawúl-éé		7áu	b-íídee?
my-Father-NOM.		where	go-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

 'Where did My Father go?'

(4.2.2.3.4-17)

ta-7aawúl-ee,	tá-u	7imm-árkii?
my-Father-VOC.	me-to	give-(interrogative ending)

'My Father, wouldn't you please give (it) to me?'

Their feminine counterparts, *ta-7aayyíl-ó* 'My Mother' and *ta-miccíl-ó* 'My Sister', are inflected as Feminine person-name nouns, although they have additional irregular vocative forms with *-oo* (cf. (4.2.2.3.4-22)), which seem to be more commonly used.

(4.2.2.3.4-18)

ta-7aayyíl-á	giy-áa	b-áasu.
my-Mother-NOM.	market-ABS.M.SG.	go-PF.3F.SG.

    'My Mother went to the market.'

(4.2.2.3.4-19)

ta-7aayyíl-íí-rá
my-Mother-OBL.-with

    'with My Mother'

(4.2.2.3.4-20)

ta-7aayíl-ó	be7-ádii?
my-Mother-ABS.	see-INTR.PF.2SG.

    'Did you see My Mother?'

(4.2.2.3.4-21)

hai	ta-7aayyíl-ee,	hegáá	7er-íkkíi	nééní?
oh	my-Mother-VOC.	this	know-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.	you

    'Oh My Mother, don't you know this?'

(4.2.2.3.4-22)

ta-7aayyíl-oo,	háa	y-á.
my-Mother-VOC.	here	come-OPT.2SG.

    'My Mother, come here!'

I observed in a Wolaytta song sung by one of my main consultants that the Amharic expression ጋሼ *gAssYE*, an address term for an elder male, is borrowed (illustrated in (4.2.2.3.4-23)). It has become a Masculine Class E person-name noun, which is confirmed by (4.2.2.3.4-24) and (4.2.2.3.4-25), which are obtained by elicitation.

(4.2.2.3.4-23)

| <u>gááshsh-éé</u>-rá | m-íi-ni |
| (part of the Amharic expression)-OBL.-with | eat-SUBOR.-in |

| shááshsh-ai | maLL-ées. |
| parched grain-NOM.M.SG. | be tasty-IMPF.3M.SG. |

  'If I eat with Gashe (lit. my protector), (even) parched grain tastes good.'

(4.2.2.3.4-24)

| <u>gááshsh-éé</u> | y-íis. |
| (part of the Amharic expression)-NOM. | come-PF.3M.SG. |

  'Gashe came.'

(4.2.2.3.4-25)

| hácci | <u>gááshsh-á</u> | be7-ádii? |
| today | (part of the Amharic expression)-ABS. | see-INTR.PF.2SG. |

  'Did you see Gashe today?'

Domestic animals are sometimes named individually. Of course some animals are usually not named, and it is impossible to give names to each animal if they are in a very great number. Words for names of individual animals are basically person-name nouns. Some of them are listed in (4.2.2.3.4-26)[240]. Note that each name can be given

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[240] Since "animal" names are not the kind of information widely shared in a community, there are many obscure points about them. The issue is further complicated because not a few "animal" names are related to words and/or notions related to colors (see below in this section and section 4.2.2.3.5). Thus, for example, one of my main consultants claims that *ward-áa* 'dark brown mule', *saamuun-áa* 'white mule' etc., whose corresponding person-name nouns I listed in (4.2.2.3.4-26) based on another

only to a restricted kind of animal, and in addition, often only to those with particular looks.

(4.2.2.3.4-26)

Masculine Class A

Tone Class I

dibil-á (for donkeys), digis-á (for dogs), gaull-á (for dogs), saamuun-á (for white mules), sark-á (for dogs), Tarag-á (for dogs)

Tone Class II

wárd-á (for dark brown mules)

Masculine Class E

Tone Class I

(No attestations)

Tone Class II

(No attestations)

Masculine Class O

Tone Class I

(No attestations)

Tone Class II

7alláátt-á (for black-and-white oxen), díímm-á (for black oxen), dúúl-á (for black oxen), gaaráám-á (for horses), gáásh-á (for whitish reddish gray oxen), gitáám-á (for horses), málk-á (for brown striped oxen), paasáám-á (for horses), shánk-á (for black oxen), Taríís-á (for horses), wóísh-á (for brown oxen)

Masculine Class U

Tone Class I

bork-á (for dogs), dabaC-á (for dogs), dargant-á (for dogs), tiit-á (for dogs), waar-á (for dogs)

Tone Class II

(No attestations)

---

consultant's claim, are common nouns and never behave as person-name nouns. Door-to-door research would be needed, but even that might not lead to any decisive conclusions.

Feminine

Tone Class I

(No attestations)

Tone Class II

dúlk-ó (for black cows), gáámm-ó (for lion-colored cow), kúúl-ó (for dark grey cows), masár-ó (for multicolored or striped cow (በ-ራ-በ-ሬ *burAburE* in Amharic), punCár-ó (for multicolored or striped cow (በ-ራ-በ-ሬ *burAburE* in Amharic), saamuun-ó (for white mules), sééT-ó (for donkeys), sumbúr-ó (for donkeys), shégg-ó (for mules), shimál-ó (for mules), tiiTTár-ó (for dogs), wárd-ó (for mules), woddánt-ó (for reddish dark grey cows), worgáán-ó (for reddish dark grey cows), wosóll-ó (for brown cows)

Here is an uneven distribution: all the words for ox names are Masculine Class O person-name nouns. However, this could be accidental, due to the insufficient data.

That *wóísh-á*, for example, is a Masculine Class O person-name noun is evident from the following sentences.

(4.2.2.3.4-27)

ta-bóór-ai	<u>wóísh-óí</u>	de7-íi?
my-ox-NOM.M.SG.	(ox name)-NOM.	exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Is there (lit. does he exist) my ox, Woysho?'

(4.2.2.3.4-28)

ta-bóór-aa	súnt-ai	<u>wóísh-á</u>.
my-ox-OBL.M.SG.	name-NOM.M.SG.	(ox name)-ABS.

'My ox's name is Woysho.'

(4.2.2.3.4-29)

<u>wóísh-óó</u>-rá	waaT-á
(ox name)-OBL.	yoke-OPT.2SG.

'Yoke (it) with Woysho.'

(4.2.2.3.4-30)

wóísh-oo!

(ox name)-VOC.

'Woysho! (addressing)'

However, words for animal names may have irregular vocative forms. For example, words for female animal names have a special vocative form with the ending *-i*, which is very often devoiced. Its tonal prominence is on the first syllable (or the first vowel) of the word. This special vocative is used, for instance, in soothing or training animals.

(4.2.2.3.4-31)

7áani   <u>kúul-i</u>!

take heart   (cow name)-special VOC.

'Take heart, Kule!'

(4.2.2.3.4-32)

tííTTar-i,   tííTTar-i!

(dog name)-special VOC.   (dog name)-special VOC.

'Titare, Titare!'

The masculine counterpart is formed likewise, though the ending is *-u*.

(4.2.2.3.4-33)

páásaam-u,   páásaam-u!

(horse name)-special VOC.   (horse name)-special VOC.

'Pasamo, Pasamo!'

(4.2.2.3.4-34)

wóish-u,   wóish-u!

(ox name)-special VOC.   (ox name)-special VOC.

'Woysho, Woysho!'

This type of special vocative, however, does not seem to be formed from words for male dog names. For them, other types of special vocative forms are observed. Their formation is not clear to me, or rather, there seems to be no consensus about it. For example, I have collected the following three variants for a dog named *bork-á* (Masculine Class U).

(4.2.2.3.4-35a)
bork-ó, bork-ó!

(4.2.2.3.4-35b)
bork-á, bork-á!

(4.2.2.3.4-35c)
bork-ú, bork-ú!

Judging from special vocative forms such as *lokk-é* (a word referring to a rooster, see below in this section), I want to consider that the form in (4.2.2.3.4-35a), *bork-ó*, is normative. This is formed based on the regular vocative form, *bórk-oo*, by shortening the vowel of the ending and by shifting the tonal prominence to the vowel. The form in (4.2.2.3.4-35c), *bork-ú*, might be an example of a nominative form used for addressing (cf. sections 4.2.1.3.1 and 4.2.4.1.3).

There are a set of words that are used as substitutions for "animal-name nouns" discussed above in this section. These substitute words are used when the name of a referent is not known or when a referent is not given an individual name. As can be seen in (4.2.2.3.4-36), the possible referents of each word are rather restricted. For example, *tiit-á* is used only for puppies. These words are also person-name nouns in terms of morphology. All of them belong to Tone Class I, in spite of the fact that Masculine Class O and Feminine person-name nouns always belong to Tone Class II elsewhere.

(4.2.2.3.4-36)[241]
bull-á[242] (A)   for adult donkeys
7obbol-á (E)   for young male sheep
7occ-á[243] (E)   for male black goats

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[241] Capital letters in parentheses represent morphological classes.
[242] This may be related to the common noun *bull-áa* 'one that is ashy'.

lokk-á (E)   for dominating roosters

Caamm-á (O)   for calves

tiit-á (O)   for puppies

7occ-ó (F)   for female black goats   Cf. 7occ-á (E)

baDD-ó (F)   for female sheep

bucc-ó[244] (F)   for female dogs

(4.2.2.3.4-37)

<u>tiit-óí</u>   bócett-aa   7er-ídee?

(substitution)-NOM.   barking-ABS.M.SG.   know-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'Did the puppy know barking?'

(4.2.2.3.4-38)

<u>7obbol-éé</u>   dors-áa-ppe

(substitution)-NOM.   sheep-OBL.M.SG.-from

dummat-ídí   bá-rka   d-ées.

be separated-CONV.3M.SG.   his own-alone   exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'The young male sheep is alone separated from the (other) sheep.'

These substitute words also have special vocative forms. They are more frequently used than the regular vocative forms. They are formed based on the regular vocative forms by shortening the vowel of the ending and by shifting the tonal prominence to the vowel. In the case of *bucc-ó* 'butch', its special vocative form may have the ending *-i*, instead of *-e*, which might be an influence of Amharic (see footnote 244).

(4.2.2.3.4-39)

tiit-ó!

(substitution)-special VOC.

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[243] This may be related to the common noun *7ócc-aa* 'syzygium guineense (a tree bearing black fruits, ዶቅማ *doKmA* in Amharic)'.

[244] This might express a name given to an individual female dog, or might originate in the Amharic word ቡቺ *bucci* (cry for calling dogs).

'Tito!'

(4.2.2.3.4-40)

dors-á	7org-íya	7obbol-é
sheep-OBL.	ram-ABS.M.SG.	(substitution)-special VOC.

7obbol-é	g-íídí	Téég-iis.
(substitution)-special VOC.	say-CONV.3M.SG.	call-PF.3M.SG.

'He called the male sheep saying 'Obole, Obole'.'

(4.2.2.3.4-41)

búcc-i,	búcc-i
(substitution)-special VOC.	(substitution)-special VOC.

'Buce, Buce!'

For names of horses and the culture related to them, see section 4.2.2.3.7.

4.2.2.3.5 Popular Naming Conventions

In this section, some popular naming conventions in Wolaytta will be illustrated. The description is, in its nature, not systematic. Furthermore, most of the information is based on a text told by a consultant or on the result of interview research with the main consultants. Thus, names seen in the following might be named for reasons other than those described below. Related topics, if any, will be mentioned too.

Some person names reflect situations in which children were born (Capital letters in parentheses represent morphological classes).

(4.2.2.3.5-1)

7anjúll-á (O): For a boy who was born after the death of his elder siblings. Cf. *7anjúll-uwa* 'gift, charity', *7anjull-* 'to share a gift, to give alms'.

baDDéés-á (A): For a boy who was born in the season for sowing. Cf. *baDDéés-aa* 'season for sowing'.

balg-á (U): For a boy who was born in the rainy season. Cf. *balg-úwa* 'rainy season'.

gallass-á (U): For a boy who was born in the daytime. Cf. *galláss-aa* 'daytime', *gallass-* 'to be midmorning'.

masKál-á (E), masKál-ó (F): For a child who was born around the Masqal festival. Cf. *masKál-aa* 'the Masqal festival'.

shank-á (A): For a child who was born while his father was out hunting. Cf. *shank-áa* 'hunt'.

tamm-á (U), tant-á (U), támm-ó (F): For the tenth child. Cf. *támm-á* 'ten', *tamm-* 'to become ten'.

Likewise, some person names reflect political or social situations in which children were born.

(4.2.2.3.5-2)

dárg-á (E): For a boy who was born during the Derg era.

mangíst-á (U): For a boy who was born when Mentistu Hayle Maryam was very famous and influential.

waad-á (U): This name is derived from the acronym WADU, which stands for 'Wolaytta Agricultural Development Unity'. This is a name for a child who was born when WADU was serving Wolaytta people.

Wolaytta people cherish (or cherished) a belief in the "evil eye". Some people think that if their children have good or beautiful names they might be eaten by the evil eye, and give them dirty names like the following.

(4.2.2.3.5-3)

7orC-á (U): Cf. *7orC-úwa* 'sediment'.

7urKát-ó (F): Cf. *7urK-áa* 'mud', *7urKat-* 'to become muddy'.

kán-á (O): Cf. *kan-áa* 'dog'.

kastóll-á (E): Cf. *kastóll-iya* 'flea'.

shánk-á (O): This is a name usually given to cattle. See above.

shíy-á (O): Cf. Cf. *shíy-aa* 'feces, stool', *shíy-* 'to defecate'.

Conversely, person names may represent the parents' wishes or positive feelings. In other words, people may give good or beautiful names to their children like the following.

(4.2.2.3.5-4)

7ushácc-á (O): Cf. *7ushacc-* 'to be successful'.

daamóót-á (E): Cf. the place-name noun *daamóót-á* (A) 'Mt. Damot'.

dad-á (U): Cf. *dad-áa* 'thunder'. The connotation is 'strong'

dalgít-ó (F): Cf. *dalg-* 'to become numerous', *dálg-aa* 'being numerous'.

dos-á (A): Cf. *dos-* 'to love', *dós-uwa* 'love'.

marC-á (U): Cf. *marC-úwa* 'ancient coin'. The connotation is 'precious'.

Toon-á (A): Cf. *Toon-* 'to win', *Tóón-uwa* 'victory'.

Now Amharic names are very prevalent. The following are some of them that I actually encountered, which are listed in genuine Amharic forms.

(4.2.2.3.5-5)

ተስፋዬ *tasfAyE* 'my hope'

ዓለሙ *Alamu* 'the world, happiness'

ዓለማየሁ *Alam Ayyahu* 'I saw happiness'

አክሊሉ *Aklilu* 'the crown'

ደስ አለኝ *dass AlannY* 'I am pleased'

ጌታቸው *gEtAccaw* 'their lord'

ፍቅሬ *feKrE* 'my love'

Formerly, schools where Amharic was a language for education recommended that some children change their Wolaytta names into Amharic ones that resemble them phonetically. Some of them actually did so, although of course, the change was not ato all compulsory.

(4.2.2.3.5-6)

kuuss-á (A) (Cf. *kuuss-áa* 'hair of corn')---> ካሳ *kAsA* 'compensation'

7asall-á (A) (Cf. *7asall-* 'to share a gift, to give charity', *7asáll-aa* 'gift as charity')---> አሰላ *AsallA* 'he sharpened, he considered' (However, this does not seem to be a popular name in Amharic culture.)

Person names taken from the Holy Bible are far from rare in Wolaytta: Elijah, Esther, Jacob, John, Mark, Mary, Matthew, etc. When these are indigenized (see below in this section) they seem to be based on their Amharic forms: ኤሊያስ *EliyAs*, አስቴር *AstEr*, ያዕቆብ *yA7eKob*, ዮሐንስ *yohAnnes*, ማርቆስ *mArKos*, ማርያም *mAryAm*, ማቴዎስ

mAtEwos, etc.

Adams (1990: 411) says: 'Wolaitta [*sic*] speakers categorize all-non-Wolaitta names according to the classes of Wolaitta . . . person-name nouns. All Wolaittas seem to be able to categorize non-Wolaitta names in the same manner, and they do it in an automatic and systematic way.' He describes the rules as follows (1990: 411-412):

'Person-name Nouns:

male:

(1) Any name ending in -e becomes a Class <u>e</u> person-name noun.

(2) Any name ending in -o becomes a Class <u>o</u> person-name noun.

(3) Any name ending in -u becomes a Class <u>u</u> person-name noun.

(4) Any name ending in any other form becomes a Class <u>a</u> person-name noun.

female:

All non-Wolaitta female names are inflected in just the same way as all Wolaitta female names are inflected, for there is only one class of female names.'

I do not claim that these rules are invalid. In fact, I was able to confirm that most of the foreign names I could collect follow the rules.

(4.2.2.3.5-7)

Amharic	Wolaytta
Male names	
ተስፋዬ tasfAyE	taspááy-á (E)
ንጋቱ negAtu	nigáát-á (U)
ከበደ kabbada	kabbád-á (A)
ያዕቆብ yA7eKob	yaiKóób-á (A)
Female names	
ዓለሚቱ Alamitu	7alamít-ó (F)
አልማዝ AlmAz	7almááz-ó (F)
አስቴር AstEr	7astér-ó (F)

However, I also found some exceptions to these rules. For example, the Amharic names ጌታቸው *gEtAccaw* and ዓለማየሁ *AlamAyyahu* are expected to become a Masculine Class A person-name noun and a Masculine Class U person-name noun, respectively. According to one of my main consultants, however, this is not the case.

Both become Masculine Class O person-name nouns: *geetáácc-á* and *alimááy-á*[245]. This would be because their final elements *w* and *hu* are reduced and provide *o*-like sounds. I also observed that an indigenized form of **ኤሊያስ** *EliyAs*, which is expected to become a Masculine Class A person-name noun, is inflected sometimes as a Masculine Class E person-name noun. We should also note that when the Amharic male name **ደስ አለኝ** *dassAlannY* is indigenized, the final palatal nasal, which is not a phoneme of Wolaytta, is lost: *dassáál-á* (A).

My own male name, Motomichi, itself is a good counterexample to Adams' rules. My given name ends, I believe, in the vowel [i], although most Ethiopian people seem to think that it ends in a reduced vowel judging from their writing in the Ethiopic script. In any case, it is expected to become a Masculine Class A person-name noun according to Adams' rules. However, my name becomes a Masculine Class E person-name noun, at least sometimes.

(4.2.2.3.5-8)

motomícc-éé   y-íis.
(Japanese name)-NOM.   come-PF.3M.SG.

   'Motomichi came.'

According to one of my main consultants, the following is also possible.

(4.2.2.3.5-9)

motomící   y-íis.
(Japanese name)   come-PF.3M.SG.

   'Motomichi came.'

I do not consider that in this case the name is inflected as a Masculine Class A person-name noun, but I consider that the original Japanese form is used here instead. The following would be a similar example, and not an example of a Feminine person-name noun, despite the *-i* ending for an oblique form.

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[245] Incidentally, the same person name is spelled as "ALEMAAYEHU" on a page of Alemaayehu and Tereezza (1991 E.C.). Thus, it might be regarded as a Masculine Class U person-name noun.

(4.2.2.3.5-10)

<u>motomící</u>   kúsh-iya

(Japanese name)   hand-ABS.M.SG.

   'Motomichi's hand'

As stated in section 4.2.2.2.5 for foreign place names, foreign person names are after all alien to the Wolaytta language and sometimes do not fit into the Wolaytta system. Adams' useful rules can never be regarded as absolute.

As in the case of place names, there are many person names whose meanings or etymologies are not clear.

(4.2.2.3.5-11)

7adáár-á (E)

7amóón-á (A)

7ombósh-ó (F)

hantak-á (U)

langánn-á (A)

wadíll-á (O)

zaug-á (A)

Some of them may originate in other neighboring languages, like Tambaro, Hadiyya, etc. and the consultants also admit the possibility. This matter, however, needs further investigation.

Apart from meanings, there are two points to be mentioned here in regards to Wolaytta naming conventions.

First, the name of a child may be given so that it would alliterate his or her father's name. For example, if his father's name is *7amóón-á*, which starts with *7a*, the child is named, for instance, *7anjúll-á*. If his father's name is *zaug-á*, which starts with *za*, the child is named, for instance, *zaass-á*. See also the description in section 4.2.2.3.3.

Secondly, a child may be named after a famous or heroic person. Such names may be foreign names.

As mentioned in section 4.2.2.3.4, domestic animals are sometimes given names

individually. Such names are often related to their color or looks, especially in the case of cattle. For example, *wosóll-ó* (F) is usually given only to brown cows, and *dúúl-á* (O) to black oxen. See (4.2.2.3.4-26). Of course this does not mean that, for example, a brown cow cannot be given names other than *wosóll-ó*.

Some "animal" names are undoubtedly related to words of other word classes. For example, *wosóll-ó*, a name for brown cows, is related to the common noun *wosoll-úwa* 'henna'. However, there are many names whose etymologies are not clear.

4.2.2.3.6   Morphology of the Person-name Noun's Stem

The issues treated in this section are nothing but conjectures based on relatively scant data. However, I assume that they are worth mentioning here because they might give clues to the solution of some historical problems of Wolaytta and other Omotic languages.

As is evident from illustrations in the preceding section, many native person-name nouns are obviously related to words of other word classes, such as common nouns and verbs. For example, *marC-á* (U) is ten to one related to the common noun *marC-úwa* 'ancient coin'. Here, remember that masculine common nouns are classified into three morphological classes: Class A, E, and O. Their endings are similar to and seem to be somehow related to those of person-name nouns. Thus far, however, I have not been able to find any rules that explain relationships or correspondences between the subclasses of the two word classes. For example, Masculine Class A common nouns are often related to Masculine Class A person-name nouns, but sometimes they are related to person-name nouns belonging to other sub-classes.

(4.2.2.3.6-1)

Class A common nouns	Corresponding person-name nouns
Ciissh-áa 'flower'	Ciissh-á (A)
kuuss-áa 'hair of corn'	kuuss-á (A)
seebb-áa 'moustache'	seebb-á (A)
dad-áa 'thunder'	dad-á (U)
kan-áa 'dog'	kan-á (O)

Besides, correspondences among tone classes of different word classes are not clear. For example, while the person-name noun *Toon-á* (A) and the verb *Toon-* 'to win' belong to

Tone Class I, the common noun *Tóón-uwa* 'victory' belongs to Tone Class II. Although it is not needed that there are neat correspondences among words of different word classes, the present situation is a mystery to me. We would have to resort to historical explanations to solve this enigma. For place-name and person-name nouns with the same stems, see section 4.2.2.2.7.

The second issue concerns Feminine person-name nouns. Some of them seem to be related to words of other word classes, but their stems end in the redundant *-ít-*. Consider the following examples.

(4.2.2.3.6-2) Feminine Person-Name Nouns Ending with the Redundant *-ít-*

baazzít-ó	Cf. *baazz-a-t-* 'to become clear', *baazz-áa* 'place before someone's face'.
daannít-ó	Cf.*daann-a-t-* 'to become a judge', *daann-áa* 'judge'.
dalgít-ó	Cf. *dalg-* 'to become numerous', *dálg-aa* 'being numerous'.

It is a well-known fact that a feminine gender marking element *-(a)t* is attested throughout the Afroasiatic phylum (see, for example, Hayward (2000a: 94)). I guess that the redundant *-ít-* mentioned above can be a reflex of the feminine element, which is not observable elsewhere in Wolaytta[246].

Studies of proper nouns have been slighted in the field of descriptive linguistics of Ethiopian languages. I hope that questions brought up in this section will stimulate further studies of Ethiopian proper nouns.

4.2.2.3.7 Miscellaneous Topics on Person Names

In this section, miscellaneous topics on Wolaytta person names that could not be discussed in the preceding sections are dealt with.

In the Wolaytta language, when a person name is asked, an interrogative word corresponding to 'who' is used.

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[246] However, since this element occurs also in Amharic, it may be borrowed from it (see Leslau (1995: 155, 163, and 821).

(4.2.2.3.7-1)

ne-súnt-ai	7óónee?
your-name-NOM.M.SG.	who?

   'What (lit. who) is your name?'

This feature is in common with, as far as I know, Amharic and Coptic in Afroasiatic languages. However, Arabic, for instance, uses an interrogative pronoun corresponding to 'what' for the same purpose.

   To pay their respects to a person, Wolaytta people use his or her eldest child's name, instead of his or her own name, as in the following.

(4.2.2.3.7-2)

7áákk-ó	7aaw-áa	be7-ídetii?
(person name)-OBL.	father-ABS.M.SG.	see-INTER.PF.2PL.

   'Did you see Ako's father?'

(4.2.2.3.7-3)

7anjúll-ó	7aayy-ée!
(person name)-OBL.	mother-VOC.F.SG.

   '(Hello,) Anjulo's mother!'

   According to 中野 (Nakano 2003: 59-60), this is a feature that is found here and there in Afroasiatic languages. He says that parents are called by referring to their eldest son's name after his birth, and it is a much more polite way of calling. He continues to state that a married couple may call each other that way, and even that he was surprised to hear his informant in Syria, who is the eldest son, call his (i.e. the informant's) mother "the mother of Damin (the informant's name)" in the presence of a person who is not so close to him (the informant)[247]. 中野 (Nakano)'s description in general

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[247] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '長男が生まれたあとの親は、たとえば「ユースフの父さん／母さん」のように、その長男の名を使って人からよばれるようになり、そのよび名がその人の個人名よりずっとていねいな呼称とされている。この呼称を使ってたがいによび合う夫婦もいる。私のシリアでの

applies to Wolaytta.

In Wolaytta, however, children do not seem to use this way of calling in order to address their parents directly. In addition, a daughter's name is also used for the same purpose if she is the eldest child.

(4.2.2.3.7-4)

dalgít-í	7aaw-áu!
(female person name)-OBL.	father-VOC.M.SG.

   'Dalgite's father!'

The eldest child's name usually continues to be used even after the child's death.

A person to be respected may be called by referring to his horse's name. For example, if he has a horse whose name is *paasáám-á*, he is called "the lord of Pasamo".

(4.2.2.3.7-5)

paasáám-ó	gód-au!
(horse name)-OBL.	lord-VOC.M.SG.

   'The lord of Pasamo!'

The word for the horse name *paasáám-á* is a person-name noun. However, common nouns that can refer to horses may also be used in the same way. For example, if a person to be respected has a horse described as *dáám-aa* 'dark red one (common noun)' in Wolaytta, he may be called "the lord of a *dáám-aa*".

(4.2.2.3.7-6)

dáám-aa	gód-au!
dark red-OBL.M.SG.	lord-VOC.M.SG.

   'The lord of a dark red (horse)!'

インフォーマントが、あまり親しくない人のいた席で、彼自身は長男なので、自分の母親に、「ダーミン（自分の名）の母さん」とよびかけたのにはちょっと驚いた'.

Most common nouns used in this way are those that describe color or looks. They include the following.

(4.2.2.3.7-7)

7amár-aa	'horse that is white in the muzzle and forehead and dark grey in the rest'
7odólc-aa	'dark grey horse'
bóótt-aa	'white one'
bóór-iya	'dark brown'
boróK-uwa	'one who has white spots on the forehead'
bull-áa	'ashy one'
deegár-aa	'multicolored, spotted one'
dúMM-aa	'black one'
paajj-íya	'Holstein-patterned one'

However, words whose meanings are not clear can also be used. They might have originated in foreign proper nouns or ancient Wolaytta words. Such words include the following.

(4.2.2.3.7-8)
7adáál-iya
7iiyánn-aa
janjeer-áa
gazúm-iya

A woman to be respected may be called by referring to her husband's horse's name (in Wolaytta culture, the horse is not thought to be her property, but her husband's property).

(4.2.2.3.7-9)

dáám-aa	gód-ee!
dark red-OBL.M.SG.	lord-VOC.F.SG.

'The Mistress of a dark red (horse)!'

Even when a person to be respected does not have a horse, he may be called by

referring to an invented horse name that alliterates with his own name. For example, if the person in question is *7anjúll-á*, he may be called *7amár-aa gód-aa* 'the lord of an *7amár-aa* (see (4.2.2.3.7-7)) (horse)' even if he does not have a horse.

Relatively long person names may be contracted in actual use. For example, when a person named *7anjúll-á* is addressed, a contracted vocative form, *7ánj-aa*, may be used as well as the expected vocative form *7anjúll-oo*. Whether or not there is a unified set of rules for forming such contracted names is not known to me. Contracted names are used as intimacies or hypocoristic names, but children cannot use them with their parents.

Person-name nouns may also be transfigured and used as nicknames or hypocoristic names. There do not seem to be any rules for this transfiguration, but it seems to be preferable that the two names alliterate and the resultant transfigured stem is meaningful as a Wolaytta stem. For example, Mr. Alemu, one of my main consultants, was usually addressed as shown in (4.4.2.3.7-10a), but was also addressed as shown in (4.4.2.3.7-10b) at home. Note that *7aill-íya* is a common noun meaning 'slave'.

(4.2.2.3.7-10a)

laa	7alám-oo!
hey	(person name)-VOC.

'Hey, Alemu!'

(4.2.2.3.7-10b)

laa	7aill-íyau!
hey	slave-VOC.M.SG.

'Hey, Ailiya (lit. slave).'

Finally, many, though not all, of the things described in this section are attested in Amharic culture. The direction of influence is not known, at least to me.

4.2.3　Numerical Expressions

In this section, various numerical expressions will be dealt with. Although words of different word classes are used in them, they are discussed together. This will also help

us understand part of the whole system of Wolaytta word classes and its word formation.

4.2.3.1 Numerical Expressions with Numerals
4.2.3.1.1 Simple Numeral Expressions: Numerals

There are numbers that can be expressed with one word. Such words form the basis of Wolaytta numerical expressions. They have their own peculiar inflection, and thus we can assume that they form one word class, the numeral. The word class consists of a relatively small number of words, which are shown in (4.2.3.1.1-1)[248].

(4.2.3.1.1-1) Numerals

	COUNT.	ABS.	OBL.	INTER.
1	7ist-á	7iss-úwá	7iss-í	7iss-óo
2	naa77-á	naa77-á	naa77-ú	naa77-ée
3	heezz-á	heezz-á	heezz-ú	heezz-ée
4	7oidd-á	7oidd-á	7oidd-ú	7oidd-ée
5	7iccásh-á	7iccásh-á	7iccásh-ú	7iccásh-ee
	7iccác-á	7iccác-á	7iccác-ú	7iccác-ee
			7iccá-u	
6	7usúppun-a	7usúppun-a	7usúppun	7usúppun-ee
7	lááppun-a	lááppun-a	lááppun	lááppun-ee
8	hóspun-a	hóspun-a	hóspun	hóspun-ee
9	7uddúpun-a	7uddúpun-a	7uddúpun	7uddúpun-ee
10	támm-á	támm-á	támm-ú	támm-ee
11	7isíín-ó[249]	7isíín-é	7isíín-í	7isíín-ee
	(7isíín-ó)	(7isíín-é)		
20	láátám-á	láátám-á	láátám-ú	láátam-ee
30	hástám-á	hástám-á	hástám-ú	hástam-ee
40	7óítám-á	7óítám-á	7óítám-ú	7óítam-ee
50	7ishátám-á	7ishátám-á	7ishátám-ú	7ishátam-ee
100	Téét-á	Téét-á	Téét-ú	Téét-ee
1000	shá7-á	shá7-á	shá7-ú	shá7-ee

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[248] There are a few other words that are morphologically numerals. See below in this section.
[249] This numeral seems to have meant originally "one", not "eleven". See the discussion at the end of section 4.2.3.1.2.

7iss-úwá '1 (ABS.)' might be better analyzed as a concrete absolutive form of a special kind of common noun (see sections 4.2.1.8 and 4.2.3.1.2), despite the fact that numerals are in general non-concrete nominals. *7iss-óo* '1 (INTER.)' might also be better analyzed as a non-concrete interrogative form of the same noun.[250]

The parenthesized forms of the numeral "11" are not standard. It might be better to judge them to be incorrect, but I sometimes observed them.

Apart from the numerals "1" and "11", there is no formal distinction between the counting case (COUNT.) and the absolutive case (ABS.). Thus, I might have made an unnecessary distinction for most of the items.

Nominative and vocative forms might exist as in some other nominals in this language. However, I could not elicit them because I could not think out any semantically proper contexts in which they can be used.

As can be seen in (4.2.3.1.1-1), numerals are classified into four morphological subclasses, which are represented by words for the numerals "1", "2", "6", and "11", respectively[251].

In general there is no disagreement on numeral stems among studies of Wolaytta. Some interesting forms that are different from those in (4.2.3.1.1-1) will be mentioned later. Although scholars often disagree on vowel length and gemination as is often the case, we would not have to list the disagreements in detail here. However, there is no previous work that differentiates four grammatical cases for the numeral. Azeb (1996: 129-130), Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 114-116), and Hirut (1999: 93-94) differentiate only two forms, which correspond to our counting form and oblique form[252]. Cerulli (1929: 14) distinguishes between the isolated form and the form in numeration, but only for the numeral "1". Adams (1983: 268) gives only our oblique forms as numerals. He says that 'The noun form of each numeral contains the final vowel /-a/'. His 'noun form' is used before the conjunctive indeclinable *-nne* 'and' in compound numeral expressions (see section 4.2.3.1.2), and thus corresponds to (part of) our oblique form of the

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[250] All forms in (4.2.3.1.1-1) except all oblique forms and counting forms of "1" and "11" might be better analyzed as non-concrete forms of common nouns discussed in section 4.2.3.1.2.

[251] Morphologically the subclasses are quite different from each other. The reason why I consider that they form one word class is that all of them express the notion of number. In other words, I resorted to semantics. This kind of process would be inevitable in establishing any word class in any language.

[252] Azeb (1996: 129) gives *7issó* as the numeral "1" in isolation. Hirut (1999: 93-94) also gives interesting forms, but judging from the inconsistencies peculiar to her they would or might be misprints.

numeral.

The following are some observations on morphology of the Wolaytta numeral.

According to Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 114), the numeral "1" 'always appears integrated by the singulative suffix *-ta*, if used by counting or in isolation'. Thus we have two stems for the numeral: *7ist-* and *7iss-*.

For the numeral "2", Zaborski (1983: 379) gives '*lamma* and (?) *nama* etc.' for Gimira, Bencho She, Ometo and South Omotic languages in his synopsis. The *m* sound may explain my impression that the ending of the Wolaytta numeral *naa77-á* 'two' sounds sometimes nasalized, although the nasalization may be caused by the initial *n*.

Diakonoff (1988: 67) says: 'Some numerals still retain traces of the original semantics deriving from counting on fingers, e.g., the Common Cushitic and common Omotic * lam'- 'two' (< 'index-finger')'. However, I have not found any evidence that supports his claim.

The numeral "5" has variants. One of my main consultants thinks that the forms containing the *sh* sound, *7iccásh-á*, etc., are normative forms. Cerulli (1929: 14) says that the numeral might be a reduplicated form, citing numerals denoting the same number in related languages and the Wolaytta numeral "50" *7ishátám-á* (Cf. *támm-á* 'ten'). He furthermore proceeds to the comparison of the numeral "5" with common nouns "hand" in certain languages (*kúsh-iya*, in Wolaytta), mentioning Meinhof.

Fleming (1976: 50) points out that the *-puna* form for 'five' is an innovation common to Ometo, Gimira and Janjero (= Yemsa). If this is the case, as Cerulli (1929: 14) and Zaborski (1983: 378) say, the numerals from "6" to "9" seem to etymologically go back to "1+5", "2+5", "3+5" and "4+5", respectively. Azeb (1996: 116) introduces this analysis with some reservation, since the synchronic form for 'five' in Wolaytta is *7iccásh-á*. More serious problem for this analysis is the fact that the *-puna* form is found in the interrogative word *7ááppun-a* 'how many'. I consider, however, that the hypothesis is fascinating enough. Hirut (1999: 94) translates this element *-puna* as 'many/much'.

-puna itself might be a compound. Consider, for example, *7usúpputoo* 'six times' (see section 4.2.3.3).

The numerals "20", "30", "40" and "50" seem to go back to "two tens", "three tens", "four tens" and "five tens", respectively. The Maldô Karrê dialect's counterparts given by Cerulli (1929: 14) show their etymologies more clearly: *na'utammā* 'twenty', *hezzutammā* 'thirty', etc.

Thus, about half of the forms in (4.2.3.1.1-1) contain two numeral elements, although they behave as one numeral from a synchronic viewpoint.

The numeral "11" *7isíín-ó* seems to be originally related to the numeral "1" (*7ist-á*, *7iss-í*). Cerulli (1929: 14) gives *issinō* and *esinō* as Sorê dialect forms for the numeral "1". What is more, this numeral occurs in compound numeral expressions such as *támm-á-nné 7isíín-ó* 'eleven (lit. ten and *7isíín-ó*)' and *láátám-á-nné 7isíín-ó* 'twenty one (lit. twenty and *7isíín-ó*)'. See the discussion at the end of section 4.2.3.1.2.

The number "100" may be expressed with a compound expression: *7iss-í Téét-á* (one-OBL. hundred-COUNT.) (see section 4.2.3.1.2).

The number "1000" may also be expressed with a compound expression: *7iss-í shá7-á* (one-OBL. thousand-COUNT.). Cerulli (1929: 14) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 502) suggest that the basic numeral *shá7-á* is somehow related to the Amharic numeral ሺ(ህ) *sYi(h)* 'thousand'. Cerulli (ibid.) also gives the common Cushitic form *kumā* for "1000".

All the forms given in (4.2.3.1.1-1) are used to denote the notion of number itself that is related to the stem. In this respect, they are similar to non-concrete forms of common nouns, which are used to denote only the attribute or category related to the stem (see section 4.2.1.4). In the following, uses of each case will be illustrated.

As mentioned above, only the numerals "1" and "11" have special counting case forms: *7ist-á* 'one' and *7isíín-ó* 'eleven'. For other numerals, forms identical to their absolutive forms are used. What we should note here is that the use of the counting case, or of *7ist-á* 'one (COUNT.)' and *7isíín-ó* 'eleven (COUNT.)', is very restricted. They have been encountered so far only in lexical investigations, in counting up, and in meta-linguistic contexts such as the following. In other words, counting forms are representative labels for the notion of number in question.

(4.2.3.1.1-2)

Kood-á	7ubb-áa-ni	táání	dos-íyo-i
number-OBL.	all-OBL.M.SG.-in	I	like-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

<u>7ist-á</u>.
one-COUNT.

 'The number I like best (lit. what I like best in all numbers) is *7ist-á* '1'.'

(4.2.3.1.1-3)

<u>7isíín-ó</u>	gákk-an-a-u	Kood-ádá
eleven-COUNT.	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	count-CONV.1SG.

7er-áis.
know-IMPF.1SG.

 'I can count until *7isíín-ó* '11' (lit. I know, having counted to reach 11).'

  Although I did not list them in (4.2.3.1.1-1), there might be "interrogative counting case forms" at least for the numerals "1" and "11": *7ist-ée* and *7isíín-oo*, respectively. These forms are interrogative counterparts of the counting forms mentioned in the last paragraph, and are used only as sentence final predicates in affirmative interrogative sentences. Thus their occurrence is more restricted than that of counting forms.

(4.2.3.1.1-4)

Kood-á	7ubb-áa-ni	nééní	dos-íyo-i
number-OBL.	all-OBL.M.SG.-in	you	like-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

<u>7ist-ée</u>?
one-COUNT.INTER.

 'Is the number you like best *7ist-á* '1'?' Cf. (4.2.3.1.1-2)

However, one of my main consultants thinks that their use is very odd[253]. They may be

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[253] Instead of *7ist-ée* he gives the following:

armchair forms that have been coined by analogy.

An oblique form of a numeral modifies its following nominal. In other words, the oblique case is adnominal in this word class too.

(4.2.3.1.1-5)

tá-u	7iss-í	micc-íya	d-áusu.
me-for	one-OBL.	sister-NOM.F.SG.	exist-IMPF.3F.SG.

'I have a sister (lit. for me one sister exists).'

(4.2.3.1.1-6)

naa77-ú	bitán-eta	be7-áas.
two-OBL.	man-ABS.PL.	see-PF.1SG.

'I saw two men.'

(4.2.3.1.1-7)

heezz-ú	bóór-ati-kka	guyy-é
three-OBL.	ox-NOM.PL.-too	rear-ABS.

banta-dúll-iya-ra	gatt-ídí	. . .
their own-buttock-OBL.M.SG.-with	join-CONV.3PL.	. . .

'The three oxen also brought their buttocks together in the backward, and . . .'

As is already discussed in section 4.2.1.5, modified common nouns may be in their singular forms even if they are modified by numerals denoting "more than one".

(4.2.3.1.1-8)

heezz-ú	kan-ái	d-ées.
three-OBL.	dog-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

7ist-á	g-íyo-g-ee?
one-COUNT.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

'is it what is called (lit. what one says) *7ist-á*?'

'There are three dogs.'

(4.2.3.1.1-9)

shá7-u	par-áa	sint-áá-rá	shá7-u
thousand-OBL.	horse-ABS.M.SG.	face-OBL.-with	thousand-OBL.

par-áa	guyy-éé-rá	hegáá	7óíKK-idi
horse-ABS.M.SG.	behind-OBL.-with	that	seize-CONV.3M.SG.

b-íídí	. . .
go-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'He went with 1000 horses in front of him and 1000 horses behind him, and . . . (lit. seized 1000 horses with face, 1000 horses with behind, that, and went, and)'

This modifying use is not necessarily confined to quantitative expressions, as the following example shows.

(4.2.3.1.1-10)

7oidd-ú	KuTír-iya
four-OBL.	number-ABS.M.SG.

'No. 4 (e.g. room number of a hotel)'

Numerals in the oblique case do not seem to directly modify a postposition. The only exception is *7iss-í-ppé* (one-OBL.-from), which has an idiomatic meaning 'together'.

The oblique case is used in other numerical expressions such as compound numerals, and perhaps in some forms expressing the number of times, whose illustrations will be found in the following sections.

Interrogative forms are used as sentence final predicates in affirmative interrogative sentences (whenever the doubtful counting interrogative form mentioned above cannot be used, though two forms are identical for most numerals).

(4.2.3.1.1-11)

níyo	d-íya	bóór-ai	7iss-óo?
for you	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	ox-NOM.M.SG.	one-INTER.

   'Is (the number of) ox that you have (lit. that exists for you) one?'

(4.2.3.1.1-12)

níyo	d-íya	bóór-ati	7usúppun-ee?
for you	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	ox-NOM.PL.	six-INTER.

   'Are (the number of) oxen that you have (lit. that exist for you) six?'

The absolutive case is semantically the most unmarked and used anywhere other cases are not used, as in the case of other nominals in this language. However, it is mostly used for sentence final predicates.

(4.2.3.1.1-13)

7á-u	d-íya	na7-ái	7iss-úwá.
him-for	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	child-NOM.M.SG.	one-ABS.

   '(The number of) the child that he has (lit. exists for him) is one.'

(4.2.3.1.1-14)

7á-u	d-íya	naatí	7usúppun-a.
him-for	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	children (NOM.)	six-ABS.

   '(The number of) the children that he has (lit. exist for him) are six.'

Absolutive forms of numerals can sometimes be used adverbially.

(4.2.3.1.1-15)

'Tiir-ídí	b-íicc-iis.'	yáágídí
sweep-CONV.3M.SG.	go-completely-PF.3M.SG.	say so-CONV.3M.SG.

naa77-á	heezz-á	waass-í	waass-í
two-ABS.	three-ABS.	shout-CONV.3M.SG.	shout-CONV.3M.SG.

7ág-uwa	7iTT-íi-ni	. . .
stopping-ABS.M.SG.	refuse-SUBOR.-in	. . .

'He shouted and shouted two or three times saying 'He had gone having swept (i.e. stolen everything).' and when he was continuing to shout (lit. refused to stop (shouting)), . . .'

Numerals must be in the absolute case before the conjunctive indeclinable *-nne* 'and' (see sections 4.2.3.1.2 and 4.2.3.5).

Although it is not connected to a unique and specific number a priori, judging from its inflection, the interrogative word *7ááppun-a* 'how many, how much' is a numeral. It is inflected just as the numerals "6", "7", etc., although I could not obtain undoubted examples of its counting (and counting interrogative) forms.

(4.2.3.1.1-16)

7ááppun-a	gid-íi?
how many-ABS.	become-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'How much does it become?'

(4.2.3.1.1-17)

níyo	7ááppun	láítt-ee?
for you	how many (OBL.)	year-INTER.

'How old are you? (lit. how many years are there for you?)'

(4.2.3.1.1-18)

waag-ái	7ááppun-ee?
price-NOM.M.SG.	how many-INTER.

'How much is the price?'

Its synonyms *wóKK-á* 'how much, how many' and *wóís-á* 'how much' may also be inflected as numerals belonging to the class of "2", "3", etc., judging from their *-u* oblique endings seen in, for example, the following.

(4.2.3.1.1-19)

<u>wóKK-ú</u>   miishsh-áa
how much-OBL.   money-ABS.M.SG.

7oitt-ái?
have something caught-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'How much money do you bet (lit. have it caught)?'

However, these words usually behave as Class A common nouns. Thus, in the following they have *-a* oblique endings, which are non-concrete oblique endings of Class A common nouns.

(4.2.3.1.1-20)

hagéé   ne-na7-áa   7óíKKoosappe   <u>wóKK-a</u>
this   your-child-ABS.M.SG.   since the time it seize   how much-OBL.

wod-é   gid-anée?
time-ABS.   become-INTER.FUT.

   'How long has your child been like this? (lit. How much time will it be since the time this seized your child?)'   (From Mark 9:21)

(4.2.3.1.1-21)

hanná   míízz-iya   <u>wóís-a</u>   Táár-uwa
this   cow-NOM.F.SG.   how much-OBL. pot-OBL.M.SG.

mááTT-ai?
milk-INTER.IMPF.3F.SG.

   'How many pots does this cow milk?'

4.2.3.1.2 Compound Numeral Expressions: Combinations of Numerals

The numbers "60", "70", "80" and "90" are expressed as *7usúppun támm-á* "(lit.) six tens", *lááppun támm-á* "(lit.) seven tens", *hóspun támm-á* "(lit.) eight tens", and *7uddúpun támm-á* "(lit.) nine tens", respectively. The forms given here are in the counting case as a whole. In their inflectional and derivational processes, only the ending of *támm-á* 'ten' is changed, while the modifiers remain in the oblique case.

(4.2.3.1.2-1)

7usúppun	támm-ú	7as-atí	y-íídosona.
six (OBL.)	ten-OBL.	peple-NOM.PL.	come-PF.3PL.

   'Sixty people came.'

For an example of a derivation, see (4.2.3.2-5).

Multiples of 100 of three figures are formed likewise. That is, *Téét-á* 'hundred' is modified by a numeral in the oblique case: *naa77-ú Téét-á* '200 (two hundreds)', *heezz-ú Téét-á* '300 (three hundreds)', etc. In their inflectional and derivational processes, only the ending of *Téét-á* 'hundred' is changed.

(4.2.3.1.2-2)

naa77-ú	Téét-ú	7as-ati	y-íídosona.
two-OBL.	hundred-OBL.	people-NOM.PL.	come-PF.3PL.

   'Two hundred people came.'

In the case of "100", *Téét-á* 'hundred' may or may not be modified by *7iss-í* 'one (OBL.)': *7iss-í Téét-á* or *Téét-á*.

Multiples of 1000 are formed in the same way. That is, *shá7-á* 'thousand' is modified by a numeral in the oblique case: *naa77-ú shá7-á* '2000 (two thousands)', *támm-ú shá7-á* '10000 (ten thousands)', etc. In their inflectional and derivational processes, only the ending of *shá7-á* 'thousand' is changed. In the case of "1000", *shá7-á* 'thousand' may or may not be modified by *7iss-í* 'one (OBL.)': *7iss-í shá7-á* or *shá7-á*.

A modifier of *Téét-á* 'hundred' and *shá7-á* 'thousand' may be a compound numeral expression. For this, see below in this section.

In this language, there is an indeclinable that has a conjoining function: *-nne* 'and' (see section 4.3.2). It is also used for expressions of adding numbers. That is to say, we can express numbers that are composed of more than one digit, such as 12, 55, and 1975, by combining numerals, which may or may not be modified by other numerals, by means of *-nne* 'and'. In this case, numerals that precede this conjunctive indeclinable are always in the absolutive case[254]. In inflectional and derivational processes of such compound numerals, only endings of the last numerals in "numeral phrases" are changed.

(4.2.3.1.2-3a)

támm-á-nné	naa77-á	
ten-ABS.-and	two-COUNT.	'12 (lit. ten and two)'

(4.2.3.1.2-3b)

<u>támm-á-nné</u>	<u>naa77-ú</u>	7as-atá
ten-ABS.-and	two-OBL.	people-ABS.PL

   'twelve people'

(4.2.3.1.2-4)

7ishátám-á-nné	7iccásh-á	
fifty-ABS.-and	five-COUNT.	'55 (lit. fifty and five)'

(4.2.3.1.2-5)

<u>7iss-í</u>	shá7-á-nné	7uddúpun	Téét-á-nné
one-OBL.	thousand-ABS.-and	nine (OBL.)	hundred-ABS.-and

<u>lááppun</u>	támm-á-nné	7iccásh-ú	láítt-aa-ni
seven (OBL.)	ten-ABS.-and	five-OBL.	year-OBL.-in

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[254] It might be claimed that numerals in this circumstance are in the counting case. In fact, numerals that can precede *-nne* 'and' in compound numeral expressions do not distinguish between counting and absolutive forms. However, judging from, for example, the expression of clock time *7isíín-é-nné rúúb-e* '5:15' (eleven-ABS.-and quarter-ABS., see section 4.2.3.5), I regard them to be in the absolutive case. Note also that in general words preceding *-nne* 'and' are not restricted to absolutive nominals, not even to nominals (see section 4.3.2).

'in the year 1975'

As said above in this section, compound numerals of this kind may modify the numerals *Téét-á* 'hundred' and *shá7-á* 'thousand'.

(4.2.3.1.2-6)

támm-á-nné	naa77-ú	Téét-á
ten-ABS.-and	two-OBL.	hundred-COUNT.

'1200 (lit. twelve hundreds)'

(4.2.3.1.2-7)

naa77-ú	Téét-á-nné	hástám-á-nné
two-OBL.	hundred-ABS.-and	thirty-ABS.-and

7oidd-ú	shá7-á
four-OBL.	thousand-COUNT.

'234000'

Numbers whose last digit is "1" bring us confusion. "11" is *támm-á-nné 7isíín-ó* (Cf. *támm-á* '10'), but only *7isíín-ó* can also mean "11". In addition, *támm-á-nné 7ist-á* (Cf. *7ist-á* '1') may also be used for "11". From "21" on, the use of *7isíín-ó* seems to be normative, but *7ist-á* '1' may also be used: *láátám-á-nné 7isíín-ó* or *láátám-á-nné 7ist-á* '21 (Cf. *láátám-á* '20')', *hástám-á-nné 7isíín-ó* or *hástám-á-nné 7ist-á* '31 (Cf. *hástám-á* '30')', *7usúppun támm-á-nné 7isíín-ó* or *7usúppun támm-á-nné 7ist-á* '61 (Cf. *7usúppun támm-á* '60')', etc. Since *7isíín-ó* may mean both '1' and '11', *Téét-á-nné 7isíín-ó* (Cf. *Téét-á* '100'), for example, is ambiguous, which is interpreted as both '101' and '111'.

The history seems to be the following. Originally *7isíín-ó* meant '1' (perhaps, only in compound numerals). Cerulli's (1929: 14) description, which gives *issino* and *esino* as Sorê dialect forms for the numeral "1", supports this idea. However, the word has also captured the meaning "11", probably through omission of the former part of *támm-á-nné 7isíín-ó* '11 (lit. ten and one)'. At this stage, the independent numeral *7ist-á* '1' came to be used in compound numerals to avoid the confusion of "1" and "11".

However, orthodox expressions with *7isíín-ó* have also survived, and sometimes bring ambiguity of the kind mentioned above.

4.2.3.2 Numerical Expressions with Common Nouns

Stems of numerals may take concrete endings of common nouns in order to denote concrete referents whose quantity is in question, e.g. "the two ones". In this case, *7ist-á* 'one' becomes a special type of Class O common noun (see section 4.2.1.8), *7isíín-ó* 'eleven, one' becomes a Class E common noun, and others become class A common nouns. These common nouns are called "numeral common noun" hereafter.

(4.2.3.2-1) Numerals and Their Corresponding Common Nouns

	Numeral (COUNT.)	Common noun (Concrete ABS.)
1	7ist-á	7iss-úwá[255]
2	naa77-á	naa77-áa
3	heezz-á	heezz-áa
4	7oidd-á	7oidd-áa
5	7iccásh-á	7iccásh-aa
	7iccác-á	7iccác-aa
6	7usúppun-a	7usúppun-aa
7	lááppun-a	lááppun-aa
8	hóspun-a	hóspun-aa
9	7uddúpun-a	7uddúpun-aa
10	támm-á	támm-aa
11	7isíín-ó[256]	7isíín-iya
20	láátám-á	láátam-aa
30	hástám-á	hástam-aa
40	7óítám-á	7óítam-aa
50	7ishátám-á	7ishátam-aa
100	Téét-á	Téét-aa
1000	shá7-á	shá7-aa
how many	7ááppun-a	7ááppun-aa

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[255] This is identical to an absolutive form of the numeral "1" in form (see (4.2.3.1.1-1)), and thus I said that the latter might be better analyzed as a concrete absolutive form of a special kind of common noun in section 4.2.3.1.1.

[256] As mentioned at the end of section 4.2.3.1.2, this may also mean "1" in compound numerals.

The following are examples illustrating how numeral common nouns are used. Note that their referents are always concrete countable objects.

(4.2.3.2-2)

ta-naatú-ppé	7iss-óí	harg-íis.
my-children (OBL.)-from	one-NOM.M.SG.	fall sick-PF.3M.SG.

   'One of my children fell sick.'

(4.2.3.2-3)

'danday-áis.'	g-íi-ni	'danday-ákká.'
be able-IMPF.1SG.	say-SUBOR.-in	be able-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

g-íi-ni	naa77-ái	7annaaC-étt-idosona.
say-SUBOR.-in	two-NOM.M.SG.	compete-PASS.-PF.3PL[257].

   'Saying "I can." "You can't.", the two people quarreled with each other.'

(4.2.3.2-4)

7usúppun-aa-ppe	7ekk-aná.
six-OBL.M.SG.-from	take-FUT.

   'I will take (something) from the six (person).'

(4.2.3.2-5)

7usúppun	támm-ai	tá-u	7áí-ssee?
sixty (OBL.)	ten-NOM.M.SG.	me-for	what-for (INTER.)

7ishátam-ai	gid-aná.
fifty-NOM.M.SG.	be sufficient-FUT.

   'Why 60 (e.g. Birr) for me? 50 are enough.'

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[257] For an agreement of a singular subject with a plural verb, see section 6.2.

(4.2.3.2-6)

<u>7ááppun-aa</u>   KanT-óo?
how many-ABS.M.SG.   cut-OPT.1SG.

   'How much do I pay (lit. cut)?'

   Numeral common nouns can also be used in expressions of clock time, although they might not be regarded as straightforward quantitative expressions. For the details, see section 4.2.3.5.

(4.2.3.2-7)

<u>7usúppun-aa</u>-ssi   <u>támm-ai</u>   páC-a.
six-OBL.M.SG.-for   ten-NOM.M.SG.   wanting-ABS.

   'It is 10 minutes to 12 o'clock (lit. ten minutes are wanting for six).'

   For numbers whose last digit is "1", confusion of the kind discussed at the end of section 4.2.3.1.2 can be caused.

(4.2.3.2-8a)

7usúppun   támm-á-nné   <u>7isíín-ee</u>   y-íis.
six (OBL.)   ten-ABS.-and   one-NOM.M.SG.   come-PF.3M.SG.

   'The sixty one persons came.'

(4.2.3.2-8b)

7usúppun   támm-á-nné   <u>7iss-óí</u>   y-íis.
six (OBL.)   ten-ABS.-and   one-NOM.M.SG.   come-PF.3M.SG.

   'The sixty one persons came.'

   If needed, numeral nouns may occur in the plural. Note that the plural form in the following, *naa77-atá* 'two ones', does not mean that there are several couples, but means that the number of the persons in question, two, is more than one.

(4.2.3.2-9)

<u>naa77-atá</u>   be7-áas.

two-ABS.PL.   see-PF.1SG.

   'I saw the two (persons).'

(4.2.3.2-10)

ha   <u>heezz-átoo</u>   hááy-ite

this   three-VOC.PL.   come here-OPT.2PL.

   'These three, come here!'

For plural forms of the numeral common noun *7iss-úwa* '1', see section 4.2.3.4.

   Numeral common nouns may occur with feminine concrete endings of common nouns in order to express affection or diminutiveness (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2).

(4.2.3.2-11)

7áí-ssí   <u>naa77-íyo</u>   7úy-íkkíi?

what-for   two-ABS.F.SG.   drink-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   '(To a person who drinks only one bottle of beer) Why don't you drink two (bottles of beer, which is never much)?'

For feminine forms of "1", see section 4.2.5.3.

   In the following arithmetical expression, concrete forms of numeral common nouns are used to express the notion of number except for the sentence final predicate, which is expressed by a numeral in the absolutive case. The use of concrete forms is what can be expected from the tendency that Wolaytta prefers concrete expressions even in an expression of general truth (e.g. (4.2.1.4-6) to (4.2.1.4-10)). The use of absolutive numerals at the end of sentences is in accordance with the preference for non-concrete expressions there (e.g. (4.2.1.4-41) and (4.2.1.4-42)) (numerals are functionally and/or semantically similar to non-concrete common nouns).

(4.2.3.2-12)

<u>7iccásh-aa</u>   boll-áá-ní   <u>7usúppun-aa</u>   gujj-í-kkó
five-OBL.M.SG. surface-OBL.-in six-ABS.M.SG.   add-SUBOR.-if

gid-íya-g-éé   támm-á-nné
become-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   ten-ABS.-and

7isíín-é.
one-ABS.

   'Five plus six becomes eleven (lit. if you add six things on five things, what will be is eleven).'

   Since functions of non-concrete forms of common nouns are accomplished by numerals proper, there would be no need for non-concrete forms of numeral common nouns to exist and they do not exist indeed[258]. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that a non-concrete oblique ending of Class A common nouns, *-a*, cannot be attached to Class A numeral common nouns[259].

(4.2.3.2-13a)

<u>7oidd-ú</u>   keett-áa
four-OBL. (numeral proper)   house-ABS.M.SG.

   'four houses'

(4.2.3.2-13b)

* <u>7oidd-á</u>   keett-áa
  four-OBL. (non-concrete common noun)   houses-ABS.M.SG.

However, see footnote 250.

   A word meaning 'million', *miiliyón-iya*, is a Class E common noun, although its use

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[258] Thus, in (4.2.3.2-12) I assume that the last word, *7isíín-é* 'one', is a numeral proper in the absolute case, not a non-concrete Class E common noun in the absolute case.
[259] Non-concrete oblique forms of the words "how much" seen in (4.2.3.1.1-20) and (4.2.3.1.1-21) are those of usual common nouns, not of numeral common nouns.

seems to be rare.

(4.2.3.2-14)

tá-u	7iss-í	miiliyón-e	bír-ai
me-for	one-OBL.	million-OBL.	Birr-NOM.M.SG.

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

　'I have a million Birr (lit. a million Birr exists for me).'

The common noun *7ééll-aa* means 'numerous', and can be used in numerical expressions.

(4.2.3.2-15)

í	7ééll-aa	gód-a.
he	numerous-OBL.M.SG.	lord-ABS.

　'He is a lord of numerous (property).'

In the Ethiopian calendar, one year consists of 365 days (366 days in the case of a leap year) just as in the Gregorian calendar. Its new year, however, begins on September 11 or 12 on the Gregorian calendar. There are 13 months in a year: each of the first 12 months contains just 30 days, and the last (13th) month only 5 days (6 days in the case of a leap year). Some Wolaytta names for the months, which are common nouns, are derived from numerals. For instance, the 5th month, *7iccash-íya*, which roughly corresponds to January on the Gregorian calendar and is called ጥር *Terr* in Amharic, is named after the numeral *7iccásh-á* 'five'. Note that such names for months are Class E common nouns while their related numeral common nouns are Class A common nouns (see (4.2.3.2-1)), except for "the 11th month". The Class E common nouns "the 11th month" and "11 ones" are distinguished by tone: the former, *7isiin-íya*, belongs to Tone Class A, and the latter, *7isíín-iya*, belongs to Tone Class B. Note also that *7isiin-íya* can mean 'the 11th month' without being modified by the word "ten", even though the numeral *7isíín-ó* seems to have meant originally 'one', not 'eleven' (see the discussion at the end of section 4.2.3.1.2).

(4.2.3.2-16) Names of Months

Wolaytta	Related Numeral (If Any)	Amharic	Roughly Corresponding English
masKál-á 7agín-aa[260]		መስከረም maskaram	September
Tigimit-áa		ጥቅምት TeKemt	October
hidáár-iya		ኅዳር hedAr	November
taisáás-iya		ታኅሳሥ tAhsAs	December
7iccash-íya	7iccásh-á '5'	ጥር Terr	January
7usuppun-íya	7usúppun-a '6'	የካቲት yakkAtit	February
laappun-íya	lááppun-a '7'	መጋቢት maggAbit	March
hospun-íya	hóspun-a '8'	ሚያዝያ miyAzeyA	April
7uddupun-íya	7uddúpun-a '9'	ግንቦት genbot	May
tamm-íya	támm-á '10'	ሰኔ sanE	June
7isiin-íya	7isíín-ó '11'	ሐምሌ hAmlE	July
naas-íya		ነሐሴ nahAsE	August
Paagum-íya		ጳጉሜ PAgWemE	September

Nowadays Amharic names are also often used.

_____

[260] This means literally "the Masqal festival month".

4.2.3.3 Expressions of Frequency and Ordinal Numbers

Based on numerals, expressions of frequency and ordinal numbers are formed. The system is rather complicated. I tentatively summarize it as the following. The arrangement may be felt to be odd to some native speakers of Wolaytta. I will return to this issue at the end of this section.

(4.2.3.3-1)

Related Number	Frequency	Ordinal The 1st Series	Ordinal The 2nd Series
1	7issítoo	kóír-uwa	kóír-uwa
2	naa77útoo	naa77ánt-uwa	naa77ant-áa
3	heezzútoo	heezzánt-uwa	heezzant-áa
4	7oiddútoo	7oiddánt-uwa	7oiddant-áa
5	7iccáshutoo	7iccashánt-uwa	7iccashant-áa
	7iccácutoo	7iccacánt-uwa	7iccacant-áa
	7iccáutoo		
6	7usúpputoo	7usuppúnt-uwa	7usuppunt-áa
7	láápputoo	laappúnt-uwa	laappunt-áa
8	hósputoo	hospúnt-uwa	hospunt-áa
9	7uddúputoo	7udddupúnt-uwa	7uddupunt-áa
10	támmutoo	tammánt-uwa	tammant-áa
11[261]	7isíínitoo	7isiinínt-uwa	7isiinint-áa
20	láátamutoo	laatamánt-uwa	laatamant-áa
30	hástamutoo	hastamánt-uwa	hastamant-áa
40	7óítamutoo	7oitamánt-uwa	7oitamant-áa
50	7ishátamutoo	7ishatamánt-uwa	7ishatamant-áa
100	Téétutoo	Teetánt-uwa	Teetant-áa
1000	shá7utoo	sha7ánt-uwa	sha7ant-áa
how many	7áápputoo	7aappúnt-uwa	7aappunt-áa
	wóKKutoo	woKKánt-uwa	woKKant-áa

It is difficult to state the formation of these forms with concise rules, even though the items in (4.2.3.3-1) might look very systematic at first sight. Thus I prefer just listing

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[261] This could be better analyzed as 'one'. See section 4.2.3.1.2.

them to listing the rules[262]. The forms for expressions of frequency (*7issítoo* 'once', etc.) do not seem to be inflected, although they are used adverbially, adnominally, and predicatively (in the case of affirmative declarative and affirmative interrogative sentences). The forms for ordinal expressions are morphologically common nouns.

The following are sentences containing expressions of frequency.

(4.2.3.3-2)

níyo	7issítoo	od-íi-ni	gel-énnée?
to you	once	tell-SUBOR.-in	enter-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Don't you understand (lit. doesn't it enter) if I tell you (only) once?'

(4.2.3.3-3)

ta-7aaw-ái	heezzútoo	der-é
my-father-NOM.M.SG.	three times	people-OBL.

Céég-a	gid-ídí	door-étt-iis.
old-ABS.	become-CONV.3M.SG.	chose-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'My father was elected as chief of the people three times.'

(4.2.3.3-4)

7etí	7imm-ído-i	naa77útoo?
they	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	twice

7ée	7etí	7imm-ído-i	naa77útoo.
yes	they	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	twice

'Is it twice that they gave?' 'Yes, it is twice that they gave.'

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[262] Strictly speaking, *kóír-uwa* 'first' would not be an ordinal, but a normal common noun. On the other hand, *harántuwa* 'again, in another turn', which is based on *har-áá* 'other' (see section 4.2.1.8), is morphologically an ordinal numeral of the first series.

(4.2.3.3-5a)

7usúppun	támm-á-nné	7isíínitoo
six (OBL.)	ten-ABS.-and	eleven times, once

(4.2.3.3-5b)

7usúppun	támm-á-nné	7issítoo
six (OBL.)	ten-ABS.-and	once

'sixty one times'

(4.2.3.3-6)

<u>7iccáshutoo</u>	7usúppun-ai	hástam-aa	gid-ées.
five times	six-NOM.M.SG.	thirty-ABS.M.SG.	become-IMPF.3M.SG.

'5 times 6 becomes 30.'

Occasionally frequency can also be expressed by numerals in the absolutive case (see (4.2.3.1.1-15)).

As can be seen from (4.2.3.3-1), there are two series of ordinal numerals. Ordinal numerals of the first series, which are Class O common nouns, express the number of times of repetition of actions of the same kind in the broad sense. The following are sentences exemplifying it.

(4.2.3.3-7)

hagéé	wóít-oi	7áá-ssí	<u>naa77ánt-o</u>.
this	prize-NOM.M.SG.	him-for	second-ABS.

'This prize is the second one for him (i.e. he got the prize again).'

(4.2.3.3-8)

hagéé	tá-u	<u>heezzánt-o</u>	na7-á.
this	me-for	third-OBL.	child-ABS.

'This is the third child for me (i.e. the child I got on my third childbirth).'

(4.2.3.3-9)

bóór-ai	hagéé	tammánt-uwa.
ox-NOM.M.SG.	this	tenth-ABS.M.SG.

   'This ox is the tenth one (i.e. the ox I got on my tenth ox purchase).'

(4.2.3.3-10)

naa77ánt-o	lágg-ee	níyo	báaw-ee?
second-OBL.	friend-NOM.M.SG.	for you	not present-INTER.

   'Isn't there the second friend for you (i.e. do you have only one friend still)?'

   Ordinal numerals of the second series, which are Class A common nouns except *kóír-uwa* 'first', express rank, position, grade, level, and so on among different things. The following are sentences exemplifying it.

(4.2.3.3-11)

na7-ái	woTT-í	woTT-í
child-NOM.M.SG.	run-CONV.3M.SG.	run-CONV.3M.SG.

wott-áa	7annaaC-íya-ni	naa77ant-á
running-OBL.M.SG.	race-OBL.M.SG.-in	second-ABS.

kíy-iis.
come out-PF.3M.SG.

   'The boy ran and ran, and came in (lit. came out) second place in the running race.'

(4.2.3.3-12)

ta-na7-áa	poot-ói	7ushácc-á
my-child-OBL.M.SG.	photograph-NOM.M.SG.	right-OBL.

bágg-aa-ra	heezzant-á.
side-OBL.M.SG.-with	third-ABS.

   'My son is the third person from the right in the photograph (lit. my son's

photograph is third with the right side).'

(4.2.3.3-13)

<u>7oiddant-á</u>   kipíl-iya

fourth-OBL.   class-ABS.M.SG.

    'the 4th grade (at school)'

    As stated at the beginning of this section, the arrangement of items in (4.2.3.3-1) may be felt to be odd to some native speakers of Wolaytta. For example, when I asked one of my main consultants to give forms for expressions of frequency, he gave ordinal numerals of the 1st series for numbers that end in *-puna*, although with different tone: *7usúppunt-o* 'six times', *lááppunt-o* 'seven times', *hóspunt-o* 'eight times', *7uddúpunt-o* 'nine times', *7ááppunt-o* 'how many times'[263]. Thus, his responses do not necessarily justify the paradigm in (4.2.3.3-1).

    In addition to that, for ordinal numerals whose stem contain the *-puna* element and "11th", the consultant always prefers using ordinal numerals of the second series when they function as modifiers. Thus:

(4.2.3.3-14a)

<u>hospunt-á</u>   na7-á

eighth-OBL.(2nd series)   child-ABS.

    'the 8th child (for a parent)'

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[263] Because ordinal numerals of the 1st series express the number of times of repetition of actions of the same kind, they would be semantically close to forms for expressions of frequency. In some contexts, however, their meanings may differ considerably. For example, while (A) means 'the market will stand four times in the future', (B) means 'the market stood three times until now and the fourth will stand'.

(A) giy-ái   7oiddútoo   7eKK-aná.
    market-NOM.M.SG.   four times   stand-FUT.

(B) giy-ái   7oiddánt-o   7eKK-aná.
    market-NOM.M.SG.   fourth (1st series)-ABS.   stand-FUT.

(4.2.3.3-14b)

?? <u>hospúnt-o</u>   na7-á

  eighth-OBL.(1st series)   child-ABS.

   Cf. (4.2.3.3-8), in which the 1st series is used.

Furthermore, when I asked several Wolaytta people to list ordinals in order without giving any contexts, some of them used the first series until "5th" and the second series from "6th" on[264]. Thus, forms of the first series might be unmarked until "5th", and those of the second series from "6th" on[265]. In fact, I found that both *3tto kifiliyaa* (the first series) and *heezzantta kifiliyaa* (the second series) 'the third grade' are used in a school textbook of the Wolaytta language although only the latter is expected there. Likewise, I also found that both *oiddantto kifiliyassi* (the first series) and *4ta kifiliyassi* (the second series) 'for the fourth grade' are used in a science textbook.

Thus my impression is that sometimes the distinction of the two ordinal series is not kept. I also guess that many items found in (4.2.3.3-1) are innovations formed by analogy, and that the former system was more inconsistent and had fewer items, possibly with dialectal variants. However, its reconstruction is out of the scope of this thesis.

4.2.3.4   Various Uses of Words Expressing "1"

In Wolaytta, words somehow expressing the notion of "1" have some idiomatic uses, some of which are not necessarily predictable. In this section, we briefly survey such special uses.

The numeral common noun *7iss-úwá* originally means 'one thing, one person' (see section 4.2.3.2). However, it may be functionally similar to the English indefinite pronoun "someone" in some contexts.

(4.2.3.4-1)

giy-áa	b-áádá	<u>7iss-úwá-ppé</u>	badal-áa
market-ABS.M.SG.	go-CONV.1SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-from	corn-ABS.M.SG.

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[264] Unfortunately, I was not able to observe which series would occur from "10th" on. It was a difficult task to make them count until a relatively large number in a casual manner.

[265] This kind of "shifting" is also found in Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 116), although the turning point is "10th", not "6th".

7iss-úwá-ppé	shumbur-áa	7iss-úwá-ppé	maTin-íya
one-OBL.M.SG.-from	chickpea-ABS.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-from	

maTin-íya	shamm-ádá	y-áas.
salt-ABS.M.SG.	buy-CONV.1SG.	come-PF.1SG.

'I went to the market, bought corn from someone, chickpea from someone, and salt from some other, and came (back).'

In the following too, we can assume that the word *7iss-óí* means 'one person (NOM.)' and thus the sentence describes three particular persons among the crowd. However, it can be uttered also when there are many persons who sell sweet potatoes, etc., as is often the case with markets. In other words, "*7iss-óí* . . . *7iss-óí* . . ." in Wolaytta can be semantically close to "some . . . some . . ." in English.

(4.2.3.4-2)

nééní	boddítt-é	giy-áa	gel-ádá
you	(place name)-OBL.	market-ABS.M.SG.	enter-CONV.2SG.

Teell-í-kkó	7iss-óí	shukkaar-íya
look-SUBOR.-if	one-NOM.M.SG.	sweet potato-ABS.M.SG.

7iss-óí	badal-áa	7iss-óí
one-NOM.M.SG.	corn-ABS.M.SG.	one-NOM.M.SG.

shumbur-áa	baizz-í-shiini	be7-áasa.
chickpea-ABS.M.SG.	sell-SUBOR.-while	see-IMPF.2SG.

'If you enter the Boditi market and look at (it), you see some sell sweet potatoes, some corn, and others chickpeas.'

In Wolaytta, as Ohman and Hailu (1976: 157) say, 'There is no indefinite article, though 'one' may be used'. Although they do not give any examples, I assume that the following can be. There, *7iss-í*, which literally means 'one (OBL.)', is not necessarily used to express the notion of "1", though its use as an "indefinite article" does not bring

about any contradiction to the numerical notion (i.e., each of the nominals modified by *7issi* refers to only one item).

(4.2.3.4-3)

7iss-í	mant-íya-n	7iss-í	keett-áa-n
one-OBL.	region-OBL.M.SG.-in	one-OBL.	house-OBL.M.SG.-in

7aayy-íya-nne	7aaw-ái	d-ííshin
mother-NOM.F.SG.-and	father-NOM.M.SG.	live-while

7imatt-ái	y-íi-ni	. . .
guest-NOM.M.SG.	come-SUBOR.-in	. . .

　　(At the beginning of a text) 'In one region, in one house, while a mother and a father were living, when a guest came . . .'

(4.2.3.4-4)

7iss-í	galláss-i,	7iss-í	galláss-i
one-OBL.	day-ADV.	one-OBL.	day-ADV.

sa7-ái	wont-í	7agg[266]-aná,
land-NOM.M.SG.	dawn-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-FUT.

nu-gód-aa	yesúús-áá-rá	núúní	b-i
our-lord-OBL.M.SG.	Jesus-OBL.-with	we	go-CONV.1PL.

7agg-aná.
cease-FUT.

　　'One day, one day, a new world will come (lit. the land will dawn) once and for all, we will go with our lord, Jesus once and for all.'　　(From a chant)

　　In Wolaytta, numeral common nouns and numerals can be reduplicated for

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[266] Here the verb "to cease" is used as an auxiliary and means 'immediately' and/or 'once and for all.' See section 4.4.3.1.

distributive expressions (see section 6.1).

(4.2.3.4-5)

naa77-áa	naa77-áa	7imm-áas.
two-ABS.M.SG.	two-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.1SG.

'I gave two (things to each person).'

(4.2.3.4-6)

naa77-ái	naa77-ái	d-óosona.
two-NOM.M.SG.	two-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3PL.

'There are couples (i.e. all of them are in pairs).'

(4.2.3.4-7)

naa77-ú	naa77-ú	maTááp-aa	7imm-áas.
two-OBL.	two-OBL.	book-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.1SG.

'I gave two books (to each person).'

This distributive expression using reduplication is observed for the numeral common noun and the numeral related to the notion of "1"'.

(4.2.3.4-8)

7iss-úwá	7iss-úwá	7imm-áas.
one-ABS.M.SG.	one-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.1SG.

'I gave one (thing to each person).'

(4.2.3.4-9)

shá7-ú	7as-ái	d-íí-kkó-kka	7iss-óí
thousand-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-if-too	one-NOM.M.SG.

7iss-óí	y-íí-kkó	pol-aná.
one-NOM.M.SG.	come-SUBOR.-if	manage-FUT.

'Even if there are a thousand people, I will manage if they come one by one.'

(4.2.3.4-10)

7iss-í	7iss-í	maTááp-aa	7imm-áas.
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	book-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.1SG.

'I gave one book (to each person).'

In the case of the numeral common noun "1", however, reduplication is also used to mean 'some people, several things, a few of many things'.

(4.2.3.4-11)

yáá7-aa-ni	d-íya	7as-áa-ppe
meeting-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-from

7iss-úwá	7iss-úwá	malaat-áas.
one-ABS.M.SG.	one-ABS.M.SG.	show with sign-PF.1SG.

'I showed a few people of those who were in the meeting.'

(4.2.3.4-12)

yáá7-a	gidd-óó-ní	púúlumm-ida	Céég-a
meeting-OBL.	inside-OBL.-in	have grey hair-REL.PF.SUBJ.	old-OBL.

7as-ái	7iss-óí	7iss-óí
people-NOM.M.SG.	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-NOM.M.SG.

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In the meeting, there are a few old people who have grey hair.'

Reduplication is observed for the numeral "1" in the oblique case: *7iss-í 7iss-í*. It means 'some, several, a few of many'. As Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 79) have already pointed out, it corresponds functionally to a plural form of an indefinite article. It might be worth noting that Amharic has a similar expression: አንዳንድ *AndAnd* 'some (people),

several (things) (lit. one one)', which functions both as a noun and an adjective.

(4.2.3.4-13)

wud-íya	gidd-óó-ní	7iss-í	7ss-í
herd-OBL.M.SG.	inside-OBL.-in	one-OBL.	one-OBL.

har-etí	d-óosona.
donkey-NOM.PL.	exist-IMPF.3PL.

'There are some donkeys in the herd.'

(4.2.3.4-14)

7ss-í	7iss-í	zérett-ai	7agúnt-a
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	seed-NOM.M.SG.	thorn-OBL.

gidd-óó-ní	wóDD-iis.
inside-OBL.-in	fall-PF.3M.SG.

'Some seeds fell among thorns.'   (From Mark 4:7)

The numeral common noun *7iss-úwá* 'one person, one thing' can be used in reciprocal expressions as a "reciprocal pronoun" (for reciprocal expressions see section 5.3.2.3).

(4.2.3.4-15)

7iss-óí	7iss-úwá	be7-étt-idosona.
one-NOM.M.SG.	one-ABS.M.SG.	see-PASS-PF.3PL.

'They looked at each other.'

In this case, the numeral common noun *7iss-úwá* 'one person, one thing' does not necessarily refer to one item. In the following, the implication of *7iss-óí 7iss-úwá-ra* is of course not 'one cat with one cat'.

(4.2.3.4-16)

garaw-atí	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-rá
cat-NOM.PL.	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-with

púúz-ett-idi	háíK-ett-idosona.
scratch-PASS[267]-CONV.3PL.	die-PASS-PF.3PL.

  'The cats scratched each other and died.'

    In (4.2.3.4-16), we can assume that the numeral common noun *7iss-úwá* 'one person, one thing' refers to one item at random as a representative of many items. The following and (4.2.3.4-2) are similar in this respect.

(4.2.3.4-17)

geleshsh-óí	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-ppé
monkey-NOM.M.SG.	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-from

lo77-énná.
be good-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

  '(For) monkeys, one monkey is not better than one monkey (i.e. all monkeys are ugly).'

    The numeral common noun *7iss-úwá* 'one person, one thing' may occur in the plural. Its plural formation is a little bit deviant from that of regular common nouns: *7iss-ootá* (see section 4.2.1.8). The plural form indicates an assembly of "one person, one thing", i.e. 'several ones', unlike other numeral common nouns (see section 4.2.3.2).

(4.2.3.4-18)

shííK-uwa	gel-ída	7as-atú-ppé
meeting-ABS.M.SG.	enter-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.PL.-from

---

[267] This "passive" morpheme is also used for reciprocal expressions. See section 5.3.2.3).

7iss-ootí	7iss-ootí	haasay-an-á-u
one-NOM.PL.	one-NOM.PL.	speak-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-ibe7ókkóná.
want-NEG.PF.3PL.

'Some of the people who participated in (lit. enter) the meeting did not want to speak.'

(4.2.3.4-19)

giy-áa	zatt-íya	Cór-a	7as-atí
market-ABS.M.SG.	crowd-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	many-OBL.	people-NOM.PL.

7iss-ootí	7iss-ootúú-rá	sarot-étt-idosona.
one-NOM.PL.	one-OBL.PL.-with	greet-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'The many people who crowded in the market greeted each other.'

The numeral "1" in the oblique case, *7iss-í*, may mean 'about, approximately', modifying its following numerical expression. This is another common feature with Amharic. Interestingly enough, Jespersen (1924: 202) says that: 'In Middle English we find the singular *a* before a numeral, *a forty men*, meaning 'about forty''. According to him (ibid.), this phenomenon is also found in Danish.

(4.2.3.4-20)

tá-u	7iss-í	láátám-á-nné	7iccásh-u	bír-a
me-for	one-OBL.	twenty-ABS.-and	five-OBL.	Birr-ABS.

gid-íya	b-í	kíís-iya-ni
become-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-NOM.	pocket-OBL.M.SG.-in

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'I have (lit. there is for me) what amounts about 25 Birr in the pocket.'

I have once encountered the numeral "1" that modifies a numeral common noun in the plural, *naa77-atí* 'two ones (NOM.)', in a spoken text. According to the consultant who told the text, this numeral "1" does not indicate the notion of "1", but indicates that the number that follows it is small.

(4.2.3.4-21)

7imatt-atú-ppé	dár-oi
guest-OBL.PL.-from	many-NOM.M.SG.

d-íya-g-áá-ppé
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from

<u>7iss-í</u>	naa77-atí	náás-ett-idosona.
one-OBL.	two-NOM.PL.	menace-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'Among the guests, among many those who are there, two men quarreled.'

4.2.3.5 Cultural Aspects of Wolaytta Numerical Expressions

Ethiopia's present currency is Birr (ብር *berr* in Amharic). 1 Birr is equivalent to 100 (Ethiopian) Cent (ሳንቲም *sAntim* in Amharic), and roughly corresponds to about 0.1106 U. S. dollars (as of November 5, 2007). The Amharic term ብር *berr* becomes a Class A common noun, *bír-aa*, when it is borrowed into Wolaytta, and is frequently used in daily linguistic activities in Wolaytta.

(4.2.3.5-1)

7óíss-ai	<u>támm-ú</u>	<u>bír-a</u>.
butter-NOM.M.SG.	ten-OBL.	Birr-ABS.

'The butter is 10 Birr.'

For Ethiopian Cent, names of coins are used as means of expressing price. The names are common nouns.

(4.2.3.5-2) Names of Ethiopian Coins
50-Cent coin   cénc-iya, shénc-iya, shilíng-iya

25-Cent coin	sumun-íya
10-Cent coin	sánt-iya
5-Cent coin	bakkann-áa

The 10-Cent coin seems to be called also *santím-iya* or *santíp-iya*, and the 1-Cent coin, which is rarely seen nowadays, *sikkinn-áa*, although some people deny it.

(4.2.3.5-3)

bír-a-nne	cénc-ee	d-ées.
Birr-ABS.-and	half Birr-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'There is 1.50 Birr.'

(4.2.3.5-4)

bír-a-nne	7oidd-ú	sánt-e.
Birr-ABS.-and	four-OBL.	dime-ABS.

   'It is 1.40 Birr.'

Note that the above does not mean '1 Birr and 4 Cents', but means '1 Birr and 40 Cents'.

   Incidentally, Ethiopian paper moneys may also have names, and they are sometimes used in trading activities. The names are also common nouns. Note that while **ኀምሳ** *hAmsA* in Amharic means 'fifty', *hams-áa* in Wolaytta means '5-Birr bill'.

(4.2.3.5-5) Names of Ethiopian Paper Moneys

100 Birr	nóótt-iya
50 Birr	(None)
10 Birr	bawúnd-iya
5 Birr	hams-áa
1 Birr	kart-áa

   In expressions of clock time, the common nouns *sa7át-iya* 'hour, o'clock' and *daKiK-áa* 'minute', which are loanwords from Amharic, express the units. They can be omitted if there is no ambiguity. The conjunctive indeclinable *-nne* 'and' is used to

combine the two unit. In addition to numerals and numeral common nouns (see section 4.2.3.2), the common nouns *bágg-aa* 'half' and *rúúb-iya* 'quarter' are also used (the latter is a loanword from Amharic). The common noun *páC-aa* 'wanting' or its related verb *paCC-* 'to be incomplete' is used to express 'to, before', together with one of the dative postpositions *-ssi*, *-u*, *-yyo* (see section 4.2.8.4.1). The twelve-hour system is usual.

For common nouns used in expressions of clock time, the choice of concreteness is a complicated issue. Before the conjunctive indeclinable *-nne* 'and' and at the end of sentences, non-concrete absolutive forms are chosen. Before postpositions, concrete oblique forms are much preferred, but for *sa7át-iya* 'hour, o'clock' its non-concrete oblique form can also be observed. Before *páC-aa* 'wanting' and *paCC-* 'to be incomplete', both concrete nominative and concrete absolutive forms are usually used for Class A common nouns, but non-concrete absolutive forms seem to be preferred for Class E common nouns. I do not know the reason why they behave differently.

There is a six-hour difference between Wolaytta (or rather, Ethiopian) and Western time. That is to say, Wolaytta "1 o'clock", for instance, corresponds to Western "7 o'clock" and Wolaytta "12 o'clock" to Western "6 o'clock". Noon is expressed as "6 o'clock" in Wolaytta, not as "12 o'clock".

(4.2.3.5-6)

7usúppun	sa7át-e.
six (OBL.)	hour-ABS.

'It is 12 o'clock (lit. 6 o'clock).'

(4.2.3.5-7)

7usúppun	sa7át-e-nne	támm-ú	daKiK-á.
six-OBL.	hour-ABS.-and	ten-OBL.	minute-ABS.

'It is 12:10 (lit. 6:10).'

(4.2.3.5-8)

7usúppun-a-nne	bágg-a.
six-ABS.-and	half-ABS.

'It is 12:30 (lit. 6:30).'

(4.2.3.5-9)

7isíín-é-nné   rúúb-e.

eleven-ABS.-and   quater-ABS.

   'It is 5:15 (lit. 11:15).'

(4.2.3.5-10)

7usúppun-a-nne   rúúb-iya-n   y-aaná.

six-ABS.-and   quarter-OBL.M.SG.-in   come-FUT.

   'I will come at 12:15 (lit. quarter past six).'

(4.2.3.5-11a)

7usúppun-aa-ssi   támm-ai   páC-a.

six-OBL.M.SG.-for   ten-NOM.M.SG.   wanting-ABS.

   'It is 10 minutes to 12 o'clock (lit. ten minutes are wanting for six).'

(4.2.3.5-11b)

7usúppun-aa-ssi   támm-aa   páC-a.

six-OBL.M.SG.-for   ten-ABS.M.SG.   wanting-ABS.

   'It is 10 minutes to 12 o'clock (lit. ten minutes are wanting for six).'

(4.2.3.5-11c)

* 7usúppun-aa-ssi   támm-á   páC-a.

 six-OBL.M.SG.-for   ten-ABS.   wanting-ABS.

(4.2.3.5-12)

7usúppun   sa7át-iya-ssi   rúúb-e

six-OBL.   hour-OBL.M.SG.-for   quarter-ABS.

paCC-ées.

be incomplete-IMPF.3m.sg.

   'It is 15 minutes to 12 o'clock (lit. it is wanting a quarter for six).'

A detailed expression of clock time, such as 5:17, does not seem to be common in Wolaytta.

Expressions of the kind explained above are introduced relatively late. Formerly, Wolaytta people were expressing time by saying, for instance, "when cattle return home in the evening (i.e. about 6 p.m.)", "when we eat dinner (i.e. about 10 or 11 p.m.)".

In expressions of date, numerals (i.e. "cardinal numbers", not ordinals) are used. For names of months, see at the end of section 4.2.3.3.

(4.2.3.5-13)

7isiin-é	láátám-á-nné	7uddúpun	galláss-a
July-OBL.	twenty-ABS.-and	nine.OBL.	day-ABS.

'the 11th month 29 (i.e. August 5)'

Numbers used to express years are treated as usual cardinal numbers. That is to say, digits are not divided into, for example, two-figure numbers. Thus the year 1975, for example, is treated as a usual four-figure number (see (4.2.3.5-14)). The Ethiopian calendar is about 7 or 8 years behind the Gregorian calendar. Thus, the year 1975 on the Ethiopian calendar, for example, begins on September 11, 1982 and ends on September 11, 1983 on Gregorian calendar.

(4.2.3.5-14)

7iss-í	shá7-á-nné	7uddúpun	Téét-á-nné
one-OBL.	thousand-ABS.-and	nine (OBL.)	hundred-ABS.-and

lááppun	támm-á-nné	7iccásh-ú	láítt-aa-ni
seven.OBL.	ten-ABS.-and	five-OBL.	year-OBL.M.SG.-in

'in the year 1975'

I encountered expressions of year of this kind several times while I was collecting spoken texts. In almost all the cases, however, the text tellers faltered and/or made mistakes. Although it might be completely accidental, I have the impression that they are not accustomed to utter such expression. What is more, I also have the impression that Wolaytta people usually use Amharic in numerical expressions even if they are

speaking in Wolaytta, at least in towns like Boditi. This seems to be one of the causes that trigger code switching from Wolaytta to Amharic.

Finally, there are several traditional units for measuring length, weight, etc. in Wolaytta. Some of them are the following:

(4.2.3.5-15) Traditional Units

takkáár-uwa	'span (length from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the little finger when spread apart to the utmost width)'
wár-aa	'cubit'
tangett-áa	'step'
KúNN-aa	'10 kg'
daull-áa	'100 kg'

(4.2.3.5-16)

7iss-í	7iss-í	7as-ái	takkáár-uwa
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.	(see above)-ABS.M.SG.

7imm-íi-ni	wár-aa	kóyy-ees.
give-SUBOR.-in	cubit-ABS.M.SG.	want-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Some people ask a cubit when he is given a takkaaruwa (lit. when someone gives a takkaaruwa he wants a cubit).' (i.e. metaphor for a greedy person).

Nowadays, of course, the metric system is spread.

4.2.4   Personal Pronouns

In the following sections, we mainly deal with Wolaytta counterparts of English personal pronouns.

As can be seen from (4.2.4-1), we can consider that Wolaytta counterparts of English first and second person pronouns belong to the same word class since they are inflected (mostly) in the same way (tone will be explained in section 4.2.4.1.2).

(4.2.4-1)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
1SG.		ta-	tá		
		taa-	táá		
	táná	tana-	táání	tánee	tánoo
		tanaa-	tán		
2SG.		ne-	né		
		nee-	néé		
	néná	nena-	nééní	nénee	nénoo
		nenaa-	nén		
1PL.		nu-	nú		
		nuu-	núú		
	núná	nuna-	núúní	núnee	núnoo
		nunaa-	nún		
2PL.		7inte-	7ínté		
		7intee-			
	7ínténá	7intena-	(7inteni)	7ínténee	7ínténoo
		7intenaa-			

Wolaytta counterparts of English third person pronouns are inflected differently from the above "pronouns".

(4.2.4-2)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
3M.SG.	7á	7a-	7í	7ée
		7aa-		
3F.SG.	7ó	7i-	7á	7íi
		7ii-		
3PL.	7etá	7eta-	7etí	7etée
		7etaa-		

As can be seen from the above, we can consider that *7á* (3M.SG.) and *7etá* (3PL.) belong to the same word class since they are inflected in the same way. *7ó* (3F.SG.) is inflected differently from the other two. However, if we take into consideration their syllable structure, tone (see also sections 4.2.4.1.1 and 4.2.4.2.1), and especially function as counterparts of English third person singular pronouns, it would not be unnatural to consider that *7á* (3M.SG.) and *7ó* (3F.SG.) belong to the same word class. Thus I conclude that all the three words given in (4.2.4-2) constitute one word class.

Hereafter, I will call the words given in (4.2.4-1) "personal pronouns A", and those in (4.2.4-2) "personal pronouns B". They would be different word classes in the strict sense, but it would be convenient to regard both of them as personal pronouns if we take their function into consideration[268]. Other words that are inflected in the same way as these words are also personal pronouns (A or B) (see section 4.2.4.1.5).

Second-person plural forms (*7ínténá*, etc.) can be used as second-person singular honorific forms and third-person plural forms (*7etá*, etc.) as third-person singular honorific forms. See section 7.2.1.

4.2.4.1 Personal Pronouns A
4.2.4.1.1 Morphology of the Personal Pronoun A
Personal pronouns A are words that follow the inflectional pattern shown in (4.2.4-1). As is evident from (4.2.4-1), they include semantically empty or indeterminate substitutes referring to the first and second persons. Let's observe them first.

For nominative forms of *táná* (1SG.), *núná* (1PL.), and *néná* (2SG.), each has four allomorphs. Those that end in *-aa*, *-aani*, and *-an* can be interchangeably used immediately before the indeclinable *-kka* 'too'.

(4.2.4.1.1-1a)
<u>táá</u>-kká   kóyy-ais.
I (NOM.)   want-IMPF.1SG.

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[268] Some may have noticed some elements partially common to the two types of personal pronouns, such as "the nominative marker *-i*" in, for instance, *táání* 'I (personal pronoun A)' and *7í* 'he (personal pronoun B)'. However, since such common elements may be found in other word classes (see section 4.2.10), they cannot be conclusive evidence to unite the two types of personal pronouns into one word class.

'I want too.'

(4.2.4.1.1-1b)

táání-kká	kóyy-ais.
I (NOM.)	want-IMPF.1SG.

    'I want too.'

(4.2.4.1.1-1c)

tán-ká[269]	kóyy-ais.
I (NOM.)	want-IMPF.1SG.

    'I want too.'

Before the indeclinable *-nne* 'and', we should assume that only an allomorph that ends in *-aani* is used if we take into consideration the interrogative word "who", whose nominative form is always *7óóní* (see section 4.2.4.1.5.1). For the contraction *-ni-nne > -nne*, see (4.3.2-61) and (4.3.2-62).

(4.2.4.1.1-2a)

táání-nné	7í-nné	b-íída.
I (NOM.)-and	he-and	go-PF.1PL.

    'I and he went.'

(4.2.4.1.1-2b)

táánné	7í-nné	b-íída.
< táání-nné	he-and	go-PF.1PL.
I (NOM.)-and		

    'I and he went.'

Elsewhere allomorphs that end in *-a* and *-aani* can be interchangeably used.

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[269] After the consonant *n*, *-kka* becomes *-ka* (see section 4.3.2).

(4.2.4.1.1-3a)

tá	heezzú	sunkurúút-uwa	kóyy-ais.
I (NOM.)	three	onion-ABS.M.SG.	want-IMPF.1SG.

'I want three onions.'

(4.2.4.1.1-3b)

táání	heezzú	sunkurúút-uwa	kóyy-ais.
I (NOM.)	three	onion-ABS.M.SG.	want-IMPF.1SG.

'I want three onions.'

For a nominative form of *ʔínténá* (2PL.), Senait (1984: 10) and Bekale (1989: 38) give a form that ends with *-ni*, which I could not find in my data. However, Senait (ibid.) says that 'Most often young Wolaytta speakers never use "ʔinteni" for 2nd person plural subject form instead they use the basic pronoun "ʔinte".' Bekale (ibid.) also gives *ʔinte* as well.

For oblique forms, each personal pronoun A has four allomorphs. Which form is used is largely determined by the word that follows the personal pronoun. However, describing this process is a rather complicated task.

The allomorphs can be divided into two groups: forms without the *-na* element (for example *ta-* and *taa-* 'my', *ʔinte-* and *ʔintee-* 'your (pl.)') and forms with the *-na* element (for example *tana-* and *tanaa-* 'my', *ʔintena-* and *ʔintenaa-* 'your (pl.)').

The latter forms are marked variants, which are used only before the postpositions *-ra* 'with', *-ni* 'in, at, by', *-daani* 'like', and *-ttuwa* 'like' (for the last see section 7.2.2). Before the postposition *-ra* 'with' and the postposition *-ni* used as a predicate, forms with a long final vowel are used.

(4.2.4.1.1-4)

táání	hácci	maallád-o	nénáá-rá	sháyy-iya
I (NOM.)	today	morning-ABS.	you (OBL.SG.)-with	tea-ABS.M.SG.

ʔúy-ada	y-áas.
drink-CONV.1SG.	come-PF.1SG.

'This morning, I had tea with you, and came.'

(4.2.4.1.1-5)
7ínténaa-na.
you (PL.)-by

'It is by you (PL.).'

Immediately before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form (see section 4.2.8.1), however, forms with a long final vowel and those with a short final vowel are interchangeably used as the vowel length opposition is neutralized there (see section 4.2.8.2).

(4.2.4.1.1-6a)
tánáá-ní
my-by

'by me'

(4.2.4.1.1-6b)
táná-n
my-by

'by me'

Elsewhere forms with a short final vowel are always used.

(4.2.4.1.1-7)
tána-daani
my-like

'like me'

(4.2.4.1.1-8)

ha	na7-ái	néna-ttuwa	waass-ées.
this	child-NOM.M.SG.	your (SG.)-like	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

'This boy cries like you.'

Although these pronominal forms with the *-na* element resemble absolutive forms (for example *táná* 'me', *7ínténá* 'you (PL.)'), judging from the environment in which they occur, I regard them as oblique forms. That is, because many other words, such as person-name nouns and feminine concrete common nouns, obviously occur in the oblique case, which is formally distinguished from the absolutive case, before the postpositions concerned here (*-ra* 'with', *-ni* 'in, at, by', *-daani* 'like', and *-ttuwa* 'like' if it really is a postposition), as well as before other postpositions, the pronominal forms with the *-na* element before such postpositions should also be regarded as oblique forms[270].

Cf.
(4.2.4.1.1-9a)
dalgít-íí-rá
(person name)-OBL.-with

'with Dalgite'

(4.2.4.1.1-9b)
* dalgít-óó-rá
(person name)-ABS.-with

The reason why such absolutive-looking forms are used is possibly for speakers to avoid homonyms. For example, if the shorter variant *taa-* 'my' is directly attached to the postposition *-ra* 'with', the resultant form *táá-rá* can be confused with *taa-r-á* (my-NMNL.-NOM.F.) 'mine' (see section 4.2.5.2). And if *taa-* 'my' is directly attached to the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', the resultant form *táá-ní* can be confused with *táání* 'I', a nominative form of a first-person singular pronoun. The absolutive-looking forms before *-daani* 'like' and *-ttuwa* 'like', however, cannot be explained in this way and the reason for the use of these forms is unclear.

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[270] Truthfully, many words do not differentiate the oblique case from the absolutive case formally. However, even in such a case we can distinguish between two cases on the basis of their functions ---- at least it does not bring about any serious contradiction. See also the discussion in section 4.2.1.1.

The allomorphs without the *-na* element are used elsewhere: in other words they are used with any nominals (including postpositions) other than *-ra* 'with', *-ni* 'in, at, by', *-daani* 'like', and *-ttuwa* 'like'. Their final vowels may be short or long: *ta-* and *taa-* 'my', for instance. The condition that determines which form is used differs between "my", "your (SG.)", and "our" on the one hand and "your (PL.)" on the other. The conditions can be summarized as follows.

(4.2.4.1.1-10)
Group I: "my", "your (SG.)", "our"

Forms with a long final vowel (*taa-*, *nee-*, *nuu-*)
: before the postpositions *-ppe* 'from', *-kko* 'toward', *-ssi* 'for, to', and the nominalizers *-gáá*, *-ró*, *-geetá* (see section 4.2.5)

Forms with a short final vowel (*ta-*, *ne-*, *nu-*)
: elsewhere

Both forms can be used before the postposition *-yyo* 'for, to'.

Group II: "your (PL.)"

Form with a long final vowel (*7intee-*)
: before the nominalizers *-gáá*, *-ró*, *-geetá* (see section 4.2.5)

Form with a short final vowel (*7inte-*)
: elsewhere

The following are examples of personal pronouns A of group I in the oblique case with a long final vowel.

(4.2.4.1.1-11)
<u>néé-</u>ppé
your (SG.)-from

   'from you'

(4.2.4.1.1-12)
<u>nuu</u>-r-ó
our-NMNL.-ABS.F.SG.

'ours (F.SG.)'

The following are examples of personal pronouns A of group I in the oblique case with a short final vowel.

(4.2.4.1.1-13)
<u>tá</u>-u
my-for

'for me'

(4.2.4.1.1-14)
<u>ta</u>-keett-áa
my-house-ABS.M.SG.

'my house'

The following are examples of personal pronouns A of group II in the oblique case with a long final vowel.

(4.2.4.1.1-15)
<u>7intee</u>-r-ó
your (PL.)-NMNL.-ABS.F.SG.

'yours (F.SG.)'

(4.2.4.1.1-16)
<u>7intee</u>-g-ée?
your (PL.)-NMNL.-INTER.M.SG.

'Is it yours (M.SG.)?'

The following are examples of personal pronouns A of group II in the oblique case with a short final vowel.

(4.2.4.1.1-17)
<u>7ínté</u>-ppé
your (PL.)-from

   'from you (PL.)'

(4.2.4.1.1-18)
<u>7inte</u>-keett-áa
your (PL.)-house-ABS.M.SG.

   'your (PL.) house'

Furthermore, when the postposition *-yyo* 'for, to' is attached to second-person pronouns, the forms *níyo* 'for you (SG.)' and *7íntíyo* 'for you (PL.)' are possible in addition to the expected forms *né(é)-yyo* 'for you (SG.)' and *7ínté-yyo* 'for you (PL.)'. The former can be regarded as contracted forms of the latter. As where the boundary between a personal pronoun and a postposition lies is not clear, I ignored the contracted forms in (4.2.4-1).

Previous works on Wolaytta disagree with mine quite often on the vowel length of personal pronouns. They are also very often insensitive to allomorphs distinguished only by vowel length. Even in Adams's (1983), we can find, for example, *tan-e:* 'is it I?' on page 217 and *ta:-n-e:* on page 234. As will be mentioned in section 4.2.4.1.4, the *n* element may be part of the cause of the disagreement. In any case, we may have to reconsider the notion of length, or even observe phonetic facts again.

Apart from vowel length, there is almost no disagreement on the morphology of personal pronouns A. However, somewhat strange forms are found in Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 89, 94) for second-person plural pronouns. They recognized its initial consonant as *h* instead of a glottal stop: as in *hiinte* 'you (PL. NOM.)', etc. And Hirut (1999: 89) gives *eta* as an accusative (i.e. our absolutive) form of a first-person plural pronoun, instead of *núná* 'us'. However, this may be nothing but careless misplacing: she gives *nuna* as a third-person plural pronoun, instead of *7etá* 'them' (see section

4.2.4.2). Also vocative and interrogative forms are often overlooked in previous works. For the alleged vocative forms *laa* 'hey you (SG.M. or PL.)' and *bii* 'hey you (SG.F.)', see the discussion in section 4.2.4.1.4.

4.2.4.1.2   Tone of the Personal Pronoun A

Absolutive, nominative, interrogative, and vocative forms of personal pronouns A have tonal prominences. Their places are indicated in (4.2.4-1) (and in (4.2.4.1.5.1-1) and (4.2.4.1.5.2-1)). The explanation in section 2.4.1 also applies here.

Oblique forms of personal pronouns A may or may not have tonal prominences depending on the environment in which they occur. An oblique form of a personal pronoun A does not have a tonal prominence if the word that immediately follows it has a tonal prominence.

(4.2.4.1.2-1)
ta-keett-áa
my-house-ABS.M.SG.

'my house'

(4.2.4.1.2-2)
7intee-r-ó
your (PL.)-NMNL.-ABS.F.SG.

'yours (F.SG.)'

However, an oblique form of a personal pronoun A has a tonal prominence if a word that immediately follows it does not have a tonal prominence or is tonally indeterminate. In this case, the whole part of a personal pronoun A is tonally prominent as a rule.

(4.2.4.1.2-3)
nú-rka
our-alone

'we alone'
(The indeclinable *-rka* 'alone' (see section 4.3.2) does not have a tonal prominence.)

(4.2.4.1.2-4)

<u>7ínté</u>-ppé

your (PL.)-from

   'from you (PL.)'

   (The postposition *-ppe* 'from' is tonally indeterminate (see section 4.2.8.3).)

(4.2.4.1.2-5)

<u>tána</u>-daani

my-like

   'like me'

   (The postposition *-daani* 'like' does not have a tonal prominence (see section 4.2.8.3).)

4.2.4.1.3   Case of the Personal Pronoun A

   In this section, we will survey different uses of each case of the personal pronoun A.

Nominative

   In the personal pronouns A as well, the nominative case is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that marks the subject of a clause, which is defined syntactically (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.1).

(4.2.4.1.3-1)

ta-gód-au	<u>táání</u>	hánnó
my-lord-VOC.M.SG.	I (NOM.)	this (ABS.)

gákk-an-a-u	na7-á	demm-ábi7íkke.
reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	child-ABS.	find-NEG.PF.1SG.

   'Oh my lord, I have not found (i.e. begotten) a child until now (lit. to reach this).'

(4.2.4.1.3-2)

<u>táání</u>	<u>tá</u>	7ubb-á	yiillot-áas.
I (NOM.)	I (NOM.)	all-ABS.	be annoyed-PF.1.SG.

'I, I am completely annoyed.'

(4.2.4.1.3-3)

né	múl-e	kaw-ó	baKK-ákká.
you (NOM.SG.)	full-ABS.	king-ABS.	hit-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

   'You would never hit a king.'

(4.2.4.1.3-4)

núúní	hagáá	mááC-an-a-u	danday-ókko.
we (NOM.)	this	decide-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able-NEG.IMPF.1PL.

   'We cannot judge this.'

Nominative forms of personal pronouns A of the second person are frequently used in second person optative (or "imperative") sentences to express addressees. Note that in the case of a common noun or of a person-name noun, its vocative form is used for the same purpose apart from rare exceptions (see sections 4.2.1.3.1, 4.2.1.3.3 and 4.2.2.3.3).

(4.2.4.1.3-5)

nééní	hááy-a.
you (NOM.SG.)	come here-OPT.2SG.

   'You come here!'

(4.2.4.1.3-6)

7ínté	yáán-i	minn-ité.
you (NOM.PL.)	be like that-CONV.2PL.	be strong-OPT.2PL.

yáán-ite	yáán-ite.
be like that-OPT.2PL.	be like that-OPT.2PL.

   'You be strong in that way (lit. be like that)! Be like that, be like that!'

Oblique

In this word class too, this is a grammatical case for a nominal that modifies its following nominal, including postpositions. In other words, we may name this case "adnominal".

(4.2.3.1.3-7)

<u>ta-</u>7aaw-áa	háíK-uwa	sími	gákk-ada
my-father-OBL.M.SG.	death-ABS.M.SG.	thus	reach-CONV.1SG.

be7-aná.
see-FUT.

'Thus I will reach (there) and see my father's death (lit. be present at my father's deathbed).'

(4.2.3.1.3-8)

<u>ne-</u>boll-áa-ppe	kil-ó	7ash-úwa
your (SG.)-body-OBL.M.SG.-from	kilogram-OBL.	meat-ABS.M.SG.

KanT-á	7ekk-aná	tá.
cut-CONV.1SG.	take-FUT.	I

'I will cut and take one kilogram of meat from your body.'

(4.2.4.1.3-9)

<u>nu-</u>biitt-áa	7as-ái-kka	báná
our-land-OBL.M.SG.	people-NOM.M.SG.-too	himself

woláítt-a	g-ées.	hagéé	woláámo
Wolaytta-ABS.	say-IMPF.3M.SG.	this	Welamo

g-íyo	súnt-ai	<u>nu-</u>súnt-a
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUB.	name-NOM.M.SG.	our-name-ABS.

gid-énná.
become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Also the people of our land call (lit. say) themselves "Wolaytta". This name called (lit. which one says) "Welamo" is not our name.'

(4.2.4.1.3-10)

<u>tá</u>-u	dé7-oi	woláítt-a.
my-for	life-NOM.M.SG.	Wolaytta-ABS.

'For me, the life is Wolaytta (i.e. I live in Wolaytta).'   (From an impromptu)

(4.2.4.1.3-11)

hagéé	zín-o	táání	<u>né</u>-yyo	7od-ído
this	yesterday-ABS.	I	your (SG.)-to	tell-REL.PF.nonSUB.

bázz-uwa	gid-énná.
desert-ABS.M.SG.	become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'This is not the desert about which I told you yesterday.'

(4.2.4.1.3-12)

bóótt-aa	hagáá	gid-énnée,
white-ABS.M.SG.	this	become-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

núná	Kámm-í	shémp-uwa	dig-iss-í-nne
us	night-ADV.	rest-ABS.M.SG.	prevent-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.-and

har-á	dó7-a	7ubb-ái	<u>núú</u>-kkó
other-OBL.	wild animal-OBL.	all-NOM.M.SG.	our-toward

yaanáattuwa	7oott-íya-i?
in order to come	do-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.

'Isn't it this, the white one that makes (the lion) prevent us from rest at night and makes all other wild animals come toward us?'

(4.2.4.1.3-13)

7ínté-ssí   bóór-ai   d-ées.

your (PL.)-for   ox-NOM.M.SG.   exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'You have an ox (lit. an ox exists for you).'

(4.2.4.1.3-14)

táání   hácci   maallád-o   nénáá-rá   sháyy-iya

I   today   morning-ABS.   your (SG.)-with tea-ABS.M.SG.

7úy-ada   y-áas.

drink-CONV.1SG.   come-PF.1SG.

'This morning, I had tea with you, and came.'

An oblique form of a personal pronoun A can semantically modify a word that does not immediately follow it.

(4.2.4.1.3-15)

he   7a-ló77-o   na7-áa

that   his-good-OBL.   child-ABS.M.SG.

'that good boy of his'

Vocative

Vocative forms discussed here are radically different from those mentioned in some previous works. I consider that *tánoo* (1SG.), *nénoo* (2SG.), *núnoo* (1PL.), and *7ínténoo* (2PL.), which have not been discussed in any previous works, are vocative forms of the personal pronouns A under discussion, while Adams (1983: 229, 265-266) and Senait (1984: 9) consider that *laa* (2M.SG. and 2PL.) and *bii* (2F.SG.) are the vocative forms (with different terms, notations, and interpretations). My reasons are the following:

(a) My vocatives, i.e. *tánoo*, etc., are morphologically more similar to other forms of personal pronouns A, such as *táání* 'I' (1SG.NOM.) and *néná* 'you' (2SG.ABS.).
(b) My vocatives do not distinguish between the masculine and feminine genders, while

laa and *bii* do (in the singular).

(c) While second-person forms of personal pronouns A beginning with *ne-* are widely used, the use of *laa* and *bii* is rather restricted. They are used only to address one or more non-mature persons in general. Judging from the fact that Adams (1983: 299) glosses *laa* as 'Oh, you, little boy!', he appears to have noticed this.

(d) Because of (a), (b), and (c) above, it is not clear where *laa* and *bii* should be placed in the paradigm of (4.2.4-1).

(e) My vocatives contain the vocative element *-oo*, which is also found in some other nominals.

Thus, although personal pronouns may often have suppletive forms in other languages, *laa* and *bii* are not regarded as personal pronouns A here. They are dealt with in section 4.3.1.2 as interjections.

The following are sentences that contain vocative forms of personal pronouns A.

(4.2.4.1.3-16)

<u>nénoo</u>   síy-íkkíi?   néná
you (SG.VOC.)   listen-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.   you (ABS.)

g-áis.
say-IMPF.1SG.

   'You, don't you listen? I say to you (i.e. I am talking to you).'

(4.2.4.1.3-17)

<u>nénoo</u>   háa   simm-á.
you (SG.VOC.)   to here   return-OPT.2SG.

   'You, return here!'

(4.2.4.1.3-18)

<u>7ínténoo</u>   kúsh-iya   meeC-étt-enn-aa-ni
you (PL.VOC.)   hand-ABS.M.SG.   wash-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in

kátt-aa	m-íya-géétoo!
grain-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.PL.VOC.

  'You, those who eat food (lit. grain) without washing your hands!'

(4.2.4.1.3-19)

7ááyyé ána	<u>tánoo</u>!	táná	Cimm-ái?
woe is me!	me (VOC.)	me (ABS.)	cheat-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

  'Woe is me, ah me! Do you cheat me?'

Interrogative

  A personal pronoun A occurs in the interrogative case if it is used as a head of a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

(4.2.4.1.3-20)

ha	7ipitt-áa	ment-ída-i	<u>nénee</u>?
this	door-ABS.M.SG.	break-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	you (SG.INTER.)

  'Is it you that broke this door?'

(4.2.4.1.3-21)

ha77í	Teeg-ída-i	<u>nénee</u>?
now	call-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	you (SG.INTER.)

  'Is it you that have called just now?'

Absolutive

  Semantically, this is also the most unmarked case in this particular word class, as well. It is used everywhere that the other cases discussed so far in this section cannot be used.

  For example, so-called direct objects are marked by this case.

(4.2.4.1.3-22)

7áí	dó7-í-kká	7ínténa	be7-énna.
what	wild animal-NOM.-too	you (PL.ABS.)	see-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'No wild animal does not see you.'

(4.2.4.1.3-23)

kaw-ó	milat-íya	b-á
king-ABS.	resemble-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.

baKK-íyo-g-éé	néná	7áwa
hit-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	you (SG.ABS.)	where

gatt-anée?	néná	ha	kaw-ói
make reach-INTER.FUT.	you (SG.ABS.)	this	king-NOM.M.SG.

7óíKK-i	Kácc-énnée?
seize-CONV.3M.SG.	tie-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Where will hitting one like a king bring you? Won't this king seize and tie (i.e. imprison) you?'

Causees in causative expressions may be marked by the absolutive case.

(4.2.4.1.3-24)

hagéé	bambar-ée	táná	héTTish-iss-ees.
this	red pepper-NOM.M.SG.	me (ABS.)	sneeze-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'This red pepper makes me sneeze.'

(4.2.4.1.3-25)

7anjúll-óí	núná	dúrs-aa
(person name)-NOM.	us (ABS.)	dance-ABS.M.SG.

dur-iss-íis.
dance-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Anjullo made us dance.'

(4.2.4.1.3-26)

dol-í	kált-aa	7imm-ídí	táná
(person name)-NOM.	ax-ABS.M.SG.	give-CONV.3M.SG.	me (ABS.)

zááp-iya	KanT-iss-íis.
tree-ABS.M.SG.	cut-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Dola gave (me) an ax, and made me cut the tree.'

Note that in the following causative expression *7ínténa* 'you (PL.ABS.)' does not express a causee. Furthermore, causees cannot be expressed by absolutive forms in some cases. For more about these problems, see the discussion in section 5.3.2.1.

(4.2.4.1.3-27)

7ínténa	Koh-iss-íya-i
you (PL.ABS.)	damage-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.

ha	bóótt-a	bóór-a	gid-énnee?
this	white-OBL.	ox-ABS.	become-NEG.IMTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Isn't it this white ox that makes (other animals) damage you?'

The following is an example in which a personal pronoun A in the absolutive case is used in a complex voice expression (see section 5.3.2.4).

(4.2.4.1.3-28)

daann-á	7alam-ú	núná
judge-OBL.	(person name)-NOM.	us (ABS.)

7er-et-iss-íis.
know-PASS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Mr. (lit. judge) Alemu made us know each other.'

The following is an example in which a personal pronoun A in the absolute case expresses a predicate.

(4.2.4.1.3-29)

ha	7ipitt-áa	ment-ída-i	<u>táná</u>.
this	door-ABS.M.SG.	break-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	me (ABS.)

   'It is I that broke this door.'

Absolute forms are also used with the copular verb *gid-*, which occurs in negative and/or subordinate clauses (see section 4.2.1.3.5).

(4.2.4.1.3-30)

ha	7ipitt-áa	ment-ída-i	<u>táná</u>
this	door-ABS.M.SG.	break-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	me (ABS.)

gid-íkke.
become-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

  'It is not I that broke this door.'

(4.2.4.1.3-31)

<u>tána</u>	gid-íya-kko	Cóo	yedd-íkke.
me	become-INFN.-if	in vain	release-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'If it were me, I would not release (him) without doing anything.'

  Absolute forms of personal pronouns A seem to be used for addressing.

(4.2.4.1.3-32)

<u>néná</u>	KáNNish-e.
you (SG.ABS.)	riddle-ABS.

   'You, riddle. (Fixed expression for beginning a traditional word game 'KáNNish-iya')'

(4.2.4.1.3-33)

háí	néná	néná	háí	néná
oh	you (SG.ABS.)	you (SG.ABS.)	oh	you (SG.ABS.)

naatú	7ubb-áa-ni	né	7íít-a.
children (OBL.)	all-OBL.M.SG.-in	you (SG.NOM.)	bad-ABS.

'Oh, you, you, oh, you, you are the worst of all the children.'

The following might be an example in which a personal pronoun A in the absolutive case expresses a kind of direct object.

(4.2.4.1.3-34)

laa	7adáár-e	boddítt-ee	táná
hey	conservative-OBL.	(place name)-VOC.	me

7áí-ssí	meegg-ái?
what-for	be cold-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Hey conservative Boditi, why are you cold to me?'

4.2.4.1.4   Component Elements of the Personal Pronoun A

In this section, we consider personal pronouns A from the viewpoint of word formation.

It is relatively easy to isolate the following case elements: *-i* (nominative), *-a* (absolutive), *-ee* (interrogative), and *-oo* (vocative). These will be discussed in section 4.2.10.

Before these case elements we can isolate the *n* element, while there are forms that have neither of them (*tá* 'I', *nu-* 'our', etc.). This situation makes it difficult to analyze personal pronouns A.

Among the few works that discuss this matter in any depth beyond just listing attested forms, Senait (1984) offers the simplest analysis. Her analysis has many shortcomings, but her treatment of the forms with and without the *n* element is straightforward. She (1984: 7-9) considers that *ta* (1SG.), *ne* (2SG.), *nu* (1PL.), and *ʔinte* (2PL.) are "basic forms", and that they have alternative forms. According to her, 'The

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distributions of these alternative forms are phonologically conditioned'. If we take a first-person singular pronoun as an example, the basic form *ta* has an alternative form *tan-*, and the latter 'occurs when the suffix is a vowel', and the former 'occurs elsewhere'. Thus, when the dative case marker *-ssi* (postposition, in my treatment) is attached, the basic form *ta* occurs and the resultant form is *ta-ssi* (Senait 1984: 12). On the other hand, when the nominative case marker *-i* is attached, the alternative form *tan-* occurs and the resultant form is *tan-i* (Senait 1984: 10). She (1984: 10) comments that 'In the first and second person pronouns the nominative case marker is not obligatory because basic pronouns can serve as a Subject.'

The points of Adams's (1983) complicated analysis of personal pronouns are summarized as follows. He does not distinguish between personal pronouns A and B (see section 4.2.4). Thus here we will concern ourselves only with his first and second person pronouns, which are personal pronouns A in this thesis.

(4.2.4.1.4-1)

Proforms (based on Adams 1983: 266)

	Nominative	Oblique	Vocative
1SG.	ta	ta:-	(blank)
2SG.	ne	ne:-	bi: (F.), la: (M.)
1PL.	nu	(blank)	(blank)
2PL.	?inte	(blank)	(blank)

Possessive determiners (based on Adams 1983: 268)

ta	"my"	nu	"our"
ne	"your sg"	?inte	"your, pl"

Nominalized phrases (based on Adams 1983: 234)

	Absolutive	Nominative
1SG.	ta-n-a	ta:-n-i
2SG.	ne-n-a	ne:-n-i
1PL.	nu-n-a	nu:-n-i
2PL.	?inte-n-a	(blank)

Nominalized phrases with the verb 'to be' (based on Adams 1983: 217)[271]

	Statement	Question
1SG.	tan-a	tan-e:
2SG.	nen-a	nen-e:
1PL.	nun-a	nun-e:
2PL.	?inten-a	?inten-e:

Nominalized phrase with cases (based on Adams 1983: 235)
Examples:

ta-:-ppe   'from me'
Determiner-Head of a nominalized phrase, Case-Relator

ne-:-ssi   'for you'
Determiner-Head of a nominalized phrase, Case-Relator

Cf.
ta-n-a-dani   'like me'
Determiner-Head of a nominalized phrase-Case-Relator

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[271] Adams regards the final elements of nominal predicates as realizations of the verb 'to be', not case endings. According to him, "Question" forms are uttered with high pitch. Incidentally, Adams (1983: 234) gives *ta:-n-e:* 'is it I?', *ne:-n-e:* 'is it you, sg?', and *nu:-n-e:* 'is it us?' as "interrogative" (a form for 2PL. is missing). Note the differences between these and forms in Adams (ibid.: 217), i.e. those in (4.2.4.1.4-1), in vowel length and hyphenation.

Thus according to Adams (1983), our personal pronouns A listed in (4.2.4-1) are classified into several word classes. Shorter nominative forms in this thesis, such as *tá* 'I' and *nú* 'we', are classified as "proforms". Our oblique forms that modify common nouns seem to be classified as "possessive determiners". Our oblique forms that are attached to the postpositions *-ppe* 'from' and *-ssi* 'for' seem to be analyzed as determiners followed by vowel length that is 'the joint realization of both the nominalizer manifesting Head of Nmz [nominalized phrase] and the absolutive manifestation of the Case function' (Adams 1983: 234), although third-person forms of "proforms", which correspond to our personal pronouns B discussed in section 4.2.4.2, seem to be attached to postpositions (Adams 1983: 246). For each of our oblique forms that are attached to the postposition *-daani* 'like', however, it seems to be analyzed as a "possessive determiner" + a "nominalizer" that signals person (= *n*) + a case element (see the end of this paragraph). For the other oblique forms of ours, I cannot say anything certain. Adams (1983: 266) gives oblique forms of first- and second-person singular proforms (but not the corresponding plural forms), whose uses are not known to me. In any case, there are many obscure points about forms that modify other nominals. Each of the other forms, that is, those with the *n* element, is analyzed by Adams as a "possessive determiner" + a "nominalizer" that signals person (= *n*) + a case element (or a verb 'to be' if it is used as a predicate), although our vocative forms, such as né*noo* 'you!', are not mentioned.

I consider, however, that his reasons for classifying the pronominal forms in question into several word classes are far from persuasive. For example, he (1983: 269) explains why possessive determiners should be distinguished from proforms. His argument seems to be summarized as follows[272] (Since it often refers to third-person forms, it

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[272] Here I quote his original text since I might have misunderstood his argument (notes in square brackets are mine): 'One might want then to interpret these possessive determiners as proforms manifesting the Head of a proN [i.e. pronoun phrase] manifesting the Mod_{gen} [i.e. genitive Modifier] function. However, within the possessive determiner paradigm, the "exclusive" possessive determiners /ba/ "his/her" and /banta/ "their" may not manifest S[ubject], Ca[usee], O[bject], Co[mplement], like proforms, but are restricted to only a genitive function. And, as explained below, since /ba/ and /banta/ are in complementary distribution with their counterparts /a/ "his (non-exclusive)" and /?eta/ "their (non-exclusive)" in that one or other of them must occur as 3m genitive, /a/ and /?eta/ can be interpreted as possessive determiners along with /ba/ and /banta/. This is especially so, when it is noted that no proform manifesting S, O, Ca, Co has a counterpart with the "exclusive" feature. Furthermore, /?i/ "her" (genitive)" is in contrast to /?a/ "she(nom)" and /?o/ "her(abs)", which supports the analysis that there are some distinct forms for possessive determiners. And so because

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may be recommended that readers return here after reading sections 4.2.4.1.5 and 4.2.4.2).

(4.2.4.1.4-2)

Adams's Reasons for Distinguishing Possessive Determiners from Proforms

a) The possessive determiners /ba/ "his/her" and /banta/ "their" are restricted to only a genitive function, while proforms may serve to mark a subject, a causee, an object, and a complement.

b) /ba/ and /banta/, which are "exclusive", are in complementary distribution with /a/ "his" and /?eta/ "their", which are "non-exclusive". Thus they belong to the same word class, the possessive determiner, which distinguishes between exclusive and non-exclusive forms. On the other hand, proforms do not distinguish between the two.

c) For third-person singular feminine forms, a genitive form is distinguished from nominative and absolutive forms: /?i/ "her (genitive)", /?a/ "she (nominative)", and /?o/ "her (absolutive)". This means that we have to distinguish genitive forms from other case forms. Genitive forms are determiners and distinguished from proforms, as is explained in a) and b). This distinction should be applied to first- and second-person forms. Thus, ta- 'my', ne- 'your (SG.)', etc. are diterminers, not proforms.

For a), I do not consider that it can be a reason for distinguishing /ba/ and /banta/ from proforms in any way. Anyone would consider that the straightforward solution is to regard them as "genitive" or oblique forms of proforms. Difference in grammatical roles in sentences is never sufficient condition of establishing different word classes. It is very natural that the same word should be inflected for case[273].

For b), Adams misunderstands the facts. As will be explained in section 4.2.4.1.5, the "exclusive" form /ba/ 'his, her' and /banta/ 'their' are not in complementary distribution with the "non-exclusive" forms /a/ 'his' and /?eta/ 'their', respectively, because in some circumstances both forms can be used. Note also that being in complementary distribution is not sufficient condition of belonging to the same category or of being allomorphs.

For c), I admit the necessity of distinguishing genitive forms from other case forms. However, I do not admit the necessity of establishing an independent word class that

these exist, the other members of the paradigm are assumed to be possessive determiners (with homophonous proforms) until further investigation reveals them to be otherwise.'

[273] I assume that Adams would agree with me on this. In fact, we observe that he (1983) sometimes mentions oblique forms of proforms. See (4.2.4.1.4-1).

contains only the "genitive" case for them, since, as I explained above, Adams's arguments a) and b) are far from persuasive.

Now let's consider oblique forms with a long vowel, but without the *n* element, such as *táá-* in *táá-ppé* 'from me'. As said above, Adams (1983: 234) considers that 'vowel length can be the joint realization of both the nominalizer manifesting Head of Nmz [i.e. nominalized phrase] and the absolutive manifestation of the Case function'. His reason for this treatment seems to be a parallelism between postpositional phrases such as the following (Adams 1983: 235):

	Nominalized phrase		Relator (postposition)	
Determiner-	Head-	Case		
ta-	n-	a	-dani	'like me'
ta-	:		-ppe	'from me'
ne-	:		-ssi	'for you'

These forms raise difficult problems. There are postpositions that are attached to pronominal forms with the *n* element (e.g. *-daani* 'like') and those that are not (e.g. *-ppe* 'from', *-ssi* 'for'). Let's set the interpretation of this fact aside for the time being. Adams regards the *n* element as a nominalizer. We have to examine his argument for this, but let's set it aside again (see below in this section). The problem here is, and what I cannot understand is the reason why we must not regard *táá-* in *táá-ppé* 'from me', for example, as an allomorph or an inflected form of the "determiner" /ta-/ or the "proform" /ta/ in Adams's terminology. For common nouns, person-name nouns, place-name nouns, and so on, forms that modify nouns and postpositions are the same:

(4.2.4.1.4-3a)

7anjúll-ó   7aaw-áa

(person name)-OBL. father-ABS.M.SG.

 'Anjulo's father'

(4.2.4.1.4-3b)

7anjúll-ó-ppé

(person name)-OBL.-from

'from Anjulo'

In my opinion, this should not be overlooked when we consider nominals in Wolaytta. In fact, Adams (1983: 266) gives oblique forms in his paradigm of the proform, although the use of them is not clear and the first- and second-person plural forms are missing.

Thus, in summary, his discussions for considering that similar forms, such as *tá* 'I', *ta-* 'my', and *táá-* 'my (with a postposition)', belong to different word classes are not persuasive enough.

Now, let's look closely at Adams's discussion on the relation between pronominal forms with the *n* element and those without it. He (1983: 232-234) argues that the former, such as *táná* 'me', are nominalized phrases based on the nominalizer *n*, not pronouns. The reasons for this could be summarized as follows[274]. In the discussion he

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[274] Here again I quote his original text as I might have misunderstood his argument (notes in square brackets are mine): 'Even though other linguists might interpret the /-n-/ differently, here it is interpreted as manifesting the Head function in the nominalized phrase /tana/ "me". There are reasons for analysing /tana/ as a Nmz [i.e. nominalized phrase] rather than as the Head of a proN[oun phrase]:

a) The /tana/ construction resembles other Nmz's, e.g.,

1] the determiner /ta/ "my" can manifest the Mod[ifier] function in other Nmz's, just as here in /tana/ "me", e.g.,

(39) ta-   b-   a: "my possessions"
     my- thing, indef-   abs
(40) ta:-   g-   e: "mine(nom)"
     my-   thing, def-   nom

2] the nominalizer /-n-/ in /tana/ signals "person" in a way parallel to other nominalizers, e.g.,

(41) ha-   nn-   a   "... this one ..." . . .
     this   "person", fem-   nom
(42) ?immana-   b-   a
     who will give-   "someone", indef-   abs
    "... someone who will give ..."
(43) be:nna:-   r-   o   "... her who is not going ..."
     who is not going- "person", fem-   abs
(44) mi:da:-   g-   a: "... him who ate ..."
     who ate-   "person" def-   abs

With such a precedent, ie. [sic] of nominalizers with a meaning "person" in a Nmz, it is reasonable to analyse /-n-/ as manifesting the nominalizer as signalling "person" also.

3] the form /tana/ "me" can inflect for nominative case, and for the interrogative form, just like other types of Nmz do, e.g.,

often mentions nominalizers. According to him, there are eight nominalizers in Wolaytta: /-g-/, /-b-/, /-r-/, /-nn-/, /-tett-/, /-:-/ (vowel length), /ϕ/ (zero morpheme), and /-n-/, which is in question here. In this thesis, /-g-/, /-r-/, and /-nn-/ are discussed in sections 4.2.5.1, 4.2.5.2, and 4.2.5.3, respectively, as nominalizers. /-b-/ is discussed in section 4.2.1.8 as a kind of common noun, and /-tett-/ is in section 5.2.1 as a stem-forming suffix. /-:-/ is interpreted as the last vowel of the concrete oblique ending of the future infinitive (see section 4.4.4.1), the last vowel of *háá-* 'in the nearer place' (see section 4.2.6.1), or the last vowels of personal pronouns A in the "shorter" oblique (such as *taa-* 'my' and *nee-* 'your', see section 4.4.4). /ϕ/ (zero morpheme), which

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(45) Absolutive

Det	Head	Case	
ta	-n-	a	me
ta:	-g-	a	mine
ha	-g-	a:	this
gu:tta	-b-	a:	a small thing
koyiya:	-r-	o	her who wants

(46) Nominative

Det	Head	Nu[mber]	Case	
ta	-n-		i	I
ta:	-g-	e:t	-i	mine
ha	-g-	e:t	-i	these
gu:tta	-b-		ai	a small thing
koyiya:	-g-	e:t	-i	those who want

(47) Interrogative

Det	Head	Case	
ta	-n-	e:?	Is it I?
ta:	-g-	e:?	Is it mine?
he	-g-	e:?	Is it that?
koyiya:	-g-	e:?	Is it the one who wants?

b) Not only may the Modifier function in a Nmz be manifested by determiners usually thought of as personal possessive pronouns, such as /ta/ "my", /ne/ "your, sg", /nu/ "our", or /?inte/ "your, pl", but it may also be manifested by the interrogative pronoun /?o/ "whose?", which also cooccurs with the nominalizer, /-n-/, e.g.,

(48)

Det	Head	Case/Interr	pp[i.e. postposition]	
?o:	-n-	a		whom?
?o:	-n-	i		who?
?o:	-n-	e:?		who is it?
?o:	-n-	a:	-ra	with whom?
ta	-n-	a:	-ra	with me

Thus the /-n-/ nominalizer in /tana/ "me" is like the /-n-/ nominalizer in /?o:na? [sic]/ "whom?", which is certainly signalling "person" in /?o:na? [sic]/ "whom?".

For these reasons forms like /tana/ "me" are here analysed as nominalized phrases that can be segmented, and are different from the pronouns manifesting Head in a proN that cannot be segmented.'

according to Adams is found in, for example, *šamm-ana-* ϕ *-u* (buy-which, fut[ure]-thing, abs[olutive]-for) 'in order to buy', does not have to be established. The above example is analyzed as *shamm-an-á-u* (buy-INFN.-OBL.M.SG. (concrete)-to, for), in which the concrete oblique ending of the future infinitive *-aa* (see section 4.4.4.1) is shortened because of the postposition *-u* 'to, for' (see section 4.2.8.2). Readers are recommended to refer to the relevant sections if needed.

(4.2.4.1.4-4) Adams's Reasons for Analyzing the *n* Element as a Nominalizer

a) Pronominal forms with the *n* element, such as *táná* 'me', resemble other nominalized phrases in the following points.

1] Elements ("determiners") that precede the *n* element, such as *ta-* 'my', can also precede and modify other nominalizers.

2] The *n* element signals "person" in a way parallel to other nominalizers.

3] The pronominal forms in question can inflect for nominative and interrogative cases, just as other types of nominalized phrase do.

b) The *n* element can be preceded and modified by *7o-* 'whose', as other nominalizers can.

In my opinion, while Adams's nominalizers are heterogeneous, he presents only examples favorable to his interpretation. For a) 1], not all possible modifiers for other nominalizers can be modifiers for the *n* element. For example, *ha* 'this', one of what Adams calls "demonstrative determiners", cannot directly modify the *n* element. In fact, possible determiners for a nominalizer differ from nominalizer to nominalizer. For a) 2], there are some nominalizers that can signal something other than "person". For example, the nominalizer /-b-/[275] in *ta-b-a:* 'my possessions', which is given by Adams (1983: 233) (see example (39) in footnote 274), can signal an inanimate thing. His discussion here contradicts his (1983: 231) claim that 'The Head of a Nmz [i.e. nominalized phrase] is manifested by a nominalizer that consists only of a suffix which is lexically empty. According to the context this can mean "thing", "matter", "person", "happening", etc.', because according to Adams, the *n* element always signals "person" (or personified one). In fact, possible semantic range that a nominalizer (in Adams' terminology) can signal differs from nominalizer to nominalizer. For a) 3], two of his nominalizers, /-:-/ and /ϕ/, do not inflect for the cases in question, although true nominalizers indeed do. For b), the nominalizer /-nn-/ cannot be preceded and modified by *7o-* 'whose'. Thus, Adams's discussion in support of a resemblance between his

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[275] As said above, however, I regard this as a kind of common noun.

nominalized phrases is not persuasive.

To tell the truth, however, personal pronouns A with the *n* element morphologically resemble other nominals, such as common nouns, person-name nouns, etc. (see section 4.2.10), unlike those without the *n* element. Thus, Adams's treatment, which distinguishes personal pronouns A with the *n* element from those without it, is not so unreasonable. While fully acknowledging that, however, a treatment that regards the two pronominal forms as belonging to different word classes seems to be intuitively odd, at least to me. The reasons would be the following.

a) In this treatment, there are gaps or blanks in the paradigms as Adams (1983: 266) admits. For example, there are no absolutive forms in the paradigm of personal pronouns without the *n* element. On the other hand, forms used for modifying common nouns are not found in the paradigm of personal pronouns with the *n* element (however, forms for modifying the postpositions *-ra* 'with', *-ni* 'in, at, by', *-daani* 'like', and *-ttuwa* 'like' would be found).

b) In this treatment, forms with the same function may be treated differently. For example, *táání* 'I' and *tá* 'I', both of which are nominative, are separated into different paradigms. *nee-* 'your' and *nenaa-* 'your', for example, are separated into different paradigms, despite the fact that both of them are used to modify postpositions (however, they are in complementary distribution with each other (see section 4.2.4.1.1)).

c) Practically, this treatment is inconvenient. I took a lot of trouble in finding all the relevant pages that discuss pronominal expressions in Adams (1983). It would have been helpful if all the pronominal forms had been discussed together.

d) The *n* element, which is a nominalizer that signals "person" according to Adams (1983), is not productive. Only a rather closed set of "determiners" can modify it. Thus to isolate it does not contribute much to analysis of words other than the small set of pronominal expressions.

Now let's consider the hypothesis presented by Hayward and Tsuge (1998), which seems to be very suggestive for the matter in question. They (1998) would regard this *n* element in Wolaytta as corresponding to the direct object marker *-n* widespread in North Omotic, although in the Ometo languages it survives as a fossil only in first and second person pronouns and occasionally in interrogative pronouns.

(4.2.4.1.4-5) Yemsa (North Omotic)

asuú-si-<u>n</u>   teegó!

man-DEF-ACC   call-impt

'Call the man!'   (From Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 23) = Lamberti (1993b: 260))

(4.2.4.1.4-6) Zayse (Ometo)

	subject	direct object
1 sg	tá-i	tá-<u>na</u>
2 sg	né-i	né-<u>na</u>

(From Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 24) = Hayward (1990b: 266))

They (1998: 25) continue saying that 'In some cases the erstwhile function of *-n* has so far been lost sight of that the default nominative marker *-i* attaches to it, replacing the more basic *-a* of the absolutive.' Although their example is the Gamo language, their claim seems to apply to Wolaytta, which is genetically closely related to Gamo.

(4.2.4.1.4-7) Gamo

	subject	direct object
1 sg	ta-n-i	ta-n-a
2 sg	ne-n-i	ne-n-a

(From Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 25) = Hompó (1990: 371))

Moreover, they (1998: 30) consider the earlier function of the *n* element at the proto-Omotic stage to be 'an 'oblique case marker' indicating relationships such as 'locative'/ 'instrumental'/ 'directional'.'

The 'locative/instrumental' postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by, with' in Wolaytta (see section 4.2.8.4.5) might be a reflex of the original function of the *n* element proposed by Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 30). The fact that before this postposition *-ni* vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are used interchangeably (see section 4.2.8.2) might explain the difference of vowel length before the *n* element in personal pronouns A: *táání* 'I (NOM.)' with a long vowel, but *táná* 'me (ABS.)' with a short vowel, for example.

In addition, Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 25) suppose that 'nominative marking in Gimira and Ometo is an innovation as far as Omotic is concerned.' In other words, Wolaytta, which is a member of the Ometo languages, was operating with an 'accusative' or 'accusative-marking' system, in which 'NP's in subject and nominal

predicate functions remain unmarked, while heads (usually definite) or [*sic*]²⁷⁶ direct object complement NP's receive an accusative case marker' (Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 23)). If we accept this hypothesis, shorter nominative forms of personal pronouns A, *tá* 'I', *né* 'you (SG.)', *nú* 'we', and *7ínté* 'you (PL.)', can be explained as older unmarked forms that reflect the accusative-marking system.

Unfortunately the data presented by them does not enable us to trace the exact formal changes in each language nor to infer when the change from an accusative-marking system to a nominative-marking system²⁷⁷ took place. In fact, even the authors themselves were not able to trace these changes or when they took place (Yoichi Tsuge, personal communication). This is the weakest point of their hypothesis.

In my opinion, however, Hayward and Tsuge (1998) are correct in principle. Thus I surmise that for the first-person singular pronoun, for example, the following forms existed in ancient Wolaytta (or an ancestor language of Wolaytta).

(4.2.4.1.4-8) Supposed Ancient Personal Pronouns (1SG.)
ta (basic form, used as a subject and a modifier)
tan~taan (the accusative, with the accusative marker or postposition *-n*)

And the functionally corresponding present forms are analyzed as follows.

(4.2.4.1.4-9) Present Personal Pronouns (1SG.)
tá (the nominative, remnant of the ancient basic form)
ta- (the oblique, remnant of the ancient basic form)
táná (the absolutive, innovation based on the ancient accusative form, whose accusative marker *-n* is not regarded as such any more, followed by the absolutive case marker *-a* (see section 4.2.10))
táání (the nominative, innovation based on the ancient accusative form, whose accusative marker *-n* is not regarded as such any more, followed by the nominative case marker *-i* (see section 4.2.10))

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²⁷⁶ According to one of the authors, Yoich Tsuge (personal communication), this "or" is a misprint and should be "of".
²⁷⁷ According to Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 24), the essential features of this system are: '1. that the heads of NPs with functions such as direct object complements of verbs and nominal predicates appear in a basically unmarked form that is usually referred to as the 'absolutive': 2. that topic (unfocused) subjects take special nominative case marking.'

Thus, present Wolaytta pronominal expressions are heterogeneous from the historical point of view. Both ancient shorter forms and innovated complex forms are used. This is the reason why we have a lot of trouble in analyzing them. The recognition of this heterogeneity would be the exemplary answer to the problem.

Some may dislike introducing a diachronic viewpoint into a synchronic description. In my opinion, however, a description of a language must provide linguistic facts that even native speakers of the language do not know. Such facts include also historical information, which constitutes an important part of a language. I admit that, practically, speakers do not need such information and that we may not always be able to ascertain it. A description of a language should, however, mention such information if it will somehow make it more attractive to those learning about (it is a fact that existing descriptions of the Wolaytta pronominal forms under discussion, which are highly synchronic, are not attractive in that they are too complicated or are boring lists of the facts without explanation). Since a language is interesting and fascinating, its description must be interesting and fascinating, I think.

In any case, I describe personal pronouns A in the form of the paradigm in (4.2.4-1) supplemented with the historical background outlined in this section. This would be the most intelligible way and the most useful way for future discussions.

Incidentally, *ta-* and *ne-*, the "basic" elements of the first- and second- person pronouns, played an important part in isolating the Omotic languages from the Highland East Cushitic languages (柘植 (Tsuge 1988b: 1072, 1075)). For more information, see Lamberti (1991: 553-554) and Moreno, Mario Martino (1940) *Manuale di Sidamo*. Milano: Mondadori, the last of which unfortunately I have not been able to access.

4.2.4.1.5   Other Members of the Personal Pronoun A

There are some other words that in principle follow the pattern found in the paradigm in (4.2.4-1) and thus are regarded as personal pronouns A. They are discussed in the following sections.

4.2.4.1.5.1   The Interrogative Word "Who"

One of the personal pronouns A that have not been discussed in this thesis is the interrogative word "who". It is inflected as follows.

(4.2.4.1.5.1-1)

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
	ʔó-			
	ʔóó-			
ʔóóná	ʔóóná-	ʔóóní	ʔóónee	(missing)
	ʔóónáá-			

Cf. 1SG.

	ta-	tá		
	taa-	táá		
táná	tana-	táání	tánee	tánoo
	tanaa-	tán		

Morphologically the word *ʔóóná* 'who' is slightly different from the personal pronouns A discussed above in that 1) it lacks shorter nominative forms[278], 2) it lacks a vocative form, 3) its "basic" element has a long vowel (*ʔóó-* vs. *tá-*, etc.) in its absolutive, interrogative, and longer oblique forms, and 4) oblique forms are tonally prominent.[279] Nonetheless we could classify it as a personal pronoun A on the basis of the overall structural resemblance.

The followings are some examples that contain *ʔóóná* 'who'.

(4.2.4.1.5.1-2)

ʔóóní	y-íídee?
who (NOM.)	come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

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[278] Only possible attestations of a shorter nominative form are found before the indeclinable *-nne* 'and', as in the following. However, we should consider that *ʔóóní* is used here (see (4.3.2-55) and (4.3.2-56)), rather than establish a shorter nominative, which is never found elsewhere.

ʔóónné	ʔer-énná.
<ʔóóní-nne	know-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.
who-and	

'Nobody knows.'

[279] *ʔón* (NOM.) has also not been attested yet, although it seems to be possible that it exists.

'Who came?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-3)

hanná	7ó-micc-íi?
this (NOM.)	who (OBL.)-sister-INTER.F.SG.

'Whose sister is this?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-4)

7óó-ppé	7ekk-ádii?
who (OBL.)-from	take-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Who did you take (it) from?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-5)

7óóna-daani	7oott-ádii?
who (OBL.)-like	work-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Who did you work like?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-6)

7óónáá-rá	b-áádii?
who (OBL.)-with	go-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Who did you go with?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-7)

ne-súnt-ai	7óónee?
your-name-NOM.M.SG.	who (INTER.)

'What (lit. who) is your name?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-8)

7óóná	be7-ádii?
who (ABS.)	see-INTER.PF.2SG.

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'Who did you see?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-9)

néná	7óóná	g-íyo?
you (ABS.SG.)	who (ABS.)	say-INTER.IMPF.1PL.

'What (lit. who) do we call (lit. say) you?'

This interrogative word can be used in indirect questions, as other interrogative words can (see section 4.2.7).

(4.2.4.1.5.1-10)

7óóní	y-aan-áa-kko	7er-íkke.
who (NOM.)	come-INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if	know-NEG.PF.1SG.

'I do not know who will come.'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-11)

7óó-ssí	7imm-ídaa-kko	7er-íkke.
who (OBL.)-to	give-INFN.-if	know-NEG.PF.1SG.

'I do not know whom he gave (it) to.'

It is also used in expressions other than an interrogative one.

(4.2.4.1.5.1-12)

7óónáá-rá-nné	b-ábe7íkke.
who (OBL.)-with-and	go-NEG.PF.1SG.

'I went without anyone (= I went alone).'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-13)

kokkórs-ai	de7-íyo	gishsh-á-u
malaria-NOM.M.SG.	live-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

dáán-á	bázz-oi	7óóní-nné
(place name)-OBL.	desert-NOM.M.SG.	who (NOM.)-and

de7-énná	biitt-á.
live-NEG.REL.	land-ABS.

'Because there is malaria, the Dana Desert is a land where no one lives.'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-14)

7óóní-kká	he	wott-áa	danday-ées.
who (NOM.)-too	that	running-ABS.M.SG.	can-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Anyone can run that running.'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-15)

7óóna-kko	y-íis.
who (ABS.)-if	come-PF.3M.SG.

'Someone (lit. (I do not know) who it is) came.'

In personal pronouns A, plurality is in general expressed through replacement of "basic" elements (e.g. *ta* to *nu* in the case of the first person, and *ne* to *7inte* in the case of the second person), not through a suffixed element as in the case of common nouns. For the interrogative word *7óóná* 'who', however, there is no corresponding plural form and plurality is expressed through reduplication.

(4.2.4.1.5.1-16)

7óóní-nné	7óóní-nné	y-íídona?
who (NOM.)-and	who (NOM.)-and	come-INTER.PF.3PL.

'Who (PL.) came?'

(4.2.4.1.5.1-17)

wont-ó	Keer-áá	galláss-i
tomorrow-ABS.	Saturday-OBL.M.SG.	day-ADV.

y-aanáa-geetí	7óónee-nne
come-REL.FUT.-NMNL.PL.NOM.	who (INTER.)-and

7óónee?
who (INTER.)

   'Who are those who will come the next Saturday?'

4.2.4.1.5.2 "Reflexive Pronouns"

   "Reflexive pronouns" are also personal pronouns A that have not been discussed in this thesis. For these there are only third-person forms. They are inflected as follows.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-1)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
3SG.		ba-			
		baa-			
	báná	bana-	(missing)	bánee	(missing)
		banaa-			
3PL.		banta-			
		bantaa-			
	bántáná	bantana-	(missing)	bántánée	(missing)
		bantanaa-			
Cf. 1SG.					
		ta-	tá		
		taa-	táá		
	táná	tana-	táání	tánee	tánoo
		tanaa-	tán		

Distribution of the oblique forms of *báná* and *bántáná* is the same as that of *táná* etc. and that of *7ínténá*, respectively (see section 4.2.4.1.1). For *-nta* in the plural, see the discussion in section 4.2.5.4.

   Adams (1983: 269) says that: 'The possessive determiners /ba/ "his/her", and /banta/

"their", are "exclusive" in the sense that the form /ba/ "his" refers to the subject of the main verb of the clause in which /ba/ occurs, and excludes any other 3m referent'. According to him, this /ba/ is in complementary distribution with the possessive determiner /?a/ "his" (a personal pronoun B, in our terminology, see section 4.2.4.2), saying that the latter 'refers to someone other than the subject of the main verb of the clause in which /?a/ occurs'. His examples are the following:

(4.2.4.1.5.2-2a)

Ba:ssi	ba	ke:tta:	bi:si.
Baassa	his own	the house	he went.
	(no one else's)		

   'Baassa went to his own house.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-2b)

Ba:ssi	?a	ke:tta:	bi:si.
Baassa	someone other	the house	he went.
	than Baassa's		

   'Baassa went to his (other than Baassa's) house.'

  His explanation works well for many cases. The following are other examples that support it[280].

(4.2.4.1.5.2-3a)

7etí	banta-naatú-ssí	Karétt-idosona.
they	their own-children (OBL.)-for	feel pity-PF.3PL.

   'They felt pity for their own children.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-3b)

7etí	7eta-naatú-ssí	Karétt-idosona.
they	their own-children (OBL.)-for	feel pity-PF.3PL.

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[280] According to Adams (1983:232-234), all the forms in (4.2.4.1.5.2-1) would be regarded as including a possessive determiner (/ba/ or /banta/). Thus his discussion cited above could be applied to them all.

'They felt pity for their (i.e. some other persons') children.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-4a)

núúní	haatt-áa	7úy-enn-aa-daani
we	water-ABS.M.SG.	drink-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

daann-ái	7anjúll-ó-ssí	7od-ídí
judge-NOM.M.SG.	(person name)-OBL.-to	tell-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>ba-</u>na7-áa-ni	haatt-áa	7ót-uwa
his own-child-OBL.M.SG.-by	water-OBL.M.SG.	water jar-ABS.M.SG.

dig-is-iss-íis.
deprive-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'In order for us not to drink the water, the judge told Anjulo to make his (i.e. the judge's) son deprive (us) of the water jar.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-4b)

núúní	haatt-áa	7úy-enn-aa-daani
we	water-ABS.M.SG.	drink-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

daann-ái	7anjúll-ó-ssí	7od-ídí
judge-NOM.M.SG.	(person name)-OBL.-to	tell-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>7a-</u>na7-áa-ni	haatt-áa	7ót-uwa
his-child-OBL.M.SG.-by	water-OBL.M.SG.	water jar-ABS.M.SG.

dig-is-iss-íis.
deprive-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'In order for us not to drink the water, the judge told Anjulo to make his (i.e. Anjulo's or someone else's) son deprive (us) of the water jar.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-5)

baalót-á	báná	herég-aa-ni
(person name)-NOM.	herself	mirror-OBL.M.SG.-in

Teell-áasu.
see-PF.3F.SG.

   'Balote looked at herself in the mirror.'

   The following is an example in which a "reflexive pronoun" is used in a subordinate clause.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-6)

na7-íya	kar-é	kíy-ada
child-NOM.F.SG.	outside-ABS.	go out-CONV.3F.SG.

ba-7aayy-íyo		"7áí	7imm-á	g-óo?"
her own-mother-ABS.F.SG.		what	give-OPT.2SG.	say-OPT.1SG.

yáág-ada	7oicc-íi-ni	7i-7aayy-íya
say so-CONV.3F.SG.	ask-SUBOR.-in	her-mother-NOM.F.SG.

"TammaK-íya	yohaannís-á	húúP-iya
baptize-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	(person name)-OBL.	head-ABS.M.SG.

7imm-á	g-á."	yáág-aasu.
give-OPT.2SG.	say-OPT.2SG.	say so-PF.3F.SG.

   'When the girl went out and asked her mother saying "What shall I ask for (lit. shall I say 'Give what')?", her mother said "Say 'Give the head of John the Baptist.'."'
   (From Mark 6:24)

   A predicate of a clause does not need to be a verb in a usual sense[281].

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[281] However, Adams (1983: 218-219) would judge the postpositional phrase in (4.2.4.1.5.2-7a) to be a verb.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-7a)

7etí	banta-7oorátt-a	keett-áa-na.
they	their own-new-OBL.	house-OBL.M.SG.-in

   'They are in their own new house.'   (From Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 86))

(4.2.4.1.5.2-7b)

7etí	7eta-7oorátt-a	keett-áa-na.
they	their-new-OBL.	house-OBL.M.SG.-in

   'They are in their (i.e. some other persons') new house.'

In the following, the "non-exclusive" *7a-* 'his' cannot be replaced by the "exclusive" *ba-* 'his own'. Note, however, that Adams' explanation works in this case in that the underlined pronominal word refers to 'someone other than the subject of the main verb' (i.e. it refers to Dalga, who is expressed as a causee).

(4.2.4.1.5.2-8)

7a-lágg-ee	dalg-á	mítt-aa
his-friend-NOM.M.SG.	(person name)-ABS.	wood-ABS.M.SG.

ment-iss-íis.
break-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'His friend made Dalga break the wood.'

However, there are more than a few cases in which both "exclusive" and "non-exclusive" forms can be used with the same meaning. Judging from examples, it can be concluded that to refer to a subject[282] of a relatively superordinate clause in a relatively subordinate clause both "exclusive" and "non-exclusive" forms can be used even if subjects are not the same in the two clauses.[283]

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[282] A nominal that functions as a subject is not an obligatory element in this language. Sometimes its existence is only inferred from a verb form. Such potential subjects are regarded as subjects in this section.

[283] However, the use of a "non-exclusive" form may bring about ambiguity, since it can also refer to a third party that is not otherwise mentioned in the sentence. For example, (4.2.4.1.5.2-9b) can also mean 'if he has knowledge, some other person will do.' Such

(4.2.4.1.5.2-9a)

bá-u	7ér-ai	d-íí-kkó	7oott-ées.
his own-for	knowledge-NOM.M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-if	do-IMPF.3M.SG.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-9b)

7á-u	7ér-ai	d-íí-kkó	7oott-ées.
his-for	knowledge-NOM.M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-if	do-IMPF.3M.SG.

'If he has knowledge (lit. knowledge exists for him), he will do.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-10a)

7í	7as-á	7ubb-ái	báná	maadd-ído
he	people-OBL.	all-NOM.M.SG.	himself	help-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

gishsh-á-u	galat-íis.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	thank-PF.3M.SG.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-10b)

7í	7as-á	7ubb-ái	7á	maadd-ído
he	people-OBL.	all-NOM.M.SG.	him	help-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

gishsh-á-u	galat-íis.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	thank-PF.3M.SG.

'He thanked because all the people helped him.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-11a)

bántáná	haar-íya	gód-aa-ra
themselves	govern-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	lord-OBL.M.SG.-with

7óóy-ett-idosona.
quarrel-PASS.-PF.3PL.

---

usage will be ignored in the following discussion.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-11b)

7etá   haar-íya   gód-aa-ra

them   govern-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.   lord-OBL.M.SG.-with

7óóy-ett-idosona.

quarrel-PASS.-PF.3PL.

    'They quarreled with the lord that was governing them.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-12a)

Talah-etú   halaK-ái   bá-yyo   wolK-áa

demon-OBL.PL. chief-NOM.M.SG.   his own-to   power-ABS.M.SG.

7imm-ídí   Talah-etá   kess-ées.

give-CONV.3M.SG.   demon-ABS.PL. drive out-IMPF.3M.SG.

    (From Mark 3:22)

(4.2.4.1.5.2-12b)

Talah-etú   halaK-ái   7á-yyo   wolK-áa

demon-OBL.PL. chief-NOM.M.SG.   his-to   power-ABS.M.SG.

7imm-ídí   Talah-etá   kess-ées.

give-CONV.3M.SG.   demon-ABS.PL. drive out-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The ruler of demons gave him (i.e. Jesus) power, and he (i.e. Jesus) is driving out demons.'

A "relatively superordinate clause" does not need to be a main clause. In the following, the subject of the main clause refers to the speaker, and the "reflexive pronoun" refers to a leading character of a story.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-13a)

na7-í   bántá-u   mínn-an-a-u

child-NOM.   their own-for   become strong-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-idi	baaTet-íi-ni
want-CONV.3PL.	struggle-SUBOR.-in

han-énn-aa-ni	7iTT-óo-g-áá-ní
become-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	refuse-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

yiillot-ídí	haasay-ído	haasáy-aa
become annayed-CONV.3PL.	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	story-ABS.M.SG.

yoot-áis.
tell-IMPF.1SG.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-13b)

na7-í	7etá-u	mínn-an-a-u
child-NOM.	their own-for	become strong-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-idi	baaTet-íi-ni
want-CONV.3PL.	struggle-SUBOR.-in

han-énn-aa-ni	7iTT-óo-g-áá-ní
become-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	refuse-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

yiillot-ídí	haasay-ído	haasáy-aa
become annayed-CONV.3PL.	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	story-ABS.M.SG.

yoot-áis.
tell-IMPF.1SG.

'I will tell the story that he told, annoyed that any child (of his) had not became strong for his benefit (lit. for them) when he struggled, wanting them to be so.' (For the honorific use of the plural, see section 7.2.1.)

In the following passage from Mark 2:19, "exclusive" and "non-exclusive" forms are used in succession in order to refer to the same referent.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-14)

bullácc-aa	y-íída	7as-atí
wedding ceremony-ABS.M.SG.	come-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-NOM.M.SG.

mácc-iyo	7ekk-íya-g-éé
wife-ABS.F.SG.	take-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

bántánáá-rá	de7-ísin	Toom-an-á-u
their own-with	exist-while	fast-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-íyonaa?	mácc-iyo
be able to-INTER.IMPF.3PL.	wife-ABS.F.SG.

7ekk-íya-g-éé	7etáá-rá	de7-í-shiini
take-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	them-with	exist-SUBOR.-while

Toom-an-á-u	danday-ókkóná.
fast-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	can-NEG.IMPF.3PL.

   'Can people who came to a wedding ceremony fast while the bridegroom (lit. man who takes a wife) is with them? They cannot fast while the bridegroom is with them.'
   (From Mark 2:19)

   A "reflexive pronoun" can occur as a predicate of a sentence, although such use is rare. In this case, it might be said that the "reflexive" pronoun exceptionally refers to a subject of a relatively subordinate clause[284].

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[284] Elsewhere this is impossible in this language. Thus the above description is not persuasive. One intuitively clear explanation would be that (4.2.4.1.5.2-15), for example, which is a kind of cleft sentence, is derived from the following sentence.

ha	héér-a	naatí	bántáná	dog-ídosona.
this	district-OBL.	children (NOM.)	themselves	forget-PF.3PL.

   'The children of this district forgot themselves (i.e. did not do proper things for them).'

However, such explanation would be impossible unless we adopt some specific

(4.2.4.1.5.2-15)

ha	héér-a	naatí	dog-ído-i
this	district-OBL.	children (NOM.)	forget-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

bántáná.
themselves

    'It is themselves that the children of this district forgot (i.e. did not do proper things for).'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-16)

ha77í	7á	7akeek-ó-i	bánee?
now	she	pay attention-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	herself

    'Is it herself that she cared about now?'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-17)

7í	shamm-ído-i	ba-miishsh-áa-na.
he	buy-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	his own-money-OBL.M.SG.-by

    'It is at his own expense (lit. with his own money) that he bought.'

    I did not list nominative forms of "reflexive pronouns" in (4.2.4.1.5.2-1). However, they might exist in relative clauses. Consider the following.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-18)

yesúús-í	der-íya	boll-í	kíy-idi
Jesus-NOM.	mountain-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.	climb-CONV.3M.SG.

ba	kóyy-ido	7as-atá	báá-kkó
	want-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	people-ABS.PL.	his own-toward

Tees-íis.
call-PF.3M.SG.

---

grammatical theory that presupposes a so-called "transformation" or the like.

'Jesus climbed up the mountain, and called the people whom he wanted toward him.'   (From Mark 3:13)

(4.2.4.1.5.2-19)

7etí	banta	danday-ídoo-g-áá	7oott-ídosona.
they		be able to-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	do-PF.3PL.

'They did what they could (do).'

The underlined forms in the above examples are formally regarded as oblique forms of "reflexive pronouns". Among others, *a* after *nt* in *banta* is an undoubted index of the oblique case (see section 4.2.5.4). Thus I conclude that the forms in question are in the oblique.

However, if a personal pronoun modifies a noun modified by a relative clause it usually occurs between the relative clause and the noun.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-20a)

hegáá-ní	7útt-ida	ta-7ish-áa
that-in	sit-REL.PF.SUBJ.	my-brother-ABS.M.SG.

'my brother that sits there'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-20b)

?? ta	hegáá-ní	7útt-ida	7ish-áa
my	that-in	sit-REL.PF.SUBJ.	brother-ABS.M.SG.

In addition, in a relative clause a personal pronoun that marks a subject of the relative verb occurs in the nominative, not in the oblique.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-21a)

7etí	yel-étt-ido	láítt-aa
they (NOM.)	bear-PASS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	year-ABS.M.SG.

'the year in which they were born'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-21b)

* <u>7eta</u>	yel-étt-ido	láítt-aa
their (OBL.)	bear-PASS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	year-ABS.M.SG.

Thus the underlined "reflexive pronouns" in (4.2.4.1.5.2-18) and (4.2.4.1.5.2-19) above might be in the nominative.

A "pronoun" that is similar to *ba-* 'his/her own' in form and function is *bari-* 'his/her own'.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-22a)

motomíchí	<u>bari</u>-kúsh-iya	mashsh-áa-ni
(foreign person name)	his own-hand-ABS.M.SG.	knife-OBL.M.SG.-with

KanT-íis.
cut-PF.3M.SG.

'Motomichi cut his hand with the knife.'

Cf. (4.2.4.1.5.2-22b)

motomíchí	<u>ba</u>-kúsh-iya	mashsh-áa-ni
(foreign person name)	his own-hand-ABS.M.SG.	knife-OBL.M.SG.-with

KanT-íis.
cut-PF.3M.SG.

'Motomichi cut his hand with the knife.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-23)

7adóód-é-ssí	kaw-ó	biyy-íyo
(person name)-OBL.-to	king-OBL.	princess-ABS.F.SG.

<u>baríí</u>-r-ó	sagéét-ó	ba-micc-íyo
his own-NMNL.-ABS.	(person name)-ABS.	his own-sister-ABS.F.SG.

7imm-íis.

give-PF.3M.SG.

   'He gave the princess, his own one, Sagete, his sister, to Adole.'

I cannot analyze *bari-* 'his/her own' morphologically, although it seems to be related to an oblique form of the personal pronoun A *ba-* 'his/her own'. Lamberti and Sottile (1977: 86) seem to regard this *bari-* 'his/her own' (*bare*, in their notation) as a less frequent variant of *ba-* 'his/her own'.

   It has no corresponding forms in the plural nor any in the other grammatical cases.

   I have used the word "reflexive pronoun" in this section. The term has no serious theoretical implication here and is used as a convenient label for the words discussed in this section. The important point here is that the words under discussion, *báná* 'his own' and *bántáná* 'their own', are personal pronouns A that are used as described above.

   Some previous works use the term "reflexive pronoun" or "reflexive form" to refer to nominal phrases composed of a possessive pronoun (personal pronoun in the oblique, in our terminology) and the common noun *húúP-iya* 'head'.

(4.2.4.1.5.2-24)
<u>ne-húúP-iya</u>   wor-á.
your-head-ABS.M.SG.   kill-OPT.2SG.

   'Kill yourself!'   (From Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 97) (the notation is mine))

(4.2.4.1.5.2-25)
núúní   <u>nu-húúP-iya</u>   kasey-ída.
we   our-head-ABS.M.SG.   make precede-PF.1PL.

   'We gave ourselves preference.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-26)
táání   <u>ta-húúP-e</u>   haah-ó   s-áa-ppe
I (NOM.)   my-head-ABS.   distant-OBL.   place-OBL.-from

y-áas.
come-PF.1SG.

'I came by myself from a distant place.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-27)

7á	<u>ba-húúP-e-ssi</u>	na7-á	gid-íyo
she	her own-head-OBL.-for	child-ABS.	become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

gishsh-á-u	7akeek-úkkú.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	pay attention-NEG.PF.3F.SG.

'She does not care about herself since she is a child.'

(4.2.4.1.5.2-28)

yesúús-í	báá-ppé	wolK-ái
Jesus-NOM.	his own-from	power-NOM.M.SG.

kíy-idoo-g-áá	<u>ba-húúP-ee-ni</u>
go out-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	his own-head-OBL.-in

7er-ídí,	. . .
know-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Jesus knew by himself that power has gone out from him, and . . .'
(From Mark 5:30)

However, I consider that it is straightforward to regard the forms under discussion as semantically idiomatic but structurally normal noun phrases, not as pronouns forming an independent category. Adams (1983: 269) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 96), who use the term "reflexive" for the forms under discussion, would not deny this.

Incidentally, use of the noun "head" for reflexivity is also found in Amharic and, according to Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 96), in Cushitic languages.

4.2.4.2   Personal Pronouns B
4.2.4.2.1   Morphology of the Personal Pronoun B

As mentioned in section 4.2.4, so-called third-person pronouns constitute the personal pronouns B. It is a closed word class and there are no other members of it.

(4.2.4.2.1-1)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
3M.SG.	7á	7a- 7aa-	7í	7ée
3F.SG.	7ó	7i- 7ii-	7á	7íi
3PL.	7etá	7eta- 7etaa-	7etí	7etée

For oblique forms, each has two allomorphs. In the case of the singular, the allomorphs with a long vowel are obligatorily used before postpositions in their predicative or interrogative forms except for *-daani* 'like' (see section 4.2.8), the postposition *-ra* 'with' in its non-predicative form, and the nominalizers *-gáá*, *-ró*, and *-geetá* (see section 4.2.5). Elsewhere, the allomorphs with a short vowel are in principle used. However both allomorphs can be interchangeably used before the postpositions *-ppe* 'from', *-ssi* 'for', *-yyo* 'for', *-ni* 'in, at, by', and *-kko* 'towards' in their non-predicative forms. In the case of the plural, the allomorph with a long vowel (i.e. *7etaa-*) is obligatorily used before the postposition *-ra* 'with', the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms, and the nominalizers *-gáá*, *-ro*, and *-geetá*. Before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at' in its non-predicative form, both allomorphs are interchangeably used. Elsewhere the allomorph with a short vowel (i.e. *7eta-*) is used.

Previous works on Wolaytta disagree with me sometimes on vowel length of personal pronouns B, or they are very often insensitive to allomorphs distinguished only by vowel length, which are discussed in the last paragraph.

Apart from vowel length, however, there are only a few cases of disagreement on the morphology of the personal pronouns B. Among them, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 158) give *e-* as a third-person singular "possessive prefix" (personal pronoun in the oblique case, in our terminology), instead of *a-* 'his'. In the brief lists of Hirut (1999: 90-92), she very often translates *a-* as 'her', and *i-* as 'his', these translations being the opposite of ours. However, this is probably nothing but careless misplacing: Table IV, which is found on page 89 of the same work, agrees with me on this matter. Cerulli (1929: 15) gives *ā* (3M.SG..), *ō* (3F.SG.), and *ī* (3PL.[285]) as forms in the Maldô Karrê dialect, and *ī*

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[285] The original gloss in Italian is 'essi', which is a third-person plural masculine pronoun. However, I guess that he used this word as a substitute for a third-person

(3M.SG.), *ā* (3F.SG.), and *itē* (3PL.) as forms in the Sorê dialect. Note the plural forms, which are very different from those seen in other works. For the singular forms, I refrain from any comment since he does not tell which case each form is in. The most interesting forms are found in Azeb (1996: 117): *ʔiyá* 'she (3F.SG. subject form (nominative, in our terminology))', *ʔiyâ* 'him (3M.SG. object form (absolutive, in our terminology))', and *ʔiyô* 'her (3F.SG. object form)'[286]. These make personal pronouns B more alike Masculine Class E common nouns (see section 4.2.1.1). Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 90) interpretation that 'The pronoun of the 3rd person plural (eeta) is formed by means of the characteristic Wolaytta plural marker -ta' is favorable for the hypothesis that links the two word classes together. However, I have not actually encountered these pronominal forms found in Azeb (1996: 117).

In this thesis, pronominal forms of the first and second persons and those of the third person are treated separately on the basis of their morphology (except for the interrogative word "who" and "reflexive pronouns"). It has been well acknowledged that the third person differs from the first and second persons in many respects. Discussions on this matter are summarized in Siewierska (2004: 5-8), one of the latest works in the field.

However, we should note that in fact there are common elements in endings of both types of personal pronoun (see section 4.2.10). In any case, the serious difference between personal pronouns A and B lies only in the actual presence of forms without any overt case element in the former (*ta* 'I (NOM.)', *ne-* 'your (OBL.SG.)', etc.). Thus, personal pronouns A and B are not as different from each other as they look at first glance.

4.2.4.2.2 Tone of the Personal Pronoun B

The claims made in section 4.2.4.1.2 for the tone of personal pronouns A applies also to that of personal pronouns B. That is to say, absolutive, nominative, and interrogative, forms of personal pronouns B have tonal prominences. Their places are indicated in (4.2.4.2.1-1). Oblique forms of personal pronouns B may or may not have tonal prominences depending on the environment in which they occur. An oblique form of a personal pronoun B does not have a tonal prominence if a word that immediately follows it has a tonal prominence.

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plural pronoun used for both genders.

[286] The acute accent indicates 'high tone-accent', and the circumflex accent 'falling tone-accent'.

(4.2.4.2.2-1)
<u>7a-</u>keett-áa
his-house-ABS.M.SG.

   'his house'

(4.2.4.2.2-2)
<u>7etaa-</u>g-éé   ló77-o.
their-NMNL.-NOM.   good-ABS.

   'Theirs is good.'

However, an oblique form of a personal pronoun B has a tonal prominence if a word that immediately follows it does not have a tonal prominence or is tonally indeterminate. In this case, the whole part of a personal pronoun B is tonally prominent as a rule, although the first syllable of *7eta-* 'their' is an exception.

(4.2.4.2.2-3)
<u>7á-</u>daani
his-like

   'like him'
   (The postposition *-daani* 'like' does not have a tonal prominence (see section 4.2.8.3).)

(4.2.4.2.2-4)
<u>7íí-</u>rá
her-with

   'with her'
   (The postposition *-ra* 'with' is tonally indeterminate (see section 4.2.8.3).)

(4.2.4.2.2-5)
<u>7etá-</u>ppé
their-from

'from them'

(The postposition *-ppe* 'from' is tonally indeterminate (see section 4.2.8.3).)

4.2.4.2.3 Case of the Personal Pronoun B

In this section, we will survey different uses of each case of the personal pronoun B.

Nominative

The nominative case is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that marks the subject of a clause, which is defined syntactically (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.1).

(4.2.4.2.3-1)

7í	túúmm-uwa	7ánC-iis.
he	garlic-ABS.M.SG.	chop-PF.3M.SG.

'He chopped the garlic into pieces.'

(4.2.4.2.3-2)

7á	ta-micc-íyo.
she	my-sister-ABS.F.SG.

'She is my sister.'

(4.2.4.2.3-3)

na7-ái	7etí	ziNN-óo-g-áá
child-NOM.M.SG.	they	sleep-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

be7-íis.
see-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy saw that they fell asleep.'

Oblique

In this word class as well, this is a grammatical case for a nominal that modifies its

following nominal, including postpositions. In other words, we may name this case "adnominal".

(4.2.4.2.3-4)

táání	dalg-á	7a-bóór-ai
I	(person name)-ABS.	his-ox-NOM.M.SG.

7órd-e-kko-nne	7oicc-áas.
fat-ABS.-if-and	ask-PF.1SG.

    'I asked Dalga whether his ox is fat or not.'

(4.2.4.2.3-5)

zaall-á	mal-á	mín-o	shúcc-i
hard stone-OBL.	look(s)-ABS.	strong-OBL.	stone-NOM.

báa.	dár-o	mís-o-shiini	hegéé
not present	much-OBL.	strong-ABS.-while	that

PalK-étt-iicc-ii-ni	máát-ai
split-PASS.-completely-SUBOR.-in	grass-NOM.M.SG.

7a-boll-áa-ni	mokk-ées.
its-surface-OBL.M.SG.-in	grow-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There is no strong stone like a *zaall-aa* stone. Although it is strong, when that is completely split, grass grows on the surface of it.'

(4.2.4.2.3-6)

hagéé	7ii-g-ée?
this	her-NMNL.-INTER.

    'Is this hers?'

(4.2.4.2.3-7)

7eta-s-óó-ní	7ubbáto	7omárs-i	7omárs-i
their-home-OBL.-in	always	evening-ADV.	evening-ADV.

díítt-ai	dííT-ett-ees.
string instrument-NOM.M.SG.	play-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'At their home, the string instrument Dita is played always every evening.'

(4.2.4.2.3-8)

ha	karétt-ai	7áá-rá	zo7-úwa-ra
this	black-NOM.M.SG.	him-with	red-OBL.M.SG.-with

warét-aa	dóómm-idi	. . .
battle-ABS.M.SG.	begin-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'This black one began a battle with him, with the red one, and . . .'

Interrogative

A personal pronoun B occurs in the interrogative case if it is used as a head of a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

(4.2.4.2.3-9)

ha	7ipitt-áa	ment-ída-i	7etée?
this	door-ABS.M.SG.	break-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	they (INTER.)

'Is it they that broke the door?'

Absolutive

Semantically, this is the most unmarked case in this word class too. It is used everywhere that the other cases discussed so far in this section cannot be used.

For example, so-called direct objects are marked by this case.

(4.2.4.2.3-10)

hagáá	7áí	b-á	háyy-uwa-ni	ha	7etá
this	what	thing-ABS.	tact-OBL.M.SG.-by	this	them

Tóón-anee,	7etá?
win-INTER.FUT.	them

    'This one, in what kind of tact will I win this, them, them?'

   Causees in causative expressions may be marked by the absolutive case.

(4.2.4.2.3-11)

nééní	7á	gaamm-úwa	Cad-iss-ádasa.
you (SG.NOM.)	him	lion-ABS.M.SG.	sting-CAUS.-PF.2SG.

    'You made him sting the lion.'

   The following is an example in which a personal pronoun B in the absolutive case expresses a predicate.

(4.2.4.2.3-12)

ha	7ínténá	Koh-iss-íya-i	7á.
this	you (PL.ABS.)	damage-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.	him

    'This one, who makes (other animals) damage you, is he.'

   The following use might be thought to be somewhat strange from the viewpoint of English.

(4.2.4.2.3-13)

7as-ái	7á	ba	kóyy-ido
people-NOM.M.SG.	him	his own	want-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

b-áá	7oott-íis.
thing-ABS.M.SG.	do-PF.3M.SG.

'The people have done to him what they (lit. his own) want.'   (From Mark 9:13)

4.2.4.3   Quotation and Personal Pronouns

To quote "utterances" in Adams's (1983: 114) sense[287], Wolaytta uses in principle so-called direct discourse. In other words, the exact words spoken or thought are repeated.[288]

(4.2.4.3-1a) Original utterance

haatt-áa	hámm-a.
water-ABS.M.SG.	bring-OPT.2SG.

   'Bring water!'

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[287] His "utterance" means 'any speech form that is verbalized, or even something non-verbalized, a potential utterance, such as a thought or feelings.'

[288] Some would consider that some of the following are not examples of quotation. Even (4.2.4.3-1) and (4.2.4.3-2) might not actually be such examples. We can consider that the quotation clauses somehow paraphrase the original utterances. The fact that prosodic features such as intonation of original utterances may not be kept intact in quotation clauses would support the idea.

Note also the frequent expression *g-íyo* 'that one says', which is found in, for example, (4.2.4.3-4) and (4.2.4.3-5). It would be difficult to regard this as a marker of quotation. In this language, the verb *g-* 'to say' is very frequently used to introduce concrete contents in the broad sense.

hegáá-ppe	kas-é	woláítt-í	wóíg-í
that-from	before-ABS.	Wolaytta-NOM.	say what-CONV.3M.SG.

Téég-ett-ii	g-íyo
call-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

mirimmir-íya	koshsh-ées.
research-ABS.M.SG.	make want-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Research that investigates what Wolaytta had been called before it is needed.'

This use of the verb "to say" seems to be related to those found in (4.2.4.3-1) to (4.2.4.3-5).

Thus, the terms "quotation" and "quotation clause" are used expediently here.

(4.2.4.3-1b) Quotation clause

<u>haatt-áa</u>   <u>hámm-a</u>   g-íis.

water-ABS.M.SG.   bring-OPT.2SG.   say-PF.3M.SG.

    'He (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-1a)) said, "Bring water!"'

(4.2.4.3-2a) Original utterance

7áwa   b-ái?

where   go-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Where are you going?'

(4.2.4.3-2b) Quotation clause

7í   <u>7áwa   b-ái</u>   g-íídí   7oicc-íis.

he   where   go-INTER.IMPF.2SG.   say-CONV.3M.SG.   ask-PF.3M.SG.

    'He (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-2a)) asked saying, "Where are you going?"'

(4.2.4.3-3a) Original utterance

wáát-idi   ha   bitán-iya-ppe   shemp-anée-shsha?

do what-CONV.1PL.   this   man-OBL.M.SG.-from   rest-INTER.FUT.-INDEC.

    'How (lit. doing what) will we be rid of (lit. rest from) this man?'

(4.2.4.3-3b) Quotation clause

<u>wáát-idi</u>   <u>ha</u>   <u>bitán-iya-ppe</u>   <u>shemp-anée-shsha</u>

do what-CONV.1PL.   this   man-OBL.M.SG.-from   rest-INTER.FUT.-INDEC.

yáág-idi   kaw-ói   Kopp-í

say so-CONV.3M.SG.   king-NOM.M.SG.   think-CONV.3M.SG.

Kopp-í   Kopp-ídí   . . .

think-CONV.3M.SG.   think-CONV.3M.SG.   . . .

    'The king (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-3a)) thought and thought and thought, saying "How will we be rid of this man?" (i.e. thought how they would be able to be rid of the

man)'

(4.2.4.3-4a) Original utterance

woláámo	g-íyo	súnt-ai
(other name of Wolytta)	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-NOM.M.SG.

wolááb-ó	g-íyo	súnt-aa-ppe
(person name)-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-ABS.M.SG.-from

y-íis.	
come-PF.3M.SG.	

'The name "Welamo" (lit. name that one says "Welamo") derives (lit. came) from the name "Wolabo".'

(4.2.4.3-4b) Quotation clause

woláámo	g-íyo	súnt-ai
(other name of Wolytta)	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-NOM.M.SG.

wolááb-ó	g-íyo	súnt-aa-ppe
(person name)-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-ABS.M.SG.-from

y-íis	g-íídí	Taap-ídosona.
come-PF.3M.SG.	say-CONV.3PL.	write-PF.3PL.

'He (honorific, lit. they) (=the speaker[289] of (4.2.4.3-4a)) wrote saying, "The name "Welamo" derives from the name "Wolabo" (i.e. wrote that the name "Welamo" derives from the name "Wolabo").'

(4.2.4.3-5a) Original utterance

woláítt-á	g-íyo	súnt-ai
Wolaytta-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-NOM.M.SG.

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[289] In this section, the term "speaker" is used in the broad sense. "Utterer" might be more appropriate, at least in some cases.

woláámo	g-éétett-idi	laam-étt-iis.
(other name of Wolaytta)	say-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.	change-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The name "Wolaytta" (lit. name that one says "Wolaytta") was changed into "Welamo" (lit. having been said "Welamo", was changed).'

(4.2.4.3-5b) Quotation clause

woláítt-á	g-íyo	súnt-ai
Wolaytta-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-NOM.M.SG.

woláámo	g-éétett-idi	laam-étt-iis
(other name of Wolaytta)	say-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.	change-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

g-íídí	dár-o	7as-ái
say-CONV.3M.SG.	many-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.

7amman-íyo-i	minilík-é
believe-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.

7ól-aa-ppe	jammar-íi-na.
war-OBL.M.SG.-from	begin-SUBOR.-in

'It is after the Menelik War that many people (= the speakers of (4.2.4.3-5a)) believe that the name "Wolaytta" was changed into "Welamo".'

As Adams (1983: 280-281) has already pointed out, however, there are cases in which an original utterance is usually not repeated exactly[290].

(4.2.4.3-6a) Original utterance

tána	m-ées.
me	eat-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He eats me.'

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[290] This does not mean that in the following so-called direct discourse cannot be used, simply that direct discourse is not usually used.

(4.2.4.3-6b) Quotation clause

néna	m-ées	yáág-ada
you (ABS.)	eat-IMPF.3M.SG.	say so-CONV.2SG.

woTT-ái?
run-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    (To the speaker of (4.2.4.3-6a)) 'Are you (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-6a)) running, having thought he would eat you?'   (Based on Adams (1983: 280))

(4.2.4.3-7a) Original utterance

tá-rka	wor-aná.
my-alone	kill-FUT.

    'I will kill (it) alone'

(4.2.4.3-7b) Quotation clause

bá-rka	wor-aná	g-íídí
his own-alone	kill-FUT.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

    'He (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-7a)) said that he (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-7a)) would kill (it) alone, and . . .'

(4.2.4.3-8a) Original utterance

ta-miishsh-áa	naag-aná.
my-money-ABS.M.SG.	guard-FUT.

    'I will guard my money.'

(4.2.4.3-8b) Quotation clause

7iss-í	7iss-í	7as-ái	Ká
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.	furthermore

bána	ba-miishsh-áa	naag-aná	g-íídí
himself	his own-money-ABS.M.SG.	guard-FUT.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

. . .

. . .

'Furthermore, some people (= the speakers of (4.2.4.3-8a)) said to themselves (lit. himself) that they (the speaker of (4.2.4.3-8a)) would guard their money, and . . .'

The reason for avoiding "direct discourse" in the above would be very simple: in principle a first-person pronoun always refers to the speaker, and a second-person pronoun always refers to the hearer. In other words, in principle the speaker is referred to by a first-person pronoun whether it is expressed in a quotation clause or not, and the hearer is referred to by a second-person pronoun whether it is expressed in a quotation clause or not. Consider also *tánáá-rá* 'with me' in (4.2.4.3-9b) and *7ínténá* 'you' in (4.2.4.3-10b).

This principle is not at all unusual in languages of the world. It is found in, for example, Amharic and Japanese. So-called indirect discourse in European languages is based on the same principle.

In Wolaytta, however, this seemingly "universal" principle on the use of personal pronouns does not apply to finite verbs[291] in quotation and original verb forms are repeated exactly, as is already evident from (4.2.4.3-1b) and (4.2.4.3-2b). (In the other examples above, this does is not a question since the finite verbs in the quotations are third person or are invariable (in the case of the future, see section 4.4.2.3).

(4.2.4.3-9a) Original utterance

nénáá-rá   7oott-ókko.
your (SG.)-with   work-NEG.IMPF.1PL.

'We do not work with you.'

(4.2.4.3-9b) Quotation clause

tánáá-rá   7oott-ókko   g-íídosona.
my-with   work-NEG.IMPF.1PL.   say-PF.3PL.

'They (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-9a)) said that they (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-9a)) would not work with me (=the hearer of (4.2.4.3-9a) = the speaker of (4.2.4.3-9b))).'

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[291] Finite verbs in Wolaytta contain pronominal elements. See section 4.4.

Note that the first-person pronoun *tánáá-* 'my' refers to the hearer of (4.2.4.3-9a) and speaker of (4.2.4.3-9b) while the first-person verb *7oott-ókko* 'we do not work' refers to an action of the speaker of (4.2.4.3-9a) and third party of (4.2.4.3-9b).

In this language, a finite verb agrees grammatically with its subject (see section 4.2.1.3.1), if there is any. In quotations, both, if any, agree with each other strictly. In other words, the "universal" principle on the use of personal pronouns does not apply to subjects in quotations. Consider the following pair.

(4.2.4.3-10a) Original utterance

<u>táání</u>	7omárs-i	<u>y-áádá</u>	7etá
I	evening-ADV.	come-CONV.1SG.	them

maadd-an-á-u	<u>danday-íkke</u>.
help-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able to-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I cannot come and help them this evening.'

(4.2.4.3-10b) Quotation clause

<u>táání</u>	7omárs-i	<u>y-áádá</u>	7ínténá
I	evening-ADV.	come-CONV.1SG.	you (PL.ABS.)

<u>maadd-an-á-u</u>	<u>danday-íkke</u>	g-íis.
help-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able to-NEG.IMPF.1SG.	say-PF.3M.SG.

   'He (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-10a)) said that he (= the speaker of (4.2.4.3-10a)) could not come and help you (= the third parties of (4.2.4.3-10a) = the hearers of (4.2.4.3-10b)) the morning.'

Note that while the third parties of (4.2.4.3-10a) and hearers of (4.2.4.3-10b) are referred to by the third-person pronoun *7etá* 'them' in (4.2.4.3-10a) and by the second-person pronoun *7ínténá* 'you' in (4.2.4.3-10b) the speaker of (4.2.4.3-10a) and third party of (4.2.4.3-10b) is referred to by the first-person pronoun *táání* 'I' in both sentences.

Adams (1983: 281) gives the following, and says that: 'It is interesting to observe that an actor in the same paradigm is expressed as an absolutive form in 1st person [i.e. *tána* 'me' in (4.2.4.3-11b)] and as a nominative form in 3m, person [*7í* 'he' in (4.2.4.3-12b)].'

(4.2.4.3-11a) Original utterance

7í	táná	shoC-ées.
he (NOM.)	me (ABS.)	hit-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'He hits me.'   (Supplemented by me, the notation and the glosses are mine)

(4.2.4.3-11b) Quotation clause

tána	báná	shoC-ées	yáág-ada
me (ABS.)	herself (ABS.)	hit-IMPF.3M.SG.	say so-CONV.3F.SG.

woTT-áasu.
run-PF.3F.SG.

    'Thinking that I (the third party of (4.2.4.3-11a) = the speaker of (4.2.4.3-11b)) would hit her (the speaker of (4.2.4.3-11a) = the third party of (4.2.4.3-11b)), she ran.'
    (Based on Adams (1983: 281), the notation and the glosses are mine.)

(4.2.4.3-12a) Original utterance (Formally the same as (4.2.4.3-11a))

7í	táná	shoC-ées.
he (NOM.)	me (ABS.)	hit-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'He hits me.'   (Supplemented by me, and the notation and the glosses are mine)

(4.2.4.3-12b) Quotation clause

7í	báná	shoC-ées	yáág-ada
he (NOM.)	herself (ABS.)	hit-IMPF.3M.SG.	say so-CONV.3F.SG.

woTT-áasu.
ran-PF.3F.SG.

    'Thinking that he (the third party of (4.2.4.3-12a) = the third party of (4.2.4.3-12b)) would hit her (the speaker of (4.2.4.3-12a) = the third party of (4.2.4.3-12b)), she ran.'
    (Based on Adams (1983: 281), the notation and the glosses are mine.)

I do appreciate his observation, but I consider that these can be explained simply by what was mentioned above. For (4.2.4.3-12), *shoC-ées* 'he hits' and *7í* 'he' must be

repeated exactly when quoted because of the use of direct discourse for finite verbs and the strict agreement in quotations, while *táná* 'me' must become *báná* 'herself' because of the "universal" principle on the use of personal pronouns. For (4.2.4.3-11), the same is expected, although there the expected subject in the quotation, *7í* 'he', which refers to the speaker, happens to be missing, as is often the case with Wolaytta. The absolutive pronoun, *táná* 'me', is outside the quotation, although it happens to refer to the "actor" of *shoC-ées*. For this use of the absolutive case, remember (4.2.1.3.5-57) and (4.2.1.3.5-58).[292]

As will be discussed in section 6.2, a grammatical agreement in Wolaytta is sometimes "loose" and semantics is more important than syntax in general. Thus, it is strange that a strict agreement is observed here at the cost of the universal principle on the use of personal pronouns.

4.2.5   Nominalizers

In this section we will deal with bound or non-autonomous forms that are combined to other words to form nominal phrases.

4.2.5.1   *-gáá* and *-geetá*

The nominalizer *-gáá* is widely used to form nominal phrases. It can be translated into English as 'thing', 'person', 'action', 'fact', 'one', or more concretely 'house', 'dog', 'tree', etc. depending on the context. In other words, it is a substitute for a nominal. *-gáá* is a masculine singular form. The corresponding plural form is *-geetá*. There is more than one feminine form corresponding to *-gáá*, which is discussed in sections 4.2.5.2 and 4.2.5.3.

The following table shows the inflection of *-gáá* and *-geetá*.

(4.2.5.1-1)[293]

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M.SG.	-gáá	-gáá	-géé	-gée	´-goo
PL.	-geetá	-geetú	-geetí	-geetée	-géétoo

Almost without doubt, the above forms are composed of more than one element (and

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[292] I consider, for example, that if an original utterance includes a second-person finite verb and if the hearer (who is referred to by second-person forms in the utterance) quotes it, the resultant quotation clause would be as interesting as (4.2.4.3-11). Unfortunately, I had no opportunity to do research on such interesting sentences.
[293] Hereafter, all the forms found in this table may be represented by the form *-gáá*.

in some glosses in this work such analysis is adopted). We can isolate *-g-* (stem), *-t-* (PL.), *-a* (ABS.), *-u* (OBL.), *-i* (NOM.), *-ee* (INTER.), *-oo* (VOC.). For plural forms, however, I cannot explain what *-ee-* after *-g-* is. Furthermore, I am not sure whether the case endings of singular forms, *-aa* (ABS.), *-aa* (OBL.), and *-ee* (NOM.), are simple or complex. Thus, I did not analyze the nominalizers further in the above table.

To help readers grasp the overall picture of *-gáá*, I give some example sentences in the following, mentioning uses of each case.

The nominative case is a grammatical case for the head of a noun phrase that marks the subject of a clause, which is defined syntactically (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.1).

(4.2.5.1-2)

naag-íya-g-éé	peng-íya
watch-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	door-ABS.M.SG.

dooy-íis.
open-PF.3M.SG.

  'The person who watches (i.e. gatekeeper) opened the door.'

(4.2.5.1-3)

dáp-a	g-íyo-g-éé	7áí	b-ée?
abduction-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	what	thing-INTER.

  'What is what is called (lit. what one says) *dáp-a*?'

In this word class too, the oblique case is a grammatical case for a nominal that modifies its following nominal, including postpositions. In other words, we may name this case "adnominal".

(4.2.5.1-4)

mát-aa-ppe	dend-ídaa-g-áá
near-OBL.M.SG.-from	rise-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.

Taláál-aa[294]	7er-ées.
only-ABS.M.SG.	know-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He knows only that (= history) which happened in recent years (lit. rose from the near).'

(4.2.5.1-5)

m-íídaa-g-áá-ppé	bír-aa	7ekk-á.
eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	Birr-ABS.M.SG.	take-OPT.2SG.

'Take the money (lit. Birr, Ethiopian currency) from those who ate.'

Sometimes the "relative form of a verb + the nominalizer *-gáá* + a postposition" construction can be translated as a subordinate clause in English.

(4.2.5.1-6)

táání	wónta	7od-idoo-g-áá-daani
I	earlier	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-like

'like I told (lit. what I told) you earlier'

(4.2.5.1-7)

Kúm-aa	m-aanáa-g-áá-ppé	kas-é
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	front-ABS.

kúsh-iya	meeC-étt-a.
hand-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

'Wash your hands before you eat (lit. front from the (act) that you will eat) food.'

The vocative is the case for the head of a noun phrase that refers to an object of addressing. In other words, the vocative marks the addressee.

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[294] See section 4.2.1.7.

(4.2.5.1-8)

tamaar-iss-íyá-<u>g-oo</u>		núúní	ha-g-áá[295]-ní
learn-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-VOC.		we	this-NMNL.-OBL.-in

de7-íyo-g-éé[296]		núú-ssí
exist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.		us-for

ló77-o.
good-ABS.

'The person who makes learn (i.e. teacher), the fact that we exist here (lit. in this one) is good for us.'   (From Mark 9:5)

(4.2.5.1-9)

shumurúkk-oo-shsho	shumurúkk-oo-shsho
(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.	(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.

dúr-ee	bess-íyo	biitt-áa
wealth-NOM.M.SG.	be plenty-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	country-ABS.M.SG.

b-aan-á-u	koor-ídáá-<u>g-oo</u>-shsho
go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	put the saddle-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-VOC.-INDEC.

shumurúkk-oo-shsho	shumurúkk-oo-shsho
(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.	(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.

'Oh Shumuruko, Shumuruko, one who put the saddle to go to a country where wealth is plenty, Shumuruko, Shumuruko!'   (From a war song)

-*gáá* occurs in the interrogative case if it is used as a head of a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing.

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[295] This is an example of the nominalizer under discussion in the oblique.

[296] This is an example of the nominalizer under discussion in the nominative. In this case, we may say that the nominalizer phrase is close to infinitive of a verb. However, here too the essential function of -*gáá* would be to substitute a nominal meaning, say, 'fact'. See also the discussion below in this section.

(4.2.5.1-10)

ha	maTááp-ati	nee-geet-ée?
this	book-NOM.PL.	your-NMNL.PL.-INTER.

   'Are these books yours?'

    Semantically, the absolutive case is the most unmarked case in this word class too. It is used everywhere that the other cases mentioned so far in this section cannot be used.

(4.2.5.1-11)

ha-g-éé[297]	gaazeeT-ái
this-NMNL.-NOM.	newspaper-NOM.M.SG.

hácc-ii-g-áá.
today-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'This newspaper is that of today.'

(4.2.5.1-12)

táání	zín-o	ha	maTááp-aa
I	yesterday-ABS.	this	book-ABS.M.SG.

nabbab-íyo-g-áá	dóómm-aas.
read-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	begin-PF.1SG.

   'I started (the act of) reading this book yesterday.'

As Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 130) say, *-gáá* might be thought to be a conjunction in some cases. Consider the following. In this case too, however, the essential function of *-gáá* is to substitute a nominal meaning, say, 'fact'.

(4.2.5.1-13)

táání	nééní	zín-o	y-íídoo-g-áá
I	you	yesterday-ABS.	came-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

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[297] This is an example of the nominalizer under discussion in the nominative.

7er-áis.
know-IMPF.1SG.

'I know (the fact) that you came yesterday.'

There are examples that are difficult to name their uses, like the following. See also the discussion in section 4.2.1.3.5.

(4.2.5.1-14)

táání	m-éénnaa-g-áá	'm-íis.'	g-íis.
I	eat-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-ABS.	eat-PF.3M.SG.	say-PF.3M.SG.

'While I did not eat (lit. the fact that I did not eat), he said "he (=speaker) ate".'

For oblique forms, there are allomorphs caused by the postpositions -*ra* 'with', -*ni* 'in, at, by', and -*u* 'to, for'. Very roughly speaking, the short vowel *u* of the plural must be lengthened immediately before the postpositions -*ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms and -*ra* 'with'. Vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are interchangeably used immediately before the postposition -*ni* 'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form. The long vowel *aa* of the singular must be shortened immediately before the postposition -*u* 'to, for'. For the details, see section 4.2.8.2.

In addition, when the plural nominalizer under discussion modifies another nominalizer, the final short vowel of the former, *u*, is lengthened.

(4.2.5.1-15)

ha-geetúu-gáá   < ha-geetú + -gáá
this-NMNL.PL.OBL.-NMNL.SG.ABS.

'that of these'

In my data, the final vowel of the nominative plural nominalizer is sometimes realized as *u*[298], not *i*, and the final vowel of the oblique plural is sometimes realized as

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[298] According to Hirut (2005: 103) the marker of the nominative plural is -*u* in Dauro nouns and according to Cerulli (1983: 50) -*u* is the marker of the nominative in Yemsa

a, not *u*. One of the main consultants, however, judged them to be mistaken.

(4.2.5.1-16)

taa-geet-<u>ú</u>	dár-o	ló77-o.
my-NMNL.PL.-NOM.	much-ABS.	good-ABS.

　'Mine are very good.'

(4.2.5.1-17)

y-íídaa-geet-<u>á</u>-ppé
come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.PL.-OBL.-from

　'from those who came'

　　As can be observed from the above examples, the last vowel of the immediately preceding word of *-gáá* may be lengthened. Compare the following pair.

(4.2.5.1-18a) = (4.2.5.1-5)

<u>m-íídaa</u>-g-áá-ppé	bír-aa	7ekk-á.
eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	Birr-ABS.M.SG.	take-OPT.2SG.

　'Take the money (lit. Birr, Ethiopian currency) from those who ate.'

(4.2.5.1-18b)

<u>m-íída</u>	bitán-iya-ppe
eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.	man-OBL.M.SG.-from

　'from the man who ate'

Whether this lengthening happens or not is determined depending on the type of word. Those whose last vowels are not lengthened immediately before *-gáá* are: concrete common nouns (see section 4.2.1), imperfective relative forms of verbs (see section 4.4.3.3.1), and demonstrative determiners (see section 4.2.6.1). Last vowels of others

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(Giangero, in his term) nouns.

are lengthened before *-gáá*.[299] Adams (1983: 76) says that 'The morpheme, /-ga:/ "(nominalizer)", similarly lengthens the vowel preceding it'. However, things are not so simple.

Roughly speaking, although their morphological interpretations are not the same, all previous works that deal with *-gáá* agree with me about the inflection illustrated in (4.2.5.1-1). However, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 88) give *-gata* as an alternative absolutive plural form (in our terminology). On vowel length previous works often disagree with me, as is often the case. Some works do not recognize long vowels at all. Judgment about vowel length may fluctuate within one work.

As indicated in (4.2.5.1-1), the nominalizers under discussion have tonal prominences (see section 2.4.1)[300]. Such inherent tonal prominences can be evidently observed when a nominalizer follows a word that does not have a tonal prominence or is tonally indeterminate.

(4.2.5.1-19)
ha-g-áá
this-NMNL.-ABS.M.SG.

'this one'   (*ha* 'this' does not have a tonal prominence)

(4.2.5.1-20)
taa-g-áá
my-NMNL.-ABS.M.SG.

'mine'   (*taa-* 'my' is tonally indeterminate)

In most cases, however, inherent tonal prominences of the nominalizers are ignored because, nominalizers being obliged to be preceded by some word, which has a tonal prominence usually, they are usually not the first tonal prominence in a tonal group (see section 2.4.1). Thus my notation, in which inherent tonal prominences are always

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[299] However, tonal prominences that they bear are not lengthened: *bení* 'old times', *beníi-g-aa* 'thing of old times'. See also (4.2.5.3-2).

[300] In the case of the vocative singular form, an acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates that a tonal prominence lies on the syllable that includes the preceding vowel(s) of *-g-*.

indicated, might be misleading.

In Wolaytta, various kinds of semantic relationships can be observed between a preceding modifier and the nominal modified by it. The relationship may be that of possessor-possessed, whole-part, attribute-entity, apposition, etc. Thus, since *-gáá* functions as a substitute for a nominal, various semantic relationships can also be observed in the "modifier + *-gáá*" construction. In (4.2.5.1-10), for example, the personal pronoun *nee-* 'your' expresses a possessor of books. In (4.2.5.1-2), the relative form *naag-íya* 'who watches' is a word to describe or explain a person more specifically. In (4.2.5.1-13), the relative form *y-íídoo* 'that you came' functions like an English appositive that-clause.

As in the case of other nominals, different types of words can be modifiers of *-gáá*: concrete common nouns in the oblique case, personal pronouns in the oblique case, relative forms of verbs, etc. However, non-concrete common nouns usually cannot modify *-gáá*[301], and numerals never.

(4.2.5.1-21)
* 7ord-ee-g-aa
   fat-OBL. (non-concrete)-NMNL.-ABS.

(4.2.5.1-22)
* heezz-uu-g-aa
  three-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.

The reason seems to be that corresponding concrete common nouns (see sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.3.2), *7órd-iya* 'fat one' and *heezz-áa* 'the three', respectively, in the above cases, replace the somewhat periphrastic expression with a nominalizer.

The fact that the "modifier + *-gáá*" construction should be replaced by a concrete form of a common noun in (4.2.5.1-21) and (4.2.5.1-22) tempts us to conclude that the nominalizer *-gáá* always represents one or more concrete referents (for concreteness, see section 4.2.1.4). This is supported by examples in this section. For example, in (4.2.5.1-2) the gatekeeper who opened the door in question is a specifiable concrete

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[301] One obvious exception is *kóír-oo-g-áá* (first-OBL. (non-concrete)-NMNL.-ABS.) 'the first one', which is a synonym of *kóír-uwa* (first-ABS.M.SG. (concrete)) 'the first one'. For *7attúm-aa-g-áá* 'male man', see below in this section.

person. In (4.2.5.1-3), in which a general definition is in question, since abduction can be easily exemplified by a concrete case it must be expressed by a concrete nominal in Wolaytta (see section 4.2.1.4). The books and the newspaper mentioned in (4.2.5.1-10) and (4.2.5.1-11), respectively, are specific concrete things.

Although most of the examples above might be judged to be "definite", the occurrence of the nominalizer *-gáá* is independent of so-called definiteness. Thus, the nominalizer can appear at the beginning of a text.

(4.2.5.1-23)

7íshshi.	7eró.	hácci	táání	yoot-íyo-g-éé
OK	OK	today	I	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

. . .
. . .

   'OK. OK. What I tell today is . . .'

In this case, it is evident from the situation that what is told is never other than a concrete story or the like. Therefore the concrete (not "definite") nominalizer *-gáá* can replace a nominal that refers to the story or the like, which can be easily restored by native speakers (see also footnote 302 below).

   In conclusion, the nominalizer *-gáá* is a substitute for a concrete nominal.

   In this connection, if a common noun is one whose concrete form is quite unnatural, the nominalizer *-gáá* can be attached to its non-concrete oblique form to express a concrete referent: *7attúm-aa-g-áá* 'a male one' (see section 4.2.1.4). This is one of rare examples in which a non-concrete common noun modifies *-gáá*.

   According to Adams (1983: 232), *-gáá* is a nominalizer that 'signals the definite form', which is used when the referent had previously been referred to. His example is the following:

(4.2.5.1-24)

zin?ido:-g-a:

on which he had lain-"thing", def-abs

According to his description, the above phrase would mean 'the bed mat'. On the other hand, *b-áá* 'thing', one of the special types of common nouns (see section 4.2.1.8) in our terminology, is a nominalizer that 'signals the indefinite form'. Adams's example is the following:

(4.2.5.1-25)

ne:yyo	de?iya:-b-a:	baizza
for you	which exists-"thing", indef-abs	sell!
	which you have	

    'Sell the things that you have!'

    I cannot agree him on this matter. I consider that the terms "definite" and "indefinite" are misleading in the analysis of nominals in this language (see section 4.2.1.4). See also (4.2.5.1-23), in which the "definite" nominalizer is used at the beginning of a text. In the first place, the two "nominalizers", *-gáá* and *b-áá*, do not share a stem, and are also inflected differently (see (4.2.5.1-1) for the former, and (4.2.1.1-1) for the latter, which is classified as a Masculine Class A common noun in terms of segmental element (see section 4.2.1.8)). Thus it is counterintuitive to regard them as members of the same word class. In fact, they behave differently in some cases. For example, while numerals in the oblique cannot modify *-gáá*, as seen in (4.2.5.1-22), they can modify *b-áá*.

(4.2.5.1-26)

naa77-ú	b-áí	d-ées.
two-OBL.	thing-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There are two things.'

    Then, what is an essential difference of the two? In my opinion, *-gáá* is a substitute for a concrete nominal, as is repeatedly mentioned in this section. Thus, it is used only when we can tell what the substituted word, or rather, concrete nominal, is[302].

    On the other hand, *b-áá* is a kind of common noun and has its own meaning that can

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[302] Depending on the context, there may be several candidates for the substituted word. In (4.2.5.1-23), for example, the nominalizer *-gáá* may substitute *haasáy-aa* 'speech', *yoh-úwa* 'affair', or something else. However, there is no room for misunderstanding in this case. Thus, the substitute can be used.

never be expressed by other common nouns, although the word seems certainly to be 'lexically empty', as Adams (1983: 231) says. To describe the meaning properly is very difficult and beyond my ability. However, I guess that it is closer to that of the English word "thing" than that of the indefinite pronoun "one". In the case of (4.2.5.1-25), which seems to be taken from Mathew 19:21 (or Mark 10:21, Luke 12:33, 18:22), what should be sold is actually possessions, which may include any kinds of items. Thus *b-áá*, which can refer to many kinds of items at once[303], is positively chosen. If the nominalizer *-gáá* is used here, the hearer would be at a loss because he cannot tell from the context[304] what the substituted word is and therefore cannot know which item to sell.

Since the nominalizer *-gáá* is a substitute, its use presupposes that the substituted word is properly restored. Thus, if there is a possibility that one may fail in the restoration, the use of *-gáá* is avoided. (4.2.5.1-25) is one of such cases.

One of the best ways to avoid misunderstanding or false restoration of *-gáá* is to express the substituted word explicitly in an appositive construction.

(4.2.5.1-27)

maTááp-ai	lágg-iya-g-éé
book-NOM.M.SG.	friend-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.

báy-iis.
be lost-PF.3M.SG.

'The book, that of the friend, is lost.'

In the above, the nominalizer phrase *lágg-iya-g-éé* 'that of the friend' is uttered in order

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[303] Remember that a singular form of a common noun may refer to plural referents. See section 4.2.1.5.

[304] The context in question is as follows (from Mathew 19): (16) Now a man came up to Jesus and asked, "Teacher, what good thing must I do to get eternal life?" (17) "Why do you ask me about what is good?" Jesus replied. "There is only One who is good. If you want to enter life, obey the commandments." (18) "Which ones?" the man inquired. Jesus replied, "'Do not murder, do not commit adultery, do not steal, do not give false testimony, (19) honor your father and mother', and 'love your neighbor as yourself.'" (20) "All these I have kept," the young man said. "What do I still lack?" (21) Jesus answered, "If you want to be perfect, go, sell your possessions and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. Then come, follow me."

to describe the preceding word *maTááp-ai* 'book' in more detail as an afterthought. Since they are appositive, it would be easy to know that the nominalizer substitutes *maTááp-ai* 'book'. In appositive constructions, a nominalizer phrase may precede the substituted nominal, as in the following.

(4.2.5.1-28)

bott-ée-g-áá	wórK-aa
(person name)-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.	gold-ABS.M.SG.

kúsh-iya-ppe	kess-ádá	7ekk-ádá
hand-OBL.M.SG.-from	take out-CONV.3F.SG.	take-CONV.3F.SG.

y-áádá,	. . .
come-CONV.3F.SG.	. . .

'She took out Bote's one, his gold, from his hand, and took it and came, and . . .'

In this language, the nominalizer *-gáá* that is modified by a relative form of a verb can co-occur with the substituted word. This can be another device for avoiding false restoration of the nominalizer. In this case, while the case of the nominalizer is determined depending on its role in the main or superordinate clause, the case of the substituted nominal is determined depending on its role in the relative clause although it is actually restricted to the nominative.

(4.2.5.1-29a)

már-a	boin-ái
calf-OBL.	taro-NOM.M.SG.

m-éétett-iya-g-áá	7aayy-íya
eat-PASS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	mother-NOM.F.SG.

doiss-áusu.
cook-IMPF.3F.SG..

'The mother was cooking the side corm of the taro (lit. calf taro), that which is eaten.'

Cf. (4.2.5.1-29b)

már-a	boin-ái	m-éétett-ees.
calf-OBL.	taro-NOM.M.SG.	eat-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The side corm of the taro is eaten.'

(4.2.5.1-29c)

m-éétett-iya	már-a	boin-áa
eat-PASS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	calf-OBL.	taro-ABS.M.SG.

'the side corm of the taro (ABS.) which is eaten'

In (4.2.5.1-29a), *m-éétett-iya-g-áá* 'one which is eaten' refers to a side corm of the taro, which is also expressed by the noun phrase (in the nominative) *már-a boin-ái* in the same sentence.

(4.2.5.1-30a)

shoor-ó-ppé	7as-ái
neighbor-OBL.-from	people-NOM.M.SG.

guj-étt-idaa-g-áá-ssí	tukk-íya
add-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-for	coffee-ABS.M.SG.

7ess-aná.
stand (v.t.)-FUT.

'I will serve coffee for the people, those who were added from the neighborhood.'

Cf. (4.2.5.1-30b)

7as-ái	guj-étt-iis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	add-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The people were added.'

(4.2.5.1-30c)

guj-étt-ida	7as-áa-ssi
add-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-for

'for the people who were added'

In (4.2.5.1-30a), *guj-étt-idaa-g-áá* 'that who is added' refers to some people, who are also expressed by the common noun (in the nominative) *7as-ái* in the same sentence.

(4.2.5.1-31a)

7iss-í	na7-ái	d-íya-g-éé
one-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

7ubb-áa-ppe	bairat-éesi-nne	. . .
all-OBL.M.SG.-from	be older-IMPF.3M.SG.-and	. . .

'There is a boy, and he is older than everybody (else), and . . .'

Cf. (4.2.5.1-31b)

7iss-í	na7-ái	d-ées.
one-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There is one boy. (lit. one boy exists.)'

(4.2.5.1-31c)

d-íya	7iss-í	na7-ái
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	one-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.

'one boy (NOM.) who exists'

In (4.2.5.1-31a), *d-íya-g-éé* 'one who exists' refers to a boy, who is also expressed by the noun phrase (in the nominative) *7iss-í na7-ái* in the same sentence. As in the last example, the nominalizer phrase modified by a relative form of a verb seems to serve for a conjunctive function (see the translation above)[305], at least in some cases.

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[305] However, this may be an example of an appositive construction.

4.2.5.2　*-ró*

The nominalizer *-ró* is a feminine singular counterpart of the nominalizer *-gáá* discussed in the last section[306]. Thus the discussions on concreteness and uses there apply also here.

However, unlike the nominalizer *-gáá*, demonstrative determiners (see section 4.2.6.1) and the interrogative words *7áí-* 'what' (see section 4.2.7.2) and *7au-* 'where' (see section 4.2.7.3) cannot modify this feminine nominalizer. On the other hand, some words that cannot modify *-gáá* may modify *-ró* (see below in this section).

The nominalizer *-ró* is inflected as follows.

(4.2.5.2-1)

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
-ró	-rí	-rá	-ríi	-ree[307]

Evidently, the above forms are composed of more than one element (and in glosses in this work such analysis is adopted): the stem *-r-* and case endings. However, I do not analyze them further in some cases, including the above table, to preserve uniformity with the masculine and plural counterparts.

When we examine and compare their endings, it might seem to be difficult to distinguish among the feminine nominalizer, the feminine personal pronoun B (see section 4.2.4.2.1), and the female person-name noun (see section 4.2.2.3.1). The main reasons for establishing the feminine nominalizer *-ró* as an independent category distinct from the personal pronoun B and the person-name noun is 1) it is a bound form 2) its masculine counterpart, *-gáá*, is inflected differently from a masculine personal pronoun B and male person-name nouns.

For the oblique, here again, there are allomorphs caused by the postpositions *-ra* 'with', and *-ni* 'in, at, by'. Very roughly speaking, the short vowel *i* of the nominalizer must be lengthened immediately before the postpositions *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms and *-ra* 'with'. Vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are interchangeably used immediately before the postposition *-ni*

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[306] According to Aki'o Nakano (personal communication), the first consonants of these nominalizers, i.e. *g* in the masculine and *r* in the feminine, remind us of famous Cushitic formatives, i.e. *k* in the masculine and *t* in the feminine.

[307] Tone of this form is not known.

'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form. For the details, see section 4.2.8.2. In addition, when the feminine nominalizer under discussion modifies another nominalizers, the short vowel of the former, *i*, is lengthened.

(4.2.5.2-2)
'hinnó   na7-íyo   7er-ái?'
  that   child-ABS.F.SG. know-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'7ée   7á   lo77-íya<u>-r-ií</u>-r-ó.'
  yes   she   be good-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'Do you know that girl?' 'Yes, she is a female one (e.g. daughter) of a female one who is beautiful'

   As is the case with *-gáá*, and as can be observed from the above example, the last vowel of the immediately preceding word of *-ró* may be lengthened. Whether this lengthening happens or not is determined depending on the type of word. Those whose last vowels are not lengthened immediately before *-ró* are: concrete common nouns (see section 4.2.1), non-concrete oblique forms of *wogg-áá* 'big' and *hink-úwá* 'other' (see section 4.2.1.8), and imperfective relative forms of verbs (see section 4.4.3.3.1). Last vowels of others are lengthened before *-ró*.

   There are not many descriptions on the feminine nominalizer under discussion in previous works. Although their grammatical analyses are not the same, all the authors agree with me on the inflection shown in (4.2.5.2-1) except for Hirut (1991: 91), who gives forms with a long vowel: *taroo* 'mine (*ta-* means 'my')', etc.

   For tone of *-ró*, what is said for its masculine counterpart, *-gáá*, in section 4.2.5.1 applies also here in general. That is to say, as indicated in (4.2.5.2-1), it has a tonal prominence (see section 2.4.1). Such an inherent tonal prominence can be evidently observed when the nominalizer follows a word that is tonally indeterminate.

(4.2.5.2-3)
taa<u>-r-ó</u>
my-NMNL.-ABS.

'mine (F.SG.)'   (*taa-* 'my' is tonally indeterminate)

In most cases, however, an inherent tonal prominence of the nominalizer is ignored because, the nominalizer being obliged to be preceded by some word, which has a tonal prominence usually, it is usually not the first tonal prominence in a tonal group (see section 2.4.1). Thus my notation, in which inherent tonal prominences are always indicated, might be misleading. *hink-ó-r-ó* 'another one' and *wogg-á-r-ó* 'big one' (see below in this section) are exceptions to this in that the tonal prominences are realized as "high" in these.

The following are example sentences that contain the nominalizer *-ró*.

(4.2.5.2-4)

7ii-r-á   ló77-o.
her-NMNL.-NOM.   good-ABS.

'Hers (f.) is good.'

(4.2.5.2-5)

hagáá   7oott-ídaa-r-á   ha   mishir-íi?
this   do-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   this   woman-INTER.F.SG.

'Is the female who did this this woman?'

(4.2.5.2-6)

7í   wott-óo-r-á   d-áusu.
he   put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   exist-IMPF.3F.SG.

'There is what he put (f.).'

(4.2.5.2-7)

7aw-á   galláss-i   Cark-óo-r-á[308]
light of the sun-OBL.   day-ADV.   wind-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

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[308] The feminine nominalizer is used to express diminutiveness.

7er-étt-enn-aa-ni   maay-ói
know-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in   clothes-NOM.M.SG.

mel-ídí   máNN-iya-ppe   7ááDD-í
dry-CONV.3M.SG.   place-OBL.M.SG.-from pass-CONV.3M.SG.

wóDD-iis.
fall-PF.3M.SG.

   'In the sunny day, while that it winded is not known the clothes dried and passed (i.e. flew) and fell from the place.'

(4.2.5.2-8)
micc-ée   taa-r-í-ppé   7ekk-áas.
sister-OBL.F.SG.   my-NMNL.-OBL.-from take-PF.1SG.

   'I took (it) from my sister (lit. sister, mine).'

(4.2.5.2-9)
lo77-íya-r-ee   hááy-a.
be good-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-VOC.   come here-OPT.2SG.

   'The beautiful one, come here!'

(4.2.5.2-10)
hanná   míízz-iya   nee-r-íi?
this (NOM.)   cow-NOM.F.SG..   your-NMNL.-INTER.

   'Is this cow yours?'

(4.2.5.2-11)
nééní   be7-ídoo-r-a   wónii-r-íi?
you   see-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   then-NMNL.-INTER.

   'Is what you saw the one (f.) of that time?'

(4.2.5.2-12)

hanná	míízz-iya	ta-7aaw-áa-r-ó.
this (NOM.)	cow-NOM.F.SG..	my-father-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-ABS.

    'This cow is my father's.'

(4.2.5.2-13)

7oid-íyo	7í	7útt-oo-r-ó	táání
chair-ABS.F.SG.	he	sit-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	I

dent-áas.
raise-PF.1SG.

    'I took away the chair, what he sat on.'

(4.2.5.2-14)

na7-á	7iss-í	lo77-íya-r-ó
child-OBL.	one-OBL.	be good-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

ló77-o	geelá7-o	na7-íyo	siiK-íis.
good-OBL.	virgin-OBL.	child-ABS.F.SG.	love-PF.3M.SG.

    'He loved one good (lit. who is good) girl, a good virgin girl.'

    máCC-aa 'female' (see section 4.2.1.4), *wogg-áá* 'big' (see section 4.2.1.8), and *hink-úwá* 'other' (see section 4.2.1.8) are (special kinds of) common nouns whose concrete feminine forms as common nouns are very odd for unknown reasons. Thus the nominalizer *-ró* may be attached to their non-concrete oblique forms to form their feminine concrete expressions. Such forms, which are illustrated in the following, are rare examples in which common nouns modify the nominalizer *-ró*.

(4.2.5.2-15a)

hinná	már-iya	yel-étt-aa-r-á
that (NOM.)	calf-NOM.F.SG.	bear-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

máCC-aa-r-ó.
female-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.

    'That calf, one that was born, is the female one.'

Cf. (4.2.5.2-15b)[309]
* máCC-iyo
  female-ABS.F.SG.

(4.2.5.2-16a)
hink-ó-r-á[310]   7áu   b-áádee?
other-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.   where   go-INTER.PF.3F.SG.

    'Where did the other female go?'

Cf. (4.2.5.2-16b)
* hink-iya
  other-NOM.F.SG.

(4.2.5.2-17a)
Keer-á-nn-ó[311]   kóyy-ai
small-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.   want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

wogg-á-r-ó[312]   kóyy-ai?
big-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.   want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Do you want a small one, or do you want a big one?'

Cf. (4.2.5.2-17b)
* wogg-iyo
  big-ABS.F.SG.

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[309] In fact, the masculine concrete form *máCC-aa* is rarely used (however, see (4.2.1.3.1.-30)).

[310] The tonal prominence of the nominalizer is exceptionally realized.

[311] See the section 4.2.5.3.

[312] The tonal prominence of the nominalizer is exceptionally realized.

Incidentally, *7attúm-aa-r-ó*, whose stem means 'male' and may be attached to the nominalizer *-gáá* to form a concrete expression as mentioned in section 4.2.5.1, is possible. It means 'a women like a man'. This is also a rare example in which a non-concrete common noun modifies a nominalizer.

(4.2.5.2-18)

hannó	be7-íkkíi	7attúm-aa-r-ó
that	see-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.	male-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.

sur-íya	giTT-áa-r-o.
trousers-ABS.M.SG.	wear-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

'Don't you see that female, a female like a man, one that wears trousers?'

The ending of *hink-ó-r-ó* 'other female one' can be replaced by that of a concrete female singular common noun: *hink-o-r-íyo* (other-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.F.SG.) 'other female one'. Both seem to have the same meaning. In other cases, the ending of the nominalizer *-ró* cannot be replaced by that of a common noun. Thus, for example, **máCC-aa-r-iyo* (female-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.F.SG.) is not possible.

The linguistic form *-iyorííní* 'just as soon as . . .', which serves to form a subordinate clause, contains the nominalizer *-ró*. See section 4.4.3.3.4.

(4.2.5.2-19)

g-íyo-r-íí-ní
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

'just as soon as he said'

4.2.5.3 *-nnó*

In terms of function, the nominalizer *-nnó* is the same as *-ró* discussed in the last section. Thus the discussions there on concreteness and uses apply also here.

However, the two feminine nominalizers are in complementary distribution. The choice is dependent on their immediately preceding modifier. In fact, however, possible modifiers for *-nnó* are very restricted: *ha* 'this' and *hi* 'that' (see section 4.2.6.1), *7iss-í*

'one' (see section 4.2.3.1.1), *7áí-* 'what' (see section 4.2.7.2), *7au-* 'where' (see section 4.2.7.3), *Keer-á* 'small' (see section 4.2.1.8) and *har-á* 'other' (see section 4.2.1.8) (the forms are cited in their forms used to modify the nominalizer).[313]

It might be worth noting that the expected regular feminine concrete form of "other" **har-íyo* conflicts with the derived feminine common noun (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2) *har-íyo* 'she-donkey' (Cf. *har-áa* 'donkey'). However, this would not be the reason for its use of *-nnó* to form a concrete expression (i.e. *har-á-nnó* 'other one (F.)'). In other cases in which more than one common noun happens to have the same stem (with different masculine endings), their derived feminine common nouns conflict with each other. For example, *7akát-iyo* can be a derived feminine common noun both for *7akát-aa* 'strength' and *7akát-iya* 'a tool for crushing', and *máár-iyo* both for *máár-aa* 'line' and *máár-uwa* 'liquid in which powder is dissolved'. In addition, we cannot also explain the reasons why *-nnó*, not *-ró*, is preferred for *har-áá* 'other' etc. Likewise, we do not know the reasons why the expected feminine concrete forms **7iss-íyo* (from *7iss-í* 'one') and **Keer-íyo* (from *Keer-áá* 'small') are not possible.

The nominalizer *-nnó* is inflected as follows.

(4.2.5.3-1)

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
-nnó	-nní	-nná	-nníi	´-nnee

Evidently, the above forms are composed of more than one element (and in glosses in this work such analysis is adopted): the stem *-nn-* and case endings. However, I do not analyze them further in some cases, including the above table, to preserve uniformity with the masculine and plural counterparts. Judging from their case endings, *-nnó* and *-ró* discussed in the last section belong to the same word class.

For the oblique, again, there are allomorphs caused by the postpositions *-ra* 'with', and *-ni* 'in, at, by'. Very roughly speaking, the short vowel *i* of the nominalizer must be lengthened immediately before the postpositions *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its predicative and interrogative forms and *-ra* 'with'. Vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are interchangeably used immediately before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form. For the details, see section 4.2.8.2. In addition, when the

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[313] Thus Adams's (1983: 232) claim that this feminine nominalizer 'has been observed to cooccur only with determiners that indicate "this" or "that" in the feminine form' is not correct.

feminine nominalizer under discussion modifies another nominalizers, the short vowel of the former, *i*, is lengthened.

(4.2.5.3-2)
ha-<u>nn-íi</u>-g-aa
this-NMNL.-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.

'that (M.) of this one (F.)'

Unlike the nominalizers discussed above (-*gáá* and -*ró*), -*nnó* does not cause lengthening of the last vowel of its preceding word.

As is often the case, previous works sometimes disagree with me on the length of the final vowel of the feminine nominalizer under discussion. On other segmental elements of it all the works agree with me, although their grammatical interpretations are not the same. Hirut's (1999: 85) gloss 'that one (fem. nom.)' to 'hinno' would be a careless mistake.

As is indicated in (4.2.5.3-1), the feminine nominalizer -*nnó* has its inherent tonal prominence (an acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates that a tonal prominence lies on the syllable that includes the preceding vowel(s) of -*nn*-.
. It is not ignored even when a modifier that has a tonal prominence is attached to it and the tonal prominence of the modifier is not also ignored, unless the combination is not the first element of a tonal group (see section 2.4.1).

The following are examples that contain the feminine nominalizer -*nnó*.

(4.2.5.3-3)
har-á-<u>nn</u>-á   báawee?
other-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.   not present (INTER.)

'Isn't there another one (F.)?'

(4.2.5.3-4)

ha-<u>nn-á</u>	7áí	b-á	puulánc-a	na7-ée!
this-NMNL.-NOM.	what	thing-OBL.	beautiful-OBL.	child-INTER.

    'What a beautiful girl this is!'

(4.2.5.3-5)

7í	7imm-ídoo-r-á
he	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

hi-<u>nn-í</u>	kéén-iyo.
that-NMNL.-OBL.	equal-ABS.F.SG.

    'What he gave is that much.'

(4.2.5.3-6)

nééní	kóyy-iyo-r-á
you	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

ha-<u>nn-íi</u>?
this-NMNL.-INTER.

    'Is this (F.) what you want?'

(4.2.5.3-7)

táání	kóyy-iyo-r-á
I	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

ha-<u>nn-ó</u>.
this-NMNL.-ABS.

    'What I want is this (F.).'

(4.2.5.3-8)

7au-<u>nn-ó</u>	7imm-óo?
which-NMNL.-ABS.	give-OPT.1SG.

'Which one (F.) shall I give?'

(4.2.5.3-9)

máCC-a	naatú-ppé	7áí-nn-ó
female-OBL.	children (OBL.)-from	what-NMNL.-ABS.

kóyy-ai?
want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Which one of the girls do you want?'

(4.2.5.3-10)

mishir-é	7issí-nn-ó	be7-áas.
woman-OBL.	one (OBL.)-NMNL.-ABS.	see-PF.1SG.

'I saw one woman.'

(4.2.5.3-11)

ta-gód-au	táání	ha-nn-ó
my-lord-VOC.M.SG.	I	this-NMNL.-ABS.

gákk-an-a-u	na7-á	demm-ábe7íkke.
reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	child-ABS.	find-NEG.PF.1SG.

'Oh my lord, I have not got any child until now (lit. to reach this (F.)).'

(4.2.5.3-12)

bii	Keer-á-nn-ee	kicc-á.
hey	small-OBL.-NMNL.-VOC.	get out of-OPT.2SG.

'Hey the small girl, get out of here!'

The endings of *7issí-nn-ó* 'one female one' and *har-á-nn-ó* 'other female one' can be replaced by that of a concrete feminine singular common noun.

(4.2.5.3-13)

7og-íya-ni   táná-ní   gáítt-a-i

road-OBL.M.SG.-in   me-in   meet-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.

7issi-nn-<u>íyo</u>   7áí-nn-ó-kkó.

one-NMNL.-ABS.F.SG.   what-NMNL.-ABS.-if

   'One who met me on the road is one female, (I do not know) which one she is.'

(4.2.5.3-14)

har-a-nn-<u>íya</u>   báawee?

other-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.F.SG.   not present (INTER.)

   'Isn't there another one (F.)?'

4.2.5.4 *-nta*

   Although this is indeed a bound or non-autonomous form that is combined to other words to form nominal phrases, this is different from the nominalizers discussed so far in that it is not a substitute for concrete nominals. Thus it may not be proper to discuss it here as a nominalizer. It might be proper to discuss it in chapter 5 as a stem-forming suffix, although if we do so the derivatives will not belong to any established word classes. In any case, since there is not a more proper place to discuss it I discuss it here.

   It is inflected as follows.

(4.2.5.4-1)

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
-nta	-nta	-nti	-ntee	-ntoo

I have sometimes encountered an oblique form with the ending *-u*, instead of *-a*, but one of my main consultants judged it to be wrong.

   This nominalizer *-nta* has three uses: to express respect, to express pseudo-plurality (i.e. the meaning of 'and others'), and to express plurality. Only the context determines in which use a given *-nta* phrase is used. Incidentally, honorific expression is closely related to plurality in this language (see section 7.2.1).

The following are examples of the honorific use of *-nta*. Note that nominalizer phrases with *-nta* are treated as plural.

(4.2.5.4-2)

Kéés-iya-<u>nt-i</u>   y-íídosona.
priest-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.   come-PF.3PL.

   'The priest came.'

(4.2.5.4-3)

ne-7ish-á-<u>nt-i</u>   sóó-ni   d-íyonaa?
your-brother-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.   home-in   exist-INTER.IMPF.3PL.

   'Is your brother is at home?'

(4.2.5.4-4)

7etí   ta-7aaw-á-<u>nt-a</u>.
they   my-father-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'He (lit. they) is my father.'

(4.2.5.4-5)

ha   miishsh-áa   7eh-íída-i
this   money-ABS.M.SG.   bring-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.

ne-7azn-á-<u>nt-ee</u>?
your-husband-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-INTER.

   'Is it your husband who brought this money?'

(4.2.5.4-6)

káw-oo   ta-gód-oo   ta-gód-a-<u>nt-a</u>-ssi
king-VOC.   my-lord-VOC.   my-lord-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-OBL.-to

7ínté-ssí   bír-a   7iss-í   hannó
you (pl.)-to   Birr-OBL.   one-OBL.   this (ABS.F.)

7imm-aná   g-áádá   . . .
give-FUT.   say-CONV.1SG. . . .

 'Oh King, my Lord, I having said 'I will give this Birr (Ethiopian currency) to my lord, to you (honorific, lit. you (PL.)), and . . .''

 There is an honorific masculine third-person "pronoun", *7a-ntá*, which is composed of *7a-* 'his', a personal pronoun B in the oblique, and the nominalizer under discussion. Because of this formation, *7a-ntá* is treated here, and not regarded as a personal pronoun B.

(4.2.5.4-7)
7a-<u>nt-í</u>   y-íídosona.
his-NMNL.-NOM.   come-PF.3PL.

 'He (honorific) came.'   (01FN.2.page.59)

(4.2.5.4-8)
7a-<u>nt-á</u>   g-ái?
his-NMNL.-ABS.   say-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

 'Do you say to him (honorific)?'

There is no corresponding feminine form, and the personal pronoun B *7etá* 'them' is used instead (it can also be used for a man to be respected).

 The following is usually regarded as an example of the pseudo-plural use, since a girl is usually not a person to be respected.

(4.2.5.4-9)
7eta-s-óo   na7-é-<u>nt-a</u>   s-óo
their-home-ABS.M.SG. child-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-OBL. home-ABS.M.SG.

gákk-an-a-u   7ep-ídí   . . .
reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to take-CONV.3M.SG. . . .

'He took (his friends) to their home (lit. until he reached their home), the girl and others' (i.e. her families') home, and . . .'

The following is an example of the plural use.

(4.2.5.4-10)

gaash-é-<u>nt-a</u>	Cakk-ádii?
millet-like serial-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-ABS.	reap-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Did you reap the millet-like serials (ጤፍ *TEf* in Amharic)?'

As can be observed from the above examples, a long vowel that immediately precedes *-nta* is shortened. Compare, for example, the normal concrete oblique forms *7aaw-áa* 'father (OBL.)', *7azn-áa* 'husband (OBL.)', and *na7-ée* 'girl (OBL.)' on the one hand and *ta-7aaw-á-nt-a* 'my father' in (4.2.5.4-4), *ne-7azn-á-nt-ee* 'your husband (INTER.)' in (4.2.5.4-5), and *na7-é-nt-a* 'the girl and others (OBL.)' in (4.2.5.4-9), respectively. This phenomenon reminds us of the postposition *-ni*, 'in, at, by', which may shorten a long vowel that immediately precedes it (see section 4.2.8.2). Thus, the *n* element of the nominalizer *-nta* might have its origin in the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', or rather, the erstwhile oblique case marker indicating relationships such as 'locative'/'instrumental'/'directional', which was proposed by Hayward and Tsuge (1998: 30) (see also the discussion in section 4.2.4.1.4).

As indicated in the above examples, in general the nominalizer *-nta* is tonally not prominent and the tonal prominence of its modifier is preserved. Judging from (4.2.5.4-7) and (4.2.5.4-8), however, it may have its inherent tonal prominence.

It is worth while noting here the following two irregular forms: *7ish-a-ntá* 'brothers' and *micc-e-ntá* 'sisters'. Their tone cannot be explained by what is mentioned in the last paragraph. In addition, they express plurality that involves mutual relationship.

(4.2.5.4-11)

he	naa77-ú	milat-íya	naatí
that	two-OBL.	resemble-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	children (NOM.)

<u>7ish-a-nt-á</u>.
brother-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-ABS.

    'Those similar children are brothers.'

(4.2.5.4-12)
7a-<u>micc-e-nt-í</u>   núnáá-rá
his-sister-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.   our-with

hagáá-ní   de7-ókkónáa-yyé?
this-in   exist-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3PL.-INDEC..

    'Aren't his sisters here with us?'   (From Mark 6:3)

(4.2.5.4-13)
táání   hagáá   shamm-ídoo-g-áá
I   this   buy-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

ta-<u>micc-e-nt-á</u>-ssa.
my-sister-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-OBL.-for

    'It is for my sisters that I bought this.'

The underlined forms in the following, each of which is composed of a nominalizer phrase with *-nnó* discussed in section 4.2.5.3 and the nominalizer under discussion, would be included here, although they express usual plurality.

(4.2.5.4-14)
<u>ha-nn-i-nt-á</u>   Kott-á.
this-NMNL.-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.   hide-OPT.2SG.

    'Hide these ones.'

(4.2.5.4-15)
<u>7au-nn-i-nt-á</u>   kóyy-ai?
where-NMNL.-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.   want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Which ones do you want?'

These plural forms, as well as those illustrated in (4.2.5.4-9) and (4.2.5.4-10), are interesting from a historical or comparative point of view. This is because some other Ometo languages (see section 1.3.2) have plural forms more or less similar to these Wolaytta forms with the *n* element, while plural forms of Wolaytta common nouns are usually formed without the *n* element, as is discussed in section 4.2.1.1. According to 乾 (Inui 2005: 6), for example, Basketo has a plural marker *-antsa*. Moreno (1938: 27-28) says that Gofa has plural (and majestic plural) forms with *ánta*, as well as those with *-ta*. Cerulli (1929: 38) gives Zala plurals with the suffixes *-ant* and *-ont*, as well as a plural with the suffix *-ti*. Thus, *7ish-a-ntá* 'brothers' and *micc-e-ntá* 'sisters' in Wolaytta might be fossilized forms of earlier plurals. Remember also that Wolaytta has a plural "reflexive pronoun", *bántáná* 'themselves', which is based on its singular counterpart *báná* 'himself' (see section 4.2.4.1.5.2).

As was discussed above, Wolaytta may use tone for distinguishing between subtle differences of nuance: concrete and non-concrete nominatives in the common noun (see section 4.2.1.2), a place name (*7ank-áa*) and a tree name (*7ánk-aa*) (see section 4.2.2.2.4). The pseudo-plural (e.g. *7ish-á-nt-a* 'brother and others') and the irregular plural in question (e.g. *7ish-a-nt-á* 'brothers') may be added here as similar examples.

The term of respect *7ább-á-ntá* 'Father (i.e. priest, monk)' seems to be composed of the person-name noun *7ább-á* (loanword from Amharic አባ *AbbA*, meaning 'Father (i.e. priest, monk)') and the nominalizer *-nta*. However, its tone cannot be explained by the claim made above in this section.

(4.2.5.4-16)

7ább-á-nt-í	7áwa	b-íídona?
Father-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.	where	go-INTR.PF.3PL.

'Where did Father (i.e. the monk) go?'

(4.2.5.4-17)

7ább-á-nt-á-ppé	miishsh-áa	taLL-áas.
Father-OBL.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	money-ABS.M.SG.	borrow-PF.1SG.

'I borrowed money from Father.'

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Although its etymology is not known, the term of respect *gúwanta* 'princess' seems to be a word based on the nominalizer *-nta*.

(4.2.5.4-18)
gúw-a-nt-oo[314]!
?-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-VOC.

   'Oh, Princess!'

(4.2.5.4-19)

gúw-a-nt-a-ppe	7ekk-áas.
?-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	take-PF.1.SG.

   'I took (it) from the Princess.'

kaatíntá 'king of kings' and *7abéntá* 'wife of a royalty' are similar to this, although their tone cannot be explained by the explanation above in this section.

(4.2.5.4-20)

hagéé	wórK-ai	kaatí-nt-á-ssa.
this	gold-NOM.M.SG.	?-NMNL.-OBL.-for

  'This gold is for the king of kings.'

(4.2.5.4-21)

kaatí-nt-í	hagáá	síy-i-kko
?-NMNL.-NOM.	this (ABS.)	hear-SUBOR.-if

hanKétt-ana.
be angered-FUT.

  'If the king of kings hears this, he will be angered.'

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[314] Another possible analysis of this is:
g-úwa-nt-oo
?-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-VOC.

4.2.6 Demonstrative Expressions

In the following sections, various demonstrative expressions will be discussed. Although words of different word classes are used in them, they are discussed together for conveniences' sake.

4.2.6.1 Demonstrative Determiners

There are five demonstrative determiners, which serve as bases in various demonstrative expressions. They are *ha* 'this', *he* 'that', *hi* 'that', *há* 'in the nearer place', and *yá* 'in the remoter place'. They are invariant[315].

The demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' is widely used for proximal demonstrative expressions. It modifies a following nominal, irrespective of number, gender, and case.

(4.2.6.1-1)

<u>ha</u>	súúK-iya-ni	túúmm-oi-nne
this	shop-OBL.M.SG.-in	garlic-NOM.M.SG.-and

sant-ái-nne	sunkurúút-oi-nne	de7-ées.
cabbage-NOM.M.SG.-and	onion-NOM.M.SG.-and	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There are garlic, cabbages, and onions in this shop.'

(4.2.6.1-2)

<u>ha</u>	godal-íyau	7áí	7oott-ái?
this	hyena-VOC.M.SG.	what	do-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Hey this hyena, what are you doing?'

(4.2.6.1-3)

<u>ha</u>	Tal-íya	Camm-áusu.
this	medicine-NOM.F.SG.	be bitter-IMPF.3F.SG.

'This medicine is bitter.'

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[315] However, see the discussion in section 4.2.6.3.

(4.2.6.1-4)

ha	maTááp-ati	nee-geet-ée?
this	book-NOM.PL.	your-NMNL.PL.-INTER.

'Are these books yours?'

(4.2.6.1-5)

maay-úwa	shamm-ídaa-geet-í
clothes-ABS.M.SG.	buy-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.PL.-NOM.

ha	na7-é-nt-ee?
this	child-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-INTER.

'Are those who bought the clothes this girl and others?'

(4.2.6.1-6)

híni	bitán-ee	milat-íyo-i
there	man-NOM.M.SG.	resemble-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

ha	néná.
this	you

'It is this you that the man there resembles.'

The demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' may modify nominalizers (see section 4.2.5) to form "demonstrative pronouns". See section 4.2.6.2.

The demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' does not necessarily modify its immediately following nominal. In the following, for example, *ha* 'this' modifies *daann-áa* 'chief', not *dos-étt-ida* 'that is liked'.

(4.2.6.1-7)

ha	dos-étt-ida	daann-áa
this	like-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	chief-ABS.M.SG.

'this chief that is liked'   (Based on Adams (1983: 20))

In the following, *ha* 'this' modifies *keett-áa* 'house', not *mát-i* 'recently'.

(4.2.6.1-8)

ha	mát-i	keeT-étt-ida	keett-áa
this	near-ADV.	built-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	house-ABS.M.SG.

   'this house that built recently'

   This proximal demonstrative determiner can also be anaphoric. That is, it can also be used when a nominal modified by it refers to something that is mentioned in its preceding utterance.

(4.2.6.1-9)

haah-úwa-ra	7og-é	doon-áa-ra
far-OBL.M.SG.-with	road-OBL.	mouth-OBL.M.SG.-with

7as-ái	kant-íyo-g-áá
people-NOM.M.SG.	pass-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

haah-úwa-ra	Céngurs-aa	7as-áa-g-áá
far-OBL.M.SG.-with	voice-ABS.M.SG.	people-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-ABS.

síy-idaa-g-éé	gerééss-aa
hear-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	war song-ABS.M.SG.

dóómm-í	7agg-íis,	shumurúkk-óí.
begin-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-PF.3M.SG.	(person name)-NOM.

7áí-ssí	ha	7as-áa
what-for	this	people-ABS.M.SG.

bal-ett-an-á-u	kóyy-iis.
mistake-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-PF.3M.SG.

   'One who heard people passing, from a distant, by the roadside (lit. with the mouth of the road), (one who heard) the voice in the distant, that of the people, Shumuruko,

began to sing a war song immediately (lit. and ceased). Why? (It is because) he wanted to deceive these people.'

(4.2.6.1-10)

shaaramuT-an-á-u KaaKKat-íyo-g-áá
commit adultery-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to crave-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

wúúKK-iyo-g-áá wor-íyo-g-áá
steal-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS. kill-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

shaaramuT-íyo-g-áá durétett-aa
commit adultery-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS. being rich-ABS.M.SG.

7ámott-iyo-g-áá 7iitátett-aa
desire-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS. evilness-ABS.M.SG.

gén-iya 7ámott-iyo-g-áá
deceit-ABS.M.SG. desire-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

Kanaat-íyo-g-áá Cashsh-áa
feel envy-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS. insult-ABS.M.SG.

7áyy-uwa 7azallátett-aa. <u>ha</u> 7íít-a
pride-ABS.M.SG. laziness-ABS.M.SG. this bad-OBL.

b-áí 7ubb-ái-kka 7as-á wozan-á
thing-NOM.M.SG. all-NOM.M.SG.-too person-OBL. heart-OBL.

gidd-ó-ppé kíy-idi 7as-á
inside-OBL.-from come out-CONV.3M.SG. person-ABS.

tun-iss-ées.
be unclean-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'(They are) sexual immorality, theft, murder, adultery, greed, malice, deceit, lewdness, envy, slander, arrogance and folly. All these bad things come from inside of a

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man's heart, and make a man unclean.'   (From Mark 7: 21-23)

The same proximal demonstrative determiner can also be cataphoric. That is, it can also be used when a nominal modified by it refers to something that is mentioned in its following utterance. However, this use seems to be relatively rare.

(4.2.6.1-11)

7amman-íya-geet-ú-yyo	<u>ha</u>	maláát-ati
believe-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.PL.-OBL.-for	this	sing-NOM.PL.

7im-étt-ana.	7etí	ta-súnt-aa-ni	Talah-etá
give-PASS.-FUT.	they	my-name-OBL.M.SG.-in	demon-ABS.PL.

kess-aná.	Kássi	7etí	dumm-á	dumm-á
make come out-FUT.	furthermore	they	different-OBL.	different-OBL.

Káál-aa-ni	haasay-aná.
word-OBL.M.SG.-in	tell-FUT.

'To those who believe, these signs will be given: They will drive out demons in my name; they will speak different languages;'   (From Mark 16:17)

The proximal demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' does not have its own inherent tonal prominence. See also the discussion on *há* 'in the nearer place' below in this section.

The demonstrative determiner *he* 'that' is widely used for distal demonstrative expressions. Thus it is a semantic counterpart of *ha* 'this' discussed above in this section. As can be observed from the below examples, their grammatical behavior is the same except for the formation of "demonstrative pronouns" (see the discussion in section 4.2.6.2).

(4.2.6.1-12)

<u>he</u>	bitán-ee	7óónee?
that	man-NOM.M.SG.	who (INTER.)

'Who is that man?'

(4.2.6.1-13)

ha	zááp-ee		he	zááp-iya-daani	7aduss-á
this	tree-NOM.M.SG.		that	tree-OBL.M.SG.-like	long-ABS.

gid-énná.
become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

 'This tree is not as tall as that tree.'

(4.2.6.1-14)

táání	kóyy-iyo-geet-í		he
I	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.PL.-NOM.		that

heezz-ú	sunkurúút-ota.
three-OBL.	onion-ABS.PL.

 'What I want are those three onions.'

(4.2.6.1-15)

he	7anjúll-á	7er-ái?
that	(person name)-ABS.	know-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

 'Do you know that Anjulo (not Anjulo that is here)?'

 This distal demonstrative determiner can also be anaphoric, as the proximal demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' can. That is, it can also be used when a nominal modified by it refers to something that is mentioned in its preceding utterance.

(4.2.6.1-16)

7iss-í	kawótett-ai	ba-gidd-óó-ní
one-OBL.	kingdom-NOM.M.SG.	his own-inside-OBL.-in

shaah-étt-í-kkó		he	kawótett-ai
divide-PASS.-SUBOR.-if		that	kingdom-NOM.M.SG.

7eKK-an-á	danday-énná.
stand-INFN.-ABS.	can-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG..

'If a kingdom is divided in its inside, that kingdom cannot stand.'
(From Mark 3:24)

(4.2.6.1-17)

tá	g-íído	mááC-ido	wod-íyo
I	say-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	decide-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.F.SG.

<u>he</u>	wod-é	zaar-an-á	Tay-í-kkó	<u>he</u>
that	time-ABS.	return-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if	that

máác-a	wod-íya-ni	zaar-an-á
decision-OBL.	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	return-INFN.-ABS.

Tay-í-kkó	múl-e	táání	hegáá	7ekk-aná.
be lost-SUBOR.-if	full-ABS.	I	that	take-FUT.

'The time I said, I decided, if you do not pay back (the money) at that time, if you do not pay back (the money) at that time decided, I will perfectly take that (i.e., one kilogram of your flesh).'

(4.2.6.1-18)

shííní	Heroodís-í	hegáá	síy-ido
but	(person name)-NOM.	that (ABS.)	hear-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

wod-é	'Hegéé	táání	Kóór-iya
time-ABS.	that (NOM.)	I	neck-ABS.M.SG.

muuC-iss-ido	TammaK-íya
cut-CAUS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	baptize-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

yohaannís-á	gid-énnée?	<u>he</u>	7í
(person name)-ABS.	become-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.	that	he

háíK-uwa-ppe	paT-íis.'	yáág-iis.
death-OBL.M.SG.-from	be healed-PF.3M.SG.	say so-PF.3M.SG.

   'But when Herod heard that, he said "Isn't that John the Baptist, whose head I made cut off? That he (John, in this context) has been raised from the dead.'

   (From Mark 6:16)

   It does not seem that this distal demonstrative determiner *he* 'that' can be cataphoric, i.e. that it can be used when a nominal modified by it refers to something that is mentioned in its following utterance, although "demonstrative pronouns" based on it have such cataphoric use (see section 4.2.6.2).

   The distal demonstrative determiner *he* 'that' does not have its own inherent tonal prominence in general. The following is an exception, which seems to be explained by analogy with *há pint-aa* 'this side of the waters', which contains the demonstrative determiner *há* 'in the nearer place', which will be discussed later in this section.

(4.2.6.1-19)

ha	7abb-áa	hé-pint-aa[316]	pínn-idi
this	sea-ABS.M.SG.	that-side of the waters-ABS.M.SG.	cross-CONV.1PL.

simm-aná.
return-FUT.

   'We will cross this lake to that shore, and will return.'

   The demonstrative determiner *hi* 'that' is also used for distal demonstrative expressions. This and the distal demonstrative determiner *he* 'that' discussed above in

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[316] To indicate that the distal demonstrative determiner *he* 'that' has a tonal prominence exceptionally in this combination, the determiner and the nominal (*pint-aa*) are joined with a hyphen. The inherent tonal prominence of *pint-aa* 'side of the water' is not known, because it is always preceded by one or more words that have tonal prominences in the same tonal group and thus its tonal prominence, if any, is always ignored (see section 4.2.1.7).

   The distal demonstrative determiner might have lost its demonstrative meaning in this combination. Thus the proximal demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' can modify it: *ha hé-pint-aa* 'other side of the nearer river (not of the remoter river)'.

this section are in complementary distribution. However, the use of the former is very restricted. It is only found in a few fixed expressions. See sections 4.2.6.2 and 4.2.6.3.

yá 'in the remoter place' is also used for distal demonstrative expressions. Unlike the distal demonstrative determiners discussed above, however, it is used to refer to what is in the remoter place between the two (or occasionally more than two) things or persons that can be identified by both the speaker and the hearer. Thus it cannot be used, for example, to point to a thing seen in the distance out of the blue.

Its proximal counterpart is *há* 'in the nearer place'. This often means 'that exists here (not there)'. It is differentiated from the proximal demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' only by tone: *há* 'in the nearer place' has its own tonal prominence as well as *yá* 'in the remoter place' while *ha* 'this' does not.

(4.2.6.1-20)

<u>yá</u>	maay-úwa-ppe	<u>há</u>
in the remoter place	clothes-OBL.M.SG.-from	in the nearer place

maay-ói	ló77-o.
clothes-NOM.M.SG.	good-ABS.

'The clothes that is here is better than the clothes that is there.'

(4.2.6.1-21)

7iss-í	bóór-ai	<u>yá</u>	bágg-i
one-OBL.	ox-NOM.M.SG.	in the remoter place	half-ADV.

7iss-í	bóór-ai	<u>há</u>	bágg-i
one-OBL.	ox-NOM.M.SG.	in the nearer place	half-ADV.

7iss-óí	Ká	ha-g-áá
one-NOM.M.SG.	furthermore	this-NMNL.-OBL.

bágg-aa-ra	heezz-ú	gin-áa-ra
half-OBL.M.SG.-with	three-OBL.	direction-OBL.M.SG.-with

kess-ídí	. . .
raise-CONV.3PL.	. . .

    'The three (oxen) raised (their faces) in three directions, one ox in that direction (lit. half), another ox in this direction, and the other in this direction, and . . .'

(4.2.6.1-22)

<u>yá</u>	sóo	b-í	7er-énná.
in the remoter place	home	go-CONV.3M.SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'He has not gone to that house (of the two).'

(4.2.6.1-23)

<u>há</u>	haasáy-aa	7er-ídí	b-íis.
in the nearer place	talk-ABS.M.SG.	know-CONV.3M.SG.	go-PF.3M.SG.

    'He mastered the language of here (not of that land), and went.'

    Sometimes we cannot determine which of the proximal demonstrative determiners (*há* 'in the nearer place' and *ha* 'this') is used. Judging from the tone, we can assume that the fixed expression [hálaitti] 'this year' (cf. *láítt-i* (year-ADV.)) contains *há* 'in the nearer place'. However, it might be the case that the first element of this compound was originally *ha* 'this' (*ha láítt-i*) and that its tone has been changed by analogy with *zíl-laitt-i* 'last year', which might originate in *zín-o láítt-i* (yesterday-OBL. year-ADV.). Likewise, we can assume that the fixed expression [hápintaa] 'this side of the waters' (cf. *pint-aa* (side of the waters), see also section 4.2.1.7) contains *há* 'in the nearer place', judging from its tone, semantics and the existence of *yá pint-aa* 'the other side of waters', which seems to be seldom used though. However, the first element of this compound might originate in *ha* 'this' if we take *hé pint-aa* 'the other side of waters', which was illustrated in (4.2.6.1-19), into consideration.

    Unlike the other demonstrative determiners, *há* 'in the nearer place' and *yá* 'in the remoter place' can be followed by a postposition. This would be because the latter are not genuine deictic (or anaphoric) expressions: they imply rather concrete places. In this case, however, their use does not necessarily presuppose something to be coupled or grouped with their referents, although the referents must be identifiable to both the

speaker and the hearer. In short, the proximal *há* refers to a place where the speaker is ('here'), and the distal *yá* a place that has been mentioned in its preceding utterance[317].

(4.2.6.1-24)

<u>háá</u>-ppé[318]   b-íis.
in the nearer place-from   go-PF.3M.SG.

   'He went from here.'

(4.2.6.1-25)

bitán-ee-kka   keehí   dár-o   daapur-ídí
man-NOM.M.SG.-too   very   many-ABS.   be tired-CONV.3M.SG.

TisK-ídaa-g-éé   hííT-aa-ppe
sleep-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   sleeping place-OBL.M.SG.-from

dend-énn-aa-ni   <u>yáá</u>-ní
get up-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in   in the remoter place-in

ziNN-ó   s-áa-ni   . . .
sleep-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.   place-OBL.M.SG.-in   . . .

   'The man, who had been tired very much and slept, without getting up from the sleeping place, there, in the place where he slept, . . .'

4.2.6.2 "Demonstrative Pronouns"

   Some demonstrative determiners may be combined with nominalizers (see section 4.2.5). The resultant unit functions like a demonstrative pronoun in, for example, English. The combination is fixed, and there are six possible combinations, as shown in the following paradigms.

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[317] Thus they may be "nouns" in this use, not determiners. In fact, there are derivatives from these determiners. See the discussion in section 4.2.6.3.

[318] The vowel of the determiner is lengthened before the postposition *-ppe* 'from'. In this respect, the demonstrative determiner is the same as personal pronouns. Remember the phenomenon exemplified in (4.2.4.1.1-11).

(4.2.6.2-1) "Demonstrative Pronouns"

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M.SG. (proximal)				
ha-gáá	ha-gáá	ha-géé	ha-gée	há-goo
M.SG. (distal)				
he-gáá	he-gáá	he-géé	he-gée	hé-goo
F.SG. (proximal)				
ha-nnó	ha-nní	ha-nná	ha-nníi	há-nnee
F.SG. (distal)				
hi-nnó	hi-nní	hi-nná	hi-nníi	(hí-nnee)
PL. (proximal)				
ha-geetá	ha-geetú	ha-geetí	ha-geetée	ha-géétoo
PL. (distal)				
he-geetá	he-geetú	he-geetí	he-geetée	he-géétoo

For their allomorphs, see sections 4.2.5.1 and 4.2.5.3, where the relevant nominalizers are discussed.

Their tone can be fully explained by that of the demonstrative determiners, which do not have tonal prominences, and that of the nominalizers. Note the shift of tonal prominences in vocative forms.

Labmerti and Sottile (1997: 81) give *henna*, which was rejected by one of my main consultants, instead of *hinná* 'that (F.)'. They also give forms with an optionally geminated consonant: *heg(g)e* 'that' and *heg(g)eta* 'those'. These should be treated as examples of syntactic gemination, which applies across word boundary (see section 2.1.4). Cerulli (1929: 15) gives *anni* as the feminine singular in the Maldô Karrê dialect, and *ā* and *ē* as proximal and distal demonstrative pronouns, respectively, in the Sorê dialect[319]. As is often the case is, there is disagreement on vowel length among the previous works. Hirut's (1999: 85) gloss 'that one (fem. nom.)' to *hinno* would be a careless mistake.

The following are examples in which "demonstrative pronouns" are used deictically[320].

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[319] *ā* and *ē* seem to correspond to the demonstrative determiners *ha* 'this' and *he* 'that' discussed in section 4.2.6.1, respectively.

[320] In this thesis, "demonstrative pronouns" are usually written without a hyphen for the

(4.2.6.2-2)

laa	hagéé	7áí	b-ée?
hey	this (NOM.M.SG.)	what	thing-INTER.

   'Hey, what is this?'

(4.2.6.2-3)

hageetú-ppé	7au-g-éé	ló77-oo?
these (OBL.PL.)-from	which-NMNL.-NOM.	good-INTER.

   'Which one is good among them?'

(4.2.6.2-4)

hageetú	gidd-óó-ní	geelá7-óí	báawa.
these (OBL.PL.)	inside-OBL.-in	young virgin-NOM.	not present

   'There is no young virgin in these.'

(4.2.6.2-5)

7í	7imm-ídoo-r-á	hinní
he	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	that (OBL.F.SG.)

kéén-iyo.
equal-ABS.F.SG.

   'What he gave was (only) that amount (lit. equal of that female one).'

(4.2.6.2-6)

ha	tóh-oi	hagáá	tóh-uwa.
this	leg-NOM.M.SG.	this (OBL.M.SG.)	leg-ABS.M.SG.

   'This leg is the leg of this (table, etc.).'

---

sake of convenience.

(4.2.6.2-7)

nééní	kóyy-iyo-r-á	hanníi?
you	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	this (INTER.F.SG.)

'Is it this (F.) that you want?'

(4.2.6.2-8)

nééní	hegáá	7agg-á.
you (NOM.)	that (ABS.M.SG.)	stop-OPT.2SG.

'You, stop that!'

(4.2.6.2-9)

'hegéé	7óónee?'	'(silent)'	'hégoo!'
that (NOM.M.SG.)	who (INTER.)		that (VOC.M.SG.)

'Who is it?' (Silent) 'You, that one (i.e. one who is there)!'

(4.2.6.2-10)

'm-ííkkíi?'	'(silent)'	'hánnee
eat-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.		this (VOC.F.SG.)

néna	g-áis.'
you	say-IMPF.1SG.

'Don't you eat?' (Silent) 'Hey, this (girl), I am saying to you!'

The proximal "demonstrative pronoun" *hagáá* 'this' can mean 'here' or 'now'.

(4.2.6.2-11)

ha	kan-atí	hagáá-ní	7áí	7oott-íyonaa?
this	dog-NOM.PL.	this (OBL.M.SG.)-in	what	do-INTER.IMPF.3PL.

'What are these dogs doing here?'

(4.2.6.2-12)

hagáá	7ubbátoo	y-éesi-ttenne.
this (ABS.M.SG.)	always	come-IMPF.3M.SG.-indeed

'It indeed always comes here.'

(4.2.6.2-13)

hagáá-ppé	kas-é	bení	woláítt-á
this (OBL.M.SG.)-from	before-ABS.	old times	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	7as-ái	7iss-í
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.

b-áí	met-óbare	wóí-kkó	7ee	na7-á
thing-NOM.M.SG.	trouble-after	or-if	uh	child-ABS.

yel-énn-aa-ni	7iTT-óbare	. . .
bear-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	refuse-after	. . .

'Before (lit. before from this), in old times, in the Wolaytta land, if one thing troubles (people), or, uh, if they cannot bear a child, they . . .'

A proximal "demonstrative pronoun" can be anaphoric or cataphoric. That is, it can refer to something that is mentioned in its preceding or following utterance.

(4.2.6.2-14)
(At the end of a story)

hegáá-daani	han-íis.	nááC-aa	hais-íya
that (OBL.M.SG.)-like	become-PF.3M.SG.	joke-ABS.M.SG.	story-ABS.M.SG.

hagéé.
this (NOM.M.SG.)

'It became like that. This is a joke, (or) a story.'

(4.2.6.2-15)

yesúús-í	zaar-ídí	7etá	hagáá-daani
Jesus-NOM.	answer-CONV.3M.SG.	them	this (OBL.M.SG.)-like

yáág-iis.	'Tooss-áa	7amman-ité.	. . .
say so-PF.3M.SG.	God-ABS.M.SG.	believe-OPT.2PL.	. . .

'Jesus said like this answering them. "Believe in God. . ."'   (From Mark 11:22)

(4.2.6.2-16)

7í	door-ído	támm-á-nné	naa77-atí
he	choose-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	ten-ABS.-and	two-NOM.PL.

hageetá.	PeTiróós-á	yáág-idi
these (ABS.PL.)	(person name)-ABS.	say so-CONV.3M.SG.

sunt-ído	simóón-á-nné	bo7anergés-á
name-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	(person name)-ABS.-and	(person name)-ABS.

yáág-idi	sunt-ídoo-geetá
say so-CONV.3M.SG.	name-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-ABS.PL.

zabdiyóós-á	naatá	yaaKóób-á-nné
(person name)-OBL.	children (ABS.)	(person name)-ABS.-and

yaaKóób-á	7ish-áa	yohaannís-á-nné
(person name)-OBL.	brother-ABS.M.SG.	(person name)-ABS.-and

. . .
. . .

'The twelve that he chose are these: Simon, to whom he gave the name Peter, sons of Zebedee, James and his brother John, to whom he gave the name Boanerges, . . .'
    (From Mark 3:16-17)

A distal "demonstrative pronoun" can also be anaphoric.

(4.2.6.2-17)

zaall-ái	za77-íi-ni	maat-ái
hard stone-NOM.M.SG.	be split-SUBOR.-in	grass-NOM.M.SG.

mokk-ées	g-íyo	leemís-oi
grow-IMPF.3M.SG.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	proverb-NOM.M.SG.

d-ées.	<u>hegéé</u>	7áí	b-ée?
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.	that (NOM.SG.)	what	thing-INTER.

'There is a proverb in which one says "when a hard stone is split grass grows". What is that?'

(4.2.6.2-18)

he	bitan-ee	ba-Káál-aa	TóKKu
that	man-NOM.M.SG.	his own-word-ABS.M.SG.	(preverb)

7oott-ídí	'. . .'	yáág-iis.	7í	<u>hegáá</u>
do-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .	say so-PF.3M.SG.	he	that (ABS.M.SG.)

7áí-ssí	g-íídee	g-íí-kkó	. . .
what-for	say-INTER.PF.3M.SG.	say-SUBOR.-if	. . .

'That man raised his voice, and said ". . ." If you say "Why did he say that?" . . .'
(From Mark 5:7-8)

I have encountered only one example in which the distal "demonstrative pronoun" *hegáá* 'that' is used cataphorically.

(4.2.6.2-19)

he	biitt-áa-ni	de7-íya	7as-áa-yyo
that	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-to

<u>hegéé</u>	márk-a	gid-aná	mal-á
that (NOM.M.SG.)	evidence-ABS.	become-REL.FUT.	look(s)-ABS.

he	sóh-uwa-ppe	kíy-idi
that	place-OBL.M.SG.-from	come out-CONV.2PL.

7inte-tóh-uwa-ppe	buh-íya	shoC-ité.
your-foot-OBL.M.SG.-from	dust-ABS.M.SG.	hit-OPT.2PL.

 'Go out that place and beat the dust from your legs, for that to be an evidence for the people that lives in that land.'   (From Mark 6:11)

Thus both proximal and distal "demonstrative pronouns" can be both anaphoric and cataphoric. Unfortunately, I cannot explain how proximal and distal forms are distinguished from each other in each of anaphoric and cataphoric uses.

Since a "demonstrative pronoun" is actually a nominalizer with a modifier, it often occurs in an appositive construction (see (4.2.5.1-27) and (4.2.5.1-28)).

(4.2.6.2-20)

Cím-aa	kiitt-ídí	kiitt-ído
old man-ABS.M.SG.	send-CONV.3M.SG.	send-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

Cím-ai	'7inte-na7-íyo	nu-na7-áa-ssi
old man-NOM.M.SG.	your (PL.)-child-ABS.F.SG.	our-child-OBL.M.SG.-to

7imm-ité.'	g-íídí	wooss-ídí
give-OPT.2PL.	say-CONV.3M.SG.	beg-CONV.3M.SG.

na7-é-nt-a	keett-áa
child-OBL.F.SG.-NMNL.-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.

paKKad-iss-ídí	bullacc-ídí
permit-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	celebrate a wedding-CONV.3M.SG.

7ekk-íyo	<u>7og-ée</u>	<u>hegéé</u>
take-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	way-NOM.M.SG.	that (NOM.M.SG.)

7iss-í	7og-é.
one-OBL.	way-ABS.

'The way in which he sends an old man, and the old man who he send says "Give your girl to our boy!" and begs, and makes the family of the girl permit, and he celebrates a wedding, and he takes (a wife), this is one way.'

(4.2.6.2-21)

hegéé	dad-áa-ni	gíK-o
that (NOM.M.SG.)	thunder-OBL.M.SG.-by	protection-ABS.

g-íyo-g-éé	7áí	bée?
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	what	thing-INTER.

'What is that, what one calls (lit. says) protection by thunder?'

(4.2.6.2-22)

hagéé	kóír-o	7ó
this (NOM.M.SG.)	first-ABS.	her (ABS.)

giig-iss-áa-g-éé
agree-CAUS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

lo77-énná	gishsh-á-u	. . .
be good-NEG.REL.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	. . .

'Because this, one who is engaged to (lit. make agree) her first is not handsome . . .'

(4.2.6.2-23)

hanná	míízz-iya	nee-r-íi?
this (NOM.F.SG.)	cow-NOM.F.SG.	your-NMNL.-INTER.

'Is this cow yours?'

(4.2.6.2-24)

<u>hegáá</u>	<u>booh-úwa</u>	be7-á.
that (ABS.M.SG.)	cave-ABS.M.SG.	see-OPT.2SG.

'See that trench!'

One might consider that some of the underlined alleged demonstrative "pronouns" above are demonstrative "adjectives", especially in the last two examples. If they are compared with the following, one might consider that the alleged "demonstrative pronouns" used in them are non-abbreviated forms of demonstrative determiners, which do function like "demonstrative adjectives" (see section 4.2.6.1).

(4.2.6.2-25)

<u>ha</u>	<u>míízz-iya</u>	nee-r-íi?
this	cow-NOM.F.SG.	your-NMNL.-INTER.

'Is this cow yours?'   Cf. (4.2.6.2-23)

(4.2.6.2-26)

<u>he</u>	<u>booh-úwa</u>	be7-á.
that	cave-ABS.M.SG.	see-OPT.2SG.

'See that cave!'   Cf. (4.2.6.2-24)

However, I consider that the two underlined words in (4.2.6.2-23) and (4.2.6.2-24) are appositive since 1) elsewhere in this language a modifier and its modified do not agree in gender, number, and case, while the two underlined words in (4.2.6.2-23) and (4.2.6.2-24) do (remember that demonstrative determiners such as *ha* 'this' and *he* 'that' are invariable), 2) the order of the two underlined words in (4.2.6.2-23) and (4.2.6.2-24) can be inversed as the following show.

(4.2.6.2-27)

<u>míízz-iya</u>	<u>hanná</u>	nee-r-íi?
cow-NOM.F.SG.	this (NOM.F.SG.)	your-NMNL.-INTER.

'Is this cow yours?'   Cf. (4.2.6.2-23)

(4.2.6.2-28)

booh-úwa	hegáá	be7-á.
cave-ABS.M.SG.	that (ABS.M.SG.)	see-OPT.2SG.

'See that trench!' Cf. (4.2.6.2-24)

In this language, the absolutive case is usually used for the purpose of citation. Thus, nominals were almost always encountered in the absolutive case during my lexical investigation. However, "demonstrative pronouns" were sometimes encountered in the nominative case as well as in the absolutive case. Furthermore, Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa's (EC 1991: 132, 138) dictionary gives "demonstrative pronouns" both in their absolutive forms (*hagaa* 'this (M.)' and *hanno* 'this (F.)') and in their nominative forms (*hagee* 'this (M.) and *hanna* 'this (F.)'). Thus, for "demonstrative pronouns" nominative forms might be regarded as representative forms, at least sometimes.

4.2.6.3 Derivatives of Demonstrative Determiners

Derivatives can be formed based on demonstrative determiners.

For example, *háa* 'to here' seems to be related to the demonstrative determiner *há* 'in the nearer place'. Although Adams (1985: 235) interprets the vowel length as a nominalizer, I leave the matter open. *háa* 'to here' may be used adverbially by itself. Note also that it does not necessarily presuppose something to be coupled or grouped with its referent, as *há* 'in the nearer place' does (see section 4.2.6.1).

(4.2.6.3-1)

háa	y-aaná	bitán-iya	naag-áis.
to here	come-REL.FUT.	man-ABS.M.SG.	wait-IMPF.1SG.

'I am waiting a man who will come here.'

(4.2.6.3-2)

táání	m-aanáa-g-áá	háa	shiishsh-á.
I	eat-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-ABS.	to here	collect-OPT.2SG.

'Bring (lit. collect here) what I will eat.'

(4.2.6.3-3)

tam-áa	7acc-áa-ni	wott-ó
fire-OBL.M.SG.	side-OBL.M.SG.-in	put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

píl-aa	háa	7ekk-ídaa-g-éé
cheese-ABS.M.SG.	to here	take-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

móóK-iya-ni	bógg-í	bógg-í
spoon-OBL.M.SG.-with	rob-CONV.3M.SG.	rob-CONV.3M.SG.

bógg-í	bógg-í	bógg-í
rob-CONV.3M.SG.	rob-CONV.3M.SG.	rob-CONV.3M.SG.

bógg-í	m-í-nne	wurs-í
rob-CONV.3M.SG.	eat-CONV.3M.SG.-and	finish-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-íis.
cease-PF.3M.SG.

'The one who brought (lit. took here) the cheese that she put nearby the fire ate (it) with a spoon quickly (lit. having robbed), and finished (it).'

(4.2.6.3-4)

gááshsh-ee	tána	háa	Teell-á.
Mr.-VOC.	me	to here	see-OPT.2SG.

KóLL-oo-ni	de7-íya	danc-íyo
larder-OBL.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	ugly-ABS.F.SG.

digg-á.
forbid-OPT.2SG.

'Mr., look at me, turning this way! Discard (lit. forbid) the ugly woman who is in the kitchen!'

The demonstrative word *háa* 'to here' can be combined with a postposition.

(4.2.6.3-5)

<u>háa</u>-kko[321]	simm-á.
to here-toward	return-OPT.2SG.

   'Return to here.'

It may also express a mental direction.

(4.2.6.3-6)

kátt-ai	<u>háa</u>	hirais-íiddi
grain-NOM.M.SG.	to here	become cheap-SIM.3M.SG.

y-íis.
come-PF.3M.SG.

   'The grain was getting cheaper and cheaper.'

   Likewise, y*áa* 'to there' seems to be related to the demonstrative determiner *yá* 'in the remoter place'. Again, *yáa* 'to there' does not necessarily presuppose something to be coupled or grouped with its referent, as *yá* 'in the remoter place' does (see section 4.2.6.1).

(4.2.6.3-7)

<u>yáa</u>	simm-ádá	b-á.
to there	return-CONV.2SG.	go-OPT.2SG.

   'Go and return there!'

(4.2.6.3-8)

'laa	hagéé	7áí	b-ée?'	g-íídí
hey	this (NOM.)	what	thing-INTER.	say-CONV.3PL.

waass-í	waass-ídí	<u>yáa</u>
shout-CONV.3PL.	shout-CONV.3PL.	to there

---

[321] This is not a demonstrative determiner *há* 'in the nearer place' followed by the same postposition as in the case of (4.2.6.1-24), judging from its tone.

woTT-íyo-r-íí-ní   . . .
run-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in   . . .

 'Having said "Hey, what is this?" and shouted and shouted, just as soon as they ran to there . . .'

(4.2.6.3-9)

yáa-kko   simm-ádá   dewúzz-a.
to there-toward return-CONV.2SG. belch-OPT.2SG.

 'Return there and belch.'

(4.2.6.3-10)

láítt-ai   yáa 7íít-í   b-íis.
year-NOM.M.SG.   to there become bad-CONV.3M.SG. go-PF.3M.SG.

 'The times went worse.'

 yáa 'to there' and *háa* 'to here' can be used idiomatically in combination with each other in this order. In this case, *yáa* 'to there' loses its definiteness: i.e. it does not refer to a specific remote place that is identifiable both to the speaker and the hearer.

(4.2.6.3-11)

7í yáa woTT-ídí-kká   háa woTT-ídí-kká
he to there run-CONV.3M.SG.-too to here run-CONV.3M.SG.-too

Toon-an-á-u   danday-íbe7énná.
win-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-for be able to-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

 'He could not win even if he ran to there and even if he ran to here (i.e. in any way).'

(4.2.6.3-12)

dabdaabb-íya-ni   kíít-ai   yáa háa
letter-OBL.M.SG.-with message-NOM.M.SG. to there to here

kiit-ét-étt-ees.

send-PASS.-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Messages are sent to and fro by means of letters.'

    The Class A common nouns *h-áa* 'this place' and *y-áa* 'that place' seem to be derived from the demonstrative determiners *há* 'in the nearer place' and *yá* 'in the remoter place', respectively. They do not imply any motion by themselves, unlike *háa* 'to here' and *yáa* 'to there' discussed above.

(4.2.6.3-13)

<u>y-ái</u>   ló77-o   biitt-á.

that place-NOM.M.SG.   good-OBL.   land-ABS.

   'That place is a good land.'

(4.2.6.3-14)

núú-ssí   dé7-uwa-ssi   lo77-íya-i

our-for   life-OBL.M.SG.-for   be good-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.

<u>h-áa</u>.

this place-ABS.M.SG.

   'What is good for living for us is this place.'

    Some may say that *háa* 'to here' and *yáa* 'to there' discussed above in this section are concrete absolutive or oblique forms of the same common nouns. This might be the case, although the meanings of the former (i.e. (4.2.6.3-1) to (4.2.6.3-12)) are dynamic while those of the latter (i.e. (4.2.6.3-13) and (4.2.6.3-14)) are static. Furthermore, *há* 'in the nearer place' and *yá* 'in the remoter place' discussed in section 4.2.6.1 may not be determiners but non-concrete oblique forms of the common nouns under discussion, although if we think so we have to explain why their short vowels are lengthened before some postpositions as in (4.2.6.1-24).

    Note that even if this is the case the common nouns *h-áa* 'this place' and *y-áa* 'that place' are defective. Sometimes the expected forms are not used actually. To express "in

that place", for example, the expected *y-áa-ni (i.e. a concrete oblique form followed by a postposition) is not used, but hegáa-ní (i.e. a "distal demonstrative pronoun" in the oblique followed by a postposition) is used instead (although there are an anaphoric phrase, yáá-ní (i.e. a non-concrete oblique form of y-áa (or demonstrative determiner?) followed by a postposition, see (4.2.1.6-26)). Furthermore, forms used frequently are rather restricted (concrete absolutive forms (or háa 'to here' and yáa 'to there' as analyzed above?) and non-concrete oblique forms (or the "demonstrative determiners" há 'in the nearer place' and yá 'in the remoter place' as analyzed in section 4.2.6.1?)). Thus it is difficult to draw a decisive conclusion.

However, it would be difficult to consider that the demonstrative determiner ha 'this' discussed in section 4.2.6.1 and the common noun h-áa 'this place' are inflected forms of the same word. If we do so, it would become difficult to analyze the distal demonstrative determiners he 'that' and hi 'that' discussed in section 4.2.6.1, which are used only adjectively. Thus, he 'that' and hi 'that' are basic linguistic forms, which are opposed to ha 'this', although we cannot deny the possibility that the proximal words that share the initial h- element (i.e. ha 'this', há 'in the nearer place', háa 'to here', and h-áa 'this place') are somehow related to each other.

The initial y element shared by the distal words yá 'in the remoter place', yáa 'to there', and y-áa 'that place' seems to occur in anaphoric verb stems. One of the examples is yáág- 'to say so', based on the verb g- 'to say'.

(4.2.6.3-15)

7iss-í	7iss-í	7as-ái	ʻtigír-é-ppé
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.	Tigray-OBL.-from

y-íídosona.'	yáág-ees.
come-PF.3PL.	say so-IMPF.3M.SG.

'"They came from Tigray." say so some people.'

(4.2.6.3-16)

ʻhayyá	hayyá	laa	harg-óppite
hurrah	hurrah	hey	become sick-NEG.OPT.2PL.

manK-óppite.'	yáág-ais.
become poor-NEG.OPT.2PL.	say so-IMPF.1SG.

'Hurrah, hurrah, hey "Please don't become sick, please don't become poor." I say so.'   (From an impromptu)

(4.2.6.3-17)[322]

7etá	hagáá-daani	yáág-iis.	'7ínté
them	this-like	say so-PF.3M.SG.	you (PL.)

7inte-wozan-áa-ni	7áí-ssí	hegáá-daani
your (PL.)-heart-OBL.M.SG.-in	what-for	that-like

Kopp-eetii?	. . .'
think-INTER.IMPF.2PL.	. . .

'He said to them like this: "Why are you thinking that in your hearts? . . ."'
(From Mark 2:8)

That *yáág-* 'to say so' has already become one word is confirmed by the fact that its passive form is a regular one (*yáág-ett-* 'to be said so') while that of *g-* 'to say' is an irregular one (*g-éétett-* 'to be said') (see section 5.3.2.3).

(4.2.6.3-18)

bott-éé-ní	wolaitt-a	maall-áa
(person name)-OBL.-in	Wolaytta-OBL.	the Royal family-OBL.M.SG.

kawótett-ai	wur-íis	yáág-ett-ees.
kingdom-NOM.M.SG.	end-PF.3M.SG.	say so-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'"The Wolaytta Mala kingdom ended with Bote", it is said so.'

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[322] In this sentence, the words to be quoted follow the anaphoric verb *yáág-* 'to say so'. However, since it requires some words that represent the words to be quoted such as *hagáá-daani* 'like this', the verb would still be anaphoric here. Adams (1983: 114) calls such representing words 'anticipatory Quotation clause'.

Other examples are *yáát-* 'to do so' and *yáán-* 'to become so', which might be related to the verbs *7oott-* 'to do' and *han-* 'to become', respectively. Thus in general, the former is used to refer to a concrete action described or implied in the antecedent context, while the latter is used to refer to a situation described or implied in the antecedent context. However, proper use of these forms is sometimes difficult to non-native speakers. Consider the following examples.

(4.2.6.3-19)

7iss-í	7issí	shamm-íyo	b-áá
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	buy-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

7óíKK-iyo	b-atá-kká	zókk-uwa-ni
seize-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.PL.-too	back-OBL.M.SG.-at

wott-íis.	baKúl-uwa	zókk-uwa-ni	Caan-íis.
put-PF.3M.SG.	mule-OBL.M.SG.	back-OBL.M.SG.-at	load-PF.3M.SG.

<u>yáát-idi</u>	laagg-ídí	'wárd-aa
do so-CONV.3M.SG.	drive-CONV.3M.SG.	(mule's name)-VOC.

wárd-aa	g-íídí	sint-á-ú
(mule's name)-VOC.	say-CONV.3M.SG.	face-OBL.-to

7aatt-ídí	laagg-ídí	7ekk-ídí
make pass-CONV.3M.SG.	drive-CONV.3M.SG.	take-CONV.3M.SG.

giy-áa	gel-íis.
market-ABS.M.SG.	enter-PF.3M.SG.

'He put some (lit. one one) things in which he seizes what he will buy on the back. He loaded (them) on the back of the mule. He did so, and drove it, said "Warda, Warda!", made (it) pass forward, drove it, took it, and entered into the market.'

(4.2.6.3-20)

'táání	dors-áa	nas-íya
I	sheep-OBL.M.SG.	fleshy sheep's tail-ABS.M.SG.

moDD-ídaa-g-áá		m-áas.'	g-íi-ni
become fatty-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.		eat-PF.1SG.	say-SUBOR.-in

'yáát-ii-ni	wáát-a	g-ái?'
do so-SUBOR.-in	do what-OPT.2SG.	say-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

g-íis	7amal-ídí.
say-PF.3M.SG.	become angry-CONV.3M.SG.

'When I say "I ate fleshy sheep's tail that is fatty." he said with anger "What do you say (me) to do when you did so?"'.

(4.2.6.3-21)

7as-á	biitt-áa-ni	dár-o	láítt-aa
person-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	many-OBL.	year-ABS.M.SG.

gaMM-ídí	Ceegg-íis.	yáát-idi	7í
stay-CONV.3M.SG.	become old-PF.3M.SG.	do so-CONV.3M.SG.	he

héér-aa	y-íyo	d-é
district-ABS.M.SG.	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

bení	Céég-a	mítt-ai
old times	old-OBL.	wood-NOM.M.SG.

KanT-étt-iicc-ii-ni	mant-ée
cut-PASS.-completely-SUBOR.-in	district-NOM.M.SG.

dog-étt-iis	7á-u.
forget-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.	him-for

'He lived in a foreign country (lit. country of a person) many years, and became old. He did so, and when he came to his district, the old tree had been cut down, and he could not remember his district (lit. the district was forgotten to him).'

(4.2.6.3-22)

7ír-ai	naa77-ú	gall-á	gord-ídí
rain-NOM.M.SG.	two-OBL.	day-ABS.	close-CONV.3M.SG.

bukk-ídí	gúúll-iis.	<u>yáát</u>-idi
rain-CONV.3M.SG.	continue to rain-PF.3M.SG.	do so-CONV.3M.SG.

heezzánto	gall-á	7agg-í	7agg-íis.
third	day-ABS.	cease-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-PF.3M.SG.

'It continued to rain on all sides (lit. closed and rained and continue to rained) for two days. It did so, it ceased once and for all (lit. ceased and ceased) on the third day.'

(4.2.6.3-23)

7úy-idi	ganj-ée	pug-étt-i-nne
drink-CONV.3PL.	belly-NOM.M.SG.	swell-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.-and

git-á	gid-í	7agg-íis.	<u>yáán-ii-ni</u>
big-ABS.	become-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-PF.3M.SG.	become so-SUBOR.-in

wúrsett-aa-ni	7útt-i	kaa7-í-shiini	. . .
last-OBL.M.SG.-in	sit-CONV.3PL.	play-SUBOR.-while	. . .

'They drank, and (their) belly swelled and became big. When it became so, while they were playing having sit . . .'

(4.2.6.3-24)

7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-rá	Kóp-aa
one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-with	thought-ABS.M.SG.

laam-étt-oosona.	<u>yáán-i-shiini</u>
exchange-PASS.-IMPF.3PL.	become so-SUBOR.-while

7aayy-íya	KóLL-oo-ni	bógg-a
mother-NOM.F.SG.	larder-OBL.-in	rob-CONV.3F.SG.

7oott-áusu.
work-IMPF.3F.SG.

  'They were exchanging their thoughts with each other. While they were so, the mother was working in haste (lit. having robbed) in the larder.'

(4.2.6.3-25)

sintán-aa-kka	hiráág-a	mal-á
future-ABS.M.SG.-too	prophecy-OBL.	look(s)-ABS.

7ínté	yáán-i	mínn-ite.
you (PL.)	become so-CONV.2PL.	become strong-OPT.2PL.

yáán-ite	yáán-ite.	g-íídí
become so-OPT.2PL.	become so-OPT.2PL.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

7od-óo	b-áí	. . .
talk-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.M.SG.	. . .

  'What he talked about the future like a prophecy saying "Having become such, be strong. Be such, be such." . . .'

(4.2.6.3-26)

wozan-áa	7írTi	7oott-ádá	m-á
heart-ABS.M.SG.	(preverb)	do-CONV.3F.SG.	eat-CONV.3F.SG.

7agg-áasu.	ha77í	yáán-idaa-r-a
cease-PF.3F.SG.	now	become so-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

7ash-úwa	múl-e	shiishsh-ádá	. . .
meat-ABS.M.SG.	full-ABS.	collect-CONV.3F.SG.	. . .

  'She ate the heart at once with satisfaction. Now one that became so collected the meat all, and . . .'

  The verbs *yáát-* 'to do so' and *yáán-* 'to become so' can refer to ongoing gestures of

the speaker.

(4.2.6.3-27)

ha	Karátt-enna	s-á	bágg-aa-ra
this	be sharp-NEG.REL.	place-OBL.	half-OBL.M.SG.-with

ba-kóókk-iya	bá-rka	púd-e
his own-throat-ABS.m.sg.	his own-alone	upwards-ABS.

zaar-ídí	yáát-idi	yáát-idi
return-CONV.3M.SG.	do so-CONV.3M.SG.	do so-CONV.3M.SG.

yáát-idi	yáát-idi	billám-aa-ni
do so-CONV.3M.SG.	do so-CONV.3M.SG.	knife-OBL.M.SG.-with

górp-iis	kóókk-iya.
rub-PF.3M.SG.	throat-ABS.M.SG.

'With this side that is not sharp, for his own throat he did like this upwards, and he did so, and he did so, and he did so, and he rubbed his own throat with the knife.'

(4.2.6.3-28)

japán-e	biitt-áa-ni	yáán-ada
Japan-OBL.	country-OBL.M.SG.-in	become so-CONV.1SG.

7útt-ais.
sit-IMPF.1SG.

'In Japan, I sit like this.'

I guess that *hácci* 'today' and *ha77í* 'now' might contain the demonstrative determiner *ha* 'this' or *há* 'in the nearer place'. Greenberg (1950: 61) gives the Janjero (=Yemsa) form *ha-šau* 'today'. He seems to consider that *šau* means 'day', whose cognates are found in some other Afroasiatic languages (see section 1.5), i.e. in some Chadic, Cushitic, and Berber languages. *hín-iya* 'that place' discussed in section

4.2.1.3.6.1 might contain the demonstrative determiner *hí* 'that'.

For optative forms of the verb "to come", see section 4.4.2.4.1. The verb *hámm-* 'to bring', which can be used only in the optative (see section 4.4.2.4) and in the forms related to it semantically (see section 4.4.1.3), might etymologically be *háa 7imm-* (to here + give)[323].

4.2.7 Interrogative Expressions

In this section, various interrogative expressions will be discussed. Although words of different word classes are used in them, they are discussed together for the sake of convenience.

Although I use the term "interrogative", the linguistic forms discussed here may be used in rhetorical questions, universal propositions, and indefinite expressions as well as in interrogative expressions. I have already illustrated it in section 4.2.4.1.5.1, using *7óóná* 'who' as an example.

4.2.7.1 "Who?"

The interrogative word *7óóná* 'who' in this language is a personal pronoun A. It has already been discussed in section 4.2.4.1.5.1.

(4.2.7.1-1)

7óóní   y-íídee?

who (NOM.)   come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'Who came?'

(4.2.7.1-2)

7óónáá-rá-nné   b-ábe7íkke.

who (OBL.)-with-and   go-NEG.PF.1SG.

   'I went alone (lit. I did not go with who).'

4.2.7.2 "What?"

One of the most important interrogative words in this language is *7áí* 'what'. It is a

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[323] Ohman and Hailu (1976: 156) explain this as a contraction from *haga imma* (*hagáá* is a "demonstrative pronoun" (see section 4.2.6.2)).

widely-used interrogative (or indefinite) word for a nominal that refers to one or more non-animate things. It is invariable.

It can be used like an absolutive nominal. In each of the following examples, *7áí* functions as a so-called direct object of a verb.

(4.2.7.2-1)

7áí	be7-ádii?
what	see-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What did you see?'

(4.2.7.2-2)

táání	7áí	7oott-an-áa-kko	7er-íkke.
I	what	do-INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know what to do.'

(4.2.7.2-3)

núúní	Tooss-áa	kawótett-aa	7áí
we	god-OBL.M.SG.	kingdom-ABS.M.SG.	what

milat-ées	g-aanée?
resemble-IMPF.3M.SG.	say-INTER.FUT.

'What will we say the kingdom of God resembles?'

(4.2.7.2-4)

tá	7áí	7er-íyanaa?	tá	7áí-nné
I	what	know-INTER.IMPF.1SG.	I	what-and

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'What do I know? I do not know anything.'

(4.2.7.2-5)

7í	7áí	7imm-í-kkó-kká	galat-énná.
he	what	give-SUBOR.-if-too	thank-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Whatever one may give to him, he does not thank.'

In the following, the interrogative word functions as a manner word, although it is "indefinite". This use is not seen in usual questions.

(4.2.7.2-6)

baizz-íyo-g-éé	néná	7áí
sell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	you (ABS.)	what

Koh-íi?
harm-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'How does selling harm you? (It does not harm you at all.)'

(4.2.7.2-7)

7ír-ai	7áí	bukk-í-kkó-kká
rain-NOM.M.SG.	what	rain-SUBOR.-if-too

dééll-énná.
lie (puddle)-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'No matter how it rains, no puddle lies.'

7áí-nné (what-and) in negative contexts has become an idiomatic expression, which means 'in (no) way, (not) at all'

(4.2.7.2-8)

dangárs-ai	7áí-nné	beett-énná.
elephant-NOM.M.SG.	what-and	be seen-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'An elephant is not seen at all.'

7áí 'what' may serve as a predicate in an indirect question if its subject expresses an abstract notion, although such use is rare.

(4.2.7.2-9)

7í	Kopp-íyo-i	7áí-kko-nne
he	think-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	what-if-and

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I do not know what he thinks (lit. what what he thinks is).'

In the following, the interrogative word functions like a nominative nominal, i.e. functions as a subject.

(4.2.7.2-10)

m-íi-ni	7áí	d-íi?
eat-SUBOR.-in	what	exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'If you eat (it), what exists? (= there would be no problem even if you eat (it))'

However, this use is found only in expressions of universal negation as in the above.[324] Thus, the following cannot be used, for example, to get the answer from a messenger who was sent to ask what there was.

(4.2.7.2-11)

* 7áí	d-ées	g-íídee?
what	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.	say-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'What did he say there is?'

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[324] The following might be another example in which *7áí* 'what' functions as a subject. Here, however, *7áí-nné báa* is evidently an idiomatic expression (cf. (4.2.7.2-8)).

boddítt-éé	7áí-nné	báa.
(place name)	what-and	not present

   'For Boditi, there is nothing (bad).'

The interrogative word *7áí* can be used like an oblique nominal.

(4.2.7.2-12)

7áí	7ash-úwa	m-áádii?
what	meat-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'What meat did you eat?'

(4.2.7.2-13)

7áí	dó7-i-kka	7ínténá	be7-énná.
what	wild animal-NOM.-too	you (PL.)	see-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'No animal see you (lit. what animal too does not see you).'

(4.2.7.2-14)

tááni	7í	7áí	mal-á	7íít-a
I	he	what	look(s)-ABS.	bad-OBL.

kais-ó-kkó-nné	yoot-áas.
thief-ABS.-if-and	tell-PF.1SG.

   'I told how (lit. what looks) bad thief he is.'

(4.2.7.2-15)

7ai-g-áá-kkó[325]	y-íis.
what-NMNL.-ABS.-if	come-PF.3M.SG.

   'Someone of them (lit. if/whether it is what one) came.'

It can be followed by a postposition. In this case, the postpositional phrase functions as a manner word in the broad sense.

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[325] This is exceptional in that *7áí* 'what' loses its inherent tonal prominence. However, this combination is very rare, I leave the matter open.

(4.2.7.2-16)

7áí-ppé	mín-oo	7í.
what-from	strong-INTER.	he

   'How (lit. from what) strong is he!'

The following contains an idiomatic expression meaning 'why'.

(4.2.7.2-17)

laa	na7-áu	7áí-ssí	yeekk-ái?
hey	child-VOC.M.SG.	what-for	cry-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Hey boy, why (lit. for what) are you crying?'

    The interrogative word *7áí* often modifies *b-áá* 'thing' discussed in section 4.2.1.8. We might be able to regard the resultant combination as one word meaning 'what'. In fact, the inherent tonal prominence of *b-áá* 'thing' is almost always ignored. Thus, my notation might be very misleading, in which inherent tonal prominences are always indicated. As is expected, *b-áá*, or rather, *7áí b-áá*, is inflected for number, case, and concreteness depending on the context. In general, it is used in a concrete form if its possible referents are contextually restricted (as in (4.2.7.2-20) and (4.2.7.2-24)) or if it is used as a substitute to refer to one or more concrete things whose name is not expressed for some reason (as in (4.2.7.2-25) and (4.2.7.2-27)). It is used in a non-concrete form elsewhere.

    7áí 'what' cannot be used as a predicate of an interrogative sentence by itself. Thus, an interrogative form of *7áí-b-aa* must be used.

(4.2.7.2-18)

laa	hegeetí	7áí	b-ée?
hey	those	what	thing-INTER.

   'Hey, what are those?'

(4.2.7.2-19)

'ta-gód-oo	ta-gód-oo	7iss-í	b-áá
my-lord-VOC.	my-lord-VOC.	one-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

be7-ídetii?'	'7áí	b-ée?'	yáág-iis.
see-INTER.PF.2PL.	what	thing-INTER.	say so-PF.3M.SG.

giddóór-éé.
(person name)-NOM.

   '"My lord, my lord, did you see one thing?" "What is it?" said Gidore.'

(4.2.7.2-20)

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	goshsh-ái
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	field-ABS.M.SG.

7áákk-an-a-u	dumm-á	dumm-á
become wide-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-for	different-OBL.	different-OBL.

7og-etí	7áí	b-atée?
way-NOM.PL.	what	thing-INTER.PL.

   'What are various ways for fields to become wide in the Wolaytta land?'   (The speaker knows the answers.)

   As a subject, a nominative form of *7áí b-áá* is usually used instead of *7áí*, since use of the latter as a subject is restricted to expressions of universal negation as said above in this section[326] (see (4.2.7.2-10) and (4.2.7.2-11)).

(4.2.7.2-21)

m-aan-á-u	7áí	b-í
eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-for	what	thing-NOM.

de7-íi?
exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

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[326] In this case too the former can be used. See (4.2.7.2-23).

'What exists to eat? (i.e. what kinds of foods are there)'

(4.2.7.2-22)

táání	7áí	b-í	wull-ídaa-kko	7er-íkke.
I	what	thing-NOM.	fall-INFN.-if	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know what fell.'

(4.2.7.2-23)

7abb-áa	hé-pint-aa-ni
sea-OBL.M.SG.	that-side (of the waters)-ABS.M.SG.-in

7áí	b-í-nné	báawa.
what	thing-NOM.-and	not present

'There is nothing on the other side of the sea.'

(4.2.7.2-24)

7áí	b-atí	de7-íyonaa?
what	thing-NOM.PL.	exist-INTER.IMPF.3PL.

'What (i.e. which of those) are there?'

(4.2.7.2-25)

dangárs-ai-nne	7ái	b-áí-nné
elephant-NOM.M.SG.-and	what	thing-NOM.M.SG.-and

beett-ées.
be seen-IMPF.3M.SG.

'An elephant and something are seen.'

As a so-called direct object of a verb, a non-concrete absolutive form of *7áí b-áá* does not seem to be used frequently. Instead *7ái* seems to be preferred. The following are examples in which a concrete absolutive form of *7áí b-áá* is used.

(4.2.7.2-26)

7áí	b-áá	m-áádii?
what	thing-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What (i.e. which of those) did you eat?'

(4.2.7.2-27)

dors-áa-nne	7áí	b-áá-nné	be7-áas.
sheep-ABS.M.SG.-and	what	thing-ABS.M.SG.-and	see-PF.1SG.

'I saw a sheep and something.'

As a predicate of an indirect question, an absolutive form of *7áí b-áá* is usually used, instead of *7ái*.

(4.2.7.2-28)

7áí	b-á-kkó-nné	7er-íkke
what	thing-ABS.-if-and	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know what it is.'

(4.2.7.2-29)

né-yyo	7áí	b-á-kkó	beett-íi?
you-for	what	thing-ABS.-if	be seen-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Do you see anything?'   (From Mark 8:23)

(4.2.7.2-30)

he	kant-ídaa-geetí	7áí	b-atá-kkó-nné
that	pass-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.NOM.PL.	what	thing-ABS.PL.-if-and

Teell-á.
look-OPT.2SG.

'See what those that passed are.'

Both *7áí* and the non-concrete absolute form of *7áí b-áá* can be used adverbially. The semantic difference between them is not known, although use of the latter makes it clear that the interrogative word is not used as a "direct object" (for *7áí* used as a "direct object", see (4.2.7.2-1) to (4.2.7.2-5)).

(4.2.7.2-31)

7amaarátt-o	Káál-aa-ni	"ጥንቸል *Tencal*"
Amharic-OBL.	word-OBL.M.SG.-in	rabbit (Amharic)

g-íyo		b-í	7áí	b-á
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.		thing-NOM.	what	thing-ABS.

g-éétett-ii?'
say-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'What is what one calls *Tencal* in Amharic said in Wolaytta?'

(4.2.7.2-32)

dangárs-aa	7áí	b-á-nné	be7-ábe7íkke.
elephant-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-ABS.-and	see-NEG.PF.1SG.

   'I did not see any elephants.'

(4.2.7.2-33)

7áí	b-á	m-áádii?
what	thing-ABS.	eat-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'How did you eat?'

   The following are examples in which a concrete oblique form of *7áí b-áá* is used.

(4.2.7.2-34)

7áí	b-áá	7ash-úwa	m-áadii?
what	thing-OBL.M.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'What meat did you eat?'

(4.2.7.2-35)

táání	haatt-áa	demm-íya-kko	7úy-anaa-g-éé
I	water-ABS.M.SG.	find-INFN.-if	drink-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-NOM.

<u>7áí</u>	<u>b-áá</u>-daanee?
what	thing-OBL.M.SG.-like

   'If I find water, what will I drink like?'

Before postpositions and before nominals that express relative positions, the usual non-concrete oblique form of *7áí b-áá* (i.e. *7áí b-á*) is not used, but the form with the *-i* ending (*7áí b-í*) is used instead.

(4.2.7.2-36)

<u>7áí</u>	<u>b-í</u>-ppé	7oott-ádii?
what	thing-OBL.-from	make-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'What did you make (it) from?'

(4.2.7.2-37)

hagáá	píl-aa	<u>7áí</u>	<u>b-íí</u>-rá
this	cheese-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-OBL.-with

kátt-adee?
cook-INTER.PF.3F.SG.

   'What did she cook this cheese with?'

(4.2.7.2-38)

mítt-aa	Kér-idoo-g-áá
wood-ABS.M.SG.	chop-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

<u>7áí</u>	<u>b-í</u>	boll-í	wott-ádii?
what	thing-OBL.	body, on-ADV.	put-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What did you put the wood you chopped on?'

(4.2.7.2-39)

7áí	b-í	miyy-íya-ni	wott-óo?
what	thing-OBL.	side-OBL.M.SG.-at	put-(interrogative ending)

'What shall I put (it) at the side of?'

Elsewhere the expected *7áí b-á* is used as a non-concrete oblique form. It means 'what kind of'.

(4.2.7.2-40)

7áí	b-á	mal-á	git-á	mítt-ee?
what	thing-OBL.	look(s)-ABS.	big-OBL.	wood-INTER.

'What (lit. like what kind of looks) a big wood!

(4.2.7.2-41)

7áí	b-á	na7-íyo	siiK-ádii?	7íít-a
what	thing-OBL.	child-ABS.F.SG.	love-PF.2SG.	bad-OBL.

na7-íyo	siiK-ádasa.
child-ABS.F.SG.	love-PF.2SG.

'What kind of girl did you fall in love with? You fell in love with a bad girl.'

There are occasions in which more than one of the oblique forms discussed in this section can be used with apparently the same meaning. The exact semantic or other difference among them is not known.

For the interrogative forms discussed in this section, all that previous works did is to list some of them that (probably) happened to attract their eyes. All the forms are similar to those given in this thesis, except for Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 100) *aybee* 'what (NOM.)', Cerulli's (1929: 15) *aybē-s* 'why', and Hirut's (2000: 126) *hayssi* 'why'.

4.2.7.3 "Where?"

The base of the interrogative expression "where" in this language is *7áu*. It is indeclinable.

7áu 'where' can be used adverbially by itself. In this case, it can be regarded as an interrogative of place that is semantically unmarked. Because of its frequent combining with postpositions (see below in this section), however, most adverbial examples of *7áu* express the goal of a motion in the broad sense, although other uses are not absent.

(4.2.7.3-1)

7áu   b-ái?

where   go-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Where are you going?'

(4.2.7.3-2)

7áu   Teell-ái?

where   watch-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Which direction are you watching toward?'

(4.2.7.3-3)

7áu   Kopp-ái?

where   think-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'What are you thinking about?'

In the following, the interrogative word functions like a nominative nominal, i.e. as a subject.

(4.2.7.3-4)

7útt-an-a-u   7áú   keh-ée?

sit-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-for   where   be better-INTER.

   'Where is better for sitting?'

The interrogative word *7áu* 'where' can be used adnominally.

(4.2.7.3-5)

7áu	lágg-ee	y-íídee?
where	friend-NOM.M.SG.	come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

'Which friend (lit. a friend of where) came?'

(4.2.7.3-6)

7áu	Káál-aa	haasay-íi?
where	word-ABS.M.SG.	speak-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Which language (lit. language of where) does he speak?'

The nominalizers *-gáá* and *-nnó* (see sections 4.2.5.1 and 4.2.5.3) can be modified by *7áú* 'where' to mean 'which'. In this case, its inherent tonal prominence is always ignored (and thus my notation, in which inherent tonal prominences are always indicated, might be very misleading).

(4.2.7.3-7)

hageetú-ppé	7áu-g-éé	ló77-oo?
these-from	where-NMNL.-NOM.	good-INTER.

'Which is good among these?'

(4.2.7.3-8)

7áu-g-áá-ppé	7ekk-ádii?
where-NMNL.-OBL.-from	take-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Which did you take (it) from?'

(4.2.7.3-9)

7áu-nn-ó	7imm-óo?
where-NMNL.-ABS.	give-(interrogative ending)

'Which one (F.) shall I give?'

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7áu 'where' can modify *d-é* 'time' (see section 4.2.1.7)[327] to mean 'when'. In this case too, its inherent tonal prominence is always ignored (and thus my notation, in which inherent tonal prominences are always indicated, might be very misleading).

(4.2.7.3-10)

7áu	d-é	y-áádii?
where	time-ABS.	come-INTER.PF.2SG.

'When did you come?'

(4.2.7.3-11)

7í	7áu	d-é-nné	b-íi-ni	táání	kaall-aná.
he	where	time-ABS.-and	go-SUBOR.-in	I	follow-FUT.

'I will follow (him) whenever he may go.'

7áu 'where' can also be used with postpositions.

(4.2.7.3-12)

7áu-ppe	y-íídona?
where-from	come-INTER.PF.3PL.

'Where did they come from?'

(4.2.7.3-13)

nu-b-áí	7áu-ni	d-íi?
our-thing-NOM.M.SG.	where-in	exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Where is our thing?'

(4.2.7.3-14)

7áu-ra	b-ái?
where-with	go-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Where do you go through?'

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[327] However, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 126) gloss this as 'old locative'.

From the interrogative word *7áu* 'where', a Class A common noun (see section 4.2.1.1) can be derived: *7áw-aa* 'where'. Although each inflected form of this is in general used in the same way as that of usual common nouns, both its concrete and non-concrete forms seem to be usually used without any obvious semantic differences (compare, for example, (4.2.7.3-17) and (4.2.7.3-18)). Moreover, the semantic difference between *7áw-aa* and *7áu* is not known in most cases (compare, for example, (4.2.7.3-5) and (4.2.7.3-24)). However, since *7áu* cannot function as a predicate of an interrogative sentence, *7áw-aa* is indeed a useful linguistic form.

(4.2.7.3-15)

né	b-íído-i	7áw-ee?
you	go-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	where-INTER.

   'Where is it that you went?'

(4.2.7.3-16)

nú-yyo	keh-íya-i	7áw-ee?
us-for	be comfortable-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.	where-INTER.

   'Where is the place comfortable for us?'

(4.2.7.3-17)

7áw-aa	b-áádii?
where-ABS.M.SG.	go-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Where did you go?'

(4.2.7.3-18)

7áw-a	b-áádii?
where-ABS.	go-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Where did you go?'

(4.2.7.3-19)

7ínténá	7as-í	mokk-énna	s-áa	wóí
you (ABS.PL.)	person-NOM.	treat-NEG.REL.	place-ABS.M.SG.	or

7ínté	yoot-íyo	b-áá
you (PL.)	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

síy-enna	s-áa	7áw-a	gid-í-kkó-kká
hear-NEG.REL.	place-ABS.M.SG.	where-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if-too

. . .
. . .

   'Even if it is a place where people do not welcome you, or a place where they do not listen things you tell wherever it may be . . .'   (From Mark 6:11)

(4.2.7.3-20)

shiiK-an-á-u	7áw-ai	keh-ée?
gather-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-for	where-NOM.M.SG.	be better-INTER.

   'Where is better for gathering?'

(4.2.7.3-21)

7áw-í-nné	7áw-í-nné	door-étt-ii?
where-NOM.-and	where-NOM.-and	chose-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Where and where are chosen?'

(4.2.7.3-22)

7áw-ati	ló77-oo?
where-NOM.PL.	good-INTER.

   'Where and where are good?'

(4.2.7.3-23)

7áw-aa	méh-iya	shamm-ídee?
where-OBL.M.SG.	cattle-ABS.M.SG.	buy-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'Where did he buy cattle of?'

(4.2.7.3-24)

<u>7áw-a</u>	lágg-ee	y-íídee?
where-OBL.	friend-NOM.M.SG.	come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'Which friend (lit. a friend of where) came?'

(4.2.7.3-25)

<u>7áw-aa-ppe</u>	y-íídona?
where-OBL.M.SG.-from	come-INTER.PF.3PL.

   'Where (of the district) did they come from?'

(4.2.7.3-26)

<u>7áw-a</u>-ppe	y-ái?
where-OBL.-from	come-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Where are you from (lit. do you come)?'

For the interrogative forms discussed in this section, all that previous works did is to list some of them that (probably) happened to attract their eyes. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 99-102) analyze them basically in the same way as the author, although they gloss *aw* as "which". Cerulli (1929: 15) gives *aubē* 'where (*dove* in Italian)' and *afa* 'from where (*donde* in Italian)'. Hirut's (1999: 126) *awae* 'when' would be a misprint for *awde*.

4.2.7.4 Common Interrogative Element

Cerulli (1929: 15) points out a common interrogative element *aw*, *ay* in Wolaytta interrogatives, which is generally used in Cushitic. Cohen (1988: 27) introduces the Semitic interrogative reconstructed as *ʔayy* and interrogative words in Berber that contain an element that resembles the Semitic *ʔayy*, mentioning Omotic and Cushitic languages[328].

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[328] His original text in French is as follows: 'Un autre morphème pronominal interrogatif est à rconstruire comme *ʔayy <<quel? quelle?>> pour le sémitique. En berbèr il apparaît en tamazight par exemple sous la forme *ay* <<qui>>, ou en composition avec *m-* dans *m-ay* <<qui?>> dans divers autres dialectes. En ometo

If we take into consideration *7ááppuna* 'how many, how much' discussed in sections 4.2.3.1.1 and 4.2.7.5, we might be able to assume that *7a-* is a Wolaytta common interrogative element.

4.2.7.5 "How Many?"

The interrogative word *7ááppuna* 'how many, how much' is morphologically a numeral, from which a common noun is derived. It is discussed in section 4.2.3.1.1. There its synonyms *wóKK-á* 'how much, how many' and *wóís-á* 'how much, how many' are also discussed, which behave as common nouns as well as numerals.

(4.2.7.5-1)

níyo	7ááppun	láítt-ee?
for you	how many (OBL.)	year-INTER.

 'How old are you? (lit. how many years is it for you?)'

(4.2.7.5-2)

7ááppun-aa	KanT-óo?
how many-ABS.M.SG.	cut-(interrogative ending)

 'How much will I pay (lit. let me cut)?'

(4.2.7.5-3)

wóKK-ú	miishsh-áa
how much-OBL.	money-ABS.M.SG.

7oitt-ái?
have something caught-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

 'How much money do you bet (lit. have it caught)?'

(omotique) *ay* signifie <<quoi?>>. En couchitique le sidamo présente la forme *ay(e)*, le ʕafar la forme *i:ya:* <<qui?>>, mais le bédja et l'agaw (kemant) ont respectivement, avec ce dernier sens, *aw* et *aw-ni:*, formes sans doute liées aux précédentes.'

(4.2.7.5-4)

hagéé	ne-na7-áa	7óíKKoosappe	wóKK-á
this	your-child-ABS.M.SG.	since the time it seize	how much-OBL.

wod-é	gid-anée?
time-ABS.	become-INTER.FUT.

'How long has your child been like this? (lit. How much time will it be since the time this seized your child?)'   (From Mark 9:21)

4.2.7.6   Interrogative Forms of Nominals

When a nominal is a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence, where a so-called copula is missing, it appears in the interrogative.

(4.2.7.6-1)

he	paall-íya-g-éé	kap-óo?
that	fly-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	bird-INTER.

'Is that flying one bird?'

(4.2.7.6-2)

7í	tiit-ée?
he	(person name)-INTER.

'Is he Tito?'

For further examples and discussions, see the relevant sections above and below in this thesis.

4.2.7.7   Interrogative Expressions with Verbs
4.2.7.7.1   Interrogative Forms of Verbs

A verb in Wolaytta occurs in a special form (i.e. interrogative form) when it is used as a predicate of an interrogative sentence. See sections 4.4.2.1.3, 4.4.2.2.3, 4.4.2.3, and 4.4.2.5 for the details.

(4.2.7.7.1-1)

zín-o   <u>b-ábe7íkkii</u>?

yesterday-ABS.   go-NEG.INTER.PF.2SG.

    'Didn't you go yesterday?'

(4.2.7.7.1-2)

7óóní   <u>y-íídee</u>?

who (NOM.)   come-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

    'Who came?'

4.2.7.7.2   Interrogative Verbs

    There are a few verb stems whose meanings are inherently interrogative (or indefinite). Verbs that contain such stems are called "interrogative verbs" in this thesis. They include *wóíg-*[329] 'to say what', *wáát-* 'to do what', *wáán-* 'to become what', and their derivatives (see section 5.3.2). Note the parallelism with the verbs related to demonstrative expressions *yáág-* 'to say so', *yáát-* 'to do so', and *yáán-* 'to become so', which are discussed in section 4.2.6.3.

    These interrogative verbs are regular in terms of morphology, and conjugated in the same way as many other verbs (see section 4.4). Of course, they are often used in their interrogative forms.

(4.2.7.7.2-1)

<u>wáán-ai</u>   7ísh-oo?

become what-INTER.IMPF.2SG.   brother-VOC.

    'How are you, brother?'

(4.2.7.7.2-2)

ha   téép-iya   gód-aa

this   cassette-OBL.M.SG.   owner-ABS.M.SG.

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[329] We might isolate the interrogative element *woi-*, by comparing this with *wóís-á* 'how much' mentioned in section 4.2.7.5.

paránj-aa		wóíg-iyanaa?	
foreigner-ABS.M.SG.		say what-INTER.IMPF.1SG.	

'What do I say (to) the owner of the cassette, the foreigner?'

(4.2.7.7.2-3)

kas-é	tá	7imm-ído	maay-úwa
front-ABS.	I	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

gitt-áa		tá	7imm-ído
skirt-like clothes-ABS.M.SG.		I	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

Kalabát-iya	7ubb-áa	wáát-adii?
finger ring-ABS.M.SG.	all-ABS.M.SG.	do what-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What did you do (to) the clothes, the skirt-like clothes that I gave before, the finger ring that I gave, and all the things?'

   The interrogative verbs can be used in other forms, sometimes for indefinite expressions.

(4.2.7.7.2-4)

7etí	wáán-oosona	g-áádii?
they	become what-IMPF.3PL.	say-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What did you say they would be?'

(4.2.7.7.2-5)

7í	wóíg-iyaa-kko-nne	7er-íbe7énná.
he	say what-INFN.-if-and	know-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'He did not know what to say.'   (From Mark 9:5-6)

(4.2.7.7.2-6)

táání	wáát-i-kko	7oott-ádá	ta-7aC-úwa
I	do what-SUBOR.-if	do-CONV.1SG.	my-debt-ABS.M.SG.

KanT-aná.
cut-FUT.

    'I will somehow pay off (lit. cut) my debt.'

(4.2.7.7.2-7)
'wáán-oo-shsha?'
 become what-(interrogative ending)-INDEC.

'<u>wáán-oppa,</u>   7útt-a   7agg-á.'
become what-NEG.OPT.2SG.   sit-CONV.2SG.   cease-OPT.2SG.

    'How shall I become?' 'Don't become anything, just sit down (lit. sit and cease)!'

(4.2.7.7.2-8)
'wáán-ai?'   '<u>wáán-ikke.</u>'
 become what-INTER.IMPF.2SG.   become what-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'How are you?' 'Nothing.'

(4.2.7.7.2-9)
gód-ai   néé-ssí <u>wáán-ida</u>
lord-NOM.M.SG.   you-for become what-REL.PF.SUBJ.

git-á   b-áá   7oott-ída-kko-nne
big-OBL.   thing-ABS.M.SG.   do-INFN.-if-and

Kassi   7í   néé-ssí   <u>wáán-ida</u>
furthermore   he   you-for   become what-REL.PF.SUBJ.

kéh-a-kko-nne   ne-s-ó   7as-á-u
kind-ABS.-if-and   you-home-OBL.   people-OBL.M.SG.-to

yoot-á.
tell-OPT.2SG.

'Tell your family how much big thing the Lord did for you and how much kind he is for you.'   (From Mark 5:19)

Converbs (both long and short, see section 4.4.3.1) of *wáán-* 'to become what' and *wáát-* 'to do what' are functionally close to the English interrogative adverb "how".

(4.2.7.7.2-10)

súnt-ai	wáán-i	súnt-ett-iya-kko
name-NOM.M.SG.	become what-CONV.3M.SG.	name-PASS.-INFN.-if

yoot-áas.
tell-PF.1SG.

  'I told how (lit. having become what) names are given.'

(4.2.7.7.2-11)

wáán-a	gákk-adii?
become what-CONV.2SG.	reach-INTER.PF.2SG.

  'How did you reach?'

(4.2.7.7.2-12)

hagáá	7óós-uwa	wáát-ada	7oott-ádii?
this	work-ABS.M.SG.	do what-CONV.2SG.	do-INTER.PF.2SG.

  'How (having done what) did you do this work?'

Sometimes it is translated into English as "why".

(4.2.7.7.2-13)

laa	na7-áu	wáán-ada
hey	child-VOC.M.SG.	become what-CONV.2SG.

yeekk-ái?
cry-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Hey boy, why (lit. having become what) are you crying?'

Hirut (1999: 126) gives *waanidi* 'how' as one of her "interrogative pronouns" along with *ooni* 'who', *ay* 'what', etc. Thus she does not seem to understand that the forms under discussion are converbs. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 99, 101) could realize that. Judging from their description on verbs (ibid: 159), they have noticed the conjugation of the words under discussion meaning 'how', although the short converb, which is attested in (4.2.7.7.2-10) and (4.2.7.7.2-11) (see section 4.4.3.1), is not mentioned. They (ibid: 101) also says that: 'it is not clear, however, in what way these two morphs [i.e. *waanade* 'how' and *waatade* 'how' in their notation] differ from each other and even a verb stem waan- or waat- is not attested in our data.' Of course, the verb stems that they wanted exist: see the above examples in this section. For the difference between the two forms, the principal is simple: if the meaning is "having become what" a converb of *wáán-* 'to become what' is used, and if "having done what" a converb of *wáát-* 'to do what'. I guess that their (1997: 101) English translations (*waanade baay* 'how do you go?' and *waatade baay* 'how do you manage to go?') successfully reflect what I said here.

Interrogative verbs that can mean "how" are also observed in exclamatory expressions.

(4.2.7.7.2-14)

hegéé	na7-ái	wáán-idi
that	child-NOM.M.SG.	become what-CONV.3M.SG.

7ees-úwa-ni	woTT-íi!
speed-OBL.M.SG.-in	run-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'How (lit. having become what) fast (lit. with speed) that boy runs!'

4.2.7.8 Interrogative Indeclinables

A yes-no interrogative sentence in Wolaytta may optionally take the interrogative indeclinable *-yyé* at its end. Its function seems to be to reinforce the interrogation, as Moreno (1938: 55) says about Gofa[330]. According to one of my main consultants,

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[330] His original text in Italian is as follows: 'L'interrogazione, come si deduce dai miei

questions with -*yyé* may show some kind of surprise.

(4.2.7.8-1)

hanná   ne-micc-íi-yyé?
this   your-sister-INTER.F.SG.-INDEC.

    'Is this your sister?'

(4.2.7.8-2)

ne-súnt-ai   tiit-ée-yyé?
your-name-NOM.M.SG.   (person name)-INTER.-INDEC.

    'Is your name Tito?'

(4.2.7.8-3)

nee-geetée-yyé?
your-NMNL.INTER.PL.-INDEC.

    'Are these yours?'

(4.2.7.8-4)

be7-ádii-yyé?
see-INTER.PF.2SG.-INDEC.

    'Did you see?'

Cf.
(4.2.7.8-5)

* y-íídaa-g-éé   7óónee-yyé?
  come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   who (INTER.)-INDEC.

    'Who is it that came?'

The final vowel of an interrogative form that immediately precedes the indeclinable often sounds short.

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testi, puòessere rinforzata con la particella *ye*'.

Another indeclinable similar to -*yyé* discussed above is -*shsha*. Its function seems to be to express probability in a question, like that of the Amharic simple imperfect ይሆን *yehon* (Leslau 1995: 312). Adams (1983: 198-200) describes this as a means to express uncertainty/abundance aspect. However, the term "abundance" would not be proper. Contrary to Adams's (1983: 199, 214) claim, this indeclinable is never obligatory, and the addition of it does not change a verb form to which it is attached. This can be attached to any interrogative expression (thus Adams' (1983: 215) table is misleading).

(4.2.7.8-6)
ló77-oo-shsha?
good-INTER.-INDEC.

   'Would it be good?'

(4.2.7.8-7)
y-íídonaa-shsha?
come-INTER.PF.3PL.-INDEC.

   'I wonder if they came.'

The indeclinable -*shsha* can occur in non-yes-no questions.

(4.2.7.8-8)
y-íídaa-g-éé   7óónee-shsha?
come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   who (INTER.)-INDEC.

   'Who is it that came?' (Cf. (4.2.7.8-5) above)

(4.2.7.8-9)
wáát-i   baKK-an-á   han-íi-shsha?
do what-CONV.3M.SG.   hit-INFN.-ABS. become-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.-INDEC.

   'I wonder how he could be about to hit (him)?'

(4.2.7.8-10)

hinná	7au-nn-íi-<u>shsha</u>?
that	which-NMNL.-INTER.-INDEC.

  'Which one (F.) could that be?'

(4.2.7.8-11)

wáát-idi	ha	bitán-iya-ppe
do what-CONV.1PL.	this	man-OBL.M.SG.-from

shemp-anée-<u>shsha</u>.
rest-INTER.FUT.-INDEC.

  'How can we get away from (lit. rest from) this man?'

  For other indeclinables, see section 4.3.

4.2.8 Postpositions

There are eight postpositions in Wolaytta: *-u* 'for, to', *-yyo* 'for, to', *-kko* 'toward', *-ppe* 'from', *-ra* 'with', *-ssi* 'for, to', *-ni* 'in, at, by', and *-daani* 'like'.

As discussed later in this section, these bound or non-autonomous words are nominals in the broad sense. Since each of them distinguishes among only three forms at most, and since their way of inflection is rather different from that of most other nominals, they constitute one independent word class, the postposition. However, their grammatical function plays more important role than their morphology in establishing this word class. In other words, I attached importance to the fact that all of them can be attached to nominals to express grammatical meanings that are not expressed in principle with bare nominals [331]. Roughly speaking, all of them are similar to "prepositions" in European languages.

Previous works sometimes disagree with me on definition of postpositions and on membership of individual words as postpositions. For example, Lamberti and Sottile (1997) regard most of the postpositions given above as case endings. They also regard such 'words having the function of expressing a prepositional phrase' as *acca* 'near',

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[331] However, this is not the only use of postpositions. See, for example, (4.2.8.2-6), in which a postposition is attached to a finite verb form.

garsa 'in', *guyee-ra* 'after', and *bayeennaan*[i] 'without' to be postpositions, although they admit that these words 'actually consist of nouns inflected in the oblique or in the absolutive case or more rarely of verbs inflected in the gerund' (ibid.: 120). Roughly speaking, Azeb (1996: 132) seems to regard our postpositions as bound postpositional morphemes, and Lamberti and Sottile's (1997) postpositions as independent postpositions. Likewise, Hirut (1999: 94-97) seems to regard most of our postpositions as bound postpositions that mark cases (ibid.: 44-47), and Lamberti and Sottile's (1997) postpositions as free postpositions. In addition to the eight postpositions listed at the beginning of this section, Adams (1983: 81, 96) treats *bolli* 'against, on' and *-šini* 'but, while' as postpositions, although he does not list them in his table dealing with postpositions (ibid.: 219).

I prefer simplifying the system as Hayward (2000b: 413) does. In other words, I prefer decreasing the number of cases and of postpositions as possible. Thus I establish only five (or six, if the adverbial case is included) cases and eight postpositions, and, judging from their morphology, regard other alleged "postpositions" as common nouns (e.g. in the case of *acca* 'near', *garsa* 'in', and *bolli* 'against, on') or postpositional phrases (not postpositions) (i.e. in the case of *guyee-ra* 'after', *bayeennaan*[i] 'without' and *-šini* 'but, while').

As mentioned above, postpositions in Wolaytta are nominals. Although their inflection and that of other nominals are rather different as said above, the two resembles each other in one way as will be discussed in section 4.2.8.1. In addition, in Wolaytta, nominals that modify postpositions are in the oblique, as nominals that modify other nominals are (see, for example, section 4.2.1.3.2). Thus, it would not be unreasonable to regard them as nominals[332].

4.2.8.1   Morphology of the Postposition

Postpositions in Wolaytta may change their forms depending on the context.

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[332] Here it would be worth quoting Diakonoff's (1988: 68) diachronic statements on prepositions in Afroasiatic languages: 'We discuss prepositions together with the nouns since originally all of them belonged to the category of nouns; partly, perhaps, to verbal nouns.' 'In Eblaite, and in some Old Akkadian surviving forms, a few prepositions preserve traces of declension . . . the nominal nature of the preposition is apparent from the fact that all prepositions in Semitic and, perhaps, in Egyptian, govern the nominal genitive'.

(4.2.8.1-1) Postpositions

	Non-predicative	Predicative	Interrogative
'for, to'	-u	*	*
'for, to'	-yyo	*	*
'toward'	-kko	-kko	-kkoo
'from'	-ppe	-ppe	-ppee
'with'	-ra	-ra	-ree
'for, to'	-ssi	-ssa	-ssee
'in, at, by'	-n(i)	-na	-nee
'like'	-da(a)n(i)	-daana	-daanee

(* means "not present". Adams (1983: 219) lists forms corresponding to these, which are the same as the corresponding "non-predicative" forms. According to my consultants, however, their use is extremely odd.)

For the last two postpositions, their final vowels may be deleted in their non-predicative forms. For the last one, in addition, both the short and long vowels, *a* and *aa*, may occur in its first syllable of its non-predicative form.

The inflection of postpositions reminds us of that of other nominals. Compare the nominal forms in the following table with the postpositional forms given in (4.2.8.1-1), paying attention to their endings. Functionally, non-predicative forms of postpositions roughly correspond to absolutive or oblique forms of other nominals, and predicative forms of postpositions to absolutive forms of other nominals.

(4.2.8.1-2)
Class O common noun (Cf. *-yyo* 'for, to' and *-kko* 'toward')

non-concrete ABS. and OBL.	non-concrete INTER.
e.g. *gaamm-ó* 'lion'	*gaamm-óo* 'is it a lion?'

Class E common noun (Cf. *-ppe* 'from')

non-concrete ABS. and OBL.	non-concrete INTER.
e.g. *har-é* 'donkey'	*har-ée* 'is it a donkey?'

Class A common noun (Cf. *-ra* 'with')

non-concrete ABS. and OBL.	non-concrete INTER.
e.g. *kan-á* 'dog'	*kan-ée* 'is it a dog?'

The word "now", which is related to Class A common nouns
(Cf. *-ssi* 'for, to', *-ni* 'in, at, by', and *-daani* 'like')

ADV. (not as a predicate)	ABS. (as a predicate)	INTER.
ha77-í 'now'	*ha77-á* 'it is now'	*ha77-ée* 'is it now?'

Furthermore, the postposition *-u* 'for, to' might be compared to the adverbial *-u*, which is discussed in section 4.2.1.3.6.2.

Non-predicative forms are found at the end of postpositional phrases that do not function as predicates of clauses. They are also forms encountered most frequently. In most cases they are semantically and grammatically related to finite verbs. In this sense they resemble nominals in the absolute case, which also serve as representative forms. Thus I chose non-predicative forms of postpositions as their representative forms. The following are sentences that contain them.

(4.2.8.1-3)

7alam-ú-ppé	7ekk-áas.
(person name)-OBL.-from	take-PF.1SG.

'I took (it) from Alemu.'

(4.2.8.1-4)

7óónáá-rá	b-áádii?
who (OBL.)-with	go-INTER.PF2SG.

'Whom did you go with?'

(4.2.8.1-5)

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	goromóót-e
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.	evil eye-ABS.

g-íyo	harg-ée	de7-ées.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	disease-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In the Wolaytta land, there is disease which is called *goromoote* (evil eye).'

(4.2.8.1-6)

he	goromóót-ee	7as-áa	m-óbare
that	evil eye-NOM.M.SG.	people-ABS.M.SG.	eat-after

7as-ái	goromóót-iya	Tal-íya
people-NOM.M.SG.	evil eye-OBL.M.SG.	medicine-ABS.M.SG.

7ushsh-íya	bitán-iya-kko	b-ées.
make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-OBL.M.SG.-toward	go-IMPF.3M.SG.

'If that evil eye eats people, people go to a man who makes drink a medicine for the evil eye.'

Postpositions in their non-predicative forms may modify nominals, which may or may not be predicates.

(4.2.8.1-7)

láítt-aa-ppe	7issíto	7as-ái
year-OBL.M.SG.-from	once	people-NOM.M.SG.

shiiK-ídí	. . .
get together-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Once a year people get together and . . .'

(4.2.8.1-8)

táání	ta-7óós-uwa	wurs-ídoo-g-áá-ppé
I	my-work-ABS.M.SG.	finish-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from

guyy-íya-ni	y-aaná.
behind-OBL.M.SG.-in	come-FUT.

'I will come after I finish my work.'

(4.2.8.1-9)

woláítt-í	7alam-ú-yyo	yelét-a	biitt-á.
Wolaytta-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.-for	birth-OBL.	land-ABS.

'Wolaytta is a birthplace for Alemu.'

(4.2.8.1-10)

7usúppun-aa-ssi	támm-ai	páC-a.
six-OBL.M.SG.-for	ten-NOM.M.SG.	wanting-ABS.

'It is 10 minutes to 12 o'clock (lit. ten minutes are wanting for six (see section 4.2.3.5)).'

(4.2.8.1-11)

hegéé	dad-áa-ni	gíK-o
that	thunder-OBL.M.SG.-by	protection-ABS.

g-íyo-g-éé	7áí	b-ée?
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	what	thing-INTER.

'What is that, what one calls (lit. say) protection by thunder?'

(4.2.8.1-12)

sa7-ái	Kamm-íyo	wod-é
ground-NOM.M.SG.	become evening-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

wolwol-ói	7abb-á-u	gidd-úwa-ni
boat-NOM.M.SG.	ocean-OBL.M.SG.-for	middle-OBL.M.SG.-in

de7-í-shiini	yesúús-í	7abb-áa-ppe
exist-SUBOR.-while	Jesus-NOM.	ocean-OBL.M.SG.-from

gáT-aa-ni	bá-rka	de7-ées.
edge-OBL.M.SG.-in	his own-alone	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When evening came, while the boat was in the middle of the lake Jesus was alone on the shore of the lake.'   (From Mark 6:47)

(4.2.8.1-13)

sáánn-í   woláítt-á   biitt-áa-ni[333]
(person name)-NOM.   Wolaytta-OBL.   land-OBL.M.SG.-in

góób-a   kaw-ó.
great-OBL.   king-ABS.

'Sana is a great king in the Wolaytta land.'

In my observation, this construction (i.e. a nominal directly modified by a postpositional phrase) is relatively rare and not productive in Wolaytta. However, it seems to be the case that the construction under discussion is naturally used when a nominal modified by a postpositional phrase is a predicate (e.g. (4.2.8.1-9)), or a word whose referent is relatively determined by a referential point such as "behind" and "middle" (e.g. (4.2.8.1-12)). A common noun derived from a verb may be modified by a postpositional phrase that co-occurs with the verb (e.g. (4.2.8.1-12)).

Predicative forms are found at the end of postpositional phrases that serve as predicates of clauses except for affirmative direct interrogative clauses. Predicative forms were often overlooked in previous works.

(4.2.8.1-14)

ta-7ish-ái   maTááp-aa   7imm-ído-i
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.   book-ABS.M.SG.   give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

ba-lágg-iya-ssa.
his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-to

'It is to his own friend that my brother gave the book.'

---

[333] It might be appropriate to consider that this postpositional phrase modifies a whole clause "Sani is a great king", not just a predicative nominal phrase.

(4.2.8.1-15)

tá	sho7étt-ido-i	7anjúll-óó-<u>na</u>.
I	be beaten-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.-by

'It was by Anjulo that I was beaten.'

Predicative forms may be used before the verb *gid-* 'to become' if it functions as a copula verb, although non-predicative forms can also be used.

(4.2.8.1-16)

7í	d-íyo-i	boddítt-éé-<u>na</u>
he	live-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(place name)-OBL.-in

gid-énná.
become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is not in Boditi that he lives.'

Interrogative forms of postpositions are found at the end of postpositional phrases that serves as predicates of affirmative direct interrogative clauses. They were also often overlooked in previous works.

(4.2.8.1-17)

nééní	b-íído-i	7óónaa-<u>ree</u>?
you	go-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	who (OBL.)-with (INTER.)

'Who is it that you went with?'

(4.2.8.1-18)

7í	d-íyo-i	boddítt-éé-<u>nee</u>?
he	live-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(place name)-OBL.-in (INTER.)

'Is it in Boditi that he lives?'

4.2.8.2 Objects of Postpositions

"Objects of postpositions" are dependents of postpositional phrases. They immediately precede postpositions. In the postpositional phrase *woláítt-á-ppé* (Wolaytta-OBL.-from) 'from Wolaytta', for example, the place-name noun *woláítt-á* 'Wolaytta' is an object of the postposition *-ppe* 'from'. Members of different word classes can be objects of postpositions.

As can be seen from the examples in section 4.2.8.1, various kinds of nominals (common nouns, person-name nouns, nominalizers, etc.) can be heads of objects of postpositions. Head nominals of objects of postpositions, which immediately precede postpositions, occur in the oblique case.

As discussed in section 4.2.1.3.6.1, some adverbial words with the *-i* ending can be objects of postpositions with their *-i* ending kept.

(4.2.8.2-1a)

maallád-o	maay-ído	maay-úwa
morning-ABS.	wear-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

7omárs-i	laamm-íis.
evening-ADV.	change-PF.3M.SG.

   'He changed in the evening the clothes that he put on in the morning.'

(4.2.8.2-1b)

7omárs-i-ppe	dóómm-idi
evening-ADV.-from	start-CONV.3M.SG.

   'since the evening'

Cf. *7omárs-aa* 'evening' (Masculine Class A common noun)

(4.2.8.2-2a)

ha77-í	b-aaná.
now-ADV.	go-FUT.

   'I will go now.'

(4.2.8.2-2b)

<u>ha77-í</u>-ppé
now-ADV.-from

    'from now on'

(4.2.8.2-3a)

táání	7addisááb-á	<u>keeh-í</u>	7er-áis.
I	Addis Ababa-ABS.	enough-ADV.	know-IMPF.1SG.

    'I know Addis Ababa well.'

(4.2.8.2-3b)

<u>keeh-íí</u>-ní	ló77-o.
enough-ADV.-in	good-ABS.

    'It is very good.'

(4.2.8.2-3c)

<u>keeh-í</u>-ppé	ló77-o.
enough-ADV.-from	good-ABS.

    'It is very good.'

Since adverbial words may be objects of postpositions, nominals in the absolutive case used adverbially, which are morphologically the same as those in the oblique case, might be objects of postpositions. For example, *dár-o* 'much' in (4.2.8.2-4b) might be in the absolutive case as *dár-o* 'much' in (4.2.8.2-4a) is.

(4.2.8.2-4a)

<u>dár-o</u>	galat-áis.
much-ABS.	thank-IMPF.1SG.

    'I thank (you) very much.'

(4.2.8.2-4b)

<u>dár-o</u>-ppe   galat-áas.
much-OBL.-from   thank-PF.1SG.

    'I thanked (you) very much.'

    The postposition *-ppe* 'from' can be attached to finite verbs as well as to nominals in the idiomatic expression *-ppe 7átt-ii-ni)* '. . . is the case, but'.

(4.2.8.2-5)

7aaw-ái   <u>miishsh-áa</u>-ppe   7átt-ii-ni
father-NOM.M.SG.   money-OBL.M.SG.-from stay behind-when

har-á   b-á   kóyy-énná.
other-OBL.   thing-ABS.   want-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'Father does not want anything but money.'

(4.2.8.2-6)

ha77í   ha77í   7átt-i   7átt-idi
now   now   stay behind-CONV.3M.SG.   stay behind-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>b-íisi</u>-ppe   7átt-ii-ni[334]   . . .
go-PF.3M.SG.-from   stay behind-SUBOR.-in   . . .

    'Now it is becoming obsolete (lit. having stayed behind and stayed behind, and went), but . . .'

(4.2.8.2-7)

7ammán-o   Taláál-aa   <u>7amman-á</u>-ppé
belief-OBL.   only-ABS.M.SG.   believe-OPT.2SG.-from

---

[334] Adams (1983: 276-277) describes *-ppe ?attini* 'but rather' as a suffix manifesting the coordinator function, but he also analyses it into smaller elements almost in the same way as I do.

7átt-ii-ni   yáyy-oppa.
stay behind-SUBOR.-in   fear-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Just believe, but don't be afraid.'   (From Mark 5:36)

The postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' is attached to the subordination marker *-i* to form an expression meaning 'when'. Likewise, it seems to occur in the ending *-i-shiini* 'while'. See section 4.4.3.4.1.

(4.2.8.2-8)

7áne	7í	woTT-íi-ni	be7-aná.
let's	he	run-SUBOR.-in	see-FUT.

   'Let's see him running (lit. we will see when he runs).'

(4.2.8.2-9)

bitán-ee	maat-áa	búúCC-i-shiini
man-NOM.M.SG.	grass-ABS.M.SG.	mow-SUBOR.-while

shóóshsh-ai	kíy-iis.
snake-NOM.M.SG.	come out-PF.3M.SG.

   'While the man was mowing grass, a snake came out.'

In rare cases, a postposition can be an object of a postposition. That is, two postpositions can occur in succession. Its certain examples can be found in the above-mentioned idiomatic expression *-ppe 7átt-ii-ni* '. . . is the case, but'.

(4.2.8.2-10)

7akéék-aa-ni-ppe	7átt-ii-ni	dirb-áa-ni
attention-OBL.M.SG.-in-from	stay behind-SUBOR.-in	hasty-OBL.M.SG.-in

gid-énná.
become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is indeed carefully, but not hasty.'

The following would be a similar example.

(4.2.8.2-11)

yesúús-í	gúútt-aa	sint-á-ú-kkó	b-íídí
Jesus-NOM.	little-ABS.M.SG.	face-OBL.-to-toward	go-CONV.3M.SG.

. . .
. . .

   'Jesus went ahead a little, and . . .'   (From Mark 1:19)

    Postpositions may affect vowel length of their immediately preceding words. For example, immediately before the postposition *-ra* 'with' short vowels are obligatorily lengthened.

(4.2.8.2-12a)
7anjúll-óó-rá
(person name)-OBL.-with

   'with Anjulo'

Cf. (4.2.8.2-12b)
7anjúll-ó-ppé
(person name)-OBL.-from

   'from Anjulo'

Final short vowels of concrete oblique endings of common nouns (i.e. *a* of *-iya* and of *-uwa*) are exceptions to this. For them the lengthening is optional. Adams (1983: 75-76) does not mention this phenomenon.

(4.2.8.2-13a)

7og-<u>íya</u>-ra

road-OBL.M.SG.-with

    'along the road'

(4.2.8.2-13b)

7og-<u>íyaa</u>-ra

road-OBL.M.SG.-with

    'along the road' (same as above)

The second element of a diphthong of the interrogative word *7au-* 'where (OBL.)' is another kind of exception. It is not lengthened even before the postposition *-ra* 'with' so that an unacceptable overlong vowel would not arise.

(4.2.8.2-14)

<u>7áu</u>-ra   b-ái?

where (OBL.)-with   go-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Where do you go through?'

   Immediately before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in its non-predicative form, vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are interchangeably used.

(4.2.8.2-15a)

hembéécc-<u>óó</u>-ní

(place name)-OBL.-in

    'in Hembecho'

(4.2.8.2-15b)

hembéécc-<u>ó</u>-n

(place name)-OBL.-in

    'in Hembecho' (same as above)

Cf. (4.2.8.2-15c)

hembéécc-<u>ó</u>-ppé

(place name)-OBL.-from

'from Hembecho'

(4.2.8.2-16a)

ta-bóór-<u>aa</u>-ni

my-ox-OBL.M.SG.-by

'by my ox'

(4.2.8.2-16b)

ta-bóór-<u>a</u>-n

my-ox-OBL.M.SG.-by

'by my ox'

Cf. (4.2.8.2-16c)

ta-bóór-<u>aa</u>-ppe

my-ox-OBL.M.SG.-from

'from my ox'

(4.2.8.2-17a)

ta-lágg-iyaa-ni

my-friend-OBL.M.SG.-by

(4.2.8.2-17b)

ta-lágg-iya-ni

my-friend-OBL.M.SG.-by

'by a friend of mine'

Adams (1983: 76) says that: 'The postposition /-ni/ "by", when suffixed to a word, shortens the final vowel of the word'. However, this is not the case. As said above both

long and short vowels are interchangeably used the postposition. Actually he gives [ke:tta:ni][335] on the same page, and he (ibid.:151) says that 'before the p[ost]p[osition] /-ni/ it [the vowel] is usually short'. Pay attention to the fact that predicative and interrogative forms of the same postposition behave like the postposition *-ra* 'with': their immediately preceding short vowels are obligatorily lengthened except for final short vowels of concrete oblique endings of common nouns (i.e. *a* of *-iya* and of *-uwa*), which may or may not be lengthened.

(4.2.8.2-18)

7í   d-íyo-i   boddítt-<u>éé</u>-na.

he   live-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM. (place name)-OBL.-in (predicative)

    'It is in Boditi that he lives.'

(4.2.8.2-19)

7í   d-íyo-i   boddítt-<u>éé</u>-nee?

he   live-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM. (place name)-OBL.-in (INTER.)

    'Is it in Boditi that he lives?'

Cf. (4.2.8.2-20)

táání   dend-ídoo-g-éé

I   rise up-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

boddítt-<u>e</u>-ppe.

(place name)-OBL.-from

    'It is from Boditi that I started.'

    Immediately before the postposition *-u* 'for, to', long vowels are obligatorily shortened.

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[335] This is analyzed as:

keett-áa-ni

house-OBL.M.SG.-in   'in the house'

Thus, a long vowel occurs immediately before the postposition *-ni* 'in'.

(4.2.8.2-21a)
ta-bóór-<u>a</u>-u
my-ox-OBL.M.SG.-for

   'for my ox'

Cf. (4.2.8.2-21b)
ta-bóór-<u>aa</u>-ssi
my-ox-OBL.M.SG.-for

   'for my ox'

What is more, immediately preceding (short) vowels of the postposition *-u* 'to, for'
should be *a*. For words that end in one of other vowels, one of its almost synonymous
postpositions, *-ssi* 'for, to' or *-yyo* 'for, to', must be used. See also section 4.2.8.4.1.

   Judging from forms of personal pronouns (see sections 4.2.4.1.1 and 4.2.4.2.1)
attached to them, the postpositions *-ppe* 'from', *-ssi* 'to, for' and *-kko* 'toward' have
potential to lengthen their immediately preceding short vowels.

(4.2.8.2-22a)
n<u>éé</u>-ppé
you (OBL.)-from

   'from you'

(4.2.8.2-22b)
n<u>éé</u>-ssí
you (OBL.)-for

   'for you'

(4.2.8.2-22c)
n<u>éé</u>-kkó
you (OBL.)-toward

'toward you'

Cf. (4.2.8.2-22d)
ne̠-keett-áa
your (OBL.)-house-ABS.M.SG.

'your house'

However, the potential is suppressed elsewhere.

(4.2.8.2-23a)
7anjúll-ó̠-ppé
(person name)-OBL.-from

'from Anjulo'

(4.2.8.2-23b)
* 7anjull-o̠o̠-ppe
   (person name)-OBL.(lengthened)-from

4.2.8.3   Tone of the Postposition

First, I describe tone of each postposition in its non-predicative form. See section 2.4.1 again if needed.

The postposition -*yyo* 'for, to' cannot have a tonal prominence. Thus, even its immediately preceding vowel is tonally prominent and is realized as "high", it is realized as "low". In this case, the first consonant of its geminated consonant is also realized as "low".

(4.2.8.3-1)
tá-yyo
my-for

'for me'

Likewise, the postposition -*daani* 'like' also cannot have a tonal prominence.

(4.2.8.3-2)
hagáá-daani
this-like

    'like this'

When an object of this postposition is a personal pronoun A, its last syllable does not have a tonal prominence for unknown reasons.

(4.2.8.3-3)
tána-daani
my-like

    'like me'   Cf. (4.2.4.1.1-6)

   Tone of the postposition *-kko* 'toward' is indeterminate. If its immediately preceding vowel is tonally prominent it is also tonally prominent (see (4.2.8.3.-4)), while if its immediately preceding vowel is not tonally prominent it is also not tonally prominent (see (4.2.8.3-5)).[336]

(4.2.8.3-4)
7etá-kkó
their-toward

    'toward them'

(4.2.8.3-5)
bitán-iya-kko
man-OBL.M.SG.-toward

    'toward the man'

---

[336] In this thesis, when tonally indeterminate words such as *-kko* 'toward' are cited as representative forms they are not accentuated. This notation may not be good, since it does not differentiate words that are tonally indeterminate from words that are tonally not prominent inherently such as *-yyo* 'to, for'.

Likewise, the postpositions *-ppe* 'from' and *-ssi* 'for, to' are tonally indeterminate in the same way as the postposition *-kko* 'toward' is.

The postposition *-ra* 'with' is also tonally indeterminate. Remember that immediately before this postposition short vowels are lengthened (see section 4.2.8.2). In this case, if the vowels have tonal prominences, the prominences are also lengthened (see (4.2.8.3-6)).

(4.2.8.3-6)
boddítt-éé-rá   < boddítt-é + -ra
(place name)-OBL.-with

   'by way of Boditi'

(4.2.8.3-7)
kaw-úwa-ra
king-OBL.M.SG.-with

   'with the king'

The postposition *-u* 'for, to' is also tonally indeterminate. Remember that immediately before this postposition long vowels are obligatorily shortened (see section 4.2.8.2). In this case, if the vowels are tonally fully prominent, both the resultant short vowels and the postposition are tonally prominent (see (4.2.8.3-8)). If only first vowels of them are tonally prominent, the resultant short vowels are prominent while the postposition is not (see (4.2.8.3-9)).

(4.2.8.3-8)
hagá-ú   < hagáá + -u
this-for

   'for this'

(4.2.8.3-9)
7as-á-u   < 7as-áa + -u
people-OBL.M.SG.-for

'for the people'

When a personal pronoun A, which is also tonally indeterminate (see section 4.2.4.1.2), is an object of this postposition, it has a tonal prominence while the postposition does not.

(4.2.8.3-10)
tá-u
my-for

   'for me'

   The postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' is also tonally indeterminate. As mentioned in section 4.2.8.2, immediately before this postposition in its non-predicative form, vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are interchangeably used. Whichever vowel may be used before the postposition, the vowel and the postposition are in general the same in terms of their tonal features: both of them are tonally prominent, or neither of them is tonally prominent.

(4.2.8.3-11a)
wogg-áá-ní   < wogg-áá + -ni
Sunday-OBL.M.SG.-in

   'on Sunday'

(4.2.8.3-11b)
wogg-á-n[337]   < wogg-áá + -ni
Sunday-OBL.M.SG.-in

   'on Sunday'

(4.2.8.3-12a)
ta-gód-aa-ni   < ta-gód-aa + -ni
my-lord-OBL.M.SG.-by

---

[337] This consonant is tonally prominent and is realized as "high", as its immediately preceding vowel is.

'by my lord'

(4.2.8.3-12b)
ta-gód-a-n[338]   < ta-gód-aa + -ni
my-lord-OBL.M.SG.-by

   'by my lord'

(4.2.8.3-13a)
gidd-óó-ní   < gidd-ó + -ni
inside-OBL.-in

   'inside'

(4.2.8.3-13b)
gidd-ó-n[339]   < gidd-ó + -ni
inside-OBL.-in

   'inside'

(4.2.8.3-14a)
KóLL-oo-ni   < KóLL-o + -ni
larder-OBL.-in

   'in the larder'

(4.2.8.3-14b)
KóLL-o-n[340]   < KóLL-o + -ni
larder-OBL.-in

   'in the larder'

---

[338] This consonant is tonally not prominent and is realized as "low", as its immediately preceding vowel is.

[339] This consonant is tonally prominent and is realized as "high", as its immediately preceding vowel is.

[340] This consonant is tonally not prominent and is realized as "low", as its immediately preceding vowel is.

However, if only the first vowel of a long vowel that immediately precedes the postposition is tonally prominent and the long vowel is shortened, the resultant short vowel is tonally prominent while the postposition is not (see (4.2.8.3-15b)).

(4.2.8.3-15a)
ta-7ish-áa-ni   < ta-7ish-áa + -ni
my-brother-OBL.M.SG.-by

   'by my brother'

(4.2.8.3-15b)
ta-7ish-á-n[341]   < ta-7ish-áa + -ni
my-brother-OBL.M.SG.-by

   'by my brother'

For practical reasons, i.e. to distinguish, for example, the prominent *n* in (4.2.8.3-11b) from the non-prominent *n* in (4.2.8.3-15b) easily in transcription, in principle I transcribe postpositional phrases with this postposition in their "long" forms such as those found in (4.2.8.3-11a) and (4.2.8.3-15a) in this thesis. A representative form for citation of the postposition is also the longer *-ni*, not *-n*. Accordingly, that of the postposition "like" is *-daani*, not *-dan* or the like.

   Postpositions in their predicative and interrogative forms do not have tonal prominences irrespective of those of their immediately preceding vowels.

(4.2.8.3-16)
7anjúll-óó-na.
(person name)-OBL.-by (predicative)

   'It is by Anjulo.'

---

[341] This consonant is tonally not prominent and is realized as "low", unlike its immediately preceding vowel.

(4.2.8.3-17)

ba-lágg-iya-ssa.

his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-for (predicative)

    'It is for his friend.'

(4.2.8.3-18)

soor-é-ppee?

(place name)-OBL.-from (INTER.)

    'Is it from Sore?'

(4.2.8.3-19)

7áw-aa-nee?

where-OBL.M.SG.-in (INTER.)

    'Where is it?'

4.2.8.4   Uses of Postpositions

In the following sections, various uses and meanings of each postposition will be described.

In principle, I suppose that if two (or more) postpositions have the same form their meanings are the same. This would be a linguistically sound attitude, although I do not deny a possibility that they are homonyms.

Referring to Comrie (1981: 105), Adams (1983: 86-87) says that: 'Items which can be conjoined are considered in this thesis to manifest the same tagmeme, and those which cannot be conjoined are generally considered to manifest separate tagmemes.' According to him (ibid.: 88), the underlined postpositional phrases in the following manifest separate tagmemes (a Manner tagmeme and a Location tagmeme, respectively) since they cannot be conjoined.

(4.2.8.4-1)

*ta:ni	maTa:pa:	?ake:ka-ni-nne	he	saTiniya:-ni-nne
I	book	understanding-"by"-and	that	box-on-and

wotta:si.

I placed

    'I placed the book on the box and carefully.'   (From Adams (1983: 88). *T* is a dotted *t* in his original text. The underlines are mine.)

On the other hand, the underlined postpositional phrases in the following manifest the same tagmeme (a Manner tagmeme) since they can be conjoined.

(4.2.8.4-2)

?i	<u>?ake:ka:-ni</u>-nne	kumetta	<u>Kopa:-ppe</u>	?o:tti:si.
he	understanding-"by"-and	complete	thought-"from"	he worked

    'He worked carefully and thoughtfully.'   (From Adams (1983: 87). *K* is a dotted *k* in his original text. The underlines are mine.)

However, his reference to Comrie (1981: 105) is irrelevant, since Comrie's claim is that in coordination of clauses that share a noun phrase in common, the noun phrase can be omitted in the second conjunct if it is a subject both in English and Dyirbal. Even if the reference is relevant, Adams's test would distinguish among postpositional phrases more than necessary, since the same tagmemes with opposite meanings, such as Manner tagmemes "slowly" and "quickly", would not be conjoined. Furthermore, the following would be a counterexample to his claim, since there although the postpositional phrase with a straight line and the postpositional phrases with broken lines would manifest different tagmemes (Location and Agent, respectively) they are conjoined. Thus I do not adopt his test.

(4.2.8.4-3)

han-aná	b-áá
become-REL.FUT.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

yoot-íya-g-éé	<u>ba-biitt-áa-ni</u>-nne
tell-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	his own-land-OBL.M.SG.-in-and

<u>ba-dább-otuu-ni</u>-nne	<u>banta-s-ó</u>	<u>7as-áa-ni</u>-nne
his own-relative-OBL.PL.-by-and	their own-home-OBL.	people-OBL.M.SG.-by-and

bonc-étt-ennaa-g-áá-ppé   7átt-ii-ni   . . .
respect-PASS.-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-OBL.-from   stay behind-SUBOR.-in   . . .

   'A prophet (lit. those who tell a thing that will become) is indeed not respected in his
land, by his relatives, and by their families, but . . .'   (From Mark 6:4)

4.2.8.4.1   So-called "Dative" Postpositions

   First, I discuss the three synonymous "dative" postpositions, *-u*, *-yyo*, and *-ssi*
together. Adams (1983: 80) says that all the three postpositions 'seem to mean the same
and are quite interchangeable'. In Adams (1983: 88) too the same claim is repeated.
Senait (1984: 80) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 207) also agree him on this matter[342].
In fact, there are many examples in which all these three postpositions can be used with
the same meaning, such as (4.2.8.4.1-1) to (4.2.8.4.1-27). In the following, however,
only sentences that were obtained first will be given in general, which would also
present good materials for future studies to elucidate the semantic differences among the
postpositions.

   The original function of these interchangeable dative postpositions seems to be to
express receivers of concrete things, which is seen in the following examples.

(4.2.8.4.1-1)

he	shííK-uwa	7ep-íídí	he
that	offering-ABS.M.SG.	take-CONV.3M.SG.	that

sharéécc-uwa-ssi	gatt-ídí
witch doctor-OBL.M.SG.-to	deliver-CONV.3M.SG.

galat-ídí	simm-ées.
thank-CONV.3M.SG.	return-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He brings that offering, and delivers it to that witch doctor, and thanks, and
returns.'

---

[342] Ohman and Hailu's (1976: 158) simple description for this matter is the following:
'*a-s* 'for him'; *ta-w* 'to me''.

(4.2.8.4.1-2)

mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á	kóyy-ida
wife-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-ABS.	want-REL.PF.SUBJ.

7úr-ai	Cím-aa	mácc-e-nta
person-NOM.M.SG.	old-ABS.M.SG.	wife-OBL.F.SG.-and others (OBL.)

keett-á-u	kiitt-íyo-g-áá.
house-OBL.M.SG.-to	send-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

'It is for a man who wanted to marry a woman (lit. take a wife) to send an old man to the house of the wife (in the future) and others.'

(4.2.8.4.1-3)

tá-yyo	Tooss-í	na7-á	7imm-an-áa-daani
me-to	god-NOM.	child-ABS.	give-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

ha77í	táání	wooss-an-á	y-áasi.
now	I	pray-INFN.-ABS.	come-PF.1SG.

'For the god to give me a child, now I have come to pray.'

Receivers can be regarded as beneficiaries (benefactives) in some occasions. Thus it is not strange that the same postpositions can be used to express them as in the following.

(4.2.8.4.1-4)

sambát-ai	7as-á-u
Sabbath-NOM.M.SG.	people-OBL.M.SG.-for

merétt-idoo-g-áá-ppé	7átt-ii-ni
be created-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	stay behind-SUBOR.-in

7as-í	sambát-a-u	merétt-ibe7énná.
person-NOM.	Sabbath-OBL.M.SG.-for	be created-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'Indeed Sabbath was created for men, but a man was not created for Sabbath.'
(From Mark 2:27)

(4.2.8.4.1-5)

kiitánc-ati-kka	y-íídí	7á-yyo	7oott-ídosona.
messenger-NOM.PL.-too	come-CONV.3PL.	his-for	work-PF.3PL.

'The messengers also came, and worked for him.'   (From Mark 1:13)

Receivers of things can also be regarded as receivers of actions etc. described by verbs in one sense. Thus, it is not strange that the "dative" postpositions under discussion can be used to express objects of actions etc. in the broad sense. However, it is difficult to exactly predict when the postpositions are used instead of absolutive forms of nominals (see section 4.2.1.3.5). It is determined conventionally, although most of the following examples would find similar expressions in other languages. The first three of the following may be similar to (4.2.8.4.1-1) to (4.2.8.4.1-3).

(4.2.8.4.1-6)

yesúús-í	Káál-aa	7as-á-u
Jesus-NOM.	word-ABS.M.SG.	people-OBL.M.SG.-to

yoot-ées.
tell-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Jesus was telling the word to the people.'   (From Mark 2:2)

(4.2.8.4.1-7)

'. . .'	yáág-idi	7etá-yyo	zaar-íis.
. . .	say so-CONV.3M.SG.	their-to	answer-PF.3M.SG.

'He answered to them saying '. . .''   (From Mark 2:17)

(4.2.8.4.1-8)

Tooss-áa-ssi	yarsh-ído
god-OBL.M.SG.-to	sacrifice-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

7óítt-aa		m-íídí	. . .
unleavened bread-ABS.M.SG.		eat-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

   'He ate the bread that they sacrificed to God, and . . .'   (From Mark 2:26)

(4.2.8.4.1-9)

yesúús-á	haah-úwa-ni	be7-ído	wod-é
Jesus-ABS.	far-OBL.M.SG.-in	see-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

woTT-ídí	<u>7á-yyo</u>	goinn-íis.
run-CONV.3M.SG.	his-to	kneel-PF.3M.SG.

   'When he saw Jesus in the distance, he ran and knelt before him.'
   (From Mark 5: 6)

(4.2.8.4.1-10)

<u>7á-yyo</u>	yáyy-idi	. . .
his-to	fear-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

   'He feared him, and . . .'   (From Mark 6:20)

(4.2.8.4.1-11)

<u>7etá-u</u>	keehí	Karétt-iis.
their-to	much	feel sorry-PF.3M.SG.

   'He felt sorry for them very much.'   (From Mark 3:5)

(4.2.8.4.1-12)

ha	sa7-áa	<u>dé7-uwa-u</u>
this	ground-ABS.M.SG.	life-OBL.M.SG.-to

hirg-íyo-g-éé-nné	. . .
worry-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.-and	. . .

   'To worry about living in this world and . . .'   (From Mark 4:19)

(4.2.8.4.1-13)

7etí-kká	Kássi	7á-yyo	7azaz-étt-oosona.
they-too	furthermore	his-to	order-PASS.-IMPF.3PL.

    'They also serve him (lit. are ordered to him).'   (From Mark 1:27)

(4.2.8.4.1-14a)[343]

7í-yyo	koshsh-íya	miishsh-áa
her-to	be needed-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	money-ABS.M.SG.

    'money that is needed for her'

(4.2.8.4.1-14b)

7áá-ssi	koshsh-íya	miishsh-áa
his-to	be needed-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	money-ABS.M.SG.

    'money that is needed for him'

(4.2.8.4.1-14c)

7á-u	koshsh-íya	miishsh-áa
his-to	be needed-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	money-ABS.M.SG.

    'money that is needed for him'

(4.2.8.4.1-15)

dad-áu	dad-áu	ha	ta-kátt-aa
thunder-VOC.M.SG.	thunder-VOC.M.SG.	this	my-grain-ABS.M.SG.

m-íídaa-g-áá-ssí	7úl-uwa
eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-to	belly-ABS.M.SG.

puur-iss-á.
swell-CAUS.-OPT.2SG.

---

[343] (4.2.8.4.1-14a) is taken from a text. (4.2.8.4.1-14b) and (4.2.8.4.1-14c) are my compositions.

'O thunder, o thunder, swell the belly for one who ate this crop of mine!'

In the following, the postpositions are used to express some kinds of receivers or objects of intransitive events.

(4.2.8.4.1-16)

dább-o	7as-í	7etá-ú	háíKK-ii-ni	. . .
relative-OBL.	person-NOM.	their-to	die-SUBOR.-in	. . .

   'When the fact that a relative died happened to them . . .'

(4.2.8.4.1-17)

táání	7as-á	na7-ái	har-áí
I	person-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	other-NOM.M.SG.

7átt-o	sambát-a-u-kka	gód-a.
stay behind-OPT.3M.SG.	Sabbath-OBL.M.SG.-to-too	lord-ABS.

   'I, son of a man, let alone other things, am lord for Sabbath too.'
   (From Mark 2: 28)

    In Wolaytta possessive clauses, possessors are expressed with the "dative" postpositions under discussion. In this case, possessed items are expressed with nominative nominals, whose predicate verbs are usually intransitive verbs such as *de7-* 'to exist, to live'. Thus the construction resembles somehow (4.2.8.4.1-16) or (4.2.8.4.1-17).

(4.2.8.4.1-18)[344]

tá-u	miishsh-ái	d-ées.
my-for	money-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'I have money.'

---

[344] This is my composition.

(4.2.8.4.1-19)

woláítt-á	wóg-aa-ni	wóí-kkó	woláítt-á
Wolaytta-OBL.	culture-OBL.M.SG.-in	or-if	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á-u
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	wife-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-ida	7as-áa-ssi	mácc-iyo
want-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-for	wife-ABS.F.SG.

7ekk-an-á-u	heezz-ú	7og-etí
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	three-OBL.	way-NOM.PL.

de7-óosona.
exist-IMPF.3pl.

'In the Wolaytta culture, or in the Wolaytta land, people who wanted to marry a wife have three ways to marry a wife.'

(4.2.8.4.1-20)

7á-u	méh-ee	Tay-í-kkó
his-for	cattle-NOM.M.SG.	be lost-SUBOR.-if

'if he does not have cattle (lit. if cattle are lost for him)'

The "dative" postpositions are often used with affirmative future infinitives discussed in section 4.4.4.1. Sometimes the use of the "dative" postpositions is optional and infinitives in the non-concrete absolute can be used ((4.2.8.4.1-21) to (4.2.8.4.1-24)).

(4.2.8.4.1-21)

táání	hegáá-ní-ká	Káál-aa	yoot-an-á-u
I	that-in-too	word-ABS.M.SG.	tell-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

bess-ées.
be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

'I should tell the word there also.'   (From Mark 1:38)

(4.2.8.4.1-22)

7í	yeekk-íi-ni	síy-an-a-u	kóyy-ikke.
he	cry-SUBOR.-in	hear-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I do not want to hear him crying (lit. when he cries).'

(4.2.8.4.1-23)

kaw-úwa	bocc-an-á-u	baKK-an-á-u
king-ABS.M.SG.	touch-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	hit-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-áis.
be able to-IMPF.1SG.

   'I can touch, hit the king.'

(4.2.8.4.1-24)

káw-uwa	m-aan-á-u	b-íis.
dinner-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	go-PF.3M.SG.

   'He went in order to eat dinner.'

Unlike in (4.2.8.4.1-24), in which the postpositional phrase is immediately followed by the verb "to go", however, when affirmative future infinitives are used to express purposes the use of the "dative" postpositions is usually obligatory. The following are such examples.

(4.2.8.4.1-25)

7í	ba-7ish-áa	7oicc-an-á-u
he	his own-brother-ABS.M.SG.	ask-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

hospitál-iya	b-íis.
hospital-ABS.M.SG.	go-PF.3M.SG.

   'He went to the hospital to ask his brother.'

(4.2.8.4.1-26)

mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á	kóyy-ida	7úr-ai
wilfe-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-ABS.	want-REL.PF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

kóít-aa	7imm-ídí	na7-ée	keett-áa
gift-ABS.M.SG.	give-CONV.3M.SG.	child-OBL.F.SG.	house-ABS.M.SG.

7oishiss-ídí	paKKad-iss-ídí	7ekk-an-á-u
make ask-CONV.3M.SG.	permit-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7í	hiiyéés-a	gid-í-kkó	. . .
he	poor-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if	. . .

'If a man who wanted to marry (lit. take) a wife is poor for giving a gift, making (someone) ask (the people of) the house of the girl, making (them) permit, and marrying (lit. taking) (her) . . .'

The following is an idiomatic expression for "until now".

(4.2.8.4.1-27)

ta-gód-au	táání	hánnó	gákk-an-a-u
my-lord-VOC.M.SG.	I	this (F.ABS.)	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

na7-á	demm-ábe7íkke.
child-ABS.	find-NEG.PF.1SG.

'My Lord, I have not had (lit. found) a child until now (lit. to reach this).'

Up to the present, we have observed various examples in which all the three "dative" postpositions can be used interchangeably. However, despite the claims of Adams (1983: 80, 88) and of others, they cannot be interchangeable in some cases.

First, as mentioned in section 4.2.8.2, vowels immediately before the postposition *-u* 'to, for' should be *a*. Thus, the postposition cannot follow, for example, plural common nouns, person-name nouns other than those of Masculine Class A, etc. etc., whose oblique forms end in vowels other than *a*.

(4.2.8.4.1-28a)

hegáá	<u>ʔóó-yyo</u>-nne	yoot-óppa.
that	who (OBL.)-to-and	tell-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Don't tell that to anyone.'   (From Mark 1:44)

(4.2.8.4.1-28b)

hegáá	<u>ʔóó-ssí</u>-nné	yoot-óppa.
that	who (OBL.)-to-and	tell-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Don't tell that to anyone.'

(4.2.8.4.1-28c)

* hegáá	<u>ʔóó-u</u>-nne	yoot-óppa.	
that	who (OBL.)-to-and	tell-NEG.OPT.2SG.	Cf. (4.2.8.4.1-6)

Secondly, *-u* and *-yyo* do not have predicative forms (see section 4.2.8.1). Thus when a postpositional phrase with a "dative" postposition needs to be a predicate, *-ssi*, which has a predicative form *-ssa*, must be used.

(4.2.8.4.1-29a)

táání	yoot-íyo-i	<u>ʔetá-ssa</u>.
I	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	their-to

   'It is to them that I tell.'

(4.2.8.4.1-29b)

* táání	yoot-íyo-i	<u>ʔetá-yyo</u>.
I	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	their-to

(4.2.8.4.1-29c)

* táání	yoot-íyo-i	<u>ʔetá-u</u>.
I	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	their-to

In addition to the above structural factors, there are semantic factors that prevent interchangeable use of the three "dative" postpositions.

For example, -*ssi* and -*yyo* cannot be used to express direction, while -*u* can be.

(4.2.8.4.1-30a) [345]

peng-ée	7arákk-á-u	simm-ées.
door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-to	return-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'The door faces (lit. returns) Araka.'

The following have another meaning, which is very odd.

(4.2.8.4.1-30b)

peng-ée	7arákk-á-ssí	simm-ées.
door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-to	return-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'The door faces (lit. returns) for the benefit of Araka.'

(4.2.8.4.1-30c)

peng-ée	7arákk-á-yyo	simm-ées.
door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-to	return-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'The door faces (lit. returns) for the benefit of Araka.'

When the referent of an object of a "dative" postposition is not regarded as a beneficiary, or when the speaker wants to emphasis that it is not, the postposition -*u* is preferred, if possible. In the following, the use of -*yyo* or -*ssi* gives the meaning of "for the benefit of . . ."[346]

(4.2.8.4.1-31)

bántá-u	moitíll-e	milat-íi-ni	waass-ídosona.
their own-to	ghost-ABS.	seem-SUBOR.-in	cry-PF.3PL.

  'When it seemed to them to be a ghost, they cried.'   (From Mark 6:49)

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[345] In the case of words whose oblique forms do not end in the vowel *a* (and thus cannot precede the postposition -*u* 'to, for'), their absolutive forms are used without any postpositions or the postposition -*kko* 'toward' discussed in section 4.2.8.4.2 is used to express direction.

[346] However, it does not mean that the postposition -*u* never implies benefit.

(4.2.8.4.1-32)

7á	haatt-á-u	b-áasu.
she	water-OBL.M.SG.-to	go-PF.3F.SG.

  'She went (seeking) for water.'

However, this semantic factor is not stronger than the structural one. In other words, *-ssi* and *-yyo* can express the meanings expressed by *-u* in the above examples. Thus when the postposition *-u* cannot be used for structural reasons, *-ssi* or *-yyo* is used.

(4.2.8.4.1-33a)

7as-atú-ssí	moitíll-e	milat-íis.
people-OBL.PL.-to	ghost-ABS.	seem-PF.3M.SG.

  'It seemed to the people to be a ghost.'   Cf. (4.2.8.4.1-31)

(4.2.8.4.1-33b)

7as-atú-yyo	moitíll-e	milat-íis.
people-OBL.PL.-to	ghost-ABS.	seem-PF.3M.SG.

  'It seemed to the people to be a ghost.'   Cf. (4.2.8.4.1-31)

(4.2.8.4.1-34)

7á	b-íído-i	haatt-áa-ssa.
she	go-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	water-OBL.M.SG.-for

  'It is (seeking) for water that she went.'   Cf. (4.2.8.4.1-32)

  For affirmative future infinitives, sometimes those followed by *-ssi* are differentiated from those followed by *-yyo* or *-u* in that the former have the meaning of "until, before . . ." In the following, the use of other "dative" postpositions gives the meaning of "to . . ."[347]

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[347] However, it does not mean that the postposition *-ssi* is never used to express purposes or "objects" of verbs.

(4.2.8.4.1-35)

nééní	gákk-an-aa-ssi	táání	Kúm-aa
you	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	I	food-ABS.M.SG.

m-árg-ana.
eat-completely-FUT.

   'I will completely eat the food until you will reach.'

(4.2.8.4.1-36)

7ír-ai	bukk-an-áa-ssi	dóómm-iis.
rain-NOM.M.SG.	rain-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	begin-PF.3M.SG.

   'Before it rained, he began.'

However, judging from the idiomatic expressions *hánnó gákk-an-a-u / hánnó gákk-an-aa-ssi / hánnó gákk-an-a-yyo* 'until now' exemplified in (4.2.8.4.1-27), it does not mean that *-u* and *-yyo* can never express the meaning of "until, before . . ."

   In "dative" expressions, I also have an impression that affirmative future infinitives are very often followed by *-u* and that *-yyo* is very often combined with personal pronouns. Such preferences may be fixed and become rules in the future.

   I do not have the first idea about reasons why Wolaytta has three "dative" postpositions.

4.2.8.4.2   The Postposition *-kko* 'toward'

   The original use of the postposition *-kko* 'toward' seems to be to denote direction toward which someone or something moves. Arrival at a destination is not necessarily implied. That is, referents of objects of the postposition usually serve just to determine or explain direction. They are not usually destinations to be reached.

(4.2.8.4.2-1)

soor-é-kkó	b-áas.	shííní	soor-é
(place name)-OBL.-toward	go-PF.1SG.	but	(place name)-ABS.

gákk-enn-aa-ni   háa   simm-áas.
reach-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in to here   return-PF.1SG.

'I went in the direction of Sore. But I returned here without reaching Sore.'

Objects of this postposition may be words that intrinsically express direction. In this case, it is evident that the resultant postpositional phrases express direction, not destinations, of motion.

(4.2.8.4.2-2)
kais-ói   haddírs-a-kko   b-íis.
thief-NOM.M.SG.   left-OBL.-toward   go-PF.3M.SG.

'The thief went to the left.'

In many cases, however, postpositional phrases with -*kko* 'toward' imply arrival at a destination. This is especially the case when the referent of an object of the postposition (hereafter "destination") can move. If a destination can move, the direction toward it (or the direction of the motion to it) is indeterminate because the direction can vary as the destination moves around. Thus the postpositional phrase is meaningless in one sense. It is only when the traveling destination is overtaken by another mover (i.e. when the motion is finished) that the direction toward the destination (or the direction of the motion to the destination) can be determined and thus the postpositional phrase becomes meaningful. The following examples are taken from Mark, whose contexts definitely require the postpositional phrases in question to be interpreted as implying arrival at the traveling destinations.

(4.2.8.4.2-3)
7as-á   7ubb-ái   7á-kkó
people-OBL.   all-NOM.M.SG. him-toward

y-íídaa-g-áá   tamaar-iss-ées.
come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.   learn-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He was teaching all the people who came to him.'   (From Mark 2:13)

(4.2.8.4.2-4)

núná	híni	gudúnt-aa	wud-íya-kko
us	there	pig-OBL.M.SG.	group-OBL.M.SG.-toward

yedd-árkii?	7etáá-ní	b-íídí	gel-óos.
chase-(interrogative ending)	their-in	go-CONV.1PL.	enter-IMPF.1PL.

   'Why don't you chase us to the flock of pigs? We will go and enter into them.'
   (From Mark 5:12)

(4.2.8.4.2-5)

na7-íya	7ees-úwa-ni	kaw-úwa-kko
child-NOM.F.SG.	speed-OBL.M.SG.-in	king-OBL.M.SG.-toward

b-áádá	7á	" . . ."	yáág-aasu.
go-CONV.3F.SG.	him	. . .	say so-PF.3F.SG.

   'The girl went to the king at once, and said to him " . . ." '   (From Mark 6:25)

(4.2.8.4.2-6)

Cark-ói	7er-iss-íyo
wind-NOM.M.SG.	know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

7ashkár-atu-kko	Cark-íyo	gishsh-á-u
servant-OBL.PL.-toward	blow-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

7er-iss-íyo	7ashkár-ata	7abb-áa
know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	servant-ABS.PL.	sea-ABS.M.SG.

sháár-iyo-g-éé
row across-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

waiss-íyo-g-áá	yesúús-í
trouble-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	Jesus-NOM.

be7-ídí . . .
see-CONV.3M.SG. . . .

'Jesus saw that rowing across the lake was troubling the disciples (i.e. servants whom he makes know) because the wind was blowing to the disciples, and . . .'
(From Mark 6:48)

(4.2.8.4.2-7)

7amarída	7as-atí	KóóK-e	bitán-iya
few	people-NOM.PL.	blind-OBL.	man-ABS.M.SG.

yesúús-á-kkó	7eh-íídí	he	bitán-iya
Jesus-OBL.-toward	bring-CONV.3PL.	that	man-ABS.M.SG.

bocc-aná	mal-á	7á	wooss-ídosona.
touch-REL.FUT.	look(s)-ABS.	him	beg-PF.3PL.

'Some people brought a blind man to Jesus, and begged him to touch that man.'
(From Mark 8:22)

Of course, such motion to a traveling destination as above can also be expressed as unfinished one.

(4.2.8.4.2-8)

núúní	ha77í	kaatínt-á-kkó	b-éettees.
we	now	king of kings-OBL.-toward	go-IMPF.1PL.

'We are now on the way to the king of kings.'

(4.3.8.4.2-9)

táá-kkó	shiiK-á.
my-toward	approach-OPT.2SG.

'Step toward me! (while taking a photograph)'

The postposition *-kko* 'toward' can also be used metaphorically in expressions that

contain no concrete motion in order to express direction.

(4.2.8.4.2-10)

7a-keett-áa	peng-ée	<u>7arákkk-á-kkó</u>
his-house-OBL.M.SG.	door-NOM.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-toward

simm-íis.
return-PF.3M.SG.

   'The door of his house faces (lit. returned) toward Araka.'

Incidentally, this *-kko* can be replaced with the postposition *-u* 'to, for' discussed in section 4.2.8.4.1.

(4.2.8.4.2-11)

ba-<u>met-úwa-kko</u>	Kop-áa	yuushsh-íis.
his own-problem-OBL.M.SG.-toward	thought-ABS.M.SG.	turn-PF.3M.SG.

   'He thought about his problem (lit. turned the thought toward his own problem).'

   Wolaytta has another non-autonomous word *-kko*, which forms indirect questions (for the details, see section 4.3.2).

(4.2.8.4.2-12)

táání	dalg-á	hanná
I	(person name)-ABS.	this (NOM.F.)

<u>7a-7aayy-íyo-kko</u>-nne	7oicc-áas.
his-mother-ABS.F.SG.-if, whether-and	ask-PF.1SG.

   'I asked Dalga whether this is his mother or not.'

Adams (1983: 153, 155 and 231) assumes that this *-kko* in indirect questions is the postposition *-kko* 'toward' discussed in this section. However, because the independent indeclinable (i.e. the marker of indirect questions) requires its immediately preceding

nominals to be in the absolute, not the oblique like ordinal postpositions, his claim is false. Although absolute and oblique forms are morphologically the same in many cases, they are clearly different in, for example, feminine common nouns. Thus, *7a-7aayy-íyo-kko* (his-mother-ABS.F.SG.-whether) 'whether (she) is his mother' is different from *7a-7aayy-ée-kko* (his-mother-OBL.F.SG.-toward) 'toward his mother'.

4.2.8.4.3   The Postposition *-ppe* 'from'

The original use of the postposition *-ppe* 'from' seems to be to express sources or starting points of concrete motion of any kind. In such motion, what change their places may or may not have the will to move, and may or may not be expressed as subjects.

(4.2.8.4.3-1)

7áu-ppe	y-ái?
where-from	come-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Where did you come (lit. do you come) from?'

(4.2.8.4.3-2)

táání	s-óó-ppé	kíy-aas.
I	home-OBL.-from	come out-PF.1SG.

'I came out of (my) house.'

(4.2.8.4.3-3)

haatt-ái	7ót-uwa-ppe	gukk-íis.
water-NOM.M.SG.	water jar-OBL.M.SG.-from	spill-PF.3M.SG.

'The water spilt from the water jar.'

(4.2.8.4.3-4)

páng-ai	giy-áa-ppe	maay-úwa
outlaw-NOM.M.SG.	market-OBL.M.SG.-from	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

bógg-iis.
plunder-PF.3M.SG.

'The outlaw plundered the clothes from the market.'

(4.2.8.4.3-5)

m-íídaa-g-áá-ppé   bír-aa

eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.-OBL.-from   Birr (Ethiopian currency)-ABS.M.SG.

7ekk-á.

take-OPT.2SG.

   'Take money from the one who ate.'

(4.2.8.4.3-6)

7í   7ogór-uwa   kátt-aa

he   leather pouch-OBL.M.SG.   grain-ABS.M.SG.

sa7-áa-ppe   dent-ídí   tookk-íis.

ground-OBL.M.SG.-from lift-CONV.3M.SG.   carry-PF.3M.SG.

   'He lifted the grain in the leather pouch from the ground, and carried it.'

(4.2.8.4.3-7)

ne-sóMM-uwa-ppe   sháál-aa   KúCC-a.

your-face-OBL.M.SG.-from   soot-ABS.M.SG.   polish-OPT.2SG.

   'Wipe the soot from your face.'

   Various uses are derived from this use. They are discussed below. Note that often these uses are not distinguished clearly from each other. In other words, there are overlaps in the following classification.

   In addition to sources of concrete motion, those of abstract motion can be expressed by the postposition *-ppe* 'from'. Such abstract motion can be temporal one.

(4.2.8.4.3-8)

wod-íya-ppe   wod-íya   sár-o   gákk-a.

time-OBL.M.SG.-from   time-ABS.M.SG.   safety-ABS.   reach-OPT.2SG.

'Reach safely from the time to the time (i.e. spend time safely).'

It can also be motion from one state to another state, that is, change of state.

(4.2.8.4.3-9)

na7-ái	Tísk-uwa-ppe	beegótt-iis.
child-NOM.M.SG.	sleep-OBL.M.SG.-from	wake up-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy woke out of sleep.'

(4.2.8.4.3-10)

kawótett-ai	7á	Kásh-uwa-ppe
government-NOM.M.SG.	him	imprisonment-OBL.M.SG.-from

bírsh-iis.
untie-PF.3M.SG.

'The government released him from his imprisonment.'

(4.2.8.4.3-11)

hagéé	baaCCír-ai		7áí	b-í-ppé-nné
this	(cultural food)-NOM.M.SG.		what	thing-OBL.-from-and

7áí	b-í-ppé-nné	giig-ídee?
what-from-and		be ready-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

'What and what was this Bacira made from?'

In the above examples, referents of objects of the postposition *-ppe* 'from' express preceding states. The following use of the postposition would be explained in this way.

(4.2.8.4.3-12)

7as-á	biitt-í	b-aan-á-u	ba-kúmett-a
person-OBL.	country-ADV.	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	his own-full-OBL.

Kop-áa-ppe	kúúy-iis.
thought-OBL.M.SG.-from	decide-PF.3M.SG.

  'He decided to go to a foreign (lit. person's) country as a result of (lit. from) serious consideration.'

The postposition *-ppe* 'from' can express potential sources in space. In the following, for instance, neither actual visible motion nor abstract motion in time or state is expressed overtly. However, if any concrete motion occurs, perhaps for the purpose of measuring the distance between the two towns or of entering the house, the referents of the objects of the postposition *-ppe* 'from' will be the sources or starting points.

(4.2.8.4.3-13)

bál-éé	soodd-ó-ppé	haakk-ées.
(place name)-NOM.	(place name)-OBL.-from	be distant-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'Bale is far from Sodo.'

(4.2.8.4.3-14)

ta-keett-ái	hagáá-ppé	heezzant-á.
my-house-NOM.M.SG.	this-from	third-ABS.

  'My house is the third one from this.'

We can also consider that in the above the postposition *-ppe* 'from' expresses spatial reference points. This use is easily extended so that the postposition is used to express temporal reference points.

(4.2.8.4.3-15)

maallád-o-ppe	dóómm-ada	táání	ha
morning-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.1SG.	I	this

maTááp-aa	nabbab-áidda	d-áis.
book-ABS.M.SG.	read-SIM.1SG.	exist-IMPF.1SG.

  'I have been reading this book from this morning.'

(4.2.8.4.3-16)

Kúm-aa	m-aan-áa-ppe	kas-é
food-ABS.M.SG..	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	front-ABS.

kúsh-iya	meeC-étt-a.
hand-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

'Wash (your) hands before you eat food.'

The postposition *-ppe* 'from' is used in comparative expressions in order to express objects of comparison. This use is related to that expressing reference points discussed just above.

(4.2.8.4.3-17)

mandád-óí	ba-micc-ée-ppe	heezz-ú
(person name)-NOM.	his own-sister-OBL.F.SG.-from	three-OBL.

láítt-a	bairat-ées.
year-ABS.	be older-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Mandado is three years older than (lit. from) his sister.'

(4.2.8.4.3-18)

7í	zo7-úwa-ppe	bóótt-aa	dos-ées.
he	red-OBL.M.SG.-from	white-ABS.M.SG.	like-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He prefers white one to (lit. from) red one.'

(4.2.8.4.3-19)

sainn-óí	masKáínn-ó-ppé	kaset-ées.
Monday-NOM.	Tuesday-OBL.-from	precede-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Monday precedes Tuesday.'

The same postposition is also used in superlative expressions.

(4.2.8.4.3-20)

ha	makiin-ái	har-á	7ubb-á	makiin-áa-ppe
this	car-NOM.M.SG.	other-OBL.	all-OBL.	car-OBL.M.SG.-from

7ááDD-ees.
pass-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'This car surpasses all the other cars (lit. from other all cars).'

For motion, it may be the case that only some part of something may move apart. In this case, the whole is regarded as a source. Thus it is expressed by the postposition *-ppe* 'from'.

(4.2.8.4.3-21)

ba-shoor-úwa-ra	sííK-o	d-aan-á-u
his own-neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-with	love-ABS.	live-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

ba-miishsh-áa-ppe	7imm-ídí	d-ées.
his own-money-OBL.M.SG.-from	give-CONV.3M.SG.	live-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'In order to live with his neighbor friendly, he lives giving him somewhat from his money.'

(4.2.8.4.3-22)

7ishátam-aa-ppe	7iccásh-aa	dent-íi-ni	7ááppun-ai
fifty-OBL.M.SG.-from	five-ABS.M.SG.	lift-SUBOR-in	how many-NOM.M.SG.

7átt-ii?
stay behind-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'How much is fifty minus five?'

This partitive use is extended to such an extent that referents of objects of the postposition *-ppe* 'from' express the whole to a part even if there is no concrete motion.

(4.2.8.4.3-23)

<u>ne-haasáy-aa-ppe</u>   bágg-ai   túm-a.
your-talk-OBL.M.SG.-from   half-NOM.M.SG.   true-ABS.

    'Half of your talk is true.'

(4.2.8.4.3-24)

<u>ta-naatú-ppé</u>   7iss-óí   harg-íis.
my-children (OBL.)-from   one-NOM.M.SG.   become sick-PF.3M.SG.

    'One of my children became sick.'

(4.2.8.4.3-25)

tá-yyo   <u>saamínt-aa-ppe</u>   7issítoo
my-for   week-OBL.M.SG.-from   once

Cark-íyo   b-á   koshsh-ées.
take the air-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.   thing-ABS.   be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'It is needed for me to take the air once a week.'

The following, in which the whole in question is not expressed by one word, is close to comparative expressions.

(4.2.8.4.3-26)

<u>7ash-úwa-ppe</u>-nne   <u>PuuPúll-iya-ppe</u>-nne
meat-OBL.M.SG.-from-and   egg-OBL.M.SG.-from-and

7au-g-áá   kóyy-ai?
which-NMNL.-ABS.   want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Meat and eggs, which of them do you want?'

In the following, the postpositional phrase is close to adverbs of time.

(4.2.8.4.3-27)

Kámm-aa-ppe	kútt-oi	waass-íyo
night-OBL.M.SG.-from	chicken-NOM.M.SG.	cry-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

wod-é	dend-aná.
time-ABS.	rise-FUT.

    'I will leave when cocks crow in the night (i.e. dawn).'

   Sources in motion usually grow more distant from what move as they move. Thus sources are similar to things to avoid or escape from, since the latter also grow more distant from those who avoid or escape from them as escapes go on. This would be the reason why things to avoid or escape from are expressed by the postposition -*ppe* 'from'. In this case, there is no need for "escapers" and referents of objects of the postposition to be in contact at the beginning of motion. In (4.2.8.4.3-28), for example, the girl in question might not even have seen the money. In (4.2.8.4.3-29), the speaker had not reached "the state of death" before the moment of utterance. In one sense, the postposition -*ppe* 'from' can be a mirror image of the postposition -*kko* 'toward' (see especially (4.2.8.4.2-1)).

(4.2.8.4.3-28)

7í	ba-na7-ée-ppe	miishsh-áa	Kos-íis.
he	his own-child-OBL.F.SG.-from	money-ABS.M.SG.	hide-PF.3M.SG.

    'He hid the money from his daughter.'

(4.2.8.4.3-29)

tááni	háiK-uwa-ppe	7átt-aas.
I	death-OBL.M.SG.-from	remain-PF.1SG.

    'I was saved from death.'

(4.2.8.4.3-30)

ha	burCúkk-uwa	táá-ppé	digg-á.
this	glass-ABS.M.SG.	my-from	forbid-OPT.2SG.

'Forbid me this glass.'   (From Mark 14:36)

In these examples (i.e. (4.2.8.4.3-28) to (4.2.8.4.3-30)), the underlined postpositional phrases express things to be excluded in the broad sense. In this respect they are similar to the following, in which the postposition *-ppe* 'from' expresses exceptions.

(4.2.8.4.3-31)

d-íída	kéén-aa-ppe	har-áá
exist-REL.PF.SUBJ.	equal-OBL.M.SG.-from	other-ABS.M.SG.

danday-íkke.
be able to-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

  'I cannot (pay) more than what I have (lit. other than what exists.)'

(4.2.8.4.3-32)

7aaw-ái	miishsh-áa-ppe	7átt-ii-ni
father-NOM.M.SG.	money-OBL.M.SG.-from	stay behind-when

har-á	b-á	kóyy-énná.
other-OBL.	thing-ABS.	want-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

  'Father does not want anything but money.'

In the following, objects of the postposition *-ppe* 'from' express duration of time. The literal meanings of the postpositional phrases might have been "more than three years ago" and "after more than three days", which remind us of the same postposition used in comparative expressions.

(4.2.8.4.3-33)

táání	heezz-ú	láítt-a-ppe	kas-é
I	three-OBL.	year-OBL.-from	front-ABS.

7oosánc-a.
worker-ABS.

'I was a worker three years ago.'

(4.2.8.4.3-34)

táání	Kássí	heezz-ú	galláss-a-ppe
I	furthermore	three-OBL.	day-OBL.-from

guyy-íya-ni	háíK-uwa-ppe	dend-aná.
behind-OBL.M.SG.-in	death-OBL.M.SG.-from	rise-FUT.

'And I will revive from death three days later.'   (From Mark 10:34)

There are not a few examples in which the postposition *-ppe* 'from' is used without its original ablative meaning. In these the postposition is used to form adverbial expressions.

(4.2.8.4.3-35)

táá-nné	néé-nné	7iss-í-ppé	7oott-íiddi
I-and	you-and	one-OBL.-from	word-SIM.1PL.

d-óos.
exist-IMPF.1PL.

'I and you are working together (lit. from one).'

(4.2.8.4.3-36)

7eránc-ati	túm-aa-ppe	heedé	kas-é
intelligent-NOM.PL.	true-OBL.M.SG.-from	then	before-ABS.

tooc-étt-idi	gaMM-ídosona.
despise-PASS.-CONV.3PL.	stay-PF.3PL.

'At that time, formerly, people with (such) knowledge were really (lit. from true) being despised.'

(4.2.8.4.3-37)

<u>wod-é-ppé</u>   máátt-a   míízz-aa
time-OBL.-from   milk-OBL.   cattle-ABS.M.SG.

Córay-ada   shamm-aná.
make many-CONV.1SG. buy-FUT.

 'I will buy more (lit. having made many) milk cows in the future (lit. from time).'

(4.2.8.4.3-38)

tánáá-rá   <u>guyy-é-ppé</u>   simm-ádá   gáítt-a.
me-with   back-OBL.-from   return-CONV.2SG. meet-OPT.2SG.

 'Later (lit. having return from back) meet me.'

In the following, the postposition *-ppe* 'from' is optional.

(4.2.8.4.3-39a)

<u>dár-o-ppe</u>   ló77-o.
many-OBL.[348]-from good-ABS.

 'It is very (lit. from many) good.'

(4.2.8.4.3-39b)

dár-o   ló77-o.
many-ABS. good-ABS.

 'It is very good.'

In the following, the postposition *-ppe* 'from' is optional, and furthermore can be replaced with the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.4.5).

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[348] Judging from its corresponding form in (4.2.8.4.3-39b), this nominal might be in the absolute case, not the oblique case.

(4.2.8.4.3-40a)

<u>keehí-ppé</u>   ló77-o.

very-from   good-ABS.

   'It is very (lit. from very) good.'

(4.2.8.4.3-40b)

<u>keehí</u>   ló77-o.

very   good-ABS.

   'It is very good.'

(4.2.8.4.3-40c)

<u>keehíí-ní</u>   ló77-o.

very-in   good-ABS.

   'It is very (lit. in very) good.'

In the following, the postpositions *-ppe* 'from', *-ni* 'in, at, by', and *-ra* 'with' seem to have the same meaning.

(4.2.8.4.3-41a)

<u>guyy-é-ppé</u>   y-íyo   d-é

behind-OBL.-from   come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.   time-ABS.

   'later (lit. from behind) when he came'

(4.2.8.4.3-41b)

hegáá-ppé   <u>guyy-íya-ni</u>   y-íyo

that-from   behind-OBL.M.SG.-in, at   come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

d-é

time-ABS.

   'after that (lit. in the behind from that), when he came'

(4.2.8.4.3-41c)

táá-ppé	guyy-éé-rá	dár-o
me-from	behind-OBL.-with	many-ABS.

mínn-iya-g-éé	y-ées.
be strong-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	come-IMPF.3M.SG.

    After me (lit. with behind from me) there comes a very strong man.'
    (From Mark 1:7)

    The reason that the ablative postposition *-ppe* 'from' can form such adverbial expressions as above is not clear. Indeed a source in motion of something may overlap a place where the "mover" exists, which can be expressed by the postposition *-n(i)* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.4.5), or the adjacent space of the source, which can be expressed by the postposition *-ra* 'with' (see section 4.2.8.4.4). In other words, the three postpositions are interchangeable in some case.

(4.2.8.4.3-42a)

7a-doon-áa-ra-kka	hóómm-oi	goppátt-ees.
his-mouth-OBL.M.SG.-with-too	foam-NOM.M.SG.	to bubble-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The form is bubbling through (lit. with) his mouth.'   (From Mark 9:18)

(4.2.8.4.3-42b)

7a-doon-áa-ppe-kka	hóómm-oi	goppátt-ees.
his-mouth-OBL.M.SG.-from-too	foam-NOM.M.SG.	to bubble-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The form is bubbling from his mouth.'

(4.2.8.4.3-42c)

7a-doon-áa-ni-kka	hóómm-oi	goppátt-ees.
his-mouth-OBL.M.SG.-in-too	foam-NOM.M.SG.	to bubble-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The form is bubbling in his mouth.'

In addition, because *-ni* 'in, at, by' and *-ra* 'with' are frequently used in adverbial

expressions, the postposition *-ppe* 'from' might have acquired the adverbial use analogically.

According to 池上 (Ikegami 1981: 126), as far as judging from linguistic expressions human beings are psychologically much more inclined toward goals than toward sources, and the latter are usually treated as more marked[349]. Thus, according to him (ibid.: 127) it is often the case, for example, that goals, not sources, and locations are expressed in the same form[350]. If he is right, the Wolaytta postposition *-ppe* 'from' may be typologically in a minority, as well as the Amharic preposition ከ *ka* 'from', which is a rare example in which a means to express sources can be used to express goals with verbs of motion.

4.2.8.4.4   The Postposition *-ra* 'with'

The original use of the postposition *-ra* 'with' seems to be to express whatever is in the very vicinity of something. In other words this postposition is typically used when things exist side by side. There is no inclusion relation between the two items in question. Thus, the items can be semantically fairly equal. This feature differentiates this postposition from the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' discussed in section 4.2.8.4.5. However, referents of objects of the postposition *-ra* 'with' are usually verbalized as subsidiary or secondary arguments (for example, they are not counted as subjects, as in (4.2.8.4.4-1)).

As is easily expected from its original meaning described above, the postposition *-ra* 'with' can express accompaniments to referents of subject nominals.

(4.2.8.4.4-1)

na7-íya	7íntéé-r-á	tánáá-rá
child-NOM.F.SG.	you (PL.)-NMNL.-NOM.	my-with

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[349] His original text in Japanese is as follows: '言語に現れている限りでは、人間の心理は圧倒的に＜起点＞より＜到達点＞の方に傾斜しているように思われる。これはまず共時的なレベルでは、＜到達点＞がどちらかと言えば＜無標識的＞なものとして扱われるのに対し、＜起点＞は＜有標識的＞な項としてふつう扱われるということに認められる'.

[350] His original text in Japanese is as follows: '＜到達点＞の表示と＜存在点＞の表示が表層的に中和される（つまり、同じ形で表される）のはよくあることである'.

d-áusu.
exist-IMPF.3F.SG.

'Your daughter (lit. daughter, yours) is with us.'

(4.2.8.4.4-2)

táání	hácci	maallád-o	nénáá-rá	sháyy-iya
I	today	morning-ABS.	your-with	tea-ABS.M.SG.

7úy-ada	y-áas.
drink-CONV.1SG.	come-PF.1SG.

'This morning I drank tea with you, and came.'

(4.2.8.4.4-3)

gaashsh-éé-rá	m-íi-ni	sháashsh-ai
Mr.-OBL.-with	eat-SUBOR.-in	roasted grain-NOM.M.SG.

maLL-ées.	7áá-rá	m-íi-ni
be tasty-IMPF.3M.SG.	his-with	eat-SUBOR.-in

wozan-ái	zárb-ees.
heart-NOM.M.SG.	be calm-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When (I) eat with Mr., (even) roasted grain is tasty. When (I) eat with him, (my) heart is calm.'

(4.2.8.4.4-4)

7óónáá-rá	b-áádii?
who (OBL.)-with	go-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Who did you go with?'

(4.2.8.4.4-5)

Ciishsh-ái	Cór-a	múK-oo-ra
flower-NOM.M.SG.	many-OBL.	butterfly-OBL.-with

lo77-ées.
be good-IMPF.3M.SG.

'A flower is good with many butterflies.'

(4.2.8.4.4-6)[351]

hagáá	7oott-ído-i	goob-éé-ra.
this	do-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.-with

'It is with Gobe that I did this.'

The following are similar examples in that referents of the postposition *-ra* 'with' express accompaniments to referents of subject nominals in the broad sense. However, note that the accompaniments are obligatorily needed to realize the situations described by the verbs. Unlike obligatory "patients" of so-called transitive actions, such obligatory accompaniments are semantically fairly equal to referents of subject nominals[352], and therefore easily fit into the semantic schema of the postposition *-ra* 'with'.

(4.2.8.4.4-7)

nénáá-rá	gáítt-ido	gishsh-á-u
your-with	meet-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

7upáítt-aas.
be happy-PF.1SG.

'I am glad to see you.'

(4.2.8.4.4-8)

parisaaw-etí	Aihúdá	wóós-a	keett-áa-ppe
Pharisee-NOM.PL.	Judaic	prayer-OBL.	house-OBL.M.SG.-from

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[351] This is a kind of cleft sentence. The object of the postposition refers to an accompaniment of the referent of a potential subject of the relativized verb *7oott-* 'to do'.

[352] However, the two may not be regarded as perfectly equal. If they are, both will be expressed as subjects, the predicate verbs being plural and/or reciprocal.

kar-é	kíy-idi	Yesúús-á	wáát-i
outside-ABS.	go out-CONV.3PL.	Jesus-ABS.	do what-CONV.3PL.

wor-an-áa-kko	maK-étt-an-a-u	Heroodís-á
kill-INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-whether	plot-PASS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	Herod-OBL.

bágg-atuu-ra	sóh-uwa-ra	shiiK-ídosona.
half-OBL.PL.-with	place-OBL.M.SG.-with	gather-PF.3PL.

'The Pharisees went out of the Synagogue (lit. Judaic prayer house), and gathered on the spot with the Herodians (lit. halves of Herod) in order to plot how they might kill Jesus.'   (From Mark 3:6)

(4.2.8.4.4-9)

ba-Túúr-aa	ba-lágg-iya-ra
his own-secret-ABS.M.SG.	his own -friend-OBL.M.SG.-with

haasay-íis.
tell-PF.3M.SG.

'He told his secret to a friend of his.'

The other parties in reciprocal actions can also be regarded as obligatory nearly-equal accompaniments to referents of subject nominals. Thus they are expressed as objects of the postposition -*ra* 'with'.

(4.2.8.4.4-10)

na7-íya	na7-áa-ra	gílil-ett-aasu.
child-NOM.F.SG.	child-OBL.M.SG.-with	tickle-PASS. -PF.3F.SG.

'The girl and the boy tickled each other.'

(4.2.8.4.4-11)

mishir-íya	ba-shoor-ée-ra	húúP-iya
woman-NOM.F.SG.	her own-neighbor-OBL.F.SG.-with	head-ABS.M.SG.

bírsh-et-ett-aasu.
untie-PASS.-PASS.-PF.3F.SG.

'The woman and her neighbor untied each other's hair.'

(4.2.8.4.4-12)

mácc-iya	keetta7aaw-áa-ra
wife-NOM.F.SG.	householder-OBL.M.SG.-with

7óóy-ett-aa-r-ó	der-ée
quarrel-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	people-NOM.M.SG.

der-íya-ra	7óóy-ett-aa-g-áá
people-OBL.M.SG.-with	quarrel-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

sigett-íyo-g-áá-ní
reconcil-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

'in reconciling a wife who quarreled with her husband, people who quarreled with other people (i.e. in mediating between husband and wife, between people)'

7iss-óí 7iss-úwá-rá 'each other' in some reciprocal expressions is a fixed idiom. However, we can still see its original meaning 'one with one' in it.

(4.2.8.4.4-13)

garaw-atí	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-rá
cat-NOM.PL.	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-with

puuz-étt-idi	háíK-ett-idosona.
scratch-PASS.-CONV.3PL.	die-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'The cats scratched each other (lit. one with one) and died.'

Although those that realize situations described by reciprocal verbs are typically side by side (as is seen in the above examples), they may be far from each other. In such cases too, part of them can be expressed by the postposition *-ra* 'with', as in the

following. This is an extension of its use in typical reciprocal expressions.

(4.2.8.4.4-14)

7agín-aa-ppe	7iss-í	gall-á	nu-s-óó
month-OBL.M.SG.-from	one-OBL.	day-ABS.	our-home-OBL.

7as-áa-ra	sílk-iya-ni	gáitt-ais.
people-OBL.M.SG.-with	telephone-OBL.M.SG.-by	meet-IMPF.1SG.

   'One day a month, I meet our family with telephone.'

(4.2.8.4.4-15)

7addisááb-áá-ní	d-íya-g-éé
Addis Ababa-OBL.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

soodd-óó-ní	d-íya-g-áá-rá
(place name)-OBL.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-with

Kop-áa	laam-ét-étt-iis.
thought-ABS.M.SG.	change-PASS.-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'The one who is in Addis Ababa changed the thought with the one who is in Sodo.'[353]

   The postposition *-ra* 'with' can also express accompaniments to referents of object nominals in the broad sense. In this case, accompaniments (referents of objects of the postposition) and referents of object nominals are close to each other, and the former are regarded as subsidiary, as the term "accompaniment" suggests.

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[353] It is difficult to explain the use of the postposition *-ra* 'with' in the following. However, it seems to me that it expresses some kind of reciprocity between "him" and "me".

7áá-rá	tá-yyo	dabbót-i	báawa.
his-with	my-for	kinship-NOM.	not present

   'I have no kinship with him.'

(4.2.8.4.4-16)

7iss-í	par-áa	dár-o	har-íya-ra
one-OBL.	horse-ABS.M.SG.	many-OBL.	donkey-OBL.M.SG.-with

shamm-áas.
buy-PF.1SG.

   'I bought a horse with many donkeys.'

(4.2.8.4.4-17)

kútt-uwa	dár-o	gawar-áa-ra
cock-ABS.M.SG.	many-OBL.	cat-OBL.M.SG.-with

be7-áas.
see-PF.1SG.

   'I saw a cock and (lit. with) many cats.'

(4.2.8.4.4-18)

píl-aa	sant-áa-ra	kátt-aasu.
cheese-ABS.M.SG.	cabbage-OBL.M.SG.-with	cook-PF.3F.SG.

   'She cooked cheese with cabbage.'

(4.2.8.4.4-19)

sant-áa	7ash-úwa-ra-nne	píl-aa-ra
cabbage-ABS.M.SG.	meat-OBL.M.SG.-and	cheese-OBL.M.SG.-with

ba-keetta7aayy-íyo	kat-iss-ídí
his own-wife-ABS.F.SG.	cook-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.

maLL-et-iss-íis.
be tasty-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'He made his wife cook cabbage with meat and cheese, and made it tasty.'

Accompaniments expressed by the postposition *-ra* 'with' can be necessary to realize the situations in question.

(4.2.8.4.4-20)

bitán-ee	dább-uwa	dább-uwa-ra
man-NOM.M.SG.	relative-ABS.M.SG.	relative-OBL.M.SG.-with

gatt-íis.
connect-PF.3M.SG.

   'The man introduced (his) relative to (another) relative (of his) (lit. connected a relative with a relative).

(4.2.8.4.4-21)

wóísh-óó-rá	waaT-á.
(ox's name)-OBL.-with	yoke-OPT.2SG.

   'Yoke (the ox) and Woisho together.'

(4.2.8.4.4-22)[354]

wont-ó	7íí-rá	néná	7er-iss-aná.
tomorrow-ABS.	her-with	you	know-CAUS.-FUT.

  'I will introduce you to her (lit. make you know with her) tomorrow.'

In the following, accompaniments to referents of object nominals are close to "places", perhaps since they are immovable.

(4.2.8.4.4-23)

7a-na7-atí	sáT-ett-enn-aa-daani	kan-áa
his-child-NOM.PL.	bite-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	dog-ABS.M.SG.

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[354] It would be interesting to compare (4.2.8.4.4-19) and this sentence. Both of them contain causative constructions. However, while in the latter the postposition *-ra* 'with' expresses an accompaniment of a causee of a causative verb (*7er-iss-* 'to make know, to introduce'), in the former it expresses accompaniments of the referent of an object of a base verb (*katt-* 'to cook').

zááp-iya-ra	Kácc-iis.
tree-OBL.M.SG.-with	tie-PF.3M.SG.

    'He tied the dog to the tree so that his children would not be bitten.'

(4.2.8.4.4-24)

táání	wodor-úwa	sa7-áa-ra
I	rope-ABS.M.SG.	ground-OBL.M.SG.-with

goocc-ábe7íkke.
drag-NEG.PF.1SG.

    'I did not drag the rope on the ground.'

In the following examples, the postposition *-ra* 'with' is attached to words that express places in the broad sense. This is because in the following examples the places are what are in the vicinity of referents of object nominals, and are more subsidiary items.

(4.2.8.4.4-25)

maay-úwa	7oid-íya	lánK-iya-ra
clothes-ABS.M.SG.	chair-OBL.M.SG.	side-OBL.M.SG.-with

wott-áas.
put-PF.1SG.

    'I put the clothes at the side of the chair.'

(4.2.8.4.4-26)

maCCa7as-íya	mald-úwa	7iss-í
female slave-NOM.F.SG.	sorghum-ABS.M.SG.	one-OBL.

bágg-aa-ra	bang-áa	7iss-í
half, side-OBL.M.SG.-with	barley-ABS.M.SG.	one-OBL.

bágg-aa-ra	shaakk-á
half, side-OBL.M.SG.-with	separate-CONV.3F.SG.

shaakk-ádá	dóór-aasu.
separate-CONV.3F.SG.	pile-PF.3F.SG.

'The female slave separated and piled sorghum on one side (lit. half) and barley on the other side.'

(4.2.8.4.4-27)

shá7-u	par-áa	sint-áá-rá
thousand-OBL.	horse-ABS.M.SG.	front-OBL.-with

shá7-u	par-áa	guyy-éé-rá
thousand-OBL.	horse-ABS.M.SG.	behind-OBL.-with

hegáá	7óíKK-idi	b-íídí	. . .
that (ABS.)	seize-CONV.3M.SG.	go-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Thousand horses in front, thousand horses behind, he seized them (lit. that) and went, and . . .'

In the following, we can consider that accompaniments to referents of subject nominals are regarded as "places".

(4.2.8.4.4-28)

yá	bágg-aa-ra	kútt-oi
there	half, side-OBL.M.SG.-with	cock-NOM.M.SG.

waass-ées.
scream-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Over there a cock is crowing.'

(4.2.8.4.4-29)

hínii-ra	7ír-ai	bukk-ées.
there-with	rain-NOM.M.SG.	hit-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Over there it is raining.'

However, each of the places might be better analyzed as an accompaniment to the whole situation, rather than to the referent of a subject nominal. This analysis provides a good explanation, especially for sentences in which the referent of a subject nominal and that of an object of the postposition *-ra* 'with' are in a whole-part relationship as in (4.2.8.4.4-30). It also explains sentences in which both referents of a subject nominal and of an object nominal are close to a place expressed by a postpositional phrase with *-ra* 'with' in the same degree as in (4.2.8.4.4-31).

(4.2.8.4.4-30)

ta-Caamm-ái	kír-iya-ra	bírsh-ett-iis.
my-shoe-NOM.M.SG.	string-OBL.M.SG.-with	untie-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'My shoe was untied at its string.'

(4.2.8.4.4-31)

dors-atí	híníí-rá	maat-áa	m-óosona.
sheep-NOM.PL.	there-with	grass-ABS.M.SG.	eat-IMPF.3PL.

'Over there sheep are eating grass.'

As can be seen from some of the above examples, objects of the postposition *-ra* 'with' may refer to rather vague or indeterminate places. In some of such cases we can assume that the postposition is used to express direction.

(4.2.8.4.4-32)

sorpéll-í	7áw-a	bágg-aa-ra
(place name)-NOM.	where-OBL.	half, side-OBL.M.SG.-with

de7-íi?
exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Which direction is Sorpela in?'

(4.2.8.4.4-33)

7eta-keett-ái	haddírs-a	bágg-aa-ra
their-house-NOM.M.SG.	left-OBL.	half, side-OBL.M.SG.-with

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Their house is on the left hand side.'

(4.2.8.4.4-34)

sháw-áá-rá	y-íída	kawótett-aa-ni
(place name)-OBL.-with	come-REL.PF.SUBJ.	kingdom-OBL.M.SG.-by

'by the kingdom that came from the direction of Shewa.'

Places may also overlap sources or starting points, which are usually expressed by the postposition *-ppe* 'from' (compare the following to (4.2.8.4.3-42b)).

(4.2.8.4.4-35)

7a-doon-áa-ra-kka	hóómm-oi
his-mouth-OBL.M.SG.-with-too	foam-NOM.M.SG.

goppátt-ees.
be foamed-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The foam is bubbling through his mouth.'   (From Mark 9:18)

Places may also overlap routes or paths along which, someone or something moves.

(4.2.8.4.4-36)

7í	7og-íya-ra	b-íis.
he	road-OBL.M.SG.-with	go-PF.3M.SG.

'He went along the road.'

One peculiar use of the postposition *-ra* 'with' is to express places by way of which someone or something moves. Indeed such places are in the very vicinity of what moves, although only at some part of the whole movement.[355] This seems to be a cognitive background that enables this expression.

(4.2.8.4.4-37)

7arákk-á-ppé	dend-ádá	<u>soodd-óó-rá</u>
(place name)-OBL.-from	rise-CONV.1SG.	(place name)-OBL.-with

kant-ádá	boddítt-é	gákk-aas.
pass-CONV.1SG.	(place name)-ABS.	reach-PF.1SG.

'I left from Araka, passed thorough Sodo, and reached Boditi.'

(4.2.8.4.4-38)

zagar-é	<u>jagg-éé-rá</u>	7ááDD-aas.
(place name)-OBL.	(place name)-OBL.-with	pass-PF.1SG.

'I passed through Zagare Jage.'

(4.2.8.4.4-39)

wogg-á	gógg-iya	haatt-áa
big-OBL.	flow-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	water-ABS.M.SG.

<u>zarP-íya-ra</u>	pínn-iis.
bridge-OBL.M.SG.-with	cross-PF.3M.SG.

'He crossed the big river (lit. flowing water) over the bridge.'

The local use of the postposition *-ra* 'with' can be extended to its temporal use. In the following, for instance, the underlined postpositional phrase, which literally has the local meaning, 'with the place', has acquired a temporal meaning, 'as soon as'. Its way

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[355] In each of the following, however, the postposition *-ra* 'with' might be used to express a place where the whole situation described by a clause takes place as in (4.2.8.4.4-28) and (4.2.8.4.4-29).

of cognition seems to be close to that of the English idiom "on the spot".

(4.2.8.4.4-40)

7etí	Káál-aa	síy-idi	<u>sóh-uwa-ra</u>
they	word-ABS.M.SG.	hear-CONV.3PL.	place-OBL.M.SG.-with

7upáíss-aa-ni	7ekk-óosona.
joy-OBL.M.SG.-in	take-IMPF.3PL.

   'They hear the word and at once receive (it) with joy.'   (From Mark 4:16)

The following are other examples of the temporal *-ra*.

(4.2.8.4.4-41)

yesúús-í	Aihúdá	wóós-a	keett-áa-ppe
Jesus-NOM.	Judaic	prayer-OBL.	house-OBL.M.SG.-from

kíy-o	<u>s-áa-ra</u>
come out-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.M.SG.-with

yaaKóób-áá-rá-nné	yohaanní s-áá-rá-nné
(person name)-OBL.-with-and	(person name)-OBL.-with-and

simóón-á	sóo-nne	7indiráás-á
(person name)-OBL.	home-and	(person name)-OBL.

sóo-nne	b-í	7agg-íis.
home-and	go-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-PF.3M.SG.

   'As soon as Jesus came out of the synagogue (lit. Judaic prayer house), he immediately went to (lit. went and ceased) the home of Simon and the home of Andrew with Jacob and John.'   (From Mark 1:29)

(4.2.8.4.4-42)

7aw-ái	7awáTT-an-a-u	<u>gúur-aa-ra</u>
sun-NOM.M.SG.	shine-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	early morning-OBL.M.SG.-with

dóómm-iis.
begin-PF.3M.SG.

'The sun began to shine in the early morning.'

In the following, the postposition is used to express time at which a certain time is counted.

(4.2.8.4.4-43)

7í	Táállot-iya	gúp-aa	dóómm-oo
he	hurdle-OBL.M.SG.	jump-ABS.M.SG.	begin-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

s-a-ppe	zín-óó-rá	heezz-ú	galláss-a.
place-OBL.-from	yesterday-OBL.-with	three-OBL.	day-ABS.

'Yesterday is the third day from when he started the high jump (lit. from the place he started a hurdle jump, with yesterday it is three days).'

Words expressing abstract notions can be objects of the postposition *-ra* 'with'. In this case, the postposition is used to express abstract accompaniments and thus to form adverbial expressions. Cf. the English preposition "with", which can express manners with abstract nouns, e.g. "with ease", "with enthusiasm", etc.

(4.2.8.4.4-44)

makiin-áa	dirb-áa-ra	laagg-ídí
car-ABS.M.SG.	haste-OBL.M.SG.-with	drive-CONV.3PL.

laagg-ídí	. . .
drive-CONV.3PL.	. . .

'They drove and drove the car hastily and . . .'

(4.2.8.4.4-45)

tukk-ée	tam-áa-ni	7ees-úwa-ra
coffee-NOM.M.SG.	fire-OBL.M.SG.-in	speed-OBL.M.SG.-with

pent-íis.
boil-PF.3M.SG.

    'The coffee boiled speedy with fire.'

(4.2.8.4.4-46)

mashsh-ái	sáát-aa-ra	d-ées.
sword-NOM.M.SG.	cutting-OBL.M.SG.-with	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The sword is freshly-sharpen.'

(4.2.8.4.4-47)

táání	Túm-aa-ra	hemétt-aidda
I	darkness-OBL.M.SG.-with	walk-SIM.1SG.

túúss-aa-ni	dóMM-ett-aas.
pillar-OBL.M.SG.-by	collide-PASS.-PF.1SG.

    'While walking in the dark (lit. with the darkness), I collide with the pillar.'

(4.2.8.4.4-48)

núúní	sííK-uwa-ra	d-íída.
we	love-OBL.M.SG.-with	exist-PF.1PL.

    'We lived with love.'

At least sometimes the postposition *-ra* 'with' seems to be reanalyzed as just an ending for adverbial expressions, perhaps by induction from its uses found in, for example, (4.2.8.4.4-44) to (4.2.8.4.4-48). In the following, the postposition *-ra* 'with' is attached to a word that is adverbial in itself, and the use of the postposition is optional.

(4.2.8.4.4-49)

múl-ee-ra	7imm-írg-iis.
full-OBL.-with	give-completely-PF.3M.SG.

    'He gave all.'

Instruments can be regarded as accompaniments to their users. Thus, they can be expressed by the postposition *-ra* 'with'.

(4.2.8.4.4-50)

goshsh-áa	7óós-oi	bóór-aa-ra
field-OBL.M.SG.	work-NOM.M.SG.	ox-OBL.M.SG.-with

kúúy-ett-ees.
finish-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The work on the farm land is finished with oxen.'

(4.2.8.4.4-51)

wói	7áí	b-íí-rá	leemis-anée?
or	what	thing-OBL.-with	compare-INTER.FUT.

'Or what shall we compare it with (i.e. what parable shall we use to describe it)?'
(From Mark 4:30)

I have not, however, encountered many instances of this use of the postposition *-ra* 'with' so far, and Adams (1983) does not mention it. Instruments are usually expressed by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in this language, probably since they are recognized as agents of some kind (see the discussion in section 4.2.8.4.5).[356]

The postposition *-ra* 'with' used adverbially can be replaced with the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' if inclusion relation is found between two adjacent items. In (4.2.8.4.4-52), for example, the whole situation can be regarded as being accompanied by the haste (and thus expressed by *-ra* 'with') or as being surrounded by the haste (and thus expressed by *-ni* 'in, at, by').

(4.2.8.4.4-52a)

makiin-áa	dirb-áa-ra	laagg-ídí
car-ABS.M.SG.	haste-OBL.M.SG.-with	drive-CONV.3PL.

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[356] Instrumental use of the postposition *-ra* 'with' is mentioned by Moreno (1938: 30) and by Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 208-209). However, my consultants said that the use of *-ni* 'by, in, at' is better or that the example itself is not good.

laagg-ídí   . . .
drive-CONV.3PL.   . . .

'They drove and drove the car hastily and . . .'

(4.2.8.4.4-52b)
makiin-áa   <u>dirb-áa-ni</u>   laagg-ídí
car-ABS.M.SG.   haste-OBL.M.SG.-in   drive-CONV.3PL.

laagg-ídí   . . .
drive-CONV.3PL.   . . .

'They drove and drove the car hastily and . . .'

(4.2.8.4.4-53)
núúní   <u>sííK-uwa-ni</u>   d-íída.
we   love-OBL.M.SG.-in   exist-PF.1PL.

'We lived with love.'   Cf. (4.2.8.4.4-48)

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the postposition *-ra* 'with' is typically used when things exist side by side. Such items are easily regarded as forming a set. Thus, the postposition is used to list items that form a set. In this case, the items seem to be regarded as equal. This is inferred from the fact that the postposition is added to each of them. More interestingly, objects of the postposition are always in the oblique case (since they are immediately before the postposition) irrespective of their grammatical status.[357]

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[357] There is some unknown restriction that prevents occurrence of this structure. For example, the following is not possible.

*ment-áa-ra   dangárs-aa-ra   be7-áas.
 leopard-OBL.M.SG.-with   elephant-OBL.M.SG.-with   see-PF.1SG.

(The intended meaning) 'I saw a leopard and an elephant.'

(4.2.8.4.4-54)

taa-r-íí-rá	nee-r-íí-rá	héémm-a.
my-NMNL.-OBL.-with	your-NMNL.-OBL.-with	tend-OPT.2SG.

'Tend mine (F.SG.) and yours (F.SG.).'

(4.2.8.4.4-55)

he	wogg-áá-rá		hácci	wogg-áá-rá
that	Sunday-OBL.M.SG.-with		today	Sunday-OBL.M.SG.-with

naa77-áa-ni	shemp-ída.
two-OBL.M.SG.-in	rest-PF.1PL.

'We rested on the two (days), that Sunday and this Sunday.'

(4.2.8.4.4-56)

dangárs-aa-ra	ment-áa-ra
elephant-OBL.M.SG.-with	buffalo-OBL.M.SG.-with

wolKáám-a	dó7-a.
strong-OBL.	wild animal-ABS.

'The elephant and the buffalo, they are strong wild animals.'

(4.2.8.4.4-57)

táání	héémm-iyo-i	taa-g-áá-ree-nne
I	tend-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	my-NMNL.-OBL.-with (INTER.)-and

nee-g-áá-ree-nne?
your-NMNL.-OBL.-with (INTER.)-and

'Is it mine and yours that I tend?'

4.2.8.4.5 The Postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'

The postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' is typically used to express a place where something

or some situation exists. In most cases there is an inclusion relation between them: i.e. a place expressed by the postposition is relatively larger than what exists in it.

(4.2.8.4.5-1)

ha	kan-atí	hagáá-ní	7áí	7oott-íyonaa?
this	dog-NOM.PL.	this-in	what	do-INTER.IMPF.3PL.

    'What are these dogs doing here?'

(4.2.8.4.5-2)

daamóót-í	woláítt-áá-ní	dár-o
(mountain's name)-NOM.	Wolaytta-OBL.-in	many-OBL.

7aduss-á	der-é.
long-OBL.	mountain-ABS.

    '(Mt.) Damote is a very high mountain in Wolaytta.'

(4.2.8.4.5-3)

hagáá-ní	7aap-úwa-ni	7azzáK-á
here-in	cliff-OBL.M.SG.-in	(female monster)-NOM.

d-áusu.
exist-IMPF.3F.SG.

    'Azaqe lives here in the cliff.'

(4.2.8.4.5-4)

he	keett-áa-ni	de7-íya-g-éé
that	house-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

baKúl-o.
mule-ABS.

    'What is in that house is a mule.'

(4.2.8.4.5-5)

na7-ái	ba-7aaw-áa	miyy-íya-ni
child-NOM.M.SG.	his own-father-OBL.M.SG.	side-OBL.M.SG.-in

7eKK-íis.
stand-PF.3M.SG.

    'The boy stood at the side of his father.'

(4.2.8.4.5-6)

haraPP-íya	mítt-aa	boll-áa-ni
dove-NOM.F.SG.	wood-OBL.M.SG.	surface-OBL.M.SG.-in

7útt-aasu.
sit-PF.3F.SG.

    'The dove sat on (lit in the surface of) the wood.'

(4.2.8.4.5-7)

kátt-aa-ni	7óíss-aa	ba-7oosánc-iyo
meal-OBL.M.SG.-in	butter-ABS.M.SG.	his own-worker-ABS.F.SG.

yeg-iss-ídí	maLL-et-iss-íis.
add-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	be tasty-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

    'He made his worker add butter in the meal, and made it tasty.'

In each of the following, however, it would be difficult to assume that a place expressed by the postposition is relatively larger than what exists in it.

(4.2.8.4.5-8)

7iss-í	7oid-íya-ni	naa77-ú	7as-ái
one-OBL.	chair-OBL.M.SG.-in	two-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.

7útt-iyo-g-éé	7úNN-o.
sit-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	narrow-ABS.

'It makes feel cramped for two persons to sit on one chair.'

(4.2.8.4.5-9)

7inte-tóh-uwa-ni	Caamm-áa	wott-ité	shííní
your-foot-OBL.M.SG.-in	shoe-ABS.M.SG.	put-OPT.2PL.	but

naa77-ú	Kól-e	maay-óppite.
two-OBL.	Ethiopian shirt-ABS.	put on-NEG.OPT.2PL.

  'Wear sandals on your feet, but don't wear two shirts.'   (From Mark 6:9)

   In the following, an object of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' refers to a thing around which some situation exists. In other words, it does not directly refer to a place where the situation exists.

(4.2.8.4.5-10)

'táná	7ashsh-árkii?'	g-íídí	kaw-úwa
me	save-(interrogative ending)	say-CONV.3M.SG.	king-OBL.M.SG.

ged-íya-ni	kúnd-iis.
foot-OBL.M.SG.-in	fall-PF.3M.SG.

  'He said "Won't you save me?" and knelt down at the king's feet.'

   In the following, the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' expresses a goal of motion rather than a place where something or some situation exists.

(4.2.8.4.5-11)

shákk-uwa-ppe	pir-í-nne
shelf-OBL.M.SG.-from	jump down-CONV.3M.SG.-and

sa7-áa-ni	wóDD-i-nne	. . .
ground-OBL.M.SG.-in	descend-CONV.3M.SG.-and	. . .

  'He jumped down from the shelf, and descended at the ground, and . . .'

(4.2.8.4.5-12)

met-úwa-ni	gel-énn-aa-daani
problem-OBL.M.SG.-in	enter-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

zorét-aa	7oicc-áas.
advice-ABS.M.SG.	ask-PF.1SG.

   'I asked an advice not to enter into a problem.'

   As can be seen in the last example, the "local" postposition *-ni* 'in, by' can be used metaphorically in abstract expressions. The following is another example of the same use, although there the postposition expresses a place where a static situation exists.

(4.2.8.4.5-13)

7eta-7od-úwa-ni	dog-étt-enn-aa-ni	tá-u
their-talk-OBL.M.SG.-in	forget-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	my-for

húúP-iya-ni	d-íya-g-éé	. . .
head-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	. . .

   'What I remember (lit. exists for me in my head) without forgetting among (lit. in) their talks is . . .'

   As we have seen above, a place described by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' principally includes something or some situation in it. Time can also be regarded as doing so. Thus, time can also be expressed by the same postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'.

(4.2.8.4.5-14)

né	he	Keer-áá-ní	7áí	7oott-ádii?
you	that	Saturday-OBL.-in	what	do-INTER.PF.2SG.

   'What did you do on that Saturday?'

(4.2.8.4.5-15)

táání	balg-úwa-ni	boddítt-éé-ní
I	rainy season-OBL.M.SG.-in	(place name)-OBL.-in

sháaCC-ana.
spend the rainy season-FUT.

   'In the rainy season, I will spend (time) at Bodite.'

(4.2.8.4.5-16)

'gúp-aa	páál-uwa	7er-áicc-aas.'
jumping-ABS.M.SG.	flying-ABS.M.SG.	know-completely-PF.1SG.

g-íyo-r-ii-ni	'7úúú
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in	oh

ta-keetta7aaw-ái	góóy-iicc-iis.	. . .'
my-householder-NOM.M.SG.	go mad-completely-PF.3M.SG.	. . .

g-á-nne	. . .
say-CONV.3F.SG.-and	. . .

   'Just as soon as he said "I have known jumping and flying" she said "Oh, my husband has gone mad. . . ." and . . .'

This use is often observed with verbs (see section 4.4.3.4.1).

(4.2.8.4.5-17)

7í	7upáítt-ii-ni	táání	7upáítt-aas.
he	be glad-SUBOR.-in	I	be glad-PF.1SG.

   'When he was glad, I was glad.'

(4.2.8.4.5-18)

7í	zaar-íi-ni	síy-ana.
he	answer-SUBOR.-in	hear-FUT.

   'I will hear when he answers.'

(4.2.8.4.5-19)

bitán-ee	maat-áa	<u>búúCC-ishii-ni</u>
man-NOM.M.SG.	grass-ABS.M.SG.	mow-while-in

shóóshsh-ai	kíy-iis.
snake-NOM.M.SG.	come out-PF.3M.SG.

   'While he was mowing grass, a snake came out.'

As in the following, however, time expressed by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' can be rather punctual. Remember (4.2.8.4.5-8) and (4.2.8.4.5-9), in which places expressed by the postposition is relatively small.

(4.2.8.4.5-20)

táání	7usúppun-a-nne	<u>rúúb-iya-ni</u>	y-aaná.
I	six-ABS.-and	quarter-OBL.M.SG.-in	come-FUT.

   'I will come at 12:15 (lit. six and quarter).'

   A manner can also be expressed by the same postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. This would be because it can also be regarded as including something or some situation. In other words, a manner is an abstract place in which something or some situation exists.

(4.2.8.4.5-21)

hais-íya	<u>Kánt-aa-ni</u>	hagáá-ní	sími
story-ABS.M.SG.	short-OBL.M.SG.-in	this-in	thus

yoot-áis.
tell-IMPF.1SG.

   'Thus I tell a story here shortly (lit. in a short one).'

(4.2.8.4.5-22)

táání	kíítt-aa	<u>7ees-úwa-ni</u>	gatt-ádá
I	message-ABS.M.SG.	speed-OBL.M.SG.-in	make reach-CONV.1SG.

galat-étt-aas.
thank-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'Having delivered the message speedy (lit. in the speed), I was thanked.'

(4.2.8.4.5-23)

na7-ái	zúúmett-aa-ni	gaMM-iis.
child-NOM.M.SG.	crawling-OBL.M.SG.-in	stay-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy stayed crawling (lit. in the crawling) (i.e. could not walk for a long time).'

(4.2.8.4.5-24)

7eta-7od-úwa-ni	dog-étt-enn-aa-ni	tá-u
their-talk-OBL.M.SG.-in	forget-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	my-for

húúP-iya-ni	d-íya-g-éé	. . .
head-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	. . .

'What I remember (lit. exists for me in my head) without forgetting among (lit. in) their talks is . . .'

In the following, the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' seems to have become a mere ending for an adverbial expression, which is optional.

(4.2.8.4.5-25)

keehíí-ní	gujj-íis.
well-in	add-PF.3M.SG.

'He added enough.'

The above three uses of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' have a common semantic feature: they all delimit or restrict an area where a situation takes place, whether the area is local, temporal, or of manner. This feature enables the postposition to express a field in which or a condition under which a situation described in a clause is realized.

The following are examples of the former use (i.e. that expressing a field).

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(4.2.8.4.5-26)

7í	miishsh-áa-ni	duret-íis.
he	money-OBL.M.SG.-in	become rich-PF.3M.SG.

'He became rich in money.'

(4.2.8.4.5-27)

dalgít-á	met-úwa-ni	ba-shoor-otá
(person name)-NOM.	problem-OBL.M.SG.-in	her own-neighbor-ABS.PL.

maadd-ádá	miccot-áasu.
help-CONV.3F.SG.	act like a sister-PF.3F.SG.

'Having helped her neighbors in their problem, Dalgite acted like (their) sister.'

(4.2.8.4.5-28)

ta-b-áá-ní	haasay-étt-idosona.
my-thing-OBL.M.SG.-in	talk-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'They talked each other on my issue.'

(4.2.8.4.5-29)

táání	Tooss-áa	heezzátett-aa-ni	7amman-áis.
I	God-OBL.M.SG.	Trinity-OBL.M.SG.-in	believe-IMPF.1SG.

'I believe in the Trinity of God.'

(4.2.8.4.5-30)

geleshsh-úwa-ni	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-ppé
monkey-OBL.M.SG.-in	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-from

lo77-énná.
be good-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'In monkeys, one monkey is not more beautiful than another (i.e. All monkeys are not beautiful).'

The following are examples of the postposition -*ni* 'in, at, by' expressing a condition. The last example, (4.2.8.4.5-30), might be included here.

(4.2.8.4.5-31)

baKúl-oi	'ne-7aaw-ái	7óónee?'
mule-NOM.M.SG.	your-father-NOM.M.SG.	who (INTER.)

<u>g-íi-ni</u>	'ta-7aayy-íya	par-á.'
say-SUBOR.-in	my-mother-NOM.F.SG.	horse-ABS.

g-ées.
say-IMPF.3M.SG.

'If you say "Who is your father?", a mule would say "My mother is a horse.".'

(4.2.8.4.5-32)

7óós-uwa	<u>7oott-énn-aa-ni</u>	Kúm-aa
work-ABS.M.SG.	work-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	food-ABS.M.SG.

m-óókko.
eat-NEG.IMPF.1PL.

'We do not eat meal unless we work.'

(4.2.8.4.5-33)

7í	<u>7úy-ii-ni</u>	táání	7úy-ana.
he	drink-SUBOR.-in	I	drink-FUT.

'I will drink when he drinks.'

A condition is close to a reason or a cause in that both precede main propositions temporally.

(4.2.8.4.5-34)

na7-ái	<u>7úshsh-aa-ni</u>	7azall-íis.
child-NOM.M.SG.	drink-OBL.M.SG.-in	be idol-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy became idle because of (lit. in) drink.'

(4.2.8.4.5-35)

tam-áa	Túúg-iss-idi	tam-áa
fire-ABS.M.SG.	burn-CAUS.-CONV.3PL.	fire-ABS.3M.SG.

7oitt-íyo-g-áá-ní	7as-ái
make catch-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.

waass-ídí	. . .
scream-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Because they made fire (lit. in that they made fire burn and made fire catch) people cried and . . .'

(4.2.8.4.5-36)

táání	zín-o	giy-áa	b-éénnaa-g-éé
I	yesterday-ABS.	market-ABS.M.SG.	go-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.

táná	boll-ái	sákk-ii-na.
me	body-NOM.M.SG.	hurt-SUBOR.-in.

'It is because I was sick (lit. in the body's hurting me) that I did not go to the market yesterday.'

Another salient and important use of the same postposition -ni 'in, at, by' is an instrumental use. An instrument is also a kind of prerequisite condition that enables a situation to be realized. In this sense, the instrumental use is related to the uses discussed just above (i.e. those expressing a condition and a reason or a cause).

(4.2.8.4.5-37)

hagáá	7ash-úwa	7áí	b-íí-ní	KanT-óo?
this	meat-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-OBL.-in	cut-OPT.1SG.

'What shall I cut this meat with?'

(4.2.8.4.5-38)

7í	7áíll-iya-ni	7áíll-iis.
he	pickax-OBL.M.SG.-in	dig-PF.3M.SG.

'He dug with a pickax.'

In the following examples, the instrumental postposition expresses means in the broad sense, rather than instruments or tools.

(4.2.8.4.5-39)

woláítt-a	doon-áa-ni	haasay-á.
Wolaytta-OBL.	mouth-OBL.M.SG.-in	speak-OPT.2SG.

'Speak in the Wolaytta language (lit. mouth).'

(4.2.8.4.5-40)

na7-ái	haatt-áa	tam-áa-ni
child-NOM.M.SG.	water-ABS.M.SG.	fire-OBL.M.SG.-in

boLL-ett-íis.
be hot-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy made the water hot with fire.'

(4.2.8.4.5-41)

7iccásh-aa-ni	shamm-áas.
five-OBL.M.SG.-in	buy-PF.1SG.

'I bought (it) with five (Birr).'

(4.2.8.4.5-42)

táání	7arákk-á-ppé	soodd-ó
I	(place name)-OBL.-from	(place name)-ABS.

gákkanaashiini	tóh-uwa-ni	hemétt-aas.
until I reached	foot-OBL.M.SG.-in	walk-PF.1SG.

'I walked from Araka to (lit. until I reached) Sodo on foot.'

(4.2.8.4.5-43)

7alam-ú	mácc-iyo	bullácc-aa-ni
(person name)-NOM.	wife-ABS.F.SG.	wedding ceremony-OBL.M.SG.-in

7ekk-íis.
take-PF.3M.SG.

'Alemu married his wife in a wedding ceremony (i.e. not by abduction).'

A human being (or an animate being) can be expressed as a kind of instrument by the same postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', if it actively plays an important role in realizing a situation but cannot be expressed as a subject for the reason of linguistic strategy. In this case, it should be called agent in the broad sense, rather than instrument. This agentive use of the postposition is typically found in clauses whose predicates are derivative verbs such as passive verbs and causative verbs (see section 5.3.2). Adams (1983) would classify our "agents" into "Agent", "Second Causee", etc. However, I treat here them together using the label "agent", since I would like to emphasize that all of them are instrumental.

(4.2.8.4.5-44)

7óónáá-ní	shoC-étt-adii?
who-by	hit-PASS.-INTER.PF.2SG.

'Whom were you hit by?'

(4.2.8.4.5-45)

7alam-ú	táná	ba-na7-áa-ni
(person name)-NOM.	me	his own-child-OBL.M.SG.-by

Cay-iss-íis.
insult-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Alemu made his son insult me.'

(4.2.8.4.5-46)

núúní	haatt-áa	7úy-enn-aa-dan
we	water-ABS.M.SG.	drink-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG..-like

daann-ái	7anjúll-ó-ssí	7od-ídí
judge-NOM.M.SG.	(person name)-OBL.-to	tell-CONV.3M.SG.

7a-na7-áa-ni	haatt-á	7ót-uwa
his-child-OBL.M.SG.-by	water-OBL.	jar-ABS.M.SG.

dig-is-iss-íis.
forbid-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'For us not to drink the water, the judge told Anjulo to make his son keep (us) away from the water jar.'

(4.2.8.4.5-47)

dol-í	ba-keetta7aayy-ée-ni	7imatt-áa-ssi
(person name)-NOM.	his own-owner-OBL.F.SG.-by	guest-OBL.M.SG.-for

g-íídí	tukk-íya	pent-is-iss-íis.
say-CONV.3M.SG.	coffee-ABS.M.SG.	boil-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Doli, having said "for the guest", made his wife make the coffee boil.'

(4.2.8.4.5-48)

mishir-íya	7ót-uwa	bitán-iya-ni
woman-NOM.F.SG.	jar-ABS.M.SG.	man-OBL.M.SG.-by

ba7-is-étt-aasu.
carry on one's back-CAUS.-PASS.-PF.3F.SG.

'The woman was forced to carry the jar on her back by the man.'

As we have seen, apparently what can be expressed by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'

might not be homogeneous. Some might want to say, for example, that a place and an instrument never resemble each other. However, there are cases in which we cannot determine easily whether the postposition is local or instrumental, such as the following.

(4.2.8.4.5-49)

7í	doon-áa-ni	Kúm-aa	Cóómm-iis.
he	mouth-OBL.M.SG.-in	food-ABS.M.SG.	chew-PF.3M.SG.

'He chewed the food with (his) mouth.'

There are many other examples that are difficult to classify. For example, (4.2.8.4.5-31) to (4.2.8.4.5-33), which were given as examples of the conditional use of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', might be regarded as those of the temporal use. (4.2.8.4.5-35), which was classified as an example expressing a reason, might be classified as that expressing time. (4.2.8.4.5-23), which was classified as an example expressing a manner, might be better analyzed as that expressing a field. These examples support the idea that all the uses of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' are semantically related to each other. Another support for this idea is the fact that vowel length is neutralized and both long and short vowels are interchangeably used immediately before *-ni* under discussion in sentence-medial position. Since this is a very peculiar phenomenon that is not found elsewhere in this language, it is highly probable that all the *-ni* endings discussed in this section are the same. In addition, the Amharic preposition በ *ba* has almost the same semantic range as that of the Wolaytta postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. Of course this cannot be a direct evidence for the unity of the Wolaytta postposition, but it does encourage the idea introduced here. Thus it would be appropriate to conclude that all the uses of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' are semantically related to each other.

As discussed in the preceding sections, the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' may be replaced by other postpositions or expressions. See (4.2.8.4.3-40) to (4.2.8.4.3-42) and (4.2.8.4.4-52) to (4.2.8.4.4-53). Since there may be more than one way of cognition for the same situation, this is no wonder.

For the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' found in personal pronouns A, see section 4.2.4.1.4. Future and infinitive forms of verbs might contain this postposition in them. See sections 4.4.2.3 and 4.4.4.1, and Hayward (2000b: 418-419). However, because

there the neutralization of vowel length, which is a peculiar phenomenon to the postposition in question, is not observed before the *n* element, I leave the matter open.

4.2.8.4.6 The Postposition *-daani* 'like'

This postposition is principally used to present an alternative view of a thing or a situation.[358]

Because of this rewording function, the postposition *-daani* 'like' is often used in similes or to mention similar things.

(4.2.8.4.6-1)

bóór-aa-daani	himb-áa	g-ées.
ox-OBL.M.SG.-like	low (bellow)-ABS.M.SG.	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He bellows (lit. says low) like an ox (i.e. he cannot speak eloquently).'

(4.2.8.4.6-2)

hadííy-a	biitt-ái	woláítt-a-daani
(proper noun)-OBL.	land-NOM.M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.-like

ló77-o	biitt-á.
good-OBL.	land-ABS.

'The Hadiyya land is a good land like Wolaytta.'

(4.2.8.4.6-3)

hagáá	git-á	har-íya-daani
this	big-OBL.	donkey-OBL.M.SG.-like

Caan-óppa.
load-NEG.OPT.2SG.

'Don't load this one (with many loads) like a big donkey.'

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[358] I owe the discussion in this section to 前田 (Maeda 1993), although I cannot fully accept her discussion on the Japanese language.

(4.2.8.4.6-4)

hagéé	7áí	b-á-daani	maLL-íi?
this	what	thing-OBL.-like	be tasty-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'What is this tasty like (i.e. how tasty this is).'

(4.2.8.4.6-5)

na7-ái	m-íya-daani	gáC-uwa
child-NOM.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-like	cheek-ABS.M.SG.

Kaatt-ées.
move-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'The boy moves (his) cheeks as if he is eating.'

   Objects of the postposition *-daani* 'like' can be "demonstrative pronouns" discussed in section 4.2.6.2. In this case, however, the postposition seems to be often used for roundabout expressions rather than for true similes.

(4.2.8.4.6-6)
(At the end of a story)

hegáá-daani	han-íis.	nááC-aa	hais-íya
that-like	become-PF.	joke-ABS.M.SG.	story-ABS.M.SG.

hagéé.
this

   'It became like that. This is a joke, (or) a story.'

(4.2.8.4.6-7)

hagáá-daani	7oott-íyo-g-éé
this-like	do-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

7áí	b-í-ssee?
what	thing-OBL.-for

'Why do you do like this?'

(4.2.8.4.6-8)

yesúús-í	zaar-ídí	7etá	hagáá-daani
Jesus-NOM.	answer-CONV.3M.SG.	them	this-like

yáág-iis.	'Tooss-áa	7amman-ité.	. . .
say so-PF.3M.SG.	God-ABS.M.SG.	believe-OPT.2PL.	. . .

'Jesus said like this answering them. "Believe in God. . ."'   (From Mark 11: 22)

The postposition -*daani* 'like' can also be used to express degree. This use is another manifestation of the principal use of the postposition, i.e. presentment of an alternative view. In (4.2.8.4.6-9), for example, a situation described in the main clause, "having a stomach ache", is paraphrased or explained from another point of view as "not being able to eat food", and thus the hearer can realize what a severe stomach ache the speaker is suffering from. In (4.2.8.4.6-10) "a friend of the speaker's going out" is reworded as "his coming back at the time of utterance", and thus the hearer can realize how fast the person went out (or, that the person went out so speedy that he can come back now).

(4.2.8.4.6-9)

Kúm-aa	m-éénn-aa-daani	táná
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	me

7úl-oi	sákk-ees.
stomach-NOM.M.SG.	hurt-IMPF.3M.SG.

'(My) stomach aches so severely that I cannot eat food (lit. like not eating food the stomach hurts me).'

(4.2.8.4.6-10)

ta-lágg-ee	ha77í	simm-íyo-g-áá-daani
my-friend-NOM.M.SG.	now	return-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-like

b-íis.
go-PF.3M.SG.

'My friend went out very hastily (lit. went like returning now).'

The same postposition is used to reword a situation as a future situation that it would cause. Thus, the postposition can be used to express a purpose or contents of an order. In (4.2.8.4.6-11), for example, that he works every day, which is described in the second half of the sentence, is the same as that his children can eat, which is described by means of the postposition, since the former almost without fail brings about the latter. In (4.2.8.4.6-13), his telling the female cook is the same as her adding red pepper, since the former is expected to be followed by the latter. Note also that in the following examples *future* infinitives (see section 4.4.4.1) are used as objects of the postposition *-daani* 'like' to express future situations, if the situations are affirmative.

(4.2.8.4.6-11)

7a-naatí	m-aan-áa-daani	7ubb-á	galláss-i
his-children	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	all-OBL.	day-ADV.

7oott-ées.
work-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He works everyday for his children to eat.'

(4.2.8.4.6-12)

met-úwa-ni	gel-énn-aa-daani
problem-OBL.M.SG.-in	enter-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

zorét-aa	7oicc-áas.
advice-ABS.M.SG.	ask-PF.1SG.

'I asked an advice in order not to enter into a problem.'

(4.2.8.4.6-13)

kátt-aa	katt-íya	mishir-íya
food-ABS.M.SG.	cook-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	woman-ABS.F.SG.

barbar-íya	dar-iss-an-áa-daani
red pepper-ABS.M.SG.	increase (v.i.)-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

7od-ídí	poog-iss-íis.
tell-CONV.3M.SG.	be hot-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'He told the woman who cooks food to add (lit. make increase) red pepper, and made (it) hot.'

We can also say that the postposition *-daani* 'like' used in the above three examples expresses desired situations in the relative future. This use seems to be extended to the effect that the postposition can express contents of hope or anxiety. However, it must be admitted that it deviates from the principal use of the postposition mentioned at the beginning of this section, i.e. presentment of an alternative view.

(4.2.8.4.6-14)

táání	7í	b-aan-áa-daani	kóyy-ais.
I	he	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	want-IMPF.1SG.

'I want him to go.'

(4.2.8.4.6-15)

táání	7ír-ai	bukk-énn-aa-daani	hirg-áis.
I	rain-NOM.M.SG.	rain-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	worry-IMPF.1SG.

'I worry (hoping that) it will not rain.'

In a negative context, of course, an undesired situation in the relative future can be expressed by means of the same postposition.

(4.2.8.4.6-16)

paaC-íya	7ááDD-enn-aa-daani	kóyy-ikke.
examination-ABS.M.SG.	pass-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	want-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not want that he would not pass the examination.'

Judging from the fact that both *a* and *aa* are used interchangeably before the consonant *n* of this postposition, and from the fact that the vowel *i* following the

consonant can be deleted, the postposition *-daani* 'like' seems to be composed of *da(a)* and *-ni*, the latter of which is the local/instrumental/manner postposition discussed in section 4.2.8.4.5. *da(a)* would be a nominal, or rather, a remnant of an erstwhile nominal.

The (erstwhile) meaning of *da(a)* would be 'look(s)', 'appearance', or the like. Thus, in most cases the postposition *-daani* 'like' can be replaced with *mal-á* (a non-concrete common noun in the absolutive case meaning 'look(s), appearance'). Remember that non-concrete common nouns in the absolutive case can be used for adverbial expressions as the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' can (see section 4.2.1.3.5).

(4.2.8.4.6-17)

hadííy-a	biitt-ái	woláítt-á	mal-á
(proper noun)-OBL.	land-NOM.M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.	looks-ABS.

ló77-o	biitt-á.
good-OBL.	land-ABS.

   'The Hadiyya land is a good land like Wolaytta.'   Cf. (4.2.8.4.6-2)

(4.2.8.4.6-18)

7a-naatí	m-aaná[359]	mal-á	7ubb-á	galláss-i
his-children	eat-REL.FUT.	looks-ABS.	all-OBL.	day-ADV.

7oott-ées.
work-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He works everyday for his children to eat.'   Cf. (4.2.8.4.6-11)

Thus, the postposition *-daani* 'like' originally means 'in the look(s) of . . .' i.e. 'having the look of . . .' 'having the appearance of . . .' or 'with appearance of . . .' Given this perspective, we can easily explain the reason why this postposition can be preceded by non-concrete common nouns in the oblique case and the resultant meanings: such common nouns are used to modify the nominal *da(a)*, and in (4.2.8.4.6-19), for example, the underlined postpositional phrase meaning 'badly'

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[359] The future relative form and the future infinitive are related to each other, as is discussed in section 4.4.4.1.

literally means 'in a bad look'.

(4.2.8.4.6-19)

bitán-iya	bóór-ai	7íít-a-daani	KaiC-íis.
man-ABS.M.SG.	ox-NOM.M.SG.	bad-OBL.-like	attack-PF.3M.SG.

    'The ox attacked the man badly.'

(4.2.8.4.6-20)

Kaad-á-daani	han-ídí	ta-lágg-ee
lucky-OBL.-like	become-CONV.3M.SG.	my-friend-NOM.M.SG.

y-íis.
come-PF.3M.SG.

    'Fortunately my friend came.'

(4.2.8.4.6-21)

kas-é-daani	7oott-á.
before-OBL.-like	do-OPT.2SG.

    'Do like before (i.e. as you did before).'

4.2.9   Other Nominals

In this section, miscellaneous nominals that have not been discussed so far under independent headings will be discussed. Some of them, however, have also been or will also be discussed briefly on other pages for convenience' sake.

4.2.9.1   "Adverbs"

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 125-127) discuss "adverbs" in an independent section, although they say that 'The principles governing the formation of adverbs in Wolaytta are unfortunately not yet clear'. Hirut (1999: 80-83) also devotes a section to the "adverb". Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) use the term "adverb" without any definition. Finally, Adams's (1983: 270) "particle" actually overlaps their "adverbs".

However, the word class "adverb" does not need to be established[360].

Among the so-called "adverbs" given in the previous works, such items as Lamberti and Sotile's (1997: 126) *eesuwaa-n^i* 'quickly' and Ohman and Hailu's (1976: 162) *lodan* 'slowly' are analyzed as postpositional phrases (see section 4.2.8).

Such items as Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 126) *kase* 'before, then' and Adams' (1983: 270) *dumma* 'separately' are analyzed as non-concrete common nouns in the absolutive case, although their concrete forms are not natural in some cases (see section 4.2.1).

Such items as Labmerti and Sottile's (1997: 126) *k'amm-i* 'by night' and Adams' (1983: 270) *beni* 'in ancient times' are analyzed as common nouns in the adverbial case, although some of them are actually indeclinable (see section 4.2.1.3.6.1).

Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 127) *daroo* 'very/much' and Adams' (1983: 270) *daro* 'very' are analyzed as a non-concrete common noun in the oblique case if it modifies another nominal as in (4.2.1.3.2-12) (*dár-o ló77-o* 'very good').

Labmerti and Sottile's (1997: 126) *soo* 'home' is a common noun of a special type in the absolutive case (see section 4.2.1.8).

Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 127) *eesuwa* 'quickly' and Hirut's (1999: 83) *amaraa* 'fairly' seem to be concrete common nouns in the absolutive or oblique case, although I am not quite sure because they do not give any examples. However, I do not know any examples in which these are used adverbially. Contrary to Hirut's (1999: 83) claim, *guutta*, which seems to be a non-concrete common noun in the absolutive or oblique case, is not used adverbially to mean 'quite'.

As we have seen, almost all of the so-called "adverbs" in the previous works are regarded as nominals discussed in preceding sections in this thesis. There are only two kinds of exceptions: 1) converb forms of verbs (see section 4.4.3.1), such as Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 127) *lo7ittade* 'well', and 2) Adams' (1983: 270) *Coo* 'freely'[361], which is a substantive indeclinable (see section 4.3.1.1).

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[360] Even Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 125) say that 'adverbial expressions mainly consist in Wolaytta . . . either of nouns inflected in a certain case . . . or of postpositional phrase or of verbal forms'. Note that their definition of "case" and "postposition" is not the same as that of mine (see section 4.2.8).

[361] Adverbial indeclinables might be termed "adverbs". However, they are very small in number. Thus I prefer grouping them together with an adnominal indeclinable as substantive indeclinables.

4.2.9.2 Preverbs

It is a well-known fact that many Ethiopian languages have 'many verbs consisting of a noun-like or interjection-like 'preverb' plus a semantically colourless auxiliary, commonly the verb 'to say'', as pointed out by Ferguson (1976: 71-72). It also applies to Wolaytta. For example[362]:

(4.2.9.2-1)

táání	haasay-í-shiini	nééní	sírPi	g-á.
I	speak-SUBOR.-while	you	(preverb)	say-OPT.2SG.

   'Be quiet and pay attention[363] while I am speaking.'

(4.2.9.2-2)

TóKKu	g-á.
(preverb)	say-OPT.2SG.

   'Be elevated!'

(4.2.9.2-3)

koPP-íi-ni	koPP-íi-ni	kírKi	g-íis.
think-SUBOR.-in	think-SUBOR.-in	(preverb)	say-PF.3M.SG.

   'I thought and thought, but it refused (to be remembered).'

Many preverbs that are used with the verb *g-* 'to say' may also be used with the verb *7oott-* 'to do' to form their causative counterparts[364].

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[362] For more examples, see Azeb (2001: 53-55), who calls our preverbs "Group II ideophones".

[363] Hereafter in this section, an underlined part in translations represents a translation of a preverb followed by an auxiliary verb in Wolaytta.

[364] Adams (1983: 115) regards preverbs as words manifesting a Quotation function, which characterizes quotation clauses (i.e. clauses that contain quotations). The term "quotation" may be misleading if we take into consideration causative expressions with the verb *7oott-* 'to do', which he does not mention.

(4.2.9.2-4)

shóDD-ee	waass-íya-g-áá	7ír-ai
frog-NOM.M.SG.	cry-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	rain-NOM.M.SG.

<u>sírPi</u>	7oott-íis.
(preverb)	do-PF.3M.SG.

   'The rain <u>made</u> the crying frog <u>quiet</u>.'   Cf. (4.2.9.2-1)

(4.2.9.2-5)

sóh-uwa-ra	na7-áa	7aaw-ái
place-OBL.M.SG.-with	child-OBL.M.SG.	father-NOM.M.SG.

ba-Káál-aa	<u>TóKKu</u>	7oott-ídí
his own-word-ABS.M.SG.	(preverb)	do-CONV.3M.SG.

'. . .'	yáág-iis.
. . .	say so-PF.3M.SG.

   'Immediately the boy's father said ". . ." <u>raising his voice</u>.'   (From Mark 9:24)
   Cf. (4.2.9.2-2)

However, *_kírKi 7oott-_, for example, is not possible (cf. (4.2.9.2-3)). On the contrary, some preverbs can be combined with the verb _7oott-_ 'to do' but not with the verb _g-_ 'to say'.

(4.2.9.2-6)

7usúppun	7as-ái	keett-áa
six (OBL.)	people-NOM.M.SG.	house-ABS.M.SG.

ment-í	gel-í-nne	na7-íyo
break-CONV.3M.SG.	enter-CONV.3M.SG.-and	child-ABS.F.SG.

sími	<u>háppi</u>	7oott-í	tookk-í-nne
thus	(preverb)	do-CONV.3PL.	carry-CONV.3PL.-and

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makiin-áa	boll-í	7ol-ídaa-geetí	. . .
car-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.	throw-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.PL.NOM.	. . .

'Six people that broke and entered the house, and right after that <u>lifted up</u> and carried the girl, and right after that threw (her) on the car . . .'

Cf. *háppi g-

Preverbs do not seem to be homogeneous[365]. Some of them seem to be common nouns in the *-i* adverbial (see section 4.2.1.3.6.1). Some of them seem to be common nouns in the *-u* adverbial (see section 4.2.1.3.6.2). In most cases, however, common nouns whose adverbial forms are supposed to be preverbs are, if any, rarely used in other forms, or preverbs do not even have any words that are morphologically related to them. Such isolated preverbs might be better analyzed as adverbial indeclinables discussed in section 4.3.1.1, along with onomatopoeias.

Following are examples of preverbs that seem to be somehow related to common nouns in the *-i* adverbial.

(4.2.9.2-7)

gaddabbi 7oott-	'to seize speedy'
háppi 7oot-	'to lift up'
kírKi g-	'to refuse to be remembered'
KáPPi g-	'to be joined speedy'
KáPPi 7oott-	'to join speedy'
KílTi g-	'to be filled'
KílTi 7oott-	'to fill'
ná77i g-	'to become something suddenly'

---

[365] Azeb (2001: 59-61) discusses the morphological, syntactic, and occasional semantic similarity between converbs and preverbs (her group II ideophones). However, her discussion is not persuasive since the similarities can be shared by other word classes.

píddi g-	'to be smoothed out'
píddi 7oott-	'to smooth out'

PaPálKi g-	'to be dazzling'
PaPálKi 7oott-	'to make dazzling'
Cf. PaPalKátt-[366]	'to be dazzling'

sírPi g-	'to be quiet'
sírPi 7oott-	'to make quiet'

TandaKi g-	'to be sticky'
TandaKi 7oott-	'to make sticky'

Following are examples of preverbs that seem to be somehow related to common nouns in the *-u* adverbial.

(4.2.9.2-8)

Có77u g-	'to be silent'
Có77u 7oott-	'to make silent'

Coshshú g-	'to be smoky when burned'
Coshshú 7oott-	'to burn incompletely'
Cf. Coshshiin-áa	'what is burned well'
Coshshátt-	'to be smoky when burned'

goppu g-	'to bubble'
goppu 7oott-	'to make bubble'
Cf. goppátt-	'to bubble'
goppay-	'to make bubble'

hónCu g-	'to be damaged seriously'
hónCu 7oott-	'to damage'

---

[366] The existence of this verb seems to presuppose the Class A common noun *PaPalK-áa* (see section 5.3.1), but it is usually not used.

KaúCu 7oott-	'to hit a hard one with a hard one'

loPPú g-	'to be flexible'
loPPú 7oott-	'to make flexible'
Cf. loPPiin-áa	'flexible one'
loPPátt-	'to be flexible'

tórpu g-	'to be speared with a lance'
torpu 7oott-	'to spear with a lance'
Cf. torpiin-áa	'what is always speared'

TóKKu g-	'to be elevated'
ToKKu 7oott-	'to elevate'
Cf. TóKK-aa	'high'

TúLLu g-	'to fall (for a heavy thing)'
TúLLu 7oott-	'to make a heavy thing fall'

wóppu g-	'to become calmed'
wóppu 7oott-	'to make calm'
Cf. wopp-	'to become calmed'
wópp-aa	'calmness'

   In the following, an adverbial indeclinable described in section 4.3.1.1 is used as a preverb.

(4.2.9.2-9)

táání	haasay-íyo	d-é	7í	<u>Cóo</u>
I	talk-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.	he	(preverb)

g-íídí	síy-ees.
say-CONV.3M.SG.	hear-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He listens <u>silently</u> when I talk to (him).'

However the indeclinable used with the verb *7oott-* 'to do' does not seem to be a

causative counterpart of *Cóo g-* 'to be silently'.

(4.2.9.2-10)

7óóná-kkó	7oicc-ída-i	báa.	Cóo
who-if	ask-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	not present	in vain

7oott-íis.
work-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There is no one who asked. They all worked in vain.'

Cf. (4.2.9.2-11)

7áí	b-á-kkó	7áá-ppé	báy-ida	b-í
what	thing-ABS.-if	his-from	be lost-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-NOM.

báa	shííní	Cóo	waass-ées.
not present	but	in vain	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'Although nothing has been lost from his belongings (lit. from him), he cries without reason.'

4.2.9.3   Deverbal Nominals

   Relative forms of verbs may take the *-i* ending to function as subjects. For the details, see section 4.4.3.3.3. Here suffice it to notice that this ending reminds us of the nominative ending of not a few kinds of nominals (see section 4.2.10).

(4.2.9.3-1a)

ha	Kúm-aa	m-íída-i	7óónee?
this	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	who (INTER.)

    'Who is it who ate this food?'

Cf. (4.2.9.3-1b)

ha	Kúm-aa	m-íída	7as-áa
this	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-ABS.M.SG.

'people who ate this food'

(4.2.9.3-2a)

nééní	b-íyo-i	7áwee?
you	go-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	where

'Where is it that you go?'

Cf. (4.2.9.3-2b)

nééní	b-íyo	biitt-áa
you	go-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	land-ABS.M.SG.

'the land that you go to'

Infinitives of this language behave as Masculine Class A common nouns, although they lack many forms of their paradigms. For more details, see section 4.4.4.

(4.2.9.3-3)

táání	hagáá	7oott-an-ái	nééní	simm-íyo
I	this	do-INFN.-NOM.M.SG.	you	return-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

wod-ée?
time-INTER.M.SG.

'Is it when you return that I do this?'

(4.2.9.3-4)

Kúm-aa	m-aan-áa-ppe	kas-é
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	front-ABS.

kúsh-iya	meeC-étt-a.
hand-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

'Wash (your) hands before you eat food.'

4.2.9.4 *báawa* **'not present'**

The word for negative existential expressions, *báawa* 'not present', is inflected as follows.

(4.2.9.4-1)

Predicative	Interrogative	Oblique	Absolutive
báawa	báawee	baínna	baínnaa
báa			

When it is a predicate of an affirmative declarative sentence, it occurs in either of the two predicative forms.

(4.2.9.4-2)

7á-u   miishsh-í   <u>báa</u>.
his-for   money-NOM.   not present

'He has no money (lit. money is not present for him).'

(4.2.9.4-3)

dumm-á   dumm-á   sánt-ee   bír-ai
different-OBL.   different-OBL.   cent-NOM.M.SG.   Birr-NOM.M.SG.

d-íya-g-áá   7í   Teell-íyo
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.   he   look-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

d-é   <u>báawa</u>.
time-ABS.   not present

'When he saw the place where there were various coins and bills (lit. saw various coins and bills that existed), they were not (there).'

The interrogative form is used when the word is a predicate of an affirmative interrogative sentence.

(4.2.9.4-4)

har-á	b-áí	<u>báawee</u>?
other-OBL.	thing-NOM.M.SG.	not present

   'Isn't there another thing?'

The oblique form is used when the word modifies its following nominal.

(4.2.9.4-5)

Taap-ído	mastawash-ái	<u>baínna</u>
write-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	memorandum-NOM.M.SG.	not present

gishshát-aa-ssi	waraKát-ai	<u>baínna</u>
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	paper-NOM.M.SG.	not present

gishshát-aa-ssi	7as-ái	7er-énná.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	people-NOM.M.SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Because there is no memorandum that someone wrote, because there is no paper, people do not know (the ancient history).'

(4.2.9.4-6)

7as-áa-ssi	míízz-ai	<u>baínnaa</u>[367]-g-á-ú
people-OBL.M.SG.-to	cattle-NOM.M.SG.	not present-NMNL.-OBL.-to

shamm-á	7imm-óbare	. . .
but-CONV.1SG.	give-after	. . .

   'If I buy (cattle) and give (it) to people, to those who do not have cattle (lit. to that cattle are not present) . . .'

---

[367] The lengthening of the final vowel is caused by the nominalizer *-gáá* (see section 4.2.5.1).

(4.2.9.4-7)

7issipétett-ai	baínnaa[368]-ni	Tay-í-kkó	7íít-a.
unity-NOM.M.SG.	not present-in	be lost-SUBOR.-if	bad-ABS.

'If there is no unity, it is bad.'

The absolutive form is used when the word is a predicate of an indirect question, i.e. before the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether'.

(4.2.9.4-8)

d-íya-kko	baínnaa-kko	7er-íkke.
exist-INFN.-if	not present-if	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know whether it exists or not.'

In terms of morphology, *báawa* 'not present' might not be regarded as a nominal. However, it is worth noting that particularly the *-a* ending of one of the predicative forms and the *-ee* ending of the interrogative form remind us of paradigms of other nominals such as Masculine Class A common nouns (see section 4.2.1.1), Class A place-name nouns (see section 4.2.2.2.1), personal pronouns A (see section 4.2.4), the postpositions *-ssi* 'for, to' and *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.1), etc.

báawa 'not present' might be related to the verb *báy-* 'to get lost'. The word might go back to the proto-Afroasiatic **ba* 'not be there, negative' (Ehret 1995: 40).

4.2.10   Overview of Nominal Morphology

In this section, different nominals discussed in preceding sections will be analyzed across word classes.

As is evident from paradigms in preceding sections, there are grammatical elements that are found in more than one word class.

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[368] The last vowel may be short, since it immediately precedes the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. See section 4.2.8.2.

(4.2.10-1)[369]

-i (nominative)[370]

It is found at least in common nouns, place-name nouns, person-name nouns, personal pronouns A, personal pronouns B, and the nominalizer *-gáá*.

-a (absolutive)[371]

It is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, personal pronouns A, personal pronouns B, the nominalizer *-gáá*, and perhaps in the postpositions *-ra* 'with', *-ssi* 'to, for', *-ni* 'in, at, by' and *-daani* 'like'.

-ee (interrogative)

It is an interrogative counterpart of the above, *-a*. Thus it is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, personal pronouns A, personal pronouns B, the nominalizer *-gáá*, and perhaps in the postpositions *-ra* 'with', *-ssi* 'to, for', *-ni* 'in, at, by' and *-daani* 'like'.

-oo (vocative)

It is found at least in common nouns, personal pronouns A, and the nominalizer *-gáá*.

-u (oblique)

It is found at least in common nouns, the nominalizer *-gáá*, and perhaps in numerals.

-t- (plural)[372]

It is found at least in common nouns and the nominalizer *-gáá*.

---

[369] Adams (1983) and others could isolate (some of) the following elements, if not as elements common to more than one word class. In fact their isolation itself is not so difficult. However, no one has succeeded in a total and coherent analysis of all nominal forms based on them. It would be one of the most difficult tasks in Wolaytta and/or Omotic studies. My diachronic analysis will be presented below in this section, but it is also a very tentative one.

[370] According to Hayward (1998: 103), this is originally a topic pronoun that occurs appositively following an initial agentive NP.

[371] Hayward (2000a: 88) says that within the hypothesized Proto-Afroasiatic system the basic nominal form (i.e. absolutive form) 'is most generally characterised by final *-a.'

[372] Hayward (2000a: 92) says that there was almost certainly a plural formation involving a *-t* suffix in Afroasiatic languages.

-i (adverbial)

It seems to be related to Class A nominals. It is found at least in common nouns, place-name nouns, and perhaps the postpositions *-ssi* 'to, for', *-ni* 'in, at, by' and *-daani* 'like'.

-o (feminine absolutive)

It is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, the feminine personal pronoun B, and feminine nominalizers.

-a (feminine nominative)[373]

It is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, the feminine personal pronoun B, and feminine nominalizers.

-i (feminine oblique)[374]

It is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, the feminine personal pronoun B, and feminine nominalizers.

-ii (feminine interrogative)

It is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, the feminine personal pronoun B, and feminine nominalizers.

-ee (feminine vocative)

It is found at least in common nouns, person-name nouns, and feminine nominalizers.

These grammatical elements were isolated through synchronic observations of nominal paradigms of Wolaytta. However, we would be able to reconstruct the historical process of the formation of Wolaytta nominals based on them. I will try it in the following, although it would be far from perfect. Tone may be ignored for the sake of convenience.

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[373] According to Hayward (1998: 103), this is originally a topic pronoun that occurs appositively following an initial agentive NP.

[374] Hayward (2000a: 90) gives feminine nouns in Gamo, which employ an *-i* oblique, as evidence for a Proto-Afroasiatic oblique *-i*.

Common Nouns

As Hayward (1987: 215) says, 'Though all nominals in Ometo have root-final consonants, it becomes apparent from the examination of the vocabulary of any Ometo language that the vast majority (when not all) of nominal words actually terminate in a vowel.' He calls this vowel "terminal vowel (abbreviated to TV)", and I follow him in this regard. Terminal vowels found in Wolaytta common nouns are *a*, *e*, and *o*, after which masculine subclasses are named. According to Hayward (1987: 222), a terminal vowel *i* was also found in Wolaytta common nouns, although it has been merged with *a*. In addition, judging from the *u* adverbial (see section 4.2.1.3.6.2) and the alternative unusual nominative and oblique forms of *7aaw-áa* 'father' (see section 4.2.1.3.6.4), a terminal vowel *u* might have been found in Wolaytta common nouns, although Hayward (1987: 226) does not consider 'that we need to reconstruct a distinct *-u class for Proto-Ometo.' In any case, terminal vowels are lexically determined, and thus theoretically are part of a lexical stem. It is principally supposed that various grammatical elements such as those given in (4.2.10-1) were added to terminal vowels and they have formed the endings given in (4.2.1.1-1). The details are shown in the following.

(4.2.10-2) Endings of the Common Noun (Non-concrete)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-oo
	TV	TV	NOM.	?	VOC.
M. Class E	-e	-e	-ee<-ei	-ee	-oo, -ee
	TV	TV	TV-NOM.	?	VOC., ?
M. Class O	-o	-o	-oi	-oo	-oo
	TV	TV	TV-NOM.	?	VOC.
F.	-o	-e, -i	-a	-oo	-oo
	F.ABS.	?, F.OBL.	F.NOM.	?	VOC.

In masculine nominative forms, tone also plays an important role (see section 4.2.1.2).

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(4.2.10-3) Endings of the Common Noun (Concrete, Singular)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-aa	-aa	-ai	-ai	-au
	TV-ABS.	TV-ABS.	TV-NOM.	?	?
M. Class E	-iya<ea	-iya<ea	-ee<ei	-ee	-iyau
	TV-ABS.	TV.-ABS.	TV-NOM.	?	?
M. Class O	-uwa<oa	-uwa<oa	-oi	-oi	-uwau
	TV-ABS.	TV.-ABS.	TV-NOM.	?	?
F.	-iyo	-ee	-iya	-ii	-ee
	?-F.ABS.	?	?-F.NOM.	F.INTER.	F.VOC.

In masculine common nouns, absolutive and oblique forms are not distinguished. Thus they should be analyzed in the same way. However, it might be inappropriate to consider that the absolutive ending *-a* occurs in oblique forms of masculine common nouns.

For feminine forms, we might be able to hypothesize that the terminal vowel is *e*: -iyo < -e-o (TV.-F.ABS.), -ee < -e-i (TV.-F.OBL.), -iya < -e-a (TV.-F.NOM.), -ii < -e-ii (TV.-F.INTER.), -ee < -e-ee (TV.-VOC.). It would also explain *e* in the non-concrete oblique form.

We might be able to isolate *-i* (concrete singular interrogative) and *-u* (concrete singular vocative). Then masculine interrogative forms are analyzed as TV-INTER., and masculine vocative forms as TV-ABS.-VOC., i.e. representative forms followed by the vocative ending.

If we adopt the above analysis, absolutive and oblique endings of Masculine Class E and O common nouns should end in the short vowel *a*, not *aa* as Adams (1983) and others claim (see section 4.2.1.1).

(4.2.10-4) Endings of the Common Noun (Concrete, Plural)

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A				
-ata	-atu	-ati	-atee	-atoo
TV-PL.-ABS.	TV-PL.-OBL.	TV-PL.-NOM.	TV-PL.-INTER.	TV.-PL.-VOC.

M. Class E

-eta	-etu	-eti	-etee	-etoo
TV-PL.-ABS.	TV-PL.-OBL.	TV-PL.-NOM.	TV-PL.-INTER.	TV.-PL.-VOC.

M. Class O

-ota	-otu	-oti	-otee	-otoo
TV-PL.-ABS.	TV-PL.-OBL.	TV-PL.-NOM.	TV-PL.-INTER.	TV.-PL.-VOC.

F.

-eta	-etu	-eti	-etee	-etoo
?-PL.-ABS.	?-PL.-OBL.	?-PL.-NOM.	?-PL.-INTER.	?-PL.-VOC.
-ota	-otu	-oti	-otee	-otoo
?-PL.-ABS.	?-PL.-OBL.	?-PL.-NOM.	?-PL.-INTER.	?-PL.-VOC.

The vowel *e* found in feminine forms might be a terminal vowel hypothesized above.

Hayward (2000b: 412) claims that the vowel preceding *-t-* (PL.) is 'a genitive [i.e. our oblique] case marker'. However it does not explain feminine forms involving *o*, which he does not mention.

In addition to these the adverbial *-i* is found in some Masculine Class A common nouns.

Place-name Nouns

(4.2.10-5) Endings of the Place-Name Noun

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.	ADV.
Class A	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-aa	-i
	TV	TV	NOM.	?	?	ADV.
Class E	-e	-e	-ee	-ee	-ee	
	TV	TV	TV-NOM.	?	?	
Class O	-o	-o	-oi	-oo	-oo	
	TV	TV	TV-NOM.	?	?	

Vocative endings are lengthened terminal vowels. Thus, I consider that the vocative element *-oo* established in (4.2.10-1) is not used in Class O place-name nouns.

Person-name Nouns

(4.2.10-6) Endings of the Person-Name Noun

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
Masculine Class A	-a	-a	-i	-ee	-aa
	ABS.	TV	NOM.	INTER.	?
Masculine Class E	-a	-e	-ee	-ee	-ee
	ABS.	TV	TV-NOM.	INTER.	?
Masculine Class O	-a	-o	-oi	-ee	-oo
	ABS.	TV	TV-NOM.	INTER.	?
Masculine Class U	-a	-u	-u	-ee	-oo
	ABS.	TV	?	INTER.	?
Feminine	-o	-i	-a	-ii	-ee
	F.ABS.	F.OBL.	F.NOM.	F.INTER.	F.VOC.

Numerals

The numeral "1" would be somehow related to Masculine Class O common nouns, and some numerals in the oblique case have the oblique element *u*. There are no other elements that are undoubtedly identified as elements given in (4.2.10-1). In this sense, the numeral is one of the most peripheral word classes among Wolaytta nominals.

Personal Pronouns A

Component elements of personal pronouns A were discussed in section 4.2.4.1.4 in detail. The diachronic explanation can be summarized as follows (B stands for the ancient basic form, and N for the ancient accusative marker. Allomorphs distinguished only by vowel length are ignored. Only first-person singular forms will be given.)

(4.2.10-7) Personal Pronouns A

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
	ta-	tá		
	B	B		
táná	tana-	táání	tánee	tánoo
B-N-ABS.	B-N-ABS.?	B-N-NOM.	B-N-INTER.	B-N-VOC.

When we examine Wolaytta converbs (see section 4.4.3.1) or IA in verbs (see section 4.4.2.1.1), we find that *-i* occurs with 3M.SG. and all plural persons as subjects and *-a* occurs with 1SG., 2SG., and 3F.SG. as subjects. Hayward (1998: 103) hypothesizes that these originate in topic pronouns *-*i* and *-*a*, respectively. According to Hayward (ibid.) again, these pronouns, which occur appositively following an initial agentive NP, have also been cliticized leftwards, have been grammaticalized and have become masculine and feminine nominative markers, respectively. These nominative markers would be those given in (4.2.10-1). Although there persons were not considered, judging from the two-term system of topic pronouns *-*i* and *-*a*, a nominative marker that occurs with the first-person singular pronoun should be *-a*, as in Bench (see Hayward (1998: 101), who cites Breeze's (1990) examples), and other case markers that occurs it should be "feminine" forms in (4.2.10-1). However, this is not the case. As Hayward (1998: 100) says, 'this mismatch is really only the result of a restructuring of nominative marking'. Thus, Wolaytta pronominal forms seem to be relatively innovative.

Personal Pronouns B
(4.2.10-8)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
3M.SG.	7á	7a-	7í	7ée
	ABS.	ABS.	NOM.	INTER.
3F.SG.	7ó	7i-	7á	7íi
	F.ABS.	F.OBL.	F.NOM.	F.INTER.
3PL.	7etá	7eta-	7etí	7etée
	?-PL.-ABS.	?-PL.-ABS.	?-PL.-NOM.	?-PL.-INTER.

If we ignore initial glottal stops, singular forms are the same as forms given in (4.2.10-1) except for the masculine oblique form, which is morphologically identical to the corresponding absolutive form.

The plural element *-t-* is usually followed by *-u* if the case is oblique. In this regard *7eta-* 'their' is exceptional, and the *t* element might not be *-t-* given in (4.2.10-1).

Nominalizers

(4.2.10-9)

ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
-gáá	-gáá	-géé	-gée	´-goo
?	?	?	?	VOC.
-geetá	-geetú	-geetí	-geetée	-géétoo
?-PL.-ABS.	?-PL.OBL.	?-PL.-NOM.	?-PL.-INTER.	?-PL.-VOC.

-ró	-rí	-rá	-ríi	-ree
F.ABS.	F.OBL.	F.NOM.	F.INTER.	F.VOC.
-nnó	-nní	-nná	-nníi	´-nnee
F.ABS.	F.OBL.	F.NOM.	F.INTER.	F.VOC.

-nta	-nta	-nti	-ntee	-ntoo
PL.-ABS.?	PL.-ABS.?	PL.-NOM.	PL.-INTER.?	PL.-VOC.

In the above analysis, stems such as *-g-* and *-r-* are ignored.

The plural element *-t-* is usually followed by *-u* if the case is oblique. In this regard *-nta-* 'and others' is exceptional, and the *t* element might not be *-t-* given in (4.2.10-1).[375]

Postpositions

I cannot say for certain whether the following analysis is correct or not, but it would be worth introducing it since certainly postpositions are morphologically similar to other nominals (see section 4.2.8.1).

(4.2.10-10)

	Non-predicative	Predicative	Interrogative
'with'	-ra	-ra	-ree
	ABS.	ABS.	INTER.
'for, to'	-ssi	-ssa	-ssee
	ADV.	ABS.	INTER.

---

[375] However, I have sometimes encountered an oblique form with the ending *-u*, which was judged to be wrong by one of my main consultants.

'in, at, by'	-ni	-na	-nee
	ADV.	ABS.	INTER.
'like'	-daani	-daana	-daanee
	ADV.	ABS.	INTER.

Preverbs

Some preverbs end in *i*, which reminds us of the adverbial ending *-i*.

báawa 'not present'

(4.2.10-11)

Predicative	Interrogative	Oblique	Absolutive
báawa	báawee	baínna	baínnaa
B-ABS.	B-INTER.	?	?
báa			
B			

(B stands for a basic form.)

As can be seen from the above tables in this section, feminine person-name nouns and the nominalizer *-ró*, for example, are inflected exactly in the same way. Thus we might be able to regard them as belonging to the same word class. Derived feminine singular common nouns (i.e. feminine forms in (4.2.10-3)) are similar to them in terms of inflection than to their masculine counterparts. Thus, we might be able to claim that *kan-íyo* 'bitch' and *kan-áa* 'dog', for example, belong to different word classes but *kan-íyo* 'bitch' and the nominalizer *-ró* etc. belong to the same word class. This is certainly an odd classification and I did not adopt it in this thesis. However, this analysis might be more inductive, reflecting the logic of the Wolaytta language more correctly.

I have established many word classes in this thesis. I believe that the treatment is justified from the viewpoint of standard linguistics. However, it is true that there are productive grammatical elements that are found in more than one word class. Thus items that belong to different word classes may have the same structure. Thus, there are cases in which we cannot easily determine to which word class a given word belongs, as

is discussed in section 4.2.2.2.7.

However, it might not be appropriate to consider that each word can be clearly classified as a member of one of a relatively large number of word classes. In other words, different types of nominals established in this thesis might be regarded as forming a continuity or a unity. Consider the nominals meaning 'Monday' and 'Thursday', which are loanwords from Amharic (ሰኞ *sannYo* 'Monday' and ሃሙስ *hAmus* 'Thursday'), for example.

(4.2.10-12)

he	sainn-ó	dog-íkke.
that	Monday-ABS.	forget-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I do not forget that Monday.'

(4.2.10-13)

7ááDD-ida	sainn-ó-ppé	dóómm-idi
pass-REL.PF.NOM.	Monday-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.3M.SG.

hagáá-ní	de7-ées.
this-in	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He has been here since last Monday.'

(4.2.10-14)

he	sainn-óí	7íít-a.
that	Monday-NOM.	bad-ABS.

   'That Monday was bad.'

(4.2.10-15)

laa	hácci	galláss-ai	sainn-óo?
hey	today	day-NOM.M.SG.	Thursday-INTER.

   'Hey, is today Thursday?'

(4.2.10-16)

he	hamúús-á	dog-íkke.
that	Thursday-ABS.	forget-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I do not forget that Thursday.'

(4.2.10-17)

7ááDD-ida	hamúús-á-ppé	dóómm-idi
pass-REL.PF.NOM.	Thursday-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.3M.SG.

hagáá-ní	de7-ées.
this-in	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He has been here since last Thursday.'

(4.2.10-18)

he	hamúús-í	7íít-a.
that	Thursday-NOM.	bad-ABS.

   'That Thursday was bad.'

(4.2.10-19)

laa	hácci	galláss-ai	hamúús-ee?
hey	today	day-NOM.M.SG.	Thursday-INTER.

   'Hey, is today Thursday?'

It would be very easy to gloss the words. However, it is difficult to determine to which word class these words belong. Are they place-name nouns? Are they non-concrete common nouns? Do they form an independent word class?[376] Such questions seem to be meaningless. I might have established unnecessarily many, but definitely an

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[376] Very occasionally these words may also be inflected as concrete common nouns. Incidentally, *masKáínn-ó* 'Tuesday' is inflected in the same way as *sainn-ó* 'Monday', *7árb-á* 'Friday' is inflected in the same way as *hamúús-á* 'Thursday', *7or-úwa* 'Wednesday' is undoubtedly a Masculine Class O common noun, and *Keer-áá* 'Saturday' and *wogg-áá* 'Sunday' are common nouns of a special kind (see section 4.2.1.8).

inadequate number of, word classes in this thesis.

In any case, it is very difficult to properly analyze Wolaytta nominals, both synchronically and diachronically.

4.3   Indeclinables

In this section, various words that are not inflected are discussed. Some indeclinable words, however, were treated in preceding sections as nominals (for example, *bení* 'old times' in section 4.2.1.3.6.1, *hashshú* 'fortunately' in section 4.2.1.3.6.2). There are different kinds of indeclinables in Wolaytta. The classification below might be too rough.

4.3.1   Independent Indeclinables
4.3.1.1   Nominal Indeclinables

Most adverbial words in Wolaytta are declinable, and they can be regarded as nominals although they may be fairly "defective", i.e. their inflection may be fairly incomplete. Some of them are actually indeclinable, but can be regarded as nominals based on their endings. Such words are discussed in sections 4.2.1.3.6.1 and 4.2.1.3.6.2.

Judging from their forms, however, some adverbial words cannot be regarded as nominals. Furthermore, they are not inflected. Such words are identified as adverbial indeclinables in this thesis. They include, for example, *Cóo* 'in vain', which Adams (1983: 270) describes as a manner word, a kind of particle.

(4.3.1.1-1)

nééní	Cóo	haasay-áasa.
you	in vain	speak-IMPF.2SG.

   'You speak in vain.'

Conventionalized onomatopoeias, such as the following, could be included here[377].

(4.3.1.1-2)

kap-ói	cáa cáa	g-íis.
bird-NOM.M.SG.	(onomatopoeia)	say-PF.3M.SG.

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[377] It would be difficult to say that (some of) the following are indeclinable nominals, but the possibility is not zero.

'The bird chirped.'

(4.3.1.1-3)

kan-ái	háu háu	g-íis.
dog-NOM.M.SG.	(onomatopoeia)	say-PF.3M.SG.

'The dog barked.'

(4.3.1.1-4)

7ír-ai	gagaga	g-íis.
rain-NOM.M.SG.	(onomatopoeia)	say-PF.3M.SG.

'It roared before it rained.'

The demonstrative words *yáa* 'to there' and *háa* 'to here', which are mentioned in section 4.2.6.3, could be included here.

The indeclinable word *Kíí* 'little' is always followed by a nominal. Thus, it may be called "adjectival indeclinable".

(4.3.1.1-5)

Kíí	Táár-iya	me77-áasu.
little	jug-NOM.F.SG.	break-PF.3F.SG.

'The small jug broke.'

It is often followed by *b-áá* 'thing' discussed in section 4.2.1.8.

(4.3.1.1-6)

7iss-í	Kíí	b-á	maTín-ee	d-íí-kkó
one-OBL.	little	thing-OBL.	salt-NOM.M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-if

7imm-á.
give-OPT.2SG.

'If there is a little amount of salt, give (it to me).'

(4.3.1.1-7)

gaash-é	Kíí	b-áí	d-ées.
millet-like cereal-OBL.	little	thing-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'There is a little amount of Eragrostis abyssinica (a kind of cereal, ጤፍ *Tef* in Amharic).'

   Remember that the interrogative words *7áí* 'what' (section 4.2.7.2) and *7áú* 'where' (section 4.2.7.3) are not inflected. These would be identified as substantive indeclinables.

4.3.1.2   Interjections

   Interjections in this thesis are autonomous indeclinable words that are used to express emotion, to address or respond to the hearer(s), or to fill blanks in a sentence or between sentences caused by various reasons. I have no idea regarding what these functions have in common. However, to cite 田窪's (Takubo 2005: 18) idea would be helpful that an interjection is a phonetic manifestation of a mental operation that is related to a syntactic operation or the management of the memory data-base[378]. I will describe some Wolaytta interjections in the following[379].

   There are not a few conventionalized interjections in Wolaytta. For example:

7áne 'please, let's, let me'

   This is found at the beginning of a sentence that expresses a wish for realization of some situation in the future.

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[378] The original text in Japanese is as follows: '感動詞、間投詞は統語操作や記憶データベース処理にかかわる心的操作が外的に音声として出たものと考えるわけである'.

[379] It is often said that an interjection has no grammatical connection to the rest of the same sentence. As 友定 (Tomosada 2005 :58) points out, however, there may be a collocation between an interjection and its following element. According to him, in one variant of the Okayama dialect of Japanese (spoken in Sakamoto of Niimi-shi) the interjection *yare* requires the sentence to be concluded with the ending *ya noo*. In Wolaytta, such a strong formal correlation is not found. However the occurrence of the interjection *laa* 'hey', for example, is restricted to interrogative and optative sentences. This seems to be explained semantically, but further studies on the grammatical status of interjections are needed.

(4.3.1.2-1)

<u>7áne</u>   7í   woTT-íi-ni   be7-aná.

let's   he   run-SUBOR.-in see-FUT.

   'Let's see him running (lit. we will see when he runs).'

(4.3.1.2-2)

<u>7áne</u>   paránj-oo   yoot-íyo   b-í

please   foreigner-VOC.   tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ. thing-NOM.

d-íí-kkó   yoot-á.

exist-SUBOR.-if   tell-OPT.2SG.

   'Hey foreigner, if there is something you tell, please tell (it).'

(4.3.1.2-3)

<u>7áne</u>   7iss-í   gúútt-a   yétt-iyo   yéTT-ais.

let me one-OBL.   small-OBL.   song-ABS.F.SG. sing-IMPF.1SG.

   'Let me sing a small song (lit. I sing a small song).'

(4.3.1.2-4)

<u>7áne</u>   7ás-oo   woTT-ékkétíi?

please   people-VOC.   run-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2PL.

   'Hey people, don't you run?'

7ée 'yes, right'

   This is used to express an agreement with an assumption expressed in the speech and/or behavior of the hearer(s).

(4.3.1.2-5)

'shamm-ádii?'   '<u>7ée</u>   shamm-áas.'

 buy-INTER.PF.2SG.   yes   buy-PF.1SG.

'Did you buy (it)?' 'Yes, I bought (it).'

(4.3.1.2-6)
'7er-íkkíi,   sháyy-e   keett-áa-kka?'
  know-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.   tea-OBL.   house-ABS.M.SG.-too

'7ée,   7ée,   7er-íkke.'
 yes   yes   know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'Don't you know the tearoom?' 'No, no, I do not know.'

cíi 'no'
    This is used to express a disagreement with an assumption expressed in the speech
and/or behavior of the hearer(s).

(4.3.1.2-7)
'nééní   zín-o   b-áádii?'   '<u>cíi</u>   b-ábe7íkke.'
 you   yesterday-ABS.   go-INTER.PF.2SG.   no   go-NEG.PF.1SG.

    'Did you go yesterday?' 'No, I did not go.'

(4.3.1.2-8)
'zín-o   b-ábe7íkkíi?'   '<u>cíi</u>   b-áas.'
 yesterday-ABS.   go-NEG.INTER.PF.2SG.   no   go-PF.1SG.

    'Didn't you go yesterday?' 'Yes (lit. no), I went.'

(4.3.1.2-9)
'7agg-árkii   ta-keetta7aaw-áu
cease-(interrogative ending)   my-householder-VOC.M.SG.

7agg-árkii?'   g-íi-ni   '<u>cíi</u>
cease-(interrogative ending)   say-SUBOR.-in   no

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ta-keetta7aayy-ée	tá	7er-áis
my-householder-VOC.F.SG.	I	know-IMPF.1SG.

tá	7er-áis.'	g-í-nne
I	know-IMPF.1SG.	say-CONV.-and

'When she said "Stop, my householder, stop!" he said "No, my householder (i.e. wife). I know, I know.", and immediately . . .'

(4.3.1.2-10)

cíi	cíi	táání	kóyy-iyo-g-éé
no	no	I	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

sunkurúút-o.
onion-ABS.

'No, no, what I want is an onion.'

It may be worth noting that this interjection begins with the voiceless postalveoral affricate, which usually does not occur word-initially in this language.

laa (masculine singular, and plural), ***bii*** (feminine singular) 'hey'
  These are used to attract attention of the hearer(s) in a question or a command.

(4.3.1.2-11)

laa	hagéé	7áí	b-ée?
hey	this	what	thing-INTER.

'Hey, what is this?'

(4.3.1.2-12)

laa	ta-boll-í	haasay-óppa.
hey	my-body-ADV.	speak-NEG.OPT.2SG.

'Hey, don't speak ill of me (lit. on my body)!'

(4.3.1.2-13)

laa	na7-átoo	ta-míízz-iya	woddánt-á
hey	child-VOC.PL.	my-cow-NOM.F.SG.	(proper name)-NOM.

7áw-aa-ni	de7-ái?
where-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-INTER.IMPF.3F.SG.

   'Hey boys, where is my cow, Wodante?'

(4.3.1.2-14)

bii	ta-micc-ée	wáan-ai?
hey	my-sister-VOC.	be how-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Hey my sister, how are you?'

(4.3.1.2-15)

bii	ha	geelá7-ee	háa	y-á.
hey	this	young virgin-VOC.F.SG.	to here	come-OPT.2SG.

   'Hey this young virgin, come here!'

For the reasons for not regarding these as personal pronouns as some previous works do, see section 4.2.4.1.3.

sími, síma 'thus, then, so'

   The main consultants translated these words into Amharic as ከዚያ በኋላ *ka-zziyA bahWAlA* 'after that' or እንግዲህ *engedih* 'therefore, so, now (thus), in any case'. Thus some might consider that these are conjunctives, which are discussed in section 4.3.1.3. However, these occur almost only when the speaker gets lost for words. Thus they are used almost exclusively to fill blanks in utterances, and they usually do not occur in prepared written texts and sentences obtained by means of elicitation. For these reasons, I regard them as interjections, especially those peculiar to casual colloquial Wolaytta.

(4.3.1.2-16)

7usúppun	7as-ái	keett-áa	ment-í
six (OBL.)	people-NOM.M.SG.	house-ABS.M.SG.	break-CONV.3SG.

gel-í-nne	na7-íyo	simi	háppi
enter-CONV.3M.SG.-and	child-ABS.F.SG.	then	(preverb)

7oott-í	tookk-í-nne
do-CONV.3PL.	carry-CONV.3PL.-and

makiin-áa	boll-í	7ol-ídaa-geetí
car-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.	throw-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.NOM.PL.

makiin-áa	laagg-ídí	makiin-áa	dirb-áa-ni
car-ABS.M.SG.	drive-CONV.3PL.	car-ABS.M.SG.	haste-OBL.M.SG.-in

laagg-ídí	laagg-ídí	guyy-é	sími
drive-CONV.3PL.	drive-CONV.3PL.	behind-ABS.	then

katam-áa	7ekk-ídí	y-í	7agg-ídosona.
city-ABS.M.SG.	take-CONV.3PL.	come-CONV.3PL.	cease-PF.3PL.

'The six people broke and entered the house, and immediately, uh, raised and carried the girl, and immediately threw (her) on the car. They drove the car, drove the car with speed, and later, uh, took (her) and came to the city immediately.'

(4.3.1.2-17)

7í-kka	sími	7ato	kand-ó,	mantáa
he-too	then	Mr. (Amharic)	(person name)-OBL.	Mr.

kand-ó,	kand-ó	kál-óí
(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-NOM.

dár-o	dár-o	7aduss-á-nne	7órd-e
much-OBL.	much-OBL.	long-ABS.-and	fat-ABS.

mér-aa-kka	7ars-á	húúP-ee
looks-ABS.M.SG.-too	red-ABS.	head-NOM.M.SG.

dár-o	puuluntáám-a	sím
much-OBL.	gray-headed-ABS.	then

gid-íya-g-éé		ha	mér-aa
become-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.		this	looks-OBL.M.SG.

ló77-uwa-ra	ha	boll-áa	kúmett-a
good-OBL.M.SG..-with	this	body-OBL.M.SG.	full-OBL.

7aduss-áa-ra-nne	wogg-á	7órd-e
long-OBL.M.SG.-with-and	big-OBL.	fat-OBL.

par-áa-ni	sími	7útt-idaa-g-éé
horse-OBL.M.SG.-in	then	sit-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

bal-ée	kum-ídaashin	sími
day for mourning-NOM.M.SG.	fill-during the time	then

dár-o	Cór-a	par-áa
much-OBL.	many-OBL.	horse-ABS.M.SG.

kaal-ett-íyo-g-áá	7agg-í-nne
follow-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	cease-CONV.3M.SG.-and

. . .
. . .

'He also, uh, Mr. Kando, Mr. Kando, Kando Kalo, who is very very tall and fat, whose looks are red, whose head is, uh, gray-headed, who, uh, sit on the big fat horse with this good looks and with the full long body, did not make, uh, very many horses follow (him) when people had gathered for the mourning day, and . . .'

(4.3.1.2-18)
síma	wáát-anee?
then	do what-INTER.FUT.

'Then, what do you do?'

There are also not a few interjections that are phonologically distinctive.

For example, nasalized vowels, whose quality may be alien to the Wolaytta five-vowel system, are contained in the following[380].

(4.3.1.2-19)

<u>7~a77~á.</u>

'It should not be so.' 'It is not acceptable.'

(4.3.1.2-20)

<u>7~Í~Í</u>	<u>7~Í~Í</u>	wóíg-adii?
(interjection)	(interjection)	say what-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What? Pardon, what did you say?'

(4.3.1.2-21)

<u>nhá77~a~a</u>	hagéé	tooh-ói	ta-Teess-áa
(interjection)	this	burden-NOM.M.SG.	my-waist-ABS.M.SG.

duutt-írg-iis.
snap-compeletely-PF.3M.SG.

'Ouch, this burden has snapped my waist!'

In the following, the geminated *r* is observed.

(4.3.1.2-22)

7arrá	7arrá.
come on	come on

'Come on, now!'   (For a goat or sheep to urge it to copulate.)

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[380] A tilde means that its following vowel is nasalized. The capital I stands for a schwa-like mid vowel.

In addition, there is a series of frequent words used to fill blanks in utterances, apart from *sími* and *síma* discussed above. The members can be transcribed as *7ee*, *7eee*, *7een*, *7iin*, *7iiiiin*, and so on. As can be seen, some of them contain an extra-long vowel, which is phonologically distinctive. Furthermore, the vowel may not be typical /e/ or /i/. It may be replaced by a vowel that is not canonical in the Wolaytta five-vowel system. It may be replaced by a schwa-like mid vowel or if it is not followed by a nasal element it may be replaced by a more open vowel. These forms might be derived from an underlying form such as *7ee*, with or without lengthening of a vowel, adjustment of vowel quality, etc., depending on the nuance (see 定延 and 田窪 (Sadanobu and Takubo 1995: 75))[381].

As in other languages, a word that is originally not an interjection may be used like an interjection. For example, *sár-o* 'peace (hello)' and *ló77-o* 'fine', which are classified as "greetings" as a sub-class of "non-clause" in Adams (1983: 272), are undoubtedly non-concrete Masculine Class O common nouns in the absolutive case (see section 4.2.1.3.5) although they have already become conventional expressions. In this thesis such words are not regarded as interjections.

However, since *ló77-o* 'fine' can be changed into *lóo7* or the like in its actual pronunciation, we may be able to consider that it is becoming a true interjection. *7eenó* 'OK' raises another, but a similar, problem. It is evidently related to the verb *7een-* 'to agree' and seems to be a non-concrete absolutive form of the Masculine Class O common noun **7een-úwa* 'consent', but it is actually not used[382]. Furthermore, *7eenó* 'OK' has variants: *7eeró* (the consonant *r* instead of *n*), and even *7eró* (with the short vowel *e* instead of the long vowel *ee*). Such phonetic modifications remind us of interjections introduced above in this section, such as *7ee*, *7een*, and *7iiiiin* 'well, uh'. Thus the interjectional word *7eenó* 'OK' might be a true interjection that has a cognate verb to it.

Sapir (1921: 5) says that: 'Interjections are among the least important of speech elements.' However, each of them has its own meaning and function. They would be rather different from those of a noun or a verb in quality. However, we should not ignore interjections when we describe or consider languages. Comprehensive studies on interjections, which must be accompanied by detailed phonetic observation and careful semantic and/or pragmatic analysis of each variant, will bring about a new viewpoint to

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[381] The vowel alternation in *sími* and *síma* might be explained in the same way.
[382] Lemma (E.C. 1992: 41), however, gives *eenuwaa* 'consent, willingness'.

languages.

4.3.1.3　Conjunctions

Conjunctions in this thesis are autonomous indeclinable words whose function is to introduce or insert a linguistic unit (word, phrase, etc.) into an utterance that is complete by itself. Thus the term "conjunction" might be inappropriate. However, since its members roughly correspond to so-called "conjunctions" in other languages, the term is adopted here. There are only two conjunctions in this language.

wóí 'or'

This conjunction is used to introduce or insert an alternative in the broad sense. Adams (1983: 277) describes it as a coordinator. It is often followed by the dependent indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether', which is discussed in section 4.3.2, without changing the meaning. Since *-kko* 'if, whether' is a form to present one possibility out of many possibilities in the irrealis world as is discussed in section 4.3.2, it goes with the selective conjunction, whose function is more or less similar to that of *-kko* 'if, whether'.

As the English translation 'or' and the description above would suggest, this conjunction may indicate an alternative choice. In other words, it is used to list possible choices that are mutually exclusive.

(4.3.1.3-1)

nééní	<u>wóí</u>-kkó	7í	b-ó.
you	or-if	he	go-OPT.3M.SG.

'You (go), or let him go.'

(4.3.1.3-2)

yohaannís-í	TammaK-íyo	7alaapétett-aa
(person name)-NOM.	baptize-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	authority-ABS.M.SG.

7ekk-ído-i	Tooss-áa-ppee-yyé
take-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	god-OBL.M.SG.-from-INDEC.

<u>wóí</u>	7as-á-ppee?
or	person-OBL.-from

'Is it from heaven or from a man that John took authority to baptize?'
(From Mark 11:30)

(4.3.1.3-3)

7oott-íiddi	d-íya-kko	<u>wóí</u>-kkó
work-SIM.3M.SG.	exist-INFN.-if	or-if

7oott-énn-aa-ni	d-íya-kko
work-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-INFN.-if

'whether he is working or not'

However, this conjunction is not always used disjunctively. An alternative introduced by it may be a paraphrase or explanation of its preceding element(s).

(4.3.1.3-4)

woláitt-á	wóg-aa-ni	<u>wóí</u>-kkó	woláitt-á
Wolaytta-OBL.	culture-OBL.M.SG.-in	or-if	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á-u
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	wife-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-ida	7as-áa-ssi	mácc-iyo
want-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-for	wife-ABS.F.SG.

7ekk-an-á-u	heezz-ú	7og-etí
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	three-OBL.	way-NOM.PL.

de7-óosona.
exist-IMPF.3PL.

'In the Wolaytta culture, or in the Wolaytta land, there are three ways to marry (lit. take) a wife for people who wanted to marry a wife.'

(4.3.1.3-5)

hagáá-ppé	kas-é	bení	woláítt-á
this-from	before-ABS.	old times	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	7as-ái	7iss-í
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.

b-áí	met-óbare	wóí-kkó	7ee	na7-á
thing-NOM.M.SG.	trouble-after	or-if	uh	child-ABS.

yel-énn-aa-ni	7iTT-óbare	. . .
bear-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	refuse-after	. . .

'Before, in old times, in the Wolaytta land, if one thing troubles (people), or, uh, if they cannot bear a child, they . . .'

(4.3.1.3-6)

hagéé	woláítt-á	hais-íya	taarík-iya	wóí
this	Wolaytta-OBL.	tale-ABS.M.SG.	history-ABS.M.SG.	or

beett-á	b-á.
be seen-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.

'This is a Wolaytta tale, history, or what is seen.'

An alternative introduced by this conjunction may also be a representative possible choice. In other words, this conjunction is used to list examples.

(4.3.1.3-7)

na7-íya	giy-áa	b-íishin	wóí-kkó
child-NOM.F.SG.	market-ABS.M.SG.	go-while	or-if

haatt-á-u	b-íishin	wóí-kkó	7ee
water-OBL.M.SG.-for	go-while	or-if	uh

yétt-aa	yeeh-úwa	b-ííshin
song-ABS.M.SG.	mourning ceremony-ABS.M.SG.	go-while

7og-íya-ppe	ba-lágg-etuu-ra	b-íídí
road-OBL.M.SG.-from	his own-friend-OBL.PL.-with	go-CONV.3M.SG.

dap-ídí	7ep-íyo	7og-íya.
abduct-CONV.3M.SG.	take-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	way-ABS.M.SG.

'To go with his friends and take the girl by abduction when she goes to the market, or for water, or to the song (place) or mourning ceremony, it is the way.'

(4.3.1.3-8)

ta-gishsh-á-u-nne	wongél-iya	mishiraacc-úwa
my-reason-OBL.M.SG.-for-and	evangel-OBL.M.SG.	good news-OBL.M.SG.

gishsh-á-u-nne	keett-áa	wói	7ishantá
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for-and	house-ABS.M.SG.	or	brothers (ABS.)

wói	miccentá	wói	7aaw-áa	wói
or	sisters (ABS.)	or	father-ABS.M.SG.	or

7aayy-íyo	wói	mácc-iyo	wói	naatá
mother-ABS.F.SG.	or	wife-ABS.F.SG.	or	children (ABS.)

wói	gád-iya	7agg-ída	7as-í
or	field-ABS.M.SG.	cease-REL.PF.SUBJ.	person-NOM.

7óóní-nné	. . .
who-and	. . .

'Anyone who has left home or brothers or sisters or father or mother or wife or children or fields for me and the gospel . . .'   (From Mark 10:29)

(4.3.1.3-9)

7ityoPP-íya	7as-ái	par-áa
Ethiopia-OBL.M.SG.	people-NOM.M.SG.	horse-OBL.M.SG.

7ash-úwa	<u>wóí</u>-kkó	har-íya	7ash-úwa
meat-ABS.M.SG..	or-if	donkey-OBL.M.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.

<u>wóí</u>-kkó	maggaayy-ée	7ash-úwa	m-éénná.
or-if	mare-OBL.F.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.	eat-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

  'Ethiopian people eat neither horse meat, donkey meat, nor mare meat.'

It seems that an alternative introduced by this conjunction may be a correction of its preceding element(s).

(4.3.1.3-10)

sáánn-í	hástám-ú	láítt-a	kawoti
(person name)-NOM.	thirty-OBL.	year-ABS.	(error)[383]

<u>wóí</u>	hástám-á-nné	7iccá-u	láítt-a	kawot-íis
or	thirty-ABS.-and	five-OBL.	year-ABS.	become king-PF.3m.sg.

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni.
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in

  'Sana reigned 30, no, 35 years in the Wolaytta land.'

In Amharic, so-called disjunctive conjunctions meaning 'or' are forms based on ወይ *way*: ወይም *wayemm* 'or', ወይስ *wayess* 'or', etc. Their relation to Wolaytta *wóí* 'or' is not clear.

In Wolaytta, there are interrogative words that contain *woi-*: *wóís-aa* 'how much' (see section 4.2.3.1.1), *wóíg-* 'to say what' (see section 4.2.7.7.2). It is not clear if they are related to the conjunction *wóí* 'or'.

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[383] Perhaps this is an interrupted form of *kawot-íis* 'he became king, he reigned', which is seen in the next line.

Ká 'furthermore'

This conjunction is used to introduce or insert information somewhat alien to its preceding context. It is often followed by *-ssi* without changing the meaning. It is not clear whether this *-ssi* is related to the dative postposition *-ssi* 'to, for' (see section 4.2.8.4.1). For convenience' sake, here both variants will be discussed together.

Alien information introduced by this conjunction may be adversative to its preceding context. Thus Ohman and Hailu (1976: 159) translate *k'as* as 'but'. (4.3.1.3-11) would be an example of this use. On the contrary the conjunction is widely used to make a story proceed non-adversatively. (4.3.1.3-12) would be an example of this use. However, it is not the case that all examples are easily classified into one or the other of these two. For example, either interpretation would be possible for (4.3.1.3-13), depending on how one looks at it.

Unlike the conjunction *wóí* 'or' discussed above in this section, the conjunction *Ká* 'furthermore' may or may not occur at the beginning of the element(s) that it introduces. As seen in (4.3.1.3-11), (4.3.1.3-12), etc, it often occurs after the first constituent of the element(s) that it introduces.

(4.3.1.3-11)

né	túm-u	baKK-í-kkó	tá	níyo	miishsh-áa-ra
you	true-ADV.	slap-SUBOR.-if	I	to you	money-OBL.M.SG.-with

yedd-á	7agg-aná.	né	<u>Ká</u>
give up-CONV.1SG.	cease-FUT.	you	furthermore

baKK-énn-aa-ni	yáyy-ada	7agg-á
slap-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	fear-CONV.2SG.	cease-CONV.2SG.

7agg-í-kkó	miishsh-áa	tá	7ekk-aná.
cease-SUBOR.-if	money-ABS.M.SG.	I	take-FUT.

'If you really slap (the king), I will give up (this dispute) for you with money (i.e. will pay money). If you fear and give up it without slapping (the king), I will take the money.'

(4.3.1.3-12)

shum-a	gub-i	miha7él-á
chief-OBL.	(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-ABS.

g-íyo	kaw-úwa	yel-íis.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	king-ABS.m.sg.	bear-PF.3M.SG.

miha7él-á-ppé	Kassí	gírm-á
(person name)-OBL.-from	furthermore	(person name)-ABS.

g-íyo	kaw-ói	yel-étt-iis.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	king-NOM.M.SG.	bear-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

gírm-á-ppé	katám-í	yel-étt-iis.
(person name)-OBL.-from	(person name)-NOM.	bear-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

katám-á-ppé	Kassí	7azzáínny-á
(person name)-OBL.-from	furthermore	(person name)-ABS.

g-íyo	kaw-ói	yel-étt-iis.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	king-NOM.m.sg.	bear-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Chief Gibe begot a king called Michael. From Michael furthermore, a king called Girma was born. From Girma, Katama was born. From Katama furthermore, a king called Azaign was born.'

(4.3.1.3-13)

7í-yyo	maay-úwa-kka	shamm-í	7imm-íiddi
her-to	clothes-ABS.M.SG.-too	buy-CONV.3M.SG.	give-SIM.3M.SG.

7een	dár-o	b-áá	dár-o	b-áá
uh	many-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	many-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

kunt-ídí	7imm-ídí	d-íí-shiini
fill-CONV.3M.SG.	give-CONV.3M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-while

7á	Ká	7ee	mér-aa-kka	ló77-o
she	furthermore	uh	looks-ABS.M.SG.-too	good-ABS.

gid-ídaa-r-á	diCC-á
become-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	grow-CONV.3F.SG.

simm-ádá	. . .	har-á	7azn-áa
return-CONV.3F.SG.	. . .	other-OBL.	husband-ABS.M.SG.

gel-an-á-u	Kopp-ádá	. . .
enter-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	think-CONV.3F.SG.	. . .

'While he was buying clothes and giving them to her, while he was giving many things, she, who has good looks, grew up and . . . she was thinking of marrying (lit. to enter) another husband, and . . .'

(4.3.1.3-14)

heezzánt-o	7og-ée	Kássí
third-OBL.	way-NOM.M.SG.	furthermore

láb-a	g-éétett-ees.
bringing to agreement-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

(After an explanation of the second way of marrying) 'The third way is called "laba".'

(4.3.1.3-15)

7as-ái	7óóy-ett-aa-g-áá
people-NOM.M.SG.	quarrel-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

makk-íyo-g-aa-ni	7een	Ká
reconcile-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in	uh	furthermore

7ee	mácc-iya	keetta7aaw-áa-ra
uh	wife-NOM.F.SG.	householder-OBL.M.SG.-with

7óóy-ett-aa-r-ó der-ée
quarrel-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS. people-NOM.M.SG.

der-íya-ra 7óóy-ett-aa-g-áá
people-OBL.M.SG.-with quarrel-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

sigett-íyo-g-aa-ni ló77-o b-áá
reconcile-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in good-OBL. thing-ABS.M.SG.

yoot-ídí Ká 7iít-a met-ói
tell-CONV.3PL. furthermore bad-OBL. problem-NOM.M.SG.

gákk-iyo d-é-kká ló77-o
reach-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ. time-ABS.-too good-OBL.

heráág-aa 7ee danday-ídí
prophecy-ABS.M.SG. uh be able to-CONV.3M.SG.

pínn-iyo 7og-íya yoot-ídí
cross-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ. way-ABS.M.SG. tell-CONV.3M.SG.

. . .
. . .

'In reconciling people who quarreled each other, in reconciling a wife who quarreled with her husband, people who quarreled with other people, he told a good thing and, when a bad problem happened too he can prophesy well, and told a way by which we cross (i.e. resolve the problem), and . . .'

(4.3.1.3-16)
saann-í túbb-é-ppé wonjal-ídí
(person name)-NOM. (person name)-OBL.-from rebel-CONV.3M.SG.

wólK-aa-ni kawótett-aa 7ekk-íis.
power-OBL.M.SG.-in kingdom-ABS.M.SG. take-PF.3M.SG.

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wólK-aa-ni	kawótett-aa	7ekk-íi-ni
power-OBL.M.SG.-in	kingdom-ABS.M.SG.	take-SUBOR.-in

túbb-éé	Kássí	shá7-u	naatá
(person name)-NOM.	furthermore	thousand-OBL.	children (ABS.)

yel-ídoo-g-áá	ba-keett-áa
bear-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	his own-house-ABS.M.SG.

ba-7áK-uwa	7ol-ídí	. . .
his own-property-ABS.M.SG.	throw-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'Sana took the kingdom from Tube by force, committing a crime. When he took the kingdom by force, Tobe left his thousand children, his house, and his property. And . . .'

(4.3.1.3-17)

woláítt-á	maall-áa	kawótett-ai
Wolaytta-OBL.	Royal family-OBL.M.SG.	kingdom-NOM.M.SG.

7átt-i-ni	tigir-íya	kawótett-ai
stay behind-SUBOR.-in	Tigre-OBL.M.SG.	kingdom-NOM.M.SG.

7eKK-íisi	yáág-ees.	tigir-ée-kka	Kássí
stand-PF.3M.SG.	say so-IMPF.3M.SG.	Tigre-NOM.M.SG.-too	furthermore

7áu-ppe	y-íídona	g-íídí
where-from	come-INTER.PF.3PL.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

7as-ái	7oicc-í-kkó	7iss-í	7iss-í
people-NOM.M.SG.	ask-SUBOR.-if	one-OBL.	one-OBL.

7as-ái	tigir-é-ppé	y-íídosona
people-NOM.3M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-from	come-PF.3PL.

yáág-ees.
say so-IMPF.3M.SG.

'They say that when the Wolaytta Mala kingdom fell, the Tigre kingdom rose. If people ask saying "Where did Tigre come from?", some say "They came from Tigray."'

4.3.2 Dependent Indeclinables

In this section various non-autonomous words that are not inflected are discussed.[384]

-rka 'alone'

This is attached only to personal pronouns in the oblique case, to express "alone (NOM.)". It does not have a tonal prominence.

(4.3.2-1)

ta-sóó-ní	tá-rka	d-áis.
my-home-in	my-alone	exist-IMPF.1SG.

'I am in my house alone.'

(4.3.2-2)

nú-rka	b-aaná.
our-alone	go-FUT.

'We alone will go.'

(4.3.2-3)

Kajjéél-í	keetta7aayy-íya	7aa-r-á
(person name)	householder-NOM.F.SG.	his-NMNL.-NOM.

píl-aa	ló77-o	7óíss-aa-ni
cheese-ABS.M.SG.	good-OBL.	butter-OBL.M.SG.-in

7óíKK-ada	katt-ádá	giig-iss-ádá
seize-CONV.3F.SG.	cook-CONV.3F.SG.	be ready-CAUS.-CONV.3F.SG.

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[384] Demonstrative determiners discussed in section 4.2.6.1 could be included here. Note, however, that they are prefixal or enclitics while indeclinables discussed in this section are suffixal or proclitics.

7aatt-an-á	han-í-shiini	CinC-ídí
serve-INFN.-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-while	become shrewd-CONV.3M.SG.

bá-rka	m-aan-á-u
his own-alone	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kóyy-idaa-g-éé	. . .
want-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	. . .

'While his wife had seized, cooked, and prepared it with good butter and was about to serve it, Kajela, who became shrewd and wanted to eat the cheese alone . . .'

-kka 'too'

The geminated consonant of this indeclinable is degeminated when it is attached to a word ending phonetically with a consonant[385]. See (4.3.2-8). This indeclinable is tonally indeterminate. If its immediately preceding sound is tonally prominent it is also tonally prominent, while if its immediately preceding sound is not tonally prominent it is also not tonally prominent. See also footnote 336 in section 4.2.8.3.

This indeclinable has apparently many different uses. For example, it is used to introduce a parallel and/or additional item.

(4.3.2-4)

ta-kan-áa	súnt-ai	sark-á.
my-dog-OBL.M.SG.	name-NOM.M.SG.	(proper name)-ABS.

ha	bitán-iya	súnt-ai-kka	sark-á.
this	man-OBL.M.SG.	name-NOM.M.SG.-too	(proper name)-ABS.

'My dog's name is Sarka. This man's name is also Sarka.'

(4.3.2-5)

kan-ái-kka	kútt-oi-kka	gawar-íya-kka
dog-NOM.M.SG.-too	chicken-NOM.M.SG.-too	cat-NOM.F.SG.-too

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[385] However, Adams (1983: 56-57) would consider that in this case too the consonant of the indeclinable is phonetically geminated, although he would regard it as being phonemically non-geminated.

bá-u	bá-u	waass-ées.
his own-for	his own-for	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The dog, the rooster, and the cat, too, were crying alone (lit. for himself for himself).'

(4.3.2-6)

ha77í	wúúK-ett-ida	keett-áa-ni
now	steal-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	house-OBL.M.SG.-in

miishsh-ái	méh-ee-<u>kka</u>[386]	beett-íbe7énná.
money-NOM.M.SG.	cattle-NOM.M.SG.-too	be seen-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'Now, in the house where the thief stole (lit. that is stolen), neither money nor cattle was not seen.'

(4.3.2-7)

7í-yyo	hanKétt-an-a-u-<u>kka</u>	7een
her-for	scold-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to-too	uh

yiillot-an-á-u-<u>kka</u>	7ér-ai
get angry-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to-too	idea-NOM.M.SG.

7iTT-íi-ni	. . .
refuse-SUBOR.-in	. . .

'When it became impossible (lit. idea refused) for her to scold or to get angry . . .'

(4.3.2-8)

hegáá	gidd-ó-n-<u>ká</u>	ha	tá	7od-ído
that	inside-OBL.-in-too	this	I	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

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[386] As this example shows, this indeclinable may be attached only to the last item of coordinate ones. Compare this with (4.3.2-5), for example, in which the indeclinable is attached to all the three coordinate items in it.

7as-atí	. . .	báawa.
people-NOM.PL.	. . .	not present

'Those people I told . . . are not found inside that (book) too.'

A parallel and/or additional item introduced by this indeclinable may correspond to a clause or a sentence, not to a word or a phrase. For example, in (4.3.2-9) the fact that the first speaker stayed in peace is paralleled to the fact that the second speaker came in peace. In (4.3.2-10), a woman's wanting to marry (lit. entering a husband) is paralleled to her believing what was told[387].

(4.3.2-9)

'hashshú	sár-o	y-áadasa.'	'nééní-kká	hashshú
even	peace-ABS.	come-PF.2SG.	you-too	even

sár-o	gaMM-ádasa.'
peace-ABS.	stay-PF.2SG.

'You came in peace (i.e. welcome)!' 'You too stayed in peace!'

(4.3.2-10)

na7-íya	he	láb-ai
child-NOM.F.SG.	that	bringing to agreement-NOM.M.SG.

7od-ídoo-g-áá	7amman-í-kkó	hiinko
tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	believe--SUBOR.-if	well

7azn-áa-kka	gel-an-á-u	7í
husband-ABS.M.SG.-too	enter-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	he

lab-ídoo-g-áá-ní	kóyy-í-kkó
bring to agreement-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in	want--SUBOR.-if

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[387] The above examples in this section should also be analyzed in this way. For example, in (4.3.2-5) the fact that the dog is crying, the fact that the rooster is crying, and the fact that the cat is crying are paralleled.

'If the girl believes what that Laba (bringing to agreement for marriage) told, well, if she wants to marry (lit. enter a husband) because of what he persuaded (lit. brought to agreement) . . .'

The indeclinable *-kka* 'too' is often found in concessive or adversative expressions.

(4.3.2-11)

nééní	7oott-íi-ni-<u>kka</u>	go77-énná.
you	word-SUBOR.-in-too	be useful-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Even if you work, it would not be useful.'

(4.3.2-12)

sáánn-aa-g-áá		kéén-a	gid-an-á
(person name)-OBL.-NMNL.-OBL.		equal-ABS.	become-INFN.-ABS.

Tay-á	b-á	gid-í-kkó-<u>kká</u>
get lost-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if-too

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	7í-kká	góób-a	kaw-ó.
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	he-too	great-OBL.	king-ABS.

'Even if it (i.e. Ogato's kingdom) is what does not equal Sana's one, he also is a great king in the Wolaytta land.'

(4.3.2-13)

7aaw-ái	wói	keetta7as-ái
father-NOM.M.SG.	or	family-NOM.M.SG.

7aayy-íya-<u>kka</u>	na7-íya	de7-ó
mother-NOM.F.SG.-too	child-NOM.F.SG.	exist-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

s-áa	7er-óbare	. . .
place-ABS.M.SG.	know-after	. . .

'After (her) father, or (her) family, or even (her) mother, knows the place where the daughter is . . .'

(4.3.2-14)

ta-lágg-ee	y-íi-ni-kka	táání	b-áas.
my-friend-NOM.M.SG.	come-SUBOR.-in-too	I	go-PF.1SG.

'Although my friend came, I went out.'

The indeclinable *-kka* 'too' is often found in universal expressions, which are a kind of concessive expression.

(4.3.2-15)

7óóní-kká	y-íi-ni	tá-yyo	7od-á.
who-too	come-SUBOR.-in	me-for	tell-OPT.2SG.

'Tell me when anyone comes.'

(4.3.2-16)

7iss-í	maTááp-ai-kka	wull-íbe7énná.
one-OBL.	book-NOM.M.SG.-too	fall-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'No book fell.'

Likewise, the indeclinable *-kka* 'too' is often attached to a word meaning 'all' or the like.

(4.3.2-17)

hagáá	7ubb-áa-kka	kóyy-ais.
this	all-ABS.M.SG.-too	want-IMPF.1SG.

'I want all these.'

(4.3.2-18)

né	7oott-íyo	b-áí	né
you	do-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.M.SG.	you

han-íyo	b-áí	7ubb-áí-<u>kka</u>
become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-NOM.M.SG.	all-NOM.M.SG.-too

líkk-e	gid-énná.
correct-ABS.	become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'What you do, what you are, all things are not correct.'

(4.3.2-19)

he	wod-íya-ni	7etí	dárotoo	yoot-íyo
that	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	they	often	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

b-áí	sa7-áa-ni	wóDD-enna
thing-NOM.M.SG.	ground-OBL.M.SG.-in	descend-NEG.REL.

b-á.	múl-e	b-áí-<u>kká</u>
thing-ABS.	full-OBL.	thing-NOM.M.SG.-too

maadd-íya	b-á-nné	. . .
help-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.-and	. . .

    'What he (lit. they) was telling often at that time were what do not descend to the ground (i.e. what is realized). All of them are what are useful (lit. help), and . . .'

   This indeclinable *-kka* 'too' is also used in making reference to antecedent words or contexts.

(4.3.2-20)

7iss-í	wod-é	7iss-í	bitán-iya-kko
one-OBL.	time-ABS.	one-OBL.	man-OBL.M.SG.-toward

kais-ói	gel-ídí	d-íya
thief-NOM.M.SG.	enter-CONV.3M.SG.	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

b-á	7ubb-áa	mulleCC	7oott-ídí
thing-OBL.	all-ABS.M.SG.	(preverb, Amharic)	do-CONV.3M.SG.

7ep-írg-iis,		Kámm-i.	bitán-ee-kka	keehí
take-completely-PF.3M.SG.		night-ADV.	man-NOM.M.SG.-too	very

dár-o	daapur-ídí	TisK-ídaa-g-éé
many-ABS.	be tired-CONV.3M.SG.	sleep-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

hííT-aa-ppe	dend-énn-aa-ni
sleeping place-OBL.M.SG.-from	rise-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in

yáá-ní	ziNN-ó	s-áa-ni
in the remoter place-in	sleep-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.M.SG.-in

han-íi-ni	. . .
become-SUBOR.-in	. . .

'Once upon a time, a thief entered a man's house (lit. toward a man), and took completely everything that was there, at night. When the man, who had been tired very much, was there at a place where he slept, without rising from his bed . . .'

(4.3.2-21)

motolóm-éé	. . .	7oott-ído	7óós-oi
(person name)-NOM.	. . .	do-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	work-NOM.M.SG.

. . .	wolKáám-a	7óós-uwa.	hegéé-kká	7áí
. . .	powerful-OBL.	work-ABS.M.SG.	that-too	what

b-ée	g-íí-kkó	woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ppe
thing-INTER.	say-SUBOR.-if	Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-from

b-íídí	7amáár-á	biitt-áa
go-CONV.3M.SG.	Amhara-OBL.	land-ABS.M.SG.

gákk-an-aa-ssi	7ol-íis.
reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	war-PF.3M.SG.

'Work that Motolome did was powerful work. If you say "What was that?", he went from the Wolaytta land, and warred until he reached the Amhara land.'

(4.3.2-22)

tá-yyo	bullácc-aa	yez-an-á-u
me-for	wedding ceremony-ABS.M.SG.	entertain-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-étt-ibe7énná.	mikiniyát-ee-kka[388]
be possible-PASS.-NEG.PF.3M.SG.	reason-NOM.M.SG.-too

tá-u	miishsh-í	báawa.
me-for	money-NOM.	not present

'It was not possible for me to entertain the wedding ceremony (i.e. to give a gratuity). The reason is that I had no money.'

This indeclinable often occurs in comparative expressions.

(4.3.2-23)

ha	makiin-ái	he	makiin-áa-ppe-kka	dár-o
this	car-NOM.M.SG.	that	car-OBL.M.SG.-from-too	much-ABS.

woTT-ées.
run-IMPF.3M.SG.

'This car runs faster (lit. much) than that car.'

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[388] This would be a partial loan translation from Amharic, ምክንያቱም *mekneyAt-u-mm* (reason-the-too) 'the reason is that . . .'

(4.3.2-24)

ha	zááp-ee	7ubb-á	zááp-iya-ppe-kka
this	tree-NOM.M.SG.	all-OBL.	tree-OBL.M.SG.-from-too

7aduss-á.
long-ABS.

'This tree is the tallest among all the trees.'

(4.3.2-25)

máátt-a	Táll-aa-ppe	PuuPúll-iya
milk-OBL.	only-OBL.M.SG.-from	egg-ABS.M.SG.

gujj-íyo-g-éé-kká	ló77-o.
add-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.-too	good-ABS.

'Adding eggs is better than (making with) only milk.'

The same indeclinable is sometimes attached to an adverbial expression.

(4.3.2-26)

7etí	Káál-aa	síy-iyo	wod-é
they	word-ABS.M.SG.	hear-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

seeTáán-ai	soh-úwa-ra-kka	y-íídí
Satan-NOM.M.SG.	place-OBL.M.SG.-with-too	come-CONV.3M.SG.

7eta-wozan-áa-ni	zer-étt-ida	Káál-aa
their-heart-OBL.M.SG.-in	sew-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	word-ABS.M.SG.

7ep-írg-iis.
take-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'When they hear the word, Satan comes soon, and takes away the word that was sown in their hearts.'   (From Mark 4:15)

(4.3.2-27)

túm-a-<u>kka</u>	ta-gód-au	har-áí
true-ABS.-too	my-lord-VOC.M.SG.	other-NOM.M.SG.

7átt-o	masóóp-iya	lánK-iya-ni
stay behind-OPT.3M.SG.	dining table-OBL.M.SG.	side-OBL.M.SG.-in

de7-íya	zair-otí-kká	naatú-ppé
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	puppy-NOM.PL.-too	children (OBL.)-from

7átt-ida	suupp-áa	m-óosona.
stay behind-REL.PF.SUBJ.	crumb-ABS.M.SG.	eat-IMPF.3PL.

'Truly, my lord, as well as other things (lit. let other stay behind), even puppies that are at the side of a dining table eat crumbs that are left by children (lit. stay behind from children).'   (From Mark 7:28)

It may also be attached to a predicate for emphasis.

(4.3.2-28)

masKál-ai	7upáíss-a-<u>kka</u>.
the Masqal festival-NOM.M.SG.	joy-ABS.-too

'The Masqal festival is really a joy.'

(4.3.2-29)

7ash-úwa	píl-aa-ra
meat-ABS.M.SG.	cheese-OBL.M.SG.-with

katt-ídoo-g-éé	m-íyo
cook-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	eat-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

d-é	maLL-ées-<u>ka</u>.
time-ABS.	be tasty-IMPF.3M.SG.-too

'When you eat (food) that is made from meat with cheese, it is really tasty.'

It is very difficult for me to give a semantically unified explanation for all these uses. This Wolaytta indeclinable fairly resembles the Amharic enclitic **ም** *-mm*. Unfortunately, Leslau (1995: 882-887) do nothing more than list its various uses, as I did here for *-kka* 'too'. The indeclinable also resembles the Japanese particle も *mo*. Unfortunately I have found no study that explains it perfectly, which would have helped studies on the Wolaytta indeclinable and the Amharic enclitic.

-nne '**and**'

This indeclinable is tonally indeterminate. If its immediately preceding vowel is tonally prominent it is also tonally prominent, while if its immediately preceding vowel is not tonally prominent it is also not tonally prominent. See also footnote 336 in section 4.2.8.3.

One of the most salient uses of this indeclinable is to combine linguistic forms expressed separately and to treat them as if they are one unit. In (4.3.2-30), for example, two person-name nouns are combined, and they function as a plural subject as a whole.

(4.3.2-30)

7alb-é-<u>nné</u>	tiit-ú
(person name)-NOM.-and	(person name)-NOM.

banta-7aaw-áa	bonc-óosona.
their own-father-ABS.M.SG.	respect-IMPF.3PL.

'Albe and Tito respect their father.'

The indeclinable *-nne* 'and' can be attached to any nominals in any grammatical cases (forms) if that makes sense. Furthermore, the same indeclinable can also be attached to verbs. Adams describes *-nne* as a suffix to nominal and postpositional phrases on the one hand (1983: 247-249), and as a coordinator suffixed to sentences on the other hand (1983: 275). However, they would be the same linguistic form. Watters (2000: 218) says that: 'The co-ordination of clauses within a sentence in African languages is generally different from co-ordination within the noun phrase.' Whether it is true or not, Wolaytta is a counterexample to it.

(4.3.2-31)

wont-ó	Keer-áá	galláss-i
tomorrow-ABS.	Saturday-OBL.M.SG.	day-ADV.

y-aanáa-geetí	7óón-ee-nne
come-REL.FUT.-NMNL.PL.NOM.	who-INTER.-and

7óón-ee?
who-INTER.

   'Who and who will come the next Saturday?'

(4.3.2-32)

woláítt-á	Káál-aa	ta-lágg-ee
Wolaytta-OBL.	word-ABS.M.SG.	my-friend-NOM.M.SG.

gúútt-aa-ra	tamaar-ídí-nné	7as-á-ppé
little-OBL.M.SG.-with	learn-CONV.3M.SG.-and	person-OBL.-from

síy-idi	7er-íis.
hear-CONV.3M.SG.	know-PF.3M.SG.

   'My friend knew (i.e. acquired) the Wolaytta language having learned little by little and having heard from people (i.e. heard when people talked).'

(4.3.2-33)

sháyy-iya	7úy-i-nne[389]	ziNN-í
tea-ABS.M.SG.	drink-CONV.3M.SG.-and	sleep-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-íis.
cease-PF.3M.SG.

   'Right after he drank the tea, he fall asleep (lit. slept and ceased).'

  A special type of conjoining use of the indeclinable *-nne* 'and' is found in numerical

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[389] For this expression, see section 4.4.3.1.

expressions such as compound numerical expressions (see section 4.2.3.1.2) and expressions of clock time or price (see section 4.2.3.5). They are peculiar in that the word preceding *-nne* 'and' is in the absolute case in all environments.

(4.3.2-34)

támm-á-<u>nné</u>	naa77-ú	7as-atí	y-íídosona.
ten-ABS.-and	two-OBL.	people-ABS.PL.	come-PF.3PL.

   'Twelve people came.'

(4.3.2-35)

7isíín-é-<u>nné</u>	rúúb-ee?
eleven-ABS.-and	quarter-INTER.

   'Is it 5:15 (lit. eleven and a quarter)?'

(4.3.2-36)[390]

bír-a-<u>nne</u>	7oidd-ú	sánt-ee	d-ées.
Birr-ABS.-and	four-OBL.	dime-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'There is 1.40 Birr.'

   We have observed the conjoining use of the indeclinable *-nne* 'and'. However, the original or essential use of this indeclinable seems to be to list each item or to bring it into prominence. In this case, it seems to be preferred that all the items are followed by the indeclinable[391].

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[390] However, if the money in question is not regarded as forming one unit, the following is possible.

bír-<u>ai-nne</u>	7oidd-ú	sánt-ee-nne
Birr-NOM.M.SG.-and	four-OBL.	dime-NOM.M.SG.-and

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'There are a one-birr bill and four dimes.'

[391] It may worth citing Jespersen (1924: 26-27): 'I want to tell someone whom I met on

(4.3.2-37)

7alb-éé-<u>nné</u>	tiit-ú-<u>nné</u>	7iss-óí
(person name)-NOM.-and	(person name)-NOM.-and	one-NOM.M.SG.

7iss-úwá	bonc-óosona.
one-ABS.M.SG.	respect-IMPF.3PL.

   'Albe and Tito respect each other (lit. one one).'

(4.3.2-38)

hagéé	baaCCír-ai	7áí	b-í-ppé-<u>nné</u>
this	(traditional food)-NOM.M.SG.	what	thing-OBL.-from-and

7áí	b-í-ppé-<u>nné</u>	giig-ídee?
what	thing-OBL.-from-and	be ready-INTER.PF.3M.SG.

   'What and what was this Bachira made from?'

(4.3.2-39)

na7-áa	bal-áa	7aayy-íya
child-OBL.M.SG.	mistake-ABS.M.SG.	mother-NOM.F.SG.

'7istá-<u>nne</u>	naa77-á-<u>nne</u>'	g-áádá
one (COUNT.)-and	two-COUNT.-and	say-CONV.3F.SG.

Kood-áasu.
count-PF.3F.SG.

   'The mother counted the boy's mistakes saying "one, and two, and . . ."'

  On the other hand, in the conjoining use exemplified by (4.3.2-30) to (4.3.2-36) it seems to be usual that the indeclinable *-nne* 'and' is not attached to the last conjoined

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a certain occasion, and I start by saying: "There I saw Tom Brown and Mrs. Hart and Miss Johnstone and Colonel Dutton. . . ." When I begin my enumeration I have not yet made up my mind how many I am going to mention or in what order, so I have to use *and* in each case. If, on the other hand, before beginning my story I know exactly whom I am going to mention, I leave out the *ands* except before the last name.'

element. In particular, the indeclinable is never attached to the last conjoined element in numerical expressions such as (4.3.2-34) to (4.3.2-36).

However, judgment on whether the indeclinable is attached to the last conjoined element or not is very subjective. For example, in each the following, which are taken from Mark written in Wolaytta, the indeclinable is attached to the last conjoined element. However, one of my main consultants thinks that it should be omitted.

(4.3.2-40)

7ubb-ái	táání	g-íyo-g-áá
all-NOM.M.SG.	I	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

síy-ite-nne	7akeek-ité-nné.
hear-OPT.2PL.-and	realize-OPT.2PL.-and

   'Everyone, listen to what I tell and understand (it).'   (From Mark 7:14)

(4.3.2-41)

yohaannís-í	Tíll-o	7as-á-nné	gééshsh-a
(person name)-NOM.	honest-OBL.	person-ABS.-and	clean-OBL.

7as-á-nné	gid-ídoo-g-áá
person-ABS.-and	become-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

heroodís-í	7er-ído	gishsh-á-u	. . .
(person name)-NOM.	know-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	. . .

   'Because Herode knew that John is a honest and clean person . . .'
   (From Mark 6:20)

(4.3.2-42)

Kássi-kka	dár-o	7as-ái
furthermore-too	many-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.

yerusaláám-á-ppé-nné	7edomiyáás-é-ppé-nné
(place name)-OBL.-from-and	(place name)-OBL.-from-and

yordanóós-á	shááp-aa-ppe	hé-pint-a
(place name)-OBL.	river-OBL.M.SG.-from	that-side (of bank)-OBL.

bágg-aa-ppe-<u>nne</u>	Tiróós-é	katam-áa-ppe-<u>nne</u>
half-OBL.M.SG.-from-and	(place name)-OBL.	city-OBL.M.SG.-from-and

sidoonaa	katam-áa-ppe-<u>nne</u>	yesúús-í
(place name)	city-OBL.M.SG.-from-and	Jesus-NOM.

7oott-ído	b-áá	síy-idi
do-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	hear-CONV.3M.SG.

yesúús-á-kkó	y-íis.
Jesus-OBL.-toward	come-PF.3M.SG.

'Furthermore, having heard what Jesus did, many people came to Jesus from Jerusalem, from Idumea, from the region of the other side of the Jordan river, from the Tyre city, and from the Sidon city.' (From Mark 3:8)

The following passage from Mark 2:18 would illustrate it better, in which the first sentence has only one *-nne* 'and' while in the second one the part that semantically corresponds to the first sentence has two *-nne*'s.

(4.3.2-43)

TammaK-íya	yohaanrís-í
baptize-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	John-NOM.

7er-iss-íyo	7ashkár-ati-<u>nne</u>
know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	servent-NOM.PL.-and

parisaaw-etí	Toom-óosona.	7amárida	7as-atí
Pharisee-NOM.PL.	fast-IMPF.3PL	a few	people-NOM.PL.

yesúús-á-kkó	y-íídí	yohaanrís-í
Jesus-OBL.-toward	come-CONV.3PL.	John-NOM.

7er-iss-íyo		7ashkár-ati-<u>nne</u>	
know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.		servant-NOM.PL.-and	

parisaaw-etí		7er-iss-íyo	
Pharisee-NOM.PL.		know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	

7ashkár-ati-<u>nne</u>	Toom-óosona	shííní	. . .
servant-NOM.PL.-and	fast-IMPF.3PL.	but	. . .

yáág-idosona.
say so-PF.3PL.

    'John's disciples (lit. servants whom he makes know) and the Pharisees were fasting. Some people came to Jesus and said "John's disciples and the disciples of the Pharisees are fasting, but . . ."'   (From Mark 2:18)

    In the following, the indeclinable has become a word that just introduces its following parts of the sentence, which may not be verbalized in the sentence, as in (4.3.2-45).

(4.3.2-44)

hagáá-ppé	kas-é	bení	woláítt-á
this-from	before-ABS.	formerly	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	7as-ái	7iss-í
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.

b-áí	met-óbare	wói-kkó	na7-í
thing-NOM.M.SG.	bother-after	or-if	child-NOM.

yel-étt-enn-a	7iTT-óbare	he	bána
bear-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-ABS.	refuse-after	that	himself

met-ída	b-á-u	wói-kkó
bother-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-OBL.M.SG.-for	or-if

yél-o	gid-í-kkó-<u>nné</u>	'tá-u
giving birth-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if-and	my-for

yél-o	7imm-an-áa-kko-nne[392]	g-íídí
giving birth-ABS.	give-INFN.-ABS.-if-and	say-CONV.3M.SG.

sharéécc-o	keett-áa	b-ées.
witch doctor-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.	go-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In old days (lit. before from this), formerly, in the Wolaytta land, if one thing bothers (people), or if a child was not born, for that thing that bothers himself, or having said "Whether he will give a child for the sake of me . . ." if (the matter) is on giving birth, people go to a witch doctor house.'

(4.3.2-45)

hargánc-iya	7ash-úwa	m-íí-kkó-<u>nné</u>
patient-NOM.F.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.	eat-SUBOR.-if-and

g-íídí	shamm-ídí	y-íis.
say-CONV.3M.SG.	buy-CONV.3M.SG.	come-PF.3M.SG.

'He thought that the female patient might eat meat (lit. said 'If the patient eats meat . . .'), and bought it and came.'

The indeclinable *-nne* 'and' may function like the indeclinable *-kka* 'too' discussed above in this section. That is, it can be used in universal expressions (from (4.3.2-46) to (4.3.2-48)), be used in concessive or adversative expressions (from (4.3.2-49) to (4.3.2-50)), and be used to introduce a parallel and/or additional item (from (4.3.2-51) to (4.3.2-54)). Indeed in the following examples, both the indeclinables can be used interchangeably.

(4.3.2-46)

táání	7áí-<u>nné</u>	7er-íkke.
I	what-and	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

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[392] This *-kko-nne* is used to express an indirect question. See below in this section and section 4.4.4.3.

'I do not know anything.'

(4.3.2-47)

7óó-ssí-<u>nné</u>	7imm-ábe7íkke.
who-to-and	give-NEG.PF.1SG.

'I did not give (it) to anyone.'

(4.3.2-48)

7í	7áw-a-<u>nne</u>	b-íi-ni	táání	kaall-aná.
he	where-ABS.-and	go-SUBOR.-in	I	follow-FUT.

'Wherever he may go, I will follow him.'

(4.3.2-49)

7í	y-ií-kkó-<u>nné</u>	sóo	gel-iss-íkke.
he	come-SUBOR.-if-and	home	enter-CAUS.-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'Even if he comes, I do not let him enter the house.'

(4.3.2-50)

yesúús-í	ba-7apál-aa	maCár-aa
Jesus-NOM.	his own-clothes-OBS.M.SG.	fringe-ABS.M.SG.

gid-í-kkó-<u>nné</u>	hargánc-ata	boshiss-aná
become-SUBOR.-if-and	sick person-ABS.PL.	make touch-REL.FUT.

mal-á	7as-ái	7á	wooss-íis.
look(s)-ABS.	people-NOM.M.SG.	him	beg-PF.3M.SG.

'People begged him that Jesus should let sick persons touch even the edge of his clothes (lit. even if it is an edge of his clothes).'   (From Mark 6:56)

(4.3.2-51)

god-áa-<u>nne</u>	méég-aa-<u>nne</u>
pillar in a wall-ABS.M.SG.-and	beam-ABS.M.SG.-and

maadd-énná   bitán-ee   hagáá   keett-áa
help-NEG.REL.   man-NOM.M.SG.   this   house-ABS.M.SG.

7ááss-ádá   keeTT-á   g-ées.
widen-CONV.2SG.   build-OPT.2SG.   say-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'A man who does not aid (in) pillars and beams says "Build this house making it
wide." (i.e. orders without helping)'

(4.3.2-52)
kan-ái   míízz-a-nne   gid-énná.
dog-NOM.M.SG.   cattle-ABS.-and   become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

dó7-a-nne   gid-énná.
wild animal-ABS.-and   become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'A dog is not cattle. Nor is it a wild animal.'

(4.3.2-53)
ta-na7-ée   néná   ne-7ammán-oi   patt-íis.
my-child-VOC.F.SG.   you   your-belief-NOM.M.SG. cure-PF.3M.SG.

sár-uwa-ni   b-á   ne-waay-íya-ppe-nne
peace-OBL.M.SG.-in   go-OPT.2SG.   your-trouble-OBL.M.SG.-from-and

pax-á.
be healed-OPT.2SG.

   'My daughter, your faith has healed you. Go in peace, and be freed from your
suffering.'   (From Mark 5:34)

(4.3.2-54)
ha77í-nné   7er-ékkétíi?
now-and   know-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2PL.

   'Don't you know still (lit. now and)?'   (From Mark 8:17)

The following passage from Mark 6:22-23 shows well that *-nne* 'and' and *-kka* 'too' can be used interchangeably.

(4.3.2-55)

'néná	lo77-ída	b-áá	7áí	b-á
you	be good-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-ABS.

gid-í-kkó-<u>nné</u>	táná	7oicc-á.	táání	né-yyo
become-SUBOR.-if-and	me	ask-OPT.2SG.	I	you-to

7imm-aná.'	yáág-iis.	Kássi	7í-yyo
give-FUT.	say so-PF.3M.SG.	furthermore	her-for

dár-o	CaaKK-ídí
many-ABS.	swear-CONV.3M.SG.

'nééní	7oicc-ído	b-áá	7áí	b-á
you	ask-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-ABS.

gid-í-kkó-<u>kká</u>	táání	né-yyo	7imm-aná.	. . .'
become-SUBOR.-if-too	I	you-to	give-FUT.	. . .

'He said "Ask me a thing that is good for you, whatever it is. I will give (it) to you." Furthermore, he swore her saying that "Whatever you will ask (lit. what would the thing you asked be) I will give to you. . . .'"   (From Mark 6:22-23)

The indeclinable under discussion is often found in indirect questions.

(4.3.2-56)

na7-ái	ló77-o-kko-<u>nne</u>	7íít-a-kko-<u>nne</u>
child-NOM.M.SG.	good-ABS.-if-and	bad-ABS.-if-and

núúní	7er-ókko.
we	know-NEG.IMPF.1PL.

'We do not know whether the boy is good or bad.'

It is also found in some assertive expressions.

(4.3.2-57)

tá	7er-íkke-tte-<u>nne</u>.
I	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.-(copula?)-and

  'I do not know.'

For these, see below in this section.

    Adams (1983: 76) says that: 'the morpheme /-nne/ "and" lengthens the final vowel in the noun preceding the postposition in a conjoined PP [i.e. postpositional phrase]' with the following example.

(4.3.2-58)

/na?a + -ni + -nne/ = /na?a:ninne/	
a boy-by-and	and a boy'.

Even granted that the combination in the left of the above equation is possible, what causes the lengthening in the right is the postposition -*ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.2). I was not able to observe any lengthening of a vowel caused by the indeclinable -*nne* 'and', although I found the following in Mark written in Wolaytta.

(4.3.2-59)

ooyyoonne   (Mark 1:44)

(My interpretation)

7óó-yyo-nne	
who-to-and	'to no one'

(4.3.2-60)

ta michchonne, ta aayoonne   (Mark 3.35)

(My interpretation)

ta-micc-ó-nné	ta-7aayy-ó-nné
my-sister-ABS.-and	my-mother-ABS.-and

'(she is) my sister, my mother'

When the indeclinable *-nne* 'and' is attached to a word that ends in *ni*, the resultant *-ni-nne* may sometimes sound like *-nne*.

(4.3.2-61)

7óó<u>nné</u>	7er-énná.
<7óóní-nné	know-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.
who-and	

'Nobody knows.'

(4.3.2-62)

dors-áa	súúttaa<u>nne</u>	7óíss-aa-ni
sheep-OBL.M.SG.	< súútt-aa-ni-nne	butter-OBL.M.SG.-by
	blood-OBLM.SG.-by-and	

'by sheep's blood and by butter'

-ttenne **'indeed'**

This indeclinable is attached to the end of a sentence.

It is indeed used for emphasis. However, to describe its meaning and/or use precisely is very difficult. Adams (1983:197-198) says that 'The morpheme /-ttenne:[393]/ . . . expresses the aspect of exclusion, whereby an action is performed by a certain one, to the exclusion of all others', and translates it, for example, as "only (you entered) . . . ----no one else did." However, I consider that his definition is too strong. In addition, it can be attached to sentences that do not express actions (see (4.3.2-64) to (4.3.2-66)).

(4.3.2-63)

katam-áa	7er-íiddi	loitt-í	7er-íiddi
city-ABS.M.SG.	know-SIM.3M.SG.	do well-CONV.3M.SG.	know-SIM.M.SG.

---

[393] He regards the final vowel as long.

lóóT-ee	7er-íiddi	Cimm-ídí
pickpocket-NOM.M.SG.	know-SIM.3M.SG.	deceive-CONV.3M.SG.

7oicc-éesi-<u>ttenne</u>.	'tá	7er-íkke-<u>ttenne</u>.
ask-IMPF.3M.SG.-indeed	I	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.-indeed

sháyy-iya	7áu-ni	7úy-iyo	s-í
tea-ABS.M.SG.	where-in	drink-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	place-NOM.

d-íi?'
exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Although he knows the city, although he knows (it) well, although the pickpocket knows (it), he asks deceiving (him). "I do not know. Where is a place where I can drink tea?"'

(4.3.2-64)

nuu-g-áá	nuu-g-áá
our-NMNL.-ABS.	our-NMNL.-ABS.

woláítt-aa-g-áá-<u>ttenne</u>,	7ééss-aa
Wolaytta-OBL.-NMNL.-ABS.-indeed	mead-ABS.M.SG.

7erétt-aa-ra	gatt-ídí
(traditional food)-OBL.M.SG.-with	make meet-CONV.3M.SG.

7ust-íyo-g-éé.
*[394]-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

'To sip mead with Ereta, it is ours, ours, Wolaytta's.'

(4.3.2-65)

7as-ái	'wáán-ai?'
people-NOM.M.SG.	become what-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

---

[394] 'to eat something, washing it down with a little liquid'

g-íi-ni	'7áí-nné	báa.	ló77-o-ttenne.
say-SUBOR.-when	what-and	not present	good-ABS.-indeed

. . .
. . .

   'When people say "What happened to you (lit. what do you become)?" he said "There is nothing (bad). I am indeed fine. . . ."'

(4.3.2-66)

7áí-kkó	báawa.	taná-ttenne.	yáyy-oppite.
what-if	not present	me (ABS.)-indeed	fear-NEG.OPT.2PL.

   'There is nothing (bad). It is I. Don't be afraid.'   (From Mark 6:50)

   The indeclinable *-ttenne* 'indeed' could be regarded as one morpheme at present. However, I guess that it is historically composed of a copula *-tte* and the indeclinable *-nne* 'and' discussed above.

   According to Hayward (1989), Zayse, which is also an Ometo language, has an affirmative declarative copula *-tte*. He hypothesizes that it is an erstwhile feminine copula[395].

   On the basis of the last three examples above, I guess that the indeclinable *-ttenne* 'indeed' can also be used to avoid a sentence that consists only of a nominal predicate, which is otherwise inevitable in Wolaytta since there a so-called copula is missing and subject-less sentences are not unusual. This seems to support my hypothesis that the indeclinable *-ttenne* 'indeed' contains an (erstwhile) copula.

   On the other hand, as Adams (1983: 197) says '/-ttenne:/ may not cooccur with the marker /-nne/ "and"'. This is reasonable if we suppose that the indeclinable *-ttenne* 'indeed' already contains *-nne* 'and' in it etymologically.

   The reason why a copula is connected with a "coordinating conjunction" would be explained by supposing that the original or essential use of the latter is to list each item

---

[395] Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 168) say that: 'verbal topicalization is as a rule obtained in Wolaytta by adding to the end of the verbal complex the suffix -tte which functions as a copula in other Ometo languages'. One of their examples is 'ta yaasi-tte (I **did** come!)'. However, I could not find such a suffix in this language.

or to bring it into prominence, as mentioned above in this section. The reason why a copula can be attached to verbal predicates, such as *7oicc-ées* 'he asks' in (4.3.2-63), is not clear, although it might be worth noting that in Zayse an affirmative declarative verb contains a copula in it (see Hayward (1989: 17-19)).

-kko 'if, whether'

This indeclinable is tonally indeterminate. If its immediately preceding sound is tonally prominent it is also tonally prominent, while if its immediately preceding sound is not tonally prominent it is also not tonally prominent. See also footnote 336 in section 4.2.8.3.

The geminated consonant of this indeclinable is degeminated when it is attached to a word ending phonetically in a consonant[396]. See (4.3.2-83).

This is an indeclinable that is used to indicate one possibility out of many possibilities in the irrealis world.

Thus it is used to express conditions or the like, such as concession (see section 4.4.3.4.1 for the details).

(4.3.2-67)

táání	7í	wont-ó	y-íí-<u>kkó</u>	b-aaná.
I	he	tomorrow-ABS.	come-SUBOR.-if	go-FUT.

'If he comes tomorrow, I will go.'

(4.3.2-68)

y-íí-<u>kkó</u>-nné	y-aan-á	Tay-í-<u>kkó</u>-nné
come-SUBOR.-if-and	come-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if-and

b-aaná.
go-FUT.

'I will go whether he comes or not.'

---

[396] However, Adams (1983: 56-57) would consider that in this case too the consonant of the indeclinable is phonetically geminated, although he would regard it as being phonemically non-geminated.

In this conditional or concessive use, a word that precedes the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' can be a nominal, as in the following.

(4.3.2-69)

nééní	7iss-í	sa7át-e-<u>kko</u>-nne	naag-an-á-u
you	one-OBL.	hour-ABS.-if-and	watch-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-abe7íkkíi?
be able to-NEG.INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Couldn't you keep watch even for one hour?'   (From Mark 14:37)

   As in the case of *-kka* 'too' and *-nne* 'and', a concessive expression leads to a universal expression in the case of *-kko* 'if' too. However, this use is possible only when it is combined with *7áí-* 'what', *7áí b-á* 'what thing', or *7óóná* 'who'

(4.3.2-70)

7áí-<u>kkó</u>	báawa.
what-if	not present

   'There is nothing.'

(4.3.2-71)

7áí-<u>kkó</u>	7er-íkke.
what-if	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I know nothing.'

(4.3.2-72)

7áí	b-á-<u>kkó</u>	7áá-ppé	báy-ida	b-í
what	thing-ABS.-if	his-from	be lost-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-NOM.

báa	shííní	Cóo	waass-ées.
not present	but	in vain	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Although nothing has been lost from his (belongings), he cries without reason.'

(4.3.2-73)

7óóná-kkó	7oicc-ída-i	báa.	Cóo
who-if	ask-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	not present	in vain

7oott-íis.
work-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'There is no one who asked. They all worked in vain.'

    As is discussed in section 4.3.1.3, the conjunction *wóí* 'or' is often followed by this indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether'. Since both are used in expressions somehow related to "selection", they go with each other.

(4.3.2-74)

nééní	wóí-kkó	7í	b-ó.
you	or-if	he	go-OPT.3.M.SG.

   'You (go), or let him go.'

    This indeclinable can be used in indirect questions. The following are examples in which nominals are predicates of embedded indirect questions.

(4.3.2-75)

nééní	7í	kais-ó-kkó	7er-ái?
you	he	thief-ABS.-whether	know-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Do you know whether he is a thief?'

(4.3.2-76)

táání	dalg-á	hanná	7a-7aayy-íyo-kko-nne
I	(person name)-ABS.	this	his-mother-ABS.F.SG.-whether-and

7oicc-áas.
ask-PF.1SG.

'I asked Dalga whether this is his mother.'

As is evident from the above examples, nominals that immediately precede the indeclinable -*kko* 'if, whether' occur in the absolutive case[397]. In the case of embedded indirect questions whose predicates are verbs, their infinitival forms (see section 4.4.4) are used with the indeclinable -*kko* 'if, whether' under discussion.

(4.3.2-77)

7í	y-íídaa-kko	y-éénnaa-kko
he	come-INFN.-whether	come-NEG.INFN.-whether

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I do not know whether he came or not.'

(4.3.2-78)

súnt-aa	woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni
name-ABS.M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in

wáát-idi	súnt-iya-kko-nne	wáát-i
do what-CONV.3M.SG.	name-INFN.-whether-and	do what-CONV.3M.SG.

Téég-iya-kko	yoot-áas.
call-INFN.-whether	tell-PF.1SG.

   'I told how they name (children) and call names in the Wolaytta land.'

  An indirect question with -*kko* 'if, whether' may not be followed by a verb that governs it semantically, such as "know" and "ask". In this case, uncertainty is expressed.

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[397] Accordingly, Adams' (1983: 153, 155 and 231) claim that this indeclinable is a postposition is false. See the discussion at the end of section 4.2.8.4.2.

(4.3.2-79)

7alam-á-<u>kkó</u>-nné	wóí-<u>kkó</u>	7óóná-<u>kkó</u>-nné
(person name)-ABS.-if-and	or-if	who (ABS.)-if-and

yáa	b-íis.
to there	go-PF.3M.SG.

    'Alemu or someone (lit. whether Alemu or whether who) went there.'

(4.3.2-80)

naa77-ú	haatt-áa-<u>kko</u>	heezz-ú	haatt-áa-<u>kko</u>
two-OBL.	water-ABS.M.SG.-if	three-OBL.	water-ABS.M.SG.-if

pínn-eettees.
cross-IMPF.1PL.

    'We used to cross two or three rivers.'

(4.3.2-81)

7í	taLL-ídí	7ekk-áa-<u>kko</u>-nne	7oott-ídí
he	loan-CONV.3M.SG.	take-INFN.-if-and	work-CONV.3M.SG.

demm-áa-<u>kko</u>-nne	git-á	keett-áa
find-INFN.-if-and	big-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.

keeTT-íis.
build a house-PF.3M.SG.

    'He built a big house, (although I do not know) whether he took (the money) by loaning or he found (the money) by working.'

(4.3.2-82)

zaLL-ídí-<u>kkó</u>-nné	wáát-idi-<u>kko</u>-nne
trade-CONV.3M.SG.-if-and	do what-CONV.3M.SG.-if-and

7er-étt-enn-aa-ni   duret-íis.
know-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in   become rich-PF.3M.SG.

'He became rich without our knowing it (lit. in not being known), by trading or something.'

(4.3.2-83)
heedé   tá-u   gúútt-a   7akéék-oi
at that time   my-for small-OBL.   attention-NOM.M.SG.

d-íya-kko   7ái   b-í-n-kó   duuKK-ádá
exist-INFN.-if what   thing-OBL.-in-if   record-CONV.1SG.

7óíKK-iya-kko 7eta-haasáy-aa   7iTT-ábe7íkke-shiini
seize-INFN.-if their-talk-ABS.M.SG. refuse-NEG.PF.1SG.-while

sími   7átt-iis.
thus   stay behind-PF.3M.SG.

'At that time if I had had a little attention, if I had recorded his (lit. their) talk with something (lit. what), it would have been good (lit. I did not refused), but thus there is no record (lit. it stayed behind).'

As can be observed in the above examples, in indirect questions the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' is often followed by the indeclinable *-nne* 'and' discussed above. This would be because an indirect question essentially takes into consideration more than one possibility, as obviously seen in (4.3.2-77), and thus goes with the "conjoining conjunctive".

I guess that the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' was a copula formerly. Copulas whose forms are *kko* or the like seem to be found, at least, in Gamo (Hayward 1994: 492) and Koorete (or Koyra) (Hayward 1989: 20-21), which are Ometo languages.

-shsho

It seems to be used to express admiration, sympathy, or politeness. It seems to be an

elegant word that is not used in daily colloquial conversation.

(4.3.2-84)

shumurúkk-oo-<u>shsho</u>	shumurúkk-oo-<u>shsho</u>
(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.	(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.

dúr-ee	bess-íyo	biitt-áa
wealth-NOM.M.SG.	be plenty-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	country-ABS.M.SG.

b-aan-á-u	koor-ídáá-g-oo-<u>shsho</u>
go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	put the saddle-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-VOC.-INDEC.

shumurúkk-oo-<u>shsho</u>	shumurúkk-oo-<u>shsho</u>
(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.	(person name)-VOC.-INDEC.

'Oh Shumuruko, Shumuruko, one who put the saddle to go to a country where wealth is plenty, Shumuruko, Shumuruko!'   (From a war song)

(4.3.2-85)
túm-a-<u>shsho</u>.
true-ABS.-INDEC.

'You are right!'

(4.3.2-86)
7ée-<u>shsho</u>.
yes-INDEC.

'Yes, Sir.'

-né

This indeclinable is attached to second-person affirmative optative forms (see section 4.4.2.4.1). It seems to be used to express politeness and/or emphasis.

(4.3.2-87)

síy-a-né.

hear-OPT.2SG.-INDEC.

'Please listen!'

-yyé, -shsha

These are interrogative indeclinables. They are discussed in section 4.2.7.8.

4.4 Verbs

4.4.1 Introductory Notes on Wolaytta Verbs

4.4.1.1 General Structure of Wolaytta Verbs

In Wolaytta, any verb form can be divided into two parts, as any nominal can: a lexical stem and a grammatical ending. For example:

(4.4.1.1-1)

b-áas.

go-PF.1SG.

'I went.'

(4.4.1.1-2)

7imm-íis.

give-PF.3M.SG.

'He gave.'

(4.4.1.1-3)

woTT-íkke.

run-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I don't run.'

In these examples, *b-* 'to go', *7imm-* 'to give', and *woTT-* 'to run' are stems, and *-áas*

'PF.1SG.', *-íis* 'PF.3M.SG.' and *-íkke* 'NEG..IMPF.1SG.' are endings. See also section 4.1.

Endings used with verb stems are different from those used with nominal stems discussed in section 4.2. Thus we can define a verb in Wolaytta morphologically as a word that takes endings discussed below, although some verbs do not take some verb endings (see section 4.4.1.3). In the following sections, I will discuss verb endings, or rather, verb forms, from different viewpoints in detail.

A verb stem may or may not be complex: that is, may or may not contain one or more stem-forming suffixes. For example:

(4.4.1.1-4)
7aaw-a-t-íis.
father-ABS.-(stem-forming suffix)-PF.3M.SG.

'He became a father.'   Cf. *7aaw-áa* 'father (Masculine Class A common noun)'

(4.4.1.1-5)
7im-is-iss-íis.
give-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'He made someone to make someone else give.'   Cf. (4.4.1.1-2)

Verb stem formation in this language and the related phenomena such as degemination will be discussed in section 5.3 in detail. However, it would be helpful to realize here that a Wolaytta verb stem may contain more than one element, since stem-forming suffixes are sometimes isolated and glossed in example sentences in the following sections.

We may also consider that grammatical endings of verbs can be composed of more than one element. I will discuss this matter later in relevant sections. For the time being, however, each of endings of conjugated verbs, such as *-áas* 'PF.1SG.' in (4.4.1.1-1) and *-íis* 'PF.3M.SG.' in (4.4.1.1-2), will be treated as one element.

In this thesis, verb stems are used as citation or representative forms of Wolaytta verbs. For verb stems whose last consonants may or may not be geminated depending on the environment, their geminated forms are used for citation. For example, the verb

"to give" seen in (4.4.1.1-2) and (4.4.1.1-5) is cited as *7imm-*. If non-geminated forms are given as citation forms, we cannot distinguish verb stems whose last consonants may or may not be geminated from those whose last consonants are never geminated. However, it is not possible to predict exactly when the gemination takes place. See section 5.3. For the time being, suffice it to say that all the verb endings discussed in the following sections in chapter 4 have no effect on the gemination or the degemination of the last consonants of verb stems. That is to say, the grammatical endings are attached to "citation forms" of verbs. As English equivalents of citation forms of Wolaytta verbs, to-infinitives are adopted in this thesis.

4.4.1.2　Conjugation

Wolaytta finite verbs are conjugated for person, number, and gender. In general, they agree with their linguistic subjects, if any. See section 6.2 for the details.

(4.4.1.2-1)

7í　　　miiCC-íis.

he　　　laugh-PF.3M.SG.

　'He laughed.'

(4.4.1.2-2)

7á　　　miiCC-áasu.

she　　　laugh-PF.3F.SG.

　'She laughed.'

(4.4.1.2-3)

núúní　miiCC-ída.

we　　　laugh-PF.1PL.

　'We laughed.'

4.4.1.3　Regularity of the Conjugation

Lamberti and Sottile (1997:146) say that: 'Wolaytta . . . does not seem to possess any set of different verbal conjugation classes; all verbs are in fact inflected in the same way,

if one leaves possible exceptions out of consideration.' This is almost true. Thus, as Ohman and Hailu (1976: 159) say that: 'as soon as the root [i.e. "stem" in my terminology] is known, a verb can readily be conjugated', if we leave also tone out of consideration[398].

However, as previous works say, several verbs may behave a little bit differently from the other verbs. They are, as Adams (1983: 184-185) says, the following: *b-* 'to go', *g-* 'to say', *m-* 'to eat', *y-* 'to come', *d-* 'to exist, live', *7eh-* 'to bring', and *7ep-* 'to take'. The details are discussed in pertinent sections in the following. However, if we take one example here, the third-person singular masculine ending of the long converb (see section 4.4.3.1) of these seven verbs is *-iidi*, while that of the other verbs is *-idi* (tone is ignored here).

(4.4.1.3-1)
g-íídí
say-CONV.3M.SG.

    'he having said'

Cf. (4.4.1.3-2)
7imm-ídí
give-CONV.3M.SG.

    'he having given'

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[398] Cerulli (1929: 16-18) seems to claim that in the Sorê dialect verbs are classified into three types based on their conjugation: In the case of Type 1 verbs "*as* forms" are used for the present-future, and "*da + as* forms" for the past. In the case of Type 2 verbs "*na* forms" and "*da + as* forms" are used, respectively, and in the case of Type 3 verbs "*na* forms" and "*as* forms" are used, respectively. However, I guess that this classification resulted from his insufficient research. It would be the case that the consultant gave imperfective forms ("*as* forms", see section 4.4.2.1.1) in some cases and future forms ("*na* forms", see section 4.4.2.3) in other cases for a category that Cerulli had established a priori, and that what he regards as "*as* forms" for the past in Type 3 are actually "*da + as* forms" (our perfective forms, see section 4.4.2.2.1) (or they may be imperfective forms, which may be used for expressions of the past despite his terminology "presente-futuro"). Also in the case of the Maldô Karrê dialect, which has Type 2 and Type 3 verbs according to Cerulli, the same discussion holds true. Thus there is no need to establish two or three verb classes.

Note, however, that *d-* 'to exist, live' is a contracted form of the ordinary verb *de7-* 'to exist, live', which is also often encountered[399]. More importantly, the last two verbs, *7eh-* 'to bring' and *7ep-* 'to take', may also behave as ordinary verbs. Thus, I was able to observe both *7eh-íídí* and *7eh-ídí* 'he having brought', for example. Passive forms of *7ep-* 'to take' are always formed in the same way as those of ordinary verbs: *7ep-étt-* 'to be taken', cf. *m-éétett-* 'to be eaten' (see section 5.3.2.3). Accordingly, it is not without a good reason that Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 146) 'possible exceptions' do not include these three verbs.

In my synchronic analysis, the first five of the seven somewhat irregular verbs listed above are verbs whose stems are mono-consonantal. I am also tempted to guess that *7e* of *7eh-* 'to bring' and *7ep-* 'to take' is a prothetic vowel to a mono-consonantal stem. Thus, hereafter I call the seven irregular verbs "mono-consonantal verbs". However, Hayward (1984: 326-327) says that: 'There is throughout the Northern Omotic languages a handful of cognate verbs which share the irregularity of having a consonant stem-initially only ---- the vast majority of verbs have consonants stem-finally as well. Some of these verbs are very common and translate as 'come', 'hear', 'bring', 'eat' 'say', etc. Being irregular in having a vowel stem-finally these verbs tend to preserve archaic features.' Incidentally, the verb 'to hear' in Wolaytta is the ordinary verb *síy-*, whose stem-final consonant *y* might be an epithesis to a stem that ends in a vowel though.

As said above, some verbs do not take some verb endings, and thus lack some forms. For example, the following verbs lack third-person singular feminine forms, since the situations described by them can be realized only by males[400].

(4.4.1.3-3)

dap-	'to abduct a girl for marrying'
daal-	'to become rich in cattle'
daannat-	'to become a *daann-áa* (official)'

---

[399] However, there might be slight semantic difference between these two forms.

[400] On the contrary, there are verbs that express situations realized only by females, such as *daah-* 'to elope', *gim-* 'to become rich in cattle (cf. *daal-* in (4.4.1.3-3))', and *soop-* 'to perform a ceremony in a market after a wedding ceremony'. I guess that third-person singular masculine forms of these verbs can be used since a female can be expressed by a singular masculine common noun in this language. See sections 4.2.1.6.2.2 and 6.2.

The verb *hámm-* 'to bring' can occur only in its optative forms (see section 4.4.2.4) and forms semantically related to them.

(4.4.1.3-4)

hámm-a.   'Bring!'

hámm-arkii?   'Won't you bring?'

The converb form *dink-ídí* (see section 4.4.3.1) in the following is very natural, but the same verb is usually not used as a predicate of a main clause.

(4.4.1.3-5)

7í   yeeh-úwa

he   funeral ceremony-ABS.M.SG.

dink-ídí   gel-íis.

to make play the dinke (a kind of instrumental)   enter-PF.3M.SG.

'He entered (the place for) the funeral ceremony, accompanied by a band playing the dinke.'

4.4.1.4   General Remarks on Tone of the Verb

As in the case of common nouns, place-name nouns, and person-name nouns, all verbs in Wolaytta are divided into two major tone classes: Tone Class I, whose members have tonal prominences in principle on their endings[401], and Tone Class II, whose members have tonal prominences in principle on their stems. Note that it is not possible to predict to which class a given verb belongs[402].

(4.4.1.4-1) Tone Class I

7imm-íis   'he gave'

7imm-íkke   'I do not give'

7imm-aná   'will give'

---

[401] The last consonant of a stem may also be prominent.

[402] However, tone of derivative verbs may be predictable from that of their bases. See section 5.3. We could also predict that mono-consonantal verbs belong to Tone Class I, since it would be difficult for only a single consonant to have a tonal prominence.

| 7imm-íiddi | 'while he is giving' 'while we/you/they are giving' |
| 7imm-íya | 'who give(s)' |

(4.4.1.4-2) Tone Class II
búúCC-iis	'he mowed'
búúCC-ikke	'I do not mow'
búúCC-ana	'will mow'
búúCC-iiddi	'while he is mowing' 'while we/you/they are mowing'
búúCC-iya	'who mow(s)'

The details are discussed in pertinent sections in the following.

A location of a beginning of a tonal prominence may differ from word to word in the case of Tone Class II. However, in a fairly large number of verbs of the class, a tonal prominence begins from the syllable that contains the last vowel of a stem, although, unlike in the case of nominals, verb stems that contain two or more syllables are rare in this tone class except for derived ones.

(4.4.1.4-3)
búúCC-	'to mow'	
7upáítt-	'to be happy'	
7imétt-	'to be given'	Cf. 7imm- 'to give'
7awáTT-	'to be sunny'	Cf. 7aw-áa 'sunshine'

However, derived verbs may be exceptions to this.

(4.4.1.4-4)
| 7áímott- | 'to dream' | Cf. 7áím-uwa 'dream' |
| Córay- | 'to make many' | Cf. Cór-aa 'many' |

The following exceptions cannot be explained, although they might be reduplicated, thus derived, verbs.

(4.4.1.4-5)
| gílil- | 'to tickle' |
| 7ílil- | 'to ululate' |

4.4.2   Main Verbs

In the following sections, different verb forms used as predicates of main clauses, which are usually at the end of sentences, are discussed.

4.4.2.1   Imperfective
4.4.2.1.1   Affirmative Declarative Imperfective

Endings of affirmative declarative imperfective forms are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.1.1-1) Endings of the Affirmative Declarative Imperfective

Tone Class I

1SG.	-áis(i)	1PL.	-óos(i), -éettees(i)
2SG.	-áasa	2PL.	-éeta
3M.SG.	-ées(i)	3PL.	-óosona
3F.SG.	-áusu		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-ais(i)	1PL.	´-oos(i), ´-eettees(i)
2SG.	´-aasa	2PL.	´-eeta
3M.SG.	´-ees(i)	3PL.	´-oosona
3F.SG.	´-ausu		

The final vowel *u* of the third-person singular feminine ending is usually devoiced. The bracketed vowels of the first-person singular, third-person singular masculine, and first-person plural endings are usually lost. Adams (1983: 44-45) claims that they may be devoiced, but not be lost. His analysis would be better if we take into consideration the fact that Wolaytta words always end in an open syllable except for a few possible exceptions. However, my treatment would be phonetically more natural (see section 2.2.4).

Adams (1983: 76) says that: 'In a penultimate syllable, a long vowel will shorten when the vowel in the following syllable is devoiced'. I consider that his description and examples given there is far from perfect. However, shortened pronunciation like *shamm-és*, instead of *shamm-ées(i)* 'he buys', is indeed observed, especially at the end of a relatively long sentence.

Although there are some disagreements on vowel length and on notation, there are not many differences between previous works and this study in terms of morphology of the verb forms under discussion. One most striking difference is, however, that previous works ignore the allomorph of the first-person plural ending, *-eettees(i)*. For the first-person singular ending, Cerulli (1929: 16) gives *ēs* and *es*. Although I did not mention it in the above paradigm, pronunciation of the first-person singular ending *-ais* may be close to [ees] in fast speech. In addition, it might be worth noting that Cerulli (1929: 16) gives *osuna* as a third-person plural ending. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 155) give *-aas^a*, *-ees^e*, and *-oos^o* as their second-person singular, third-person singular masculine, and first-person plural aorist imperfect endings, respectively (the superscripts stand for devoiced vowels). For the first I was not able to observe devoicing and for the others their interpretation of vowel quality itself is wrong. Judging from other examples of them, Hirut's (1999: 57) *-axis* (a first-person singular pronominal that occur with the present and future tenses) and Ohman and Hailu's (1976: 159) *-ay* and *-asu* (first-person singular and third-person singular feminine present suffixes, respectively) would be misprints.

It is often said that generally "aspect[403]", not "tense", is indicated in verb systems of Afroasiatic languages. See, for example, Cohen (1988: 24). Adams (1983) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997) also use terms associated with aspect to refer to the forms under discussion in Wolaytta ("continuous primary aspect" and "the aorist imperfect", respectively). As we will see below, most examples of the forms indeed express Comrie's (1976: 24) "imperfectivity", whose general characterization is 'explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation[404], viewing a situation from within': in other words, each of them usually 'expresses either a habitual situation or a situation viewed in its duration' (Comrie (1976: 26)). Thus it is not unreasonable to use the term "imperfective" to refer to the forms under discussion.

However, although some kind of past situation must be expressed by perfective forms (see section 4.4.2.2) and future situations are usually expressed by future forms (see section 4.4.2.3), "imperfective" forms in Wolaytta are actually fairly all-around affirmative declarative forms. They are used irrespective of "tense", i.e. they can be used to describe situations of the past, of the present, and of the future. They are also

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[403] Hereafter, I use the term "aspect" to mean "a way of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation", following Comrie (1976: 3).

[404] The term "situation" in Comrie (1976) is a general cover term for states, events, processes, etc. Following him, I also use the term in this thesis to refer to whatever verbs express.

used irrespective of aspect at least in principle, although this does not seem to be the case at first sight. I will discuss it later. In the following, let's observe their various uses in more detail.

Affirmative declarative imperfective forms are used to describe continuousness in the past, i.e. to express individual situations viewed in their duration in the past.

(4.4.2.1.1-2)

zín-o	nééní	y-íyo	d-é
yesterday-ABS.	you	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

táání	kátt-aa	m-áis.
I	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-IMPF.1SG.

'I was having a meal when you came yesterday.'

(4.4.2.1.1-3)

bitán-ee	gúúr-aa-ni	TísK-uwa-ppe
man-NOM.M.SG.	dawn-OBL.M.SG.-in	sleep-OBL.M.SG.-from

dend-ídaa-g-éé	ha	7ubb-áa
rise-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	this	all-ABS.M.SG.

Teell-íyo	d-é	keett-ái
look at-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.	house-NOM.M.SG.

mél-a	d-ées.	kan-ái-kka
empty-ABS.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.	dog-NOM.M.SG.-too

kútt-oi-kka	gawar-íya-kk	biccá
rooster-NOM.M.SG.-too	cat-NOM.F.SG.-too	individually

waass-ées.
shout-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When the man who got up from his sleep at dawn looked at all these, the house was

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empty. The dog, the rooster, and the cat too were screaming individually.'

(4.4.2.1.1-4)

ta-makiin-ái	zíllaitti	ha	wod-íya-ni
my-car-NOM.M.SG.	last year	this	time-OBL.M.SG.-in

garázh-iya-ni	de7-ées.
garage-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'My car was in the auto-repair garage in this time of the last year.'

They may also describe habitual situations in the past.

(4.4.2.1.1-5)

táání	na7átett-aa-ni	d-áidda	dár-o	7etí
I	childhood-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-SIM.1SG.	many-ABS.	they

yoot-íyo	b-áá	7ezg-áisi-nne
tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	listen-IMPF.1SG.-and

7akeek-á	kaall-áis.
be careful-CONV.1SG.	follow-IMPF.1SG.

   'When I was a child (lit. while I was in the childhood), I indeed used to listen to and carefully follow what he (honorific form, lit. they) was telling.'

(4.4.2.1.1-6)

7áí-ssí	g-íí-kkó	. . .	yáág-idi
what-for	say-SUBOR.-if	. . .	say so-CONV.3M.SG.

tamaar-iss-ées.
learn-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'This is because (lit. if you say "for what") he was teaching, saying . . .'
   (From Mark 9:31)

The above examples show that Ohman and Hailu (1976: 159) are mistaken in considering that the forms under discussion (i.e. affirmative declarative imperfective forms) express the "present" tense, and also that Hirut (1999: 57, 62, 67) is mistaken in considering that they express the "present" and "future" tenses.

In the case of expressions of present situations, all kinds of affirmative declarative situations[405] are covered by the affirmative declarative imperfective. Incidentally, Adams's (1983: 194) says that: 'It is usually assumed in Wolaitta [*sic*] that when the continuous aspect ["imperfective" in this thesis] occurs without some externally expressed specific reference to past or future time, the action or event is taking place in the present.' In the following examples affirmative declarative imperfective forms are used to express individual situations viewed in their duration at the time of utterance.

(4.4.2.1.1-7)

'wáán-ai?   7áí   7oott-ái?'
  become what-INTER.IMPF.2SG.   what   do-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'ha77í   nabbáb-uwa   meezet-áis.'
  now   reading-ABS.M.SG.   practice-IMPF.1SG.

   'How are you? What are you doing?' 'Now I am practicing reading.'

(4.4.2.1.1-8)

ta-7ish-áa   yaiKob[406]   ziNN-ádii?
my-brother-OBL.M.SG.   (person name)   get to sleep-INTER.PF.2SG.

dawwál-ee   dawwal-étt-ees.
bell-NOM.M.SG.   ring-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

kíu   kíu   g-ées.
(onomatopoeia) (onomatopoeia) say-IMPF.3M.SG.

---

[405] However, Comrie (1976: 66) says that: 'Since the present tense is essentially used to describe, rather than to narrate, it is essentially imperfective, either continuous or habitual, and not perfective.' Thus all the situations to be considered here are homogeneous.

[406] Here this foreign name is not inflected as a Wolaytta person-name noun (see section 4.2.2.3).

'My brother Jacob, are you sleeping (lit. did you get to sleep)? The bell is ringing. It says "Ding-dong."'   (From a children's song)

(4.4.2.1.1-9)

na7-íya	7íntéé-r-á	tánáá-rá
child-NOM.F.SG.	your (PL.)-NMNL.-NOM.	my-with

d-áusu.	kóyy-oppite.
exist-IMPF.3F.SG.	search-NEG.OPT.2PL.

'Your daughter is with me. Don't search (her).'

(4.4.2.1.1-10)

táání	kaw-úwa	baKK-an-á-u
I	king-ABS.M.SG.	slap-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-áis.
be able to-IMPF.1SG.

'I can slap the king.'

The following describes a present habitual situation.

(4.4.2.1.1-11)

7ash-úwa	KanT-áis.
meat-ABS.M.SG.	cut-IMPF.1SG.

'I cut meat (i.e. I am a butcher).'

The following are also examples of habitual situations in the broad sense. However, they might be regarded as expressions of truths that hold true irrespective of time, at least to the speakers.

(4.4.2.1.1-12)

woláítt-ai	TúúKK-ido	s-ái
Wolaytta-NOM.M.SG.	explode-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-NOM.M.SG.

kínd-ó	g-éétett-ees.
(place name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The place where Wolaytta originated in (lit. exploded) is called (lit. said) Kindo.'

(4.4.2.1.1-13)

gaashsh-éé-rá	m-íi-ni	shááshsh-ai
Mr.-OBL.-with	eat-SUBOR.-in	roasted grain-NOM.M.SG.

maLL-ées.	7áá-rá	m-íi-ni
be tasty-IMPF.3M.SG.	his-with	eat-SUBOR.-in

wozan-ái	zárb-ees.
heart-NOM.M.SG.	be calm-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When I eat with Mr., (even) roasted grain is tasty. When I eat with him, (my) heart is calm.'   (From a song)

There are indeed examples of affirmative declarative imperfective forms that describe future situations, although Ohman and Hailu (1977) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997) do not mention them[407]. In this language, however, affirmative declarative situations in the future are usually expressed by declarative future forms, which are discussed in section 4.4.2.3. Judging from the attested examples, if the speaker thinks that the future situation in question will or should be certainly realized, the imperfective form can be used, in addition to the future form.

(4.4.2.1.1-14)

7áne	7iss-í	gúútt-a	yétt-iyo	yéTT-ais.
let me	one-OBL.	small-OBL.	song-ABS.F.SG.	song-IMPF.1SG.

(Just before a song) 'I sing a small song.'

---

[407] Lamberti and Sottile (1997) consider that the "aorist imperfect" ("imperfective" in this thesis) can refer to the past as well as to the present time, but not to the future.

(4.4.2.1.1-15)

"Téét-u	Téét-u	bír-aa	tá	tá
hundred-OBL.	hundred-OBL.	Birr-ABS.M.SG.	I	I

7oitt-áis."	g-íi-ni	7í-kka	"Téét-aa
mortgage-IMPF.1SG.	say-SUBOR.-in	he-too	hundred-ABS.M.SG.

7oitt-aná.	. . ."
mortgage-FUT.	. . .

    'When he said "I, I bet 100 Birr, 100 Birr." he also (said) "I will bet 100 (Birr). . ."'

(4.4.2.1.1-16)

tá	baKK-an-á	Tay-í-kkó	Téét-u
I	slap-INFN.-ABS.	disappear-SUBOR.-if	hundred-OBL.

bír-aa	né	7ekk-áasa.
Birr-ABS.M.SG.	you	take-IMPF.2SG.

    'If I cannot slap (him), you will take hundred Birr.'

(4.4.2.1.1-17)

siiK-ídí	na7átett-aa-ppe	dóómm-idi
love-CONV.3M.SG.	childhood-OBL.M.SG.-from	begin-CONV.3M.SG.

"táná	gel-áasa."	g-íídí	7ammant-ídí
me	enter-IMPF.2SG.	say-CONV.3M.SG.	make believe-CONV.M.SG.

. . .
. . .

    'He loved (the girl), and since his childhood, he made her believe saying "You will marry (lit. enter) me.", and . . .'

(4.4.2.1.1-18)

wont-ó	he	wod-íya-ni	tamaar-iss-áis.
tomorrow-ABS.	that	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	learn-CAUS.-IMPF.1SG.

   'At that time tomorrow, I will be teaching.'

(4.4.2.1.1-19)

woláítt-a	biitt-áa-ni	sint-á-ppé	7as-ái
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	face-OBL.-from	people-NOM.M.SG.

7ímeil	g-íyo-g-áá-ní
e-mail	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

ba-sarót-aa	har-á	biitt-í
his own-greetings-ABS.M.SG.	other-OBL.	land-ADV.

yedd-ées.
send-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'In the Wolaytta land, in the future, people will send their messages to foreign countries by what is called "e-mail".'

Affirmative declarative imperfective forms can occasionally be used with cohortative connotation.

(4.4.2.1.1-20)[408]
m-óos.
eat-IMPF.1PL.

   'Let's eat together!'

(4.4.2.1.1-21)

7abb-áa	hé-pint-i	pínn-oos.
sea-ABS.M.SG.	that-side (of bank)-ADV.	cross-IMPF.1PL.

---

[408] This is a fixed expression, and the verb is not replaced by its corresponding future form (*m-aaná*) or its allomorph (*m-éettees*).

'Let us cross the lake to the other side.'   (From Mark 4:35)

Adams (1983: 211-212) seems to claim that the verb forms under discussion always express continuous aspect and that future forms (see section 4.4.2.3) always express punctilliar (i.e. non-continuous) aspect. However, this is not the case. For example, it does not seem that such aspectual distinction is done by the imperfective *7oitt-áis* 'I bet' and the future *7oitt-aná* 'I will bet' in (4.4.2.1.1-15), or it does not seem that continuousness of the act of "taking the money", which is expressed by an alleged "continuous aspect" form, is focused in (4.4.2.1.1-16). It seems to me that these imperfective forms are used to express perfective situations. On the other hand, there are examples of imperfective forms evidently used to express imperfective situations in the future, such as (4.4.2.1.1-18) and (4.4.2.1.1-19). In short, in this future use, affirmative declarative imperfective forms are used irrespective of aspect.

Adams's false claim would have derived from the observation that in expressions of past and present situations the verb forms in question (i.e. affirmative declarative imperfective forms) always express continuous or habitual situations as we have seen above. However, this observation itself is misleading. Essentially the forms do not have any positive connotations in terms of aspect. However, because of the obligatory use of perfective forms (see section 4.4.2.2) for past perfective expressions affirmative declarative imperfective forms happen to take charge of only imperfective (i.e. continuous or habitual) expressions in expressions of past situations, and because of the essential imperfectiveness of expressions of present situations (see Comrie (1976: 66) and footnote 405) they happen to take charge of only imperfective expressions in expressions of present situations.

So far I have described uses of affirmative declarative imperfective forms according to three "tenses". However, there are examples that are difficult to classify in terms of "tense". For example, the following is a frequent expression meaning 'I will be back soon.' Is it an example of a present progressive use or of an assured future use?

(4.4.2.1.1-22)

y-áis[409].

come-IMPF.1SG.

---

[409] This expression corresponds to the Amharic expression መጣሁ *maTTAhu*, which is a perfective form literally translating 'I came'.

'I will be back soon.'

In quotation of utterances that are uttered immediately before it, affirmative declarative imperfective forms are often used for verbs of quotation. Are they past forms or present forms?

(4.4.2.1.1-23)

"hegáá-ssí 'tá tá sú7-aas.' g-á."
 that-for I I fart-PF.1SG. say-OPT.2SG.

yáág-idoo-r-á   na7-íya   Ká
say so-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM. child-NOM.F.SG. furthermore

TóKKu   g-íídaa-r-á
(preverb)   say-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

"ta-7aayy-íya   'tá sú7-aas.' g-á
 my-mother-NOM.F.SG. I fart-PF.1SG. say-OPT.2SG.

<u>yáág-ausu</u>."   yáág-a-nne   . . .
say so-IMPF.3F.SG. say so-CONV.3F.SG.-and   . . .

 'The girl to whom (her mother) said "Say (to them) 'I, I farted.'" and who stood up said "My mother said (lit. says) (to me) 'Say (to them) "I farted."'" and . . .'

These questions can be avoided if we assume that affirmative declarative imperfective forms are unmarked for "tense".

 Affirmative declarative imperfective forms can be used in apodoses of counter-factual conditionals to express situations in the hypothesized world (cf. (4.4.2.2.1-17)).

(4.4.2.1.1-24)

zaar-í   zaar-í   gáítt-iya-kko
return-CONV.3M.SG. return-CONV.3M.SG. meet-INFN.-if

7er-étt-ees.
know-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'If he had met (with him) again and again, he would have come to know each other.'

As mentioned above, there are two different endings for the first-person plural affirmative declarative imperfective (IMPF.1PL.). The endings are *-oos(i)* and *-eettees(i)*, the latter of which has been ignored in previous works. The latter resembles the first-person plural ending *-etu* for "the Affirmative Present" and "the Affirmative Habitual" of the Dauro (Kullo) language of the Ometo cluster (Allan (1976: 335)).

It is interesting that this ending *-eettees(i)* resembles the third-person plural, instead of the first-person plural, ending *-e-et-e-s* for the "affirmative imperfect" of the Gamo language of the Ometo cluster (Hayward (1998: 95))[410].

As far as I know, there is no semantic difference between the two first-person plural endings. They are quite interchangeable except for the fixed expression found in (4.4.2.1.1-22). However, as Hayward (1998: 98) suggests, it may be the case that 'there was originally an inclusive: exclusive distinction in 1PL, as is still the case in Benchnon Gimira . . . Zayse and some other languages', and the existence of the two different endings in question in Wolaytta might reflect the original situation. If so, since the fixed inclusive expression found in (4.4.2.1.1-22) has *-oos(i)* in it, it might have been an inclusive ending. According to Hayward (1998: 99), in Benchnon Gimira it is the first-person plural inclusive that patterns with the North Ometo languages (including Wolaytta) in terms of IA (see below in this section). This fact might support my conjecture.

Most of affirmative declarative imperfective forms in Wolaytta can be analyzed as follows (cf. Hayward (1998)) (tone is ignored):

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[410] Hirut (2005: 104-105) also gives a similar form, *-eettes*.

(4.4.2.1.1-25) Structure of the Affirmative Declarative Imperfective
Stem + IA + OA + Indicative Mood Marker (+ OA)

1SG.   -a-i-s-i > -ais(i)   1PL.   -i-o-s > -oos(i), (-eettees(i))
2SG.   -a-a-s-a   2PL.   -i-eta > -eeta
3M.SG. -i-e-s-e > -ees(i) 3PL.   (-oosona)
3F.SG. -a-u-s-u

IA stands for the "inner agreement". According to Hayward (1998: 103), the two elements of the IA system, *-i* and *-a*, derive from 'an earlier two-term system of topic pronouns ***-i** and ***-a**'. The former (*-i*) occurs with 3M.SG. and all plural persons as subjects, and the latter (*-a*) occurs with 1SG., 2SG., and 3F.SG. as subjects. Here suffice it to realize that the IA elements are the same as endings for the short converb (see section 4.4.3.1), although this fact is often obscured because of assimilation of *-i* to its following vowel. As will be discussed later, the endings for the short converb are "quite general subordinators", and indicate only grammatical features (person, number, and gender) of linguistic subjects. OA stands for the "outer agreement". The elements of the OA system are: *-i* (occurring with 1SG. as a subject), *-a* (2SG.), *-e* (3M.SG.), *-u* (3F.SG.), *-o* (1PL., found only in *-oos(i)*), and *-eta* (2PL.) (one of the 1PL. forms and the 3PL. form cannot be explained[411]). Again according to Hayward (1998: 106-107), they usually resembles the pronominal elements of the South Omotic languages such as Aari and Hamar. The last vowels of singular forms would be OA elements. Thus, if we consider following Hayward (1998: 109) that the last *-s* is an indicative mood marker or the like, which is missing in the second-person plural form, endings of the affirmative declarative imperfective hardly convey any information on so-called tense, aspect, and modality. All that they do are to convey information on subjects and to indicate that the mood is indicative. This supports my claim that affirmative declarative imperfective forms are fairly all-around.

4.4.2.1.2   Negative Declarative Imperfective

This is a negative counterpart of the affirmative declarative imperfective discussed in the preceding section. Its endings are as follows.

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[411] However, third-person plural finite verb forms often contain *-ona*. Here the third-person plural form seems to be derived from the first-person plural form.

(4.4.2.1.2-1) Endings of the Negative Declarative Imperfective

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-íkke	1PL.	-ókko, -étténná
2SG.	-ákká	2PL.	-ékkétá
3M.SG.	-énná	3PL.	-ókkóná
3F.SG.	-úkkú		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-ikke	1PL.	´-okko, ´-étténná
2SG.	´-ákká	2PL.	´-ékkétá
3M.SG.	´-énná	3PL.	´-ókkóná
3F.SG.	´-úkkú		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-ííkke	1PL.	-óókko, -éétténná
2SG.	-áákká	2PL.	-éékkétá
3M.SG.	-éénná	3PL.	-óókkóná
3F.SG.	-úúkkú		

The final vowel *e* of the first-person singular ending is often devoiced. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

Although there are some disagreements on vowel length and gemination, there are not many differences between previous works and this study in terms of morphology of the forms under discussion. However, Lamberti and Sottile consider that the final vowel of the second-person singular ending as well as the first-person singular ending is (always?) devoiced. Cerulli (1929: 19) gives *okkuna* as a third-person plural form, and Moreno (1938: 50) also gives *er-ókkuna* 'they do not know' as well as *er-ókkona* as Wolaytta forms. Hirut's (1999: 73) *meett-ena* 'they will not eat' would actually be a first-person plural form.

The following are examples in which negative declarative imperfective forms are used.

(4.4.2.1.2-2)

zín-o	nééní	y-íyo	d-é
yesterday	you	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

táání	Kúm-aa	m-ííkke.
I	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

　　'When you came yesterday, I was not having a meal.'

(4.4.2.1.2-3)

táání	bení	gááyy-iya	sarb-íkke
I	old times	hookah-ABS.M.SG.	breath in-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

shííní	ha77í	sijaar-áa	7úy-ais.
but	now	cigarette-ABS.M.SG.	drink-IMPF.1SG.

　　'Formerly I was not used to smoke hookah, but now I smoke (lit. drink) cigarettes.'

(4.4.2.1.2-4)

7á	7óíss-ai	dar-énná	Kúm-aa
she	butter-NOM.M.SG.	be many-NEG.REL.	food-ABS.M.SG.

m-úúkkú.
eat-NEG.IMPF.3F.SG.

　　'She does not eat food in which butter is not much.'

(4.4.2.1.2-5)

'7áí	7oott-ái?	meezet-ái?'
what	do-INTER.IMPF.2SG.	practice-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'7áí-nné	7oott-íkke.'
what-and	do-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

　　'What are you doing? Are you practicing?' 'I am doing nothing (lit. not doing what and).'

(4.4.2.1.2-6)

ta-7ish-ái	b-aan-á-u	<u>kóyy-énná</u>.
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'My brother does not want to go.'

(4.4.2.1.2-7)

Taap-ído	mastawash-ái	baínna
write-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	memorandum-NOM.M.SG.	not present

gishshát-aa-ssi	waraKát-ai	baínna
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	paper-NOM.M.SG.	not present

gishshát-aa-ssi	7as-ái	<u>7er-énná</u>.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	people-NOM.M.SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Because there is no memorandum that someone wrote, because there is no paper, people do not know (the ancient history).'

(4.4.2.1.2-8)

woláítt-á	taaрík-iya	7as-ái
Wolaytta-OBL.	history-ABS.M.SG.	people-NOM.M.SG.

7od-íyo-g-éé	Taap-ídoo-g-éé
tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	write-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

Taap-ídí	7etí	7oitt-ídoo-g-éé
write-CONV.3M.PL.	they	register-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

ha77í	haasay-íyo	Káál-ai-nne
now	speak-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	word-NOM.M.SG.-and

beníi-g-éé-nné	<u>gáítt-énná</u>.
old times-NMNL.-NOM.-and	meet-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'The Wolaytta history that people tell, what they wrote, what they wrote and

registered, the word that now people speak and the old times' thing do not agree.'

(4.4.2.1.2-9)

7úútt-ai	doiss-íi-ni	7ees-úwa-ni
false banana-NOM.M.SG.	boil-SUBOR.-in	speed-OBL.M.SG.-in

ka77-énná.
be cooked-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'A false banana does not cook fast when it is boiled.'

(4.4.2.1.2-10)

táání	daapúrs-aa	daapur-aná	shííní
I	fatigue-ABS.M.SG.	get tired-FUT.	but

7áí-nné	go7-étt-ikke.
what-and	serve-PASS.-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I will get tired, but I will not benefit at all.'

(4.4.2.1.2-11)

táání	japán-e	b-aaná	shííní	motomícc-á
I	Japan-ABS.	go-FUT.	but	(person name)-ABS.

demm-íkke.
find-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I will go to Japan, but I will not find Motomichi.'

(4.4.2.1.2-12)

múl-e	baKK-ákká.	tá	miishsh-áa
full-ABS.	slap-NEG.IMPF.2SG.	I	money-ABS.M.SG.

7oitt-aná.
mortgage-FUT.

'You will never slap (the king). I will bet money.'

(4.4.2.1.2-13)

bení	geelá7-o	naatí	mashk-úwa
old times	young virgin-OBL.	children (NOM.)	*[412]-ABS.M.SG.

giTT-íyo-g-éé	wod-íya
wear around the waist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	time-OBL.M.SG.

maay-ói	y-óo	s-á-ppé
clothes-NOM.M.SG.	come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.-from

7átt-i	7átt-i	b-ées.
stay behind-CONV.3M.SG.	stay behind-CONV.3M.SG.	go-IMPF.3M.SG.

sint-á-ú	7etí	mashk-úwa
face-OBL.-for	they	(see footnote 412)-ABS.M.SG.

giTT-ókkóná.
wear around the waist-NEG.IMPF.3PL.

'Since modern clothes came, young virgins' wearing Mashko around the waist is obsolescent. In the future, they will not wear it.'

It is relatively rare to encounter negative imperfective forms expressing past situations, while negative perfective forms (see section 4.4.2.2.2) usually express past situation. Comrie (1976: 83) says that 'a close relationship between Imperfective Aspect and present time, and between Perfective Aspect and past time' in a number of West African languages, including Yoruba and Igbo, which are 'without tense markers'. In other words, these languages suggest 'that . . . in the past [tense] the most typical usages of verbs, especially nonstative verbs, are those with perfective meaning' (Comrie 1976: 72). This tendency seems to apply to Wolaytta, especially in the case of negative forms.

In expressions of future situations, the negative declarative imperfective covers all negative declarative situations. As can be seen from the above examples, such situations may be perfective (as in (4.4.2.1.2-12)) or imperfective (as in (4.4.2.1.2-13)). Thus, it is

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[412] Cover for the genital area, which is made from strings.

evident that negative declarative imperfective forms are used irrespective of aspect. I consider that this unmarkedness for aspect is an essential feature of imperfective verb forms in Wolaytta (i.e. forms discussed in sections 4.4.2.1.1, 4.4.2.1.2, and 4.4.2.1.3).

Most of negative declarative imperfective forms seem to be analyzed as follows (tone is ignored):

(4.4.2.1.2-14) Structure of the Negative Declarative Imperfective
Stem + OA + Negative Marker + Negative Declarative Ending (OA?)

1SG.	-i-kk-e	1PL.	-o-kk-o, (-ettenna)
2SG.	-a-kk-a	2PL.	-e-kk-eta
3M.SG.	(-enna)	3PL.	(-okkona)
3F.SG.	-u-kk-u		

For OA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1. However, the OA element for the second-person plural here would be *-e*, instead of *-eta* as Hayward (1998: 106, 107) claims for Gamo affirmative perfect and imperfect. Thus, it is closer to *ye*, a second-person plural pronominal stem of the South Omotic languages such as Aari and Hamar. The negative marker is *-kk-*, except for the third-person singular masculine form. This pattern is also observed in the negative interrogative imperfective (see section 4.4.2.1.3), the negative declarative perfective (see section 4.4.2.2.2), and the negative interrogative perfective (see section 4.4.2.2.3). The origin of negative declarative endings is not clear, although I assume that they are somehow similar to, and thus related to OA elements. Here again, the third-person plural form seems to be derived from the first-person plural form. One might consider that the third-person singular masculine form is composed of a stem plus an OA element (*e*, in this case) plus a negative marker (*-nn-* insead of *-kk-*, in this case) plus an negative declarative ending (*a*, in this case). However, I consider that it originates from a negative infinitive, which is discussed in section 4.4.4.2. Thus I conclude that the negative declarative imperfective is suppletive, and that (4.4.2.1.2-14) does not apply to its third-person singular masculine form.

4.4.2.1.3   Interrogative Imperfective

As mentioned in section 4.2.7.7.1, a verb in a main clause occurs in a special form when it is used as a predicate of an interrogative sentence. Endings of the interrogative

counterparts of the declarative imperfective discussed in sections 4.4.2.1.1 (affirmative) and 4.4.2.1.2 (negative) are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.1.3-1) Endings of the Affirmative Interrogative Imperfective

Tone Class I

1SG.	-íyanaa	1PL.	-íyo, -íyonii
2SG.	-ái	2PL.	-éetii
3M.SG.	-íi	3PL.	-íyonaa
3F.SG.	-ái		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-iyanaa	1PL.	´-iyo, ´-iyonii
2SG.	´-ai	2PL.	´-eetii
3M.SG.	´-ii	3PL.	´-iyonaa
3F.SG.	´-ai		

(4.4.2.1.3-2) Endings of the Negative Interrogative Imperfective[413]

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-íkkínáa	1PL.	-ókkóníi, -étténnée
2SG.	-íkkíi	2PL.	-ékkétíi
3M.SG.	-énnée[414]	3PL.	-ókkónáa
3F.SG.	-ékkée		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-íkkínáa	1PL.	´-ókkóníi, ´-étténnée
2SG.	´-íkkíi	2PL.	´-ékkétíi
3M.SG.	´-énnée	3PL.	´-ókkónáa
3F.SG.	´-ékkée		

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[413] As is evident from the following, tonal prominences of negative interrogative imperfective forms are rather long. However, some part of them might be realized as "high" because of intonation.

[414] Adams (1983: 215) gives the ending *-enne:šša*, which seems to be composed of the third-person singular masculine ending of the negative interrogative imperfective followed by the interrogative indeclinable *-shsha* discussed in section 4.2.7.8, as a form for "ALL PERSONS". However, it is actually used only for the third-person singular masculine.

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-ííkkínáa	1PL.	-óókkóníi, -éétténnée
2SG.	-ííkkíi	2PL.	-éékkétíi
3M.SG.	-éénnée	3PL.	-óókkónáa
3F.SG.	-éékkée		

There are disagreements on morphology of the interrogative forms between previous works and this study. The most striking is the form given by Cerulli (1929: 20-21), which is composed of a verb radical and the suffix *-a*, and is used for both the past and the present-future tenses. However, judging from his examples, I guess that he had misheard the second-person singular ending of the affirmative interrogative imperfective *-ai*, and that he could not recognize the interrogative future[415]. For the first-person plural affirmative interrogative imperfective, previous works give only one or another of the two allomorphs. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 182) give *-iy^u*, whose final vowel is devoiced *u* instead of *o*. For its negative counterpart, all previous works ignore *-ettennee*. Furthermore, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 184) give *-okko*, instead of *-okkonii*. For the third-person plural affirmative interrogative imperfective, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 182) hear the vowel *u*, instead of *o*: that is, they give *-i-yuuna*, instead of *-iyona*. Moreno (1938: 53) also gives *-íyuna*, together with *-íyona*. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 182) say that 'The ending of the 2nd person singular varies from case to case', and give *-a-y^i*, *-ay*, and *-ey*. I wonder how they can distinguish between the first two variants. In terms of historical linguistics, the first-person singular affirmative interrogative imperfective forms given by Ohman and Hailu (1976: 161) and by Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 182) are interesting. They give *-ayna* and *-a-y-na*, respectively, instead of *-iyanaa*. If we take into consideration that the first vowels of affirmative interrogative imperfective endings are usually IA elements (see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1 and (4.4.2.1.3-14)), *-ayna* or *-a-y-na* would be more ancient and *-iyanaa* would be its metathetic form. Finally, here again, there are some disagreements on vowel length and on notation between previous works and this study.

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[415] His examples with Italian translations are:

aybâ gâ? <<Che hai detto?>> 'What did you say?'

aybê si'ada mičča? <<Che cosa avendo udito ridi?>> 'What having heard, are you laughing?' (In the original text, *č* is dotted.)

aybâ mâ nē? <<Che hai mangiato?>> 'What did you eat?'

For the first example, see (4.4.2.1.1-23). I guess that the third example is actually that of an interrogative future form (see section 4.4.2.3).

The basic function of the interrogative forms under discussion (and in fact of other interrogative forms) is to ask information on what the speaker does not know or is not sure about. However, they can also be used in rhetorical questions, expressions of exclamation, commands, entreaties, invitations, suggestions, deliberative questions, etc., depending on the context. This would apply to any language. In any case, the reader may realize the polysemy of the interrogative forms from the examples given below.

(4.4.2.1.3-3)

7og-íya-ni	7áí	<u>haasay-éetii</u>?
road-OBL.M.SG.-in	what	talk-INTER.IMPF.2PL.

   'What were you talking on the road?'   (From Mark 9:33)

(4.4.2.1.3-4)

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	7áí	mal-á
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in	what	look(s)-OBL.

7áí	mal-á	méh-ee
what	look(s)-OBL.	domestic animal-NOM.M.SG.

<u>de7-íi</u>?
exist-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'What kinds of domestic animals are there in the Wolaytta land?'

(4.4.2.1.3-5)

maTín-ee	baínnaa-ni,	Kúm-ai
salt-NOM.M.SG.	not present (OBL.)-in	food-NOM.M.SG.

<u>maLL-íi</u>,	7okash-ée
be tasty-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.	cardamom-NOM.M.SG.

baínnaa-ni	kátt-ai	<u>saw-íi</u>,
not present (OBL.)-in	grain-NOM.M.SG.	perfume-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

maasir-ée	baínnaa-ni	7ól-ai
(name of clan)-NOM.M.SG.	not present (OBL.)-in	war-NOM.M.SG.

<u>simm-íi</u>
return-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'If there is no salt, is food tasty? If there is no cardamom, does grain perfume? If there is no Masire, can we counterattack (lit. does a war return)?'

(4.4.2.1.3-6)

har-éé	d-íya-kko	táání	<u>Caan-íkkínáa?</u>
donkey-NOM.	exist-INFN.-if	I	load-NEG.INTER.IMPF.1SG.

   'If I had a donkey, wouldn't I load (it)?'

(4.4.2.1.3-7)
wáán-ai?
become what-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'How are you (lit. what are you becoming)?'

(4.4.2.1.3-8)

hegáá-ní	híníí-ní	ta-na7-áa	d-ói
that-in	there-in	my-child-OBL.M.SG.	and company-NOM.M.SG.

7áí	<u>7oott-íyonaa?</u>
what	do-INTER.IMPF.3PL.

   'What are my son and others doing here and there?'

(4.4.2.1.3-9)

7á	7á	laa	7áí	b-á	7as-í
oh	oh	hey	what	thing-OBL.	person-NOM.

<u>y-íi?</u>
come-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Oh, oh, what kind of person is coming?'

(4.4.2.1.3-10)

nénoo	síy-íkkíi?	néná	g-áis
you (VOC.)	hear-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2SG.	you (ABS.)	say-IMPF.1SG.

'You, don't you hear? I say to you.'

(4.4.2.1.3-11)

háa	shiiK-ékkétíi?	.	. .	bír-ai
here	approach-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2PL.		. . .	Birr-NOM.M.SG.

bess-ó	biitt-áa	tánáá-rá
be abundant-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	land-ABS.M.SG.	me-with

togg-ídí	b-í	7agg-ékkétíi?
embark-CONV.2PL.	go-CONV.2PL.	cease-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2PL.

'(Why) don't you approach here? (Why) don't you go right now (lit. go and cease) to the land where Birr (i.e. Ethiopian currency) is abundant with me, having embarking (this palanquin)?'

(4.4.2.1.3-12)

ha	téép-iya	gód-aa
this	tape recorder-OBL.M.SG.	owner-ABS.M.SG.

paránj-aa	wóíg-iyanaa?	. . .
foreigner-ABS.M.SG.	say what-INTER.IMPF.1SG.	. . .

páT-a	d-iité	haiK-óppite	yáág-ais.
alive-ABS.	exist-OPT.2PL.	die-NEG.OPT.2PL.	say so-IMPF.1SG.

'What do I say (to) the owner of this tape recorder, the foreigner? . . . I say "Be alive, don't die."'   (From a traditional impromptu song)

(4.4.2.1.3-13)

na7átett-aa-ni	kaass-áa	siiK-íkkíi?
childhood-OBL.M.SG.-in	playing-ABS.M.SG.	love-NEG.INTER.2SG.

    'Didn't you love playing when you were a child?'

   Most affirmative interrogative imperfective forms can be analyzed as follows (tone is ignored):

(4.4.2.1.3-14) Structure of the Affirmative Interrogative Imperfective
Stem + IA (+OA) + Interrogative Marker

1SG.	-a-inaa > -iyanaa	1PL.	-i-o > -iyo, -i-o-nii > -iyonii
2SG.	-a-ii > -ai	2PL.	-i-et-ii > -eetii
3M.SG.	-i-ee > -ii	3PL.	(-iyonaa)
3F.SG.	-a-ee > -ai		

For IA and OA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1. OA elements are found only in the first-person and second-person plurals in the case of the affirmative interrogative imperfective. Judging from other interrogative forms (negative interrogative imperfective forms discussed in this section and interrogative perfective forms discussed in section 4.4.2.2.3), interrogative markers, which may undergo or cause sound changes in contact with IA or OA elements, are the following: *-inaa* (occurring with 1SG. as a subject), *-ii* (2SG.), *-ee* (3M.SG.), *-ee* (3F.SG.), *-nii* (1PL.), and *-ii* (2PL.). In the first-person singular, a metathesis of the IA element and the first vowel of the interrogative marker took place[416], as mentioned above in this section. In the first-person plural, the interrogative marker is optional. Unfortunately, the origin of these interrogative markers is not known. Note that the third-person plural marker *-ona* is found here.

   Except for one of the first-person plural forms and the third-person plural form, negative interrogative imperfective forms can be analyzed as follows (tone is ignored):

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[416] However, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 161) and Labmeriti and Sottile (1997: 182) give forms in which the metathesis did not take place, as mentioned above in this section.

(4.4.2.1.3-15) Structure of the Negative Interrogative Imperfective
Stem + OA + Negative Marker (+ OA) + Interrogative Marker

1SG.	-i-kk-inaa	1PL.	-o-kk-o-nii, (-ettennee)
2SG.	-a-kk-ii > -ikkii	2PL.	-e-kk-eta-ii > -ekketii
3M.SG.	(-ennee)	3PL.	(-okkonaa)
3F.SG.	-u-kk-ee > -ekkee		

For OA, see the end of sections 4.4.2.1.1 and 4.4.2.1.2. In the second-person singular and the third-person singular feminine, OA elements are assimilated to interrogative markers. For the negative marker, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.2. The second OA elements are found only in the first-person and second-person plurals in the case of the negative interrogative imperfective. The interrogative marker is explained in the preceding paragraph in this section. I consider that the third-person singular masculine form originates from a negative infinitive (see section 4.4.4.2), as its declarative counterpart does (see section 4.4.2.1.2). Note that the third-person plural marker *-ona* is found here.

4.4.2.1.4   Past Forms for Happy Situations

There are forms that are used to express realization of happy situations. Although they refer to past situations, since their forms are the same as those of the affirmative declarative imperfect without IA (see section 4.4.2.1.1), I introduce them here. The actual use of them is very rare, and no previous works mention them.

The endings of the forms in question are as follows.

(4.4.2.1.4-1)
Tone Class I

1SG.	-ís(i)	1PL.	-ós(i)
2SG.	-ása	2PL.	-éta
3M.SG.	-és(i)	3PL.	-ósona
3F.SG.	-úsu		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-is(i)	1PL.	´-os(i)
2SG.	´-asa	2PL.	´-eta
3M.SG.	´-es(i)	3PL.	´-osona
3F.SG.	´-usu		

(4.4.2.1.4-2)

Tooss-í	hashshú	sár-o	gatt-és.
god-NOM.	happily	peace-ABS.	make reach-(past).3M.SG.

   'Happily God made (you and me) meet (again) in peace!'

(4.4.2.1.4-3)

7á	hashshú	gákk-usu.
she	happily	reach-(past).3F.SG.

   'Happily she reached!'

4.4.2.2 Perfective
4.4.2.2.1 Affirmative Declarative Perfective

  Endings of affirmative declarative perfective forms are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.2.1-1) Endings of the Affirmative Declarative Perfective

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-áas(i)	1PL.	-ída
2SG.	-ádasa	2PL.	-ídeta
3M.SG.	-íis(i)	3PL.	-ídosona
3F.SG.	-áasu		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-aas(i)	1PL.	´-ida
2SG.	´-adasa	2PL.	´-ideta
3M.SG.	´-iis(i)	3PL.	´-idosona
3F.SG.	´-aasu		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-áas(i)	1PL.	-íída
2SG.	-áádasa	2PL.	-íídeta
3M.SG.	-íis(i)	3PL.	-íídosona
3F.SG.	-áasu		

The last vowel *u* of the third-person singular feminine ending is usually devoiced. The bracketed vowels of the first-person singular and the third-person singular masculine endings are usually lost. For this, see the discussion under (4.4.2.1.1-1). For shortened pronunciation like *b-ís* instead of *b-íis(i)* 'he went' too, see the discussion there.

Cerulli (1929: 17), Ohman and Hailu (1976: 159), and Azeb (1996: 123-124) give forms with the consonant *d* for the first-person singular, the third-person singular masculine, and the third-person singular feminine forms: for example, *-adisi*, *-idesi*, and *-adusu*, respectively. I was once told by one of my Wolaytta acquaintances that these forms do exist and are ancient. However, I have never heard them spoken. We shall return to these forms later in this section. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 153) give *-i-soona* (a suffix for the "past perfect"), which lacks the *d* element, as the third-person plural ending. I consider that Cerulli's (1929: 17) *-adi* (a suffix for "passato ('past')"), which is given alongside the expected *-adasa*, for the second-person singular is a mistake for the corresponding interrogative form (see section 4.4.2.2.3). I guess that his *as* and *is* (ibid.: 18) are also perfective endings discussed here. Cerulli (1929: 17) gives *idosuna* (a suffix for "passato ('past')") as the third-person plural ending, and Moreno (1938: 46) also gives *eridósuna* ("perfetto principale ('principal perfect')" form) 'they knew' as well as *er-id-ósona* as Wolaytta forms. Hirut's (1999: 65) second table of the "past tense" says 'meec'c'-i-deta 'We washed' meec'c'-i-d-osona 'You washed' meec'c'-i-d-os 'They washed'', which, I think, are misprints, judging from her first table on the same page. Finally, there are some disagreements on vowel length.

An affirmative declarative perfective form in Wolaytta is in principle used to describe a situation in the past without explicit reference to its internal temporal constituency. A past situation described by the form may have beginning, middle, and end, but, as Comrie (1976: 18) says, the form reduces the situation to a blob. A perfective form in Wolaytta may describe a situation in ancient days as in (4.4.2.2.1-2), or a situation that happened just before the time of utterance as in (4.4.2.2.1-3). A perfective form may describe a situation that lasted a relatively long period of time as in (4.4.2.2.1-4), or a situation that was completed in a few seconds as in (4.4.2.2.1-5)[417]. A result of a situation described by the form may continue at the time of utterance as in (4.4.2.2.1-6) or may not as in (4.4.2.2.1-2). The following are examples in which affirmative declarative perfective forms are used.

(4.4.2.2.1-2)

| motolóm-éé | tuulám-á | yel-íis. |
| (person name)-NOM. | (person name)-ABS. | bear-PF.3M.SG. |

| tuulám-óí | bott-á | yel-íis. |
| (person name)-NOM. | (person name)-ABS. | bear-PF.3M.SG. |

| bott-éé-ní | wolaitt-a | maall-áa |
| (person name)-OBL.-in | Wolaytta-OBL. | the Royal family-OBL.M.SG. |

| kawótett-ai | wur-íis. |
| kingdom-NOM.M.SG. | end-PF.3M.SG. |

'Motolome begot Tulamo. Tulamo begot Bote. With Bote the Wolaytta Mala kingdom ended (i.e. Bote was the last king of the kingdom).'

(4.4.2.2.1-3)

| tá-yyo | Tooss-í | na7-á | 7imm-an-áa-daani |
| me-for | god-NOM. | child-ABS. | give-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like |

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[417] Thus, Adams's (1983: 192) claim that his punctilliar aspect ("perfective" in this thesis) 'points to action that occurs non-continuously, and at some point in time' is inadequate.

ha77í	táání	wooss-an-á	y-áasi.
now	I	pray-INFN.-ABS.	come-PF.1SG.

'For the god to give me a child, now I have come to pray.'

(4.4.2.2.1-4)

sáánn-í	. . .	hástám-á-nné	7iccá-u
(person name)-NOM.	. . .	thirty-ABS.-and	five-OBL.

láítt-a	kawot-íis	woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni
year-ABS.	be a king-PF.3M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in

Kássi	sáánn-í	háíKK-i
furthermore	(person name)-NOM.	die-CONV.3M.SG.

simm-íi-ni	7oogát-á	g-íyo
return-SUBOR.-in	(person name)-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

kaw-ói	kawot-íis.	7oogát-óí
king-NOM.M.SG.	be a king-PF.3M.SG.	(person name)-NOM.

7uddúpun	7attúm-a	naata	yel-íis.
nine (OBL.)	male-OBL.	children	bear-PF.3M.SG..

7óítám-ú	láítt-a	kawot-íis
forty-OBL.	year-ABS.	be a king-PF.3M.SG.

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni.
Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in

'Sana reigned 35 years in the Wolaytta land. Then, after Sana died, the king called Ogato became king. Ogato begot nine sons. He reigned 40 years in the Wolaytta land.'

(4.4.2.2.1-5)

7anjúll-óí	Táállot-iya	gupp-íis.
(person name)-NOM.	hurdle-ABS.M.SG.	jump-PF.3M.SG.

'Anjullo jumped the hurdle.'

(4.4.2.2.1-6)

7eCer-ée	pir-íya-ni	gel-ídí
mouse-NOM.M.SG.	trap-OBL.M.SG.-in	enter-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>háíKK-iis</u>.
die-PF.3M.SG.

'The mouse entered the trap, and died.'

(4.4.2.2.1-7)

záár-uwa	7imm-an-áa-ppe	kaset-ídí
answer-ABS.M.SG.	give-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	precede-CONV.3M.SG.

yuushsh-ídí	<u>Kopp-íis</u>.
turn-CONV.3M.SG.	think-PF.3M.SG.

'He thought well (lit. having turned) before giving an answer.'

(4.4.2.2.1-8)

hegáá-daani	<u>han-íisi</u>.	nááC-aa
that-like	become-PF.3M.SG.	joke-ABS.M.SG.

hais-íya	hagéé.
tale-ABS.M.SG.	this

(At the end of a tale) 'It became like that. This is a joke, a tale.'

(4.4.2.2.1-9)

táná	Tal-ée	<u>Camm-íis</u>.
me	medicine-NOM.M.SG.	make feel bitter-PF.3M.SG.

'This medicine was bitter (lit. made me feel bitter).'

(4.4.2.2.1-10)

ta-7aaw-ái	Ceegg-íis.
my-father-NOM.M.SG.	become old-PF.3M.SG.

'My father is old (lit. became old).'

(4.4.2.2.1-11)

7óós-oi	ló77-o	pol-étt-ida
work-NOM.M.SG.	good-ABS.	accomplish-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.

b-á	misat-íis.
thing-ABS.	seem-PF.3M.SG.

'The work seemed to be what was accomplished well.'

(4.4.2.2.1-12)

7á	háíKK-an-a	gákk-an-aa-ssi
she	die-INFN.-ABS.	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

na7-áa	siiK-áasu.
child-ABS.M.SG.	love-PF.3F.SG.

'She loved (her) son until she died.'

As mentioned above in this section, an affirmative declarative perfective form describes a situation in the past without explicit reference to its internal temporal constituency. Thus it inevitably refers to a change of state at the beginning, end, or both of them of a situation described by a verb. If attention is focused on a change of state at the end of a situation (as well as on that at the beginning of a situation), the form expresses existence of a situation completed in the past, as in the above example sentences. However, attention may be focused only on a change of state at the beginning of a situation, and the situation may not be completed at the time of utterance. In such a case, an affirmative declarative perfective form expresses an "ingressive" meaning, i.e. expresses the beginning of a present situation in the past.

(4.4.2.2.1-13)

naa77ánto	na7-íya		ha77í	biróóní
second	child-NOM.F.SG.		now	just now

yeekk-áasu.
cry-PF.3F.SG.

'The girl began to cry just now (and now is crying).'

(4.4.2.2.1-14)

7í	7iss-í	lo77-íya-r-ó	siiK-íis.
he	one-OBL.	be good-REL.IMFP.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	love-PF.3M.SG.

siiK-ídí	7ó	7ekk-ídí	ha77í-kká
love-CONV.3M.SG.	her	take-CONV.3M.SG.	now-too

sííK-uwa-ni	7iss-í-ppé	d-ées.
love-OBL.M.SG.-in	one-OBL.-from	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He fell in love with one beautiful (girl). He loved and married (lit. took) her, and still now he lives together (with her) loving her (lit. in the love).'

(4.4.2.2.1-15)

naatí	zaar-í	zaar-ídí
children (NOM.)	repeat-CONV.3M.SG.	repeat-CONV.3M.SG.

meez-íya	7oott-ídí	7er-ídosona.
practice-ABS.M.SG.	do-CONV.3M.SG.	know-PF.3PL.

ha77í-kká	paaC-íya	7ááDD-idosona.
now-too	examination-ABS.M.SG.	pass-PF.3PL.

'The children do the practice repeatedly, and knew. Now they passed the examination.'

On which end of a situation attention is focused is not known a priori. It depends on the

context. Compare (4.4.2.2.1-12), which is not ingressive, and (4.4.2.2.1-14), which is ingressive, or (4.4.2.2.1-15), which is ingressive, and the following, which is not ingressive.

(4.4.2.2.1-16)

naatí	zaar-í	zaar-ídí
children (NOM.)	repeat-CONV.3M.SG.	repeat-CONV.3M.SG.

meez-íya	7oott-ídí	7er-ídosona.
practice-ABS.M.SG.	do-CONV.3M.SG.	know-PF.3PL.

shííní	ha77í	dog-íicc-idosona.
but	now	forget-completely-PF.3PL.

'The children do the practice repeatedly, and knew. But now they have forgotten (what they learned).'

Incidentally, according to Comrie (1976: 19-20) this ingressive use of the perfective is not rare[418].

Affirmative declarative perfective forms can be used in apodoses of counter-factual conditionals to express situations that are surely realized in the hypothesized world (cf. (4.4.2.1.1-24)).

(4.4.2.2.1-17)

dár-o	daapur-íya-kko	7ááDD-aas.
much-ABS.	be tired-INFN.-if	pass-PF.1SG.

'If I had studied hard (lit. been tired), I surely would have passed (the

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[418] There would be another way of explaining. This is to suppose that it is not decided in advance from and to which phases of a situation a given verb describes. In other words, it is to suppose that a given verb can mean both "to become X" and "to be in the state of X". A perfective form used in the former sense is ingressive, and that used in the latter sense expresses existence of a situation completed in the past. It may be probable that a meaning of a verb can vary depending on the context. However, to pursue this idea would be to deny useful linguistic notions such as "atelic verbs" and "momentary verbs".

examination)!'

Affirmative declarative perfective forms very occasionally occur in expressions of general truths ("gnomic aorist").

(4.4.2.2.1-18)

7iss-óí	hástam-aa	7iss-óí	7usuppun
one-NOM.	thirty-ABS.M.SG.	one-NOM.	six (OBL.)

támm-aa	7áíp-ii-ni	7iss-óí	Téét-aa
ten-ABS.M.SG.	bear fruit-SUBOR.-in	one-NOM.	hundred-ABS.M.SG.

<u>7áíp-iis</u>.
bear fruit-PF.3M.SG.

'(Others, like seed sown on good soil, hear the word, accept it,) and produce a crop—thirty, sixty or even a hundred times what was sown (lit. when one bore thirty, one sixty, one bore hundred[419]).   (From Mark 4:20)

(4.4.2.2.1-19)

hé-pint-iyo	pínn-iya-kko	s-óo	<u>gákk-aas</u>.
that-side (of the waters)-ABS.F.SG.	cross-INFN.-if	home	reach-PF.1SG.

'If I cross (the river) to the other side, (it means that) I reached home.'

Most of affirmative declarative perfective forms in Wolaytta can be analyzed as follows (cf. Hayward (1998)) (tone is ignored):

(4.4.2.2.1-20) Structure of the Affirmative Declarative Perfective
Stem + IA + *d* + OA + Indicative Mood Marker (+ OA)

1SG.	-a-d-i-s-i > -aas(i)	1PL.	(-ida)
2SG.	-a-d-a-s-a > -adasa	2PL.	-i-d-eta > -ideta
3M.SG.	-i-d-e-s-e > -iis(i)	3PL.	(-idosona)
3F.SG.	-a-d-u-s-u > -aasu		

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[419] Thus, this translation may not be correct in the strict sense.

For IA and OA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1. As is evident from the comparison of (4.4.2.1.1-25) and (4.4.2.2.1-20), the only deference between the affirmative declarative imperfective and perfective consists in the presence of the *-d-* element between IA and OA in the latter, although the element has disappeared in singular perfective forms. However, note that "ancient" perfective forms mentioned in some previous works, such as those with *-adis* (1SG.), *-ides* (3M.SG.), and *-adusu* (3F.SG.), preserve it. As Hayward (1984: 328, 1998: 96-97) suggests, this *-d-* element would be related to the verb *d-* 'to exist'. This fact would explain the perfective aspect or the past tense of the form[420].

4.4.2.2.2 Negative Declarative Perfective

This is a negative counterpart of the affirmative declarative perfective discussed in the preceding section. Its endings are as follows.

(4.4.2.2.2-1) Endings of the Negative Declarative Perfective

Tone Class I

1SG.	-ábe7íkke	1PL.	-íbe7ókko, -íbe7étténná
2SG.	-ábe7ákká	2PL.	-íbe7ékkétá
3M.SG.	-íbe7énná	3PL.	-íbe7ókkóná
3F.SG.	-ábe7úkkú		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-abe7íkke	1PL.	´-ibe7ókko, ´-ibe7étténná
2SG.	´-abe7ákká	2PL.	´-ibe7ékkétá
3M.SG.	´-ibe7énná	3PL.	´-ibe7ókkóná
3F.SG.	´-abe7úkkú		

The final vowel *e* of the first-person singular ending is often devoiced. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

Glottal stops seen in the paradigm are hardly perceived in natural utterances. They are realized as compression of the larynx at best. However, I would rather grant the existence of glottal stops in these endings, than establish diphthongs not found elsewhere, such as *ea*, *eu*, and *eo*. This is also a conclusion that reflects the structure of the negative declarative perfective discussed below in this section. Remember also that

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[420] The Japanese perfective/past auxiliary た *ta* also originates from て *te* (converbial particle) + ある *aru* (the verb "to exist", adnominal form).

reduction of glottal stops is not rare in this language (see section 2.1.1.1).

Since glottal stops can be almost reduced to zero in the endings under discussion, vowel sequences result phonetically. They can be causes of various sound changes and allomorphs. I was able to observe the following (glottal stops, if any, are ignored): *-abeikku* (3F.SG.), *-ibeekko*, *-ibeukko* (1PL.).

There are many disagreements on morphology of negative declarative perfective forms between previous works and this thesis. However, most of them are related to vowel length, gemination, and the vowel sequences discussed in the preceding paragraph. Thus it would not be worth listing them. For the glottal stop, only Moreno (1938: 51) and Hirut (1999: 72) acknowledge its existence in the endings in question (Hirut gives also forms without it). Cerulli (1929: 20) gives *ibeokkuna* as a third-person plural ending (negative of "passato ('past')"), and Moreno (1938: 51) also gives *er-i-be'-ókkuna* (as "perfetto principale negativo (negative principal perfect)") 'they did not know' as well as *er-i-be'-ókkona* as Wolaytta forms. None has mentioned the first-person plural ending *-ibe7ettenna*.

The following are examples in which negative declarative perfective forms are used.

(4.4.2.2.2-2)
Sihúf[421]-iya-ni   7ohétt-ibe7énná.
written document-OBL.M.SG.-in   be caught-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

Taap-étt-ibe7énná.
write-PASS.-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

   'It (Wolaytta history) was not caught in the form of written document. It was not written.'

(4.4.2.2.2-3)
"tigír-é-ppé   y-íída   7úr-ai
(place name)-OBL.-from come-REL.PF.SUBJ.   person-NOM.M.SG.

woláítt-á   biitt-áa   haar-íbe7énná."
Wolaytta-OBL.   land-ABS.M.SG.   rule over-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

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[421] This is a loanword from Amharic.

g-íya   7as-ái-kka   d-ées.
say-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.   people-NOM.M.SG.-too   exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There are people who say that no person who came from Tigray ruled over the Wolaytta land.'

(4.4.2.2.2-4)
ta-gód-au   táání   hánnó   gákk-an-a-u
my-lord-VOC.M.SG.   I   this   reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

na7-á   demm-ábe7íkke.
child-ABS.   find-NEG.PF.1SG.

'Oh my lord, until now (lit. to reaching this) I have not begot (lit. found) a child.'

(4.4.2.2.2-5)
na7-íya   TisK-áasu-ppe   7átt-ii-ni
child-NOM.F.SG.   sleep-PF.3F.SG.-from   stay behind-SUBOR.-in

háíKK-abe7úkkú.
die-NEG.PF.3F.SG.

'The girl has gotten to sleep, but she did not die.'   (From Mark 5:39)

(4.4.2.2.2-6)
wúúK-ett-ida   keett-áa-ni
steal-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.   house-OBL.M.SG.-in

miishsh-ái   méh-ee-kka
money-NOM.M.SG.   domestic animal-NOM.M.SG.-too

beett-íbe7énná.
be seen-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'In the house where the thief had stolen things (lit. that was stolen), neither money nor domestic animal was seen (i.e. they were stolen).'

In the following, a negative declarative perfective form is used in an apodosis of a counter-factual conditional.

(4.4.2.2.2-7)

heedé	tá-u	gúútt-aa			7akéék-oi
that time	my-for	small-ABS.M.SG.			attention-NOM.M.SG.

d-íya-kko	7ee	7áí	bíí-ní-kkó	duuKK-ádá
exist-INFN.-if	uh	what	thing-in-if	record-CONV.1SG.

7óíKK-iya-kko	7eta-haasáy-aa[422]	<u>7iTT-ábe7íkke</u>	shííní
seize-INFN.-if	their-talk-ABS.M.SG.	refuse-NEG.PF.1SG.	but

sími	7átt-iis.
thus	stay behind-PF.3M.SG.

   'At that time if I had had attention a little, if I had recorded and seized his (lit. their) talk, uh, with something, I would not have refused it, but, it did not happen (lit. it stayed behind) (i.e. I should have recorded his talk).'

   All negative declarative perfective forms in Wolaytta can be analyzed as follows (tone is ignored):

(4.4.2.2.2-8) Structure of the Negative Declarative Perfective
Stem + IA + *be7* + Ending of the Negative Declarative Imperfective

1SG.	-a-be7-ikke	1PL.	-i-be7-okko, -i-be7-ettenna
2SG.	-a-be7-akka	2PL.	-i-be7-ekketa
3M.SG.	-i-be7-enna	3PL.	-i-be7-okkona
3F.SG.	-a-be7-ukku		

This analysis is actually the same as Moreno's (1938: 51). For IA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1, and for the negative declarative imperfective see section 4.4.2.1.2.

   For *-be7-*, Hayward (1991: 541-542) relates it to, for example, the Zayse verb *ba7-*

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[422] This word should precede the preceding verbs. Here the example is given as it was told in a text.

'not to exist'. However, if this is the case, the meaning of the verb form under discussion (i.e. the negative declarative perfective) is expected to be affirmative since the "auxiliary" non-existential verb is followed by a negative ending. Thus, his claim is not persuasive[423]. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 172) relate the element to the South Gonga verb *bee-* 'to be there' and to the Shinassha lexeme *bey-* 'to sit/live'. Their hypothesis is more plausible than that of Hayward. As far as the Wolaytta lexicon is inspected, however, the most plausible candidate for the etymology seems to be the verb *be7-* 'to see'. Since this "negative formative" is found throughout Ometo and elsewhere according to Hayward (1991: 542), however, I leave it open until more reliable data on the other languages will be available[424]. In any case, a negative declarative perfective form derives from a periphrastic expression: a converb, whose ending is identical with IA (see section 4.4.3.1), of a semantically main verb + a negative declarative imperfective form of the "auxiliary verb" *be7-*, which was originally an ordinary verb. In other words, the negative declarative perfective discussed in this section is a kind of negative declarative imperfective.

4.4.2.2.3 Interrogative Perfective

As mentioned in section 4.2.7.7.1, a verb in a main clause occurs in a special form when it is used as a predicate of an interrogative sentence. Endings of the interrogative counterparts of the declarative perfective discussed in sections 4.4.2.2.1 (affirmative) and 4.4.2.2.2 (negative) are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.2.3-1) Endings of the Affirmative Interrogative Perfective
Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-ídanaa	1PL.	-ído, -ídonii
2SG.	-ádii	2PL.	-ídetii
3M.SG.	-ídee	3PL.	-ídonaa
3F.SG.	-ádee		

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[423] However, the form might be similar to the double negative in non-standard English, such as "I do not know nothing", which means "I do not know anything" in Standard English.

[424] One of the main consultants of mine says that the element under discussion is not related to the verb "to see".

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-idanaa	1PL.	´-ido, ´-idonii
2SG.	´-adii	2PL.	´-idetii
3M.SG.	´-idee	3PL.	´-idonaa
3F.SG.	´-adee		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-íídanaa	1PL.	-íído, -íídonii
2SG.	-áádii	2PL.	-íídetii
3M.SG.	-íídee	3PL.	-íídonaa
3F.SG.	-áádee		

(4.4.2.2.3-2) Endings of the Negative Interrogative Perfective

Tone Class I

1SG.	-ábe7íkkínáa	1PL.	-íbe7ókkóníi, -íbe7étténnée
2SG.	-ábe7íkkíi	2PL.	-íbe7ékkétíi
3M.SG.	-íbe7énnée	3PL.	-íbe7ókkónáa
3F.SG.	-ábe7ékkée		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-abe7íkkínáa	1PL.	´-ibe7ókkóníi, ´-ibe7étténnée
2SG.	´-abe7íkkíi	2PL.	´-ibe7ékkétíi
3M.SG.	´-ibe7énnée	3PL.	´-ibe7ókkónáa
3F.SG.	´-abe7ékkée		

For glottal stops seen in the above forms, what was discussed in section 4.4.2.2.2 applies to here.

For the affirmative first-person singular, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 161) give *-adina* (a suffix for "past interrogative"), and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 181) *-a-di-na* (a suffix for "past interrogative"). Adams (1983: 214-215) argues that when the interrogative dependent indeclinable *-shsha* discussed in section 4.2.7.8 (the "SUFF[IX] final secondary aspect function" in Adams' terminology) is attached to it, the first-person singular ending of the affirmative interrogative perfective ("past punctilliar" in Adams' terminology) is changed and results in *-adina:šša*. If we take into consideration that the first vowels of affirmative interrogative perfective endings can be supposed to be IA

elements (see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1 and (4.4.2.2.3-11)), *-adina* or the like given by them would be more ancient and *-idanaa* would be its metathetic form. For the affirmative first-person plural, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 161) give only *-idoni* (a suffix for "past interrogative"), while Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 181) give only *-i-do* (a suffix for "past interrogative"). Adams (1983: 211) gives only *-ido:* (a suffix for "past punctilliar"), but argues that when the indeclinable *-shsha* mentioned just above is attached to it, it is changed and results in *-idoni:šša* (Adams 1983: 214-215). I guess that the longer variant is more ancient since in general ancient forms are better preserved in compound forms. For negative interrogative perfective forms, many disagreements are found between previous works and this thesis. Since most of them are related to vowel length, gemination, and the vowel sequences caused by reduction of glottal stops discussed in section 4.4.2.2.2, however, it would not be worth listing them. However, it may be worth noting that Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 184) give *-i-beykko* as the first-person plural ending of the "past interrogative negative"[425].

The following are examples in which affirmative and negative interrogative perfective forms are used.

(4.4.2.2.3-3)

tá	7imm-ído	kúsh-iya-ni
I	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	hand-OBL.M.SG.-in

wott-íyo	b-áá	7ubb-áa
put-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	all-ABS.M.SG.

<u>wáát-adii</u>?
do what-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What did you do about all the bracelets (lit. thing that one puts at a hand) that I gave?'

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[425] Moreno (1938: 55) also gives *i-be'ókko* as the corresponding Gofa form. Incidentally, the Gamo suffixes he (1938: 54) gives under the heading of "perfetto interrogativo positivo (i.e. interrogative positive perfect)" seem very odd to me in their forms and in their use in both main and subordinate clauses.

(4.4.2.2.3-4)

7as-áu	7áí	mal-á	pé7-idetii?
people-VOC.M.SG.	what	look(s)-ABS.	spend the day-INTER.PF.2PL.

'People, how did you spend today?'

(4.4.2.2.3-5)

"káh-oi	giig-ídee?"	g-íídí
dinner-NOM.M.SG.	be ready-INTER.PF.3M.SG.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

ba-mácc-iyo	7oicc-íis.
his own-wife-ABS.F.SG.	ask-PF.3M.SG.

'He asked his wife saying "Is the dinner ready?"'

(4.4.2.2.3-6)

tigir-etí	Kássi	7áu-ppe
(name of a tribe)-NOM.PL.	furthermore	where-from

y-íídonaa?
come-INTER.PF.3PL.

'And where did the Tigrays come from.'

(4.4.2.2.3-7)

7í	zín-o	y-íbe7énnée?
he	yesterday-ABS.	come-NEG.INTER.PF.3M.SG.

'Didn't he come yesterday?'

(4.4.2.2.3-8)

simóón-aa	Tisk-ádii?	nééní	7iss-í
(person name)-VOC.	sleep-INTER.PF.2SG.	you	one-OBL.

sa7át-e-kko-nne	naag-an-á-u
hour-ABS.-if-and	watch-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-ábe7íkkíi?
be able-NEG.INTER.PF.2SG.

   'Simon, are you asleep (lit. did you go to sleep)? Could you not keep watch even for one hour?'   (From Mark 14:37)

(4.4.2.2.3-9)

"núúní	he	7íít-a	7ayyáán-aa
we	that	bad-OBL.	spirit-ABS.M.SG.

kess-an-á-u	7áí-ssí
make go out-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	what-for

danday-íbe7ókkóníi?"	yáág-ídí	7oicc-ídosona.
be able-NEG.INTER.PF.1PL.	say so-CONV.3PL.	ask-PF.3PL.

   'They asked saying "Why couldn't we drive that evil spirit out?"'
   (From Mark 9:28)

(4.4.2.2.3-10)

ha77í-nné	7akeek-íbe7ékkétíi?
now-and	become aware-NEG.INTER.PF.2PL.

   'Do you still not understand (lit. didn't you become aware)?"   (From Mark 8:21)

   Most affirmative interrogative perfective forms can be analyzed as follows (tone is ignored):

(4.4.2.2.3-11) Structure of the Affirmative Interrogative Perfective
Stem + IA + *d* (+OA) + Interrogative Marker

1SG.	-a-d- inaa > -idanaa	1PL.	-i-d-o, -i-d-o-nii
2SG.	-a-d-ii	2PL.	-i-d-et-ii
3M.SG.	-i-d-ee	3PL.	(-idonaa)
3F.SG.	-a-d-ee		

For IA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1. In the case of the first-person singular, a metathesis of the IA element and the first vowel of the interrogative marker has taken place[426], as mentioned above in this section. For the -d- element, see the end of section 4.4.2.2.1. For OA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1. OA elements are found only in the first-person and second-person plurals in the case of the negative interrogative imperfective. For the interrogative marker, see section 4.4.2.1.3. As is evident from the comparison of (4.4.2.1.3-14) and (4.4.2.2.3-11), the only difference between the affirmative interrogative imperfective and perfective consists in the presence of the -d- element in the latter. This relationship between the imperfective and the perfective is also found in the case of the affirmative declarative counterparts (see section 4.4.2.2.1). Incidentally, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 181-182) say that 'it does not seem to be misguided to suppose that the former [the past perfect interrogative, i.e. the affirmative interrogative perfective in this study] is derived from the latter [the perfect gerund of the positive inflection, i.e. the long converb in this study] by means of the suffixation of some personal endings.'

All negative interrogative perfective forms can be analyzed as follows (tone is ignored):

(4.4.2.2.3-12) Structure of the Negative Interrogative Perfective
Stem + IA + *be7* + Ending of the Negative Interrogative Imperfective

1SG.	-a-be7-ikkinaa	1PL.	-i-be7-okkonii, -i-be7-ettennee
2SG.	-a-be7-ikkii	2PL.	-i-be7-ekketii
3M.SG.	-i-be7-ennee	3PL.	-i-be7-okkonaa
3F.SG.	-a-be7-ekkee		

For IA, see the end of section 4.4.2.1.1. For the *-be7-* element see the end of section 4.4.2.2.2. Endings for the negative interrogative imperfective are discussed in section 4.4.2.1.3. As is evident from the comparison of (4.4.2.2.2-8) and (4.4.2.2.3-12), the only difference between the negative declarative perfective and its interrogative counterpart (i.e. the form under discussion) consists in their final endings. As is evident from the comparison of (4.4.2.1.3-15) and (4.4.2.2.3-12), the negative interrogative perfective is

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[426] However, Ohman and Hailu (1976: 161), Labmeriti and Sottile (1997: 181), and Adams (1983: 215) give forms in which the metathesis did not take place, as mentioned above in this section.

a kind of negative interrogative imperfective, the former being periphrastic in that it consists of a converb of a semantically main verb plus a negative interrogative imperfective form of the "auxiliary verb" *be7-* (see the discussion at the end of section 4.4.2.2.2).

4.4.2.3 Future

Strictly speaking, future forms discussed in this section are not verbs, but nominals used as predicates. For the details, see section 4.4.4.1, where the future infinitive is discussed. However, it would be convenient to discuss them here in an independent section as verbs, since they are encountered frequently and actually can be regarded as composing an important part of Wolaytta verb paradigms.

Future forms are invariable for all persons, numbers, and genders. This fact can be easily explained if we suppose that they are, as it were, abstract nouns. Their endings are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.3-1) Endings of the Declarative Future
Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs
-aná

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs
´-ana

Mono-consonantal verbs
-aaná

(4.4.2.3-2) Endings of the Interrogative Future
Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs
-anée

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs
´-anee

Mono-consonantal Verbs
-aanée

There are no special negative forms for these. This is also explained by their nominal origins. In order to express negative situations in the future, negative imperfective forms discussed in sections 4.4.2.1.2 (declarative) and 4.4.2.1.3 (interrogative) are used[427].

On morphology of the declarative future, there is no disagreement between previous works and this study, except for interpretation of vowel length. For the interrogative future, in addition to the forms given in (4.4.2.3-2), Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) give *imm-andeša* 'Will he give?', which is, according to them, involving 'question or doubt as to whether one will give', and Adams (1983: 215) gives *demm-andina:šša* 'did I find or not?', etc., which express uncertainty aspect of the punctilliar future affirmative. These forms, which can be analyzed as stem + *and* + interrogative marker (see section 4.4.2.1.3) + *shsha* (interrogative indeclinable discussed in section 4.2.7.8[428]), seem to exist, but are rarely or almost never used in modern Wolaytta linguistic activities[429]. Judging from Hayward (2000b: 418), these forms seem to be related to future forms of the Gamo language[430]. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) also give *imm-ano* 'shall he give, may he give?' as the third-person singular masculine future interrogative, and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 183) give *oottan-eeti* 'will you work?' as the second-person plural future interrogative (the verb stem 'to work' is *7oott-* in my notation). Ohman and Hailu's (1976: 162), *imm-o* 'shall I give, may I give?', *imm-ino* 'shall or may we give?' (future interrogative), and Adams's (1983: 211) *7immu:te:* 'will you (sg.) give?', *7immu:teti:* 'will you (pl.) give?' (punctilliar primary aspect, future tense, affirmative question; the verb stem is *7imm-* in my notation) will be discussed later in sections 4.4.2.5.1 and 4.4.2.5.2.

Future forms are widely used to express situations that can be realized in the future, although imperfective forms can also be used to describe future situations if they will or

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[427] However, the third-person singular masculine endings of the negative imperfective *-enna* (declarative) and *-ennee* (interrogative), which also seem to contain nominal endings unlike other verbal endings, would be the negative counterparts of *-ana* and *-anee*, respectively. See section 4.4.4.2. Remember also that the paradigms of the negative imperfective are suppletive.

[428] Thus, this can be omitted.

[429] The second-person plural form that Adams (1983: 215) gives, whose ending is *-u:teti:šša*, is evidently an irrelevant form: it is analyzed as the interrogative ending discussed in section 4.4.2.5.1 followed by the interrogative indeclinable discussed in section 4.2.7.8.

[430] According to him, each of Gamo future forms, *gelandis* etc., consists of an infinitive (whose ending is *a*) + the postposition *n* + the verb *d-* 'to exist'.

should certainly be realized as is mentioned in section 4.4.2.1.1. The following are examples in which declarative and interrogative future forms are used.[431]

(4.4.2.3-3)

táání	láítt-a	gákk-an-a-u	na7-á
I	year-ABS.	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	child-ABS.

yel-í-kkó	shííK-uwa	korb-é
bear-SUBOR.-if	offering-ABS.M.SG.	goat not castrated-OBL.

deeshsh-áa	wóí-kkó	kórm-a	bóór-aa
goat-ABS.M.SG.	or-if	bull not castrated-OBL.	bull-ABS.M.SG.

7ekk-ádá	<u>y-aaná</u>.
take-CONV.1SG.	come-FUT.

'If I beget a child in a year (lit. to reaching a year), I will come taking an offering, a goat not castrated or a bull not castrated.'

(4.4.2.3-4)

hegáá	zér-ida	7as-atí	'he
that	sow-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-NOM.PL.	that

met-úwa-ppe	<u>kíy-ana</u>.'	g-íídí
problem-OBL.M.SG.-from	go out-FUT.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

he	kátt-aa	dad-áa-ni
that	crop-ABS.M.SG.	thunder-OBL.M.SG.-in

giK-óosona.
protect-IMPF.3PL.

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[431] According to Adams's (1983: 215) table, the form with *-ane:šša*, i.e. the future interrogative followed by the interrogative indeclinable (see section 4.2.7.8), is described as "TENSELESS". However, it would be a careless misprint. The form is not used to refer to situations in the past.

'People who sowed that, having said "We will go out from the problem", protect that crop by thunder.'

(4.4.2.3-5)

nééní	mínn-a	7oott-í-kkó	ló77-o
you	be strong-CONV.2SG.	work-SUBOR.-if	good-OBL.

miishsh-áa	go7-étt-ana.
money-ABS.M.SG.	serve-PASS.-FUT.

'If you work hard, you will find (lit. be served) good payment.'

(4.4.2.3-6)

ha	Kúm-aa	m-íya	bitán-ee
this	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

harg-aná.
become sick-FUT.

'A man who will eat this food will become sick.'

(4.4.2.3-7)

kaw-ó	milat-íya	b-á
king-OBL.	resemble-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.

baKK-íyo-g-éé	néná	7áw-a
slap-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	you	where-ABS.

gatt-anée?
make reach-FUT.INTER.

'Where will a thing like slapping a king make you reach (i.e. what will happen to you if you slap a king)?'

(4.4.2.3-8)

laa	ha	har-é	7ubb-áa	7áí	<u>Caan-anée</u>?
hey	this	donkey-OBL.	all-ABS.M.SG.	what	load-FUT.INTER.

   'Hey, what will you load on these all donkeys?'

(4.4.2.3-9)

ha77í	míízz-aa-ra	gáítt-a	b-áá
now	cattle-OBL.M.SG.-with	meet-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

wóí	míízz-aa-ra	gáítt-iya
or	cattle-OBL.M.SG.-with	meet-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

leemís-uwa	<u>leemis-aná</u>.
example, fable-ABS.M.SG.	give an example-FUT.

   (At the beginning of a fable) 'Now I will exemplify what is related to (lit. met) cattle or a fable that is related to cattle.'

(4.4.2.3-10)

7áne	7í	woTT-íi-ni	<u>be7-aná</u>.
let's	he	run-SUBOR.-in	see-FUT.

   'Let's see him running (lit. we will see when he runs).'

(4.4.2.3-11)

hácci	Cark-ói	lo77-ées.	wont-ó-kká
today	wind-NOM.M.SG.	be good-IMPF.3M.SG.	tomorrow-ABS.-too

hagáá	mal-á	<u>lo77-aná</u>.
this	look(s)-OBL.	be good-FUT.

   'It is fine today (lit. the wind is good). It will be fine like this tomorrow.'

   Adams (1983: 211) considers that the forms under discussion express punctilliar aspect, which 'points to action that occurs non-continuously, and at some point in time'

(ibid. 192). However, situations that are expected to continue a relatively long period of time can be described by these forms. See, for example, (4.4.2.3-9) and (4.4.2.3-10). On the other hand, partly because Wolaytta can use periphrastic expressions for future "imperfective" situations in Comrie's (1976: 24) sense (see, for example, (4.4.3.2-20)), future forms may seem to be "perfective", that is, to describe situations without explicit reference to their internal temporal structure. However, I hesitate to say that future forms are "perfective". In my opinion, they are neutral on or unmarked for aspect. In fact there are examples like (4.4.2.3-11), in which a future situation comparable to an essentially "imperfective" present situation is described. In conclusion, future forms are general means for expressing future situations, which are used irrespective of aspect.

Future forms are also used in apodoses of counter-factual conditionals[432].

(4.4.2.3-12)

zín-o	7ír-ai	keehí	bukk-íya-kko
yesterday-ABS.	rain-NOM.M.SG.	very much	rain-INFN.-if

di7-ói	di77-aná.
flood-NOM.M.SG.	flood-FUT.

  'If it had rained very much yesterday, we would have a flood.'

One curious phenomenon is that future forms of the verb *gid-* 'to become, to be, to be sufficient' are often used even if they do not describe future situations.

(4.4.2.3-13)

Kúm-aa	m-íída	7as-ái
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-NOM.M.SG.

7oidd-ú	shá7-aa	gid-aná.
four-OBL.	thousand-ABS.M.SG.	be-FUT.

  'The people who ate the food were (lit. will be, become) four thousand.'
  (From Mark 8:9)

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[432] However, other forms can also be used. See (4.4.2.1.1-24), (4.4.2.2.1-17) and (4.4.2.2.2-7).

(4.4.2.3-14)

hagéé	ne-na7-áa	7óíKK-o	s-á-ppé
this	your-child-ABS.M.SG.	seize-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.-from

wóKK-a	wod-é	gid-anée?
how many-OBL.	time-ABS.	become-FUT.INTER.

   'How long is it since this seized your son?'   (From Mark 9:21)

(4.4.2.3-15)

sainn-óó-rá	Keer-áá-rá	naa77-ú
Monday-OBL.-with	Saturday-OBL.-with	two-OBL.

galláss-ai	ha	7óós-uwa-u	gid-aná.
day-NOM.M.SG.	this	work-OBL.M.SG.-for	be sufficient-FUT.

   'Monday and Saturday, the two days are enough for this work.'

(4.4.2.3-16)

7aaw-ái	ba-na7-áa	"7oott-ó
father-NOM.M.SG.	his own-child-ABS.M.SG.	word-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

kéén-ai	gid-aná."	g-íis.
equal-NOM.M.SG.	be sufficient-FUT.	say-PF.3M.SG.

   'The father said to his son "Your work (lit. equal that you worked) is enough."'

4.4.2.4 Optative

   The optative in Wolaytta is used when the speaker wishes a situation to or not to be realized by someone or something other than the speaker himself or herself. It roughly corresponds to the "imperative" and the "jussive" in Semitic linguistics. By definition it lacks first-person forms. Forms discussed in section 4.4.2.5.2 (i.e. those with *-oo* or *-(i)inoo*) might seem to be included here. For example, Adams (1983: 124) tries to integrate them and second- and third-person optative forms into one category named "command variant", arguing that 'The 3rd person imperative ["optative" in this thesis]

goes with the 1st person requestive [i.e. forms discussed in section 4.4.2.5.2 in this thesis] in terms of morphology in that both are characterized by round vowels'. However, his argument does not seem to be persuasive. In addition, the first-person forms in question can be predicates of interrogative sentences while the others not[433]. Thus I discuss the first person forms in other place. Adams himself (1983: 124) admits that his first-person requestive 'constitutes a category on its own within the command variant', and does not list the first-person forms in his paradigm of the "command mood" (ibid. 1983: 212).

4.4.2.4.1 Affirmative Optative

Endings of affirmative optative forms are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.4.1-1) Endings of the Affirmative Optative

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	-á	2PL.	-ité
3M.SG.	-ó	3PL.	-óná
3F.SG.	-ú		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	´-a	2PL.	´-ite
3M.SG.	´-ó	3PL.	´-óná
3F.SG.	´-ú		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

2SG.	-á	2PL.	-iité
3M.SG.	-ó	3PL.	-óóná
3F.SG.	-ú		

Although there are some disagreements on vowel length and gemination, some of which might be careless misprints, there are no serious differences between previous works and this study in terms of morphology of the affirmative optative. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 162) give first-person singular and plural "jussive" forms, both of which

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[433] Thus the former can be followed by the interrogative indeclinable *-yye* (see section 4.2.7.8), while the latter not.

end in *-ana*. However, they are, as the authors admit, 'strictly speaking some indicative future forms [i.e. future forms discussed in section 4.4.2.3], as is common in languages belonging to the Ethiopian cultural area.'

As is inferred form the claim made at the beginning of section 4.4.2.4, an affirmative optative form in Wolaytta expresses a direct command, advice, a request, an entreaty, etc. in the case of the second person. In the case of the third person, it expresses an indirect command, advice, etc. to the hearer(s), or a hope, a wish, a prayer, etc. about one or more third parties. The following are examples in which affirmative optative forms are used.

(4.4.2.4.1-2)

dad-áu	dad-áu	ha	ta-kátt-aa
thunder-VOC.M.SG.	thunder-VOC.M.SG.	this	my-grain-ABS.M.SG.

m-íídaa-g-áá-ssí	7úl-uwa
eat-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-for	belly-ABS.M.SG.

<u>puur-iss-á</u>.	7ee	ganj-íya	<u>dáákk-a</u>.
swell-CAUS.-OPT.2SG.	uh	gut-ABS.M.SG.	tear-OPT.2SG.

<u>gus-iss-á</u>.
spill-CAUS.-OPT.2SG.

'O thunder, O thunder, swell the belly of (lit. for) one who ate this crop of mine! Uh, tear the belly! Make him have diarrhea (lit. make spill)!'

(4.4.2.4.1-3)

gááshsh-ee	táná	háa	<u>Teell-á</u>.
Mr.-VOC.	me	to here	see-OPT.2SG.

KóLL-oo-ni	de7-íya	danc-íyo
larder-OBL.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	ugly-ABS.F.SG.

<u>digg-á</u>.
forbid-OPT.2SG.

'Mr., look at me, turning this way! Discard (lit. forbid) the ugly woman who is in the kitchen!'

(4.4.2.4.1-4)

Tooss-í	7imm-ó.
god-NOM.	give-OPT.3M.SG.

'May god give (you) (idiomatic expression for "thank you").'

(4.4.2.4.1-5)

7etí	maat-áa	búúCC-óná.
they	grass-ABS.M.SG.	mow-OPT.3PL.

'Let them mow the grass.'

In the following, third-person affirmative optative forms are used. Note, however, that the actual performers of the commands are (some of) the hearers.

(4.4.2.4.1-6)

Kássi	yesúús-í	dár-o	7as-áa-nne
furthermore	Jesus-NOM.	many-OBL.	people-ABS.M.SG.-and

ba-7er-iss-íyo	7ashkár-ata-nne
his own-know-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	servant-ABS.PL.-and

báá-kkó	Tees-ídí	hagáá-daani	yáág-iis.
his own-toward	call-CONV.3M.SG.	this-like	say so-PF.3M.SG.

"táná	kaall-an-á	kóyy-iya	7úr-ai
me	follow-INFN.-ABS.	want-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	person-NOM.M.SG.

de7-í-kkó	báná	yegg-í
exist-SUBOR.-if	himself	throw away-CONV.3M.SG.

báy-ó.	yáát-idi	ba-masKal-íya
disappear-OPT.3M.SG.	do so-CONV.3M.SG.	his own-cross-ABS.M.SG.

tookk-ídí		táná	kaall-ó.	...”
carry-CONV.3M.SG.		me	follow-OPT.3M.SG.	...

'Then Jesus called many people and his disciples (lit. servants whom he makes know) toward him, and said like this: "If there is a person who wants to follow me, let him try to deny (lit. throw away and disappear) himself. Let him do so, carry his cross, and follow me. . ."'   (From Mark 8:34)

An optative form cannot be used as a predicate of a direct question. Thus, "Shall he also come or not?" is expressed periphrastically as in the following. This is a difference from the jussive in Amharic, and from the interrogative endings discussed in section 4.4.2.5.2.

(4.4.2.4.1-7)

7í-kká	y-ó	g-ái?
he-too	come-OPT.3M.SG.	say-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Shall he also come or not (lit. do you say 'Let him come.'?)'

However, optative forms can be used in indirect questions to express the alternative 'whether', as in Amharic.

(4.4.2.4.1-8)[434]

né	y-á	7agg-á	7er-íkke.
you	come-OPT.2SG.	cease-OPT.2SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know whether you will come or not (lit. come! cease!).'

---

[434] In the case of the first persons, future forms (see section 4.4.2.3) are used in this structure.

núúní	b-aaná	7agg-aná	7er-ókko.
we	go-FUT.	cease-FUT.	know-NEG.IMPF.1PL.

'We do not know whether we will go or not.'

Thus, Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 162) inclusion of first-person future forms in the "jussive" (see above in this section) is not groundless in a sense.

(4.4.2.4.1-9)

7í	7alam-á	g-ó	wói-kkó	har-áá
he	(person name)-ABS.	say-OPT.3M.SG.	or-if	other-ABS.M.SG.

g-ó	ha77í	tá-u	hassay-étt-énná.
say-OPT.3M.SG .	now	my-for	remember-PASS.-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'I cannot remember whether he talks about (lit. let him say) Alemu or other.'

If we ask Wolayttas what the equivalent of the second-person singular optative 'come!' (or ᎓ *nA* in Amharic) is in the Wolaytta language, the response is *hááya*, not the expected *y-á*. Irregular imperatives ("optative forms" in this thesis) of the verb 'to come' are fairly common in Ethiopian languages, and Ferguson (1976:75) considers that Wolaytta ("Welamo" in his term) has this grammatical area feature, perhaps because of *hááya*.

In my opinion, however, *hááya* 'come!' is the expected regular optative *y-á* preceded by the demonstrative word *háa* 'to here', which is discussed in section 4.2.6.3. The expected regular form can also be used, if it is preceded by some word that modifies it.

(4.4.2.4.1-10)

tá-u	7ash-úwa	giy-áa-ppe	shamm-ádá
my-for	meat-ABS.M.SG.	market-OBL.M.SG.-from	buy-CONV.2SG.

y-á.
come-OPT.2SG.

'Get (lit. buy and come) some meat from the market for me!'

(4.4.2.4.1-11)

7astamaar-ée	táná	'7ees-úwa-ni	y-á'
teacher-NOM.M.SG.	me	speed-OBL.M.SG.-in	come-OPT.2SG.

g-íis.
say-PF.3M.SG.

'The teacher said to me "Come on fast!"'

However, its plural counterpart can be *hááyite*, which is formed with the ending *-ite*. Since second-person plural affirmative optative forms of mono-consonantal verbs are formed with the ending *-iite*, *hááyite* would not be regarded as a mono-consonantal verb anymore.

(4.4.2.4.1-12)

7ínté	hááy-ite.
you (PL.)	come to here-OPT.2PL.

'You, come on!'

However, the expected plural form also seems to be possible.

(4.4.2.4.1-13)

laa	ha	dawútt-atoo		háa	y-iité.
hey	this	co-wife-VOC.PL.		to here	come-OPT.2PL.

'Hey these co-wives, come here!'

Since it is often difficult to determine vowel length before and after the consonant *y* in this language, I will leave the matter open.

In standard Amharic grammars, semantic and functional correspondents of third-person optative forms in Wolaytta are called "jussive", and the category includes not only third-person forms, but also first-person forms. See, for example, Leslau (1995: 347-353). This treatment is justified morphologically, since patterns of jussive stems are common for both the persons for each verb (in fact, patterns of imperative stems are also similar to those of jussive stems for each verb). First person jussive forms in Amharic can be rendered into English as 'let me . . .' 'may I . . .' 'let's . . .' etc. In Wolaytta such meanings are expressed by future forms (see section 4.4.2.3), imperfective forms (see section 4.4.2.1), and interrogative forms discussed in section 4.4.2.5.2.

4.4.2.4.2 Negative Optative

This is a negative counterpart of the affirmative optative discussed in the preceding section. Its endings are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.4.2-1) Endings of the Negative Optative

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	-óppa	2PL.	-óppite
3M.SG.	-óppó	3PL.	-óppóná
3F.SG.	-úppú		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	´-oppa	2PL.	´-oppite
3M.SG.	´-óppó	3PL.	´-óppóná
3F.SG.	´-úppú		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

2SG.	-óóppa	2PL.	-óóppite
3M.SG.	-óóppó	3PL.	-óóppóná
3F.SG.	-úúppú		

As can be seen from the above tables, a negative optative form is formed by inserting *-(o)opp-* between a stem and an ending of the corresponding affirmative optative form. In the case of the third-person singular feminine, however, the first vowel of the infix is assimilated to the final vowel: **-(o)opp-u > -(u)upp-u*.

There are disagreements between previous works and this study on morphology of negative optative forms. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 178) list "jussive negative" forms for the first persons, whose suffix are *-ikk^e* (1SG.) and *-okko* (1PL.). However, these forms are, as the authors admit, 'the same as those of the aorist imperfect negative [i.e. the negative declarative imperfective discussed in section 4.4.2.1.2 in this study]'. They also give *-opp-u* for the third person singular feminine, which does not show assimilation mentioned at the preceding paragraph. Cerulli (1929: 20) gives *-offa* ("negativo dell'imperativo ('negative of the imperative')" 2SG.) and *-offite* (the same form for 2PL.) as forms of the Maldô Karrê dialect. Reduction of the plosive *p* to the fricative *f* is not uncommon in this language. Moreno's (1938: 52) table of "imperativo

negativo ('negative imperative')" lists the first-person plural form, *er-óppino* (*er-* is a verb stem meaning 'to know'), which will be discussed in section 4.4.2.5.2 as a kind of interrogative form. In addition to the above, there are disagreements on interpretation of vowel length and gemination.

A negative optative form expresses prohibition, a negative request, a wish for non-realization, etc. The following are examples in which negative optative forms are used.

(4.4.2.4.2-2)

g-íídoo-g-áá   dog-óppa.
say-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.   forget-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Don't forget what you said.'

(4.4.2.4.2-3)

ta-buddeen-áa-ni   gel-óppa.
my-Ethiopian crepe-OBL.M.SG.-in   enter-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Don't enter my Ethiopian crepe (እንጀራ *enjarA* in Amharic). (i.e. don't tell on me so that I could not earn my bread.)'

(4.4.2.4.2-4)

na7-íya   7íntéé-r-á   tánáá-rá   d-áusu.
child-NOM.F.SG.   your-NMNL.-NOM.   my-with   exist-IMPF.3F.SG.

kóyy-oppite.
search-NEG.OPT.2PL.

   'Your daughter is with me. Don't search (her).'

(4.4.2.4.2-5)

7á   y-úúppú.
she   come-NEG.OPT.3F.SG.

   'Don't let her come.'

(4.4.2.4.2-6)

keett-áa	húúP-iya-ni	de7-íya
house-OBL.M.SG.	head-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

7úr-ai-kka	7iss-í	b-áá
person-NOM.M.SG.-too	one-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

7ekk-an-á-u	dúg-e	woDD-í
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	lower part-ABS.	go down-CONV.3M.SG.

ba-sóó	gel-óppó.	gad-éé-ní
his own-home	enter-NEG.OPT.3M.SG.	field-OBL.-in

de7-íya-g-éé-kká	ba-maay-úwa
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.-too	his own-clothes-ABS.M.SG.

7ekk-an-á-u	guyy-é	simm-óppó.
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	back-ABS.	return-NEG.OPT.3M.SG.

'Don't let a person who is on the top of the house go down and enter his own house to take a thing. Don't let one who is in the field return back to take his own clothes.' (From Mark 13:15-16)

(4.4.2.4.1-7)

hácc-i	y-ó	y-óóppó	7er-íkke.
today	come-OPT.3M.SG.	cease-NEG.OPT.3M.SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know whether he comes or not (lit. let him come let him not come) today.' Cf. (4.4.2.4.1-8) and (4.4.2.4.1-9)

4.4.2.5 Peripheral Interrogative Forms

In this section, interrogative forms that have not been discussed so far will be discussed.

4.4.2.5.1 *-uutee, -uuteetii*

    Verbs with these endings are used as predicates of positive interrogative sentences to ask about situations in the relatively near future. There are only second-person forms. The endings are attached to verb stems as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.5.1-1)

Tone Class I

2SG.   -úutee   2PL.   -úuteetii

Tone Class II

2SG.   ´-uutee   2PL.   ´-uuteetii

(4.4.2.5.1-2)

tánáá-rá	ha77í	s-áa	b-úutee?
my-with	now (OBL.)	place-ABS.M.SG.	go-(interrogative ending)

    'Will you go with me to the place that (is referred to) now?'

(4.4.2.5.1-3)

hodde	wáán-uutee?
then	become what-(interrogative ending)

    'Then what will you become?'

(4.4.2.5.1-4)

7au	d-é	y-úutee?
where	time-ABS.	come-(interrogative ending)

    'When will you come?'

(4.4.2.5.1-5)

maTin-ée	ló77-o	shííní	7í
salt-NOM.M.SG.	good-ABS.	but	it (NOM.)

maLL-an-á	Tay-í-kkó	zaar-ídí	7á
be tasty-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if	return-CONV.2PL.	it (ABS.)

wáát-i	maLL-ett-úuteetii?
do what-CONV.2PL.	be tasty-CAUS.-(interrogative ending)

    'Salt is good, but if it becomes not tasty, how (lit. you having done what) will you make it tasty again (lit. you having return)?'   (From Mark 9:50)

    Adams (1983: 211) considers that these forms (whose endings are *-u:te:* and *-u:teti:* in his notation) are alternative forms of those with the *-ane:* ending (punctilliar aspect, future tense, affirmative question, i.e. interrogative future forms discussed in section 4.4.2.3 in this thesis). Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) regard these as honorific forms. In any case, further studies on the semantics of these forms are needed.

4.4.2.5.2 *-oo, -iinoo*

    These endings are used to ask permission, approval, or instructions for the speaker's own acts. The former, *-oo*, is a first-person singular ending, and attached to verb stems as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.5.2-1)
Tone Class I
1SG.   -óo

Tone Class II
1SG.   ´-oo

(4.4.2.5.2-2)

hagáá	7imm-óo?
this	give-(interrogative ending)

    'Shall I give (it to you)?'

(4.4.2.5.2-3)

táání	b-óo?
I	go-(interrogative ending)

　　'May I go?'

(4.4.2.5.2-4)

hagá-ú	7ááppun-aa	KanT-óo?
this-for	how much-ABS.M.SG.	cut-(interrogative ending)

　　'How much shall I pay (lit. cut) for this?'

(4.4.2.5.2-5)

7áw-aa-ni	7útt-oo?
where-OBL.M.SG.-in	sit-(interrogative ending)

　　'Where shall I sit?'

(4.4.2.5.2-6)

7áí	7imm-á	g-óo?
what	give-OPT.2SG.	say-(interrogative ending)

　　'What shall I ask for? (lit. shall I say "Give what")'　　(From Mark 6:24)

　　Adams (1983: 124) calls this form "requestive", and argues the possibility that it is included in one paradigm named "command variant" together with the "imperative" (our optative discussed in section 4.4.2.4). However, I do not agree with him on this because of the reasons discussed at the beginning of section 4.4.2.4. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) consider that this form is "future interrogative", and arrange it together with forms with the ending *-ane* (i.e. interrogative future forms discussed in section 4.4.2.3) within one paradigm. However this is not a good treatment if we take their morphology into consideration. In the first place, the *-ane* ending (*-anee* in my interpretation) can be used for the first-person singular too.

　　The plural counterpart of *-oo* is *-iinoo*. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) and Adams

(1983: 125) also mention it. However, it seems to occur usually only with mono-consonantal verbs (see section 4.4.1.3).

(4.4.2.5.2-7)

b-iinóo	'Shall we go?'
m-iinóo	'Shall we eat?'
y-iinóo	'Shall we come?'
d-iinóo	'Shall we live?'
g-iinóo	'Shall we say?'
eh-iinóo	'Shall we bring?' (occasionally)
ep-iinóo	'Shall we take?'

(4.4.2.5.2-8)

guur-ídí	b-iinóo?
get up in the early morning-CONV.1PL.	go-(interrogative ending)

   'Shall we go in the early morning?'

The plural forms given above are rarely used; interrogative future forms discussed in section 4.4.2.3 are used instead.

   Their corresponding negative forms can be formed by inserting *-opp-* before these endings. This formation reminds us of negative optative forms discussed in section 4.4.2.4.2. However, they are rarely used. Among previous works, only Moreno (1938: 52) refers to one of the negative forms (*er-óppino* (1PL., from the verb "to know")). These would be obsolete forms.

(4.4.2.5.2-9)

'7imm-óppa.'	'7imm-óppoo-yyé?'
give-NEG.OPT.-2SG.	give-(negative interrogative ending)-INDEC.

   'Don't give (it).' 'Shall I not give?'

(4.4.2.5.2-10)

7eta-súnt-aa	7er-óppínóo?
their-name-ABS.M.SG.	know-(negative interrogative ending)

'(We would like to know, but) shall we not know their names?'

4.4.2.5.3　Interrogative Forms with the *r* Element

Endings of the interrogative forms discussed in this section are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.2.5.3-1)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-árkinaa	1PL.	-órkonii
2SG.	-árkii	2PL.	-érketii
3M.SG.	-í7erennee	3PL.	-órkonaa
3F.SG.	-árkee		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-arkinaa	1PL.	-´orkonii
2SG.	´-arkii	2PL.	´-erketii
3M.SG.	´-i7erennee	3PL.	´-orkonaa
3F.SG.	´-arkee		

Except for the third-person singular masculine, the endings can be analyzed as follows:

(4.4.2.5.3-2)

Some Vowel + *r* + Negative Marker (+ OA) + Interrogative Marker

The first vowels are the same as the first vowels of the endings of affirmative declarative imperfective forms (see section 4.4.2.1.1), thus might be related to IA. The negative marker is *-kk-* in other negative forms, but here is realized as simple *-k-*. For OA, see the end of sections 4.4.2.1.1 and 4.4.2.1.2. OA elements are found only in the first-person and second-person plurals in the case of the forms under discussion. For the interrogative marker, see section 4.4.2.1.3. In other words, the forms under discussion are similar to negative interrogative imperfective forms, although OA of the latter is replaced by some vowel followed by the *r* element in the former. The third-person

singular masculine form reminds us of a short converb followed by the verb *7er-* 'to know', which will be discussed in section 4.4.3.1, but their relationship is not clear. It might be better analyzed as IA + OA + *r* + an ending of the negative interrogative imperfective for the third-person singular masculine (see section 4.4.2.1.3).

Adams's (1983: 215) "Hypothetical-desiderative Aspect" forms, which are translated into English as 'oh if only he would . . .!' etc., are actually this form followed by the interrogative indeclinable *-shsha* (see section 4.2.7.8). For the second-person singular form, he (1983: 282) also says that it is a polite form for the second-person imperative. Hirut (1990: 70) also says the same thing. Ohman and Hailu's (1976: 162) opinion that forms with *-arki* and *-arkite* [sic] imply begging would also express the same claim.

The etymology of the *r* element is not known. However, the basic meaning of the forms under discussion seems to be "isn't it possible to . . .?" Thus it can also mean "wouldn't you . . .?" in the case of the second persons and "it would have been good if he had . . ." "if only he could have . . . (but he could not)" etc. in the case of other persons.

The following are examples in which the forms under discussion are used.

(4.4.2.5.3-3)

"táání	han-aná	b-áá	tá	7er-áis."
I	become-REL.FUT.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	I	know-IMPF.1SG.

g-íi-ni	"7agg-árkii	ta-keetta7aaw-áu
say-SUBOR.-in	cease-(interrogative ending)	my-householder-VOC.M.SG.

7agg-árkii?"	g-íi-ni	"cíi
cease-(interrogative ending)	say-SUBOR.-when	no

ta-7aayy-ée	tá	7er-áis.	tá
my-mother-VOC.F.SG.	I	know-IMPF.1SG.	I

7er-áis.	. . .
know-IMPF.1SG.	. . .

'He said "I know what I will become (i.e. I will commit suicide).", and she said "Won't you stop, my lord, won't you stop?", and (he said) "No! My wife (lit. mother), I know, I know . . ."'

(4.4.2.5.3-4)

laa	woláítt-a	biitt-áu	tá-u
hey	Wolaytta-OBL.	land-VOC.M.SG.	my-for

lo77-árkii?
be good-(interrogative ending)

   'Hey, the Wolaytta land, couldn't you be good for me?'

(4.4.2.5.3-5)

banta-dább-otu-ssi	d-íya	b-áá-ppé
their own-relative-OBL.PL.-to	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-OBL.M.SG.-from

7imm-órkonaa?
give-(interrogative ending)

   'It would have been good if they had given some of what they have to their relatives (but they did not).'

(4.4.2.5.3-6)

ta-miishsh-áa-ni	shóóbb-arkinaa?
my-money-OBL.M.SG.-in	treat-(interrogative ending)

   'It would have been good if I had treated with my money (but I did not).'

   The second-person plural form fluctuates. I have elicited *-irketii*, *-arketii*, and even *-irkitee*, in addition to *-erketii* given above. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162) give *imm-arkite* (from the verb 'to give'), as indicated above in this section.

(4.4.2.5.3-7)

7abbánbánt-oo	tá-u	miishsh-áa	7imm-árketii?
Father-VOC.	my-for	money-ABS.M.SG.	give-(interrogative ending)

   'Father, couldn't you give me money?'

4.4.3　Subordinate Verbs

In the following sections, different verb forms that are not used as predicates of main clauses are discussed.

4.4.3.1　Converb

Wolaytta has two kinds of converbs: the short converb and the long converb.

Endings of the former (short converb) are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.3.1-1) Endings of the Short Converb

Tone Class I

1SG.	-á	1PL.	-í
2SG.	-á	2PL.	-í
3M.SG.	-í	3PL.	-í
3F.SG.	-á		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-a	1PL.	´-i
2SG.	´-a	2PL.	´-i
3M.SG.	´-i	3PL.	´-i
3F.SG.	´-a		

As is evident from the above, there are only two variants for each verb formally: that with the ending *-a* (for 1SG., 2SG., and 3F.SG.), and that with the ending *-i* (for 3M.SG., and all plural persons). This pattern is also found in IA of the affirmative declarative imperfective (see section 4.4.2.1.1), the affirmative interrogative imperfective (see section 4.4.2.1.3), and all varieties of the perfective (see section 4.4.2.2). I consider that these forms and the short converb are indeed related to each other: the endings of the short converb are IA elements. In other words, these finite verb forms include short converb forms in them. According to Hayward (1998: 103), the endings of the short converb originate from topic pronouns that express subjects.

As far as I know, there are no preceding works that established the short converb as a distinct category. However, Adams's (1983: 163) examples of "the true converb contraction" and Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 155-156) examples of "the aorist progressive", which can be interpreted as short converbs followed by affirmative

declarative imperfective forms of the verb 'to exist', do not disagree with the paradigm in (4.4.3.1-1).

Endings of the long converb are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.3.1-2) Endings of the Long Converb

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-ádá	1PL.	-ídí
2SG.	-ádá	2PL.	-ídí
3M.SG.	-ídí	3PL.	-ídí
3F.SG.	-ádá		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-ada	1PL.	´-idi
2SG.	´-ada	2PL.	´-idi
3M.SG.	´-idi	3PL.	´-idi
3F.SG.	´-ada		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-áádá	1PL.	-íídí
2SG.	-áádá	2PL.	-íídí
3M.SG.	-íídí	3PL.	-íídí
3F.SG.	-áádá		

As is evident from the above, there are only two variants for each verb formally. The pattern of the vowels suggests that long converb forms are short converb forms followed by short converb forms of the verb *d-* 'to be'. Thus long converb forms are similar to affirmative perfective forms (see sections 4.4.2.2.1 and 4.4.2.2.3). In the case of the former, however, the meaning of the verb 'to exist' is almost reduced to zero in most cases. Thus, short and long converb forms can be used interchangeably in many cases (but see the discussion below in this section).[435]

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[435] According to Hayward (1998: 99), an anonymous referee pointed out to him 'that the "simple" form [i.e. short converb in Gamo] could also be regarded as a reduced form of the more complex one, and that such a view is supported by Wolaitta [*sic*] usage.' This view is opposite to mine, according to which long converb forms are

Cerulli's (1929: 19) "gerundio" seems to correspond to my long converb. According to him, however, its singular ending in the Sorê dialect is -*ido*. His description on the same form of the Maldô Karrê dialect might say that the third-person singular masculine ending is also -*ada*[436]. Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 159, 166-167) "perfect gerund" also seems to correspond to my long converb. However, their paradigms are rather different from mine. Their paradigms can be summarized as follows.

(4.4.3.1-3) Lamberti and Sottile's "perfect gerund"

Ordinary verbs

1SG.	-a-de	1PL.	-i-di
2SG.	-a-de	2PL.	-i-di
3M.SG.	-i-de	3PL.	-i-di
3F.SG.	-a-de		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-aa-da	1PL.	-aa-di
2SG.	-aa-da	2PL.	-aa-di
3M.SG.	-aa-di, -ii-di	3PL.	-aa-di
3F.SG.	-aa-da		

On the other hand, two of the subordinators given by Adams (1983: 213) are morphologically the same as the endings of the long converb in this thesis.

Now let's consider uses of converb forms. I will discuss the long converb first. As can be inferred from the brief description above, endings of the long converb hardly convey any information on so-called tense, aspect, and modality. All that they do is to convey information on subjects. If we take *shamm-ádá* (*shamm-* 'to buy') as an example, its ending tells only that the buyer is the speaker (or the hearer or a woman, depending on the context). Thus, as Adams (1983: 141) says, the long converb is 'quite a general subordinator'.

However, when two or more situations expressed by verbs are presented linearly in a sentence, it is very natural to think that the situations take place in that order in the actual world. This tendency is strengthened in Wolaytta because of the existence of the

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extended forms of short converb forms.

[436] His original text in Italian is as follows: 'nel dialetto di MK trovo usato nei miei materiali solo il suffisso -*ada* pel singolare.'

simultaneous form, which expresses a situation that takes place simultaneously with a situation introduced in its superordinate clause with emphasis on the simultaneity and imperfectivity (see section 4.4.3.2). Thus, in most cases a long converb expresses a situation that precedes a situation introduced in its following clause, which is often its superordinate clause[437]. In the following, for instance, buying taros took place earlier than cooking them.

(4.4.3.1-4)

ló77-o	boin-áa	shamm-ádá	katt-áas.
good-OBL.	taro-ABS.M.SG.	buy-CONV.1SG.	cook-PF.1SG.

'I bought good taros, and I cooked (them).'

The following are examples similar to the above.

(4.4.3.1-5)

táání	ta-7óós-uwa	wurs-ádá	y-aaná.
I	my-word-ABS.M.SG.	finish-CONV.1SG.	come-FUT.

'I will come after finishing my work.'

(4.4.3.1-6)

sharéécc-o	keett-áa	b-íídí
wizard-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.	go-CONV.3M.SG.

he	sharéécc-uwa-ssi	ba-met-úwa	7od-ées.
that	wizard-OBL.M.SG.-to	his own-problem-ABS.M.SG.	tell-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He goes to a wizard house, and he tells his problem to that wizard.'

(4.4.3.1-7)

7as-ái	shiiK-ídí	kúúy-iis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	gather-CONV.3M.SG.	decide-PF.3M.SG.

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[437] Cerulli (1929: 19) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 150) describe that a long converb form ("gerundio" and "perfect gerund" in their terminology, respectively) is used when the situation expressed by it precedes chronologically that of the main verb.

'People gathered, and decided.'

(4.4.3.1-8)

már-a	boin-áa-ppe	shaakk-ídí
calf-OBL.	taro-OBL.M.SG.-from	separate-CONV.3M.SG.

ba-shoor-úwa-u	7imm-íis.
his own-neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-to	give-PF.3M.SG.

'He separated some cormels of taro (from others), and gave (them) to his neighbor.'

(4.4.3.1-9)

naatí	moor-ídí	banta-7aaw-áa-ni
children (NOM.)	do wrong-CONV.3PL.	their own-father-OBL.M.SG.-by

shoC-étt-idosona.
hit-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'The children did wrong, and were hit by their father.'

In each of the following, we might consider that the two situations described by verbs temporally overlap each other. However, what each of the speakers wanted to express most is a causal relationship between the two situations in question. A causal relationship is a kind of temporally successive relationship in that a cause precedes an effect. Thus it is very natural for long converb forms to be used to express it.

(4.4.3.1-10)

7as-á	7ubb-áa	bána-daani	Teell-ídí
man-OBL.	all-ABS.M.SG.	himself-like	see-CONV.3M.SG.

"dár-o	miishsh-áa	péér-oos."	g-íis.
many-OBL.	money-ABS.M.SG.	raise-IMPF.1PL.	say-PF.3M.SG.

'He thought as if all the people were he (lit. he saw all the people like himself), and said "Let's raise a lot of money".'

(4.4.3.1-11)

har-á	7azn-áa	gel-an-á-u
another-OBL.	husband-ABS.M.SG.	enter-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

Kopp-ádá	7íshshi	g-áádá
think-CONV.3F.SG.	OK	say-CONV.3F.SG.

wott-óo-g-áá	laamm-áasu,	Káál-aa.
put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	change-PF.3F.SG.	word-ABS.M.SG.

'She was thinking of marrying (lit. entering) another man (lit. husband), and broke her promise (lit. she changed what she put having said OK, the word).'

The following are examples in which long converb forms express situations as means for intended situations (purposes). Since a means is necessarily begun before realization of its purpose, it is very natural for long converb forms to be used to express means.

(4.4.3.1-12)

7í	hagáá	woTT-ídí	gákk-iis.
he	this	run-CONV.3M.SG.	reach-PF.3M.SG.

'He reached here running.'

(4.4.3.1-13)

7alam-ú	mácc-iyo	bullacc-ídí
(person name)-NOM.	wife-ABS.F.SG.	celebrate a wedding-CONV.3M.SG.

7ekk-íis.
take-PF.3M.SG.

'Alemu married (lit. took) his wife by celebrating a wedding. (I.e. married peacefully, not by using a violent means such as *dáp-aa* 'abduction')'

However, long converb forms can be often used even when it is difficult to find a temporally successive relationship between two situations.

(4.4.3.1-14)

ha	kaw-ói	biitt-áa	loitt-ídí
this	king-NOM.M.SG.	land-ABS.M.SG.	do well-CONV.3M.SG.

7aiss-ées.
govern-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'This king governs the land well.'

(4.4.3.1-15)

hagáá	keett-áa	7ááss-ada	keeTT-á.
this	house-ABS.M.SG.	make wide-CONV.2SG.	build-OPT.2SG.

    'Build this house making it wide.'

(4.4.3.1-16)

dol-í	bullácc-a	máNN-iya-ni	máCC-a
(person name)-NOM.	wedding-OBL.	place-OBL.M.SG.-in	female-OBL.

naatu	sint-áá-ní	dúll-iya	Kaatt-ídí
children (OBL.)	face-OBL.-in	buttock-ABS.M.SG.	shake-CONV.3M.SG.

dur-íis.
dance-PF.3M.SG.

    'Dola danced shaking his buttock before (lit. in the face of) the girls at the wedding place.'

(4.4.3.1-17)

hegéé	kátt-aa	gíK-uwa
that	grain-ABS.M.SG.	protection-ABS.M.SG.

g-éétett-idi	Téég-ett-ees,	woláítt-áá-ní.
say-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.	call-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.-in

    'That is called (lit. called being said) *kátt-aa gíK-uwa* in Wolaytta.'

(4.4.3.1-18)

he	gongol-úwa-ni	7aK-ídí
that	cave-OBL.M.SG.-in	spend the nigth-CONV.3M.SG.

pé7-idi[438]	yáá-ní	de7-ées.
spend the day-CONV.3M.SG.	in the remoter place-in	live-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He lives there, spending the night and day in that cave.'   (From Mark 5:3)

The long converb forms in the above examples function as modifiers of their following verbs in the broad sense. They describe manners in which the situations described by the following verbs are realized. Thus, they do not refer to situations separated or independent from those described by the following verbs. In other words, each of the above example sentences describes, as it were, "one" situation, although it contains two finite verbs[439]. In these examples, however, simultaneous forms cannot replace the long converb forms unless imperfectivity of the situations is not emphasized (see section 4.4.3.2). Thus the long converb is chosen negatively, since it is 'quite a general subordinator', as Adams (1983: 141) says.

In each of the above examples, since verbs describe, as it were, "one situation" jointly, there cannot be a temporally successive relationship between situations described by the verbs (except for the two long converb forms in (4.4.3.1-18)). Then how is it decided which situation is described by a converb form? It is a very difficult question, but it seems to be that the order follows general constituent order in Wolaytta, in which a modifier precedes its modified (see section 6.1). In the following, however, we could say that the situations (i.e. manners) described by long converb forms still precede those described by their following verbs[440]. Expressions of this kind may also serve to assure the constituent order in the manner converb construction illustrated in (4.4.3.1-14) to (4.4.3.1-18), in which temporally successive relationship is not found[441].

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[438] The two long converb forms are coordinated, and directly related to the verb *de7-* 'to live'.

[439] This could be another example of more frequent use of verbs of African languages compared to English and other European languages. Watters (2000: 195) says that 'African languages tend to use verbs frequently, more often than English and other European languages do.' Indeed Wolaytta long converb forms can be better rendered with adverbs or are ignored in English translations in some cases (see (4.4.3.1-14) and (4.4.3.1-17), respectively).

[440] (4.4.3.2-12) would be included here.

[441] It could be the case that the constituent order reflects cognitive order, instead of

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(4.4.3.1-19)

hácci	der-ée	KónC-idi
today	mountain-NOM.M.SG.	become clear-CONV.3m.sg.

beett-ées.
be seen-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Today the mountain is seen clearly.'

(4.4.3.1-20)

godar-ée	waass-íyo	waas-úwa
hyena-NOM.M.SG.	cry-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	cry-ABS.M.SG.

7akeek-ádá	síy-a.
become careful-CONV.2SG.	hear-OPT.2SG.

   'Listen carefully to the cry the hyena cries.'

   In the following, long converb forms that express manners have become idiomatic and function as if they were adverbs. *loitt-ídí* 'well' in (4.4.3.1-14) would be included here.

(4.4.3.1-21)

laa	na7-áu	wáán-ada
he	child-VOC.M.SG.	become what-CONV.1SG.

yeekk-ái?
cry-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Hey, boy, why (lit. having become what) are you crying?'

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temporal order, of situations in the case of the manner converb construction: in Wolaytta attributes are recognized earlier than entities. If this is the case, the description of uses of long converb forms would be much simpler: long converb forms express essentially precedent situations. However, this would not be the case, if we take their structure, which is discussed above in this section, into consideration.

(4.4.3.1-22)

hagáá	7óós-uwa	wáát-ada	7oott-ádii?
this	work-ABS.M.SG.	do what-CONV.2SG.	do-INTER.PF.2SG.

'How (lit. having do what) did you do this work?'

(4.4.3.1-23)

maallád-o-ppe	dóómm-ada	táání	ha	maTááp-aa
morning-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.1SG.	I	this	book-ABS.M.SG.

nabbab-áidda	d-áis.
read-SIM.1SG.	exist-IMPF.1SG.

'Since (lit. having begun) the morning I have been reading this book.'

(4.4.3.1-24)

kóír-uwa	zaar-ádá	nabbab-á.
first-ABS.M.SG.	return-CONV.2SG.	read-OPT.2SG.

'Read the first one again (lit. having returned (it)).'

(4.4.3.1-25)

yesúús-á	mint-ídí	wooss-íis.
Jesus-ABS.	make strong-CONV.3M.SG.	beg-PF.3M.SG.

'He begged Jesus again and again (lit. having made strong).'   (From Mark 5:10)

(4.4.3.1-26)

ha	makiin-ái	7ubb-á	makiin-áa-ppe
this	car-NOM.M.SG.	all-OBL.	car-OBL.M.SG.-from

7ááDD-idi	woTT-ées.
pass-CONV.3M.SG.	run-IMPF.3M.SG.

'This car runs best (lit. having passed) among (lit. from) all the cars.'

(4.4.3.1-27)

na7-íya   ba-húúP-iya
child-NOM.F.SG.   her own-head-ABS.M.SG.

dádd-an-aa-ppe   kaset-ádá   meeCC-ádá
weave-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from   precede-CONV.3F.SG.   wash-CONV.3F.SG.

mel-iss-an-á-u   guMM-áasu.
be dry-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to   wring-PF.3F.SG.

'Before (lit. having preceded) braiding her hair, the girl washed it and wrung it to make it dry.'

In most cases we can somehow infer meanings of idiomatic long converb forms, as in the above. However, it is sometimes difficult to do so.

(4.4.3.1-28)

tam-áa   7acc-áa-ni   wott-ó
fire-OBL.M.SG. side-OBL.M.SG.-in   put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

píl-aa   háa   7ekk-ídaa-g-éé
cheese-ABS.M.SG.   too here   take-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

móóK-iya-ni   bógg-i   bógg-i
spoon-OBL.M.SG.-with plunder-CONV.3M.SG.   plunder-CONV.3M.SG.

bógg-i   bógg-i   bógg-i
plunder-CONV.3M.SG.   plunder-CONV.3M.SG.   plunder-CONV.3M.SG.

bógg-i   m-í-nne   wurs-í
plunder-CONV.3M.SG.   eat-CONV.3M.SG.-and   finish-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-íis.
cease-PF.3M.SG.

'One who took here the cheese that she put beside the fire ate (it) with a spoon very

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fast (lit. having plundered, having plundered), and immediately finished (it).'

As in the last example, more than one long converb form can occur coordinately in a sentence. In fact, relatively long sentences that contain a lot of long converb forms are not rare in this language.

(4.4.3.1-29)

gaCinn-ádá	Tiih-étt-ada
go to childbed-CONV.3F.SG.	feed-PASS.-CONV.3F.SG.

7órd-aasu.
become fat-PF.3F.SG.

'(After giving birth) she lied on a bed, and was fed, and became fat.'

(4.4.3.1-30)

keetta7aayy-íya	7aa-r-á	píl-aa
householder-NOM.F.SG.	his-NMNL.-NOM.	cheese-ABS.M.SG.

ló77-o	7óíss-aa-ni	7óíKK-ada
good-OBL.	butter-OBL.M.SG.-in	seize-CONV.3F.SG.

katt-ádá	giig-iss-ádá	7aatt-an-á
cook-CONV.3F.SG.	be ready-CAUS.-CONV.3F.SG.	serve-INFN.-ABS.

han-í-shiini	. . .
become-SUBOR.-while	. . .

'His wife (lit. householder) seized (i.e. mixed) the cheese with good butter, and cooked it, and prepared it, and while she was about to serve it . . .'

(4.4.3.1-31)

deeshsh-áa	korb-íya	7ekk-ídí	b-íídí
goat-ABS.M.SG.	not castrated-ABS.M.SG.	take-CONV.3M.SG.	go-CONV.3M.SG.

sharéécc-uwa-ssi	". . ."	g-íídí	he
wizard-OBL.M.SG.-to	. . .	say-CONV.3M.SG.	that

shííK-uwa	7ep-íídí	he	sharéécc-uwa-ssi
offering-ABS.M.SG.	take-CONV.3M.SG.	that	wizard-OBL.M.SG.-to

gatt-ídí	galat-ídí	simm-ées.
make reach-CONV.3M.SG.	thank-CONV.3M.SG.	return-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He takes a goat not castrated, and goes, and says to the wizard ". . .", and takes that offering, and gives (lit. make reach) (it) to that wizard, and thanks, and returns.'

Sim (1994: 4989) says that a converb is 'perhaps best described as a sentence-medial form neither syntactically independent nor subordinate'. However, judging from the use of the reflexive pronoun in (4.2.4.1.5.2-12a) and perhaps from the constituent order in (6.1-40) and (6.1-41), for example, long converb forms are regarded as being subordinate to or embedded in their superordinate clauses.

Consider also the following. In it, it is easy to see a temporally successive relationship between growing and becoming (i.e. now being) big, and thus it is not difficult to understand why a long converb form is chosen to express the former. However, note that the latter is expressed by a common noun, which is closely related to a verb expressing the latter situation, *goob-* 'to become big', though. Remember that in this language common nouns may have the same properties as their cognate verbs (see (4.2.1.3.5-15)). In any case, it would be difficult to say that a long converb form is not subordinate.

(4.4.3.1-32)

7ír-a	wod-íya-ni	7er-íyo-g-éé
rain-OBL.	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	know-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

diCC-ídí	góób-uwa.
grow-CONV.3M.SG.	becoming big-ABS.M.SG.

'It is becoming big after growing that (trees and grasses) know in the rainy season.'

The discussion so far on long converb forms can be summarized as follows. They are general subordinate verb forms used irrespective of so-called tense, aspect, and mood. In many cases they express precedent situations, but sometimes function as modifiers[442].

The above discussion on long converb forms applies also to short converb forms in general. Furthermore, as is discussed below in this section, short converb forms can often be replaced with its long counterparts with no overt semantic changes.

However, short converb forms are preferred especially when they are directly followed by subordinate verb forms, as in the following[443].

(4.4.3.1-33)

7í-yyo	maay-úwa-kka	shamm-í	7imm-íiddi
her-to	clothes-ABS.M.SG.-too	buy-CONV.3M.SG.	give-SIM.3M.SG.

. . .
. . .

  'While he was buying clothes and giving it to her . . .'

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[442] However, it is worth noting that the former use is much commoner. Adams (1983: 142) gives the following as an example of "the participle-like use" (the notation is mine).

bargán-í	m-íídí	7úy-idi
(person name)-NOM.	eat-CONV.3M.SG.	drink-CONV.3M.SG.

kááll-idi	kíy-iis.
become replete-CONV.3M.SG.	go out-PF.3M.SG.

  'Bargana ate and drank; having become replete, he went out.'

Adams considers that the eating and the drinking are 'simultaneous and not sequentially dependent the one on the other.' In my opinion, however, they are coordinated, and are directly related to the verb *kááll-* 'to become replete' independently. Thus, the eating precedes the becoming replete on the one hand, and the drinking precedes the becoming replete on the other hand. The temporal order of the eating and the drinking is not taken into consideration here. Since a language must be inevitably linear, however, the eating happens to precede the drinking in terms of constituent order here. This might be a conventionalized order. Cf. Japanese 飲み食い *nomi-kui* 'drinking and eating', but ?? 食い飲み *kui-nomi*.

[443] Adams (1983: 162) says that 'The contracted converb occurs when there is a series of converbs within a subordinate clause'

(4.4.3.1-34)

dár-o	tukk-íya	tókk-idoo-g-éé
many-OBL.	coffee-ABS.M.SG.	plant-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

gákk-idi	7áíp-ii-ni	maT-í
reach-CONV.3M.SG.	bear fruit-SUBOR.-when	pick-CONV.3M.SG.

baizz-ídí	duret-íis.
sell-CONV.3M.SG.	become rich-PF.3M.SG.

   'When the many coffees that he planted matured (lit. reached) and bore fruit, he picked and sold them, and became rich.'

(4.4.3.1-35)

keett-ái	pít-ett-i
house-NOM.M.SG.	sweep-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.

geey-ídí	lo77-íis.
become clean-CONV.3M.SG.	become good-PF.3M.SG.

   'The house became clean by sweeping, and became good.'

(4.4.3.1-36)

loitt-í	katt-ído	píl-aa
make good-CONV.3M.SG.	cook-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	cheese-ABS.M.SG.

   'the cheese that someone cooked well'

(4.4.3.1-37)

nééní	zín-o	Kúm-aa	dar-iss-á
you	yesterday-ABS.	food-ABS.M.SG.	be many-CAUS.-CONV.2SG.

m-íídoo-g-áá	síy-aas.
eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	hear-PF.1SG.

   'I heard that you ate food a lot (lit. having making many) yesterday.'

When a converb form directly followed by another verb gives a meaning that is not the simple sum of the meanings of the two verbs, the converb form must be short.

(4.4.3.1-38a)

yuuy-í	7ááDD-idosona.
turn around-CONV.3PL.	pass-PF.3PL.

   'They surrounded.'

Cf. (4.4.3.1-38b)

yuuy-ídí	7ááDD-idosona.
turn around-CONV.3PL.	pass-PF.3PL.

   'They turned around, and then passed.'

It is not rare in this language that a verb that immediately follows a short converb form has lost its original meaning and has come to express a special nuance. We can call such verbs "auxiliaries". Note that before "auxiliaries" only short converb forms can be used. Some, but not all, of Adams's (1983: 164-174) expressions of the "phrasal secondary aspects" are included here. Other "auxiliaries" have also been attested in my data. Some of them are listed below[444].

Short Converb + *7agg-* **'to cease'**
When used as an auxiliary, *7agg-* 'to cease' gives the meaning of 'immediately' and/or 'once and for all' to its preceding short converbial verb. This construction corresponds to Adams' (1983: 168-169) "Immediacy Aspect".

(4.4.3.1-39)

wúrsett-aa-ni	Cím-aa	yedd-ídí
end-OBL.M.SG.-in	old-ABS.M.SG.	send-CONV.3M.SG.

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[444] As Adams (personal communication) says, the study of "aspects" in his (1983: 164) sense (i.e. 'a number of categories having in common the fact that they express the manner in which some event or action takes place') is one of the most interesting fields of Wolaytta linguistics. I am sorry not to have carried out enough research on them.

7aayy-ée-ra	7aaw-áa-ra	sigétt-i
mother-OBL.F.SG.-with	father-OBL.M.SG.-with	be reconciled-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-ées.
cease-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Finally, he sends an old man, and is immediately reconciled with (her) mother and father.'

As Adams (1983: 163) points out, if the short converb form is replaced by its long counterpart here, the original meaning of the auxiliary, *7agg-*, is retained ('were reconciled, and ceased (something)' in this case). This applies to other auxiliaries mentioned below.

Short Converb + *7útt-* 'to sit'
When used as an auxiliary, *7útt-* 'to sit' gives the meaning of 'a while ago and wait a chance' or 'and be ready' to its preceding short converbial verb. This construction corresponds to Adams's (1983: 173-174) "Aspect 14 (Durative/Expectancy)".

(4.4.3.1-40)

giy-áa-ppe	7á	simm-íyo	sa7át-iya
market-OBL.M.SG.-from	she	return-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.M.SG.

7ubb-áa	kóír-o	giig-iss-ídí
all-ABS.M.SG.	first-ABS.	be ready-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.

kúúy-i	7útt-idaa-g-éé	. . .
decide-CONV.3M.SG.	sit-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	. . .

'One who firstly researched (lit. made ready) the time she returns from the market and all, and made a decision and waited a chance. . .

Short Converb + *báy-* 'to be lost'
When used as an auxiliary, *báy-* 'to be lost' gives the meaning of 'immediately' and/or 'once and for all' to its preceding short converbial verb. Thus its function is similar to

that of the auxiliary *7agg-* discussed above.

(4.4.3.1-41)

ló77-o	ka77-ída	kátt-ai
good-ABS.	be cooked-REL.PF.SUBJ.	food-NOM.M.SG.

shiiK-í-kkó	7áí-nné	7ezg-énn-aa-ni
approach-SUBOR.-if	what-and	worry-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in

m-í	báy-ite.
eat-CONV.2PL.	be lost-OPT.2PL.

   'If food that is cooked well is served, eat it without worrying.'

Short Converb + *simm-* **'to return'**

When used as an auxiliary, *simm-* 'to return' gives the meaning of 'just now' to its preceding short converbial verb. One of Adams's (1983: 145) subordinators, *-i simmini* 'after', corresponds to this construction. He describes that it expresses "general succession relationship". Despite his heading, the auxiliary inflects freely.

(4.4.3.1-42)

m-í	simm-ída.
eat-CONV.1PL.	return-PF.1PL.

   'We ate just now.'

(4.4.3.1-43)

diCC-á	simm-ádá	mácc-iyo
grow-CONV.2SG.	return-CONV.2SG.	wife-ABS.F.SG.

7ekk-á.
take-OPT.2SG.

   'Marry a wife as soon as you have grown.'

Short Converb + *be7-* 'to see'

When used as an auxiliary, *be7-* 'to see' gives the meaning of 'and checked the situation' or 'by way of trial' to its preceding short converbial verb. This construction corresponds to Adams's (1983: 169) "Trial Aspect"[445].

(4.4.3.1-44)

mítt-aa	KanT-íiddi	7oogg-an-á-u
tree-ABS.M.SG.	cut-SIM.3M.SG.	cut down-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

<u>súg-i</u>	<u>be7-íis.</u>
push-CONV.3M.SG.	see-PF.3M.SG.

    'While he was cutting a tree, he pushed it to check whether it would fall properly (lit. to cut down he pushed and saw).'

Short Converb + *7ekk-* 'to take'

When used as an auxiliary, *7ekk-* 'to take' gives the meaning of 'suddenly' or 'thoroughly' to its preceding short converbial verb. This construction corresponds to Adams's (1983: 169) "Certainty Aspect" and his (1983: 170-171) "Suddenness Aspect".

(4.4.3.1-45)

<u>Kopp-í</u>	<u>7ekk-íi-ni</u>	híítt-a
think-CONV.3M.SG.	take-SUBOR.-in	sleeping place-OBL.

miyy-ée	yáshsh-ees.
side-NOM.M.SG.	make fear-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'When one thinks too much, (even) a side of a sleeping place (may) make fear (him).'

(4.4.3.1-46)

haasay-íiddi	<u>yéTT-i</u>	<u>7ekk-íis.</u>
talk-SIM.3M.SG.	sing-CONV.3M.SG.	take-PF.3M.SG.

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[445] However, *katt-* 'to cook' in his example sentence should be replaced with *ka??-* 'to be cooked'.

'While he was talking, he suddenly began to sing.'

Short Converb + *wóDD-* 'to descend'

When used as an auxiliary, *wóDD-* 'to descend' gives the meaning of 'suddenly' to its preceding short converbial verb. This construction corresponds to Adams's (1983: 170-171) "Suddenness Aspect". In other words, the function of the auxiliary is similar to that of the auxiliary *7agg-* discussed above in this section.

(4.4.3.1-47)

naag-í-shiini	naag-í-shiini	zaLLánc-ai
wait-SUBOR.-while	wait-SUBOR.-while	merchant-NOM.M.SG.

gákk-i	wóDD-iis.
reach-CONV.3M.SG.	descend-PF.3M.SG.

   'While I was waiting (him), the merchant suddenly appeared.'

(4.4.3.1-48)

yáyy-iiddi	yáyy-iiddi	gupp-í
fear-SIM.3M.SG.	fear-SIM.3M.SG.	jump-CONV.3M.SG.

wóDD-iis.
descend-PF.3M.SG.

   'While he feared, he suddenly jumped up.'

Adams (1983: 171) claims that this auxiliary can be used only when the subject is semantically the patient and that when the subject is semantically the agent *7ekk-* 'to take', which is introduced above, is used[446]. This is an important observation. Judging from the above examples, however, it would be more proper to say that the auxiliary *wóDD-* 'to descend > suddenly' is used when the subject realizes a situation unintentionally.

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[446] However, the explanation on the preceding page is opposite. This would be a mistake.

Short Converb + *wott-* **'to put'**

When used as an auxiliary, *wott-* 'to put' gives the meaning of 'and make it ready' or other to its preceding short converbial verb. This construction corresponds to Adams's (1983: 173) "Aspect 13 (Unconcern/Preparation/Precedence)".

(4.4.3.1-49)

7oicc-í-kkó	g-aaná	záár-uwa
ask-SUBOR.-if	say-REL.FUT.	answer-ABS.M.SG.

<u>giig-iss-í</u>	<u>wott-íis</u>.
be ready-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	put-PF.3M.SG.

    'He has prepared an answer that he would say when someone asks.'

(4.4.3.1-50)

7as-ái	7á	kóyy-iyo-g-áá
people-NOM.M.SG.	him	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

7as-ái	7er-énn-aa-ni	<u>síy-i</u>
people-NOM.M.SG.	know-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	hear-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>wott-íis</u>[447].
put-PF.3M.SG.

    'He heard that people are searching him while the people did not know.'

Short Converb + *7eKK-* **'to stand up'**

When used as an auxiliary, *7eKK-* 'to stand up' seems to emphasize the meaning of its preceding short converbial verb.

(4.4.3.1-51)

soodd-ó	gákk-an-a-u	<u>shiiK-í</u>
(place name)-ABS.	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	approach-CONV.3M.SG.

---

[447] I cannot explain the nuance brought by the auxiliary here. Adams might translate it as "unconcernedly".

<u>7eKK-íis</u>.

stand up-PF.3M.SG.

   'He is now very close to Sodo.'

(4.4.3.1-52)

7etá-kkó	y-íya	mórk-iya
them-toward	come-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	enemy-ABS.M.SG.

<u>téKK-i</u>	<u>7eKK-íis</u>.
prevent-CONV.3M.SG.	stand up-PF.3M.SG.

   'He has protected from the enemy that were coming toward them.'

Short Converb + *7átt-* 'to remain' (the perfective)

When used as an auxiliary, *7att-* 'to remain' gives the meaning of 'was about to . . . but did not do' to its preceding short converbial verb. This auxiliary must be a perfective form.

(4.4.3.1-53)

na7-ái	ba-lágg-iya-ra
child-NOM.M.SG.	his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-with

<u>war-étt-i</u>	<u>7átt-iis</u>.
strike-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.	remain-PF.3M.SG.

   'The boy was about to fight his friend, but did not.'

Short Converb + *d-* 'to live, exist'

When used as an auxiliary, *d-* 'to live, exist' express the habituality of a situation described by its preceding short converbial verb. The non-contracted form of the verb, *de7-*, is not used in this construction.

(4.4.3.1-54)

7í	7ubbátoo	buddeen-áa	m-í
he	always	Ethiopian crepe-ABS.M.SG.	eat-CONV.3M.SG.

d-ées.
live-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He always eats Traditional Ethiopian crepe-like food (እንጀራ *enjarA* in Amharic).'

Adams (1983: 162-164) does not consider that short converb forms are used before auxiliaries[448]. He gives four reasons: 1) verbs that precede auxiliaries are not replaced with their corresponding long converb forms, 2) they do not inflect for negative polarity, nor can be marked for a different subject from that of the following verb, 3) nothing may be inserted between the two verb forms in auxiliary constructions, 4) auxiliaries are restricted to just 14 verbs. Among these, the second cannot be maintained because it applies also to "true" short converb forms (for "subjects" of converb forms, see below in this section). The fourth is also problematic since they are not restricted to just 14 verbs (*báy-* 'to be lost', *simm-* 'to return', etc. function as auxiliaries). Since verbs that precede auxiliaries are morphologically the same as short converb forms, and since it is very natural for short converb forms to be used for connecting two verbs, I conclude that short converb forms are used before auxiliaries[449].

Also in the following fixed expressions, short converb forms cannot be replaced by their long counterparts.

Short Converb + Subordinate Form of the Same Verb
This construction is used to express plurality of the situation described by the verb. It corresponds to Adams's (1983: 171-172) "Intensification Aspect".

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[448] Actually some of his auxiliary verbs require their preceding verbs to be forms evidently other than short converb.

[449] Indeed, some, but not all, auxiliary constructions are easily explained by assuming that the short converb is used there. For example, we can naturally suppose that "to do something and then sit" has been grammaticalized and has got the meaning of "to do something and then wait a chance".

(4.4.3.1-55)

he	kátt-aa		wóni	kas-é
that	grain-ABS.M.SG.		at that time	before-ABS.

shódd-i	shódd-i
pull off-CONV.3M.SG.	pull off-CONV.3M.SG.

m-íyo-g-áá	7agg-í
eat-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	cease-CONV.3M.SG.

báy-ees.
be lost-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'People cease once and for all pulling off repeatedly that grain and eating it like before.'

(4.4.3.1-56)

ha	bitán-ee		kóír-o	"7ó	7ekk-aná."
this	man-NOM.M.SG.		first-ABS.	her	take-FUT.

g-íída	dani7él-á	7anjúll-óí
say-REL.PF.SUBJ.	(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-NOM.

kaall-í	kaall-íi-ni	7iTT-áasu.
follow-CONV.3M.SG.	follow-SUBOR.-when	refuse-PF.3F.SG.

   'When this man, Daniel Anjullo, who said first "I will marry (lit. take) her." followed her persistently, she refused.'

Short Converb + *-nne* 'and'

This construction is used for the expression of 'right after . . .' For the dependent indeclinable *-nne* 'and' see section 4.3.2, although I cannot explain how such meaning arises from this construction [450]. Adams (1983: 143) gives this as one of his

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[450] In this construction, *-nne* does not have a tonal prominence irrespective of tone of its preceding word. Thus it is not the same as *-nne* 'and' discussed in section 4.3.2.

subordinators. According to him, it expresses "immediate succession relationship".

(4.4.3.1-57)

"cíi	ta-7aayy-ée	tá	7er-áis	tá
no	my-mother-VOC.F.SG..	I	know-IMPF.1SG.	I

7er-áis."	g-í-nne	boll-á-ppé
know-IMPF.1SG.	say-CONV.3M.SG.-and	surface-OBL.-from

shákk-uwa-ppe	pir-í-nne	sa7-áa-ni
shelf-OBL.M.SG.-from	jump off-CONV.3M.SG.-and	ground-OBL.M.SG.-at

wóDD-i-nne	. . .
descend-CONV.3M.SG.-and	. . .

'He said "No, my mother (i.e. wife), I know, I know." Right after that, he jumped off the shelf from above (lit. surface). Right after that he landed (lit. descended at the ground). Right after that . . .'

On the contrary, if a nominal intervenes between a converb form and its following verb, it is preferred that the converb form is long. In the following, for example, one of my main consultants judged that only the long converb form is natural.

(4.4.3.1-58)

naatí	moor-ídí	banta-7aaw-áa-ni
children (NOM.)	do wrong-CONV.3PL.	their own-father-OBL.M.SG.-by

shoC-étt-idosona.
hit-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'The children did wrong, and were hit by their father.'

There would be other factors that determine which converb form is used. For example, the choice seems to be influenced by the speech style and the position of a pause. In many cases, however, both converb forms can be used interchangeably with no overt semantic change, as in the following.

(4.4.3.1-59a)

nééní	zín-o	Kúm-aa	dar-iss-á
you	yesterday-ABS.	food-ABS.M.SG.	be many-CAUS.-CONV.2SG.

m-íídoo-g-áá	síy-aas.
eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	hear-PF.1SG.

(4.4.3.1-59b)

nééní	zín-o	Kúm-aa	dar-iss-ádá
you	yesterday-ABS.	food-ABS.M.SG.	be many-CAUS.-CONV.2SG.

m-íídoo-g-áá	síy-aas.
eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	hear-PF.1SG.

'I heard that you ate food a lot (lit. having making many) yesterday.'

A converb followed by the verb *wurs-* 'to finish' is frequently used to indicate the finishing of a situation. Judging from the fact that long converb forms, as well as short ones, can precede it with the same meaning, however, the verb *wurs-* 'to finish' has not become an auxiliary yet. Furthermore, the construction is semantically very transparent. Thus this egressive construction is a realization of a canonical or standard use of the converb[451].

(4.4.3.1-60)

táání	zín-o	ha	maTááp-aa	nabbab-ádá
I	yesterday-ABS.	this	book-ABS.M.SG.	read-CONV.1SG.

wurs-áas.
finish-PF.1SG.

'I finished reading this book yesterday (lit. I read this book and finished (it).'

The following is also a similar example. Although Adams (1983: 169) considers that *7er-* 'to know' is an auxiliary verb and it should be preceded by a short converb form,

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[451] This construction is mentioned by Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 150-151).

this is not the case yet.

(4.4.3.1-61)

táání	KooCKóóC-uwa	m-áádá
I	(traditional Wolaytta food)-ABS.M.SG.	eat-CONV.1SG.

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I have not eaten Kochkocho.'

   According to Adams (1983: 213), the converb is used only when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its related independent clause refer to the same participant. I consider that this is true[452]. However, consider the following.

(4.4.3.1-62)[453]

7as-ái	yesúús-á-kkó	y-íídí
people-NOM.M.SG.	Jesus-OBL.-toward	come-CONV.3M.SG.

Talah-etí	bení	7óíKK-ido
demon-NOM.PL.	old times	seize-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

leegiyóón-á	g-íyo	bitán-ee
(person name)-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

ba-wozan-ái	simm-íi-ni	maay-úwa
his own-heart-NOM.M.SG.	return-SUBOR.-when	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

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[452] Adams's (1983: 213) table suggests that the short converb followed by *-nne* 'and' (see above in this section) is used whether the two subjects refer to the same participant or not. However, this would be a misprint. Also in this construction, the two subjects must refer to the same participant.

[453] I guess that this is a mistranslation: "legion" should be a common noun and what possessed the man in question, not a person name of the man. In any case, however, this does not affect the following discussion.

maay-ídí	hegáá-ni	7útt-idaa-g-áá
put on-CONV.3M.SG.	that-in	sit-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

be7-ídí	7úbb-ai	yáyy-iis.
see-CONV.3M.SG.	all-NOM.M.SG.	fear-PF.3M.SG.

'People came to Jesus; and saw the man that demons had possessed before, who is called Legion, who dressed clothes, and who sat down there in his right mind (lit. his heart returned); and everyone was afraid.'   (From Mark 5:15)

In this example, the subject of *y-íídí* 'having come' and of *be7-ídí* 'having seen' is *7as-ái* 'people', but the subject of the main verb *yáyy-iis* 'he feared' is *7ubb-ái* 'all'. Although these subjects refer to the same group of people, the words actually chosen are different.

Long converb forms can be used as predicates of declarative sentences. However, such examples are very rare, and their interrogative counterparts are not found.

(4.4.3.1-63)

7í	y-íído-i	lááT-aa
he	come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	lunch-ABS.M.SG.

m-íídí.
eat-CONV.3M.SG.

'It is after he ate lunch that he came.'

4.4.3.2   Simultaneous

Endings of simultaneous forms are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.3.2-1) Endings of the Simultaneous

Tone Class I

1SG.	-áidda	1PL.	-íiddi
2SG.	-áidda	2PL.	-íiddi
3M.SG.	-íiddi	3PL.	-íiddi
3F.SG.	-áidda		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-aidda	1PL.	´-iiddi
2SG.	´-aidda	2PL.	´-iiddi
3M.SG.	´-iiddi	3PL.	´-iiddi
3F.SG.	´-aidda		

The distribution of the first and the last vowels of these endings reminds us of short converb endings (see section 4.4.3.1): *-a* for 1SG., 2SG., and 3F.SG., and *-i* for 3M.SG. and all plural persons. Thus it might be the case that a simultaneous form was originally a short converb form followed by a short converb form of the verb *7idd-*. However, I have not been able to find the hypothesized verb *7idd-* in the vocabulary of any Omotic languages.

We can isolate the endings *-a-ydde* and *-iidde* from Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 159) paradigm of "the imperfect gerund". In other words, they interpret the last vowel of each of the endings as *e*. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 160) give *ottayda* 'I working' as the first-person singular "related participle" of the verb *7oott-* (in my notation) 'to work'. They ignore the gemination of the consonant. Adams's (1983: 142, 213) subordinator for "simultaneity relationship" for the "same participant" and Hirut's (1999: 59, 63) complex, a class three pronominal marker followed by a continuous tense marker followed by a class three pronominal marker, found in "continuous tenses", correspond to the simultaneous form in this thesis. Both of them agree with me on morphology of the form, although they use different notations.

A simultaneous form is used to emphasize imperfectivity (i.e. continuity or habitualness) of a situation described by it and at the same time to indicate that the situation and that described by a verb (or cognate word of a verb) in its superordinate clause temporally overlap each other.

Thus it is typically used to indicate a time in which another situation described in its superordinate clause takes place, or to introduce a background of another situation

described in its superordinate clause.

(4.4.3.2-2)

hácci	maallád-o	háa	y-áidda	7iss-í
today	morning-ABS.	to here	come-SIM.1SG.	one-OBL.

wurKaawúrK-uwa	be7-áas.
butterfly-ABS.M.SG.	see-PF.1SG.

'I saw a butterfly while I was coming here this morning.'

(4.4.3.2-3)

7aduss-á	bitán-ee	wúúKK-idi
long-OBL.	man-NOM.M.SG.	steal-CONV.3M.SG.

woTT-íiddi	7óíK-ett-iis.
run-SIM.3M.SG.	seize-PASS.-PF.3M.SG..

'The tall (lit. long) man was caught while he was running after he had stolen.'

(4.4.3.2-4)

táání	haasay-áidda	síy-ett-aas.
I	talk-SIM.1SG.	hear-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'I was heard when I was talking.'

(4.4.3.2-5)

giy-áa-ni	zaLLánc-ai	kátt-aa
market-OBL.M.SG.-in	merchant-NOM.M.SG.	grain-ABS.M.SG.

baizz-íiddi	bal-ett-íis.
sell-SIM.3M.SG.	mistake-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'In the market, the merchant deceived (lit. made mistake) while selling grain.'

(4.4.3.2-6)

haasay-áidda   néná   7akeek-á.
talk-SIM.2SG.   you   pay attention-OPT.2SG.

   'Be careful (lit. pay attention yourself) while you are talking.'

(4.4.3.2-7)

táání   loitt-áidda   moor-áas.
I   do well-SIM.1SG.   spoil-PF.1SG.

   'While I was doing (it) well (i.e. repairing) I spoilt (it).'

(4.4.3.2-8)

wodáll-ai   KaTTár-aa-ppe   dend-íiddi
youth-NOM.M.SG.   circumcision-OBL.M.SG.-from   rise-SIM.3M.SG.

púúlatt-iis.
become beautiful-PF.3M.SG.

   'He became beautiful when he was trying to leave his sickbed because of circumcision (lit. while he was rising).'

  It is also used to express a situation existing simultaneously with another situation described in its superordinate clause.

(4.4.3.2-9)

táání   sháyy-iya   7úy-aidda   Taap-áis.
I   tea-ABS.M.SG.   drink-SIM.1SG.   write-IMPF.1SG.

   'I am writing while drinking tea.'

(4.4.3.2-10)

Kúm-aa   m-áidda   haasay-óppa.
food-ABS.M.SG.   eat-SIM.2SG.   talk-NEG.OPT.2SG.

   'Don't talk while you are eating food.'

A simultaneous form can also be used to express a manner in which a situation described in its superordinate clause is realized, if attention is focused on the imperfectivity of the manner.

(4.4.3.2-11)

táání	zín-o	ha	maTááp-aa	nabbab-áidda
I	yesterday-ABS.	this	book-ABS.M.SG.	read-SIM.1SG.

pé7-aas.
spend the day-PF.1SG.

'I spend yesterday reading this book.'

(4.4.3.2-12)

7er-áidda   g-áis.
know-SIM.1SG.   say-IMPF.1SG.

'I am saying intentionally (lit. while knowing).'

(4.4.3.2-13)

peng-íya	dooy-íiddi	7uNN-ett-íis.
door-ABS.M.SG.	open-SIM.3M.SG.	be narrow-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'He did not open the door fully (lit. while he was opening), thus he made (the path) narrow.'

(4.4.3.2-14)

7aaw-ái	7anjúll-á	tooss-íiddi
father-NOM.M.SG.	(person name)-ABS.	make carry-SIM.3M.SG.

deeT-iss-íis.
be heavy-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The father was about to make Anjulo carry more he can (lit. made heavy while he was making carry).'

(4.4.3.2-15)

daabb-úwa	m-íiddi	m-íiddi
bread-ABS.M.SG.	eat-SIM.3M.SG.	eat-SIM.3M.SG.

guutt-íis.
make small-PF.3M.SG.

   'He made the bread small by eating and eating.'

(4.4.3.2-16)

kútt-oi	waass-an-á	han-íyo
rooster-NOM.M.SG.	cry-INFN.-ABS.	become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

wod-é	7abb-áa	boll-í	hemétt-iiddi
time-ABS.	sea-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.	walk-SIM.3M.SG.

7etá-kkó	y-íis.
them-toward	come-PF.3M.SG.

   'At the time when a rooster was about to crow, he came to them walking on the lake (lit. sea's body).'   (From Mark 6:48)

(4.4.3.2-17)

7as-ái	híni-ppe	woTT-íiddi	y-íis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	there-from	run-SIM.3M.SG.	come-PF.3M.SG.

   'People came from there running.'

Whether attention is focused on imperfectivity of a situation as a manner or not depends on the viewpoint of the speaker. In other words, it can be a matter of subjectivity. Thus, for example, the simultaneous forms, which emphasize imperfectivity, in the last two examples can be replaced with the corresponding converb forms, which do not emphasize imperfectivity (see also the discussion in section 4.4.3.1).

   Simultaneous forms can be followed by the verb *d(e7)-* that has lost its original meaning 'to live, exist' and express progressiveness or duration itself of situations

described by them. These correspond to Hirut's (1999: 63-64) "Present continuos Tense" and her (1999: 64-65) "Past Continuous tense".

(4.4.3.2-18)

na7-ái	lááT-aa	ha77í	m-íiddi
child-NOM.M.SG.	lunch-ABS.M.SG.	now	eat-SIM.3M.SG.

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The boy is now eating lunch.'

(4.4.3.2-19)[454]

kokkórs-aa-ni	7as-ái	háíKK-iiddi
malaria-OBL.M.SG.-by	people-NOM.M.SG.	die-SIM.3M.SG.

d-ées.
exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'People are dying because of malaria.'

(4.4.3.2-20)

nééní	ne-met-úwa	yoot-í-kkó	7í	néná
you	your-problem-ABS.M.SG.	tell-SUBOR.-if	he	you

maadd-íiddi	de7-aná.
help-SIM.3M.SG.	exist-FUT.

    'If you tell your problem (to him), he will be helping you.'

(4.4.3.2-21)

núúní	giy-áa	gákk-iyo	d-é
we	market-ABS.M.SG.	reach-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

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[454] In this example, we can also consider that the simultaneous form expresses plurality.

7ír-ai	bukk-íiddi	d-ées.
rain-NOM.M.SG.	hit-SIM.3M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When we arrived the market, it was raining (lit. rain was hitting)'.

Simultaneous forms can be followed by the verb *b-* 'to go' to express gradual changes of situations described by them.

(4.4.3.2-22)

táání	Ceegg-áidda	b-áis.
I	become old-SIM.1SG.	go-IMPF.1SG.

'I am getting older and older.'

An expression of coexistence of situations that usually do not coexist with each other can be an adversative or concessive expression. Thus, a simultaneous form, which can be used to express coexistence of situations, can be such an expression.

(4.4.3.2-23)

goshshánc-ai	wod-íya-ni	zér-an-a-u
farmer-NOM.M.SG.	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	sew-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7azall-í-kkó	7oott-íiddi	namis-étt-ees.
be lazy-SUBOR.-if	word-SIM.3M.SG.	make hungry-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'If a farmer is negligent in sewing in the (proper) time, he is hungry (i.e. be short of food) even if he works.'

In this adversative or concessive use, a simultaneous form is usually followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too' discussed in section 4.3.2, as in the following. Adams (1983: 143, 213) describes this combination as a subordinator meaning "even though"[455].

(4.4.3.2-24)

7iss-í	7issí	7as-ái	7úy-iiddi-kka
one-OBL.	one-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.	drink-SIM.3M.SG.-too

---

[455] *-iddakka* would be a misprint.

sáám-ett-ees.

make thirsty-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Some (lit. one one) person is thirsty even if he is drinking (i.e. there are greedy person).'

(4.4.3.2-25)

woosánc-ai	wooss-íiddi-kka	Cay-ées.
beggar-NOM.M.SG.	beg-SIM.3M.SG.-too	insult-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The beggar insults (others) while he is begging (i.e. he has to beg to live).'

As Omhan and Hailu (1976: 160) already pointed out, a simultaneous form is used only when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to the same participant[456]. This seems to be true.

4.4.3.3 Relative

A relative form is a verb form that is used to modify its following nominal(s)[457]. A relative form of a verb can co-occur with all various elements with which non-subordinate forms of the same verb can co-occur in a clause, with some exceptions such as nominals in the vocative case and interjections. Thus, a relative form forms a clause. This adnominal clause is termed a "relative clause" here, and a nominal modified by a relative clause is termed a "head nominal (of a relative clause)". In (4.4.3.3-1), for example, *7imm-ído* 'that someone gave' is a relative form and *kas-é tá 7imm-ído* 'that I gave before' is a relative clause, whose head nominal is *maay-úwa* 'clothes'.

(4.4.3.3-1)

kas-é	tá	7imm-ído	maay-úwa
before-ABS.	I	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

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[456] Their original text is as follows: 'In the case of the R.P. [related participle, i.e. simultaneous form], the action of the participle [i.e. simultaneous form] and the verb are related, i.e. referring to the same person'.

[457] It is not necessary for a relative form and the nominal(s) modified by it to be adjacent. See, for example, (4.4.3.3.2-26).

wáát-adii?
do what-INTER.PF.2SG.

'What did you do about the clothes that I gave (you) before?'

Endings of relative forms, which will be discussed in the following sections, are as follows. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

(4.4.3.3-2) Endings of the True Relative

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

	Subject Oriented[458]	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	-íya	-íyo
Perfective	-ída	-ído
Short Perfective	-á	-ó

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

	Subject Oriented	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	´-iya	´-iyo
Perfective	´-ida	´-ido
Short Perfective	´-a	´-o

Mono-consonantal Verbs

	Subject Oriented	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	-íya	-íyo
Perfective	-íída	- íído
Short Perfective	-á	-ó

(4.4.3.3-3) Ending of the Derived Relative

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

Future		-aná
Negative (General)		-énná
	(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	-ábe7énná
	(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	-íbe7énná

---

458 I owe this term to Adams (1983).

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

Future	´-ana
Negative (General)	´-enna
(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	´-abe7énná
(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	´-ibe7énná

Mono-consonantal Verbs

Future	-aaná
Negative (General)	-éénná
(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	-ábe7énná
(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	-íbe7énná

As is evident from the above, relative forms are divided into two major groups: true relative and derived relative. I would guess that the latter forms originate from infinitives (see section 4.4.4). However, this may not be the case, and thus the term might be misleading. A subject oriented form is used when a head nominal of a relative clause would function as a subject in the relative clause, while a non-subject oriented form is used elsewhere. Roughly speaking, "imperfective", "perfective", and "future" relative forms correspond to the main verb forms with the same names, respectively, in terms of aspect. There is no distinction of gender, number, and person except for perfective negative forms. In the following sections, these forms will be discussed in detail.

4.4.3.3.1 True Relative

For convenience' sake, the paradigm of the true relative is repeated below (only that for ordinary verbs; tone is ignored).

(4.4.3.3.1-1)

	Subject Oriented	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	-iya	-iyo
Perfective	-ida	-ido
Short Perfective	-a	-o

These endings would be analyzed into smaller units. However, I cannot guess what the *-i* vowel at the beginning of the imperfective and perfective endings means. It may be a subordination marker discussed in section 4.4.3.4, or one of the short converb

endings (see section 4.4.3.1), which has come to cover all persons, numbers, and genders. I assume that the *-d-* element derives from the verb *d(e7)-* 'to exist, live', which is also found in non-subordinate affirmative perfective forms (declarative is discussed in section 4.4.2.2.1 and interrogative in section 4.4.2.2.3). The *-y-* element would be a glide vowel rather than an imperfective marker. The final *-a* functions as a marker of subject-orientation, and the final *-o* as a marker of non-subject-orientation. Hayward (2000b: 416-417) mentions the possibility that these vowel elements are related to case marking, to the nominative and the absolutive, respectively. This might be the case. However, since a straightforward and revealing explanation based on that hypothesis does not seem to be expected for relative forms of the modern Wolaytta, I leave the problem open. I have no idea regarding relationship between ordinary and short perfective relative forms.

As is mentioned in sections 4.2.5.1 and 4.2.5.2, the final vowels of ordinary and short perfective relative forms are lengthened before the nominalizers *-gáá*, *-geetá*, and *-ró*. Note that (short) vowels that immediately precede these nominalizers cannot have a tonal prominence (see (4.4.3.3.1-3a)).

(4.4.3.3.1-2a)
y-<u>íídaa</u>-g-áá
come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.ABS.

   'one who came'

Cf. (4.4.3.3.1-2b)
y-<u>íída</u>   bitán-iya
come-REL.PF.SUBJ.   man-ABS.M.SG.

   'man who came'

(4.4.3.3.1-3a)
wott-<u>óo</u>-g-áá
put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'what someone put'

Cf. (4.4.3.3.1-3b)

wott-ó   mítt-aa

put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.   wood-ABS.M.SG.

   'wood that someone put'

For *-oo s-a-ppe* 'ever since', see section 4.4.3.3.4.

   Cerulli (1929: 19) gives only one relative form that corresponds to a non-subject oriented perfective relative form, and Hirut (1999: 129-130) only gives forms that correspond to subject oriented perfective relative forms. However, this would be because of the scantiness of their data. Actually Cerulli was able to collect only one example. In any case, their data do not conflict with the paradigm in (4.4.3.3.1-1). On the other hand, Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 158) give only forms that correspond to subject oriented relative forms. This is, as Hayward (2000b: 416) points out, very problematic. Although their example sentences, in which subject oriented relative forms are expected, do not conflict with my analysis, their gloss in their paradigm for *ta maadd-ida*, which should be a subject oriented perfective relative form of the verb 'to help', is 'which I helped/which I have helped', and that for *ta maadd-iy[a]*, which should be a subject oriented imperfective relative form of the same verb, is 'which I help/which I'll help'. That is, they translate the subject oriented relative forms as if they were non-subject oriented relative forms. Thus, if these glosses are not simply misprints, they could not realize a very important morphological distinction between the subject oriented and the non-subject oriented, as Hayward (2000b: 416) suggests. As Hayward (2000b: 417) says again, however, it is not the case that Lamberti and Sottile (1997) simply missed recording any non-subject oriented relative forms. Their (1997: 161) "subjunctive past", "subjunctive aorist" and "subjunctive present" correspond to the non-subject oriented perfective relative, the non-subject oriented short perfective relative and the non-subject oriented imperfective relative in this thesis, respectively. I consider that since all the head nominals in question in their data[459] are nominalizers (see section 4.2.5) they were not able to come to the conclusion that the verb forms are relative forms. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 162-163) principally agree with me on morphology of relative forms except for vowel length. However, their parsing is false and inconsistent. Each of their pertinent examples contains a nominalizer or a special

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[459] In Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 161), examples that resemble (4.2.5.1-13) and (4.4.3.3.4-13) are given.

kind of common noun, but they do not seem to have noticed it. Thus, for example, *-iya-g-ee* (-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.) is parsed as *iy-ag-e* (the relative construction marker for the present), and *kiitt-ídoo-g-ee* (send-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.) as *kittid-og-e* with the gloss 'which-was-sent-message'. They seem to have noticed the existence of non-subject oriented relative forms, but one of their examples conflicts with their own analysis, as well as mine: *kittid-ag-a* with the gloss "whom-sent" should be *kiitt-ídoo-g-aa* (send-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.). Adams's (1983: 214) table is missing forms for mono-consonantal verbs, but it would be a careless overlook. Judging from his other tables (1983: 217-218, 238-240), he must have noticed these forms. However, those tables, which show combinations of various relative forms and nominalizers, are totally incoherent perhaps because he confused the person of subjects of relative clauses and that of head nominals of relative clauses. No paradigms in previous works list short perfective relative forms except Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 161) work entitled "subjunctive aorist", which corresponds to the non-subject oriented short perfective relative in this thesis. However, Adams seems to have noticed it judging from his analysis for the "subordinators" *-osa:ra* 'just as' and *-o:sappe* 'ever since' (1983: 151), which will be discussed in section 4.4.3.3.4. However, even they seem to have overlooked subject-oriented short perfective relative forms[460].

As mentioned above, a subject oriented form is used when a head nominal of a relative clause would function as a subject in the relative clause. Consider the following pairs.

(4.4.3.3.1-4a)

<u>y-íída</u>   bitán-iya

come-REL.PF.SUBJ.   man-ABS.M.SG.

  'the man who came'

(4.4.3.3.1-4b)

bitán-ee   y-íis.

man-NOM.M.SG.   come-PF.3M.SG.

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[460] In glosses of this thesis, short perfective relative forms are not distinguished from ordinary perfective relative forms.

'The man came.'

(4.4.3.3.1-5a)

hagáá	7oott-íya	bitán-iya
this (ABS.)	do-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

'the man who does this'

(4.4.3.3.1-5b)

bitán-ee	hagáá	7oott-ées.
man-NOM.M.SG.	this (ABS.)	do-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The man does this.'

In these examples, subjects are relativized. In other words, the common noun *bitán-iya* 'man', which is a head nominal in (4.4.3.3.1-4a) and (4.4.3.3.1-5a), would function as a subject in each of the relative clauses as (4.4.3.3.1-4b) and (4.4.3.3.1-5b) show. Thus, subject oriented relative forms are used.

The following are further examples in which subject oriented relative forms are used.

(4.4.3.3.1-6)

wordot-íya	naatá
tell a lie-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	children (ABS.)

be7-íyo-g-éé	7íít-ees
see-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	make feel unpleasure-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Seeing children who tell lies is unpleasant.'

(4.4.3.3.1-7)

níyo	d-íya	miishsh-ái	7áí
for you	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	money-NOM.M.SG.	what

kéén-ee?
equal-INTER.

'How much (lit. what equal) is the money you have (lit. that exists for you)?'

(4.4.3.3.1-8)

naag-íya-g-éé[461]	peng-íya	dooy-íis.
watch-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	door-ABS.M.SG.	open-PF.3M.SG.

'The gatekeeper (lit. one who watch) opened the door.'   (00FN.2.page.32)

(4.4.3.3.1-9)

woib-óí	7er-étt-ida	haatt-á.
(name of a river)-NOM.	know-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	water-ABS.

'The Woybo is a famous (lit. that was known) river.'

(4.4.3.3.1-10)

tam-áa-ni	gaMM-ída	bash-ée
fire-OBL.M.SG.-in	stay-REL.PF.SUBJ.	griddle-NOM.M.SG.

7oitt-énná,	Túúgg-ees.
be seized-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.	be very hot-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The griddle that stayed in the fire cannot be seized, it is very hot.'

(4.4.3.3.1-11)

hagéé	Cúcc-aa	mitt-ída	na7-á.
this	spittle-ABS.M.SG.	swallow-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-ABS.

'This is a boy who is prudent (lit. who swallowed spittle).'

(4.4.3.3.1-12)

ba-gód-aa	7amp-ída	dors-íya
her own-lord-ABS.M.SG.	rely-REL.PF.SUBJ.	sheep-NOM.F.SG.

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[461] For nominalizers, which are quite often modified by relative clauses, see section 4.2.5.

ba-nas-íya   kar-éé-ní
her own-sheep's tail-ABS.M.SG.   outside-OBL.-in

7aiss-áusu.
make spend the night-IMPF.3F.SG.

   'A sheep which relied on her lord makes her tail spend the night outside (i.e. If you have a person whom you can rely on, you have never worries).'

(4.4.3.3.1-13)
bení   wod-íya-ni   han-ída
old times   time-OBL.M.SG.-in   become-REL.PF.SUBJ.

b-áá   Céég-a   7as-ái
thing-ABS.M.SG.   old-OBL.   people-NOM.M.SG.

7er-ées.
know-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Old people know things that happened in ancient times.'

(4.4.3.3.1-14)
he   Tal-íya   7ushsh-íya   bitán-ee
that medicine-ABS.M.SG.   make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ. man-NOM.M.SG.

y-íídí   harg-ída   na7-áa
come-CONV.3M.SG.   become sick-REL.PF.SUBJ.   child-ABS.M.SG.

sing-iss-ées.
smell-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'That man who makes (people) drink the medicine comes, and makes the boy who became sick smell (the rue).'

(4.4.3.3.1-15)

kóír-o	7ó	giig-iss-áa-g-éé
first-ABS.	her	be ready-CAUS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

lo77-énná	gishsh-á-u	. . .
be good-NEG.REL.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	. . .

'Because the one who is engaged to her (lit. made her be ready) first is not handsome . . .'

(4.4.3.3.1-16)

hagéé	woláítt-á	hais-íya,	taarík-iya,	wóí
this	Wolaytta-OBL.	tale-ABS.M.SG.	history-ABS.M.SG.	or

beett-á	b-áá.
be seen-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

'This is a Wolaytta tale, history, or what was seen.'

(4.4.3.3.1-17)[462]

geneess-íyo	7urúúr-é	hawwóór-é
antelope-ABS.F.SG.	(person name)-OBL.	(person name)-OBL.

wór-aa-ppe	yedett-ádá	wor-ída
forest-OBL.M.SG.-from	chase-CONV.1SG.	kill-REL.PF.SUBJ.

táání	7alam-ú	néé-ppé	mín-o.
I	(person name)-NOM.	you-from	strong-ABS.

'I, who chased a she-antelope from the Urure Hawore forest and killed (it), Alemu, am stronger than you.'

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[462] As is evident from this example, relative forms in this language have a so-called non-restrictive use.

A non-subject oriented relative form is used elsewhere. That is, it is used when a head nominal of a relative clause would not function as a subject in the relative clause. Consider the following pairs.

(4.4.3.3.1-18a)

7í	7úy-iyo	7ééss-aa
he	drink-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	mead-ABS.M.SG.

'the mead that he drinks'

(4.4.3.3.1-18b)

7í	7ééss-aa	7úy-ees.
he	mead-ABS.M.SG.	drink-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He drinks mead.'

(4.4.3.3.1-19a)

táání	m-íído	7ash-úwa
I	eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	meat-ABS.M.SG.

'the meat that I ate'

(4.4.3.3.1-19b)

táání	7ash-úwa	m-áas.
I	meat-ABS.M.SG.	eat-PF.1SG.

'I ate the meat.'

In these examples, so-called direct objects are relativized. In other words, the common noun *7ééss-aa* 'mead', which is a head nominal of a relative clause in (4.4.3.3.1-18a), would function as a direct object, not as a subject, in the relative clause as (4.4.3.3.1-18b) shows. Likewise, the common noun *7ash-úwa* 'meat', which is a head nominal of a relative clause in (4.4.3.3.1-19a), would function as a direct object, not as a subject, in the relative clause as (4.4.3.3.1-19b) shows. Thus non-subject oriented relative forms are used. The following are similar examples.

(4.4.3.3.1-20)

maallád-o	maay-ído		maay-úwa
morning-ABS.	put on-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.		clothes-ABS.M.SG.

7omárs-i	laamm-íis.
evening-ADV.	change-PF.3M.SG.

   'He changed in the evening the clothes that he put on in the morning.'

(4.4.3.3.1-21)

he	wod-íya-ni		7etí	dárotoo	yoot-íyo
that	time-OBL.M.SG.-at		they	often	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

b-áí	sa7-áa-ni	wóDD-enna	b-á.
thing-NOM.M.SG.	ground-OBL.M.SG.-at	fall-NEG.REL.	thing-ABS.

   'What he (lit. they) was often telling at that time is what does not fall to the ground (i.e. what comes true).'

   Head nominals of relative clauses in which non-subject oriented relative forms are used do not necessarily function as "direct objects" in the relative clauses. In the following, head nominals of relative clauses would function as objects of postpositions in the relative clauses (i.e. objects of postpositions are relativized).

(4.4.3.3.1-22a)

hagéé	zín-o	táání	maTááp-aa	7imm-ído
this	yesterday-ABS.	I	book-ABS.M.SG.	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

bitán-iya.
man-ABS.M.SG.

   'This is the man to whom I gave the book yesterday.'

(4.4.3.3.1-22b)

zín-o	táání	maTáap-aa	bitán-iya-ssi
yesterday-ABS.	I	book-ABS.M.SG.	man-OBL.M.SG.-to

7imm-áas.
give-PF.1SG.

   'I gave the book to the man yesterday.'

(4.4.3.3.1-23a)

maTááp-aa	garT-ído	bitán-iya
book-ABS.M.SG.	borrow-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

   'the man from whom I borrowed the book'

(4.4.3.3.1-23b)

maTááp-aa	bitán-iya-ppe	garT-áas.
book-ABS.M.SG.	man-OBL.M.SG.-from	borrow-PF.1SG.

   'I borrowed the book from the man.'

(4.4.3.3.1-24a)

japán-ee	táání	y-íído	biitt-á.
Japan-NOM.M.SG.	I	come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	country-ABS.

   'Japan is the country from which I came.'

(4.4.3.3.1-24b)

táání	he	biitt-áa-ppe	y-áas.
I	that	country-OBL.M.SG.-from	come-PF.1SG.

   'I came from that country.'

(4.4.3.3.1-25a)

táání	bairat-íyo	7ish-áa
I	be elder-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	brother-ABS.M.SG.

   'a brother than whom I am elder (i.e. my younger brother)'

(4.4.3.3.1-25b)

táání	ha	ta-<u>7ish-áa-ppe</u>	<u>bairat-áis.</u>
I	this	my-brother-OBL.M.SG.-from	be elder-IMPF.1SG.

'I am elder than this brother of mine.'

(4.4.3.3.1-26a)

táání	7ash-úwa	<u>muT-ído</u>
I	meat-ABS.M.SG.	cut into small pieces-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

<u>mashsh-áa</u>	7ep-á.
knife-ABS.M.SG.	take-OPT.2SG.

'Take the knife with which I cut the meat into small pieces.'

(4.4.3.3.1-26b)

táání	<u>mashsh-áa-ni</u>	7ash-úwa
I	knife-OBL.M.SG.-in	meat-ABS.M.SG.

<u>muT-áas.</u>
cut into small pieces-PF.1SG.

'I cut the meat into small pieces with the knife.'

(4.4.3.3.1-27a)

hagéé	táání	bení	<u>de7-ído</u>	<u>keett-áa.</u>
this	I	old days	live-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	house-ABS.M.SG.

'This is the house in which I lived before.'

(4.4.3.3.1-27b)

táání	bení	<u>keett-áa-ni</u>	<u>de7-áas.</u>
I	old days	house-OBL.M.SG.-in	live-PF.1SG.

'I lived in the house.'

(4.4.3.3.1-28a)

7alam-ú	táná	Cay-iss-ído	na7-áa
(person name)-NOM.	me	insult-CAUS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	child-ABS.M.SG.

    'the boy whom Alemu made insult me'

(4.4.3.3.1-28b)

7alam-ú	táná	ba-na7-áa-ni
(person name)-NOM.	me	his own-child-OBL.M.SG.-in

Cay-iss-íis.
insult-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

    'Alemu made his son insult me.'

(4.4.3.3.1-29a)

táání	boddítt-éé-ní	shááCC-ido
I	(place name)-OBL.-in	spend the rainy season-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

balg-úwa
rainy season-ABS.M.SG.

    'the rainy season in which I spent in Boditi'

(4.4.3.3.1-29b)

táání	balg-úwa-ni	boddítt-éé-ní
I	rainy season-OBL.M.SG.-in	(place name)-OBL.-in

shááCC-aas.
spend the rainy season-PF.1SG.

    'I spent the rainy season in Boditi.'

In the following, head nominals of relative clauses, in which non-subject oriented relative forms are used, would function as nominals expressing time or place in the relative clauses.

(4.4.3.3.1-30a)

táání	b-íyo	sóh-oi	7áw-ee?
I	go-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	place-NOM.M.SG.	where-INTER.

   'Where is the place I go?'

(4.4.3.3.1-30b)

táání	7iss-í	sóh-uwa	b-áas.
I	one-OBL.	place-ABS.M.SG.	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went to one place.'

(4.4.3.3.1-31a)

7í	táání	7addisááb-á-ppé	y-íído
he	I	Addis Ababa-OBL.-from	come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

7omárs-í	hagáá	gel-íis.
evening-ADV.	this	enter-PF.3M.SG.

   'He entered (i.e. reached) this (place) in the evening when I came from Addis Ababa.'

(4.4.3.3.1-31b)

táání	7addisááb-á-ppé	7omárs-í	y-áas.
I	Addis Ababa-OBL.-from	evening-ADV.	come-PF.1SG.

   'I came from Addis Ababa in the evening.'

In the following, head nominals of relative clauses would function as oblique nominals in the relative clauses. In other words, possessors are relativized.

(4.4.3.3.1-32a)

gerééss-ai	síy-an-a-u
war song-NOM.M.SG.	hear-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

lo77-íyo	bitán-iya
be good-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

'the man whose war song is good to listen'

(4.4.3.3.1-32b)

ha	bitán-iya	gerééss-ai	síy-an-a-u
this	man-OBL.M.SG.	war song-NOM.M.SG.	hear-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

lo77-ées.
be good-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'This man's war song is good to listen.'

(4.4.3.3.1-33a)

húúP-ee	dár-o	puuluntáám-a
head-NOM.M.SG.	many-OBL.	gray-haired-OBL.

gid-ído	bitán-iya
become-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

    'the man whose head is gray very much'

(4.4.3.3.1-33b)[463]

bitán-iya	húúP-ee	dár-o	puuluntáám-a.
man-OBL.M.SG.	head-NOM.M.SG.	many-OBL.	grey haired-ABS.

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[463] When a nominal is a predicate of an affirmative sentence, a "copula verb" is not used in Wolaytta.

  Incidentally, consider the following. In (b) a body part is expressed adverbially (see section 4.2.1.3.5) and its possessor is expressed as a subject, which is relativized in (a).

(a)
boll-áa	git-á	gid-ída	bitán-iya
body-ABS.M.SG.	big-ABS.	become-REL.PF.SUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

    'the man whose body is big'

(b)
ha	bitán-ee	boll-áa	git-á.
this	man-NOM.M.SG.	body-ABS.M.SG.	big-ABS.

    'This man is big in body.'

'The man's head is gray very much.'

(4.4.3.3.1-34a)

keett-ái	git-á	gid-íyo
house-NOM.M.SG.	big-ABS.	become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

bitán-iya	7óóní-nné	bonc-ées.
man-ABS.M.SG.	who-and	respect-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Anyone (lit. who and) respects a man whose house is big.'

(4.4.3.3.1-34b)

ha	bitán-iya	keett-ái	git-á.
this	man-OBL.M.SG.	house-NOM.M.SG.	big-ABS.

'This man's house is big.'

In the following, we can consider that an element of an embedded clause is relativized.

(4.4.3.3.1-35a)

hanná	nééní	táná	siiK-áusu	g-áádá
this	you	me	love-IMPF.3F.SG.	say-CONV.2SG.

Kopp-íyo	na7-íyo.
think-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	child-ABS.F.SG.

'This is the girl that you think loves me.'

(4.4.3.3.1-35b)

ha	na7-íya	táná	siiK-áusu	g-áádá
this	child-NOM.F.SG.	me	love-IMPF.3F.SG.	say-CONV.2SG.

Kopp-áasa.
think-IMPF.2SG.

'You think that this girl loves me.'

For the following, it is difficult even to think of their related sentences, unlike in the case of the above examples[464].

(4.4.3.3.1-36)

nééní	y-íyo-g-áá	dos-íkke.
you	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	like-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not want you to come. (lit. I do not like the (fact) that you come)'

(4.4.3.3.1-37)

kokkórs-ai	de7-íyo	gishsh-á-u
malaria-NOM.M.SG.	exist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

dáán-á	bázz-oi	7óóní-nné
(place name)-OBL.	desert-NOM.M.SG.	who (NOM.)-and

de7-énná	biitt-á.
exist-NEG.REL.	land-ABS.

'Because there is malaria there (lit. for the reason that malaria exists), the Dana desert is a land where no one lives.'

(4.4.3.3.1-38)

hagéé	zín-o	táání	7od-ído	bázz-uwa.
this	yesterday-ABS.	I	tell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	desert-ABS.M.SG.

'This is the desert about which I told yesterday.'

It is very difficult and beyond the scope of this thesis to precisely state the condition under which relativization is possible. However, one of the most important factors is

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[464] So far "related sentences" were given just in order to show plainly how head nouns would function in relative sentences. Thus there is no implication that a relative clause and its related sentence are syntactically related.

whether the meaning of a sentence is straightforwardly understandable or not. Consider the following, in which the presence or absence of the adverbial expression *7iss-í-ppé* 'together (lit. from one)' determines the grammaticality of the utterances.

(4.4.3.3.1-39a)

táání	7iss-í-ppé	b-íído	bitán-iya
I	one-OBL.-from	go-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

'the man with whom I went together'

(4.4.3.3.1-39b)

* táání	b-íído	bitán-iya
I	go-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

(4.4.3.3.1-39c)

táání	ha	bitán-iya-ra	b-áas.
I	this	man-OBL.M.SG.-with	go-PF.1SG.

'I went with this man.'

In the following, objects of the postpositions *-ppe* 'from, than' and *-ni* 'in, at, by' can (usually) not be relativized, while in, for example, (4.4.3.3.1-25a) and (4.4.3.3.1-28a) they can be.

(4.4.3.3.1-40a)

* suls-ói	maLL-íyo
chopped meat-NOM.M.SG.	be tasty-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

shááshsh-aa
parched grain-ABS.M.SG.

(4.4.3.3.1-40b)

suls-ói	shááshsh-aa-ppe
chopped meat-NOM.M.SG.	parched grain-OBL.M.SG.-from

maLL-ées.
be tasty-IMPF.3M.SG.

 'Chopped meat is tastier than parched grain.'

(4.4.3.3.1-41a)

?? táání	shoC-étt-ido	bitán-iya
I	hit-PASS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	man-ABS.M.SG.

(4.4.3.3.1-41b)

táání	ha	bitán-iya-ni	shoC-étt-aas.
I	this	man-OBL.M.SG.-by	hit-PASS.-PF.1SG.

 'I was hit by this man.'

On the other hand, one relative form may have more than one meaning depending on the context.

(4.4.3.3.1-42a)

nééní	woTT-íyo	b-áá
you	run-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

7er-árg-aas.
know-completely-PF.1SG.

 'I did know the purpose for which you run.'

(4.4.3.3.1-42b)

hagéé	Caamm-ái	tá	wott-áa
this	shoe-NOM.M.SG.	I	running-ABS.M.SG.

woTT-íyo	b-áá.
run-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

 'These shoes are those with which I run (lit. run running).'

The semantic difference between imperfective and perfective relative[465] forms is principally the same as that between non-subordinate imperfective and perfective forms (see sections 4.4.2.1 and 4.4.2.2). That is, the perfective relative is principally used when a situation in the past is described without explicit reference to its internal temporal constituency, while the imperfective relative is used elsewhere. Thus in many of the above coupled examples, if a relative form is imperfective a non-subordinate verb in its related sentence is also imperfective, and if a relative form is perfective a non-subordinate verb in its related sentence is perfective.

However, there are some differences between non-subordinate and relative forms. First, while non-subordinate perfective forms usually describe only situations before the present moment (i.e. the time of utterance), perfective relative forms often also describe situations before a reference point in time other than the present moment. For example, in (4.4.3.3.1-43) the asking takes place before the giving, but both of them are situations in the future. In (4.4.3.3.1-44) the reaching of the time for collecting takes place before the entering with a sickle, but both of them are described as situations that can happen irrespective of time.

(4.4.3.3.1-43)

nééní	7oicc-ído	b-áá	7áí	b-á
you	ask-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-ABS.

gid-í-kkó-kká	táání	né-yyo	7imm-aná.
become-SUBOR.-if-too	I	your-to	give-FUT.

‘Whatever you will ask (lit. what would the thing you asked be) I will give to you.’
(From Mark 6:23)

(4.4.3.3.1-44)

shííní	kátt-ai	gákk-iyo	wod-é
but	grain-NOM.M.SG.	reach-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

kátt-aa	shiishsh-íyo	wod-ée
grain-ABS.M.SG.	collect-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-NOM.M.SG.

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[465] Here the term "perfective relative" represents both ordinary and short perfective forms.

gákk-ido	gishsh-á-u	bitán-ee
reach-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	man-NOM.M.SG.

sóh-uwa-ra-kka	bááC-aa-ra	gel-í
place-OBL.M.SG.-with-too	sickle-OBL.M.SG.-with	enter-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-ées.
cease-IMPF.3M.SG.

'However, when the grain reaches (i.e. is ripe), because the time when one collects the grain has reached, a man immediately enters (lit. enters and ceases) with a sickle on the spot.'   (From Mark 4:29)

Secondly, when the common noun *wod-íya* 'time' and its contracted form *d-é* (see section 4.2.1.7) are used adverbially (i.e. used to express the time when a situation takes place), they are preferentially modified by an imperfective relative form even when a perfective situation in the past is in question, although the use of a perfective relative form is not impossible.

(4.4.3.3.1-45)

zín-o	nééní	y-íyo	d-é
yesterday-ABS.	you	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

táání	kátt-aa	m-áis.
I	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-IMPF.1SG.

'I was having a meal when you came yesterday.'

(4.4.3.3.1-46)

ha	7ubb-áa	Teell-íyo	d-é
this	all-ABS.M.SG.	see-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

keett-ái	mél-a	d-ées.
house-NOM.M.SG.	empty-ABS.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'When he saw all these, the house was empty.'

Thirdly, if a relative verb expresses a state rather than action, the difference between the perfective and the imperfective is neutralized. In (4.4.3.3.1-47a), for example, both perfective and imperfective relative forms are used in a sentence to express the same thing.

(4.4.3.3.1-47a)

ha77í	míízz-aa-ra	gáítt-a	b-áá
now	cattle-OBL.M.SG.-with	meet-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

wói	míízz-aa-ra	gáítt-iya	leemís-uwa
or	cattle-OBL.M.SG.-with	meet-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	example-ABS.M.SG.

leemis-aná.
give an example-FUT.

'Now I will tell a thing that relates (lit. meets) to cattle, or an example that relates to cattle.'

Cf. (4.4.3.3.1-47b)

leemís-oi	míízz-aa-ra	gáítt-ees.
example-NOM.M.SG.	cattle-OBL.M.SG.-with	meet-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The example relates to cattle.'

On this matter, however, further research is needed.[466]

Very occasionally, the omission of head nominals seems possible.

(4.4.3.3.1-48)

túm-i	báínna-u	hánK-oi	báa.
truth-NOM.	not present-for	anger-NOM.M.SG.	not present

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[466] 角田 (Tsunoda 1991: 114) also introduces the observation of 高橋太郎 (Takahashi, Taro) that two-place verbs with lower transitivity in Japanese lose some of their aspectual opposition in relative clauses.

púúl-a	mácc-iyo	kóyy-iya-u	ló77-o
beautiful-OBL.	wifi-ABS.F.SG.	want-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-for	good-OBL.

mácc-iya	beett-úkkú.
wife-NOM.F.SG.	be found-NEG.IMPF.3F.SG.

'For one who does not have truth, there is no anger. For one who wants a beautiful wife, a good wife is not found.'

(4.4.3.3.1-49)

7í	shamm-ído-ppe	guyy-íya-ni
he	buy-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-from	back-OBL.M.SG.-in

b-íis.
go-PF.3M.SG.

'He went after he bought.'

4.4.3.3.2   Derived Relative

For the sake of convenience, the paradigm of the derived relative is repeated below (only that for ordinary verbs; tone is ignored).

(4.4.3.3.2-1)

Future	-ana
Negative (General)	-enna
(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	-abe7enna
(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	-ibe7enna

Judging from their forms, these relative forms are related to non-concrete infinitives in the oblique case (see sections 4.4.4.1 and 4.4.4.2). It is reflected, for example, in the fact that they do not distinguish between subject oriented and non-subject oriented forms. However, they functionally correspond to true relative forms discussed in section 4.4.3.3.1. Furthermore, it would take a small leap of logic to consider that "something of doing X" becomes "something that does X" or "something that one does X". Thus it would be convenient to discuss them here. In glosses of this thesis, they are indicated as

relative forms.

As is mentioned in sections 4.2.5.1 and 4.2.5.2, the final vowels of derived relative forms are lengthened before the nominalizers *-gáá*, *-geetá*, and *-ró*. Note that (short) vowels that immediately precede these nominalizers cannot have a tonal prominence (see (4.4.3.3.2-2a)).

(4.4.3.3.2-2a)

táání   <u>m-aanáa-g-áá</u>

I   eat-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'what I will eat'

(4.4.3.3.2-2b)

táání   <u>m-aaná</u>   Kúm-aa

I   eat-REL.FUT.   food-ABS.M.SG.

   'the food that I will eat'

(4.4.3.3.2-3a)

<u>m-éénnaa-g-áá</u>

eat-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'one who does not eat'

(4.4.3.3.2-3b)

<u>m-éénná</u>   7as-áa

eat-NEG.REL.   people-ABS.M.SG.

   'people who do not eat'

(4.4.3.3.2-4a)

<u>b-íbe7énnaa-g-áá</u>

go-NEG.PF.REL.-NMNL.-ABS.

   'one who did not go'

(4.4.3.3.2-4b)

<u>b-íbe7énná</u>   bitán-iya

go-NEG.PF.REL.   man-ABS.M.SG.

   'the man who did not go'

   There are only two previous works that mention derived relative forms. Among them,
Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 174-175) do not mention future relative forms. They give
two "relative negative" forms: "imperfect relative negative" and "perfect relative
negative". However, as they confess, 'no evidence could be found concerning the
expression of negated relative clauses' and the forms they give are 'verbal forms
occurring in the protasis of hypothetic clauses', which are, in their opinion, assumed to
coincide with forms for negative relative clauses. In fact the ending *-eenna* (for their
"imperfect relative negative") coincides with that of the general negative relative in this
thesis. In terms of morphology, Adams's (1983) punctilliar future affirmative relative
verbs (with the ending *-ana*) coincide with my future relative forms, and his punctilliar
future negative and continuous tenseless negative relative verbs (with the ending *-enna*)
coincide with my general negative relative forms. For his punctilliar past negative
relative verbs, which correspond to my perfective negative relative forms, he does not
acknowledge the existence of glottal stops contained in them, but of long vowels, as in
the case of negative perfective forms (see sections 4.4.2.2.2 and 4.4.2.2.3). Thus he
gives the endings *-abe:nna* and *-ibe:nna*. Adams (1983: 282) also says that the
difference in meaning between, for example, "the one whom he did not slander" and "he
who did not slander" is signaled by a difference in pitch pattern. I could not
acknowledge such a phenomenon, and Adams himself does not mention it elsewhere in
the same work. As is pointed out above, some of his tables (1983: 218, 238-240) are
totally incoherent, and another table (1983: 214) carelessly overlooks forms for
mono-consonantal verbs.

   Semantically future relative forms correspond to the non-subordinate future forms
discussed in section 4.4.2.3. As is discussed in section 4.4.4.1, these forms are related to
each other morphologically and etymologically. Future relative forms are, like
non-subordinate future forms, used to express situations in the future. However, a
reference point in time of a future relative form is not necessarily the time of utterance,
as in (4.4.3.3.2-8). Although most examples of future relative forms seem to express

perfective situations, they are neutral to so-called aspect as non-subordinate future forms are (see the discussion in section 4.4.2.3). For example, the aspect of (4.4.3.3.2-10) would be imperfective.

(4.4.3.3.2-5)

ha	buddeen-áa	m-aaná	7as-í	7óónee?
this	Ethiopian crepe-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.FUT.	person-NOM.	who

'Who is the man who will eat this Traditional Ethiopian crepe-like food (እንጀራ *enjarA* in Amharic)? (i.e. This *enjarA* is not tasty.)'

(4.4.3.3.2-6)

táání	7úy-ana	pars-úwa	duuKK-á.
I	drink-REL.FUT.	local beer-ABS.M.SG.	pour-OPT.2SG.

'Pour out local beer that I will drink.'

(4.4.3.3.2-7)

né	g-aanáa-g-áá	síy-ana.
you	say-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-ABS.	hear-FUT.

'I will hear what you will say.'

(4.4.3.3.2-8)

7í	táání	y-aaná	7og-íya
he	I	come-REL.FUT.	road-ABS.M.SG.

dír-irg-iis.
fence-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'He completely fenced the road on which I would come.'

(4.4.3.3.2-9)

Kúm-aa	m-aanáa-g-áá-ppé	kas-é
food-ABS.	eat-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	before-ABS.

kúsh-iya	meeC-étt-a.
hand-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

'Wash your hands before you eat (lit. one that you will eat) food.'

(4.4.3.3.2-10)

y-íya	saamínt-a	gidd-óó-ní	lo77-aná
come-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	week-OBL.	inside-OBL.-in	be good-REL.FUT.

galláss-a	ha77í	7od-an-á-u	danday-íkke.
day-ABS.	now	tell-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I cannot tell the day that will be convenient in the next (lit. that comes) week now.'

General negative relative forms are widely used to express negative situations irrespective of tense and aspect. The following are examples in which general negative relative forms are used.

(4.4.3.3.2-11)

wolaittátt-oi	waiss-énná
the Wolaytta language-NOM.M.SG.	trouble-NEG.REL.

doon-á.
mouth-ABS.

'The Wolaytta language is a language (lit. mouth) that does not trouble (anyone) (i.e. is easy).'

(4.4.3.3.2-12)

hagéé	7óóní-nné	7úy-enna	7ééss-a.
this	who-and	drink-NEG.REL.	mead-ABS.

'This is mead that anyone does not drink.'

(4.4.3.3.2-13)

kokkórs-ai	de7-íyo	gishsh-á-u
malaria-NOM.M.SG.	exist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

dáán-á	bázz-oi	7óóní-nné
(place name)-OBL.	desert-NOM.M.SG.	who (NOM.)-and

de7-énná	biitt-á.
exist-NEG.REL.	land-ABS.

'Because there is malaria there (lit. for the reason that malaria exists), the Dana desert is a land where no one lives.'

(4.4.3.3.2-14)

maTááp-aa	nabbab-énnaa-g-éé	ló77-o
book-ABS.M.SG.	read-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.	good-ABS.

gid-énná.
become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Not to read books is not good.'

(4.4.3.3.2-15)

sálp-iya	b-éénnaa-g-éé	ba-sóó-ní
demonstration-ABS.M.SG.	go-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.	his own-home-in

shemp-ídí	7útt-o.
rest-CONV.3M.SG.	sit-OPT.3M.SG.

'Let one who will not go to the demonstration rest and sit at his home.'

(4.4.3.3.2-16)

bení	KaTTár-aa	gel-énná	7ammán-o
old times	circumcision-ABS.M.SG.	enter-NEG.REL.	belief-OBL.

7as-ái		ha77í	KaTTar-étt-ees.
people-NOM.M.SG.		now	circumcise-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Protestants (lit. belief people) that did not circumcise (lit. enter circumcision) before are circumcised now.'

(4.4.3.3.2-17)

he	wod-íya-ni	7etí	dárotoo	yoot-íyo
that	time-OBL.M.SG.-at	they	often	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

b-áí	sa7-áa-ni	wóDD-enna	b-á.
thing-NOM.M.SG.	ground-OBL.M.SG.-at	fall-NEG.REL.	thing-ABS.

'What he (lit. they) was often telling at that time is what does not fall to the ground (i.e. what comes true).'

(4.4.3.3.2-18)

táání	m-éénnaa-g-áá	'm-íis.'	g-ées.
I	eat-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-ABS.	eat-PF.3M.SG.	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He says 'He (i.e. the speaker) ate.' while I did not eat (lit. that I did not eat).'

(4.4.3.3.2-19)

táání	zín-o	yeeh-úwa	b-éénnaa-g-éé
I	yesterday-ABS.	funeral-ABS.M.SG.	go-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.

táná	boll-ái	sákk-ii-na.
me	body-NOM.M.SG.	hurt-SUBOR.-in

'It is because I was sick (lit. when the body hurt me) that I did not go to the funeral yesterday.'

(4.4.3.3.2-20)

ta-lágg-ee	y-éénná	gishsh-á-u
my-friend-NOM.M.SG.	come-NEG.REL.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

b-ábe7íkke.
go-NEG.PF.1SG.

    'I did not go for the reason that my friend did not come.' or
    'I did not go for the reason that my friend had not come.'

(4.4.3.3.2-21)[467]

7í	núúní	7oott-énnaa-g-áá	7er-ées.
he	we	do-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-ABS.	know-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'He knows that we will not be doing.'

    As is evident from (4.4.3.3.2-18) to (4.4.3.3.2-20), general negative relative forms are indeed used to describe perfective situations in the past. These are counterexamples to Adams' (1983: 214) analysis. According to his work our general negative relative forms with the *-enna* ending are either "punctilliar future" or "continuous tenseless". For perfective situations in the past, however, perfective negative relative forms can also be used. Their use makes perfectivity clear. The following are examples in which perfective negative relative forms are used.

(4.4.3.3.2-22)

háíKK-abe7énná	mishir-íyo
die-NEG.PF.REL.	woman-ABS.F.SG.

    'the woman that did not die'

(4.4.3.3.2-23)

mel-íbe7énná	maay-úwa-ppe	haatt-ái
dry-NEG.PF.REL.	clothes-OBL.M.SG.-from	water-NOM.M.SG.

Tokk-íis.
drop-PF.3M.SG.

'Water dropped from the clothes that did not dry.'

(4.4.3.3.2-24)

sálp-iya	b-íbe7énnaa-g-éé	7ubb-ái
demonstration-ABS.M.SG.	go-NEG.PF.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.	all-NOM.M.SG.

ba-sóó-ní	pé7-iis.
his own-home-at	spend the day-PF.3M.SG.

'All those who did not go to the demonstration spent the day at their home.'

(4.4.3.3.2-25)

táání	yeeh-úwa	zín-o	b-ábe7énnaa-g-ee
I	funeral-ABS.M.SG.	yesterday-ABS.	go-NEG.PF.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.

táná	boll-ái	sákk-ii-na.
me	body-NOM.M.SG.	hurt-SUBOR.-in

'It is because I was sick (lit. when the body hurt me) that I did not go to the funeral yesterday.'   Cf. (4.4.3.3.2-19)

(4.4.3.3.2-26)

7óóní-nné	múl-e-kka	togg-íbe7énná	Kásh-uwa-ni
who-and	full-ABS.-too	ride-NEG.PF.REL.	tying-OBL.M.SG.-in

de7-íya	har-é	már-aa	7ínté
exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	donkey-OBL.	young-ABS.M.SG.	you (PL.)

demm-aná.
find-FUT.

'You will find a young of donkey that anyone did not ever ride on, and that is tied (lit. in the tying).'   (From Mark 11:2)

Remember that the structure of non-subordinate negative declarative perfective forms is analyzed as "Stem + IA + *be7* + Ending of the Negative Declarative Imperfective", in

which IA stands for "inner agreement", whose elements are the same as endings of short converb forms and realized as *i* or *a*, and *be7* is probably related to the ordinary verb *be7-* 'to see' (see section 4.4.2.2.2). On the other hand, the structure of perfective negative relative forms discussed in this section is analyzed as "Stem + IA + *be7* + Ending of the General Negative Relative (*-enna*)". Thus their difference lies only in their endings. In other words, perfective negative relative forms are general negative relative forms based on non-subordinate negative declarative perfective forms (i.e. are general negative relative forms of the "auxiliary verb" *be7-* with its preceding elements of non-subordinate negative declarative perfective forms). This can explain the fact that perfective negative relative forms are inflected to agree with their subjects[468] unlike other relative forms.

4.4.3.3.3 Morpho-syntax of the Relative

Every relative form discussed in the preceding sections can take the ending *-i*, instead of preceding a nominal. The resultant form corresponds functionally to a relative form followed by a singular nominal in the nominative case. This ending reminds us of the nominative forms of many kinds of nominals (see section 4.2.10). Thus it is glossed as "NOM." in this thesis[469].

(4.4.3.3.3-1)

laa	ha	kátt-aa	m-iya-i
hey	this	grain-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.

7ó-dors-ee?
whose-sheep-INTER.

'Hey, whose sheep is one that is eating this grain?'

(4.4.3.3.3-2)

nééní	kóyy-iyo-i	sunkurúúrt-oo?
you	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	onion-INTER.

'Is what you want an onion?'

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[468] Not with head nominals of the relative clauses.

[469] To tell the truth, in the case of derived relatives, this analysis would not be appropriate as they are infinitives. See paradigms in (4.4.4.1-1) and (4.4.4.2-1).

(4.4.3.3.3-3)

ha	maTááp-aa	ba-lágg-iya-u
this	book-ABS.M.SG.	his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-to

garT-ída-i	ta-7ish-áa.
lend-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	my-brother-ABS.M.SG.

'One who lent this book to his friend is my brother.'

(4.4.3.3.3-4)

né	woTT-ído-i	7áw-aa-nee?
you	run-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	where-OBL.M.SG.-in (INTER.)

'Where is it that you ran in?'

(4.4.3.3.3-5)

ha	buddeen-áa	m-aaná-i	7óónee?
this	Ethiopian crepe-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.FUT.-NOM.	who (INTER.)

'Who is one who will eat this traditional Ethiopian crepe-like food (እንጄራ *enjarA* in Amharic)?'

(4.4.3.3.3-6)

táání	ziNN-aná-i	ha
I	fall asleep-REL.FUT.-NOM.	this

hííT-aa-nee-yyé?
sleeping place-OBL.M.SG.-in (INTER.)-INDEC.

'Is it in this sleeping place that I will sleep?'

(4.4.3.3.3-7)

woTT-énna-i	Toon-énná.
run-NEG.REL.-NOM.	win-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'One who does not run does not win.'

(4.4.3.3.3-8)

tá	b-éénna-i	sákk-iyo
I	go-NEG.REL.-NOM.	hurt-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

gishsh-áa-ssa.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

  'It is for reasons of health (lit. the reason that hurts) that I do not go.'

(4.4.3.3.3-9)

7etí	kóyy-idi	gaMM-ó-í
they	want-CONV.3PL.	wait-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

ha	har-é.
this	donkey-ABS.

  'What they wanted and waited for is this donkey.'

(4.4.3.3.3-10)

hagáá	7oott-íya-i	ta-micc-íyo.
this	do-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.	my-sister-ABS.F.SG.

  'One who does this is my sister.'

    As is seen from the above examples, a relative form followed by *-i* resembles a relative form followed by a singular nominalizer (see section 4.2.5). However, the former cannot express a situation itself though the latter can[470].

(4.4.3.3.3-11a)

maTáápáKiddús-iya	nabbab-íyo-g-éé
the Bible-ABS.M.SG.	read-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

dár-o-ppe	ló77-o.
many-OBL.-from	good-ABS.

---

[470] Future and general negative relative forms are exceptions. This also supports the claim that they are infinitives. See the discussion in section 4.4.4.

'It is very good to read the Bible.'

(4.4.3.3.3-11b)

* maTáápáKiddús-iya	nabbab-íyo-i
the Bible-ABS.M.SG.	read-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

dár-o-ppe	ló77-o.
many-OBL.-from	good-ABS.

(Intended meaning) 'It is very good to read the Bible.'

Cf.

(4.4.3.3.3-12a)

né	7ubb-á	wod-é	nabbab-íyo-g-éé
you	all-OBL.	time-ABS.	read-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

7áí	b-ee?
what	thing-INTER.

'What is what you read always?'

(4.4.3.3.3-12b)

né	7ubb-á	wod-é	nabbab-íyo-i
you	all-OBL.	time-ABS.	read-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.

7áí	b-ee?
what	thing-INTER.

'What is what you read always?'

Adams (1983: 239) calls the form under discussion (i.e. a relative form followed by -*i*) "'Reason' 'Relative' Nominalized Phrase". As (4.4.3.3.3-8) indicates, it can indeed be used in expressions of reason. However, this is not it's only use, as is shown by the above examples.

For relative clauses in Wolaytta, Adams (1983: 156) says that there are not any

"trace" pronouns. Examples supporting this are indeed abundant, as all the examples so far in sections 4.4.3.3.1, 4.4.3.3.2, and 4.4.3.3.3 show. However, as is illustrated in sections 4.2.5.1 and 4.2.5.2, a nominalizer that is modified by a relative form can co-occur with its substituted word. For example:

(4.4.3.3.3.-13a)

már-a	boin-ái
calf-OBL.	taro-NOM.M.SG.

m-éétett-iya-g-áá	7aayy-íya
eat-PASS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	mother-NOM.F.SG.

doiss-áusu.
cook-IMPF.3F.SG..

'The mother was cooking the side corm of the taro (lit. calf taro), that which is eaten.'

Cf. (4.4.3.3.3-13b)

már-a	boin-ái	m-éétett-ees.
calf-OBL.	taro-NOM.M.SG.	eat-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The side corm of the taro is eaten.'

(4.4.3.3.3-13c)

m-éétett-iya	már-a	boin-áa
eat-PASS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	calf-OBL.	taro-ABS.M.SG.

'the side corm of the taro (ABS.) which is eaten'

(4.4.3.3.3-14a)

shoor-ó-ppé	7as-ái
neighbor-OBL.-from	people-NOM.M.SG.

guj-étt-idaa-g-áá-ssí	tukk-íya
add-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-for	coffee-ABS.M.SG.

7ess-aná.
stand (v.t.)-FUT.

'I will serve coffee for the people, those who were added from the neighborhood.'

Cf. (4.4.3.3.3-14b)

7as-ái	guj-étt-iis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	add-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The people were added.'

(4.4.3.3.3-14c)

guj-étt-ida	7as-áa-ssi
add-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-OBL.M.SG.-for

'for the people who were added'

(4.4.3.3.3-15a)

7i-<u>na7</u>-íya	Talah-ée	7í-ppé
her-child-NOM.F.SG.	demon-NOM.M.SG.	her-from

kíy-ii-ni	híiT-aa-ni
go out-SUBOR.-in	sleeping place-OBL.M.SG.-at

ziNN-ídaa-<u>r</u>-ó	demm-áasu.
fall asleep-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	find-PF.3F.SG.

'She found her daughter, one who was asleep on the sleeping place when the demon had gone out from her.'   (From Mark 7:30)

Cf. (4.4.3.3.3-15b)

7i-na7-íya	ziNN-áasu.
her-child-NOM.F.SG.	fall asleep-PF.3F.SG.

'Her daughter has fallen asleep.'

(4.4.3.3.3-15c)

ziNN-ída   na7-íya

fall asleep-REL.PF.SUBJ.   child-ABS.F.SG.

'the daughter who has fallen asleep'

This structure would be classified as a kind of "non-reduction type" in Comrie's (1989: 147) sense, which means 'that the head noun appears in full, unreduced form, in the embedded sentence, in the normal position and/or with the normal case marking for a noun phrase expressing that particular function in the clause.' In the case of Wolaytta, however, the structure is not a typical "circumnominal type" (i.e. "internal-head type"[471]), to which all, but two of his examples of the non-reduction type belong, since in the Wolaytta relative structure under discussion, there is also an overt expression of the head in the main, or rather, superordinate, clause (i.e. a nominalizer).

Note that this structure is possible only when a head nominal of a relative clause would function as a subject in the relative clause.

(4.4.3.3.3-16a)[472]

* táání   <u>7ash-úwa</u>   m-íídoo-<u>g</u>-éé

 I   meat-ABS.M.SG.   eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

7áLL-o.

expensive-ABS.

(Intended meaning) 'The meat I ate was expensive.'

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[471] According to Comrie (1989: 145), 'In the clearest examples of the internal-head type of relative clause, the head noun remains expressed within the relative clause, in the usual form for a noun of that grammatical relation within a clause, and there is no overt expression of the head in the main clause.'

[472] However, the following is possible. It is an example of an apposition of absolutive nominals, not that of the relative structure under discussion.

7oid-íyo   7í   7útt-idoo-r-ó   táání

chair-ABS.F.SG. he   sit-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.   I

dent-áas.

lift-PF.1SG.

'I removed the chair, what he sat on.'

Cf. (4.4.3.3.3-16b)

      7ash-ói   7áLL-o.

      meat-NOM.M.SG.   expensive-ABS.

       'The meat is expensive.'

  (4.4.3.3.3-16c)

      táání   7ash-úwa   m-áas.

      I   meat-ABS.M.SG.   eat-PF.1SG.

       'I ate the meat'

Thus Wolaytta is a counterexample to Comrie's (1989: 163) generalization that 'wherever a language has both a more explicit[473] and a less explicit way of forming relative clauses . . . then the more explicit type will be used lower down the hierarchy[474] and the less explicit type higher up the hierarchy' in that the more explicit type (i.e. a relative clause that contains a substituted nominal in it and modifies a nominalizer at the same time, like (4.4.3.3.3-13a)) is restricted to higher up the hierarchy (i.e. subject). However, the explicit relative structure may have already become a conjunctive expression, as said in section 4.2.5.1. Note also that the range of the hierarchy covered with it is completely included in that covered with the less explicit type (i.e. a relative clause that does not contain its head nominal in it), against Comrie's (1989: 156) claim that 'it is often the case that a given language has more than one relative clause type, usually with at least some non-overlap between them.' Finally, note also that in the case of true relative forms even the less explicit type is explicit enough to distinguish between two roles of head nominals within relative clauses, since it distinguishes between the subject oriented form and the non-subject oriented form.

4.4.3.3.4 Idiomatic Subordinate Expressions with the Relative

  Relative forms are often found in noun phrases and postpositional phrases that functionally correspond to adverbial subordinate clauses in, for example, English. Watters (2000: 222) also points out that 'In many African languages, relative clauses are

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[473] The explicitness here is 'with regard to encoding of the role of the head noun within the relative clause' (Comrie (1989: 148)).

[474] The hierarchy here is 'the hierarchy subject > direct object > non-direct object > possessor', which 'defines ease of accessibility to relative clause formation' (Comrie (1989: 156)).

often used instead of adverbial clauses to express temporal, locative and manner adverbials'. Unlike in many languages such as Hausa, however, head nominals of relative clauses must be present overtly in such idiomatic subordinate expressions in Wolaytta.

In most cases, their meanings are self-evident if we understand the use and meaning of each element of them. Thus I have used them so far in example sentences without any detailed explanation.

The following are examples of idiomatic subordinate expressions with the relative[475].

-iyo / -(id)o / -enna / -ibe7enna[476] *+ (wo)d-é* (time-ABS.)

This is used like a temporal adverbial clause 'when . . .' Adams (1983: 148) gives only *-iyo wode* as a heading, and describes it as a clausal subordinating noun phrase for coincident relationship meaning 'when'. As said in section 4.4.3.3.1, however, the imperfective relative is indeed preferred in this subordinate expression if it is affirmative.

(4.4.3.3.4-1)

Talót-iya	sing-iss-<u>íyo</u>	<u>wod-é</u>
rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

he	Talót-iya	sing-ída	na7-ái
that	rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-NOM.M.SG.

bajigam-óbare	7abaraad-óbare	. . .
go daft-after	go daft-after	. . .

'When he makes (him) sniff (lit. time that he makes sniff) rue, if that boy who sniffed the rue goes daft or fuss around . . .'

(4.4.3.3.4-2)

7í	tamaar-é	keett-áa	y-<u>íbe7énna</u>
he	student-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.	come-NEG.PF.REL.

---

[475] Sometimes it is possible to use relative forms other than those given in the headings. In such cases the resultant meanings are different from those described below. Since the meanings are self-evident in most of the cases, however, they are not noted below.

[476] In the case of 1SG., 2SG., and 3F.SG., *-abe7enna* is, of course, used.

wod-é	patan-ái		7im-étt-iis.
time-ABS.	examination-NOM.M.SG.		give-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

    'When he was not present (lit. he did not come), there was (lit. was given) an examination.'

The future relative can modify the common noun *wod-íya* 'time'. However, the resultant does not seem to be used adverbially.

-ana / *-enna* + *mal-á* (look(s)-ABS.)

This is used like a purpose clause 'in order to . . .' or 'in order not to . . .' Adams (1983: 148) gives only *-ana mala* as a heading, and describes it as a clausal subordinating nominal phrase for purpose relationship meaning 'in order to'. For the reason why the word "look(s), appearance" is used to express a purpose, see the discussion in section 4.2.8.4.6, in which the postposition *-daani* 'like' is discussed.

(4.4.3.3.4-3)

7í	néé-yyo	7og-íya	giig-iss-<u>aná</u>	<u>mal-á</u>
he	you-for	road-ABS.M.SG.	be ready-CAUS.-REL.FUT.	appearance-ABS.

táání	7á	néé-ppé	sint-á-u	kiitt-áis.
I	him	you-from	face-OBL.M.SG.-to	send-IMPF.1SG.

    'In order for him to prepare (lit. looks that he will make ready) the way for you, I send him ahead of (lit. to the face from) you.'   (From Mark 1:2)

(4.4.3.3.4-4)

nééní	lááT-aa	<u>m-éénná</u>	<u>mal-á</u>
you	lunch-ABS.M.SG.	eat-NEG.REL.	look(s)-ABS.

hagáá-ní	gaMM-ett-áicc-aas.
this-in	remain-CAUS.-completely-PF.1SG.

    'I completely made you remain here for you not to eat lunch.'

***-(id)o / -iyo / -enna / -ibe7enna* + *gishsh-á-u* (reason-OBL.M.SG.-for)**

This is used like a causal adverbial clause 'because . . .' Adams (1983: 150) gives only
-ido giššau as a heading, and describes it as a clausal subordinating postpositional
phrase for reason relationship meaning 'because'.

(4.4.3.3.1-5)

haatt-ái	kiTT-<u>ído</u>	<u>gishsh-á-u</u>
water-NOM.M.SG.	swell-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

y-ábe7íkke.
come-NEG.PF.1SG.

   'I did not come because the river was full (lit. the water swelled).'

(4.4.3.3.4-6)

kokkórs-ai	de7-<u>íyo</u>	<u>gishsh-á-u</u>
malaria-NOM.M.SG.	exist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

dáán-á	bázz-oi	7óóní-nné
(place name)-OBL.	desert-NOM.M.SG.	who (NOM.)-and

de7-énná	biitt-á.
exist-NEG.REL.	land-ABS.

   'Because there is malaria there (lit. for the reason that malaria exists), the Dana
desert is a land where no one lives.'

(4.4.3.3.4-7)

cíi	tá	danday-íkke,	b-íikke,
no	I	be able to-NEG.IMPF.1SG.	go-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

haatt-ái	kiTT-ídí	pint-<u>énná</u>
water-NOM.M.SG.	swell-CONV.3M.SG.	make cross-NEG.REL.

<u>gishsh-á-u</u>.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

'No, I can't, I do not go, because the river is full (lit. the water swelled and) and does not make (anyone) cross.'

(4.4.3.3.4-8)

7aatt-ído	Kúm-aa	7azn-ái
serve-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	food-ABS.M.SG.	husband-NOM.M.SG.

m-íbe7énná	gishsh-á-u	mácc-iya	hanKétt-aasu.
eat-NEG.REL.PF.	reason-OBL.-for	wife-NOM.F.SG.	get angry-PF.3F.SG.

'Because the husband did not eat the food that she had served, the wife got angry.'

If *gishsh-á-u* (reason-OBL.M.SG.-for) is preceded by a future relative form, the combination expresses a purpose.

(4.4.3.3.4-9)

kan-ái	sáTT-ana	gishsh-á-u
dog-NOM.M.SG.	bite-REL.FUT.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

bóCC-ees.
bark-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The dog barked to bite.'

-ana + *sint-áa-ni* (face-OBL.M.SG.-in)
This is used like a temporal clause 'right after'. Adams (1983: 150) describes it as a clausal postpositional phrase for antecedent relationship meaning 'right before'.

(4.4.3.3.4-10)

harg-ée	wor-aná	sint-áa-ni
sick-NOM.M.SG.	kill-REL.FUT.	face-OBL.M.SG.-in

Cooshsh-íis.
make vomit-PF.3M.SG.

'Right before the sick killed (the patient), it made (him) spit (blood).'

Nominals modified by relative clauses in idiomatic subordinate expressions can be nominalizers, which are used to form, as it were, "infinitives". Here again, their meanings are self-evident in most cases, if we understand the use and meaning of each element of them. The following are examples of such idiomatic subordinate expressions.

The Non-subject Oriented Relative[477] + *-g-áá* (NMNL.-OBL.) + *-daani* (like)

This is used like a manner adverbial clause 'as if . . .' Adams (1983: 150) gives only *-iyo:ga:dani* as a heading, and describes it as a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase for likeness relationship meaning 'like'.

(4.4.3.3.4-11)

7í	7úy-idoo-g-áá-daani	táání-kká
he	drink-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-like	I-too

7úy-ana.
drink-FUT.

    'I will drink as he drank.'

(4.4.3.3.4-12)

ta-lágg-ee	ha77í	simm-íyo-g-áá-daani
my-friend-NOM.M.SG.	now	return-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-like

b-íis.
go-PF.3M.SG.

    'He went as if he would return (lit. like that he returns) now (i.e. very hastily).'

---

[477] In the case of derived relative forms, their unique forms (i.e. *-ana*, *-enna*, *-abe7enna*, *-ibe7enna*) are used.

-iyo / ***-(id)o*** + ***-g-áá*** (**NMNL.-OBL.**) + ***-ppe*** (**from**) + ***guyy-íya-ni***
(**back-OBL.M.SG.-in**)

This is used like a temporal adverbial clause 'after . . .' Adams (1983: 154) gives only
-ido:-g-a:-ppe guyyiya-ni as an example, and describes it as a clausal subordinating
postpositional phrase meaning 'after'.

(4.4.3.3.4-13)

táání	ta-7óós-uwa	wurs-ídoo-g-áá-ppé
I	my-work-ABS.M.SG.	finish-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from

guyy-íya-ni	y-aaná.
back-OBL.M.SG.-in	come-FUT.

    'I will come after I finish (lit. in the back from that I finished) my work.'

(4.4.3.3.4-14)

7í	y-íyo-g-áá-ppé
he	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from

guyy-íya-ni	haasay-aaná.
back-OBL.M.SG.-in	talk-FUT.

    'Let's talk after he comes.'

-ana[478] + ***-g-áá*** (**NMNL.-OBL.**) + ***-ppe*** (**from**) + ***kas-é*** (**before-ABS.**)

This is used like a temporal adverbial clause 'before . . .'

(4.4.3.3.4-15)

giy-áa	b-aanáa-g-áá-ppé	kas-é
market-ABS.M.SG.	go-REL.FUT.-NMNL.-OBL.-from	before-ABS.

miishsh-áa	7óíKK-iis.
money-ABS.M.SG.	seize-PF.3M.SG.

---

[478] *-iyo* can be used, but *-ana* is much preferred.

'Before he goes to (lit. before from that he will go) the market, he took money.'

The following is a little bit complicated.

-iyo + -g-áá (NMNL.-OBL.) + -ni (in, at)

This usually means 'in doing . . .', as the structure suggests.

(4.4.3.3.4-16)

der-ée	der-íya-ra
people-NOM.M.SG.	people-OBL.M.SG.-with

7óóy-ett-aa-g-áá
quarrel-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

sigett-<u>íyo-g-áá-ní</u>
make reconcile-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

ló77-o	b-áá	yoot-ídí	. . .
good-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	tell-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .

'In making people who quarreled with other people reconcile, he told good things, and . . .'

However, this is sometimes close to a causal adverbial clause 'because . . .'

(4.4.3.3.4-17)

na7-í	bántá-u	mínn-an-a-u
child-NOM.	them-for	become strong-INFN.-M.SG.OBL.-to

kóyy-idi	baaTet-íi-ni
want-CONV.3PL.	struggle-SUBOR.-in

han-énn-aa-ni	7iTT-<u>íyo-g-áá-ní</u>
become-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	refuse-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

yiillot-ídí . . .
be vexed-CONV.3PL. . . .

'Since it did not come true (lit. in that it refuses in not becoming) when he (lit. they) wanted the children to be strong for him (lit. them) and struggled for it, he was vexed, and . . .'

It can also be used like a temporal adverbial clause 'after . . .'

(4.4.3.3.4-18)
tam-áa 7oitt-íyo-g-áá-ní
fire-ABS.M.SG. make seize-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in

7as-ái waass-ídí . . .
people-NOM.M.SG. cry-CONV.3M.SG. . . .

'After they set fire (lit. in that they make seize), people shouted, and . . .'

Adams (1983: 152) describes this structure as a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase for instantaneous relationship meaning 'just as. . .' Evidently his description is not enough.

-iyo + *-r-í* (NMNL.-OBL.) + *-ni* (in, at)
This is used like a temporal adverbial clause 'just as soon as . . .' Adams (1983: 152) describes it (*-iyo:rini*, in his notation) as a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase for instantaneous relationship meaning 'just as soon as. . .' The nominalizer used here is a feminine one. The feminine gender in this language is often associated with smallness. This smallness in turn seems to explain the more immediacy expressed by the structure under discussion compared to its masculine counterpart *-iyo-g-áá-ní*, which is discussed in the preceding paragraph. "In doing X a little, Y happens" can easily be translated as "just as soon as someone does X, Y happens".

(4.4.3.3.4-19)
'táání Kajjéél-í 7amáád-ó na7-ái
I (person name)-NOM. (person name)-OBL. child-NOM.M.SG.

gúp-aa	páal-uwa	7er-áicc-aas.'
jumping-ABS.M.SG.	flying-ABS.M.SG.	know-completely-PF.1SG.

g-íyo-r-íí-ní		'7úúú
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in		oh

ta-keetta7aaw-ái	góóy-iicc-iis.	báa.
my-house holder-NOM.M.SG.	go mad-completely-PF.3M.SG.	not present

harg-íicc-iis.'	g-á-nne	. . .
become sick-completely-PF.3M.SG.	say-CONV.3F.SG.-and	. . .

'Just as soon as he said (lit. in that he says) 'I, Kajela, the son of Amado, have known jumping and flying.' she said 'Oh, my house holder (i.e. husband) has gone mad! Oh no! He has become sick!' and . . .'

In the following, the semi-independent common noun *s-áa* 'place' (see section 4.2.1.7) is used.

-iyo + s-áa (place-OBL.M.SG.) + -ra (with)
This is used like a manner adverbial clause 'assuming to . . .'

(4.4.3.3.4-20)

masKál-á	gazz-íya
the Malqal festival-OBL.	game and dance-ABS.M.SG.

kaa7-íyo	s-áa-ra
play-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.M.SG.-with

nu-sóó	na7-íya	daah-áasu.
our-home	child-NOM.F.SG.	elope-PF.3F.SG.

'Our daughter eloped, assuming to play (lit. with a place where she plays) a game of the Masqal festival.'

-(id)o + s-á (place-OBL.[479]) + -ra (with)

This is used like a temporal clause 'as soon as . . .' Adams (1983: 151) describes it as a clausal postpositional phrase for instantaneous relationship meaning 'just as'.

(4.4.3.3.4-21)

7í	m-<u>ó</u>	<u>s-áá-rá</u>	dend-í
he	eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.-with	rise-CONV.3M.SG.

7eKK-í-nne	b-í	7agg-íis.
stand up-CONV.3M.SG.-and	go-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-PF.3M.SG.

   'As soon as he ate, he stood up and went immediately (lit. and ceased).'

-o[480] + s-a (place-OBL.) + -ppe (from)

This is used like a temporal clause 'since . . .' Adams (1983: 151) describes it as a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase for subsequence relationship meaning 'ever since'.

(4.4.3.3.4-22)

7í	ló77-o	Kúm-aa	m-<u>óo</u>
he	good-OBL.	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

<u>s-á-ppé</u>	7órd-i	7órd-i
place-OBL.-from	become fat-CONV.3M.SG.	become fat-CONV.3M.SG.

b-ées.
go-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He is becoming fatter and fatter since he began to eat good food.'

---

[479] I consider that this nominal is non-concrete in this structure as in the next structure *-oo s-á-ppé* 'since . . .', the lengthening of the vowel being caused by the postposition *-ra* 'with' (see section 4.2.8.2). However there is no reliable evidence for it.

[480] *-ido* is also possible, but *-o* is preferred to it. In both cases, their final vowels are lengthened for unknown reasons. The semi-independent common noun *s-áa* 'place' might have become closer to the nominalizer *-g-áá* (see section 4.2.5.1).

(4.4.3.3.4-23)

7í	woTT-óo	s-á-ppé	dóómm-ídí
he	run-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	place-OBL.-from	begin-CONV.3M.SG.

7áí-nné	demm-íbe7énná.
what-and	find-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

'He has not found anything since he began to run (i.e. make efforts).'

4.4.3.4   Indeclinable Subordinate Forms

Wolaytta has some subordinate verb forms that are not conjugated at all. In the following such forms will be discussed.

4.4.3.4.1   Indeclinable Subordinate Forms with the *-i* Ending

Most indeclinable subordinate verb forms in this language have the *-i* ending that immediately follows a verb stem. This ending is called in this thesis a "subordination marker". It must be followed by one or more other elements, such as an indeclinable and a postposition[481]. The subordination marker should not be confused with one of the converb endings (see section 4.4.3.1), which occurs only with 3M.SG. and all plural persons as subjects. In the rest of this section, indeclinable subordinate forms with the subordination marker are discussed individually.

-i-kko **'if'**

This ending is analyzed as the subordination marker followed by the indeclinable *-kko* 'whether, if'. The latter is discussed in section 4.3.2, where it is discussed that its essential function is to present one possibility out of many possibilities in the irrealis world. Although this ending is not conjugated, its realizations vary according to types of verbs to which it is attached, as follows.

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[481]   As said in section 4.4.3.3.1, it may be the case that some true relative forms contain the subordination marker in them.

(4.4.3.4.1-1)[482]

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs	-í-kkó
Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs	´-i-kko
Mono-consonantal Verbs	-íí-kkó

In most cases, this indeclinable subordinate form expresses a protasis of a conditional expression, as the following show.

(4.4.3.4.1-2)

táání	7í	wont-ó	y-íí-kkó	b-aaná.
I	he	tomorrow-ABS.	come-SUBOR.-if	go-FUT.

  'If he comes tomorrow, I will go.'

(4.4.3.4.1-3)

haatt-ái	balg-ó	gid-í-kkó
water-NOM.M.SG.	rainy season-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if

kiTT-ídí	pint-énná.
swell-CONV.3M.SG.	make cross-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

  'If it is the rainy season, the river (lit. water) becomes full (lit. swells) and does not make (anyone) cross.'

(4.4.3.4.1-4)

yeekk-í-kkó	7í	yeekk-ó.
cry-SUBOR.-if	he	cry-OPT.3M.SG.

  'Let him cry if he cries.'

(4.4.3.4.1-5)

láb-a	g-íyo-g-éé	. . .
cajolement for marriage-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM. . . .	

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[482] An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem.

7á-u	méh-ee	Tay-í-kkó	wóí-kkó
his-for	cattle-NOM.M.SG.	be lost-SUBOR.-if	or-if

na7-ée	7aaw-atí	7aaw-ái	7aayy-íya
child-OBL.F.SG.	father-NOM.PL.	father-NOM.M.SG.	mother-NOM.F.SG.

7á-yyo	he	na7-íyo	7imm-an-á-u	dos-an-á
his-for	that	child-ABS.F.SG.	gibe-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	like-INFN.-ABS.

Tay-í-kkó[483]	paKKad-an-á	Tay-í-kkó
be lost-SUBOR.-if	permit-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if

he	na7-íyo	lab-íya	7úr-aa-ni
that	child-ABS.F.SG.	cajole-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	person-OBL.M.SG.-in

zemp-ídí	na7-íyo	lab-iss-ídí
rely-CONV.3M.SG.	child-ABS.F.SG.	cajole-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.

7ekk-íyo	7ep-íyo
take-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	take-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

7og-íya.
way-ABS.M.SG.

'What is called "Laba" is a way (in which one marries, which is described as follows): he (i.e. one who wants to marry a girl) relies on a person that cajoles that girl, makes (him) cajole the girl, and he takes and gets (her), if there is no (lit. if it is lost) cattle for him . . . or if the girl's ancestors, father, mother, refuse to give that girl to him, if they refuse to permit.'

(4.4.3.4.1-6)

né	dabdaabb-íya	naa77-ú	saamínt-aa-ppe
you	letter-ABS.M.SG.	two-OBL.	week-OBL.M.SG.-from

---

[483] A future infinitive form (see section 4.4.4.1) followed by *Tay-í-kkó* serves as a negative conditional.

kas-é	yedd-í-kkó	hannóódé	gákk-iis.
before-ABS.	send-SUBOR.-if	now	reach-PF.3M.SG.

'If you did send the letter two weeks ago, it has reached now (= since you send the letter two weeks ago, it must have been delivered by now).'

(4.4.3.4.1-7)

na7-íya-kka		sími	gel-á
child-NOM.F.SG.-too		thus	enter-CONV.3F.SG.

7agg-an-áa-ppe		har-í	báa.
cease-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from		other-NOM.	not present

7áí-ssí	g-íí-kkó	'7á	gel-an-á
what-for	say-SUBOR.-if	she	enter-INFN.-ABS.

Tay-í-kkó	háíKK-ausu.'	g-íídí
be lost-SUBOR.-if	die-IMPF.3F.SG.	say-CONV.3PL.

yáyy-oosona	7etí.
fear-IMPF.3PL.	they

'Thus the girl cannot help but marrying (the witchdoctor) (lit. there is not other thing from entering and ceasing). If you say why, they fear saying that she dies if she does not marry (lit. enter) (the witchdoctor).'

As the first underlined form in (4.4.3.4.1-7), i.e. *g-íí-kkó* 'if you say', shows, the subordinate form under discussion can also express an indirect condition, which 'is not related to the situation in the matrix clause' (Quirk et al. (1985: 1089)).

Although Ohman and Hailu (1976: 160), Adams (1983: 143), Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 236), and Hirut (1999: 98) mention only the conditional use for the *-i-kko* form without any detailed explanation[484], it can also be used to express uncertainty. This use

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[484] Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 236) give the most detailed explanation among them. They say that the form under discussion is used for 'hypothetical clauses containing a condition that is likely to be fulfilled'.

is paralleled by the fact that words of different word classes may express uncertainty if they are followed by the indeclinable *-kko* (see (4.3.2-79) to (4.3.2-83)).

(4.4.3.4.1-8)

táání	wáát-i-kko	7oott-ádá	ta-7aC-úwa
I	do what-SUBOR.-if	do-CONV.1SG.	my-debt-ABS.M.SG.

KanT-aná.
cut-FUT.

   'I will somehow pay off [lit. cut] my debt.'

(4.4.3.4.1-9)

hegáá-ppé	wáán-i-kko	han-ádá
that-from	become what-SUBOR.-if	become-CONV.3F.SG.

motolóm-é	7acc-á-ppé	kess-á
(person name)-OBL.	side-OBL.-from	make come out-CONV.3F.SG.

7ekk-ádá	. . .
take-CONV.3F.SG.	. . .

   'After that she escaped somehow from the side of Motolome, and . . .'

   The *-i-kko* form can be followed by the indeclinable *-nne* 'and'. The indeclinable *-nne* 'and' is treated in section 4.3.2, where it is discussed that the original or essential use of the indeclinable is to list each item or to bring it into prominence. Thus I consider that originally an *-i-kko-nne* form had to be accompanied by another *-i-kko-nne* form (or more), as in the following modern examples.

(4.4.3.4.1-10)

7í	y-íí-kkó-nné	y-aan-á	Tay-í-kkó-nné
he	come-SUBOR.-if-and	come-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if-and

táání	b-aaná.
I	go-FUT.

'I will go whether he comes or not.'

(4.4.3.4.1-11)

dár-o	maLL-an-á	Tay-í-kkó-nné	dár-o
many-ABS.	be tasty-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if-and	many-ABS.

síy-an-a-u	lo77-an-á	Tay-í-kkó-nné
hear-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be good-INFN.-ABS.	be lost-SUBOR.-if-and

7íssítoo	7issítoo	7ezg-ídí	síy-iyo-g-éé
once	once	listen-CONV.3M.SG.	hear-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

ló77-o.
good-ABS.

'Even if it is not tasty very much, even if it is not good very much for hearing, to listen with attention sometimes (lit. once once) is good.'

As the translations show, the *-i-kko-nne* forms are used to express concession. "If A, and if B" would easily become "whether it may be A or B".

Now, however, an *-i-kko-nne* form can be used as a concessive expression without being accompanied by another *-i-kko-nne* form.

(4.4.3.4.1-12)

waag-ái	7áLL-o	gid-í-kkó-nné	táání
price-NOM.M.SG.	expensive-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if-and	I

né-yyo	7imm-aná.
your-to	give-FUT.

'Even if it is expensive, I will give you (it).'

(4.4.3.4.1-13)

néná	lo77-ída	b-áá	7áí	b-á
you	be good-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.	what	thing-ABS.

gid-í-kkó-nné	táná	7oicc-á.	táání	né-yyo
become-SUBOR.-if-and	me	ask-OPT.2SG.	I	your-to

7imm-aná.
give-FUT.

    'Ask me a thing that is good for you, whatever it is. I will give (it) to you.'
    (From Mark 6:22)

   For the *-i-kko-nne* form, Adams (1983: 143) mentions only this concessive use. In the following, however, the form is not used to express concession. Since there is neither overt accompanying conditional nor covert one, the indeclinable *-nne* 'and' has become a word that just introduces its following parts of the sentence (which may not be verbalized in the sentence, as in (4.4.3.4.1-15)). Thus, the *-i-kko-nne* form can be translated as 'if A, then', as is discussed in section 4.3.2.

(4.4.3.4.1-14)

hagáá-ppé	kas-é	bení	woláítt-á
this-from	before-ABS.	formerly	Wolaytta-OBL.

biitt-áa-ni	7as-ái	7iss-í
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.

b-áí	met-óbare	wóí-kkó	na7-í
thing-NOM.M.SG.	bother-after	or-if	child-NOM.

yel-étt-enn-a	7iTT-óbare	he	bána
bear-PASS.-NEG.INFN.-ABS.	refuse-after	that	himself

met-ída	b-á-u	wóí-kkó
bother-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-OBL.M.SG.-for	or-if

yél-o	gid-í-kkó-nné	'tá-u
giving birth-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if-and	my-for

yél-o	7imm-an-áa-kko-nne[485]	g-íídí
giving birth-ABS.	give-INFN.-ABS.-if-and	say-CONV.3M.SG.

sharéécc-o	keett-áa	b-ées.
witch doctor-OBL.	house-ABS.M.SG.	go-IMPF.3M.SG.

'In old days (lit. before from this), formerly, in the Wolaytta land, if one thing bothers (people), or if a child was not born, for that thing that bothers himself, or having said "Whether he will give a child for the sake of me . . ." if (the matter) is on giving birth, people go to a witch doctor house.'

(4.4.3.4.1-15)

hargánc-iya	7ash-úwa	m-íí-kkó-nné
patient-NOM.F.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.	eat-SUBOR.-if-and

g-íídí	shamm-ídí	y-íis.
say-CONV.3M.SG.	buy-CONV.3M.SG.	come-PF.3M.SG.

'He thought that the female patient might eat meat (lit. said 'If the patient eats meat . . .'), and bought it and came.'

The *-i-kko* form can also be followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too'. This indeclinable is discussed in section 4.3.2.

Since it is difficult to give a semantically unified explanation for the different uses of the indeclinable *-kka* 'too', it is also difficult to explain uses of the *-i-kko-kka* form properly. However, it is sure that the indeclinable *-kka* 'too' can be used to introduce a parallel and/or additional item. Thus it is not unreasonable to assume that the *-i-kko-kka* form is a form for introducing a parallel and/or additional condition. The form thus means "also if A (also if B)". The meaning would, then, be easily interpreted as a concessive one, "whether A (or B)". In the next stage, one *-i-kko-kka* form is enough to express concession: "even if A". Adams (1983: 143) also points out that this form expresses "concession relationship".

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[485] This *-kko-nne* is used to express an indirect question. See below in this section and section 4.4.4.3.

(4.4.3.4.1-16)

7etí	shóóshsh-a	7óíKK-i-kko-kka	wóí	márz-e
they	snake-ABS.	seize-SUBOR.-if-too	or	poison-ABS.

7úy-i-kko-kka	7etá	Koh-énná.
drink-SUBOR.-if-too	them	hurt-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Even if they seize a snake, or even if they drink a poison, it does not hurt them.'
(From Mark 16:18)

(4.4.3.4.1-17)

7iss-í-ppé	gid-ída	b-áí
one-OBL.-from	become-REL.PF.SUBJ.	thing-NOM.M.SG.

gén-an-a-u	y-íya-g-éé
cheat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	come-RFEL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

d-íí-kkó-kká	téKK-ees.
exist-SUBOR.-if-too	protect-IMPF.3M.SG.

'One that is united (lit. from one) protects (itself) even if there is one that came to cheat.'

The *-i-kko-kka* form is used for a universal expression. This is also a kind of concessive expression.

(4.4.3.4.1-18)

táání	bír-aa	7óóní	7imm-í-kkó-kká	7ekk-aná.
I	Birr-ABS.M.SG.	who	give-SUBOR.-if-too	take-FUT.

'I will receive money (lit. Birr, Ethiopian currency) whoever gives (it to me).'

(4.4.3.4.1-19)

7ínté	ta-súnt-aa-ni	7áí	7oicc-í-kkó-kká
you (PL.)	my-name-OBL.M.SG.-in	what	ask-SUBOR.-if-too

táání   7imm-íkke.
I   give-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'I will not give whatever you ask by my name.'

    The following are also examples of concessive expressions with *-i-kko-kka* forms.
Unlike the examples given so far, however, the *-i-kko-kka* forms in them describe actual
facts. In the case of (4.4.3.4.1-20), for example, the people mentioned in it indeed
studied the language for their religious purpose.

(4.4.3.4.1-20)

7etí   banta-haimanót-iya   7óós-uwa-ssi
they   their own-religion-OBL.M.SG.   work-OBL.M.SG.-for

Káál-aa   Tanna7-í-kkó-kká   . . .   nu-Káál-ai
word-ABS.M.SG.   study-SUBOR.-if-too   . . .   our-word-NOM.M.SG.

. . .   Tay-énna-ttuwa   maadd-ídosona.
. . .   be lost-NEG.INFN.-like   help-PF.3PL.

    'Although they studied the language for the purpose of their religious work, they
helped so that our language would not be lost.'

(4.4.3.4.1-21)

ha   7alám-ee   tá-yyo   giig-an-á
this   world-NOM.M.SG.   my-for   be convenient-INFN.-ABS.

Tay-í-kkó-kká   dé7-uwa   de7-áis.
be lost-SUBOR.-if-too   life-ABS.M.SG.   live-IMPF.1SG.

    'Although this world is not convenient for me, I live.'

(4.4.3.4.1-22)

tá   ha77í   7od-íyo-g-áá-ssí   . . .
I   now   tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-for   . . .

maasrajj-ái	Taap-étt-idaa-g-éé
evidence-NOM.M.SG.	write-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

. . .	báawa.	gid-í-kkó-kká	kas-é
. . .	not present	become-SUBOR.-if-too	before-ABS.

7ááDD-ida	7as-atí	7od-óosona.
pass-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-NOM.PL.	tell-IMPF.3PL.

'There is no evidence, what is written, for what I am telling now. Although it is (the case), people that preceded before (i.e. ancient people) were telling (about them).'

As we have seen above, both *-i-kko-nne* and *-i-kko-kka* forms can be used for concessive expressions. Adams (1983: 143) says that they seem to 'give the same meaning'. It is true, as long as they express concession. Compare the following with (4.4.3.4.1-13), the both being told in the same context in Mark in the New Testament.

(4.4.3.4.1-23)

nééní	7oicc-ído	b-áá		7áí	b-á
you	ask-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	thing-ABS.M.SG.		what	thing-ABS.

gid-í-kkó-kká	táání	né-yyo	7imm-aná.
become-SUBOR.-if-too	I	your-to	give-FUT.

'Whatever you will ask (lit. what would the thing you asked be) I will give to you.'
(From Mark 6:23)

However, *-i-kko-nne* forms that do not express concession, such as (4.4.3.4.1-15), cannot be replaced with their *-i-kko-kka* forms.

-ii-ni 'when'

This ending is analyzed as the subordination marker *-i* followed by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. The postposition is discussed in section 4.2.8.4.5.

Although this ending is not conjugated, its realizations vary according to types of verbs to which it is attached, as follows.

$(4.4.3.4.1-24)^{486}$

Tone Class I   -í(i)-n(i)

Tone Class II   ´-i(i)-n(i)

As can be seen from the above, in this ending, the length of the subordination marker is neutralized and the final vowel *i* can be deleted. These facts support the analysis that the ending contains the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.2). In example sentences of this thesis, the longest forms (i.e. *-íi-ni* and *´-ii-ni*) are in principle chosen for practical reasons (see section 4.2.8.3)

A verb stem followed by the subordination marker might be a kind of nominal in the oblique case, since it can be followed by a postposition. Moreno (1938: 48) considers that it is an abstract form (astratto, in Italy).

The ending *-ii-ni* can be used for various expressions. It can be used to describe a simultaneous situation, a preceding situation, a condition, etc. There are many examples that allow more than one interpretation. Thus, Adams (1983: 141) is not mistaken when he says that the ending is 'quite a general subordinator'. As the above analysis of the ending implies, however, its essential meaning that underlies the various uses would be 'in/at doing (something)'. The following example sentences would be helpful to realize the (surface) diversity of the uses of the *-ii-ni* form.

(4.4.3.4.1-25)

táání	maTááp-aa	nabbab-íi-ni	ta-lágg-ee
I	book-ABS.M.SG.	read-SUBOR.-in	my-friend-NOM.M.SG.

gaazeeT-áa	nabbab-íis.
newspaper-ABS.M.SG.	read-PF.3M.SG.

   'While I was reading the book, he read the newspaper.'

(4.4.3.4.1-26)

7áne	7í	woTT-íi-ni	be7-aná.
let's	he	run-SUBOR.-in	see-FUT.

   'Let's see him running (lit. we will see when he runs).'

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[486] An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. Here, only forms that are used non-predicatively are given.

(4.4.3.4.1-27)

ba-lágg-iya	word-ó	b-áá
his own-friend-ABS.M.SG.	lie-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

<u>haasay-íi-ni</u>	paaCC-íis.
tell-SUBOR.-in	criticize-PF.3M.SG.

   'He criticized his friend when he told a lie.'

(4.4.3.4.1-28)

baKúl-oi	'ne-7aaw-ái	7óónee?'
mule-NOM.M.SG.	your-father-NOM.M.SG.	who

<u>g-íi-ni</u>	'ta-7aayy-íya	par-á.'	g-ées.
say-SUBOR.-in	my-mother-NOM.F.SG.	horse-ABS.	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'When someone says (to a mule) "Who is your father?" the mule says "My mother is a horse."'

(4.4.3.4.1-29)

'wáán-ada	né	kaw-ó	milat-íya
be what-CONV.2SG.	you	king-ABS.	resemble-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

b-á	baKK-ái?'	<u>yáág-ii-ni</u>
thing-ABS.	hit-INTER.IMPF.2SG.	say so-SUBOR.-in

'danday-áis.'	<u>g-íi-ni</u>	'danday-ákká.'
be able to-IMPF.1SG.	say-SUBOR.-in	be able to-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

<u>g-íi-ni</u>	naa77-ái	7annaaC-étt-idosona.
say-SUBOR.-in	two-NOM.M.SG.	menace-PASS.-PF.3PL.

   'One said "How do you hit a man like a king?", then the another said "I can.", then the other said "You cannot.", in such a way the two persons menaced each other.'

(4.4.3.4.1-30)

7ishátam-aa-ppe	7iccásh-aa	<u>dent-íi-ni</u>
fifty-OBL.M.SG.-from	five-ABS.M.SG.	raise-SUBOR.-in

7ááppun-ai	7átt-ii?
how many-NOM.M.SG.	remain-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'How much remains if you subtract (lit. raise) 5 from 50?'

(4.4.3.4.1-31)

níyo	7issítoo	<u>7od-íi-ni</u>	gel-énnée?
to you	once	tell-SUBOR.-in	enter-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Don't you understand (lit. doesn't it enter) if I tell you only once?'

(4.4.3.4.1-32)

nééní	<u>7oott-íi-ni</u>	dos-áis.
you	work-SUBOR.-in	like-IMPF.1SG.

   'If you work, I like it.'

(4.4.3.4.1-33)

7í	7áw-a-nne	<u>b-íi-ni</u>	táání	kaall-aná.
he	where-ABS.-and	go-SUBOR.-in	I	follow-FUT.

   'I will follow (him) wherever (lit. where and) he goes.'

(4.4.3.4.1-34)

miishsh-ái	<u>palah-íi-ni</u>	har-á
money-NOM.M.SG.	exist as an extra-SUBOR.-in	other-OBL.

míízz-iyo	shamm-áas.
cow-ABS.F.SG.	buy-PF.1SG.

   'There was extra money, and I bought another cow.'

In the following the *-ii-ni* forms are used idiomatically.

(4.4.3.4.1-35)

7aaw-ái	miishsh-áa-ppe	7átt-ii-ni
father-NOM.M.SG.	money-OBL.M.SG.-from	stay behind-SUBOR.-in

har-á	b-á	kóyy-énná.
other-OBL.	thing-ABS.	want-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Father wants money but (lit. in staying behind from money) does not want any other thing.'

(4.4.3.4.1-36)

Kássi	sáánn-í	háíKK-i	simm-íi-ni
furthermore	(person name)-NOM.	die-CONV.3M.SG.	return-SUBOR.-in

7oogát-á	g-íyo	kaw-ói
(person name)-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	king-NOM.M.SG.

kawot-íis.
become king-PF.3M.SG.

   'Then, after Sana had died (lit. when dies and returns), the king whom one calls Ogato became king.'

   Moreno (1938: 49) and Adams (1983: 141) say that the *-ii-ni* form is used only when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to different participants. They are in principle correct, and the great majority of the attested examples do not violate their generalization. However, it is not without exceptions. For example, in the following, which is taken from Mark 4:13, an *-ii-ni* forms is used in the second sentence while its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to the same participant, "you (PL.)", although the *-ii-ni* form in question has almost become a fixed conjunctive expression.

(4.4.3.4.1-37)

ha	leemís-uwa	7er-ékkétíi?
this	example-ABS.M.SG.	know-NEG.INTER.IMPF.2PL.

yáát-ii-ni	leemís-ó	7ubb-áa	wáát-i
do so-SUBOR.-in	example-OBL.	all-ABS.M.SG.	do what-CONV.2PL.

7er-úuteetii?
know-(interrogative ending, 2PL.)

'Don't you know this parable? If so (lit. when you do so) how do you know all parables?'   (From Mark 4:13)

The following are similar examples.

(4.4.3.4.1-38)

nééní	'miishsh-í	báawa.'	g-áadasa.	yáát-ii-ni
you	money-NOM.	not present	say-PF.2SG.	do so-SUBOR.-in

nééní	7ái	han-anée?
you	what	become-INTER.FUT.

'You said "I have no money." If so (lit. when you do so), what will you become?'

(4.4.3.4.1-39)

kátt-aa	m-íídaa-ppe	simm-íi-ni	hagáá-ní
grain-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-from	return-SUBOR.-in	this-in

7áí	7oott-ái?
what	do-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'Having eaten a meal, what are you doing here?'

Note also (4.4.3.4.1-29), in which the subject of the main clause, *naa77-ái* 'the two persons', is semantically composed of the implicit subjects of the preceding subordinate clauses (i.e. one who said 'I can.' and one who said 'You cannot.').

However, I appreciate them as a whole, since they indeed successfully grasped an important tendency of the language. I was not able to notice it before reading their works.

However, I cannot agree Adams (1983: 141) when he considers that this ending and endings of converb forms discussed in section 4.4.3.1 are allomorphs of one morpheme. Granted that the two were really in complementary distribution in that the *-ii-ni* form is used only when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to different participants and the converb only elsewhere, the complementary distribution of some elements itself does not necessarily assure their status of being allomorphs of the same morpheme. Moreover, the two verb forms in question are rather different in terms of structure: the *-ii-ni* ending is analyzed as the subordination marker followed by a postposition, while endings of converb forms are analyzed as IA (or erstwhile pronoun) that may or may not be followed by a verb of existence followed again by IA (see section 4.4.3.1). Thus Adams' treatment is counter-intuitional, and has no evidence supporting it.

Since the *-ii-ni* form is a postpositional phrase in the broad sense, it has special predicative and interrogative forms, which are used as predicates of affirmative sentences. They end in the vowels *a* and *ee*, respectively, as is expected from the inflection of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.1).

(4.4.3.4.1-40)

ʽwoláítt-á	g-íyo	súnt-ai
Wolaytta-ABS.	say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	name-NOM.M.SG.

woláámo	g-éétett-idi	laam-étt-iis.'
Welamo	say-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.	change-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

g-íídí	dár-o	7as-ái
say-CONV.3M.SG.	many-OBL.	people-NOM.M.SG.

7amman-íyo-i	minilík-é
believe-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.

7ól-aa-ppe	jammar-íi-na.
war-OBL.M.SG.-from	begin-SUBOR.-in

'It is since (lit. when it begins) the Menelik War that many people believe that (lit. saying) the name Wolaytta (lit. name that one says Wolaytta) was changed to Welamo (lit. it is said Welamo and changed).'

(4.4.3.4.1-41)

gúútt-aa	7ér-ai	paCC-íi-na-kka
small-ABS.M.SG.	knowledge-NOM.M.SG.	be missing-SUBOR.-in-too

gid-an-á-u	danday-ées.
become-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able to-IMPF.3M.SG.

'It can also be because knowledge is missing (lit. become in being missing too) a little.'

(4.4.3.4.1-42)

7as-ái	dagamm-ído-i	7í
people-NOM.M.SG.	be surprised-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	he

woTT-íi-nee?
run-SUBOR.-in

'Is it when he ran that people were surprised?'

This ending, *-ii-ni*, can be followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too', which is discussed in section 4.3.2. As in the case of *-i-kko-kka* 'even if' discussed above in this section, the *-ii-ni-kka* form is used for concessive expressions because of the presence of *-kka* 'too': originally "also when A (also when B)", then "even when A".

(4.4.3.4.1-43)

7í	yáa	woTT-íi-ni-ka	háa	woTT-íi-ni-ka
he	to there	run-SUBOR.-in-too	to here	run-SUBOR.-in-too

Toon-an-á-u	danday-énná.
win-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able to-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Whether he runs there or here (i.e. whatever he does), he cannot win.'

(4.4.3.4.1-44)

nééní	7áí-nné	7eesot-íi-ni-kka	7á	demm-an-á-u
you	what-and	hurry-SUBOR.-in-too	him	find-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-ákká.
be able to-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

'No matter how you hurry, you won't be able to meet (lit. find) him.'

(4.4.3.4.1-45)

7í	haatt-áa	7úy-ii-ni-kka	7a-sáám-oi
he	water-ABS.M.SG.	drink-SUBOR.-in-too	his-thirst-NOM.M.SG.

simm-íbe7énná.
return-NEG.PG.3M.SG.

'Even though he drank water, his thirst was not quenched (lit. did not return).'

(4.4.3.4.1-46)

ta-lágg-ee	y-íis.	gid-íi-ni-kka
my-friend-NOM.M.SG.	come-PF.3M.SG.	become-SUBOR.-in-too

b-áas.
go-PF.1SG.

'My friend came. But (lit. when it becomes too) I went.'

-i-shiini **'while'**

This ending can be analyzed as the subordination marker *-i* followed by *shiini* 'while'. Unfortunately I have not been able to analyze the latter element, although I assume that it is composed of some kind of nominal and the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.5).

Although this ending is not conjugated, its realizations vary according to types of verbs to which it is attached, as follows.

$(4.4.3.4.1-47)^{487}$

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs	-í-shi(i)n(i)
Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs	´-i-shi(i)n(i)
Mono-consonantal Verbs	-íí-shi(i)n(i)

As can be seen from the above, in this ending, the length of the vowel between *sh* and *n* is neutralized and the final vowel *i* can be deleted. These facts support the analysis that the ending contains the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.2). In example sentences of this thesis, the longest forms (i.e. *-í-shiini*, *´-i-shiini*, and *-íí-shiini*) are in principle chosen for practical reasons (see section 4.2.8.3)

The *-i-shiini* form is used to emphasize imperfectivity (i.e. continuity or habitualness) of a situation described by it and at the same time to indicate that the situation and that described by a verb (or cognate word of a verb) in its superordinate clause temporally overlap each other[488]. In other words it is parallel to the simultaneous form discussed in section 4.4.3.2.

(4.4.3.4.1-48)

táání	haasay-í-shiini	nééní	sírPi	g-á.
I	tell-SUBOR.-while	you	(preverb)	say-OPT.2SG.

   'Be quiet completely while I am telling.'

(4.4.3.4.1-49)

7á	7ánC-i-shiini	be7-áas.
she	mince-SUBOR.-while	see-PF.1SG.

   'I say her mincing.'

(4.4.3.4.1-50)

bitán-ee	maat-áa	búúCC-i-shiini
man-NOM.M.SG.	grass-ABS.M.SG.	mow-SUBOR.-while

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[487] An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. Here, only forms that are used non-predicatively are given.
[488] Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 234) say that 'Progressive (or durative) contemporaneity is rendered in Wolaytta by means of the conjunction -shin[i] (while)'.

shóóshsh-ai kíy-iis.
snake-NOM.M.SG. come out-PF.3M.SG.

    'While the man was mowing the grass, a snake came out.'

(4.4.3.4.1-51)
ba-7aaw-ái háíKK-i-shiini na7-ái
his own-father-NOM.M.SG. die-SUBOR.-while child-NOM.M.SG.

gákk-iis.
reach-PF.3M.SG.

    'While his father was about to die, the boy reached.'

(4.4.3.4.1-52)
7í-yyo maay-úwa-kka shamm-í 7imm-íiddi
her-to clothes-ABS.M.SG.-too buy-CONV.3M.SG. give-SIM.3M.SG.

dár-o b-áá dár-o b-áá
many-OBL. thing-ABS.M.SG. many-OBL. thing-ABS.M.SG.

kunt-ídí 7imm-ídí d-íí-shiini
fill-CONV.3M.SG. give-CONV.3M.SG. exist-SUBOR.-while

7á Ká mér-aa-kka ló77-o
she furthermore looks-ABS.M.SG.-too good-ABS.

gid-ídaa-r-á diCC-á
become-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM. grow-CONV.3F.SG.

simm-ádá . . . har-á 7azn-áa
return-CONV.3F.SG. . . . other-OBL. husband-ABS.M.SG.

gel-an-á-u Kopp-ádá '7íshshi'
enter-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to think-CONV.3F.SG. OK

g-áádá	wott-óo-g-aa	laamm-áasu.
say-CONV.3F.SG.	put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	change-PF.3F.SG.

'While he was buying and giving clothes too to her, and while he was (lit. lived, existed) giving many things repeatedly (lit. having filled), she, on the other hand, a female who has good looks, after she grew up (lit. having grown up and returned) . . . she thought of marrying (lit. entering) another husband, and she cancelled (lit. changed) what she promised (lit. put) by saying OK.'

(4.4.3.4.1-53)

na7-íya	giy-áa	b-íí-shiini	wóí-kkó
child-NOM.F.SG.	market-ABS.M.SG.	go-SUBOR.-while	or-if

haatt-á-u	b-íí-shiini	woí-kkó	7ee
water-OBL.M.SG.-for	go-SUBOR.-while	or-if	uh

yétt-aa	yeeh-úwa	b-íí-shiini
song-ABS.M.SG.	mourning ceremony-ABS.M.SG.	go-SUBOR.-while

7og-íya-ppe	ba-lágg-etuu-ra	b-íídí
road-OBL.M.SG.-from	his own-friend-OBL.PL.-with	go-CONV.3M.SG.

dap-ídí	7ep-íyo	7og-íya.
abduct-CONV.3M.SG.	take-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	way-ABS.M.SG.

'To go with his friends and take the girl by abduction when she goes to the market, or for water, or to the song (place) or mourning ceremony, it is the way.'

(4.4.3.4.1-54)

7usúppun	sa7át-iya-ssi	támm-ai
six (OBL.)	o'clock-OBL.M.SG.-to	ten-NOM.M.SG.

paCC-í-shiini[489]   y-aaná.

be incomplete-SUBOR.-while   come-FUT.

   'I will come at 11:50 (lit. while ten is missing to six o'clock).'

   Adams (1983: 142) says that unlike the simultaneous form the *-i-shiini* form is used
only when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to
different participants. He is in principle correct, and the great majority of the attested
examples do not violate his generalization. However, this is not the case at least when a
clause whose predicate is an *-i-shiini* form expresses a reason and its superordinate
clause judgment of the speaker, as in the following.

(4.4.3.4.1-55)

7í	ha	wott-áa	woTT-íshiini	hargánc-a
he	this	running-ABS.M.SG.	run-SUBOR.-while	sick person-ABS.

gid-énná.

become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He is not a sick person, since (lit. while) he is running in this way (lit. runs this
running.).'

   However, I appreciate him as a whole, since he indeed successfully grasped an
important tendency of the language. I was not able to notice it before reading his work.

   However, I cannot agree Adams (1983: 142) when he considers that the *-i-shiini*
ending and endings of simultaneous forms discussed in section 4.4.3.2 are allomorphs
of one morpheme. Granted that the two were really in complementary distribution in
that the *-i-shiini* form is used only when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its
superordinate clause refer to different participants and the simultaneous form only
elsewhere, the complementary distribution of some elements itself does not necessarily
assure their status of being allomorphs of the same morpheme. Moreover, the two verb
forms in question are rather different in terms of structure: while the *-i-shiini* ending is a

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[489] It might seem to be difficult to say that the *-i-shiini* form of the verb *paCC-* 'to be
incomplete' expresses imperfectivity here. However, in (4.2.3.5-12), for example, an
imperfective form of the same verb is used for an expression of clock time.

kind of postpositional phrase, endings of simultaneous forms seem to be related to converb endings (see section 4.4.3.2). Thus, I have a feeling that Adams's treatment is as wrong as a treatment in which "while" and "during the course of" are regarded as allomorphs of the same morpheme.

The *-i-shiini* form has special predicative and interrogative forms, which are used as predicates of affirmative sentences. They end in the vowels *a* and *ee*, respectively. This is easily explained if we suppose that the form contains the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (see section 4.2.8.1).

(4.4.3.4.1-56)

7as-ái	dagamm-ído-i	7í
people-NOM.M.SG.	be surprised-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	he

woTT-í-shiina.
run-SUBOR.-while

'It is while he was running that people were surprised.'

(4.4.3.4.1-57)

7as-ái	dagamm-ído-i	7í
people-NOM.M.SG.	be surprised-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	he

woTT-í-shiinee.
run-SUBOR.-while

'Is it while he was running that people were surprised?'

The *-i-shiini* ending can be followed by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too' to express concession, as in the case of *-i-kko* 'if' and *-ii-ni* 'when'.

(4.4.3.4.1-58)

7í	maallád-o	maallád-o	hemétt-i-shiini-kka
he	morning-ABS.	morning-ABS.	walk-SUBOR.-while-too

7a-bobórC-oi   wóDD-ibe7énná.
his-paunch-NOM.M.SG.   descend-NEG.PF.3M.SG.

   'Even though he walks every morning, he did not lose his paunch.'

4.4.3.4.2   *-obare*

There is an indeclinable subordinate verb form that does not contain the subordination marker *-i*. Its ending is *-obare*. I guess that this is composed of the short perfective non-subject oriented relative ending (see section 4.4.3.3.1) followed by a non-concrete Masculine Class E common noun in the absolutive case (see section 4.2.1.1). For the latter, however, I have not been able to find the proper candidate (i.e. **bar-iya* or the like) in the vocabulary of Wolaytta and its genetically related languages. Thus for the time being I regard the ending as one morpheme. Although this ending is not conjugated, its realizations vary according to types of verbs to which it is attached, as follows.

(4.4.3.4.2-1)[490]

Tone Class I	-óbare
Tone Class II	´-obare

When I asked one of my main consultants about the meaning of this subordinate verb form, he answered that it means "after doing something"[491]. Ohman and Hailu (1976: 159) also translate *-obare* as 'after'. Adams (1983: 143) describes the ending as a subordinator expressing 'near succession relationship', and glosses it as 'soon after'. Although further research is needed to determine whether the ending should be translated as 'soon after' or 'after', I gloss it as 'after', for the time being. The following are examples in which *-obare* forms that can be translated as 'after' are used.

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[490] An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. Here, only forms that are used non-predicatively are given.

[491] He paraphrased, for example, *m-óbare* (*m-* 'to eat') as *m-íídoo-g-áá-ppé guyy-íya-ni* (eat-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-from back-OBL.M.SG.-in) (Cf. (4.4.3.3.4-13)).

(4.4.3.4.2-2)

'Kaish-é.'		g-íídí	sími
(fixed expression)[492]-ABS.		say-CONV.3M.SG.	thus

7oott-óbare	. . .	záár-uwa	7imm-í-kkó
do-after	. . .	answer-ABS.M.SG.	give-SUBOR.-if

7agg-í	7agg-íis.
cease-CONV.3M.SG.	cease-PF.3M.SG.

    'After he, thus, said (lit. he said and did) "OK" . . . if he gives an answer, it is over (lit. he ceased and ceased).'

(4.4.3.4.2-3)

hegáá	7í	7ess-óbare	7og-íya-ra	7ááDD-iya
that	he	stand (v.t.)-after	road-OBL.M.SG.-with	pass-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

7as-ái	7ubb-ái	hegáá	he	mítt-aa-nne
people-NOM.M.SG.	all-NOM.M.SG.	that	that	wood-ABS.M.SG.-and

KunCúút-iya	7onakk-ídaa-g-áá
thread-ABS.M.SG.	do so-and-so-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

be7-ídí	. . .	he	kátt-aa	wóni
see-CONV.3M.SG.	. . .	that	grain-ABS.M.SG.	at that time

kas-é	shódd-i	shódd-i
before-ABS.	pull out-CONV.3M.SG.	pull out-CONV.3M.SG.

m-íyo-g-áá	7agg-í
eat-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	cease-CONV.3M.SG.

bay-ées.
be lost-IMPF.3M.SG.

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[492] "*Kaish-é*" is a fixed expression for assent for playing the *KáNNish-iya* game, which resembles a riddle. See 若狭 (Wakasa, 2005).

'After he stands that, all the people who pass through the road see that, what did so-and-so on that wood and lace, and . . . abandon once and for all to, having pulled (it) out, eat that crop like before.'

The following two examples support my hypothesis that *-obare* contains a Masculine Class E common noun, since Masculine Class E common nouns also end in *e* when used as non-concrete predicates of affirmative declarative sentences, and end in *ee* when used as non-concrete predicates of affirmative interrogative sentences (see section 4.2.1.1).

(4.4.3.4.2-4)

táání	woTT-aná-i	7í	woTT-óbare.
I	run-REL.FUT.-NOM.	he	run-after

   'It is after he runs that I will run.'

(4.4.3.4.2-5)

táání	woTT-aná-i	7í	woTT-óbaree?
I	run-REL.FUT.-NOM.	he	run-after

   'Is it after he runs that I will run?'

   In many other examples, however, the ending is better translated as 'if'. In other words, *-obare* forms can be used to express conditions, as in the following.

(4.4.3.4.2-6)

he	goromóót-ee	7as-áa	m-óbare
that	evil eye-NOM.M.SG.	people-ABS.M.SG.	eat-after

7as-ái	goromóót-iya	Tal-íya
people-NOM.M.SG.	evil eye-OBL.M.SG.	medicine-ABS.M.SG.

7ushsh-íya	bitán-iya-kko	b-ées.
make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-OBL.M.SG.-toward	go-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'If that evil eye eats people, the people go to the man who makes drink medicine for

evil eye.'

(4.4.3.4.2-7)

Talót-iya	sing-iss-íyo		wod-é
rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.		time-ABS.

he	Talót-iya	sing-ída	na7-ái
that	rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-NOM.M.SG.

bajigam-óbare	7abaraad-óbare	'ha	na7-áa
go daft-after	go daft-after	this	child-ABS.M.SG.

goromóót-ee	m-íisi.'	g-ées,
evil eye-NOM.M.SG.	eat-PF.3M.SG.	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

Tal-íya	7ushsh-íya	bitán-ee.
medicine-ABS.M.SG.	make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

'When he makes (him) sniff (lit. time that he makes sniff) rue, if that boy that sniffed the rue goes daft or fuss around, "The evil eye ate this boy." says the man who makes drink the medicine.'

(4.4.3.4.2-8)

núúní	dad-ái	giK-ído	kátt-aa
we	thunder-NOM.M.SG.	protect-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	grain-ABS.M.SG.

m-óbare	ha	dad-áa-ni	giK-ído
eat-after	this	thunder-OBL.M.SG.-by	protect-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

kátt-ai	núná	puur-iss-aná.
grain-NOM.M.SG.	us	swell-CAUS.-FUT.

'If we eat the crop that (he) protected by thunder, this crop that (he) protected by thunder will swell us.'

(4.4.3.4.2-3) would be included here.

Judging from his table, Adams (1983: 213) considers that the *-obare* form is a punctilliar (i.e. non-continuous) past form that is used when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to the same participant. As the above examples show, however, he is mistaken since 1) this form can be used to refer to future or habitual situations (see (4.4.3.4.2-4) and (4.4.3.4.2-2), respectively), 2) this form is used also when its subject and a subject of a predicate in its superordinate clause refer to different participants (see (4.4.3.4.2-6)).

4.4.4 Infinitive

Forms discussed in the following sections, infinitives, are morphologically nominals. Thus strictly speaking they should not be discussed here in sections discussing verbs. They should have been fully discussed in section 4.2.9.3 of this thesis, whose heading is "Deverbal Nominals". However, I will discuss them here for the following reasons. 1) Infinitives are formed regularly from every verb stem, and thus can be regarded as verb forms. 2) Some infinitives are closely related to verb forms discussed above such as future and relative forms. 3) Infinitives retain characteristics as finite verbs. For example, they can co-occur with nominative nominals expressing "subjects", as in (4.4.4.1-3).

4.4.4.1 Future Infinitive

A stem of a future infinitive form is composed of a verb stem and *-an* (in the case of ordinary verbs) or *-aan* (in the case of mono-consonantal verbs). It is inflected as a Masculine Class A common noun (see section 4.2.1.1), although not a few forms are missing in the paradigm. The attested endings are as follows.[493]

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[493] Hirut (1999: 71) says that 'Suffixing morpheme {-o} to the verb root forms the infinitive verb in Wolayitta [*sic*].' Since she does not give any example sentences I cannot understand what she really meant. However, I guess that her "infinitive verbs" might be common nouns derived from verb stems. See (5.2.1-17). However, see also Hayward (2000b: 419), who discusses infinitive that ends in *-o* in Ometo languages. He also introduces Azeb Amha's report that the *-o* infinitive still exists in Wolaytta, which I was not able to find.

(4.4.4.1-1)[494] Endings of the Future Infinitive

Tone Class I, Ordinary verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-an-á	-an-á		-an-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-an-áa	-an-áa	-an-ái	

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	´-an-a	´-an-a		´-an-ee
Concrete (SG.)	´-an-aa	´-an-aa	´-an-ai	

Mono-consonantal Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-aan-á	-aan-á		-aan-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-aan-áa	-aan-áa	-aan-ái	

If we adopt Hayward's (2000b: 418-419) hypothesis, the non-concrete absolutive form would be the base of the paradigm. It is composed of a verb stem followed by a terminal vowel for a deverbal noun (*-a-*) followed by the postposition "in, at, by" in its predicative form (*-na*, whose non-predicative form is *-ni*)[495]. As Hayward (2000b: 419) says, 'it is not an unprecedented state of affairs to find that infinitives contain traces of adpositional elements (e.g., English **to enter**), so that we may legitimately suggest that the Ometo infinitive under discussion actually derives from a postpositional phrase.' The other forms in the paradigm would have been innovated when the last vowel of the predicative postposition, *a*, was re-analyzed as an ending of the Masculine Class A common noun, and the rest of the form as a noun stem. Because of its semantics, however, plural and vocative forms have not been innovated[496]. Following Hayward and Tsuge (1998), I discussed that the *n* element in personal pronouns A is related to the

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[494] The stem-forming element, *-an ~ -aan*, is also given in the table. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. In this case the place of a tonal prominence of a verb stem and that of a future infinitive are the same.

[495] If this is the case, however, the vowel immediately preceding the predicative postposition is expected to be long (see section 4.2.8.2), which is contrary to the fact in the case of ordinary verbs. This is disadvantage to my hypothesis.

[496] The luck of non-concrete nominative and concrete interrogative forms would be due to their infrequent occurrence in the language. The luck of feminine forms would be explained by their marked status (see section 4.2.1.6.2).

postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in section 4.2.4.1.4. If my discussion is right, Moreno (1938: 43) is right when he says that the form with *-ana* seems to be obtained by adding to a noun of action in *-a* the particle for the object that is found in *tâna* 'me', *nêna* 'you', *núna* 'us' etc. among the Ometo languages[497].

Future infinitive forms are nominal forms to express situations that will take place in the relative future if they will. They roughly correspond to to-infinitives in English that refer to situations in the relative future. The reference point in time for the futurity may be the time of utterance as in (4.4.4.1-2) and (4.4.4.1-32), or may be the time of occurrence of a situation expressed by another verb as in (4.4.4.1-7) and (4.4.4.1-18). There are examples that might not be easily explained in this way. They will be explained at appropriate places in the following. In any case, the relative futurity of future infinitive forms are not mentioned in previous works except for Adams (1983: 213), in which the subordinator *-ana* 'to', which seems to correspond to the non-concrete absolute ending of the future infinitive used clause-medially, is characterized as affirmative punctilliar future.

In the following, uses of each inflected form of the future infinitive will be discussed. To tell the truth, some of the forms have already been discussed above. The reasons for and the problems of it will be mentioned below.

Concrete Nominative

This form functions as a subject of a clause.

(4.4.4.1-2)

ha	buddeen-áa	m-aan-ái	7óónee?
this	Ethiopian crepe-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-NOM.M.SG.	who (INTER.)

'Who is one who will eat this traditional Ethiopian crepe-like food (እንጀራ *enjarA* in Amharic)?'

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[497] His original text in Italian is as follows: 'il modo in *-ana* . . . me sembra essere un infinito o, se si vuole, un supino, ottenuto aggiungendo a un nome d'azione in *-a* quella particella *-na* che nel seno dell'ometo ritroviamo in *tâna, nêna, núna* ecc. per segnare l'oggetto'. He also says that the *n* element may be related to the endings of the third person optative in the Highland East Cushitic languages, about which I have nothing to say.

(4.4.4.1-3)

táání	ziNN-an-ái	ha
I	fall asleep-INFN.-NOM.M.SG.	this

hííT-aa-nee-yyé?
sleeping place-OBL.M.SG.-in (INTER.)-INDEC.

   'Is it in this sleeping place that I will sleep?'

It is very difficult to analyze the underlined nominative forms. Actually, these examples were also given in section 4.4.3.3.3, in which relative forms are discussed. There, the nominative forms in question were analyzed as future relative forms of verbs followed by the nominative marker, in order to keep unity with other parallel forms (seemingly) containing other relative forms. However, the treatment might not be right. If we take other infinitive forms introduced below into consideration, we would consider that the underlined nominative forms should be analyzed as infinitive forms as glossed above, at least when they mean "to do . . . (in the future)"[498], as in (4.4.4.1-3). I have not reached a conclusion yet. However, it would be indifferent whether the forms should be analyzed as relative forms or infinitive forms. Relative forms and infinitive forms in Wolaytta are closely related to each other. What is important is to realize such relationship, not to distinguish the two clearly.

Non-concrete Oblique

   Non-concrete oblique infinitive forms were discussed in section 4.4.3.3.2 as future relative forms. Because of the practical and theoretical reasons mentioned there, I call them "relative forms" and gloss them as such. For the details, see section 4.4.3.3.2. As a matter of fact, whether the forms are relative forms or infinitive forms is indifferent. For convenience' sake, a few examples of them given in section 4.4.3.3.2 are repeated below.

(4.4.4.1-4)

ha	buddeen-áa	m-aaná	7as-í	7óónee?
this	Ethiopian crepe-ABS.M.SG.	eat-REL.FUT.	person-NOM.	who

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[498] True relative forms followed by the nominative marker *-i* cannot express this meaning. See (4.4.3.3.3-11).

'Who is the man who will eat this Traditional Ethiopian crepe-like food (እንጀራ *enjarA* in Amharic)? (i.e. This *enjarA* is not tasty.)'

(4.4.4.1-5)

táání	7úy-ana	pars-úwa	duuKK-á.
I	drink-REL.FUT.	local beer-ABS.M.SG.	pour-OPT.2SG.

'Pour out local beer that I will drink.'

Concrete Oblique

This form is used with a postposition.

(4.4.4.1-6)[499]

Kúm-aa	m-aan-áa-ppe	kaset-ádá
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	precede-CONV.2SG.

kúsh-iya	meeC-étt-a.
hand-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

'Wash your hands before you eat the food.'

(4.4.4.1-7)[500]

sóo	gel-an-áa-ppe	kas-é	ta-tóh-uwa
home	enter-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	before-ABS.	my-foot-ABS.M.SG.

---

[499] Adams (1983: 146-147) describes the structure *-ana-:-ppe kaset-* (in its converb form) as a kind of subordinate clause. He, however, considers that *-ana-* is a relativizer (i.e. a relative form) and the vowel length following it is a realization of a nominalizer, which he says is found in, for example, *ha:* 'this place' (cf. *ha* 'this') and in *ta-:-ppe* 'from me' (cf. *ta* 'my) (see Adams (1983: 234-235)).

[500] Adams (1983: 149) describes the structure *-ana-:-ppe kase* as a clausal subordinating noun phrase. He considers that *-ana-* is a relativizer (i.e. a relative form), the vowel length following it is a realization of a nominalizer, which he says is found in, for example, *ha:* 'this place' (cf. *ha* 'this') and in *ta-:-ppe* 'from me' (cf. *ta* 'my') (see Adams (1983: 234-235)), and *kase* is a subordinating type of noun meaning 'previously'.

meeCC-áas.
wash-PF.1SG.

    'Before I entered my house, I had washed my feet.'

(4.4.4.1-8)

7á-yyo	7ayyáán-ai	yoot-íi-ni	'na7-íyo
his-to	spirit-NOM.M.SG.	tell-SUBOR.-in	child-ABS.F.SG.

siiK-áas.'	g-íí-kkó	7imm-í
love-PF.1SG.	say-SUBOR.-if	give-CONV.3PL.

<u>7agg-an-áa</u>-ppe	har-á	b-í	báa.
cease-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	other-OBL.	thing-NOM.	not present

    'When the spirit tell him (i.e. when the witchcraft is possessed), if he says "I love the girl." there is no choice but giving (her) immediately (lit. from having given and ceasing).'

(4.4.4.1-9)

Kássi	seeTáán-ai	bánáá-rá
furthermore	Satan-NOM.M.SG.	their own-with

7óóy-ett-idi	shaahétt-i-kko
quarrel-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.	be divided-SUBOR.-if

<u>Tay-an-áa</u>-ppe	7átt-ii-ni	de7-an-á
be lost-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	stay behind-SUBOR.-in	exist-INFN.-ABS.

danday-énná.
be able-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'Furthermore, if Satan opposes himself and is divided (lit. if Satan quarrels with themselves and is divided), he indeed disappears, but he cannot exist.'   (From Mark 3:26)

(4.4.4.1-10)[501]

7a-naatí	m-aan-áa-daani	7ubb-á
his-children (NOM.)	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	all-OBL.

galláss-i	7oott-ées.
day-ADV.	work-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He works everyday in order for his children to (be able to) eat.'

(4.4.4.1-11)

nééní	gákk-an-aa-ssi	táání	Kúm-aa
you	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	I	food-ABS.M.SG.

m-árg-ana.
eat-completely-FUT.

   'I will completely eat the food before you reach.'

(4.4.4.1-12)[502]

sáánn-í	. . .	kind-ó-ppé	háa
(person name)-NOM.	. . .	(place name)-OBL.-from	to here

kóísh-á	gákk-an-aa-ssi	kess-íis.
(place name)-ABS.	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	pacify-PF.3M.SG.

   'Sana placed (the Wolaytta land) under his control from Kindo to here Koysha.'

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[501] Adams (1983: 152) describes *-ana:dani* as a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase for "purpose relationship" that means 'in order that'. He appears to consider that *-ana* is a relativizer (i.e. a relative form), the vowel length following it is a realization of a nominalizer (see footnote 498), and *dani* is a postposition meaning 'like'.

[502] Some might not consider that the underlined infinitive form here refers to a situation in the (relative) future. However, in the original cognitive schema on which this idiomatic use is based, the leaving Kindo, where the pacifying started, precede the reaching Koysha.

(4.4.4.1-13)

mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á	kóyy-ida	7úr-ai
wilfe-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-ABS.	want-REL.PF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

kóít-aa	7imm-ídí	na7-ée	keett-áa
gift-ABS.M.SG.	give-CONV.3M.SG.	child-OBL.F.SG.	house-ABS.M.SG.

7oishiss-ídí	paKKad-iss-ídí	<u>7ekk-an-á</u>-u[503]
make ask-CONV.3M.SG.	permit-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7í	hiiyéés-a	gid-í-kkó	. . .
he	poor-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if	. . .

'If a man who wanted to marry (lit. take) a wife is poor for giving a gift, making (someone) ask (the people of) the house of the girl, making (them) permit, and marrying (lit. taking) (her) . . .'

(4.4.4.1-14)

ha	zááp-iya	<u>KanT-an-á</u>-u	waiss-ées.
this	tree-ABS.M.SG.	cut-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	trouble-IMPF.3M.SG.

'It is difficult to cut this tree.'

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[503] As is discussed in section 4.2.8.2, a long vowel is shortened before the postposition *-u* 'to, for'. A piece of evidence that the underlying vowel of the infinitive ending here is long, and thus the form is concrete, is given by the fact that the vowel is realized as a long vowel if we replace the postposition *-u* 'to, for' with a synonymous postposition *-ssi* 'to, for' (see section 4.2.8.4.1).

<u>7ekk-aan-áa</u>-ssi	7í	hiyyéés-a	gid-í-kkó
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	he	poor-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if

'if he is poor for taking (i.e. marrying)'

Thus the oblique infinitive here is concrete, not non-concrete.

Adams (1983: 152) describes *-ana:ssi* and *-anau* as clausal subordinating postpositional phrases for "purpose relationship". He (1983: 234-235) considers that the vowel length in the former and the zero morpheme between *-ana-* and *-u* in the latter are nominalizers (see footnote 498).

(4.4.4.1-15)

7iss-í	7as-í	ba-mácc-iyo
one-OBL.	person-NOM.	his own-wife-ABS.F.SG.

yedd-an-á-u	nu-hígg-ee
drive away-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	our-law-NOM.M.SG.

7azaz-íi?
order-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'Does our law order a man to drive his wife away?'   (From Mark 10:2)

(4.4.4.1-16)

7í	sharéécc-uwa-ssi	dors-áa
he	witchdoctor-OBL.M.SG.-to	sheep-ABS.M.SG.

korb-íya	7imm-an-á-u	shííKett-iis.
not castrated-ABS.M.SG.	give-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	vow-PF.3M.SG.

    'He vowed to give a sheep not castrated to the witchdoctor.'

(4.4.4.1-17)

ta-gód-au	táání	hánnó	gákk-an-a-u
my-lord-VOC.M.SG.	I	this (ABS.)	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

na7-á	demm-ábe7íkke.
child-ABS.	find-NEG.PF.1SG.

    'My Lord, I have not begotten (lit. found) a child until now (lit. to reach this).'

(4.4.4.1-18)

káw-uwa	m-aan-á-u	b-íis.
dinner-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	go-PF.3M.SG.

    'He went in order to eat dinner.'

(4.4.4.1-19)[504]

kaw-úwa	bocc-an-á-u	baKK-an-á-u
king-ABS.M.SG.	touch-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	hit-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-áis.
be able to-IMPF.1SG.

    'I can touch, hit the king.'

(4.4.4.1-20)

7áu	b-aan-á-u	han-ái?
where	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	become-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

    'Where are you about to (lit. do you become to) go?'

(4.4.4.1-21)[505]

7í	yeekk-íi-ni	síy-an-a-u	kóyy-ikke.
he	cry-SUBOR.-in	hear-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'I do not want to hear him crying (lit. when he cries).'

(4.4.4.1-22)[506]

táání	hegáa-ni-kká	Káál-aa	yoot-an-á-u
I	that-in-too	word-ABS.M.SG.	tell-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

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[504] Some may consider that this sentence expresses a present situation. However, it also expresses a possibility in the future in a sense: 'I will touch, hit the king in the future if I want.' Thus the future infinitives indeed express future situations.

[505] It would be easier to understand why a future infinitive form is used here if we consider its affirmative counterpart.

síy-an-a-u	kóyy-ais.	
hear-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-IMPF.1SG.	'I want to hear.'

The above would be uttered typically when the speaker has not yet heard, or wants to continue hear. Thus the infinitive form expresses a future situation.

[506] Adams (1983: 170) says that the ending *-anau* followed by *besse:si* is an expression for a phrasal secondary aspect that expresses obligation aspect.

bess-ées.

show, be appropriate-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'I should tell the word there too.'   (From Mark 1:38)

(4.4.4.1-23)[507]

7ír-ai	bukk-an-á-u	dóómm-iis.
rain-NOM.M.SG.	beat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	begin-PF.3M.SG.

    'It began to rain (lit. the rain began to beat).'

(4.4.4.1-24)

7aaw-ái	ba-na7-áa	be7-an-á-u
father-NOM.M.SG.	his own-child-ABS.M.SG.	see-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7ámott-iis.

desire-PF.3M.SG.

    'The father is desirous to see his son.'

(4.4.4.1-25)

táání	b-aan-á-u	koshsh-ées.
I	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'I have to go.'

Concrete oblique future infinitive forms go together with the dative postpositions. As is discussed in section 4.2.8.4.1, often, but not always, the three dative postpositions, -*ssi*, -*yyo*, and -*u* can be used interchangeably[508]. Actually, however, -*u* is by far the most frequently used with the future infinitive. Thus Ohman and Hailu (1976: 160) and

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[507] It is very difficult to explain why a future infinitive is used here. One possible account would be that the completion of the raining takes place after the beginning of it.
[508] Among the examples in this section, -*ssi* can replace -*u* after the future infinitive in (4.4.4.1-13), (4.4.4.1-15) to (4.4.4.1-18), (4.4.4.1-21), (4.4.4.1-22), and (4.4.4.1-24), and -*yyo* can in (4.4.4.1-13) to (4.4.4.1-25), except for (4.4.4.1-20). The postposition -*u* can also replace -*ssi* in (4.4.4.1-11) and (4.4.4.1-12).

Lamberti and Sottile (1997 162-163) appear to have noticed only that combination[509].

In (4.4.4.1-18) to (4.4.4.1-23), the postpositional phrases with the underlined future infinitive forms can be replaced by the corresponding non-concrete future infinitives in the absolute case (see below in this section), if nothing is inserted between the infinitive forms and their following superordinate verbs.

A concrete oblique future infinitive form can also be followed by *shiini* 'while', which I was not able to analyze well (see section 4.5). If the stem of the infinitive describes a situation perfectively the combination means 'before . . .', but if the stem of the infinitive describes a situation imperfectively the combination means 'while . . .'[510] Of course the same situation can be described both perfectively and imperfectively. The *-an-aa-shiini* form has a predicative form and an interrogative form, as in the case of the *-i-shiini* form discussed in section 4.4.3.4.1. See (4.4.4.1-29) and (4.4.4.1-30), respectively.

(4.4.4.1-26)

nééní	b-aan-áa-shiini	táání	gákk-ana.
you	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-while	I	reach-FUT.

   'I will reach before you go.'

(4.4.4.1-27)

nééní	m-aan-áa-shiini	Kúm-ai
you	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-while	food-NOM.M.SG.

dócc-ana.
become cold-FUT.

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[509] Ohman and Hailu (197: 160) say that 'Infinitive. This is formed by suffixing *-w* to the future tense'. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 162-163) say that 'If it [verbal noun] is used as infinitive, it is inflected in dative . . . and ends in -w which causes the lengthening of the vowel immediately preceding it. The infinitive verbal noun is as a rule formed by suffixing the morpheme -ana to the inflecting verbal stem . . .' Incidentally, a vowel before the postposition is not lengthened as Lamberti and Sottile say, but it is shortened instead (see section 4.2.8.2).

[510] Adams (1983: 213) describes *-ana:šini* as a subordinator that is punctilliar affirmative future meaning 'during the time'. I cannot guess what he exactly means by it.

'The food will become cold before you eat it.' or
'The food will become cold while you eat it.'

(4.4.4.1-28)

nééní	ha	sháyy-iya	7úy-an-aa-shiini
you	this	tea-ABS.M.SG.	drink-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-while

simm-adá	y-á.
return-CONV.2SG.	come-OPT.2SG.

  'Come back until I finish (lit. while I drink) this tea.'

(4.4.4.1-29)

tá	simm-ádá	y-aaná-i	né	ha
I	return-CONV.1SG.	come-REL.FUT.-NOM.	you	this

Kúm-aa	m-aan-áa-shiina.
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-while

  'It is before/while you eat the food that I will come back.'

(4.4.4.1-30)

tá	simm-ádá	y-aaná-i	né	ha
I	return-CONV.1SG.	come-REL.FUT.-NOM.	you	this

Kúm-aa	m-aan-áa-shiinee?
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-while

  'Is it before/while you eat the food that I will come back?'

    There is a variant of the *-an-aa-shiini* form discussed above: the non-concrete absolute future infinitive followed by the *-an-aa-shiini* form of the verb *gákk-* 'to reach'. The *-an-a gákk-an-aa-shiini* form always means 'before . . .', never 'while . . .'[511]

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[511] Adams (1983: 145) describes this as a subordinating part of a subordinate clause that expresses a termination relationship, which means 'until'.

(4.4.4.1-31)

nééní	m-aan-á	gákk-an-aa-shiini	Kúm-ai
you	eat-INFN.-ABS.	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-while	food-NOM.M.SG.

dócc-ana.
become cold-FUT.

'The food will become cold before you eat it.'

Non-concrete Absolutive

When used as a predicate, this form corresponds to the future discussed in section 4.4.2.3. For the practical reasons mentioned there I call it "future", and gloss it as such. However, the original meaning would be something like "be in the place of doing . . ." Remember that the future infinitive contains the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in it. The meaning would be easily changed into "be in the status convenient to do . . ." or "be ready to do . . .", then "do . . . in the future". For convenience' sake, a few examples given in section 4.4.2.3 are repeated below.

(4.4.4.1-32)

hegáá	zér-ida	7as-atí	'he
that	sow-REL.PF.SUBJ.	people-NOM.PL.	that

met-úwa-ppe	kíy-ana.'	g-íídí
problem-OBL.M.SG.-from	go out-FUT.	say-CONV.3M.SG.

he	kátt-aa	dad-áa-ni
that	crop-ABS.M.SG.	thunder-OBL.M.SG.-in

giK-óosona.
protect-IMPF.3PL.

'People who sowed that, having said "We will go out from the problem", protect that crop by thunder.'

(4.4.4.1-33)

nééní	mínn-a	7oott-í-kkó	ló77-o
you	be strong-CONV.2SG.	work-SUBOR.-if	good-OBL.

miishsh-áa	go7-étt-ana.
money-ABS.M.SG.	serve-PASS.-FUT.

   'If you work hard, you will find (lit. be served) good payment.'

    The form under discussion can also be used adverbially just as other non-concrete absolute common nouns can. In most cases, it can be replaced by the future infinitive with a dative postposition with no overt semantic change. Compare the following with (4.4.4.1-18), (4.4.4.1-20), (4.4.4.1-21), and (4.4.4.1-22), respectively.

(4.4.4.1-34)

gaCín-iyo	7anj-an-á	b-áasu.
woman in child bed-ABS.F.SG.	bless-INFN.-ABS.	go-PF.3F.SG.

   'She went to bless the woman in child bed.'

(4.4.4.1-35)[512]

7áu	b-aan-á	han-ái?
where	go-INFN.-ABS.	become-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

   'Where are you about to (lit. do you become) go?'

(4.4.4.1-36)[513]

mácc-iyo	7ekk-an-á	kóyy-ida	7úr-ai
wilfe-ABS.F.SG.	take-INFN.-ABS.	want-REL.PF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

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[512] Adams (1983: 170) describes a subordinate clause with the subordinator *-ana* followed by *han-e:si* as a phrasal secondary aspect that expresses an imminence aspect.

[513] Adams (1983: 168) describes this *-ana* ending as a subordinator expressing "desire relationship", which forms a subordinate clause.

kóít-aa	7imm-ídí	na7-ée	keett-áa
gift-ABS.M.SG.	give-CONV.3M.SG.	child-OBL.F.SG.	house-ABS.M.SG.

7oishiss-ídí	paKKad-iss-ídí	7ekk-an-á-u
make ask-CONV.3M.SG.	permit-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7í	hiiyéés-a	gid-í-kkó	. . .
he	poor-ABS.	become-SUBOR.-if	. . .

'If a man who wanted to marry (lit. take) a wife is poor for giving a gift, making (someone) ask (the people of) the house of the girl, making (them) permit, and marrying (lit. taking) (her) . . .'

(4.4.4.1-37)

ba-7aaw-áa-nne	ba-7aayy-íyo-nne
his own-father-ABS.M.SG.-and	his own-mother-ABS.F.SG.-and

Cáy-iya	7úr-ai	háíKK-an-a
curse-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	person-NOM.M.SG.	die-INFN.-ABS.

bess-ées.
show, be appropriate-IMPF.3M.SG.

'One who curses his father and his mother should die.'   (From Mark 7:10)

In the following example, however, the future infinitive form cannot be replaced by any other forms of the same verb.

(4.4.4.1-38)[514]

biitt-áa	wod-íya-ni	goyy-an-á
land-ABS.	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	cultivate-INFN.-ABS.

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[514] Adams (1983: 145) describes *-ana Tayikko* (*T* is a dotted *t* in the original text) as a subordinating part of a subordinate clause that expresses negative condition relationship. He appears to analyze *-ana* as a subordinator for desire relationship.

Interestingly, a non-concrete future infinitive in the absolute case in this structure can be replaced with a negative infinitive followed the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'. See (4.4.4.2-16).

Tay-í-kkó	kátt-ai	mokk-énná.
be lost-SUBOR.-if	grain-NOM.M.SG.	grow-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'If you do not cultivate a land in (the proper) time, grain does not grow.'

Concrete Absolutive

Contrary to expectations, this form is hardly used. It seems to be used only as predicates of indirect questions with the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether', as in the following. Even it might not be a certain example of the form under discussion. For indirect questions, see also the discussion in section 4.4.4.3.[515]

(4.4.4.1-39)

táání	7áí	7oott-an-áa-kko	7er-íkke.
I	what	do-INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know what to do.'

Non-concrete Interrogative

This form has already been discussed in section 4.4.2.3 as the interrogative future. For the practical reasons mentioned there I call it "interrogative future", and gloss it as such. However, as said at the beginning of this section, it would have been originally a postpositional phrase. Remember the semantic development mentioned above in this section under the heading "Non-concrete Absolutive". I said at the beginning of this section that future infinitive forms other than a non-concrete absolutive one would have been innovated when the last vowel of the predicative postposition, *a*, was re-analyzed as an ending of the Masculine Class A common noun, and the rest of the form as a noun stem. However, the non-concrete interrogative future infinitive may contain the interrogative form of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', i.e. *-nee* (see section 4.2.8.1), in it from the beginning. For convenience' sake, a few examples given in section 4.4.2.3 are repeated below.

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[515] Adams (1983: 153) considers that here *-ana-* is a relativizer (i.e. relative form) and the vowel length following it is a nominalizer. See footnote 498. He assumes that *-kko* is a postposition, but this is false (see section 4.2.8.4.2).

(4.4.4.1-40)

kaw-ó	milat-íya		b-á	
king-OBL.	resemble-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.		thing-ABS.	

baKK-íyo-g-éé		néná	7áw-a
slap-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.		you	where-ABS.

gatt-anée?
make reach-FUT.INTER.

'Where will a thing like slapping a king make you reach (i.e. what will happen to you if you slap a king)?'

(4.4.4.1-41)

laa	ha	har-é	7ubb-áa	7áí	Caan-anée?
hey	this	donkey-OBL.	all-ABS.M.SG.	what	load-FUT.INTER.

'Hey, what will you load on these all donkeys?'

Moreno (1938: 41-43) discusses various uses of the "mode in *-ana*" in the Ometo languages together. He says that the mode can be used alone for an expression of the future, can be used with a postposition for an expression of purpose, or can be used alone as a subordinate clause for an expression of purpose. His treatment is very insightful, and my discussion here is affected by it. I consider that because the endings of the forms discussed in this section fit into the paradigm of common nouns, they are common nouns. I also consider that because they have a common element, *-a(a)n-*, and because their meanings are somehow related to each other, they constitute a subclass of common nouns, i.e. "future infinitive". Incidentally, he also notes that in Wolaytta this *-ana* form was given for a translation of Amharic verbal noun (e.g. መብላት *mablAt* 'to eat'). However, I did not experience that.

As can be inferred from some of the footnotes above in this section, Adams (1983) considers that non-concrete absolutive future infinitive forms used clause-medially are not "infinitives", but verb forms forming subordinate clauses. For the reasons, he (1983: 144) says that '/-ana/ may not manifest any other function that the English infinitive does, such as S[ubject] or O[bject]. It cannot inflect for negative polarity like an

infinitive can. Nor does it have the structure of a N[oun phrase].' However, the forms under discussion are inflected as common nouns and functions as common nouns, as we have seen in this section. As we will see later in section 4.4.4.2, there are corresponding negative forms, although they are not inflected forms of the future infinitive. Thus, his account contradicts itself. Furthermore, Adams's definition is too affected by English. If he had set a high value on formal, not notional, aspects of the language, he would have reached the same conclusion as mine. On the other hand, in the case of concrete oblique future infinitive forms followed by postpositions, he (1983: 146-147, 234-235) analysis each of them as a relative form followed by a nominalizer followed by a postposition, as mentioned, for example, in footnote 499. This analysis is closer to mine in that the *-anaa* form under discussion is regarded as a nominal.

The analysis of future infinitive forms discussed here has of course shortcomings. First, it cannot explain why non-concrete forms are chosen when absolutive future infinitive forms are used clause-medially, even when they refer to concrete situations.

Second, except for nominative forms, almost all attested future infinitive forms are used more or less idiomatically. For example, non-concrete absolutive future infinitives as predicates of sentences are always translated as finite verbs in the future tense in English. Other apparently possible meanings expected from their being common nouns, such as ". . . is doing . . . (in the future)", are excluded. Possible combinations of future infinitives and postpositions are also almost restricted to idiomatic ones, which are described in this section. In summary, future infinitive forms in Wolaytta cannot be used as freely as other nominals in the language.

These facts seem to suggest that future infinitive forms are relatively recent innovated forms, that thus they are not stable yet, and that thus they are not necessarily the same as other Wolaytta common nouns.

4.4.4.2   Negative Infinitive

A stem of a negative infinitive form is composed of a verb stem and *-enn* (in the case of ordinary verbs) or *-eenn* (in the case of mono-consonantal verbs). It is inflected as a Masculine Class A common noun (see section 4.2.1.1), although not a few forms are missing in the paradigm, as in the case of the future infinitive discussed in sectionn 4.4.4.1. The attested endings are as follows.

(4.4.4.2-1)[516] Endings of the Negative Infinitive

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-énn-á	-énn-á		-énn-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-énn-aa	-énn-aa	-énn-ai	

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	´-énn-á	´-enn-a		´-énn-ée
Concrete (SG.)	´-enn-aa	´-enn-aa	´-enn-ai	

Mono-consonantal Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-éénn-á	-éénn-é		-éénn-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-éénn-aa	-éénn-aa	-éénn-ai	

Tonally most non-concrete negative infinitive forms are not typical common nouns. Note, however, that they are similar to place-name nouns (see (4.2.2.2.2-1)) and person-name nouns (see (4.2.2.3.2-1)), i.e. to unmarked or default nominal forms (see section 4.2.1.4).

Negative infinitive forms are nominal forms to express non-occurrence of situations described by their stems. They roughly correspond to not to-infinitives in English.

In the following, uses of each inflected form of the negative infinitive will be discussed. To tell the truth, some of the forms have already been discussed above. The reasons for and the problems of it will be mentioned below.

Concrete Nominative
This form functions as a subject of a clause.

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[516] The stem-forming element, *-enn ~ -eenn*, is also given in the table. An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. In this case the place of a tonal prominence of a verb stem and that of a future infinitive are the same.

(4.4.4.2-2)

woTT-énn-ai   Toon-énná.
run-NEG.INFN.-NOM.M.SG.   win-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

     'One who does not run does not win.'

(4.4.4.2-3)

tá   b-éénn-ai   sákk-iyo
I   go-NEG.INFN.-NOM.M.SG.   hurt-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

gishsh-áa-ssa.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

     'It is for reasons of health (lit. the reason that hurts) that I do not go.'

It is very difficult to analyze the underlined nominative forms. Actually, these examples were also given in section 4.4.3.3.3, in which relative forms are discussed. There, the nominative forms in question were analyzed as general negative relative forms of verbs followed by the nominative marker, in order to keep unity with other parallel forms (seemingly) containing other relative forms. However, the treatment might not be right. If we take other infinitive forms introduced below into consideration, we would consider that the underlined nominative forms should be analyzed as infinitive forms as glossed above, at least when they mean "not to do . . ."[517], as in (4.4.4.2-3). I have not reached a conclusion yet. However, it would be indifferent whether the forms should be analyzed as relative forms or infinitive forms. Relative forms and infinitive forms in Wolaytta are closely related to each other. What is important is to realize such relationship, not to distinguish the two clearly.

Non-concrete Oblique

     Non-concrete oblique negative infinitive forms were discussed in section 4.4.3.3.2 as general negative relative forms. Because of the practical and theoretical reasons mentioned there, I call them "relative forms" and gloss them as such. For the details, see section 4.4.3.3.2. As a matter of fact, whether the forms are relative forms or infinitive forms is indifferent. For convenience' sake, a few examples of them given in section 4.4.3.3.2 are repeated below.

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[517] See footnote 498.

(4.4.4.2-4)

wolaittátt-oi	waiss-énná
the Wolaytta language-NOM.M.SG.	trouble-NEG.REL.

doon-á.
mouth-ABS.

'The Wolaytta language is a language (lit. mouth) that does not trouble (anyone) (i.e. is easy).'

(4.4.4.2-5)

táání	zín-o	yeeh-úwa	b-éénnaa-g-éé
I	yesterday-ABS.	funeral-ABS.M.SG.	go-NEG.REL.-NMNL.-NOM.

táná	boll-ái	sákk-ii-na.
me	body-NOM.M.SG.	hurt-SUBOR.-in

'It is because I was sick (lit. when the body hurt me) that I did not go to the funeral yesterday.'

Concrete Oblique

This form is used with a postposition[518].

(4.4.4.2-6)

Kúm-aa	m-éénn-aa-daani	táná
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	me

7úl-oi	sákk-ees.
stomach-NOM.M.SG.	hurt-IMPF.3M.SG.

'(My) stomach aches so severely that I cannot eat food (lit. like not eating food the stomach hurts me).'

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[518] An example in which this form modifies a nominal that is not a postposition has not been attested yet, if -*daani* 'like' is regarded as a true postposition (see section 4.2.8.4.6).

(4.4.4.2-7)

met-úwa-ni	gel-énn-aa-daani
problem-OBL.M.SG.-in	enter-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like

zorét-aa	7oicc-áas.
advice-ABS.M.SG.	ask-PF.1SG.

   'I asked an advice in order not to enter into a problem.'

(4.4.4.2-8)

táání	7ír-ai	bukk-énn-aa-daani	hirg-áis.
I	rain-NOM.M.SG.	rain-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	worry-IMPF.1SG.

   'I worry (hoping that) it will not rain.'

   Concrete oblique negative infinitive forms especially go together with the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by'[519]. The combination usually means "without doing . . ." or "before doing . . .", which are derived from "in/at not doing . . ."[520].

(4.4.4.2-9)

súútt-í	gúkk-enn-aa-ni	7ash-ói
blood-NOM.	flow-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	meat-NOM.M.SG.

wáán-i	KanT-étt-ii?
become what-CONV.3M.SG.	cut-PASS.-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

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[519] Remember that before the postposition *-ni* 'in, at' vowel length is neutralized (see section 4.2.8.2). Thus it is not possible to assert that negative infinitive forms before the postposition is really concrete forms on the basis of morphology. However, I regarded it as concrete because there is no other certain example in which a postposition follows a non-concrete negative infinitive.

[520] Adams (1983: 213) describes this combination (*-ennani*, in his notation) as a subordinator that is punctilliar and negative on the one hand, and as a subordinator that is continuous, negative, and same participant on the other hand. According to him, the former is a negative counterpart of the converb (see section 4.4.3.1) and of the *-ii-ni* form (see section 4.4.3.4.1), while the latter is a negative counterpart of the simultaneous (see section 4.4.3.2). Since he does not give any examples, I cannot guess what the "continuous negative" is and where it is used.

'How is meat cut without flowing of blood?'

(4.4.4.2-10)

7óós-uwa	7oott-énn-aa-ni	Kúm-aa
work-ABS.M.SG.	work-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	food-ABS.M.SG.

m-óókko.
eat-NEG.IMPF.1PL.

'We do not eat food without working.'

(4.4.4.2-11)

kaw-ó	7aC-úwa	KanT-énn-aa-ni
king-OBL.	debt-ABS.M.SG.	cut-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in

gaMM-ett-íis.
wait-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'He made wait without getting out of (lit. cutting) his debt to the government.'

(4.4.4.2-12)

nééní	gákk-enn-aa-ni	táání	Kúrs-iya
you	reach-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	I	breakfast-ABS.M.SG.

m-árg-ikke.
eat-completely-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I will never eat breakfast before you reach.'

(4.4.4.2-13)

shííní	wolKáám-a	7as-á	kaset-ídí
but	strong-OBL.	person-ABS.	precede-CONV.3M.SG.

Kácc-enn-aa-ni	de7-íiddi	7a-keett-áa
tie-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-SIM.3M.SG.	his-house-ABS.M.SG.

gel-ídí	7a-miishsh-áa	bonK-an-á-u
enter-CONV.3M.SG.	his-money-ABS.M.SG.	plunder-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-íya	7as-í	báawa.
be able to-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	person-NOM.	not present

'But there is no one who can enter his house and plunder his money without tying up the strong man in advance (lit. having preceded).' (From Mark 3:27)

(4.4.4.2-14)[521]

sóo	gel-énn-aa-ni-kka	Téég-an-a-u
home	enter-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in-too	call-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-ées.
be able-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Even if he does not enter the house, he can call (from outside).'

The following are somewhat idiomatic or fixed expressions using the same combination (i.e. a negative infinitive form followed by the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by').

(4.4.4.2-15)

leemís-oi	míízz-aa-ssa	Táll-a
example-NOM.M.SG.	cattle-OBL.M.SG.-for	only-ABS.

gid-énn-aa-ni	7as-áa-ssi-kka
become-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	people-OBL.M.SG.-for-too

7ér-a	gid-íya	b-á.
education-ABS.	become-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	thing-ABS.

'The example is not only for cattle. It is also a thing that is an education for men.'

---

[521] Adams (1983: 213) describes it as a subordinator of negative polarity that means 'even though'. For a concessive meaning brought by the indeclinable *-kka* 'too', see section 4.3.2.

(4.4.4.2-16)

biitt-áa	wod-íya-ni	7oott-énn-aa-ni
land-ABS.M.SG.	time-OBL.M.SG.-in	work-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in

Tay-í-kkó[522]	kátt-ai	mokk-énná.
be lost-SUBOR.-if	grain-NOM.M.SG.	grow-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'If you do not cultivate (lit. if it is lost without working) a land in the (proper) time, grain does not grow.'

(4.4.4.2-17)[523]

7í	y-éénn-aa-ni	7agg-an-á-u
he	come-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	cease-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-ées.
be able to-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He may not come.'

(4.4.4.2-18)[524]

zín-o	y-éénnaa-ni	7agg-énná.
yesterday-ABS.	come-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	cease-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'He probably came yesterday.'

---

[522] This (i.e. a negative infinitive form with the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' followed by *Tay-í-kkó* 'if it is lost') is a common way of expressing negative conditions. For affirmative conditions, see sections 4.4.3.4.1 and 4.4.4.3.

Interestingly, a negative infinitive with the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in this structure can be replaced with a non-concrete absolute future infinitive form. See (4.4.4.1-38).

[523] The verb *7agg-* 'to cease' that follows the *-ennaa-ni* form of a verb is often used to form negative subordinate expressions of the latter verb. Adams (1983: 145) gives *-ennani ?aggobare* 'soon after' (ending for a subordinate clause for "succession relationship") and (ibid.: 146) *-ennani ?aggikko* 'if he does not . . .' (ending for a subordinate clause for "negative condition relationship"). For *-obare* and *-i-kko*, see sections 4.4.3.4.2 and 4.4.3.4.1, respectively.

[524] Adams (1983: 172) says that the ending *-ennani* followed by *?aggenna* is an expression of a phrasal secondary aspect that expresses probability aspect.

(4.4.4.2-19)[525]

hembéécc-iya	hemétt-ii-ni
(place name)-NOM.F.SG.	walk-SUBOR.-in

wur-énn-aa-ni	7iTT-áasu.
end-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	refuse-PF.3F.SG.

'It was not possible to walk through Hembeccho (lit. Hembecho refused without ending when someone walked).'

Non-concrete Absolutive

This form corresponds to the third-person singular masculine form of the negative declarative imperfective discussed in section 4.4.2.1.2. So that there would not be a gap in the paradigm, I call the form "negative declarative imperfective", and gloss it as such. However, its origin would, almost undoubtedly, be the negative infinitive. For convenience' sake, a few examples given in section 4.4.2.1.2 are repeated here.

(4.4.4.2-20)

ta-7ish-ái	b-aan-á-u	kóyy-énná.
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'My brother does not want to go.'

(4.4.4.2-21)

7úútt-ai	doiss-íi-ni	7ees-úwa-ni
false banana-NOM.M.SG.	boil-SUBOR.-in	speed-OBL.M.SG.-in

ka77-énná.
be cooked-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'A false banana does not cook fast when it is boiled.'

---

[525] Adams (1983: 146) describes *-ennani ?iTTikko* 'if he does not . . .' as an ending for a subordinate clause for "negative condition relationship". For *-i-kko*, see section 4.4.3.4.1.

Non-concrete absolutive negative infinitive forms are not used clause-medially.

Concrete Absolutive

As in the case of the future infinitive discussed in section 4.4.4.1, concrete absolutive negative infinitive forms are hardly used. They seem to be used only immediately before the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether'. Unlike future infinitive forms, they are used in expressions of counter-factual conditions, as well as in indirect questions. This would be a compensation for the fact that the subordination marker *-i* is used only with affirmative expressions (see section 4.4.3.4.1). However, even the following might not be certain examples of the forms under discussion. For indirect questions, see also the discussion in section 4.4.4.3.

(4.4.4.2-22)

7í	y-íídaa-kko	y-éénn-aa-kko
he	come-INFN.-whether	come-NEG.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I do not know whether he came or not.'

(4.4.4.2-23)

7í	b-éénn-aa-kko	ló77-o.
he	go-NEG.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if	good-ABS.

   'It would have been good if he had not gone.'

(4.4.4.2-24)

7í	y-éénn-aa-kko	ha	misil-íya
he	come-NEG.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if	this	picture-ABS.M.SG.

be7-aan-á-u	danday-énná	shííní.
see-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able to-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.	but

   'If he had not come, he would not have seen this picture.'

Non-concrete Interrogative

This form has already been discussed in section 4.4.2.1.3 as the third-person singular masculine form of the negative interrogative imperfective. So that there would not be a gap in the paradigm, I call the form "negative interrogative imperfective", and gloss it as such. However its origin would, almost undoubtedly, be the negative infinitive. A few relevant examples are given below.

(4.4.4.2-25)

néná	ha	kaw-ói	7óíKK-i
you	this	king-NOM.M.SG.	seize-CONV.3M.SG.

Kácc-énnée?
tie-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Won't this king seize and tie up you?'

(4.4.4.2-26)

7ínténá	Koh-iss-íya-i	ha	bóótt-a
you (PL.)	harm-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.	this	white-OBL.

bóór-aa	gid-énnée?
ox-ABS.M.SG.	become-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Isn't it this white ox that makes (some others) harm you?'

There are marked perfective negative infinitive forms in this language. These are negative infinitive forms, which are discussed above in this section, of a special kind. Except for the third-person singular masculine, the perfective negative infinitive forms are formed from negative declarative perfective forms (see section 4.4.2.2.2) by substituting their last elements (i.e. negative declarative imperfective endings, *-ikke*, etc.) with negative infinitive endings (*-enn-aa*, etc.). In the case of the third-person singular masculine, both forms are the same.

(4.4.4.2-27a)

y-ábe7íkke	(< y-á	be7-íkke)
come-NEG.PF.1SG.	come-CONV.1SG.	see (?)-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'I did not come.'

(4.4.4.2-27b)

y-ábe7énn-aa
come-NEG.PF.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.

(<y-á	be7-énn-aa)
come-CONV.1SG.	see (?)-NEG.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.

   'not to have come'

In other words, they are negative infinitive forms of the auxiliary verb *be7-* preceded by converb forms (i.e. first elements of negative declarative perfective). We can explain in this way the fact that perfective negative infinitives agree with their subjects unlike other infinitive forms. The following are examples of different perfective negative infinitive forms attested so far, most of which are discussed above as other forms though.

Concrete Nominative (= Negative Perfective Relative with the Nominative Marker, discussed in section 4.4.3.3.3)

(4.4.4.2-28)

y-ábe7énn-ai	táná	gid-íkke.
come-NEG.PF.INFN.-NOM.M.SG.	me	become-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

   'One who did not came is not I.'

Non-concrete Oblique (= Negative Perfective Relative, discussed in section 4.4.3.3.2)

(4.4.4.2-29)

mel-íbe7énná	maay-úwa-ppe	haatt-ái
dry-NEG.REL.PF.	clothes-OBL.M.SG.-from	water-NOM.M.SG.

Tokk-íis.
drop-PF.3M.SG.

'Water dropped from the clothes that did not dry.'

Non-concrete Absolutive (= 3M.SG. Negative Declarative Perfective, discussed in section 4.4.2.2.2)

(4.4.4.2-30)

ta-gód-au	táání	hánnó	gákk-an-a-u
my-lord-VOC.M.SG.	I	this	reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

na7-á	demm-ábe7íkke.
child-ABS.	find-NEG.PF.1SG.

'Oh my lord, until now (lit. to reach this) I have not begotten (lit. found) a child.'

Concrete Absolutive

(4.4.4.2-31)

7í	y-íídaa-kko	y-íbe7énn-aa-kko
he	come-INFN.-if	come-NEG.PF.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know whether he came or he did not come.'

(4.4.4.2-32)[526]

7í	Kúm-aa		m-íbe7énn-aa-kko
he	food-ABS.M.SG.		eat-NEG.PF.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if

'Kúm-ai	maLL-ées.'		g-aan-á-u
food-NOM.M.SG.	be tasty-IMPF.3M.SG.		say-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

danday-énná.
be able to-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

    'If he had not eaten the food, it would have not been able to say 'The food is tasty.' (actually he ate the food, thus it is tasty.)'

Non-concrete Interrogative (= 3M.SG. Negative Interrogative Perfective, discussed in section 4.4.2.2.3)

(4.4.4.2-33)

7í	zín-o	y-íbe7énnée?
he	yesterday-ABS.	come-NEG.INTER.PF.3M.SG.

    'Didn't he come yesterday?'

Perhaps because of my insufficient research on the perfective negative infinitive, I have not attested its concrete oblique forms, which would be followed by postpositions, and its nominative forms that semantically correspond to non-subject oriented relative forms (see section 4.4.3.3.1). In the case of concrete nominative and concrete absolutive forms, marked perfective negative infinitive forms and ordinary negative infinitive forms seem to be interchangeably used, although the use of the former is much rarer.

4.4.4.3 Other infinitives

    The indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' is used to form indirect questions. Their predicates may be genuine nominals (as in (4.4.4.3-1)), future infinitive forms (as in (4.4.4.1-39)), negative infinitive forms (as in (4.4.4.2-22)), or perfective negative infinitive forms (as

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[526] Adams (1983: 152) describes *-ibe:nna:kko* as a clausal subordinating postpositional phrase for "contrafactulal relationship", which means 'if he would not have . . .'

in (4.4.4.2-31)).

(4.4.4.3-1)

táání	dalg-ó		hanná	7i-<u>7aayy-íyo</u>-kko-nne
I	(person name)-ABS.		this	her-mother-ABS.F.SG.-if-and

7er-an-á-u	7oicc-áas.
know-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	ask-PF.1SG.

'I asked Dalge to know whether this is her mother.'

In addition to these, verb stems followed by *-iya*, *-(i)idaa*, or *-aa* may be used as the following examples show. Thus these can be regarded as equal to infinitive forms. In terms of aspect, the first corresponds to the imperfective discussed in section 4.4.2.1, and the rest correspond to the perfective discussed in section 4.4.2.2. Thus I call these forms "imperfective infinitive", "perfective infinitive", and "short perfective infinitive", respectively.

(4.4.4.3-2)

súnt-aa	woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni
name-ABS.M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.	land-OBL.M.SG.-in

wáát-idi	<u>súnt-iya</u>-kko-nne	wáát-i
do what-CONV.3M.SG.	name-INFN.-if-and	do what-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>Téég-iya</u>-kko	yoot-áas.
call-INFN.-if	tell-PF.1SG.

'I told how they name (children) and call names in the Wolaytta land.'

(4.4.4.3-3)

míízz-ai	maat-áa	<u>m-íya</u>-kko-nne
cattle-NOM.M.SG.	grass-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-if-and

be7-an-á-u	b-íis.
see-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	go-PF.3M.SG.

'He went to see whether the cattle are eating grass.'

(4.4.4.3-4)

gáítt-i	7er-ókkóná.	Tay-ídosona.
meet-CONV.3PL.	know-NEG.IMPF.3PL.	be lost-PF.3PL.

7etí	wáán-idaa-kko-nne[527].
they	become what-INFN.-if-and

'He (lit.) has not met (us recently). He (lit. they) has disappeared (i.e. did not come recently). What happened to him (lit. (we do not know) whether he became what, and).'

(4.4.4.3-5)

7í	y[528]-íídaa-kko	y-eénn-aa-kko
he	come-INFN.-if	come-NEG.INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-whether

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I do not know whether he came or not.'

(4.4.4.3-6)

kas-é	7as-ái	wáát-idi	hagáá
before-ABS.	people-NOM.M.SG.	do what-CONV.3M.SG.	this

biitt-áa-ni	7ol-étt-aa-kko	. . .
land-OBL.M.SG.-in	war-PASS.-INFN.-if	. . .

yoot-íiddi	. . .
tell-SIM.3M.SG. . . .

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[527] Adams (1983: 155, 231, 241) considers that this *-idaa* from is a relative verb followed by a nominalizer, which is realized as vowel lengthening. According to him, the nominalizer may be a nominalizer 4 or 6, depending on the environment in which it occurs, which I will not discuss here. He assumes that the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' is a postposition, but it is false (see section 4.2.8.4.2).

[528] A mono-consonantal verb such as *y-* 'to come' causes lengthening of its immediately following vowel in the case of the *-idaa* ending.

'While he was telling how people warred against each other, and . . . in the Wolaytta land before, . . .'

These forms remind us of subject oriented relative forms discussed in section 4.4.3.3.1, and are probably related to them, as future infinitive and negative infinitive forms are somehow related to their corresponding relative forms (see sections 4.4.4.1 and 4.4.4.2). The existence of normal and short perfective forms and the avoidance of long vowels in imperfective forms against the preference of them in perfective forms (i.e., *-iya*, not **-(i)iyaa*, but *-(i)idaa*, not **-(i)ida*, see section 4.4.3.3.1) in these infinitive forms would be pieces of evidence for my hypothesis.

However, it is difficult to explain why subject oriented forms, which end in *-a*, occur here[529]. This is another reason for my calling the forms under discussion "infinitive".

Imperfective infinitive forms followed by the indeclinable *-kko* 'whether, if' can also be used for conditional expressions, as in the case of negative infinitive forms (see section 4.4.4.2). In this case, the conditions are counter-factual ones, or are those not likely to be realized.

(4.4.4.3-7)

heedé	tá-u	gúútt-aa		7akéék-oi
that time	my-for	small-ABS.M.SG.		attention-NOM.M.SG.

d-íya-kko	7ee	7áí	bíí-ní-kkó	duuKK-ádá
exist-INFN.-if	uh	what	thing-in-if	record-CONV.1SG.

7óíKK-iya-kko	7eta-haasáy-aa[530]	7iTT-ábe7íkke	shííní
seize-INFN.-if	their-talk-ABS.M.SG.	refuse-NEG.PF.1SG.	but

sími	7átt-iis.
thus	stay behind-PF.3M.SG.

---

[529] However, it would not be impossible to explain it. That is to say, we can consider that the indirect question in (4.4.4.3-3), for example, can be translated as 'whether the cattle are one who are eating', and that in (4.4.4.3-5) as 'whether he is one who came or one who did not came'.

[530] This word should precede the preceding verbs. Here the example is given as it was told in a text.

'At that time if I had had attention a little, if I had recorded and seized his (lit. their) talk, uh, with something, I would not have refused it, but, it did not happen (lit. it stayed behind) (i.e. I should have recorded his talk).'

(4.4.4.3-8)

7í	haraK-íya	7úy-iya-kko
he	arrack-ABS.M.SG.	drink-INFN.-if

harg-énnée?
become sick-NEG.INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'If he drank, wouldn't he become sick? (but he is well, so he does not drink.)'

(4.4.4.3-9)

7í	y-íya-kko	núúní	7iss-í-ppé	b-aaná.
he	come-INFN.-if	we	one-OBL.-from	go-FUT.

'If he ever comes, we will go together.'

(4.4.4.3-10)

né	7od-íya-kko	ló77-o.
you	tell-INFN.-if	good-ABS.

'It is better if you tell.' (when two people are forcing each other to tell something to the third party)

Imperfective infinitive and perfective infinitive forms followed by the postposition -*daani* 'like' mean in principle "just as it does" and "just as it did"[531], respectively. Since the postposition -*daani* 'like' has many uses (see section 4.2.8.4.6), the combination under discussion also has many uses. It may express simile, degree, etc., depending on the context.

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[531] If we assume that infinitive forms here are based on subject oriented relative forms, "like one that does" and "like one that did", respectively, might be proper.

(4.4.4.3-11)

na7-ái	m-íya-daani	gáC-uwa
child-NOM.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-like	cheek-ABS.M.SG.

Kaatt-ées.
move-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'The boy moves (his) cheeks as if he were eating.'

(4.4.4.3-12)

7í	woTT-íya-daani	na7-ái	woTT-íis.
he	run-INFN.-like	child-NOM.M.SG.	run-PF.3M.SG.

   'Just as he (i.e. his father) runs, the boy ran.'

(4.4.4.3-13)

ta-lágg-ee	ha77í	simm-íya-daani	b-íis.
my-friend-NOM.M.SG.	now	return-INFN.-like	go-PF.3M.SG.

   'My friend went as if he returns now (i.e. very hasty).'

(4.4.4.3-14)

7a-tóh-oi	me77-ídaa-daani	wobb-ées.
his-leg-NOM.M.SG.	be broken-INFN.-like	walk lame-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He walks lame as if his leg were broken.'

   Perfective infinitive and short perfective infinitive forms can be followed by the postposition *-ppe* 'from' to mean 'after having done something'[532].

(4.4.4.3-15)

kátt-aa	m-íídaa-ppe	simm-íi-ni	hagáá-ní
food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-from	return-SUBOR.-in	this-in

---

[532] In this case, the interpretation of the infinitive forms here as subject oriented forms does not explain uses of the combinations under discussion.

7áí	kóyy-ai?
what	want-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

'What do you want here, after having eaten a meal?'

(4.4.4.3-16)

hagáá	7onakk-áa-ppe	hagáá	7ekk-á.
this	do so-and-so-INFN.-from	this	take-OPT.2SG.

'Take this after having done so-and-so as on this.'

Perfective infinitive forms can also be followed by *shiini* 'while, but' to form subordinate expression. To properly describe the meaning of the combination is difficult. However, it would be something like "it did . . . , and while it stayed with the situation" or "while keeping the situation after doing . . .", thus roughly "when it had done . . ." or "after it did . . ." In (4.4.4.3-17), for example, the subordinate clause in question means "while the mother, having eaten, stayed at the dining table". Adams (1983: 143) describes *-ida:šini* as a subordinator for duration relationship, translating it as "during the time . . ." Judging from his translation "when it was getting to be twilight" for his only example *Kamm-ida:šini* (*Kamm-* 'to darken', *K* is a dotted *k* in the original text), he does not seem to have captured its correct meaning. He (1983: 213) also characterizes it as punctilliar. This seems to me to contradict his translation "during the time". The following are example sentences in which *-idaa-shiini* forms are used.

(4.4.4.3-17)

7aayy-íya	m-íídaa-shiini	naatí	y-íídosona.
mother-NOM.F.SG.	eat-INFN.-while	children (NOM.)	come-PF.3PL.

'After the mother ate, the children came.'

(4.4.4.3-18)

7í	shank-áa	b-íídaa-shiini,	túbb-éé
he	hunting-ABS.M.SG.	go-INFN.-while	(person name)-NOM.

shank-áa-ppe	y-aan-á
hunting-OBL.M.SG.-from	come-INFN.-ABS.

gákk-an-aa-ssi . . .
reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to . . .

'After he went hunting, until Tube came back (lit. to reach to come) from the hunting . . .'

(4.4.4.3-19)

bitán-ee	ziNN-ídaa-shiini	kais-ói
man-NOM.M.SG.	fall asleep-INFN.-while	thief-NOM.M.SG.

keett-áa	bookk-ídí	7a-bóor-aa
house-ABS.M.SG.	dig-CONV.3M.SG.	his-ox-ABS.M.SG.

7ep-íis.
take-PF.3M.SG.

'While the man was sleeping (lit. after the man fell asleep), the thief dug the land around the house (lit. dug the house) (and entered the house), and stole (lit. took) his ox.'

The *-idaa-shiini* form has special predicative and interrogative forms, which are used as predicates of affirmative sentences.

(4.4.4.3-20)

7í	y-íído-i	7í	káw-uwa
he	come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	he	dinner-ABS.M.SG.

m-íídaa-shiina.
eat-INFN.-while

'It is after he had dinner that he came.'

(4.4.4.3-21)

7í	y-íído-i	7í	káw-uwa
he	come-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	he	dinner-ABS.M.SG.

m-íídaa-shiinee?
eat-INFN.-while

'Is if after he had dinner that he came?'

Adams (1983: 213) also characterizes the *-idaa-shiini* form as different participant. As the following shows, however, it is not correct. The referents of the subjects of an *idaa-shiini* clause and its superordinate clause can be the same if the latter expresses a comment or judgment of the speaker.

(4.4.4.3-22)

7í	he	wott-áa	woTT-ídaa-shiini	7í
he	that	running-ABS.M.SG.	run-INFN.-while	he

hargánc-a	gid-énná.
sick person	become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Since he could run in that way (lit. after he had run that running), he is not a sick person.'

It is difficult to present paradigms of these forms. Let's consider the perfective infinitive first. The form used for indirect questions, i.e. that with the *-idaa* ending as in (4.4.4.3-5), would be a concrete absolutive form, if we follow the treatment in sections 4.4.4.1 and 4.4.4.2. The form preceding a postposition, i.e. that with the *-idaa* ending as in (4.4.4.3-15), would be a concrete oblique form. If we regard a subject oriented perfective relative form, which has the *-ida* ending, as being a non-concrete oblique perfective infinitive form, and if we regard the *-idai* form, which was analyzed as a subject oriented relative form followed by the nominative marker *-i* in section 4.4.3.3.3, as being a concrete nominative perfective infinitive form, the paradigm of perfective infinitive forms would be as follows (tone and forms for mono-consonantal verbs are ignored).

(4.4.4.3-23) Endings of the Perfective Infinitive

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete		-id-a	
Concrete (SG.)	-id-aa	-id-aa	-id-ai

Thus the paradigm is parallel to those of future infinitive and negative infinitive forms, although it has more gaps in it.

Likewise, the paradigm of short perfective infinitive forms would be as follows.

(4.4.4.3-24) Endings of the Short Perfective Infinitive

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete		-a	
Concrete (SG.)	-aa	-aa	-ai

The paradigm of imperfective infinitive forms is more problematic. In addition to the forms discussed in this section, i.e. that with the *-iya* ending before the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' and that with the *-iya* ending before the postposition *-daani* 'like', the subject oriented imperfective relative form, which has the *-iya* ending, and the *-iyai* form, which was analyzed as a subject oriented imperfective relative form followed by the nominative marker *-i*, would be candidates for members of the paradigm. If we follow the treatment adopted for other infinitive forms, judging from their functions and the environments in which they occur, the four forms are concrete absolute, concrete oblique, non-concrete oblique, and concrete nominative, respectively. However, to which nominal class does each form belong? Is it the case that the first two are Masculine Class E common nouns and the rest are Masculine Class A common nouns?

(4.4.4.3-25) Ending of the Imperfective Infinitive (Hypothesis I)[533]

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete		-iy-a (A)	
Concrete (SG.)	-iya (E)	-iya (E)	-iy-ai (A)

Or is it the case that they are all Masculine Class A common nouns, of which the first two have shortened their last vowels.

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[533] Capitals in brackets indicate subclasses of the masculine common noun.

(4.4.4.3-26) Endings of the Imperfective Infinitive (Hypothesis II)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete		-iy-a	
Concrete (SG.)	-iy-a < *-iy-aa	-iy-a < *-iy-aa	-iy-ai

However, how should we treat non-subject oriented relative forms (i.e. those with *-ido*, *- o*, and *-iyo*) and "nominative" forms that are derived from them (i.e. *-idoi*, *-oi*, and *-iyoi* forms discussed in section 4.4.3.3.3)? Are they inflected forms of fairly defective infinitives?

(4.4.4.3-27)

	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete	-id-o	
Concrete (SG.)		-id-oi

	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete	-o	
Concrete (SG.)		-oi

	OBL.	NOM.
Non-concrete	-iy-o	
Concrete (SG.)		-iy-oi

If these forms are not infinitives, is it the case that the paradigm of imperfective infinitive forms should not include the forms corresponding to them as follows?

(4.4.4.3-28) Endings of the Imperfective Infinitive (Hypothesis III)

	ABS.	OBL.
Concrete (SG.)	-iya (or -iy-a)	-iya (or -iy-a)

If this is the case, we have to reconsider the paradigms of other infinitives along these lines, which will make Wolaytta infinitives fairly defective. Remember also the discussion at the end of section 4.4.4.1, where it was discussed that infinitive forms are not stable yet. To tell the truth, the deverbal forms before the indeclinable *-kko* 'if, whether' and those before postpositions and *shiini* 'but, while', which are the forms that remain in (4.4.4.3-28), are problematic forms that are unexplainable, sporadic, and

isolated in a halfway manner.

4.4.5 Infixes

In this section, independent linguistic forms that are inserted before different verb endings discussed in preceding sections will be discussed. Such forms are called "infixes" in this study.

4.4.5.1 Completive infixes

Completive infixes are conjugated agreeing with the subjects, which may or may not be overt, as follows.

(4.4.5.1-1) Completive Infixes

-iicc- **series**

Tone Class I

1SG.	-áicc-	1PL.	-íicc-
2SG.	-áicc-	2PL.	-íicc-
3M.SG.	-íicc-	3PL.	-íicc-
3F.SG.	-áicc-		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-aicc-	1PL.	´-iicc-
2SG.	´-aicc-	2PL.	´-iicc-
3M.SG.	´-iicc-	3PL.	´-iicc-
3F.SG.	´-aicc-		

-irg- **series**

Tone Class I

1SG.	-árg-	1PL.	-írg-
2SG.	-árg-	2PL.	-írg-
3M.SG.	-írg-	3PL.	-írg-
3F.SG.	-árg-		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-arg-	1PL.	´-irg-
2SG.	´-arg-	2PL.	´-irg-
3M.SG.	´-irg-	3PL.	´-irg-
3F.SG.	´-arg-		

An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. A verb stem followed by a completive infix as a whole behaves as a verb stem belonging to Tone Class II. The vocalic pattern is the same as that of IA or the converb (see section 4.4.3.1). Thus each of these forms might be analyzed as a short converb ending followed by a stem of an auxiliary. Remember the structures illustrated in (4.4.3.1-39) to (4.4.3.1-54). However, the etymologies of the hypothesized auxiliaries, *icc-* and *rg-*, are not clear[534].

Completive infixes can co-occur with any conjugated verb forms discussed so far except for simultaneous forms.

Both series of completive infixes are used to emphatically express the completion of a situation in the relative past, whose reference point in time does not need to be the time of utterance. The differences between the two series will be discussed later in this section. In many cases, completive infixes seem to be used just for emphasis or emotional expressions. However, when they are used to describe circumstances of main situations in the past as in (4.4.5.1-6) and (4.4.5.1-7), their essential semantic feature mentioned above becomes evident, since verbs with them become closer to, say, pluperfect forms in English. Completive infixes are compatible with imperfective forms discussed in section 4.4.2.1, if they describe habitual situations or general truths, as in (4.4.5.1-8).

Adams (1983: 196) says that these infixes express 'the aspect of completion or haste due to some impending happening'. Which semantic area is expressed in a given example is determined 'by the context and lexical items'. I have not found a certain example of the "haste aspect" in my data. Adams (1983: 197) gives the following.

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[534] According to one of my main consultants, *7icc-* means 'to fall asleep' in the Gamo language. According to Hirut (1999: 66) *rg-* is an auxiliary verb meaning 'complete'.

(4.4.5.1-2)[535]

7áá-rá	b-íya-geetí	dend-an-á
his-with	go-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.NOM.PL.	arise-INFN.-ABS.

han-íyo	gishsh-á-u
become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

<u>m-írg-iis</u>.
eat-completely[536]-PF.3M.SG.

    'Because the ones who were going with him were about to depart, he ate up quickly.'

In this context, however, the nuance of the "haste aspect" exists even if the completive infix is omitted. According to one of my consultants, the use of the infix here expresses a lapse of time after eating, which can be explainable with its essential semantic feature mentioned at the preceding paragraph. Hirut (1999: 60, 66-67) mentions only a combination of the *-irg-* series and the affirmative declarative perfective (see section 4.4.2.2.1). She calls it "perfect tense form" or "present perfect tense". She translates her examples of the form as present perfect forms in English.
    The following are examples in which completive infixes of the *-iicc-* series are used.

(4.4.5.1-3)

'táání	Kajjéél-í	7amáád-ó	na7-ái
I	(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.

gúp-aa	páál-uwa	<u>7er-áicc-aas</u>.'
jumping-ABS.M.SG.	flying-ABS.M.SG.	know-completely-PF.1SG.

g-íyo-r-íí-ní	'7úúú
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in	oh

ta-keetta7aaw-ái	<u>góóy-iicc-iis</u>.	báa.
my-house holder-NOM.M.SG.	go mad-completely-PF.3M.SG.	not present

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[535] The transliteration and glosses are mine. The translation is Adams'.
[536] Adams' gloss for this element is 'haste aspect'.

| harg-íicc-iis.' | | g-á-nne | . . . |
| become sick-completely-PF.3M.SG. | | say-CONV.3F.SG.-and | . . . |

'Just as soon as he said (lit. in that he says) 'I, Kajela, the son of Amado, have known jumping and flying.' she said 'Oh, my house holder (i.e. husband) has gone mad! Oh no! He has become sick!' and . . .'

(4.4.5.1-4)

| néná | wárd-aa | néná | néná |
| you (ABS.) | (name of a mule)-VOC. | you (ABS.) | you (ABS.) |

| maash-ó | néná. | né |
| erase-OPT.3M.SG. | you (ABS.) | you (NOM.) |

| háíKK-aicc-arkii? | | . . . | né | Cóo |
| die-completely-(interrogative ending) | | . . . | you (NOM.) | silently |

| Tay-á. | zókk-uwa-ni |
| be lost-OPT.2SG. | back-OBL.M.SG.-at |

| wott-óo-g-éé | Tay-íicc-ii-ni |
| put-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM. | be lost-completely-SUBOR.-in |

| né | tá-u. |
| you (NON.) | me for |

'You, Warda, you, may he erase you, you. It would have been better if you had died . . . You, just get lost, since what I put on (your) back has been completely lost, you, for me.'

(4.4.5.1-5)

| zaall-á | mal-á | mín-o | shúcc-i |
| hard stone-OBL. | look(s)-ABS. | strong-OBL. | stone-NOM. |

| báa. | dár-o | mín-o-shiini | hegéé |
| not present | much-OBL. | strong-ABS.-while | that |

PalK-étt-iicc-ii-ni máát-ai
split-PASS.-completely-SUBOR.-in grass-NOM.M.SG.

7a-boll-áa-ni mokk-ées.
its-surface-OBL.M.SG.-in grow-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There is no strong stone like a *zaall-aa* stone. Although it is strong, when that is completely split, grass grows on the surface of it.'

(4.4.5.1-6)

7í	gákk-iyo	d-é	táání
he	reach-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.	I

b-áicc-aas.
go-completely-PF.1SG.

'I had already gone when he reached.'

The following are examples in which completive infixes of the *-irg-* series are used.

(4.4.5.1-7)

nééní	y-íyo	wod-é	táání
you	come-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.	I

Kúm-aa m-árg-aas.
food-ABS.M.SG. eat-completely-PF.1SG.

'When you came, I had already taken a meal.'

(4.4.5.1-8)

dárotoo	katam-áa	héér-aa-ni	d-íya
often	city-ABS.M.SG.	region-OBL.M.SG.-in	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

lóóT-ee	sími	har-á	s-áa
pickpocket-NOM.M.SG.	thus	other-OBL.	place-ABS.M.SG.

7er-énnaa-g-áá	. . .	gén-idi
know-NEG.REL.IMPF.-NMNL.-ABS.	. . .	play a trick-CONV.3M.SG.

wúúKK-idi	7áí	g-íídí
steal-CONV.3M.SG.	what	say-CONV.3M.SG.

<u>m-írg-ees</u>.
eat-completely-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Often a pickpocket who lives in the neighborhood of the city thus . . . plays a trick on, steals from, says something (lit. what), and cheats (lit. eats) completely those who do not know places other (than their own).'

(4.4.5.1-9)

7í	busákk-idi	busákk-idi
he	strike many times-CONV.3M.SG.	strike many times-CONV.3M.SG.

ha	ment-ái	kúnd-idaa-g-áá	sími
this	buffalo-NOM.M.SG.	fall-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	thus

<u>7oogg-írg-iyo-r-ii-ni</u>	'Xaaaa[537]
make fall-completely-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-in	(onomatopoeia)

Xaaaa'	ment-ái	sími	'Xaaaa'
(onomatopoeia)	buffalo-NOM.M.SG.	thus	(onomatopoeia)

g-íí-shiini	waass-í-shiini	. . .
say-SUBOR.-while	cry-SUBOR.-while	. . .

'He struck (the buffalo) again and again, and this buffalo that fell . . . thus, right after he made it fall, the buffalo "Haaaa, Haaaa" . . . thus, while it was saying, crying "Haaaa" . . .'[538]

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[537] Actual pronunciation of this onomatopoeia begins with a voiceless uvular fricative, which is followed by a very long voiceless vowel [a].

[538] This example is taken from a spoken text. Thus grammatically it does not seem to be a good sentence. It seems to be something like a mere succession of uncompleted

(4.4.5.1-10)

gawar-ái	ta-máátt-aa	guss-írg-iis.
cat-NOM.M.SG.	my-milk-ABS.M.SG.	spill-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'The cat spilled my milk completely.'

(4.4.5.1-11)

sharéécc-o	bitán-ee	7ír-aa
witchdoctor-OBL.	man-NOM.M.SG.	rain-ABS.M.SG.

buk-iss-írg-iis.
rain-CAUS.-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'The witchdoctor has made it rain!'

(4.4.5.1-12)

hagéé	7ír-ai	táná	sóó-ní
this	rain-NOM.M.SG.	me	home-in

peeshsh-írg-iis.
make spend the day-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'I am obliged to stay home because of this rain (lit. this rain made me spend the day at home completely).'

Adams (1983: 184, 197) says that completive infixes of the *-irg-* series occur with transitive verb roots only, and that those of the *-iicc-* series occur with either intransitive or transitive verb roots. He (1983: 197) also says that: 'Thus far, all informants claim that the two forms of the transitive verb "he ate with haste" /m-irg-i:si/ and /m-i:cc-i:si/, express the same meaning and can be used interchangeably.' However, things are not so simple. First, possible combinations of a verb stem and a completive infix cannot be determined by the transitivity of verbs. One of my main consultants said that some verbs, such as *7áímott-* 'to dream', occur with neither infixes of the *-iicc-* series nor those of the *-irg-* series. Another main consultant of mine says that most verbs,

sentences, pace the teller.

irrespective of their transitivity, can occur with infixes of both the series. I also found the verb *b-* 'to go' occurring with an infix of the *-irg-* series in a text told by him, which he did not correct when we were proofreading the text. Second, in actual utterances, infixes of the *-iicc-* series occur much more frequently with "intransitive" verbs than with "transitive" verbs. Finally, from the viewpoint of linguistics, I can hardly believe that given two morphemes are synonyms in the strict sense. Thus I consider that some factor other than the transitivity determines the choice of a completive infix.

Since completive infixes do not occur so frequently in my data, I cannot point out the factor decisively. However, it seems to me that an infix of the *-iicc-* series is used when attention is focused on a change of the referent of the subject relating to the completion of a situation, while an infix of the *-irg-* series is used when attention is focused on such a change of something other than the referent of the subject. Thus, (4.4.5.1-13a) expresses a recovery of a patient, while (4.4.5.1-13b) expresses that there is no more food.

(4.4.5.1-13a)

hargánc-ai	Kúm-aa	<u>m-íicc-iis</u>.
patient-NOM.M.SG.	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'The patient could eat food!'

(4.4.5.1-13b)

hargánc-ai	Kúm-aa	<u>m-írg-iis</u>.
patient-NOM.M.SG.	food-ABS.M.SG.	eat-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'The patient ate up the food.'

Likewise, (4.4.5.1-14a) expresses that the person is ready for going a market, while (4.4.5.1-14b) expresses that all things have been loaded.

(4.4.5.1-14a)

7í	giy-áa	b-aan-á-u	har-íya
he	market-ABS.M.SG.	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	donkey-ABS.M.SG.

<u>Caan-íicc-iis</u>.
load-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'He has already loaded (the things) onto the donkey.'

(4.4.5.1-14b)

7í	giy-áa	b-aan-á-u	har-íya
he	market-ABS.M.SG.	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	donkey-ABS.M.SG.

<u>Caan-írg-iis.</u>
load-completely-PF.3M.SG.

'He has loaded (all the things) onto the donkey.'

The verb *7áímott-* 'to dream' was judged to be incompatible with completive infixes of both the series. This would be because the consultant was not able to think of any changes relating to the completion of dreaming (and most Wolayttas would not be able to).

Changes relating to the completion of a situation may be found on both the referent of the subject and something other than that. In the cases of a transitive situation, however, one whose change is the most salient would usually be the referent of the "object". This would be the reason why transitive verbs occur more frequently with infixes of the *-irg-* series than with those of the *-iicc-* series, and as a result infixes of the *-iicc-* series occur more frequently with intransitive verbs than with transitive verbs.

If we consider in this way, we will find that Adams' (1983: 184, 197) claim mentioned above is not groundless. Since the subject can be supposed to exist for any verbs, he says correctly that infixes of the *-iicc-* series are compatible with both transitive and intransitive verbs. On the other hand since one whose change is the most salient except for the referent of the subject is usually the referent of the "object" and the "object" can be supposed to exist only for transitive verbs, he says mistakenly that infixes of the *-irg-* series are compatible only with transitive verbs.

I consider, however, that logically every verb can occur with infixes of both the series if the resultant combination makes sense in the context, since the choice of a completive infix is determined semantically, irrespective of classes of verbs. One who can think of many unusual but possible contexts in which completive infixes are used would say that most, if not all, verbs can occur with infixes of both the series[539]. However, one who

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[539] The verb *b-* 'to go' with an infix of the *-irg-* series mentioned above expresses that a thief took all household goods and went and thus <u>the house became empty</u>.

considers the actual linguistic realities and draws conclusions inductively from them would say that many combinations of a verb stem and a completive infix are not used.

Completive infixes of different series can co-occur, since their meanings are different and compatible. However, it is a very rare phenomenon.

(4.4.5.1-15)

7í	y-aan-áa-ppe	kas-é	táání	Kúm-aa
he	come-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-from	before-ABS.	I	food-ABS.M.SG.

m-áicc-arg-ada	naag-áas.
eat-completely-completely-CONV.1SG.	wait-PF.1SG.

'Having taken a meal, I waited until he came.'

4.4.5.2   Durative infixes

Durative infixes are conjugated agreeing with the subjects, which may or may not be overt, as follows.

(4.4.5.2-1) Durative Infixes

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-áshsh-	1PL.	-íshsh-
2SG.	-áshsh-	2PL.	-íshsh-
3M.SG.	-íshsh-	3PL.	-íshsh-
3F.SG.	-áshsh-		

####	b-írg-iis,
(imitation of barking of a dog)	go-completely-PF.3M.SG.

7ep-írg-iis,	##
take-completely-PF.3M.SG.	(imitation of barking of a dog)

'Bow wow, bow wow, he (the thief) went, he took (all things), bow wow!'

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-ashsh-		1PL.	´-ishsh-
2SG.	´-ashsh-		2PL.	´-ishsh-
3M.SG.	´-ishsh-		3PL.	´-ishsh-
3F.SG.	´-ashsh-			

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-ááshsh-		1PL.	-ííshsh-
2SG.	-ááshsh-		2PL.	-ííshsh-
3M.SG.	-ííshsh-		3PL.	-ííshsh-
3F.SG.	-ááshsh-			

An acute accent not accompanied by any vowel on the left of a hyphen indicates a tonal prominence on a stem. A verb stem followed by a durative infix as a whole behaves as a verb stem belonging to Tone Class II. The vocalic pattern is the same as that of IA or the converb (see section 4.4.3.1). Thus each of these forms might be analyzed as a short converb ending followed by a stem of an auxiliary. Remember the structures illustrated in (4.4.3.1-39) to (4.4.3.1-54). However, the etymology of the hypothesized auxiliary, *shsh-*, is not clear

A durative infix is used to express duration of a situation. It is usually combined with a verb form that expresses an order or proposal.

(4.4.5.2-2)

tá	y-aan-áa-ssi	7oott-áshsh-a.
I	come-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	work-continuously-OPT.2SG.

'Stay working until I will come.'

(4.4.5.2-3)

'7óós-oi	dar-íi-ni	háíKK-ais.'	g-íi-ni
work-NOM.M.SG.	be many-SUBOR.-in	die-IMPF.1SG.	say-SUBOR.-in

'miishsh-áa	demm-an-áa-ssi
money-ABS.M.SG.	find-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

háíKK-ashsh-a	daapur-áshsh-a.'	yáág-iis.
die-continuously-OPT.2SG.	be tired-continuously-OPT.2SG.	say so-PF.3M.SG.

'When I say "When work is much, I die.", he said "Until you find money, be struggling, be making effort (lit. die continuously, be tired continuously)."'

(4.4.5.2-4)

7etí	m-ííshsh-ona.
they	eat-continuously-OPT.3PL.

'Let them stay eating.'

(4.4.5.2-5)

núúní	7oott-íshsh-iyo?
we	work-continuously-INTER.IMPF.1PL.

'Do we stay working?'

However, Adams (1983: 197) describes this infix as a morpheme 'which expresses the momentary aspect, indicating that an action takes place for only a little time'.

4.5   Unanalyzed Elements

I am sorry to write this section, in which Wolaytta linguistic elements that I have not been able to analyze well so far are introduced. I should have discussed each of them in its appropriate place above in this thesis, although I could not do that due to my insufficient data. The following are such unanalyzed elements.

-iinau

This is attached to verb stems. It seems to mean "why didn't . . . do . . .?"

(4.5-1)

7ínté	taná	dent-íinau?
you (PL.)	me	wake up-?

'Why didn't you wake me up?'

(4.5-2)

7í	táná	dent-íinau?
he	me	wake up-?

   'Why didn't he wake me up?'

shi(i)n(i)

   This is used as an adversative conjunction.

(4.5-3)

soor-é-kkó	b-áas.	shííní	soor-é
(place name)-OBL.-toward	go-PF.1SG.	but	(place name)-ABS.

gákk-enn-aa-ni	háa	simm-áas.
reach-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	to here	return-PF.1SG.

   'I went in the direction of Sore. But I returned here without reaching Sore.'

It also means "how about . . .?"

(4.5-4)

hagéé-shin?
this-?

   'How about this?'

It is also found at the end of apodoses.

(4.5-5)

heedé	tá-u	gúútt-a	7akéék-oi
at that time	my-for	small-OBL.	attention-NOM.M.SG.

d-íya-kko	7ái	b-íí-ní-kkó	duuKK-ádá
exist-INFN.-if	what	thing-OBL.-in-if	record-CONV.1SG.

7óíKK-iya-kko	7eta-haasáy-aa	7iTT-ábe7íkke-<u>shiini</u>
seize-INFN.-if	their-talk-ABS.M.SG.	refuse-NEG.PF.1SG.-while

sími	7átt-iis.
thus	stay behind-PF.3M.SG.

'At that time if I had had a little attention, if I had recorded his (lit. their) talk with something (lit. what), it would have been good (lit. I did not refused), but thus there is no record (lit. it stayed behind).'

It is also found in various subordinate expressions. See sections 4.4.3.4.1, 4.4.4.1 and 4.4.4.3.

Since vowel length is neutralized before the *n* element and since its last vowel may be deleted, I guess that *shi(i)n(i)* contains the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' in it (see section 4.2.8.2). *shi(i)* seems to be a nominal meaning 'while', but there is no reliable evidence for it.

-ho, *-hona*

The former means 'here it is', and the latter is its plural counterpart.

(4.5-6)
woláítt-í	hagéé-<u>ho</u>.
Wolaytta-NOM.	this-?

'Here Wolaytta is.'

(4.5-7)
be7-ité.	ta-7aayy-íya-nne
see-OPT.2PL.	my-mother-NOM.F.SG.-and

ta-7ish-a-nt-í-nne	hageetí-<u>hona</u>.
my-brother-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.-and	these-?

'Look. Here my mother and my brothers are.'   (From Mark 3:34)

At least *-ho* seems to be used like *shi(i)n(i)* meaning 'how about?', which is discussed

above in this section.

(4.5-8)
soodd-óí-<u>ho</u>?
(place name)-NOM.-?

   'How about Sodo?'

dar-íi

   This is undoubtedly related to the verb *dar-* 'to be/become many' and the Masculine Class O common noun *dár-uwa* 'many'. However, its ending is not explainable.

(4.5-9)

tukk-íya	pént-oi	<u>dar-íi</u>
coffee-OBL.M.SG.	boiling-NOM.M.SG.	be many-?

gaMM-énná.
remain-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'It does not take much time to make coffee.'

There seems to be a common noun of a special kind, *dar-áá* 'many', whose adverbial and oblique forms have the *-i* ending. For the latter, see also (4.2.1.8-9).

(4.5-10)

nééní-kká	zo7-ói	<u>dar-í</u>	beett-ákká.
you-too	red-NOM.M.SG.	many-ADV.?	be seen-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

   'You, a red one, are not seen well.'

(4.5-11)

<u>dar-í</u>-ppé	7er-áis.
many-OBL.?-from	know-IMPF.1SG.

   'I know well.'

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gishshát-aa-ssi

I have analyzed this as a concrete oblique singular form of the Masculine Class A common noun *gishshát-aa* 'reason' followed by the postposition *-ssi* 'for'. However, *gishshát-aa* seems to be a concrete oblique plural form of the Masculine Class A common noun *gishsh-áa* 'reason', although its expected concrete oblique plural form is *gishsh-atú*.

(4.5-12)

Taap-ído	mastawash-ái	baínna
write-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	memorandum-NOM.M.SG.	not present

gishshát-aa-ssi	waraKát-ai	baínna
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	paper-NOM.M.SG.	not present

gishshát-aa-ssi	7as-ái	7er-énná.
reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	people-NOM.M.SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'Because there is no memorandum that someone wrote, because there is no paper, people do not know (the ancient history).'

Chapter 5   Stem Formation

5.1   Root and Stem

As mentioned in section 4.1, in Wolaytta most words can be divided into a lexical stem and a grammatical ending. For example, in *goshshánc-aa* 'farmer' *goshshánc-* is a stem and *-aa* is an ending (see section 4.2.1.1). In *ʔod-íis* 'he told' *ʔod-* is a stem and *-íis* is an ending (see section 4.4.2.2.1). In principle, we have not so far analyzed stems into smaller parts.

A stem can be a morpheme of the language, which cannot be divided into smaller meaningful parts. Such morphemes used as stems are called "roots" in this thesis.

However, a stem can be divided into smaller meaningful parts[540]. For example, one or more stem-forming suffixes can be added to a root to form another stem, which may or may not belong to the same word class as the root. More than one stem can be combined to form another stem. Furthermore, a verb stem may be followed by a nominal ending (i.e. so-called conversion or zero derivation), with or without tonal change. In the following sections, various ways of stem formation will be discussed.[541]

5.2   Noun Stem Formation
5.2.1   Noun Stem Derivation

In this language, a noun stem may be derived on the basis of a stem (or a root).

This process may be accomplished by adding a stem-forming suffix to an existent nominal or verbal stem (or root), which may or may not be followed by an ending. Such stem-forming suffixes may or may not be productive, and we cannot predict to which stems or roots a given stem-forming suffix can be attached. In the following, some of such stem-forming suffixes are dealt with.

-áám-

This is attached to a stem of a common noun. The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun. It means "someone/something that has (a lot of) X".

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[540] Adams (1983: 250, 253) defines "root" as the item manifesting the Nucleus function in a noun (i.e. item to which an inflectional suffix is added = "stem" in this thesis). However, he (ibid.: 283) also admits that 'derivational studies of Wolaitta [*sic*] might reveal that a stem level within the noun would be necessary to adequately describe the noun.' A similar discussion applies also to verbs.

[541] See also the discussion in section 4.2.2.3.6.

(5.2.1-1)

wolK-áa   'power, strength'
wolK-áám-aa   'powerful one, strong one'

púúlunt-aa   'grey hair'
puulunt-áám-aa   'grey-haired'

kaC-íya   'horn'
kaC-áám-aa   'horned one'

ganj-íya   'belly, stomach'
ganj-áám-aa   'paunchy one, great eater'[542]

The following is irregular both in its form and meaning, but would be included here.

(5.2.1-2)

wozan-áa   'heart'
wozann-áám-aa   'intelligent one'

-ánc-

   This is attached to a stem of a common noun. The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun. It means "someone with X", i.e. "someone that does X", "someone that uses X", or "someone that has X". Samuel (1983: 30) says that {-anča} 'derives what is known as the 'agentive''. He (ibid.: 31) also says that the derived nominal usually denotes 'one who does the given action habitually or does have the given attribute usually'.

(5.2.1-3)

zaLL-íya   'trade'
zaLL-ánc-aa   'merchant, trader'

7óós-uwa   'work'
7oos-ánc-aa   'worker'

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[542] However, this word also means "coward".

toor-áa	'spear'
toor-ánc-aa	'warier'

harg-íya	'sick'
harg-ánc-aa	'sick person'

púúl-aa	'looks'
puul-ánc-aa	'beautiful one'

-úmm-

This is attached to a stem of a common noun. The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun. It forms an informal form of a common noun.

(5.2.1-4)

7as-áa	'people'
7as-úmm-aa	'people'

na7-áa	'child'
na7-úmm-aa	'child'

bóór-aa	'ox'
boor-úmm-aa	'ox'

´-tett-

In most cases this is attached to a non-concrete common noun in the absolutive case (see section 4.2.1.1). The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun. It usually means "state of being X". A tonal prominence occurs at a syllable immediately preceding this suffix. Samuel (1983: 32) says that the meaning of the derived nominal with the nominal suffix {-teta} 'refers to an abstract entity, quality, or relation.'

(5.2.1-5)

git-áa	'big one'
git-á-tett-aa	'bigness'

7órd-iya	'fat one'
7ord-é-tett-aa	'fatness'
ló77-uwa	'good one'
lo77-ó-tett-aa	'goodness'
gaamm-úwa	'lion'
gaamm-ó-tett-aa	'braveness (< state of being a lion)'
7aayy-íyo	'mother'
7aayy-ó-tett-aa	'motherhood'

However, the following have rather concrete meanings.

(5.2.1-6)

7attúm-aa	'male'
7attum-á-tett-aa	'male genital organs' as well as 'manliness'
kaw-úwa	'king'
kaw-ó-tett-aa	'kingdom, government'
7as-áa	'people'
7as-á-tett-aa	'body' as well as 'humanity'

This suffix can also be attached to a numeral or a personal pronoun in the absolutive case.

(5.2.1-7)

heezz-á	'three'
heezz-á-tett-aa	'trinity'
néná	'you (ABS.SG.)'
nená-tett-aa	'nature of you'

The following seems to be formed from a postpositional phrase.

(5.2.1-8)

7iss-í-ppé   'together (lit. one-OBL.-from)'
7iss-i-pé-tett-aa 'unity'

Adams (1983: 234) says that 'Only adjectives have been observed to precede the nominalizer /-tett-/ "state"'. Even granted that the adjective is a distinct grammatical category in Wolaytta (see the discussion in section 4.2.1.4), however, his claim cannot be held as (5.2.1-7) and (5.2.1-8) show. I do not agree with him about regarding *-tett-* as a nominalizer, since the resultant derivatives are perfectly common nouns. We cannot also assume that common nouns derived with *-tett-* are semi-independent common nouns, since it cannot be preceded by a relative form of a verb as other semi-independent common nouns can be.

´-tt-

This suffix is attached to a non-concrete common noun in the absolute case[543] that refers to a tribe[544]. The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class O common noun. It means "the language of X". A tonal prominence occurs at a syllable immediately preceding this suffix.

(5.2.1-9)

woláítt-aa   'Wolaytta'
wolaitt-á-tt-uwa 'the Wolaytta language'

7amaar-áa   'Amhara'
7amaar-á-tt-uwa 'the Amharic language'

Note that there is an apparently homophonous linguistic form *-ttuwa* 'like', which is distinguished from the suffix under discussion tonally. See section 7.2.2.

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[543] It might be the case that this suffix is attached to a non-concrete common noun in the oblique case, which is homophonous with the corresponding absolute form in the case of masculine common nouns (see section 4.2.1.1). However, I consider that here an absolute form is used, taking into consideration the fact that judging from, for example, *7aayy-ó-tett-aa* 'motherhood' and *heezz-á-tett-aa* 'trinity', the stem-forming suffix *´-tett-* discussed above is definitely attached to a nominal in the absolute case.
[544] However, in the case of *7ingiliz-é-tt-uwa* 'English', for example, it would be difficult to say that *7ingiliz-e* refers to a tribe. We would have to assume that in the case of foreign languages the names of the languages are bases for this suffix.

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-iin-

This is attached to a stem of a preverb ending in *-u* (see section 4.2.9.2). The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun belonging to Tone Class I. It means "thing that is X". However, further research is needed for this stem-forming suffix.

(5.2.1-10)

loPP-ú	loPP-ú g- 'to be soft'
loPP-iin-áa	'soft one'
dozhzh-ú	dozhzh-ú g- 'to make unpleasant noise'
dozhzh-iin-áa	'one that makes unpleasant noise'

-úúss-

This suffix is attached to a mono-consonantal verb root. The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun. It means "way of doing X" or its related meaning. Samuel (1983: 20) says that 'the derived nominals denote activity or the outcome of an activity.'

(5.2.1-11)

g-	'to say'
g-úúss-aa	'expression'
y-	'to come'
y-úúss-aa	'way of coming'
d-	'to live, exist'
d-úúss-aa	'way of life'

-ett-

This suffix is attached to a verb stem. If the stem ends in a geminated consonant, it is usually, but not always, degeminated (see also the discussion in section 5.3.2.3). The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun. If a base verb stem belongs to Tone Class I the derivative noun also belongs to Tone Class I, and if a base verb stem belongs to Tone Class II the derivative noun also belongs to Tone Class II. The

derivative noun is usually a noun that denotes an abstract notion related to the base verb stem. However, sometimes it denotes a rather concrete thing.

(5.2.1-12)

Cark-	'to blow'
Cark-ett-áa	'the way of blowing'

babb-	'to fear'
babb-ett-áa	'fear'

dóómm-	'to start'
dóóm-ett-aa	'beginning'

bírsh-	'to untie'
bírsh-ett-aa	'meaning'

zér-	'to sow'
zér-ett-aa	'seed'

(5.2.1-13)

naatú	ba7-ett-áa	7er-úkkú.
children (OBL.)	carry on the back-ETT-ABS.M.SG.	know-NEG.IMPF.3F.SG.

'She does not know how to carry a baby on her back.' or

'She does not know how the children carry (something) on their back.'

Although *-ett-* under discussion coincides with *-ett-* used to express passive or its related meanings (see section 5.3.2.3) in their segmental elements, since the derived nouns under discussion do not have a passive or its related meaning, I regard the two suffixes as different. Likewise although the suffix coincides with *-ett-* used to form transitive verbs (see section 5.3.2.2), they would not be related to each other. However, see footnote 562.

-s-

This suffix is attached to a verb stem that ends in *r*. The resultant derivative is a Masculine Class A common noun belonging to Tone Class II. Judging from the resultant

meanings and from the fact that sometimes an expected transitive verb may not exist, this suffix would not be related to the suffix *-s-* used to form transitive verbs (see section 5.3.2.2). However, see footnote 562.

(5.2.1-14)

Céngur-	'to cry'
Céngur-s-aa	'crying (of a creature)'
Cf. Cengur-s-	'to make cry'

dír-	'to fence'
dír-s-aa	'fence'
* dir-s-	

dur-	'to dance'
dúr-s-aa	'dance'
* dur-s-	

haattur-	'to snore'
haattúr-s-aa	'snoring'
Cf. haattur-s-	'to make (someone) snore'

kokkor-	'to tremble'
kokkór-s-aa	'malaria'
Cf. kokkor-s-	'to make (someone) tremble'

Common nouns such as *dors-áa* 'sheep', *dangárs-aa* 'elephant', *KuTars-áa* 'porcupine', and *7inTárs-aa* 'tongue' may contain the suffix under discussion in them, although there are no corresponding verbs.

booKál-s-aa 'fine weather' related to *booKáll-* 'to become fine weather' may be included here.

For noun stem-forming suffixes whose functions are not clear, see (4.2.1.2-8) to (4.2.1.2-12).

A verb stem may be followed by a nominal ending[545]. In this conversion of word

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[545] It is difficult to determine the direction of the derivative process or the conversion.

class, if a verb stem ends in a geminated consonant, it may or may not be degeminated. As shown in the following, the process may or may not be accompanied by a change of tone class. However, there seems to be no example in which a verb belonging to Tone Class II is converted to a common noun belonging to Tone Class I.

The following are examples of Masculine Class A common nouns derived from verbs by the process. In this case, derivative common nouns always belong to Tone Class II.

(5.2.1-15)

| Cúcc- | 'to spit' |
| Cúcc-aa | 'spit' |

| 7azall- | 'to be lazy' |
| 7azáll-aa | 'lazy one' |

| Ceegg- | 'to become old' |
| Céég-aa | 'old one' |

| danday- | 'to be able' |
| dandáy-aa | 'ability' |

The following are Masculine Class E common nouns derived from verbs by the same process. In this case, tone classes of a base verb and its derivative common noun are the same.

(5.2.1-16)

| 7áíll- | 'to hoe' |
| 7áíll-iya | 'hoe'[546] |

Since more than one common noun may correspond to one verb stem (e.g. *bál-aa* 'mistake', *bál-uwa* 'mistake', and *bal-* 'to make a mistake'), I consider that one or more common nouns are derived from a verb. However, this treatment would not be persuasive. See also the discussion at the end of section 5.3.1. Furthermore, it does not explain how classes of derived common nouns are determined.

Hayward (2000b: 415) says that 'verb stems can be derived from nominals . . . by dropping the terminal vowel', calling the process "substractive morphology". I wonder how he could determine the direction of derivation.

[546] In Amharic (and in other Semitic languages), names of tools are very often evidently derived ones: ኮተኮተ *kotakkota* 'to hoe', መኮትኮቻ *makotkocA* 'hoe'. This may also support the claim that the common noun *7áíll-iya* 'hoe' is derived from the verb *7áíll-*

paaCC-	'to examine'
paaC-íya	'examination'

bón-	'to become the dry season'
bón-iya	'dry season'

The following are Masculine Class O common nouns derived from verbs by the same process.

(5.2.1-17)

pítt-	'to sweep'
pít-uwa	'sweepings'

baizz-	'to sell'
báíz-uwa	'selling'

deeTT-	'to become heavy'
deeT-úwa	'heavy one'

de7-	'to live'
dé7-uwa	'life'

In this derivative process, i.e. the conversion, the last consonant of a verb stem may be altered. The following are examples of such consonant alternations that can be explained phonetically.

(5.2.1-18)

boo<u>kk</u>-	'to dig'	
bóó<u>h</u>-uwa	'digging'	Cf. (5.2.1-17)

bo<u>cc</u>-	'to touch'	
bó<u>sh</u>-aa	'touching'	Cf. (5.2.1-15)

'to hoe'.

7oo<u>tt</u>-   'to do, to work'

7óó<u>s</u>-uwa   'work'   Cf. (5.2.1-17)[547]

Some derivational processes that derive common nouns from verbs use consonant alternations that cannot be explained phonetically. Some of the alternations are also observed in transitivization (see section 5.3.2.2). Judging from the meanings of such derived common nouns and from the fact that expected transitive verbs do not necessarily exist, however, these two processes might not be related to each other: i.e. common nouns given in the following might not be derived directly from the corresponding derivative transitive verbs. However, see footnote 562. The derivational processes that remind us of transitivization include the following.

Replacement of the Stem Final Consonant with *s(s)*

(5.2.1-19)

kaa<u>7</u>-   'to play'

kaa<u>ss</u>-áa   'play'

Cf. kaa<u>ss</u>-   'to make play'

7adu<u>KK</u>-   'to be long'

7adu<u>ss</u>-áa   'long one'

Cf. 7adu<u>ss</u>-   'to make long'

gu<u>kk</u>-   'to spill over'

gu<u>s</u>-úwa   'diarrhea'

Cf. gu<u>ss</u>-   'to make spill over'

Replacement of the Stem Final Consonant with *shsh*

(5.2.1-20)

Ca<u>y</u>-   'to insult'

Ca<u>shsh</u>-áa   'insult'

* Ca<u>shsh</u>-

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[547] This alternation seems to be restricted to *7oott-* 'to do, to work' and its cognates.

Ciiyy-   'to bloom'
Ciishsh-áa   'flower'
* Ciishsh-

Loss of Glottalization of the Stem Final Consonant
(5.2.1-21)
shoC-   'to hit'
shocc-áa   'hitting'
* shocc-

búúCC-   'to mow'
búúcc-aa   'mowing'
* buucc-

gaaCC-   'to grind'
gaacc-áa   'grinding'
* gaacc-

mááC-   'to contract'
máácc-aa   'contract'
* maacc-

booTT-   'to make white'
bóótt-aa   'white one'
* boott-

daaTT-   'to grind'
daatt-áa   'spice made from ground red pepper etc.'
*daatt-

hiiTT-   'to make the bed'
hiitt-áa   'sleeping place'
* hiitt-

keeTT-	'to build a house'
keett-áa	'house'
* keett-	

súúTT-	'to bleed'
súútt-aa	'blood'
* suutt-	

yéTT-	'to sing'
yétt-aa	'song'
* yett-	

The following also remind us of a process of transitivization (see (5.3.2.2-11)).

(5.2.1-22)

héémm-	'to watch, drive (cattle)'
héént-aa	'way of watching, driving (cattle)'
* heent-	

The following use irregular or sporadic consonant alternations.

(5.2.1-23)

| 7acc- | 'to dun' |
| 7aC-úwa | 'debt' |

| waDD- | 'to beat' |
| wár-aa | 'beating' |

| Cadd- | 'to sting' |
| Cacc-áa | 'stinging' |

The following process is totally irregular.

(5.2.1-24)

Cáár-	'to grow'
Cársh-aa	'seedling'

Bases for derivation can be already derived stems. For example, Masculine Class A Common nouns can be formed from *-ett-* derivatives (see section 5.3.2.3).

(5.2.1-25)

yel-	'to bear'
yel-étt-	'to be born'
yel-ét-aa	'way of being born, generation'

meDD-	'to create'
mer-étt-	'to be created'
mer-ét-aa	'creature'

zor-	'to advice'
zor-étt-	'to consult each other'
zor-ét-aa	'discussion'

Or more than one stem-forming suffix can co-occur in a stem.

(5.2.1-26)

waDD-	'to beat'
war-étt-	'to beat each other'
war-ét-aa	'quarrel'
war-et-ánc-aa	'quarrelsome person'
war-et-anc-á-tett-aa	'state of being a quarrelsome person'

5.2.2 Compound Nouns

In Wolaytta, two stems may very occasionally be combined to form a new noun stem. In the following, each of the derived stems consists of a non-concrete common noun in the oblique case[548] followed by a stem of another common noun. Classes of such

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[548] This might be a non-concrete common noun in the absolute case. Since it precedes

compound nouns are the same as those of the second base common nouns. More importantly, for their tonal prominences, only those of the second base common nouns are preserved. In this way compound nouns are distinguished from common nouns modified by another common noun in the oblique case.

(5.2.2-1)

wor-a-kan-áa	'fox'
Cf. wór-aa	'forest'
kan-áa	'dog'

keett-a-7aaw-áa[549]	'householder'
Cf. keett-áa	'house'
7aaw-áa	'father'

keett-a-7as-áa	'family'
Cf. keett-áa	'house'
7as-áa	'people'

In the combination of a modifier and *wod-é* 'time-ABS.', which is used adverbially, the ending of the former and the first syllable (*wo*) of the latter are often merged together. In this case, the tonal prominence of the former is ignored and only that of the latter is preserved. Thus, the resultant combination is close to compound nouns.

(5.2.2-2)

bagg-aa-d-é	'sometimes'
Cf. bágg-a	'half'

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a nominal, however, I regard it as being in the oblique case.

[549] Adams (1983: 75) says that 'the ? [glottal stop] is dropped and the two contiguous long vowels /a:/ become one, i.e.,

/ke:tta: + ?a:wa:/ = ke:tta:wa:/
the house   the father   the master of the house'

Although the actual pronunciation of this compound noun is close to that described by him, the analysis given in (5.2.2-1) would be correct. Cf. *baKul-o-7aaw-áa* 'owner of a mule' (Cf. *baKúl-uwa* 'mule', *7aaw-áa* 'father'), which was obtained by means of elicitation.

har-oo-d-é   'at another time'
Cf. har-á   'other'

The phonetic merger of an ending of a modifier and the first syllable of *wod-é* 'time' may take place when the modifier is not a common noun. In this case, however, tone of the resultant combination can be explained in the same way as that of a modifier followed by a common noun in a tonal group.

(5.2.2-3)
hee-d-é   'at that time'
Cf. he   'that'

7ínee-d-e   'at that time'
Cf. 7íni   'that'

The Masculine Class A common noun *wontimaatt-áa* 'early morning' seems to be a compound noun somehow related to *wónt-aa* 'dawn'. However, its etymology and structure is not clear.[550]

5.3   Verb Stem Formation
5.3.1   Verb Stem Derivation
In this language, a verb stem may be derived on the basis of a stem (or a root).

This process may be accomplished by adding a stem-forming suffix to an existent nominal or verbal stem (or root), which may or may not be followed by an ending. Such stem-forming suffixes may or may not be productive, and we cannot predict to which stems or roots a given stem-forming suffix can be attached. In the following, some of such stem-forming suffixes are dealt with.

-t-
This suffix is attached to a non-concrete common noun in the absolute case. The

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[550] The meaning and grammatical status of the former element /*mééshí*/ of [mééʃímek'ettaa] 'ankle' is not clear (*meKétt-aa* is a common noun meaning 'bone'). Judging from its tone, however, it is not a compound noun, at least.

resultant derivative means "to become X" or "to become in state of X", and belongs to Tone Class I.

(5.3.1-1)

7urK-áa	'mud'
7urK-a-t-	'to become muddy'

baaT-íya	'struggle'
baaT-e-t-	'to struggle'

dúr-iya	'rich one'
dur-e-t-	'to become rich'

7ees-úwa	'speed'
7ees-o-t-	'to become speedy'

dább-uwa	'relative'
dabb-o-t-	'to become relative'

7aayy-íyo	'mother'
7aayy-o-t-	'to become mother'

Although it is somewhat irregular, the following would be included here.

(5.3.1-2)

met-úwa	'problem'
met-oo-t-	'to have problem'

-tt-

This suffix is attached to a non-concrete common noun belonging to Tone Class II in the absolutive case. The resultant derivative means "to become X" or "to become in state of X", and belongs Tone Class II.

(5.3.1-3)

Cór-aa	'many ones'
Cór-a-tt-	'to become many'
Kár-aa	'sharp one'
Kár-a-tt-	'to become sharp'
7áím-uwa	'dream'
7áím-o-tt-	'to dream'
mátt-uwa	'intoxication'
mátt-o-tt-	'to become intoxicated'

-y-

   This suffix is attached to a non-concrete common noun in the absolutive case. The resultant derivative means "to make X". In other words, it is a transitive or causative counterpart of a derivative with *-t-* or *-tt-* mentioned above in this section. However, it is not necessarily the case that each *-y-* derivative has a corresponding *-t-* or *-tt-* derivative, and vice versa. For example, neither *hais-e-t-* nor *hais-e-tt-* does not exist for *hais-e-y-* 'to tell a fable' based on *hais-íya* 'fable', and *baaT-e-y-* does not exist for *baaT-e-t-* 'to struggle' based on *baaT-íya* 'struggle'[551]. If a *-y-* derivative corresponds to a *-t-* derivative, the former belongs to Tone Class I (see (5.3.1-4)), and if it corresponds to a *-tt-* derivative, it belongs to Tone Class II (see (5.3.1-5)).

(5.3.1-4)

dumm-áa	'different one'
dumm-a-y-	'to differentiate'
Cf. dumm-a-t-	'to become different'

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[551] Note also the following irregularity: *dozhzh-á-tt-* 'to make unpleasant noise', **dozhzh-a-y-*, *dozhzh-a-y-iss-* 'to make (something) make unpleasant noise', *dozhzh-aa, *dozhzh-iin-áa* 'one that makes unpleasant noise' (see (5.2.1-10)), *dozhzh-ú* '(preverb, see section 4.2.9.2)'.

dúr-iya	'rich one'
dur-e-y-	'to make rich'
Cf. dur-e-t-	'to become rich'

dább-uwa	'relative'
dabb-o-y-	'to make relative'
Cf. dabb-o-t-	'to become relative'

(5.3.1-5)

Cór-aa	'many ones'
Cór-a-y-	'to make many'
Cf. Cór-a-tt-	'to become many'

gáás-uwa	'reason'
gáás-o-y-	'to make reason'
Cf. gáás-o-tt-	'to become a reason'

There is a non-productive stem-forming suffix used to derive a verb from a noun.

(5.3.1-6)

7aw-áa	'Sun'
7aw-áTT-	'to become sunny'

There are stem-forming suffixes attached to verb stems or roots used to derive verbs. They are in general associated with grammatical voices, and are discussed in section 5.3.2 in detail, with the related phenomena.

In section 5.2.1, we assumed that when a stem of a common noun and that of a verb are segmentally (almost) the same, the former is derived from the latter. However, for example, while the common noun *kaC-áám-aa* 'horned one', which is derived from *kaC-íya* 'horn' (see (5.2.1-1)), exists, the verb **kaC-aam-* does not exist. Thus, it would be natural to consider, for example, that the verb *wolK-aam-* 'to become strong' is derived from the common noun *wolK-áám-aa* 'powerful one', which is derived from the common noun *wolK-áa* 'power'. Thus, some of the examples of the conversion from a

verb to a noun given in section 5.2.1 might be those of the conversion of the opposite direction.

5.3.2 Voice

In this section, derived verb stems based on verb stems or roots will be discussed. They always are somehow associated with grammatical voices. In other words, each of them in principle indicates a change of the relationship between a situation expressed by a base verb stem and referents of nominals in the same clause. Concretely speaking, they are used for causative expressions, passive expressions, reciprocal expressions, and expressions somehow related to them.

5.3.2.1   *-iss-* Derivative

The stem-forming suffix *-iss-* is widely used in this language to form so-called causative verbs, such as "to make (someone) buy" based on "to buy" and "to make (someone) hit" based on "to hit". The suffix cannot have a tonal prominence unless it is sandwiched between elements with tonal prominences. As is well known, a transitivising/causative *s-* ~ *-s* is found throughout Afroasiatic languages. See, for example, Hayward (2000a: 93).

(5.3.2.1-1)

Cay-	'to insult'
Cay-iss-	'to make (someone) insult'
pent-	'to boil (v.i.)'
pent-iss-	'to boil (v.t.)'
dóór-	'to chose'
dóór-iss-	'to make (someone) chose'
7ánC-	'to mince'
7ánC-iss-	'to make (someone) mince'

When a base stem ends in a geminated consonant, it is usually reduced to a single consonant when the causative suffix is added to.

(5.3.2.1-2)

shamm-	'to buy'
sham-iss-	'to make (someone) buy'

búúCC-	'to mow'
búúC-iss-	'to make (someone) mow'

Some verb stems, however, retain geminated consonants at their ends even if the causative suffix is added to[552].

(5.3.2.1-3)

7azall-	'to become lazy'
7azall-iss-	'to make (someone) lazy'

harumm-	'to weed'
harumm-iss-	'to make (someone) weed'

Cimm-	'to deceive'
Cimm-iss-	'to make (someone) deceive'

For the last example, the retention of the geminated consonant happens to serve to differentiate meanings. Compare it with the following.

(5.3.2.1-4)

Cim-	'to become old'
Cim-iss-	'to make old'

In general, however, the retention is not to differentiate meanings. In the following, *-iss-* derivative forms of two different verbs are merged into one homophonous form because of the loss of gemination illustrated in (5.3.2.1-2)

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[552] Adams (1983: 75) says that 'When the causative voice marker /-iss-/ . . . is suffixed to a verb-root that contains a geminated consonant finally in the root [i.e. stem in this thesis], the geminated consonant in the root becomes a single consonant.' Causative verbs in (5.3.2.1-3) are, thus, counterexamples of Adams' claim.

(5.3.2.1-5)

| 7agg- | 'to cease' |
| 7ag-iss- | 'to make (someone) cease' |

| 7ag- | 'to brew' |
| 7ag-iss- | 'to make (someone) brew' |

(5.3.2.1-6)

| 7all- | 'to go funeral ceremony' |
| 7al-iss- | 'to receive callers for condolence' |

| 7al- | 'to become quenched' |
| 7al-iss- | 'to make (someone) quenched' |

Addition of the causative suffix *-iss-* may be accompanied by a consonant alternation at the end of the base stem.

(5.3.2.1-7)

| 7oi<u>cc</u>- | 'to ask' |
| 7oi<u>sh</u>-iss- | 'to make (someone) ask' |

In the following, addition of the causative suffix is accompanied by loss of the stem final consonant.

(5.3.2.1-8)

| 7aK- | 'to spend the night' |
| 7aiss- | 'to make (someone) spend the night' |

The suffix *-iiss-* in the following[553] is an allomorph of *-iss-* under discussion after a mono-consonantal verb (see section 4.4.1.3).

(5.3.2.1-9)

| g- | 'to say' |
| g-iiss- | 'to make (someone) say' |

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[553] However, this is seldom used.

As the term "causative" indicates, an *-iss-* derivative expresses that the referent of its linguistic subject ("causer" hereafter) makes someone or something ("causee" hereafter) realize a situation described by its base stem. In the following, for example, Mana himself did not begin the work, but he made the people begin the work.

(5.3.2.1-10)

man-í	dag-úwa
(person name)-NOM.	people for communal labor-ABS.M.SG.

Teeg-ídí	7óós-uwa	dóóm-iss-iis.
call-CONV.3M.SG.	work-ABS.M.SG.	begin-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Mani called the people for communal labor, and made (them) begin the work.'

In the above, the use of the causative derivative implies that the causer (i.e. Mana) just ordered the causee (i.e. people) to begin the work. However, an *-iss-* derivative can be used to express that a causer helps a causee to do something described by its base stem. Thus the following, for example, can mean that the man helped the woman to carry the pot on her back, as well as that the man ordered the woman to carry the pot on her back.

(5.3.2.1-11)

bitán-ee	mishir-íyo	7ót-uwa
man-NOM.M.SG.	woman-ABS.F.SG.	pot-ABS.M.SG.

ba7-iss-íis.
carry on one's back-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The man made the woman carry the pot on her back.'

In the following, the causative derivative is used to express permission.

(5.3.2.1-12)

yesúús-í	ba-7apál-aa	maCár-aa
Jesus-NOM.	his own-tunic-OBL.M.SG.	fringe of dress-ABS.M.SG.

gid-í-kkó-nné	hargánc-ata	<u>bosh-iss-aná</u>
become-SUBOR.-if-and	sick person-ABS.PL.	touch-CAUS.-REL.FUT.

mál-a	7as-ái	7á	wooss-íis.
look(s)-ABS.	people-NOM.M.SG.	him	beg-PF.3M.SG.

'In order for Jesus to let the sick persons touch even the edge of his cloak, people begged to him.'   (From Mark 6:56)

In the following pair, the base form *7oicc-* 'to ask' and its causative form *7oish-iss-*[554] 'to make (someone) ask' actually refer to the same situation. In the former the "asking" is thought to be telling a girl somehow about one's own will to marry her, and in the latter to be talking directly to a girl (for someone else's marriage).

(5.3.2.1-13a)

7iss-í	na7-ái	mácc-iyo
one-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	wife-ABS.F.SG.

<u>7oicc-an-á-u</u>	Cím-aa
ask-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	old-ABS.M.SG.

na7-é-nta	sóo	kiitt-ées.
child-OBL.F.SG.-and others (OBL.)	home	send-IMPF.3M.SG.

'One boy sends an old man to a house of the girl and her family in order to ask her (lit. wife).'

(5.3.2.1-13b)

7iss-í	na7-ái	mácc-iyo
one-OBL.	child-NOM.M.SG.	wife-ABS.F.SG.

<u>7oish-iss-an-á-u</u>	Cím-aa
ask-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	old-ABS.M.SG.

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[554] See (5.3.2.1-7).

na7-é-nta		sóo	kiitt-ées.
child-OBL.F.SG.-and others (OBL.)		home	send-IMPF.3M.SG.

'One boy sends an old man to a house of the girl and her family in order to ask her (lit. wife).'

In other words, the interpretation of what "to realize a situation by oneself" means may fluctuate[555].

Adams (1983: 82) says as if an item manifesting causee is expressed only as an absolutive nominal, although he (1983: 126) also gives a sentence in which it is realized as a postpositional phrase with *-ni* 'in, at, by'[556]. According to my research, both are

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[555] In this respect, the verb *keeTT-* 'to build a house' is similar to the verb *7oicc-* 'to ask'. The following usually means that Alemu covered the expenses to build his house.

7alam-ú	ba-keett-áa	7ááss-idi
(person name)-NOM.	his own-house-ABS.M.SG.	make wide-CONV.3M.SG.

keeTT-íis.
build a house-PF.3M.SG.

'Alemu build his own house, making it wide.'

However, Alemu might do the manual labor as a carpenter. The same verb is used obviously in this latter sense in the following passage from Mark 4:32.

kap-ói	7i-tash-íya
bird-NOM.M.SG.	her-a branch with leaves-OBL.M.SG.

kúw-aa-ni	bá-u	keett-áa
shade-OBL.M.SG.-in	his own-for	house-ABS.M.SG.

keeTT-an-á	danday-ées.
build a house-INFN.-ABS.	be able to-IMPF.3M.SG.

'A bird can nest (lit. build a house) for itself in the shade of her (i.e. mustard's) leaves.'

Unfortunately I do not have enough data on the causative form of the verb.

[556] However, the sentence in question is a "ditransitive causative" one, that is:

used for expressions of causees. However, when an *-iss-* derivative is derived from a verb that requires no absolute nominal (i.e. from an "intransitive verb"), a causee is expressed by an absolute nominal.

(5.3.2.1-14)

Cark-ói	mítt-aa	wul-iss-íis.
wind-NOM.M.SG.	tree-ABS.M.SG.	fall-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'The wind blew the tree down (lit. made the wood fall).'

(5.3.2.1-15)

7anjúll-óí	núná	dur-iss-íis.
(person name)-NOM.	us	dance-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'Anjulo made us dance.'

(5.3.2.1-16)

maaráK-oi	7ír-aa	buk-iss-íis.
(name of a clan)-NOM.M.SG.	rain-ABS.M.SG.	beat[557]-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'A Marako man made it rain.'

   In the case of *-iss-* derivatives that are derived from "transitive" verbs, semantic types of situations affect how causees are expressed. If a causer does something actively, not

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7astada:dare:	nu	Kabaliya:	?asa-ni	ta	?iša:
administrator	our	of association	people-"by"	my	brother

li:Kamambare	kes-iss-i:si.
chairman	brought out-cau-3m,past

   'The administrator got the people in our association to make my brother chairman.'
   (*K* is *k* with a dot in the original text)

Furthermore, I guess that the verb stem *kess-* is a causative of *kiy-* according to his treatment.
   He (1983: 131) also says that a causee can be expressed by a subordinate clause in "causative-passive entailment". However, his argument appears to be a quibble and I ignore it here. For complex voices, see section 5.3.2.4.

[557] In fact this verb has come to mean 'to rain'.

just ordering, to realize a situation and at the same time if there is no possibility of confusion between a causee and an "object" of a verb, both of them are expressed by absolutive nominals, as Adams (1983: 82) says.

(5.3.2.1-17)

harg-ída	na7-áa	Talót-iya
become sick-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-ABS.M.SG.	rue-ABS.M.SG.

sing-iss-ées.
sniff-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He (i.e. a witchdoctor) makes a boy who is sick rue.'

(5.3.2.1-18)

nééní	ha77í	gééshsh-a	gid-ídoo-g-áá
you	now	clean-ABS.	become-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

7as-áa	7er-iss-an-á-u	. . .
people-ABS.M.SG.	know-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	. . .

   'In order to testify (lit. make know) to the people that you have now become clean . . .'   (From Mark 1:44)

   In other cases, that is, if a causer of a transitive situation just orders a causee, and/or if there is a possibility of confusion between a causee and an "object" of a verb, structural types of clauses affect how causees are expressed. If a word referring to a causee directly precedes a word referring to an "object", which seems to be unmarked order, the causee can be expressed both by an absolutive nominal and by a postpositional phrase with -*ni* 'in, at, by'.

(5.3.2.1-19a)

7anjúll-óí	núná	dúrs-aa	dur-iss-íis[558].
(person name)-NOM.	us	dance-ABS.M.SG.	dance-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

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[558] The verb *dur-* 'to dance' is treated as a "transitive" verb, which takes an object (*dúrs-aa* 'dance', in this case).

'Anjullo made us dance.'

(5.3.2.1-19b)

7anjúll-óí	núnáá-ní	dúrs-aa
(person name)-NOM.	our-by	dance-ABS.M.SG.

dur-iss-íis.
dance-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'Anjullo made us dance.'

(5.3.2.1-20a)

galláss-óí	ba-na7-áa	peng-íya
(person name)-NOM.	his own-child-ABS.M.SG.	door-ABS.M.SG.

dooy-iss-íis.
open-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'Galaso made his son open the door.'

(5.3.2.1-20b)

galláss-óí	ba-na7-áa-ni	peng-íya
(person name)-NOM.	his own-child-OBL.M.SG.-by	door-ABS.M.SG.

dooy-iss-íis.
open-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'Galaso made his son open the door.'

(5.3.2.1-21a)

dol-í	bááss-á	na7-íyo
(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-ABS.	child-ABS.F.SG.

boc-iss-íis.
touch-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Dola made Basa touch the girl.'

(5.3.2.1-21b)

dol-í	bááss-áá-ní	na7-íyo
(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.-by	child-ABS.F.SG.

boc-iss-íis.
touch-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Dola made Basa touch the girl.'

However, the choice seems to depend on the preference of the speaker. Actually for the above sentences, one of my main consultants always chose absolutive nominals and another always chose postpositional phrases, although the former admit also (5.3.2.1-19b). Confusingly enough, the former consultant interprets the postpositional phrases in the above differently from the latter consultant. That is, he considers that in each of the above the referent of the oblique nominal in the postpositional phrase is not a causee but, as it were, an instrument for realizing the causative situation. Thus, for example, he interprets (5.3.2.1-21b) as follows.

(5.3.2.1-22)

dol-í	bááss-áá-ní	súg-iss-idi
(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-OBL.-by	push-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.

na7-íyo	haatt-áa	boc-iss-íis.
child-ABS.F.SG.	water-ABS.M.SG.	touch-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Dola made Basa push (her), and made the girl touch the water.'

On the other hand, if a word referring to an "object" precedes a word referring to a causee, which seems to be marked order, the latter is expressed by a postpositional phrase with *-ni* 'in, at, by'[559].

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[559] The example sentence that Adams (1983: 83) gives as an example in which the order of "Causee" and "Object" is reversed would actually be an example in which Object is put outside a clause for the purpose of emphasis.

(5.3.2.1-23)

7alam-ú		táná	ba-na7-áa-ni
(person name)-NOM.		me	his own-child-OBL.M.SG.-by

Cay-iss-íis.
insult-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

  'Alemu made his son insult me.'

(5.3.2.1-24)

nééní	7ó	7áá-ní	Cad-iss-ádasa.
you	her	him-by	sting-CAUS.-PF.2SG.

  'You made him sting her.'

(5.3.2.1-25)

7anjúll-á	der-é	7as-áa-ni	méh-ee
(person name)	land-OBL.	people-OBL.M.SG.-by	property-NOM.M.SG.

bonc-iss-ées.
respect-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'His property made people of the land respect Anjulo.'

   In actually encountered causative sentences, either a word referring to a causee or that referring to an "object" is often missing. Common sense and/or the context play an important role in interpreting such sentences. However, if we cannot easily determine whether a given absolutive nominal in such an "incomplete" causative sentence refers to a causee or an "object", it is usually regarded as referring to an "object".

šini	hega:	?inte	tana	wolKa-ni	?o:t-iss-ideta.
but	that	you	me	power-"by"	do-cause-2pl,past

  'But you forced me to do that.'   (*K* is a dotted *k* in the original text)

(5.3.2.1-26)

méh-ee	7as-áa	bonc-iss-ées.
property-NOM.M.SG.	people-ABS.M.SG.	respect-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The property makes (someone) respect people (i.e. a man who has property is respected).'

Thus in such "incomplete" causative sentences, a causee must be expressed by a postpositional phrase with *-ni* 'in, at, by'.

(5.3.2.1-27)

kaw-ói	waD-iss-an-á-u	danday-ées,
king-NOM.M.SG.	beat-CAUS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	can-IMPF.3M.SG.

ba-wottaddár-aa-ni.
his own-soldier-OBL.M.SG.-by

'The king can make his soldier beat (you).'

5.3.2.2 Transitivization

There are transitive verb stems[560] that are formed from other verb stems by changing their final consonants[561] or by adding a suffix to them. Such transitivizing processes, some of which are mentioned by Adams (1983: 188) and/or by Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 140-141) as means of causativization, include the following[562].

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[560] It is difficult to syntactically define "transitive verbs" in this language. Each derived verb discussed in this section expresses that someone or something realizes a situation referred to by its base verb. In this section such derived verbs are called transitive verbs.
[561] In this case, it is difficult to isolate a root. For example, is *7áákk-* in (5.3.2.2-1) a root or not? Is *diCC-* in (5.3.2.2-14) a root or not? I leave the matter open in this thesis.
[562] Strangely enough, many of the consonant alternations used for transitivization are observed in derivation of noun stems (see (5.2.1-19) to (5.2.1-22)). Addition of the suffix *-s-* is also found in both these fields (see (5.2.1-14)). Furthermore, there are common nouns that morphologically look like *-ett-* derivatives (forms for passive and its related expressions, see section 5.3.2.3) (see (5.2.1-12)). Thus the voice and noun derivation might be related to each other in this language.

Replacement of the Stem Final Consonant with *ss*

Tone classes of base and derived verbs are the same.

(5.3.2.2-1)

7áá<u>kk</u>-	'to become wide'
7áá<u>ss</u>-	'to make wide'

7adu<u>KK</u>-	'to become long'
7adu<u>ss</u>-	'to make long'

be<u>7</u>-	'to see'
be<u>ss</u>-	'to show'

The following would be included here.

(5.3.2.2-2)

kí<u>y</u>-	'to go out'
ke<u>ss</u>-	'to make go out'

Replacement of the Stem Final Consonant with *shsh*

(5.3.2.2-3)

7á<u>tt</u>-	'to heal (v.i.), to be saved'
7a<u>shsh</u>-	'to heal (v.t.), to save'

bá<u>y</u>-	'to be lost'
ba<u>shsh</u>-	'to lose'

géé<u>y</u>-	'to become clean'
gee<u>shsh</u>-	'to make clean'

góó<u>y</u>-	'to become mad'
góó<u>shsh</u>-	'to make (someone) mad'

| yá<u>yy</u>- | 'to fear' |
| yá<u>shsh</u>- | 'to make (someone) fear' |

The following would be included here.

(5.3.2.2-4)

| pé7- | 'to spend the day' |
| peeshsh- | 'to make (someone) spend the day' |

Addition of the Suffix *-iz-*

(5.3.2.2-5)

| m- | 'to eat' |
| m-iz- | 'to make (someone) eat' |

Addition of the Suffix *-s-*

(5.3.2.2-6)

| wur- | 'to finish (v.i.)' |
| wur-s- | 'to finish (v.t.)' |

| daapur- | 'to tire (v.i.)' |
| daapur-s- | 'to tire (v.t.)' |

Replacement of *-t-* or *-tt-* in Denominative Verb with *-y-*[563]

(5.3.2.2-7)

| dumm-a-t- | 'to be different' |
| dumm-a-y- | 'to make different' |

| Cór-a-tt- | 'to become many' |
| Cór-a-y- | 'to make many' |

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[563] See section 5.3.1.

Addition of the Suffix *-ett-*

This suffix cannot have a tonal prominence, unlike the passive suffix *-ett-* (see section 5.3.2.3).

(5.3.2.2-8)

7aLL-	'to become expensive'
7aLL-ett-	'to make expensive'
boLL-	'to become hot'
boLL-ett-	'to make hot'
bal-	'to make a mistake'
bal-ett-	'to deceive'
7uNN-	'to become narrow'
7uNN-ett-	'to make narrow'
Ceegg-	'to become old'
Ceeg-ett-	'to make old'

Replacement of the Stem Final Consonant with *tt*

This might be related to the transitivizing suffix *-ett-* mentioned above.

(5.3.2.2-9)

7áá<u>DD</u>-	'to pass'
7aa<u>tt</u>-	'to make (someone) pass'
7óí<u>KK</u>-	'to seize'
7oi<u>tt</u>-	'to make (someone) seize'
gá<u>kk</u>-	'to reach'
ga<u>tt</u>-	'to deliver'

The following would be included here.

(5.3.2.2-10)

lo77-	'to become good'
loitt-	'to make good'

Addition of the Suffix *-t-* after *n*

(5.3.2.2-11)

7amman-	'to believe'
7amman-t-	'to make (someone) believe'

pínn-	'to cross'
pin-t-	'to make cross'

The following might somehow be related to the above.

(5.3.2.2-12)

dend-	'to rise up'
dent-	'to lift up'

(5.3.2.2-13)

me77-	'to break (v.i.)'
ment-	'to break (v.t.)'

Hayward (2000b: 408-409) suggests the sound change *ns > *nts > nt. Thus, if this is correct, *-t-* for transitivization is related to *-s-*, which is observed in many derived transitive verbs (see (5.3.2.2-1) and (5.3.2.2-6)).

Loss of Glottalization in the Stem Final Consonant

The last two pairs might better be classified under (5.3.2.1-9), in which transitivization is accomplished by replacement of the stem final consonant with *-tt-*.

(5.3.2.2-14)

diCC-	'to grow'
dicc-	'to make grow, to faster'

7ééTT-	'to burn (v.i.)'
7eett-	'to burn (v.t.)'

paT-	'to heal (v.i.)'
patt-	'to heal (v.t.)'

Adams (1983: 187) and Lamberti and Sottil (1997: 139-141) do not differentiate *-iss-* derivatives discussed in section 5.3.2.1 from derived transitive verbs illustrated in this section, and say that the latter mark the causative voice. However, I regard the two kinds of derivatives as different. This is because in some cases both an *-iss-* derivative and a derived transitive verb can be formed from a verb stem, and they have different meanings.

In such a case, the latter (i.e. a derived transitive verb) expresses a situation in which the referent of a linguistic subject more directly affects the referent of a linguistic "object" and/or the meaning of the latter is more deviated from that of its base verb stem. Thus we can say that it has become an independent transitive verb, and sometimes even that it is not felt to be a derived verb any more. Consider the following pairs.

(5.3.2.2-15a)

kabbád-í	7alam-á	Cóóy-iss-iis.
(person name)-NOM.	(person name)-ABS.	vomit-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Kebede helped Alemu vomit.'

(5.3.2.2-15b)

7alam-ú	7úy-ido	7íít-a	sháyy-ee
(person name)-NOM.	drink-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	bad-OBL.	tea-NOM.M.SG.

7amal-á	Cooshsh-íis.
(person name)-ABS.	make vomit-PF.3M.SG.

'The bad tea that Alemu drank made Alemu vomit.'

(5.3.2.2-16a)

na7-ái	ba-lágg-iya	keer-ído
child-NOM.M.SG.	hisown-friend-ABS.M.SG.	appoint-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.

wod-íya	bal-iss-íis.
time-ABS.M.SG.	mistake-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy made his friend mistake the appointed time (i.e. told a wrong time).'

(5.3.2.2-16b)

giy-áa-ni	zaLLánc-ai	kátt-aa
market-OBL.M.SG.-in	merchant-NOM.M.SG.	grain-ABS.M.SG.

baizz-íiddi	bal-ett-íis.
sell-SIM.3M.SG.	mistake-(transitivizer)-PF.3M.SG..

'In the market, the merchant deceived while he was selling grain.'

(5.3.2.2-17a)

7aaw-ái	ba-gúútt-a	na7-áa
father-NOM.M.SG.	his own-little-OBL.	child-ABS.M.SG.

naa77-ú	ged-íya-ni	7eK-iss-íis.
two-OBL.	leg-OBL.M.SG.-in	stand-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The father made his son stand with his two legs.'

(5.3.2.2-17b)

7iss-í	7aduss-á	mítt-aa	7ekk-ídí
one-OBL.	long-ABS.	wood-ABS.M.SG.	take-CONV.3M.SG.

he	7aduss-á	mítt-aa	boll-í	KunCúút-e
that	long-OBL.	wood-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.	thread-OBL.

mál-aa	Kácc-idi	kátt-aa
look(s)-ABS.M.SG.	tie-CONV.3M.SG.	grain-OBL.M.SG.

7acc-áa-ni	bandir-áa-daani	7ess-ées.
side-OBL.M.SG.-in	flag-OBL.M.SG.-like	stand (v.t.)-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He takes one piece of long wood, and he ties a thing that looks like lace on the top of that long wood, and stands (it) like a flag by the side of the grain.'

(5.3.2.2-18a)

7í	báy-ida	bóór-aa
he	be lost-REL.PF.SUBJ.	ox-ABS.M.SG.

ba-shoor-otú-ní	kóy-iss-iis.
his own-neighbor-OBL.PL.-in	want-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'He made his neighbors search for the lost ox.'

(5.3.2.2-18b)

tá-yyo	miishsh-ái	koshsh-ées.
my-for	money-NOM.M.SG.	be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

'I need money.'

However, most derived transitive verbs under discussion have the consonant *s* or the like. The consonant *t* in some of them may be derived from *s*, as said above (see (5.3.2.2-11)). Thus derived transitive verbs might be somehow related to *-iss-* causative derivatives discussed in section 5.3.2.1.

The causative suffix *-iss-* is very productive, and can be attached to most verb stems (including derived ones). However, *-iss-* causative derivatives cannot be derived from some verbs. For causative expressions of some of such verbs derived transitive verbs are used.

(5.3.2.2-19)

7í	7á	woDD-ídí	7a-shíy-aa	miz-íis.
he	him	beat-CONV.3M.SG.	his-feces-ABS.M.SG.	feed-PF.3M.SG.

'He beat him and made him eat his feces.'

Cf. (5.3.2.2-20)

ba-méh-iya	7ubb-áa	7áí	miz-íi?
his own-livestock-OBL.M.SG.	all-ABS.M.SG.	what	feed-INTER.IMPF.3M.SG.

'What does he feed all his livestock?'

I regard the verb *miz-* 'to feed, treat' as a derived transitive verb based on *m-* 'to eat', not as a causative form of it. (5.3.2.2-19) might be a disproof of my treatment: *-iz-* might be an allomorph of the causative suffix *-iss-*.

5.3.2.3 *-ett-* Derivative

In this language, the suffix *-ett-* is used to form so-called passive verbs, reciprocal verbs, etc. In this section, various uses of *-ett-* derivatives are investigated. As is well known, the derivative affix *t- ~ -t* is widespread in Afroasiatic languages, which is 'associated variously with notions of reflexivity, reciprocity, and/or intransitivising/passivising formations' (Hayward (2000a: 93)).

If a stem to which the passive suffix *-ett-* is attached does not have a tonal prominence, it has a tonal prominence, and if a stem to which it is attached has a tonal prominence, it does not have a tonal prominence unless it is followed by an element with a tonal prominence. In this way the passive suffix *-ett-* is distinguished from the transitivising suffix *-ett-* (see (5.3.2.2-8)).[564]

(5.3.2.3-1)

dog-	'to forget'
dog-étt-	'to be forgotten'[565]

bonc-	'to respect'
bonc-étt-	'to be respected'

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[564] In this thesis, the term *-ett-* derivative means derivatives with the passive suffix, not those with the transitivising suffix.

[565] Although *-ett-* derivatives may have other meanings, only a passive one is given here since it is the most salient. For the same reason, the suffix *-ett-* under discussion is always glossed as "PASS." in this thesis.

dóór-	'to pile up'
dóór-ett-	'to be piled up'

7ánC-	'to mince'
7ánC-ett-	'to be minced'

When a base stem ends in a geminated consonant, it is usually reduced to a single consonant when the passive suffix *-ett-* is added to.

(5.3.2.3-2)

7imm-	'to give'
7im-étt-	'to be given'

dádd-	'to weave'
dád-ett-	'to be woven'

harumm-	'to weed'
harum-étt-[566]	'to be weeded'

Very occasionally, however, the gemination is preserved.

(5.3.2.3-3)

7onakk-	'to do such and such'
7onakk-étt-	'to be done such and such'

Addition of the suffix *-ett-* may be accompanied by a consonant change at the end of a base stem.

(5.3.2.3-4)

Ká<u>cc</u>-	'to tie'
Ká<u>sh</u>-ett-	'to be tied'

me<u>DD</u>-	'to create'
me<u>r</u>-étt-[567]	'to be created'

---

[566] Cf. *harumm-iss-* 'to make (someone) weed', which retains the gemination.
[567] *meD-étt-* is also observed.

shaa<u>kk</u>-	'to divide'
shaa<u>h</u>-étt-	'to be divided'

7oo<u>tt</u>-	'to do'
7oo<u>s</u>-étt-	'to be done'

The verb *beett-* 'to be visible, to be found' might seems to be derived from the verb *be7-* 'to see'. However, *be7-étt-* 'to be seen' also exist in this language. Thus it would be proper to consider that *beett-* 'to be visible' is not an *-ett-* derivative.

For mono-consonantal verbs, the allomorph *-eetett-* is used[568].

(5.3.2.3-5)

m-	'to eat'
m-éétett-	'to be eaten'

g-	'to say'
g-éétett-	'to be said'

The *-ett-* derivative of *7óíKK-* 'to seize' is, as is expected, *7óíK-ett-* 'to be seized'. However, the totally irregular form *7óh-ett-* 'to be seized' is also used interchangeably.

There are a very small number of *-ett-* derivatives whose corresponding base forms do not exist.

(5.3.2.3-6)

7otor-étt-	'to be proud of'
Cf. 7otor-s-	'to make (someone) proud of'
* 7otor-	

(5.3.2.3-7)

báy-ett-	'to hate each other'
Cf. báy-et-iss	'to make (someone) hate each other'
báy-	'to be lost'[569]

The verb *hemétt-* 'to walk' might be an *-ett-* derivative whose base verb does not exist,

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[568] For *7ep-* 'to take', however, *-ett-* is used.
[569] This would have no relationship to the above reciprocal verb.

although I cannot explain why this verb is expressed as an *-ett-* derivative. However, it is worth noting that also in Amharic "to walk" is expressed by a *t-* derivative (ተረመደ *tarAmmada*).

For most uses of the *-ett-* derivative, the following two features can be pointed out: 1) A linguistic subject, which may be overt or covert[570], refers to an affected participant. That is to say, its referent is directly affected by a situation described by a base verb stem[571]. 2) The cause of the affectedness on the affected participant is a situation that does not originate in the participant itself.

Thus, *-ett-* derivatives are used in passive expressions. In this case, what actually realizes a situation described by a base verb stem (so-called agent) is expressed as an object of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by' (the postpositional phrase is not an obligatory part of a passive expression). The following are examples of passive expressions with the *-ett-* derivative.

(5.3.2.3-8)

7í	ba-lágg-iya-ni	shoC-étt-iis.
he	his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-by	hit-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'He was hit by his friend.'

(5.3.2.3-9)

bambar-ée	mishir-ée-ni	daaT-étt-iis.
red pepper-NOM.M.SG.	woman-OBL.F.SG.-by	regrind-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The red pepper was reground by the woman.'

(5.3.2.3-10)

bullúkk-oi	bitán-iya-ni	dád-ett-iis.
blanket-NOM.M.SG.	man-OBL.M.SG.-by	weave-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

---

[570] A nominal that functions as a subject is not an obligatory element in this language. Sometimes its existence is only inferred from a verb form. Such potential subjects are treated as subjects in this chapter.

[571] The referent may be what comes into existence as a result of a situation.

'The blanket was woven by the man.'

(5.3.2.3-11)

7oos-étt-ido-i	7áí	b-í-ppee?
make-PASS.-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NOM.	what	thing-OBL.-from

'What was it made from?'

Depending on the situation, there can be more than one candidate for the referent of a subject of a passive expression. For example, if someone stole something, both the thing that was stolen and its possessor can be regarded as affected participants, and thus two kinds of passive expressions are possible for the derived verb "to be stolen".

(5.3.2.3-12a)

ta-migíd-oi	wúúK-ett-iis.
my-ring-NOM.3M.SG.	steal-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'My ring was stolen.'

(5.3.2.3-12b)

táání	migíd-uwa	wúúK-ett-aas.
I (NOM.)	ring-ABS.M.SG.	steal-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'I had my ring stolen.'

The following are similar examples.

(5.3.2.3-13a)

ta-húúP-ee	shoC-étt-iis.
my-head-NOM.M.SG.	hit-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'My head was hit.'

(5.3.2.3-13b)

táání	ta-húúP-iya	shoC-étt-aas.
I (NOM.)	my-head-ABS.M.SG.	hit-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'I had my head hit.' or 'I was hit on my head.'

(5.3.2.3-14a)

7óós-oi   maad-étt-iis.
work-NOM.M.SG.   help-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The work was helped.'

(5.3.2.3-14b)

táání   7óós-uwa   maad-étt-aas.
I (NOM.)   job-ABS.M.SG. help-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'I was helped with my job.'

Some so-called "di-transitive verbs" also permit two kinds of passive expressions. For example, if someone smeared something with something, both the thing that is smeared and the thing with which someone smeared can be regarded as affected participants, and thus two kinds of passive expressions are possible for the derived verb "to be smeared".

(5.3.2.3-15a)

na7-áa   húúP-ee   7óíss-aa
child-OBL.M.SG.   head-NOM.M.SG.   butter-ABS.M.SG.

tíy-ett-iis.
smear-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy's head was smeared with butter.'

(5.3.2.3-15b)

7óíss-ai   húúP-iya-ni   tíy-ett-iis.
butter-NOM.M.SG.   head-OBL.M.SG.-at   smear-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The butter was smeared on the head.'

The following is a similar example.

(5.3.2.3-16a)

badal-ái	koott-áa-ni	kunt-étt-iis.
corn-NOM.M.SG.	hut-OBL.M.SG.-in	fill-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The corn filled the hut (lit. The corn was filled in the hut).'

(5.3.2.3-16b)

koott-ái	badal-áa-ni	kunt-étt-iis.
hut-NOM.M.SG.	corn-OBL.M.SG.-with	fill-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The hut was filled with corn.'

Needless to say, what cannot be regarded as an affected participant cannot be a referent of a subject of the passive expression under discussion. For example, (5.3.2.3-17) is not possible since the referent of a (potential) subject, i.e. the speaker, is not directly affected by the killing, even though its structure is similar to that of (5.3.2.3-12b).

(5.3.2.3-17)

* ta-na7-áa	wor-étt-aas.
my-child-ABS.M.SG.	kill-PASS.-PF.1SG.

(The intended meaning) 'I had my son killed.'

Likewise, the di-transitive verb *shóóbb-* 'to invite, treat' permits only one type of passive expression, as the following pair shows. This is because something to which someone treats someone (the drink, in this case) is not an affected participant of the treating, since it does not receive any benefits implied by the verb.

(5.3.2.3-18a)

motomící[572]	alam-úú-ní	7úshsh-aa
(foreigner's name)	(person's name)-OBL.-by	drink-ABS.M.SG.

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[572] This should be regarded as being in the nominative case, although it does not fit into the paradigm of Wolaytta person-name nouns. See the discussion in section 4.2.2.3.5.

shóób-ett-iis.
invite-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Motomichi was treated to a drink by Alemu.'

(5.3.2.3-18b)
* 7úshsh-ai   shóób-ett-iis.
  drink-NOM.M.SG.   invite-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

(The intended meaning) 'He is treated to the drink (lit. the drink was treated).'

However, it is sometimes very difficult to judge whether a given participant is directly affected or not. My impression is that if someone gives something to someone, both the given thing and its receiver are affected. However, the Wolaytta verb *7imm-* 'to give' does not permit a passive expression whose subject refers to the latter.

(5.3.2.3-19a)
* shoor-ói   badal-áa   7im-étt-iis.
  neighbor-NOM.M.SG. corn-ABS.M.SG.   give-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

(The intended meaning) 'The neighbor was given corn.'

Cf. (5.3.2.3-19b)
badal-ái   shoor-úwa-ssi   7im-étt-iis.
corn-NOM.M.SG.   neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-to give-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The corn was given to the neighbor.'

Very occasionally, a common noun that expresses an abstract notion can be a subject of a passive expression whose predicate verb is morphologically related to it.

(5.3.2.3-20)
ló77-o   dé7-oi   de7-étt-iis.
good-OBL.   life-NOM.M.SG. live-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'They lived a good life (lit. A good life was lived).'

In the above example, the referent of a subject, a good life, is an affected participant, since it is what came into existence as a result of the living, a situation described by the base verb stem. In other words, it is, as it were, a product of a volitional situation. Thus, (5.3.2.3-20) is similar to, for example, (5.3.2.3-10) and (5.3.2.3-11), which are examples of typical passive expressions.

Semantically corresponding active expressions of the above passive expressions vary in structure. See Wakasa (2002) for the details. However, the approach adopted there does not seem to be fruitful. Acceptability of passive expressions, or rather, expressions with the *-ett-* derivative, is in principle determined semantically. That is, as mentioned above, an *-ett-* derivative is used when the referent of a linguistic subject is directly affected by a situation described by its base verb stem, which does not originate in the referent itself. We do not have to take into consideration a semantically corresponding sentence in which a base stem of the *-ett-* derivative in question is used.

However, the following schema might have been established as a typical structural correspondence between active and passive expressions (NP = nominal phrase, V = verb).

(5.3.2.3-21)

Active:	NP A (NOM.)	NP B (ABS.)	V
Passive:	NP B (NOM.)	NP A (OBL.) *-ni*	V-*ett-*

Thus sometimes a passive expression in which the referent of a subject does not seem to be an affected participant is found. For example:

(5.3.2.3-22)

na7-áa	bal-ái	Kood-étt-iis.
child-OBL.M.SG.	evil doings-NOM.M.SG.	count-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'Evil doings of the boy was counted.'

(5.3.2.3-23)

meKétt-ai	kan-áa-ni	sing-étt-iis.
bone-NOM.M.SG.	dog-OBL.M.SG.-by	smell-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The bone was smelled by the dog.'

The reason why "the neighbor" cannot be expressed as a subject of a passive sentence in (5.3.2.3-19a) might be explained by this schema: it is expressed as an object of a postposition, not as an absolutive nominal, in the semantically corresponding active sentence (i.e. (5.3.2.3-24)), and thus cannot be a subject of a passive sentence.

(5.3.2.3-24)

shoor-úwa-ssi	badal-áa	7imm-íis.
neighbor-OBL.M.SG.-to	corn-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.3M.SG.

   'He gave the corn to the neighbor.'

  -ett- derivatives are also used in reciprocal expressions.

(5.3.2.3-25)

na7-íya-nne	na7-ái-nne	gílil-ett-idosona.
child-NOM.F.SG.-and	child-NOM.M.SG.-and	tickle-PASS.-PF.3PL.

   'The girl and the boy tickled each other.'

(5.3.2.3-26)

na7-íya	na7-áa-ra	gílil-ett-aasu.
child-NOM.F.SG.	child-OBL.M.SG.-with	tickle-PASS.-PF.3F.SG.

   'The girl and the boy tickled each other.'

Note that the reciprocal verb is in the singular in the above sentence.

(5.3.2.3-27)

7oidd-ú	na7-atí	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-rá
four-OBL.	child-NOM.PL.	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-with

gílil-ett-idosona.
tickle-PASS.-PF.3PL.

   'The four children tickled each other (lit. one with one).'

Subjects of these sentences are nominal phrases that express one or more affected participants. Each of the affected participants is affected by a situation which does not originate in the participant itself and is described by a base verb stem. These are semantic features common with most of the passive expressions discussed above, and are the reasons why -*ett*- derivatives are used in these reciprocal expressions. The difference between passive and reciprocal expressions lies in that in the latter an affected participant also affects one or more other participants by realizing the same situation.

There are reciprocal expressions in which two -*ett*-'s are added to a verb stem[573]. For example:

(5.3.2.3-28)

dább-o	7as-atí	giy-áa-ni
relative-OBL.M.SG.	people-NOM.PL.	market-OBL.M.SG.-in

<u>kóy-et-ett-idosona</u>.
seek-PASS.-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'The relatives (lit. relative people) sought each other in the market.'

(5.3.2.3-29)

giy-áa	zaLL-íya-ni	dóMM-ett-idi
market-OBL.M.SG.	business-OBL.M.SG.-in	collide-PASS.-CONV.3PL.

<u>7iT-ét-étt-oosona</u>.
hate-PASS.-PASS.-IMPF.3PL.

'Having collided with each other on market business, they hate each other.'

My research reveals the following. If the intended meaning is reciprocal and there is no other indicator of reciprocality, a double -*ett*- derivative is preferred. If a single -*ett*- derivative is used, the sentence is ambiguous as to whether its meaning is passive or reciprocal. For example in (5.3.2.3-28), if the single -*ett*- derivative, *kóy-ett-idosona*, is

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[573] The gemination of the first -*ett*- is here degeminated. Incidentally, Adams (1983: 106. 186) gives only -*etett*- as a marker of a non-complex (see section 5.3.2.4) reciprocal sentence.

used, it might be regarded as a passive form and interpreted as 'they were sought'. To avoid this misunderstanding, another *-ett-* is added in this reciprocal expression.

On the other hand, if it is obvious that the meaning of a sentence is reciprocal, both a single *-ett-* derivative and a double *-ett-* derivative are possible. However, it seems that the latter is preferred when the speaker wants to express plurality of the reciprocal situation. For this, see the discussion below in this section, where the iterative use of the *-ett-* derivative is discussed. In (5.3.2.3-30a), for example, the idiomatic expression *7iss-óí 7iss-úwá-rá* 'each other' makes it clear that the sentence has a reciprocal meaning, and thus only one derivational suffix is enough.

(5.3.2.3-30a)

7imatt-atí   7iss-óí   7iss-úwá-rá
guest-NOM.PL.   one-NOM.3M.SG.   one-OBL.M.SG.-with

yer-étt-idosona.
kiss-PASS.-PF.3PL.

    'The guests kissed each other.'

Here the double *-ett-* derivative can also be used to intensify the meaning.

(5.3.2.3-30b)

7imatt-atí   7iss-óí   7iss-úwá-rá
guest-NOM.PL.   one-NOM.M.SG.   one-OBL.M.SG.-with

yer-ét-étt-idosona.
kiss-PASS.-PASS.-PF.3PL.

    'The guests kissed each other (repeatedly or here and there).'

Reciprocality may also be indicated and thus the use of the single *-ett-* derivative in a reciprocal sense can also be licensed by the context. Thus, for example, in (5.3.2.3-29) the verb in the subordinate clause *dóMM-ett-* 'to collide with each other' has only one derivational suffix and it is enough, because the main verb has two derivational suffixes and obviously expresses a reciprocal situation, which is closely related to a situation described by the subordinate verb.

There are some interesting or odd reciprocal expressions in this language. For example, marriage is not expressed as a mutual action by two equal participants: for a man the verb *7ekk-* 'to take' is used and for a woman the verb *gel-* 'to enter'. However, the *-ett-* derivative of the former is used to express a marriage as a reciprocal situation.

(5.3.2.3-31a)

7í	mácc-iyo	7ekk-íis.
he	wife-ABS.F.SG.	take-PF.3M.SG.

'He took a wife (i.e. married).'

(5.3.2.3-31b)

7á	7azn-áa	gel-áasu.
she	husband-ABS.M.SG.	enter-PF.3F.SG.

'She entered a husband (i.e. married).'

(5.3.2.3-31c)

núúní	7ek-étt-an-a-u	Kop-ét-étt-oos.
we	take-PASS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	think-PASS.-PASS.-IMPF.1PL.

'We each other think of taking each other (i.e. think of marrying).'

In the following, the *-ett-* derivative indeed expresses a reciprocal situation "to consult each other to plot", but not reciprocality of a situation described by its base verb "to plot". Thus the derivative expresses cooperation ("to plot with others") rather than reciprocality.

(5.3.2.3-32a)

7í	7á	wor-an-á-u	maKK-íis.
he	him	kill-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	plot-PF.3M.SG.

'He plotted to kill him.'

(5.3.2.3-33b)

yesúús-á	wáát-i	wor-an-áa-kko
Jesus-ABS.	do what-CONV.3PL.	kill-INFN.-ABS.M.SG.-if

maK-étt-an-a-u . . .
consult to plot-PASS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to . . .

  'To consult each other to plot how to kill Jesus . . .' (From Mark 3:6)

  In the following, the base verb itself has a reciprocal meaning. Thus it and its -ett- derivative have almost the same meaning.

(5.3.2.3-34a)

7á	7áí-ssí	palam-ái?
her	what-for	argue-INTER.IMPF.2SG.

  'Why are you arguing with her?'

(5.3.2.3-34b)

7alam-ú-nné	kabbád-í-nné
(person name)-NOM.-and	(person name)-NOM.-and

he	gudd-áa-ni	palam-étt-idosona.
that	matter-OBL.M.SG.-in	argue-PASS.-PF.3PL.

  'Alemu and Kebede argued on that matter.'

  An -ett- derivative is also used to hint at an outer cause that indirectly triggered a situation expressed by its base verb. This is a natural consequence of the two essential features of -ett- derivatives mentioned above. For example, the following can mean 'Someone else taught me that my face was sooty, and I wiped it myself', as well as 'I had soot wiped from my face (by someone else)'.

(5.3.2.3-35)

táání	sóMM-uwa-ppe	sháál-aa	KúC-ett-aas.
I (NOM.)	face-OBL.M.SG.-from	soot-ABS.M.SG.	wipe-PASS.-PF.1SG.

The following are similar examples. Note that *-ett-* derivatives of "intransitive" verbs are used in them.

(5.3.2.3-36)

haatt-ái	na7-áa-ni	guk-étt-iis.
water-NOM.M.SG.	child-OBL.M.SG.-by	spill (v.i.)-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'The water was spilled by the boy.'

(5.3.2.3-37)

Cark-úwa-ni	mítt-ai	wul-étt-iis.
wind-OBL.M.SG.-by	tree-NOM.M.SG.	fall-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'The tree was blown down by the wind.'

The following reciprocal expression would be included here.

(5.3.2.3-38)

garaw-atí	7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-rá
cat-NOM.PL.	one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-with

puuz-étt-idi	háíK-ett-idosona.
scratch-PASS.-CONV.3PL.	die-PASS.-PF.3PL.

   'The cats scratched each other and died.'

   In the following, the base verb itself implies reliance upon someone else, a kind of outer cause. Thus it and its *-ett-* derivative have almost the same meaning.

(5.3.2.3-39a)

dors-íya	ba-gád-aa	7amp-áusu.
sheep-NOM.F.SG.	her own-lord-ABS.M.SG.	rely-IMPF.3F.SG.

   'The sheep relies on her owner.'

(5.3.2.3-39b)

dors-íya	ba-gád-aa-ni	7amp-étt-ausu.
sheep-NOM.F.SG.	her own-lord-ABS.M.SG.-by	rely-PASS.-IMPF.3F.SG.

   'The sheep relies on her owner.'

Despite Adams's (1983: 189) and Lamberti and Sottile's (1997:142) claims, most reflexive situations are expressed by the same verbs as those that express non-reflexive situations. For example:

(5.3.2.3-40)

7alam-ú	ba-haitt-áa
(person's name)-NOM.	his own-ear-ABS.M.SG.

ba-kúsh-iya-ni	bocc-íis.
his own-hand-OBL.M.SG.-by	touch-PF.3M.SG.

   'Alemu touched his own ear with his own hand.'

This would be because referents of subjects are affected by situations that originate in themselves. However, there are indeed examples in which *-ett-* derivatives are used to express reflexive situations.

(5.3.2.3-41)

táání	daann-áa-ppe	dar-áa-ni	gel-ádá
I (NOM.)	chief-OBL.M.SG.-from	forest-OBL.M.SG.-in	enter-CONV.1SG.

Kos-étt-aas.
hide (v.t.)-PASS.-PF.1SG.

'Having entered the forest, I hid myself from the chief.'

(5.3.2.3-42)
bonc-étt-a.
respect-PASS.-OPT.2SG.

    'Respect yourself!' or 'Be respected.'

(5.3.2.3-43)

boll-áa	meeC-étt-an-a-u	kóyy-ais.
body-ABS.M.SG.	wash-PASS.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-IMPF.1SG.

    'I want to wash myself.'

Thus, for the use of the *-ett-* derivative it might not be important that a cause of affectedness on an affected participant is a situation that *does not* originate in the participant itself.

    -ett- derivatives can express emphasis, or rather, plurality, although such examples are quite rare.

(5.3.2.3-44a)

7a-boll-ái	súúT-ett-iis.
his-body-NOM.M.SG.	bleed-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

    'His body bled in various places.'

Cf. (5.3.2.3-44b)

7a-bóll-ai	súúTT-iis.
his-body-NOM.M.SG.	bleed-PF.3M.SG.

    'His body bled.'

(5.3.2.3-45)

hagéé	par-ái	maat-áa	boll-í
this	horse-NOM.M.SG.	grass-OBL.M.SG.	body-ADV.

gondor-étt-ees.

roll-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'This horse is rolling on (lit. body) the grass (many times).'

This use is also found in, for example, (5.3.2.3-30b), in which a double *-ett-* derivative is used to express plurality of reciprocal situations.

This use might seem to be deviated from the salient uses. However, a reciprocal situation can imply plurality of situations. Thus this "iterative" use is somehow related to the salient uses.

Adams (1983: 187) gives the Wolaytta morpheme *-erett-* as a marker of the intensive voice[574]. Lamberti and Sottile (1997:138) also mention it as a means of iterative and intensive expressions. This element is also attested in my data, although it does not occur so frequently.

(5.3.2.3-46)

na7-ái	bash-íya	ment-erett-íis.
child-NOM.M.SG.	griddle-ABS.M.SG.	break-(iterative)-PF.3M.SG.

'He broke the griddle into pieces.'

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[574] He says that the term "intensive" used for the derivative under discussion 'does not refer to the repetition of, or frequency of, an action or event.' However, his claim is not correct, to all appearances. His examples are the following (*T* is a dotted *t* in the original text):

woT-erett-ida:ge:
run-inten-he who, past   'He who ran here and there . . .'

ment-erett-ibe:nna:ga:
cause to break-inten-him who, past   'him who did not shatter . . .'

wuK-erett-i:ddi
steal-inten-while   'While sealing from here and there . . .'

He explains the first one saying 'the action of running is not back and forth between one place, nor is it numerous similar runs, but it is a frenzied running from this place to that place and everywhere.' For the last one, he says that 'the stealing is from many places rather than frequency or repetition of stealing.' However, I consider that these situations are repeated or frequent situations themselves.

(5.3.2.3-47)

miishsh-áa	demm-an-á-u	yáa
money-ABS.M.SG.	find-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	to there

háa	woT-erétt-iis.
to here	run-(iterative)-PF.3M.SG.

'He ran to and fro to find money.'

Hayward (2000b: 417-418) makes very interesting suggestions for this element. He says: 'it seems plausible to suggest that -erett represents a combination of what was originally some other earlier stem-extension element with the passive formative.' He also points out that the Aari language, which belongs to the South Omotic, has the passive stem marked by *-er*. Thus, the intensive or iterative *-erett-* may be related to the passive suffix *-ett-* discussed in this section, which can also express iteration.

Incidentally, there is an intensive expression by addition of the suffix *-am-* to a verb stem, although I was able to find only one example: *dirb-* 'to haste', *dirb-am-* 'to haste very much, to be hustle and bustle'.

(5.3.2.3-48)

góóshsh-a *[575]	giy-ái	dirb-am-ées.
	market-NOM.M.SG.	haste-(intensive)-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There is hustle and bustle in the market one week before the Masqal festival.'

As is well known, the derivational affix *m-* or *-m* is also widespread in Afroasiatic languages, which is semantically similar to *t-* or *-t* (i.e. to the passive or iterative suffix *-ett-* discussed in this section). Thus it is no wonder that the *-am-* derivative *dirb-am-* is used for an intensive expression.

Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 142) say that 'the verb derivation procedure which is called . . . "passive"' (i.e. the addition of *-ett-*) 'renders transitive verbs intransitive according to the pattern "shave, tr." ----> "shave, intr."', although example sentences are

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[575] *góóshsh-a giy-áa* means "a market that takes place one week before the Masqal festival.

not given. The following, which I think can be explained by the two essential semantic features mentioned above, might be regarded as an example of intransitivisation.

(5.3.2.3-49)

karétt-ai-nne	bóótt-ai-nne	walah-étt-iis.
black-NOM.M.SG.-and	white-NOM.M.SG.-and	mix-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The black one and the white one were mixed.'

Furthermore, Lamberti and Sottile (1997:142) also say that the same procedure 'serves to express benefactive relationship or the subject's interest in the action, cf. "take" ----> "take for oneself"', although I was not able to find such examples.

As will be discussed in section 7.1, there are many verbs borrowed from Amharic in the vocabulary of modern Wolaytta. In general, Amharic *t-* derivatives, which are used for passive, reciprocal, reflexive, and other expressions (see Leslau (1995: 462-473)), are rendered into *-ett-* derivatives in Wolaytta. However, some Amharic *t-* derivatives have lost their original passive or other meanings and behave like transitive verbs. This is also reflected in Wolaytta. Thus, for example, in the following the agent (i.e. one that realizes a situation described by a base verb stem) is not expressed as an object of the postposition *-ni* 'in, at, by', but as a nominal in the absolute case.

(5.3.2.3-50)

bitán-ee	kátt-aa-yyo	7ír-aa
man-NOM.M.SG.	grain-OBL.M.SG.-for	rain-ABS.M.SG.

TaKKam-étt-ees.
serve-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The man uses (lit. is served by) rain for the grain.'

Cf. Amharic ጠቀመ *TaKKama* 'to serve', ተጠቀመ *taTaKKama* 'to use'

In the following the *-ett-* derivative seems to have become a ordinary "transitive" verb.

(5.3.2.3-51)

banta-<u>wolK-áa</u>	<u>7amman-étt-i</u>-nne	. . .
their own-power-ABS.M.SG.	believe-PASS.-CONV.3PL.-and	. . .

   'They trust their own power, and soon . . .'

   Cf. Amharic አመነ *Ammana* 'to believe', ተማመነ *tamAmmana* 'to trust'

5.3.2.4 Complex Voices

In this language, voice suffixes[576] (i.e., *-iss-*, *-ett-*, *-erett-*) can be combined to form complex voices.

In this case, gemination of these suffixes is in principle retained only in the last suffix.

In fact, however, the use of such complex voices is extremely rare. In Mark I have not found examples of them at all. In spoken texts collected by me only the following are attested, each of which is an *-iss-* derivative of an *-ett-* derivative (the first is a causative derivative of a passive derivative, and the second is a causative derivative of a reciprocal derivative). I cannot explain their tone.

(5.3.2.4-1)

kútt-oi	Ká	Keer-á	méh-e-ttuwa
chicken-NOM.M.SG.	furthermore	small-OBL.	livestock-OBL.-like

naag-ídí	7as-ái	héémm-idi
watch-CONV.3M.SG.	people-NOM.M.SG.	tend-CONV.3M.SG.

bántá-u	<u>yel-et-iss-í</u>	PuuPúll-iya
their own-for	bear-PASS.-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.	egg-ABS.M.SG.

m-aan-á-u	shukk-ídí	m-aan-á-u
eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	slaughter-CONV.3M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

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[576] The means for transitivisation discussed in section 5.3.2.2 will not be considered here. Thus, for example, *kunt-iss-* is analyzed as a causative of *kunt-* 'to fill (v.t.)', not a double causative of *kum-* 'to fill (v.i.)' as Adams (1983: 128) does, although *kunt-* 'to fill (v.t.)' apparently seems to be a causative form of *kum-* 'to fill (v.i.)'.

dumm-á	b-áá		dumm-á	b-áá
different-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.		different-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.

7oott-an-á-u	d-ées.
do-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Furthermore, there are chickens (lit. a chicken exists) to eat (their) eggs, to slaughter and eat (the meat), and to do different things, having watched them like small livestock, people having tend them, having bred (lit. make be born) them.'

(5.3.2.4-2)

ba-lágg-iya	7ubb-áa
his own-friend-ABS.M.SG.	all-ABS.M.SG.

zor-et-iss-í-nne	. . .
advice-PASS.-CAUS.-CONV.3M.SG.-and	. . .

'He made all his friends discuss (the matter) with each other (lit. make advice each other), and just after that . . .'

Adams's (1983: 133) "causative-reciprocal entailment" by *-et-iss-* corresponds to the latter. I consider that the naming should be "reciprocal-causative entailment".

Through elicitation, however, I was able to obtain the following complex voices.

-is-ett- Derivative (Passive of Causative)

(5.3.2.4-3a)

mishir-íya	7ót-uwa	bitán-iya-ni
woman-NOM.F.SG.	pot-ABS.M.SG.	man-OBL.M.SG.-in

ba7-is-ett-áasu.
carry on ones back-CAUS.-PASS.-PF.3F.SG.

'The woman was made carry the pot on her back.'

(5.3.2.4-3b)

<u>7ót-oi</u>   bitán-iya-ni

pot-NOM.M.SG.   man-OBL.M.SG.-by

<u>ba7-is-étt-iis</u>.

carry on one's back-CAUS.-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'The man made (someone) carry the pot on his or her back.'[577]

(5.3.2.4-4)

<u>míízz-ai</u>   dírs-aa   gidd-óó-ní

cattle-NOM.M.SG.   fence-OBL.M.SG.   inside-OBL.-in

7aaw-ái   naatá   kiitt-íi-ni

father-NOM.M.SG.   children (ABS.) send-SUBOR.-in

<u>gel-is-étt-iis</u>.

enter-CAUS.-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

   'The father sent the children, and they entered the cattle into the fence.'

Adams (19883 131) mentions "causative-passive entailment" by *-et-ett-*, in which *-et-* expresses a causative. However, his example, given below, is rejected by one of my main consultants.

(5.3.2.4-5)

gattai   dasti   zor-ini   mana-ni

tall grass   Dasta   counsel-having Mana-"by"

bu:C-et-ett-i:si.

cut-cau-pass-3m,past

   'When Dasta urged (Mana), he caused the tall grass to be cut by Mana.'

   (*C* is a dotted *c* in the original text.)

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[577] It may be very difficult to translate Wolaytta sentences in complex voices. In such cases, I just explain the context, instead of giving odd English literal translations.

-is-iss- Derivative (Causative of Causative)

(5.3.2.4-6)

dalg-í	ba-shoor-úwa	maay-úwa
(person name)-NOM.	his own-neighbor-ABS.M.SG.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

ba-lágg-etu-ssi	yoot-ídí
his own-friend-OBL.PL.-to	tell-CONV.3M.SG.

bor-is-iss-aná.
criticize-CAUS.-CAUS.-FUT.

    'Dalga will tell his friends about clothes of his neighbor, then they will make someone else criticize it.'

Some examples of Adams's (1983: 128) "double causative entailment" correspond to this complex voice.

-is-is-iss Derivative (Causative of Causative of Causative)

Although Adams (1983: 128) says that 'there is a morphological constraint to the effect that no more than two /-iss-/ suffixes may cooccur in a verb stem', the following was obtained by elicitation.

(5.3.2.4-7)

míízz-a	haakím-ee	der-é	7as-áa-ni
cattle-OBL.	doctor-NOM.M.SG.	land-OBL.	people-OBL.M.SG.-by

7anjúll-á	mácc-ee-ni	bóór-ata	ló77-o
(person name)-ABS.	wife-OBL.F.SG.-by	ox-ABS.PL.	good-OBL.

maat-áa	miz-is-is-iss-íis.
grass-ABS.M.SG.	feed-CAUS.-CAUS.-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

    'The veterinarian ordered people of the land, then they ordered Anjulo, then he ordered his wife, then she fed the cattle good grass.'

Adams would call this form "quadruple causative" since, according to him, *miz-* 'to

feed' is already a causative of *m-* 'to eat'. However, he would not admit the existence of the quadruple causative in Wolaytta. In any case, the triple causative does not seem to be a usual form in this language, although never impossible. Incidentally, consider the following, which, according to the consultant, denotes a situation similar to that described by the *double* causative in (5.3.2.4-6).

(5.3.2.4-8)

dalg-í	ba-shoor-úwa	maay-úwa
(person name)-NOM.	his own-neighbor-ABS.M.SG.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

ba-lágg-iya-u	yoot-ídí	7eta-naatúú-ní
his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-to	tell-CONV.3M.SG.	their-children (OBL.)-by

bor-is-is-iss-aná.
criticize-CAUS.-CAUS.-CAUS.-FUT.

'Dalga will tell his friend about clothes of his neighbor, then he will make their children criticize it.'

-is-is-ett- Derivative (Passive of Causative of Causative)

(5.3.2.4-9)

haakím-ee	7imm-ído	Tal-é
doctor-NOM.M.SG.	give-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	medichine-OBL.

maat-ái	bóór-atuu-ni	der-é	7as-áa
grass-NOM.M.SG.	ox-OBL.PL.-by	land-OBL.	people-OBL.M.SG.

bágg-aa-ra	7anjúll-ó	mácc-ee-ni
half-OBL.M.SG.-with	(person name)-OBL.	wife-OBL.F.SG.-by

miz-is-is-étt-iis.
feed-CAUS.-CAUS.-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The doctor gave a medical herb to people of the land, then they made Anjulo's wife

make the cattle eat it.'

Adams (1983: 131-132) mentions "double causative-passive entailment" by *-is-et-ett-*, in which *-et-* expresses a causative. However, his example, given below, is rejected by one of my main consultants.

(5.3.2.4-10)

dasta	ta	?a:wai	mana-kko	ki:tt-ini	ba:ssi
Dasta	my	father	Mana-"to"	send-having	Baassa

mana-ni	sug-is-et-ett-i:si.
Mana-"by"	push-cau-cau-pass-3m,past

'My father sent Dasta to Mana, causing Baassa to be pushed by Mana. (lit. My father, having sent Dasta to Mana, caused Baassa to be pushed by Mana.)'

-erett-iss- Derivative (Causative of Iterative)

(5.3.2.4-11)

táná	miishsh-áa	met-ói	yáa
me	money-OBL.M.SG.	problem-NOM.M.SG.	to there

háa	woT-erett-iss-íis.
to here	run-(iterative)-CAUS.-PF.3M.SG.

'The problem of money made me run to and fro.'

-eret-ett- Derivative (Passive of Iterative)

(5.3.2.4-12)

7a-boll-ái	makiin-áa	7adag-aa-ni	Cór-a
his-body-NOM.M.SG.	car-OBL.M.SG.	accident-OBL.M.SG.-in	many-OBL.

sóh-uwa-ni	ment-eret-étt-iis.
place-OBL.M.SG.-in	break-(iterative)-PASS.-PF.3M.SG.

'His body was injured (lit. broken) in many places because of the car accident.'

Adams (1983) also gives the following, which were rejected by one of my main consultants though.

(5.3.2.4-13) Double causative-reciprocal   Adams (1983: 134)

ta	7išai	dasta-ni	mana-nne	ba:ssa
my	brother	Dasta-"by"	Mana-and	Baassa

sug-et-is-iss-i:si.
push-recip-cau-cau-3m,past

 'My brother got Dasta to cause Mana and Baassa to push each other.'

(5.3.2.4-14) Passive-causative-reciprocal   Adams (1983: 134)

dasta-ni	man-i-nne	ba:ss-i-nne
Dasta-"by"	Mana-nom-and	Baassa-nom-and

sug-is-et-ett-idosona.[578]
push-cau-recip-pass-3pl,past

 'Mana and Baassa were caused to push each other by Dasta.'

It often took a rather long time for the consultant to compose such sentences as the above. He often could not repeat them smoothly when I recorded them. As we have seen in (5.3.2.4-8), sometimes the number of suffixes is not correct, although the interpretation of what "to realize a situation by oneself" means may fluctuate as we have seen in (5.3.2.1-13a) and (5.3.2.1-13b). Thus I suspect that most complex forms mentioned in this section are armchair forms that are rarely used in actual linguistic activities. However, it should not be neglected that Wolaytta is a language that can produce complex derivatives that Amharic or English cannot.

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[578] I cannot understand why the suffixes have to be arranged in this order. Judging from the meaning, the order must be reciprocal-causative-passive, although such combination is not natural in any case.

For the emphasized reciprocal and the iterative, each of which can be regarded as being composed of two suffixes, see section 5.3.2.3.

Chapter 6   Syntax

The term "syntax" seems to be used in different meanings. In this chapter, I will discuss topics that relate to arrangement of words, which are discussed in chapters 4 and 5, to form larger units (so called phrases, clauses, or sentences). Most basic facts, like that a modifying nominal precedes a modified nominal and occurs in the oblique case, have already been mentioned in preceding chapters. Here only phenomena that have not been discussed so far and are interesting from the viewpoint of general linguistics will be discussed.

6.1   Constituent Order

First, I discuss so-called "basic" constituent (or word) order of Wolaytta. It can be difficult to determine basic constituent order of a language. Here I mean by the term constituent order in sentences that contain neither emphasis nor afterthought. Such order is at the same time one that is judged to be normal by native speakers intuitively, that is most frequently encountered, and that is found in sentences elicited out of any particular discourse context. This definition would be appropriate, and would be one that has implicitly or explicitly been adopted in almost all typological studies on constituent order.

The basic constituent order of Wolaytta defined as above can be summarized as follows.

A) The object[579] precedes its predicate verb.

(6.1-1)

na7-ái	7iss-í	maTááp-aa	shamm-íis.
child-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.	book-ABS.M.SG.	buy-PF.3M.SG.

  'The boy bought a book.'

B) The subject precedes its predicate verb. See the first word *na7-ái* 'the boy' and the last word *shamm-íis* 'he bought' in (6.1-1).

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[579] It is difficult to define "object" formally in this language. Here I mean by the term a noun phrase whose head is in the absolute case that expresses a target of an action described by a predicate verb.

C) As is shown in (6.1-1), the subject precedes the object in the same clause, which in turn precedes the predicate verb. Incidentally, this SOV order is a grammatical feature that is observed in many Ethiopian languages (see Ferguson (1976: 70, 75)).

D) Postpositions, instead of prepositions, are used.

(6.1-2)

ta-7ish-ái	maTááp-aa	ba-lágg-iya-ppe
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.	book-ABS.M.SG.	his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.-from

taLL-íis.
borrow-PF.3M.SG.

   'He borrowed a book from his friend.'

E) As is shown in (6.1-2), a postpositional phrase precedes its associated verb. The following is a similar example, in which a postpositional phrase, which is used adverbially, precedes its associated verb.

(6.1-3)

táání	lódd-aa-ra	b-áas.
I	slowness-OBL.M.SG.-with	go-PF.1SG.

   'I went slowly.'

F) Likewise, a nominal phrase used adverbially precedes its associated verb.

(6.1-4)

7í	dár-o	wod-é	y-ées.
he	many-OBL.	time-ABS.	come-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'He often comes.'

G) The infinitive with or without a dative postposition precedes the verb *kóyy*- 'to want' if they are directly associated with each other semantically and syntactically.

(6.1-5)

táání	b-aan-á-u	kóyy-ais.
I	go-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-IMPF.1SG.

    'I want to go.'

H) A verb that expresses the situation in question precedes the grammaticalized and lexically emptier verb associated with it. Roughly speaking, a main verb precedes an auxiliary verb. Conjugation of the former, which occurs as a short converb, is relatively limited, while the latter is fully conjugated. See section 4.4.3.1.

(6.1-6)

wúrsett-aa-ni	Cím-aa	yedd-ídí
end-OBL.M.SG.-in	old-ABS.M.SG.	send-CONV.3M.SG.

7aayy-ée-ra	7aaw-áa-ra	sigétt-i
mother-OBL.F.SG.-with	father-OBL.M.SG.-with	be reconciled-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-ées.
cease-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'Finally, he sends an old man, and is immediately reconciled with (her) mother and father.'

I) A standard of comparison, which is followed by the postposition *-ppe* 'from', precedes a nominal functioning adjectively.

(6.1-7)

ha	zááp-ee	he	zááp-iya-ppe	7aduss-á.
this	tree-NOM.M.SG.	that	tree-OBL.M.SG.-from	long-ABS.

    'This tree is taller than that tree.'

J) A nominal that expresses a possessor precedes a nominal that expresses a possessed.

(6.1-8)

ta-7ish-ái	ba-lágg-iya	7ash-úwa
my-brother-NOM.M.SG.	his own-friend-OBL.M.SG.	meat-ABS.M.SG.

m-íis.
eat-PF.3M.SG.

   'My brother ate meat of his friend.'

K) A common noun used adjectivally (i.e. a non-concrete common noun in the oblique case, see section 4.2.1.4) precedes the nominal that it modifies.

(6.1-9)

ló77-o	dé7-uwa	de7-áis.
good-OBL.	life-ABS.M.SG.	live-IMPF.1SG.

   'I live a good life.'

L) The following is also an example of a non-concrete common noun in the oblique case that precedes the nominal that it modifies, thus an example of K). Semantically, however, others might regard it as an example of an intensifier that precedes an adjective. Thus I establish it as an independent category.

(6.1-10)

ha	zááp-ee	dar-o	7aduss-á.
this	tree-NOM.M.SG.	much-OBL.	long-ABS.

   'This tree is very tall (lit. long).'

M) A demonstrative determiner (see section 4.2.6.1) precedes the nominal that it modifies.

(6.1-11)

7á	ha	haatt-áa	7úshsh-a.
him	this	water-ABS.M.SG.	make drink-OPT.2SG.

'Make him drink this water.'

N) A numeral precedes the nominal that it modifies.

(6.1-12)

na7-ái	naa77-ú	máCC-a	7as-atá
child-NOM.M.SG.	two-OBL.	female-OBL.	people-ABS.PL.

be7-íis.
see-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy saw two women.'

O) A relative clause (see section 4.4.3.3) precedes the nominal that it modifies.

(6.1-13)

hagéé	zín-o	táání	be7-ído	kan-áa.
this (NOM.)	yesterday-ABS.	I	see-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	dog-ABS.M.SG.

'This is the dog that I saw yesterday.'

P) Suffixes, instead of prefixes, are used.

(6.1-14)

na7-ái	naa77-ú	máCC-a	7as-atá
child-NOM.M.SG.	two-OBL.	female-OBL.	people-ABS.PL.

be7-íis.
see-PF.3M.SG.

'The boy saw two women.'

Q) All dependent indeclinables, which were discussed in sections 4.2.7.8 and 4.3.2, are suffixial. The following is an example, in which an interrogative sentence precedes an interrogative indeclinable.

(6.1-15)

hanná   ne-micc-íi-<u>yyé</u>?

this   your-sister-INTER.F.SG.-INDEC.

   'Is this your sister?'

   Thus, typologists would say that Wolaytta is a typical or ideal OV language. In other words, if one knows one of the above (except for B)) he or she can almost precisely predict the others.

   Actually, much of A) to Q) have been claimed to be correlated, motivated by a principle. For example, Vennemann (1974) would explain A), D), E), F), and H) to O) (and perhaps others too) by the principle that the operator (i.e. dependent) precedes the operand (i.e. head) in Wolaytta[580]. Dryer (1992) would explain A), B), D), E), G) to J), and O) (and perhaps others too) by his Branching Direction Theory. His theory is formulated in a rather complicated and abstract way[581], but the point here is that Wolaytta is a consistently left-branching language.

   However, any single existent explanation or theory does not seem to succeed in explaining all phenomena on basic constituent order of the world's languages. This would not be surprising. Although I appreciate the revealing explanations of, among others, Vennemann (1974) and Dryer (1992), it cannot be believed that constituent order of a language is determined only by one (extremely complicated and abstract) principle. There would be many factors that determine the order, which may or may not result in the same consequence.

   As Comrie (1989: 93) says, 'the tendency for agents to be more salient perceptually than patients' can be reflected in constituent order. As he (1983: 94) also says, a language may have 'a tendency to mirror temporal order of events by linear order'. As Whaley (1997: 84) says, the phrase structure rules of the GB theory may partly explain

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[580] Hereafter, a theory represented by Vennemann (1974), which claims the consistent ordering of heads and dependents in a language, will be called "Head-Dependent Theory", after Dryer (1992).

[581] His branching direction theory in the revised basic version (Dryer 1992: 114) is formulated as follows: 'Verb patterners are nonphrasal categories or phrasal categories that are not fully recursive, and object patterners are fully recursive phrasal categories in the major constituent tree. That is, a pair of elements X and Y will employ the order XY significantly more often among VO languages than among OV languages if and only if X is not a fully recursive phrasal category in the major constituent tree and Y is a fully recursive phrasal category in the major constituent tree.'

basic constituent order of some languages. 金田一's (Kindaichi 1988: 248) unique idea is that the most reasonable word order is SOV in which a noun is followed by its modifier, which, according to him, explains quantifier floating in Japanese.

If there is something common among them, it would be effort or device to make a sentence easier to understand, as Dryer (1992: 128-132) suggests. This also seems to explain deviated constituent order discussed below.

Although Wolaytta is a so-called typical OV language as illustrated above, it is a very difficult task to precisely describe constituent order in actual spoken or written Wolaytta, the former of which in particular may be rich in emphasis and afterthought.

One sure thing is that Wolaytta allows considerable freedom or flexibility of constituent order[582]. Thus, while Adams (1983: 97) and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 199-205) describe tendencies of Wolaytta constituent order, they admit existence of exceptions for almost all of them. However, it would be worth noting Adams' (1983: 97) claim that 'the Source tagmeme [i.e. a postpositional phrase with the postposition -ppe 'from'] normally precedes the Extent, Place, or Direction tagmemes [i.e. a postpositional phrase meaning 'until', a noun phrase that expresses a goal of motion, and a postpositional phrase with the postposition -kko 'toward', respectively] for from the source the extent, direction, or place is calculated' and Lamberti and Sottile's (1997: 202) claim that 'Noun phrases other than the subject's one, if consisting of a personal pronoun, are usually anticipated and thus precede other complements'.

In addition to these tendencies, they try to explain the flexibility pragmatically. Thus, Adams (1983: 97) says that 'emphasized tamgemes tend to be placed closer to the Predicator than unemphasized tagmemes'. Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 203) also say that 'In a few cases the object noun phrase also precedes the subject phrase, we suppose this is due to reasons of topicalization' and that 'The anticipation of other noun phrases before the subject phrase seems, however, to be determined by the speaker's desire to draw attention to what is anticipated in the clause'. Off course many, if not all, phenomena relating to constituent order should be explained pragmatically. Unfortunately, however, with my poor knowledge of pragmatics I cannot assess their claims properly, including whether their opinions disagree with each other or not. Thus I leave the matter open. However, I will touch on pragmatic aspects that determine constituent order of Wolaytta later in this section.

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[582] As we will see later, sentences whose constituents are ordered "flexibly" are never homogeneous, which makes the discussion more complicated.

In the following, example sentences are given to show the flexibility of constituent order of Wolaytta. Note that they are never homogeneous. Their constituent order may be very natural or may be very odd if not ungrammatical. It may be highly motivated or may happen to be so. It may or may not be deviated from the basic constituent order mentioned above.

For the place of predicates, Adams (1983: 78) says that 'it [Predicator] always occurs clause final' and Lamberti and Sottile (1997: 199) says that 'The most important principle on which the Wolaytta syntax is founded consists of the fact that the verbal predicate always concludes the clause it belongs to.' However, their claims are not always true. Sentences that are not concluded by a predicate have been attested in texts, including a written New Testament. In each of the following, an adverbial phrase follows a predicative verb. Thus they are counterexamples of C) mentioned above[583].

(6.1-16)

dár-o	galat-áis,	7ezg-ídí
much-ABS.	thank-IMPF.1SG.	listen-CONV.2PL.

síy-ido	gishsh-á-u.
hear-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

(At the end of a text) 'I thank (you) very much, since you heard (my story) with attention.'

(6.1-17)

hegéé	kátt-aa	gíK-uwa	g-éétett-idi
that	grain-OBL.M.SG.	protection-ABS.M.SG.	say-PASS.-CONV.3M.SG.

Téég-ett-ees,	woláítt-áá-ní.
call-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.	Wolaytta-OBL.-in.

(At the end of a text that tells a Wolaytta old culture) 'That is called *kátt-aa gíK-uwa* in Wolaytta.'

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[583] Thus Ohman and Hailu's (1976: 162) claim that 'Adverbs always precede the verb' would not be true, although their definition of "adverb" is not clear enough.

(6.1-18)

kicc-á　　　　　　　ta-mát-aa-ppe.
get out of-OPT.2SG.　　my-near-OBL.M.SG.-from

　　'Get out of here (lit. from my near one).'　　(From Mark 8:33)

In the following, the object follows its associated predicate verb. Thus, it is a counterexample of A) mentioned above.

(6.1-19)

sáánn-í　　　　　. . .　　kind-ó-ppé　　　　　　háa
(person name)-NOM.　. . .　(place name)-OBL.-from　　to here

kóísh-a　　　　　gákk-an-aa-ssi　　　　　kess-íis,
(place name)-ABS.　reach-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to　pacify-PF.3M.SG.

woláítt-á　　biitt-áa.
Wolaytta-OBL.　land-ABS.M.SG.

　　'Sana placed the Wolaytta land under his control from Kindo to here Koysha.'

In the following, the subject follows its associated predicative verb.

(6.1-20)

Talót-iya　　　sing-iss-íyo　　　　　　　　wod-é
rue-ABS.M.SG.　sniff-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.　time-ABS.

he　　Talót-iya　　　sing-ída　　　　　na7-ái
that　rue-ABS.M.SG.　sniff-REL.PF.SUBJ.　child-NOM.M.SG.

bajigam-óbare　7abaraad-óbare　'ha　　na7-áa
go daft-after　go daft-after　　this　child-ABS.M.SG.

goromóót-ee　　　m-íisi.'　　　g-ées,
evil eye-NOM.M.SG.　eat-PF.3M.SG.　say-IMPF.3M.SG.

Tal-íya	7ushsh-íya	bitán-ee.
medicine-ABS.M.SG.	make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

'When he makes (him) sniff (lit. time that he makes sniff) rue, if that boy that sniffed the rue goes daft or fuss around, "The evil eye ate this boy." says the man who makes drink the medicine.'

In this language, so-called copula verbs are not used in affirmative non-subordinate clauses whose predicates are nominals. In such sentences, subjects usually precede predicative nominals ("complements" in English grammar). Thus the following, in which subjects come at the end of a sentence, would be examples of deviated constituent order.

(6.1-21)

hegáá-daani	han-íis.	nááC-aa	hais-íya
that-like	become-PF.3M.SG.	joke-ABS.M.SG.	story-ABS.M.SG.

hagéé.
this (NOM.)

(At the end of a story) 'It became like that. This is a joke, (or) a story.'

(6.1-22)

nu-7aaw-áa	7aaw-ái	ment-áa
our-father-OBL.M.SG.	father-NOM.M.SG.	buffalo-ABS.M.SG.

wor-íisi-ttenne.	ment-áa	wor-íya
kill-PF.3M.SG.-indeed	buffalo-ABS.M.SG.	kill-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.

7aaw-áa	na.	ment-áa
father-OBL.M.SG.	child (ABS.)	buffalo-ABS.M.SG.

wor-ídí	ment-áa	kaC-íya-ni	kar-íya
kill-CONV.1PL.	buffalo-OBL.M.SG.	horn-OBL.M.SG.-in	door-ABS.M.SG.

gord-íya-geetá	nú.
close-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NMNL.(ABS.PL.)	we

'My ancestor did kill a buffalo. (We are) children of an ancestor who kills a buffalo. We killed a buffalo, and we are those who lock a door with a horn of a buffalo.'

These would not be simple mistakes. On the contrary, I assume that they are sentences composed more or less strategically. In general, phrases that convey important information come first, and/or phrases that convey information self-evident from the context come at the end of sentences. For (6.1-16), for example, it is uttered to express his appreciation first of all, and its reason is self-evident and secondary. Thus, the verb phrase that expresses his thanks precedes the adverbial phrase that expresses the reason. For (6.1-19), that the object of Sana's pacifying is the Wolaytta land is self-evident from the place names mentioned in the same sentence. Thus the phrase *woláítt-á biitt-áa* 'the Wolaytta land' is postponed until the end of the sentence. This kind of strategy would be the exercise of the effort or device to make a sentence easier to understand mentioned above.

However, this pragmatic explanation is not almighty. For example, we would not be able to assert that the degree of appreciation in the following, which is taken from the end of another spoken text, is less than that expressed in (6.1-16).

(6.1-23)

hagáa	kéén-aa	táání	yoot-íi-ni
this	equal-ABS.M.SG.	I	tell-SUBOR.-in

7ezg-ído	gishsh-á-u	dár-o	galat-áis.
listen-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for	much-ABS.	thank-IMPF.1SG.

'Since you listened to when I was telling this much (of a story), I thank (you) a lot.'

Thus the use of deviated constituent order motivated pragmatically is not compulsory. On the other hand, in the following the last postpositional phrase seems to have been forgotten carelessly and to be added to the end as an afterthought.

(6.1-24)

maaráK-uwa-ppe	7ashsh-an-á-u
(tribe name)-OBL.M.SG.-from	save-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

kambáát-aa-ppe	7ashsh-an-á-u
(tribe name)-OBL.M.SG.-from	save-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7arús-iya-ppe	7ashsh-an-á-u
(tribe name)-OBL.M.SG.-from	save-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

booh-úwa-ni	dír-iis,	Tambáár-uwa-ra.
trench-OBL.M.SG.-in	fence-PF.3M.SG.	(tribe name)-OBL.M.SG.-with

'To save from MaraKo, to save from Kambata, to save from Arusi, he fenced with trenches, as well as (to save from) Tambaro.'

Furthermore, I cannot explain the constituent order in the following, which is taken from Mark.

(6.1-25)

kiristóós-á	7í	gid-íyo-g-áá
Christ-ABS.	he	become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

Talah-etí	7er-ído	gishsh-á-u
devil-NOM.PL.	know-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	reason-OBL.M.SG.-for

'Because the demons knew that he is Christ . . .'   (From Mark 1:34)

An interrogative form of a nominal, which is used as a predicate, seems to have a tendency to be raised to a non-final position of a sentence, in comparison with other predicative forms. The following are obtained through elicitation, in which no special context was given to the consultant.

(6.1-26)

7óónee	y-íída-i?
who (INTER.)	come-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.

  'Who came (lit. who is it who came)?'

(6.1-27)

ha	na7-é-nt-ee	maay-úwa
this	child-OBL.F.SG.-and others-INTER.	clothes-ABS.M.SG.

shamm-ídaa-geetí?
buy-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.(NOM.PL.)

  'Is it these girls that bought the clothes?'

The above may be explained by the pragmatic explanation mentioned above. However, it would not explain the strange constituent order in the following, which are taken from Mark.

(6.1-28)

néná-nné	táná-nné	7óónee	gatt-íya-i?
you-and	me-and	who (INTER.)	join-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.-NOM.

  'Who is it that joins you and me? (i.e. we have no relationship, so don't bother)'
  (From Mark 5:7)

(6.1-29)

táná	7óónee	bocc-ída-i?
me	who (INTER.)	touch-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.

  'Who is it that touched me?'   (From Mark 5:31)

  I have in principle recorded all sentences obtained through elicitation on tapes. They were recorded after I was able to get them down on notebooks. In the course of the recording, a sentence written down in a notebook and its counterpart on a tape differed

very occasionally in their constituent order. Such discrepancy would also be evidence for flexibility of constituent order in this language.

(6.1-30a) (On a notebook)

hanná	zín-o	táání	be7-ído	mishir-ée?
this	yesterday-ABS.	I	see-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	woman-INTER.F.SG.

    'Is this the woman that I saw yesterday?'

(6.1-30b) (On a tape)

hanná	táání	zín-o	be7-ído	mishir-ée?
this	I	yesterday-ABS.	see-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.	woman-INTER.F.SG.

    'Is this the woman that I saw yesterday?'

(6.1-31a) (On a notebook)

táání	7í	zín-o	y-íídaa-kko	y-éénnaa-kko
I	he	yesterday-ABS.	come-INFN.-whether	come-NEG.INFN.-whether

7er-íkke.
know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'I do not know whether he came or not yesterday.'

(6.1-31b) (On a tape)

táání	7í	zín-o	y-éénnaa-kko
I	he	yesterday-ABS.	come-NEG.INFN.-whether

y-íídaa-kko	7er-íkke.
come-INFN.-whether	know-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

    'I do not know whether he came or not yesterday.'

(6.1-32a) (On a notebook)

wóni-kka	nééní	haasay-íyo
former times-too	you	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

b-áí	lo77-énná.
thing-NOM.M.SG.	be good-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'In former times too, what you were telling was not good.'

(6.1-32b) (On a tape)[584]

né	wóni-kka	haasay-íyo
you	former times-too	tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.

b-áí	lo77-énná.
thing-NOM.M.SG.	be good-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'In former times too, what you were telling was not good.'

I illustrated above that Wolaytta allows considerable freedom or flexibility of constituent order. However, Wolaytta never violates D), H), and J) to Q) mentioned above, as far as I was able to observe. In other words, in this language a nominal in the oblique case always precedes the nominal that it modifies[585], a short converb form always precedes its associated auxiliary, and all affixes are suffixal. We can say that these are the most important rules that characterize constituent order of Wolaytta. Such rules would be summarized as that an element that belongs to a potentially longer constituent precedes an element that cannot be augmented if they are closely associated in a sentence. The term "potentially longer constituent" concretely means a modifying part, a main verb (as opposed to an auxiliary), or a host of a suffixal element. This is a loose interpretation of Dryer's (1992) branching direction theory. I consider, however, that it reflects intuitional recognition of ordinary speakers more properly. Off course it may not work well in some cases. For example, both the object and its associated predicate verb would be potentially longer constituents.

Wolaytta, especially spoken Wolaytta, often uses appositive constructions. In such cases, a word that usually functions as a modifier often follows a word that usually

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[584] (6.1-32a) is also recorded. *né* 'you (SG.NOM.)' and *nééní* 'you (SG.NOM.)' are used interchangeably.

[585] As we will see later in this section, however, a modified may seem to apparently precede its modifier in appositive constructions.

functions as a modified. Thus it gives a false impression that Wolaytta is not a typical OV language. Note, however, that in this case the former occurs in its concrete form.

(6.1-33a)

boin-áa	ló77-uwa	shamm-ádá	kátt-aasu.
taro-ABS.M.SG.	good-ABS.M.SG.	buy-CONV.3F.SG.	cook-PF.3F.SG.

    'She bought a taro, a good one, and cooked (it).'

Cf. (6.1-33b)

ló77-o	boin-áa	shamm-ádá	kátt-aasu.
good-OBL.	taro-ABS.M.SG.	buy-CONV.3F.SG.	cook-PF.3F.SG.

    'She bought a good taro, and cooked (it).'

(6.1-34a)

kan-ái	7iss-óí	de7-ées.
dog-NOM.M.SG.	one-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There is a dog (lit. dog, one).'

Cf. (6.1-34b)

7iss-í	kan-ái	de7-ées.
one-OBL.	dog-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There is a dog.'

(6.1-35a)

wolaitt-a	maall-áa	kaw-ói	kóír-oi
Wolaytta-OBL.	royal family-OBL.M.SG.	king-NOM.M.SG.	first-NOM.M.SG.

7otóór-á	g-éétett-ees.
(person name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The king of the Wolaytta Mala, the first one, is called Otoro.'

Cf. (6.1-35b)

kóír-o	wolaitt-a	maall-áa	kaw-ói
first-OBL.	Wolaytta-OBL.	royal family-OBL.M.SG.	king-NOM.M.SG.

7otóór-á	g-éétett-ees.
(person name)-ABS.	say-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'The first king of the Wolaytta Mala is called Otoro.'

In the case of "demonstrative pronouns", appositive constructions are used irrespective of constituent order. Thus both the following contain appositive constructions (see section 4.2.6.2), the former of which gives an impression that a modifier follows its modified.

(6.1-36a)

míízz-iya	hanná	nee-r-íi?
cow-NOM.F.SG.	this (NOM.F.SG.)	your-NMNL.-INTER.

   'Is this cow (lit. the cow, this one) yours?'

Cf. (6.1-36b)

hanná	míízz-iya	nee-r-íi?
this (NOM.F.SG.)	cow-NOM.F.SG.	your-NMNL.-INTER.

   'Is this cow (lit. this one, the cow) yours?'

   In this language, usually a subordinate verb precedes its associated superordinate verb[586]. However, we cannot say that usually a subordinate clause precedes its

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[586] This is not without exceptions. The following is taken from a spoken text.

7a	7a	7a	ta-7aayy-ée	dár-o
ah	ah	ah	my-mother-VOC.F.SG.	much-ADV.

káll-ida.		nú	haatt-áa
be satiated-PF.1PL.		we	water-ABS.M.SG.

superordinate clause in Wolaytta. It is not rare that a subordinate clause is inserted into its superordinate clause[587].

(6.1-37)

táání	7í	wont-ó	y-íí-kkó	b-aaná.
I	he	tomorrow-ABS.	come-SUBOR.-if	go-FUT.

'If he comes tomorrow, I will go.'

(6.1-38)

7álg-ai	ziNN-í-shiini	waass-ées.
bed-NOM.M.SG.	sleep-SUBOR.-while	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

'The bed gives a creak while someone sleeps (on it).'

(6.1-39)

maTááp-aa	biir-áa	7úy-aidda	nabbab-áas.
book-ABS.M.SG.	beer-ABS.M.SG.	drink-SIM.1SG.	read-PF.1SG.

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bul-íya-g-áá	7úy-idi.
calabash-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-ABS.	drink-CONV.1PL.

'Ah, ah, ah, my mother, we are full very much, having drunk water, that in a calabash.'

[587] It is sometimes difficult to judge to which clause a given element in a sentence belongs. For example, we cannot easily determine whether the nominative nominal *naatí* 'children' belongs to a subordinate clause whose predicate is *moor-ídí* 'they having done wrong' or to a superordinate clause whose predicate is *shoC-étt-idosona* 'they were hit'.

naatí	moor-ídí	banta-7aaw-áa-ni
children (NOM.)	do wrong-CONV.3PL.	their own-father-OBL.M.SG.-by

shoC-étt-idosona.
hit-PASS.-PF.3PL.

'The children did wrong, and were hit by their father.'

Such matters should be discussed in a chapter that discusses syntax, but, unfortunately, I cannot do it in this thesis.

'I read the book drinking beer.'

Inserted converbial clauses are especially interesting. As mentioned in section 4.4.3.1, converb forms of verbs are often used to compose a relatively long sentence (see, for example, (4.4.3.1-31)). In such a case, they function as if they were main verbs of a sentence followed by a conjunction "and". Sim's (1994: 4989) claim that a converb is 'perhaps best described as a sentence-medial form neither syntactically independent nor subordinate' would be a paraphrase of this character of converb forms. However, a converbial clause can be inserted into its superordinate clause.

(6.1-40)

yeeh-úwa	Caan-ídí	gel-íis.
funeral ceremony-ABS.M.SG.	load-CONV.3M.SG.	enter-PF.3M.SG.

'He loaded (grain onto a donkey), and enter (the place of) the funeral ceremony.'

(6.1-41)

tamaar-é	sóo	KaNN-ádá	b-áas.
student-OBL.	home	have breakfast-CONV.1SG.	go-PF.1SG.

'I had breakfast, and go to the school.'

To sum up, converb forms are the same as other subordinate verb forms in this language. They are closely related to their superordinate verbs as modifiers. Thus we would have to reconsider Sim's characterization of converb forms.

In Wolaytta, reduplication is used for different purposes. In the following, it is used for the expression of the distributive.

(6.1-42)

shá7-u	7as-ái	d-íí-kkó-kka	7iss-óí
thousand-OBL	people-NOM.M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-if-too	one-NOM.M.SG.

7iss-óí	y-íí-kkó	pol-aná.
one-NOM.	come-SUBOR.-if	manage-FUT.

'Even if there are a thousand people, I will manage if they come one by one.'

(6.1-43)

naa77-áa	naa77-áa	imm-áas.
two-ABS.M.SG.	two-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.1SG.

'I gave two (things to each person).'

(6.1-44)

naa77-ú	naa77-ú	maTááp-aa	7imm-áas.
two-OBL.	two-OBL.	book-ABS.M.SG.	give-PF.1SG.

'I gave two books (to each person).'

(6.1-45)

keett-áa	kér-aa	7agín-aa-ni
house-OBL.M.SG.	rent-ABS.M.SG.	month-OBL.M.SG.-in

7agín-aa-ni	7imm-íiddi	d-ées.
month-OBL.M.SG.-in	give-SIM.3M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He pays his house rent monthly (lit. in a month in a month).'

Reduplication is also used to express plurality. See discussion in section 4.4.3.1.

(6.1-46)

he	kátt-aa	wóni	kas-é
that	grain-ABS.M.SG.	at that time	before-ABS.

shódd-i	shódd-i
pull off-CONV.3M.SG.	pull off-CONV.3M.SG.

m-íyo-g-áá	7agg-í
eat-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	cease-CONV.3M.SG.

báy-ees.
be lost-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'People cease once and for all pulling off repeatedly that grain and eating it like before.'

  In the following, reduplication is used to express variety.

(6.1-47)

hegáá-ní	hegáá	mál-a	mál-ati
that-in	that	look(s)-OBL.	look(s)-NOM.PL.

de7-óosona.
exist-IMPF.3PL.

    'There are kinds of things that resemble that (lit. looks and looks of that) there (lit. in that).'

  In the following, reduplication is used for emphasis.

(6.1-48)

dár-o	dár-o	7aduss-á-nne	7órd-e.
much-OBL.	much-OBL.	long-ABS.-and	fat-ABS.

    'He is tall and fat very much.'

  In the following, the word "now" is reduplicated to mean "recently, lately, at present", not "just now, now in the strict sense".

(6.1-49)

ha77í	ha77í	7átt-i	7átt-idi
now	now	stay behind-CONV.3M.SG.	stay behind-CONV.3M.SG.

b-íisi-ppe	7átt-ii-ni	. . .
go-PF.3M.SG.-from	stay behind-SUBOR.-in	. . .

'Now it is becoming obsolete (lit. having stayed behind and stayed behind, and went), but . . .'

6.2   Agreement

It is a well-known fact that in Wolaytta the subject agrees with its predicate verb. For example, Adams (1983: 77) says that 'The subject governs the person and number[588] marking elements in the predicator. When manifested by a noun phrase, the Head is morphologically marked as nominative.' As we have seen so far, this claim is in principle correct.

In a clause whose predicate is a first- or second-person pronoun followed by the "copula" verb *gid-*, however, the pronoun apparently seems to agree with the "copular" verb. However, this agreement is superficial. The nominative nominals in (6.2-1) and (6.2-2) (*ment-ída-i* 'one who broke' and *mín-oi* 'the brave', respectively) are essentially neutral for person, and are regarded as being in the first and the second persons, respectively.

(6.2-1)

hagáá	7ipitt-áa	ment-ída-i	táná
this	door-ABS.M.SG.	break-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NOM.	me (ABS.)

gid-íkke.
become-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'One who broke this door is not I.'

(6.2-2)

ha	dangárs-aa	wor-ída	mín-oi
this	elephant-ABS.M.SG.	kill-REL.PF.SUBJ.	brave-NOM.M.SG.

néná   gid-ákká.
you (ABS.)   become-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

'The brave that killed this elephant is not you.'

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[588] For an unknown reason, gender is not mentioned here.

In the following, however, the predicate verb should be in the third person.

(6.2-3)

hagéé	táná	gid-énná.
this (NOM.M.SG.)	me	become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'This is not I. (e.g. this picture is not mine)'

Grammatical attraction is also found. That is, if a subject is selective its predicate agrees with the last (i.e. the nearest) nominative nominal.

(6.2-4a)

nééní	wóí-kkó	7í	b-ó.
you	or-if	he	go-OPT.3M.SG.

   'Either you or he must go (lit. you or he let him go).'

(6.2-4b)

7í	wóí-kkó	nééní	b-á.
he	or-if	you	go-OPT.2.SG.

   'Either he or you must go (lit. he or you, go!).'

Note also that in the following the predicate verb is in the third person, not in the second person.

(6.2-5)

7inte-naa77-áa-ppe	7iss-óí	moor-íis.
your (PL.)-two-OBL.M.SG.-from	one-NOM.	mistake-PF.3M.SG.

   'Either of you two is mistaken.'

If a subject is conjunctive, the form of its predicate verb is determined semantically. That is, as Jespersen (1924: 193) says, in this language too, 'if the words composing the subject are of different persons, then the plural verb is of the first person rather than the

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second or third, and of the second person rather than the third.' As he (ibid.) says, this rule is, of course, 'really superfluous, as the first person plural by definition is nothing else than the first person singular plus someone else, and the second person plural correspondingly.'

(6.2-6)
táá-nné 7í-nné <u>b-íída</u>.
I-and   he-and go-PF.1PL.

   'I and he went.'

(6.2-7)
nééní-nné   7í-nné   <u>b-iité</u>.
you (SG.)-and   he-and go-OPT.2PL.

   'You and he have to go (lit. you and he, you (PL.) go!).'

If a subject is composed of conjunctive singular nominals that refer to inanimate things, however, the predicate verb is usually in the singular.

(6.2-8)
ha77í   haasay-íyo   Káál-ai-nne
now   speak-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.   word-NOM.M.SG.-and

ben-íi-g-éé-nné   <u>gáítt-énná</u>.
old times-OBL.-NMNL.-NOM.-and   meet-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

   'The word that now people speak and the old times' thing do not agree.'

(6.2-9)
ha   TaraPPez-áa   boll-í   kompyúútar-ee-nne
this   table-OBL.M.SG.   body-ADV.   compurer-NOM.M.SG.-and

maTááp-ai-nne   dabtár-ai-nne   <u>de7-ées</u>.
book-NOM.M.SG.-and   notebook-NOM.M.SG.-and   exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

'There are a computer, a book, and a notebook on the table.'

If conjunctive singular nominals composing a subject refer to humans, however, its predicate verb must be in the plural.

(6.2-10a)

kabbád-í-nné	7alam-ú-nné
(person name)-NOM.-and	(person name)-NOM.-and

balláT-í-nné	hagáá-ní	de7-óosona.
(person name)-NOM.-and	this-in	exist-IMPF.3PL.

'Here are Kebede, Alemu, and Belete.'

(6.2-10b)

* kabbád-í-nné	7alam-ú-nné
(person name)-NOM.-and	(person name)-NOM.-and

balláT-í-nné	hagáá-ní	de7-ées.
(person name)-NOM.-and	this-in	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

Also in the case of animals, the predicate verb is usually in the plural.

(6.2-11)

7iss-í	bóór-ai-nne	7iss-í	míízz-ai-nne
one-OBL.	ox-NOM.M.SG.-and	one-OBL.	cow-NOM.F.SG.-and

7iss-í	har-ée	ha	keett-áa-ni
one-OBL.	donkey-NOM.M.SG.	this	house-OBL.M.SG.-in

de7-óosona.
exist-IMPF.3PL.

'There are an ox, a cow, and a donkey in this house.'

If individuality of referents of a subject is emphasized, however, the predicate verb is in

the singular.

(6.2-12)

kan-ái-kka	kútt-oi-kka	gawar-íya-kka
dog-NOM.M.SG.-too	chicken-NOM.M.SG.-too	cat-NOM.F.SG.-too

bá-u	bá-u	waass-ées.
his own-for	his own-for	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The dog, and the rooster, and the cat, too, were crying individually (lit. for himself for himself).'

    As is mentioned in section 4.2.1.5, semantically plural things can be expressed by a singular nominal. If such a nominal is a subject of a clause, its predicate verb is usually in the singular.

(6.2-13)

7as-ái	shiiK-ídí	kúúy-iis.
people-NOM.M.SG.	gather-CONV.3M.SG.	decide-PF.3M.SG.

    'People gathered, and decided.'

(6.2-14)

ha77í	. . .	dumm-á	dumm-á	wóg-aa-ni
now	. . .	different-OBL.	different-OBL.	custom-OBL.M.SG.-in

dár-o	b-áí	laam-étt-iiddi
many-OBL.	thing-NOM.M.SG.	change-PASS.-SIM.3M.SG.

y-íis.
come-PF.3M.SG.

    'Now, many things have been changed gradually in different customs.'

(6.2-15)

heezz-ú	túúmm-oi	de7-ées.
three-OBL.	garlic-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'There are three bulbs of garlic.'

Note also that in the last example a numeral higher than one modifies a common noun in the singular. According to Ferguson (1976: 72), this is a feature common to most Ethiopian languages.

    On the contrary, however, sometimes a singular nominative nominal that refers to plural things agrees with its predicate verb in the plural. This type of agreement, however, seems to be relatively rare.

(6.2-16)

naa77-ái	gáítt-idi	sarot-étt-idosona.
two-NOM.M.SG.	meet-CONV.3PL.	greet-PASS.-PF.3PL.

    'The two met and greeted each other.'

(6.2-17)

hegáá-ní	híníí-ní	ta-na7-áa	d-ói[589]
that-in	there-in	my-child-OBL.M.SG.	and company-NOM.M.SG.

7áí	7oott-íyonaa?
what	do-INTER.IMPF.3PL.

    'What are my son and others doing here and there?'

(6.2-18)

7eta-Táll-ai[590]	y-íídosona.
their-only-NOM.M.SG.	come-PF.3PL.

    'They only came.'

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[589] See section 4.2.1.7. Note that this semi-dependent common noun does not have a plural form.

[590] This is a common noun. See section 4.2.1.7.

Moreno (1938: 27) has already pointed out that if there is an element that indicates plurality by itself such as a numeral or a plural verb its associated noun can be in the singular[591] in the Gofa language, which is genetically closely related to Wolaytta. However, I have not attested any Wolaytta example in which a plural subject agrees with a third-person singular verb, which Moreno (1938: 40) mentions for Gofa[592].

In this language, a semantically female referent can be expressed by a grammatically masculine form.

(6.2-19)

7úss-ai	ha	giy-áa
heifer-NOM.M.SG.	this	market-ABS.M.SG.

gel-énnée?
enter-NEG.INTER.3M.SG.

   'Doesn't a heifer enter this market (i.e. don't they trade in heifers in this market)?'

See the discussion in section 4.2.1.6.2.2. Interestingly, however, in the following a grammatically feminine predicate is used for a grammatically masculine subject whose referent is semantically female.

(6.2-20)

7i-Táll-ai	y-áasu.
her-only-NOM.M.SG.	come-PF.3F.SG.

   'She only came.'

As is hinted above in this section, we should assume that in this language common nouns are neutral for person. Thus a predicate verb can be in the first or second person or can be a first- or second person pronoun, even when its corresponding subject is a

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[591] His original text in Italian is as follows: 'Dovunque vi sia un elemento che indichi già di per sè stesso pluralità, come un numerale . . . un verbo al plurale, il nome viene, o può esser, messo al singolare.'

[592] His original text in Italian is as follows: 'adoperando tuttavia qualche volta la terza persona singolare invece della plurale, con soggetto plurale.'

common noun.

(6.2-21)

ta-Taláál-ai[593]	danday-íkke.
my-only-NOM.M.SG.	be able-NEG.IMPF.1SG.

'I cannot do by myself.'

(6.2-22)

<u>karétt-ai</u>-kka	darí	<u>beett-ákká</u>.
black-NOM.M.SG.-too	much	be seen-NEG.IMPF.2SG.

'The black one (i.e. you) are not seen well.'

(6.2-23)[594]

ha	gaamm-úwa	wor-ída	<u>gaamm-ói</u>	<u>táná</u>.
this	lion-ABS.M.SG.	kill-REL.PF.SUBJ.	lion-NOM.M.SG.	me

'The brave (lit. lion) that killed this lion is I.'

(6.2-24)

ha	7as-á	7ubb-áa-ppe	<u>mín-oi</u>
this	person-OBL.	all-OBL.M.SG.-from	brave-NOM.M.SG.

<u>núná</u>.
us

'The bravest among all these people are us.'

Of course a common noun can be a predicate when its corresponding subject is a first- or second-person pronoun.

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[593] This is a common noun. See section 4.2.1.7.

[594] For the negative counterparts of this and the following, see (6.2-1) and (6.2-2) and discussion there.

(6.2-25)

táání	7a-mácc-iyo.
I	his-wife-ABS.F.SG.

'I am his wife.'

Occasionally a sentence cannot have a subject (not just an ellipsis of it). In such a case, the predicate verb occurs in its third-person singular masculine form.

(6.2-26)

nééní	ne-7ish-áa	mácc-iyo
you (SG.)	your (SG.)-brother-OBL.M.SG.	wife-ABS.F.SG.

7ekk-an-á-u	bess-énná.
take-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be proper-NEG.IMFP.3M.SG.

'It is not proper for you to marry (lit. take) your brother's wife.'
(From Mark 6:18)

(6.2-27a)

7iss-í	kútt-aa-ni	naa77-ú	7óós-uwa
one-OBL.	??-OBL.M.SG.-in	two-OBL.	work-ABS.M.SG.

7oott-an-á-u	danday-étt-ees.
work-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	be able-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'Two works can be done at once.'

The verb *danday-étt-* 'to be possible' used as a predicate, however, may have a subject.

(6.2-27b)

7iss-í	kútt-aa-ni	naa77-ú	7óós-oi
one-OBL.	??-OBL.M.SG.-in	two-OBL.	work-NOM.M.SG.

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danday-étt-ees.
be able-PASS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'Two works can be done at once.'

(6.2-28a)

táná	miishsh-áa	koshsh-ées.
me	money-ABS.M.SG.	be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'I need money.'

The verb *koshsh-* 'to be needed' used as a predicate, however, may have a subject.

(6.2-28b)

táná	miishsh-ái	koshsh-ées.
me	money-NOM.M.SG.	be needed-IMPF.3M.SG.

   'I need money.'

Adams (1983:110) says that: 'The Subject tagmeme is considered here to be a nuclear [i.e. obligatory] tagmeme in all clauses, . . . the person marker in the verb manifesting the Head of a V[erb phrase] in a P[redicator] is controlled by the Subject of the clause; and this Subject can always be identified, whether expressly stated, or determined from context when contextually omitted.' However, this is not the case, as the above examples show.

   Also in the field of anaphora, we can observe discrepancies in terms of number.

(6.2-29)

7as-ái	banta-biitt-áa-ppe	yesúús-í
people-NOM.M.SG.	their own-land-OBL.M.SG.-from	Jesus-NOM.

b-aaná	mál-a	wóós-aa	dóómm-iis[595].
go-REL.FUT.	look(s)-ABS.	pray-ABS.M.SG.	begin-PF.3M.SG.

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[595] Note also that the predicate verb is in the singular.

'People began to beg Jesus to leave (lit. go from) their land.'   (From Mark 5:17)

(6.2-30)

ha	súúK-iya-ni	túúmm-oi-nne
this	shop-OBL.M.SG.-in	garlic-NOM.M.SG.-and

sant-ái-nne	sunkurúút-oi-nne	d-ées.
cabbage-NOM.M.SG.-and	onion-NOM.M.SG.-and	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

hageetí	7ubb-ái-kka	maLL-óosona.
these	all-NOM.M.SG.-too	be tasty-IMPF.3PL.

'In this shop, there are bulbs of garlic, cabbages, and onions. All these are tasty.'

Chapter 7   Sociolinguistics

"Sociolinguistics" in the broad sense has dealt with various subjects. Since this thesis is a descriptive study of a language, however, phenomena in which social and/or cultural factors affect the linguistic structure of Wolaytta are mainly discussed in the following sections.

7.1   Wolaytta in a Multilingual Society

Wolaytta has been in contact with different languages in different ways.

According to Takeshi Fujimoto (personal communication), Wolayttas are now expanding in some places other than Wolaytta in Ethiopia. In Awassa, for example, there are many Wolayttas, who were originally taken as slaves. In this town, he says, the Wolaytta language is more understood than the Sidamo language. When Malos, in whose habitats he has conducted anthropological fieldwork, go to Addis Ababa, they stay in Wolaytta communities in the city. There they communicate with each other in Amharic or Wolaytta. Also in Konso, Wolayttas are working, mainly in stores that serve mead. There they use Amharic as a means of communication. Thus, the Wolaytta language seems to be used in different places in Ethiopia, although at present it would not be a lingua franca in its usual sense with a possible exception of the Malo case.

As mentioned in section 1.4, different languages are spoken around the Wolaytta Zone. It is expected that they and Wolaytta have affected each other. Unfortunately, because of my poor knowledge about the neighboring languages of Wolaytta I can not point out any certain examples of the linguistic contact. As mentioned in sections 4.2.2.2.8 and 4.2.2.3.5, however, some seemingly senseless proper nouns might originate from such neighboring languages[596].

Without doubt, Oromo is one of the most influential languages in Ethiopia. Oromo programs are broadcasted on television everyday. It seems to me, however, that influences from Oromo on Wolaytta are not many, although I cannot assert it since unfortunately I do not know the former. However, *buddeen-áa* 'traditional Ethiopian

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[596] My impression is that Wolaytta is very rich in its vocabulary. I assume that one of the reasons for it is massive loanwords from the neighboring languages. According to one of my main consultants, the preverb (see section 4.2.9.2) *loPP-ú* 'soft', for example, is of Hadiya origin.

crepe-like food, እንጀራ *enjarA* in Amharic)' would be a loanword from Oromo.

Amharic is the most influential language on Wolaytta. Wolaytta is indeed used for radio programs. However, the broadcast is only two hours or so a week, while Amharic programs are broadcasted everyday, both on television and radio. Wolaytta is indeed used for written materials (see chapter 3). However, books written in Amharic are much more common in Wolaytta. Even an official letter issued by an office in Wolaytta was written in Amharic (although this might be because I am a foreigner who is more familiar with Amharic). I am not acquainted with any Wolayttas who speak fluently Oromo, while I do not know any adult Wolayttas who cannot speak Amharic at all (although this might be accidental). Thus, in any case, people who do not understand the Wolaytta language at all can live in the Wolaytta district amicably without any serious problems, at least in towns such as Boditi and Sodo.

Code-switching between Wolaytta and Amharic is not rare. I have seen several times native Wolayttas switch the language from Wolaytta to Amharic suddenly (this might be again because of my presence). For code-switching caused by numerical expressions, see section 4.2.3.5.

Loanwords from Amharic abound in Wolaytta[597]. Amharic loanwords may be frequently used even when there are Wolaytta words semantically corresponding to the Amharic words, at least in towns like Boditi. Thus so-called "basic words" can be accompanied by their corresponding Amharic loanwords in the vocabulary of modern Wolaytta. I was surprised when I knew that a "flower" can be expressed as *7abab-áa* (Cf. Amharic አበባ *AbabA*), as well as *Ciishsh-áa*, the "good" Wolaytta word I had known. However, I was more surprised when I found that the former is listed in Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa's (1991 E.C.) dictionary. This type of borrowing from Amharic does not necessarily seem to be a recent phenomenon. Thus Moreno's (1938: 145) word list of Ometo languages lists *ğammar-* (*jammar-* in my notation) 'to start (*cominciare* in Italian)' (Cf. Amharic ጀመረ *jammara* 'he started'). One of my main consultants, who lives in the capital, Addis Ababa, frequently uses this loanword while he also knows the "good" Wolaytta verb *dóómm-* 'to start'. Since he often mixes Amharic words in his Wolaytta elsewhere too, at first my impression was that his Wolaytta is strongly influenced by Amharic. However, now I realize that his way of speaking is the typical one in towns, perhaps, some decades ago (*jammar-* 'to start' does

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[597] To tell the truth, it is more often than not very difficult to determine from which language to which language a given word is borrowed. I am afraid that misunderstandings in this regard may be included in the following description.

not seem to be used by younger Wolayttas).

Loanwords from Amharic may bring sounds alien to the Wolaytta phoneme system. For example, labialized consonants are observed in, for example, *kWáás-iya*[598] 'ball' (Cf. Amharic ኳስ *kWAs*) and *gWAddannY-áa*[599] 'friend' (Cf. Amharic ጓደኛ *gWAddannYA*). As is mentioned in section 2.1.2.4 and is seen in the last example, palatalized *n* that is not explained by assimilation to the following palatal consonant is not rare nowadays. It seems to be recommended that glottalized *s* is changed into glottalized *t* in indigenizing Amharic words into Wolaytta: for example, *Taap-* 'to write' (Cf. Amharic ጻፈ *SAfa* 'he wrote'). In fact, however, the pronunciation in which the original glottalized spirant is retained, as in, for example, [s'aaf], is not rare.

I do not establish these alien sounds as new independent phonemes of Wolaytta, at least for the time being. As is mentioned in section 2.1.2.4, however, in the future no one might doubt the status of these sounds as phonemes. One factor that makes the problem difficult would be halfway indigenization. First, let's take *gWAddannY-áa* 'friend' as an example of little indigenized loanword, which is not so problematic. Although it is inflected as a Wolaytta common noun, its original pronunciation remains almost intact (thus the notation explained in footnote 599). In addition, there is a semantically corresponding Wolaytta word, *lágg-iya* 'friend', which is usually used. In other words, *gWAddannY-áa* 'friend' is little indigenized, and does not need to be so. Thus, we can say that the use of it in Wolaytta is a temporary one even though its use is not rare, and thus that it can be neglected in the vocabulary of Wolaytta, and thus that labialized *g* and palatalized *n* in it are not independent phonemes of Wolaytta. On the contrary a word meaning "ball" had to be indigenized, since it is difficult to replace it by another Wolaytta word. Thus in *kWáás-iya* 'ball' the original phonologically short vowel *A* is realized as a long vowel, *aa*. This would reflect somehow native Wolayttas' auditory impression. However, the indigenization is halfway since labialized *k*, which is alien to Wolaytta, remains intact. In this case, I am not quite sure whether it is temporarily used in Wolaytta, and thus it can be neglected in the vocabulary of Wolaytta, and thus labialized *k* in it is not an independent phoneme of Wolaytta. Likewise, I am not quite sure whether glottalized *s* is not an independent phoneme of Wolaytta in the case of [s'aaf] 'to write'. In addition, although [f] is an allophone of /p/ in usual Wolaytta words, [f] in this case would not be replaced with [p], at least willingly, since the original Amharic word allows here only *f*, which is a phoneme independent from *p*.

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[598] Here the capital *W* indicates that its preceding consonant is labialized.
[599] Here the stem, which is on the left side of the hyphen, is transcribed with the notation for Amharic (see section 0.4.2).

Thus I am not quite sure whether *f* is still not an independent phoneme of Wolaytta. Actually, there is also a perfectly indigenized form, *Taap-* 'to write'. If we take only this variant into consideration, no phonological problem is caused. However, more Amharic-like form is and perhaps has been familiar to native Wolaytta speakers. Then can we really ignore this less indigenized variant?

Sound correspondences between original Amharic words and their borrowed forms in Wolaytta are very different. The complexity would reflect a complicated history of the Wolaytta language. It might indicate that some words were not borrowed from Amharic directly. I believe that examination of each sound correspondence in loanwords elucidate a lot of things. Unfortunately I could not include such studies in this thesis for various reasons. In general this thesis is poor in the lexicological field. I hope that future works on Omotic (and other) languages will pay much attention to each word of the languages in question.

In Wolaytta, if a loanword becomes a masculine common noun, it must be assigned to one of the three classes, A, E, or O (see section 4.2.1.1). At present, there seems to be a set of rules according to which the class is decided. That is, if an original Amharic ends in *A*, then it becomes a Class A common noun, if *i*, *E*, or a consonant then Class E, and if *o* then Class O (Amharic nouns ending in *a* or *u* are rare).

(7.1-1)

Amharic Ending in *A*: Wolaytta Class A

መኪና makinA	makiin-áa	'car'
ከተማ katamA	katam-áa	'town'

Amharic Ending in *i*, *E*, or a Consonant: Wolaytta Class E

ተማሪ tamAri	tamaar-íya	'student'
ቢንቢ binbi	bímb-iya	'mosquito'
በርበሬ barbarrE	barbar-íya[600]	'red pepper'
ሙዝ muz	múúz-iya	'banana'
ወጥ waT	wóT-iya	'stew'

Amharic Ending in *o*: Wolaytta Class O

ሹሮ sYuro	shur-úwa	'mush made from beans'
በቅሎ baKlo	baKúl-uwa	'mule'

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[600] There is also another form, *bambar-íya*.

Other correspondences, however, can also be found. In such cases the assumption that the words are borrowed directly from Amharic to Wolaytta may not be correct.

(7.1-2)

Amharic Ending in a Consonant: Wolaytta Class A

ቃል KAl	Káál-aa	'word'
ጾም Som	Tóóm-aa	'fasting'
በዓል ba'Al	ba7ál-aa[601]	'festival'
ወግ wag	wóg-aa	'custom'

Amharic Ending in a Consonant: Wolaytta Class O

ሽንኩርት sYenkurt   sunkurúút-uwa   'onion'

Unlike in the case of Wolaytta, stems of Amharic verbs may change according to their inflectional forms: For example, *sabbar-* 'to break' for the perfect, *sabr-* for the imperfect, *sebar-* for the imperative, etc. When Wolaytta borrows Amharic verbs, stems in Wolaytta are basically based on those for the perfect in Amharic.

(7.1-3)

አመነ 7Amman-a 'he believed'	7amman- 'to believe'
ፈቀደ faKKad-a 'he permitted'	paKKad- 'to permit'
ጀመረ jammar-a 'he started'	jammar- 'to start'
ሞከረ mokkar-a 'he tried'	mokkar- 'to try'
ጻፈ SAf-a 'he wrote'	Taap- 'to write'
ጾም Som-a 'he fasted'	Toom- 'to fast'
ተማረ tamAr-a 'he learned'	tamaar- 'to learn'
አጠና ATannA 'he studied'	Tanna7- 'to study'[602]

There are derived verbs based on loan verbs. The following are examples of *-iss-* derivatives (see section 5.3.2.1) based on loan verbs.

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[601] However, *ba7ál-iya* seems to be more popular.
[602] Sometimes *7aTanna7-* is also used. For the first element, *7a-*, see below in this section.

(7.1-4)

Wolaytta	Amharic
wassan-iss- 'to make (someone) decide'	Cf. **ወሰነ** wassan-a 'he decided'
garrap-iss- 'to make (someone) whip'	Cf. **ገረፈ** garraf-a 'he whipped'
tamaar-iss- 'to teach'	Cf. **ተማረ** tamAr-a 'he learned'

The following are examples of *-ett-* derivative with the passive meaning (see section 5.3.2.3) based on loan verbs.

(7.1-5)

Wolaytta	Amharic
wassan-étt- 'to be decided'	Cf. **ወሰነ** wassan-a 'he decided'
7ajjab-étt- 'to be accompanied'	Cf. **አጀበ** Ajjab-a 'he accompanied'
dawwal-étt- 'to be rung, to ring (v.i.)'	Cf. **ደወለ** dawwal-a 'he rang'
TaKKam-étt- 'to use, to be served'	Cf. **ጠቀመ** TaKKam-a 'he served'
garam-étt- 'to be surprised'	Cf. **ገረመ** garram-a 'it is amazing'

It is difficult to know whether these derivatives are based on Wolaytta non-derived stems borrowed from Amharic, such as *wassan-* 'to decide', or they are directly formed from the corresponding derivatives in Amharic, such as **ተወሰነ** *ta-wassan-a* 'it was decided' derived from **ወሰነ** *wassan-a* 'he decided', utilizing stem-forming suffixes as means of loan translation.

An example that is favorable for the former claim is the "reciprocal" derivative[603], *7amman-étt-* 'to believe each other'. Since the same meaning is expressed in Amharic by a reduplicated stem, **ተማመነ** *tamAmman-a*, it is evident that the Wolaytta derivative in question is based on the loan verb *7amman-* 'to believe' (Cf. Amharic **አመነ** *Amman-a* 'he believed').

An example that is favorable for the latter claim is *macca7-étt-* 'to be convenient'. Since there is no non-derived form such as ***መቸ **macc-a* in Amharic, it is evident that the Wolaytta *-ett-* derivative in question is formed directly from the Amharic "passive" derivative **ተመቸ** *ta-macc-a* 'it was convenient' by transforming the *ta-* prefix into the *-ett-* suffix, finding some similarity in their meanings and/or functions. Another similar example is *samamma7-étt-* 'to agree'. Since the Amharic verb **ሰማማ** *samAmmA* 'to hear a little' is not directly related to the verb in question and does not seem to be borrowed into Wolaytta, *samamma7-étt-* 'to agree' seems to be formed directly from the Amharic

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[603] However, see the use in (5.3.2.3-51).

"reciprocal" derivative **ተስማማ** *tasmAmmA* by calquing of the *ta-* prefix.[604]

Note that loan translation of Amharic derivative prefixes does not occur if they are not regarded as such. For example, the Amharic verb **ተማረ** *ta-mAr-a* 'he learned' is formally a "passive" verb of *ማረ *mAr-a, which actually does not exist in the vocabulary of Amharic though. When it is borrowed into Wolaytta, however, the passive suffix *-ett-* is not utilized, since the derivational relationship between the two Amharic verbs is no more felt (or does not exist from the beginning). Thus the Wolaytta verb meaning 'to learn' is *tamaar-*, not **maar-étt-*.

I have once encountered an interesting loan verb, *tamaraammar-étt-* 'to examine', which is based on **ተመራመረ** *ta-marAmmar-a* 'he examined'. The latter formally contains the "passive" prefix *ta-*, which is translated as the *-ett-* suffix in the former. On the other hand, however, this Amharic verb does not have any typical meanings indicated by the prefix (i.e. passive, reciprocal, and reflexive meanings), thus the prefix is regarded as a part of the Amharic verb stem and occurs as a part of a stem also in the Wolaytta loan verb. In other words, the Amharic prefix *ta-* is translated twice. Incidentally, *maraammar-étt-* is the preferred form according to the person who uttered the "double passive" loan verb. Another similar example that I have encountered is *tasmamma7-étt-* 'to agree' (cf. *samamma7-étt-* discussed in the last paragraph but one).

Loan translation of content words seems to be relatively rare. "The Holy Bible" is sometimes translated as *gééshsh-a maTááp-aa* (clean-OBL. book-ABS.M.SG.), but most ordinary people use a more Amharic-like form, *maShAf Keddús-iya* (Cf. Amharic **መጽሐፍ ቅዱስ** *maShAf Keddus* (lit. book saint)). In the future, however, loan translation may be more popular because of development of mass media.

For Amharic person names in Wolaytta, which are very prevalent, see section 4.2.2.3.5.

As we have observed so far, Amharic has strongly influenced Wolaytta. Nevertheless the Wolaytta language is still much more dominant over Amharic in daily linguistic activities of the region. Even some non-natives can speak Wolaytta very fluently. For example almost all of the family of the owner of the hotel where I stayed are proficient in the Wolaytta language, although they are Amharas. Wolaytta employees talk to them in Wolaytta, taking it for granted.

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[604] Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa (1991 E.C.: 293) list the forms without the *-ett-* suffix: *samamiis* and *samammiyoogaa*. These might be, if they really exist, based on simple imperfect forms of the Amharic "reciprocal" verb: **ይስማማ** *ye-smAmmA* (3M.SG.), etc. Note that the *ta-* prefix is deleted here.

English is without doubt the most popular non-Ethiopian language in Wolaytta. It is believed to be the international language of the modern world. It is used as a means of higher education, sometimes even as that of elementary education. It is taught as a subject in every school, as far as I know. Thus it seems to me that Wolayttas who do not know English at all are relatively rare, and Wolayttas who can speak it fluently are not rare. However, Wolayttas who do not know it well or know it only imperfectly are also not rare. After all it is a language for globalization, not for communication in Wolaytta or Ethiopia.

Italian and French must have somehow affected the Wolaytta language. As said in section 3.2.2, *kaam-íya* 'truck, big car' would be related to *camion* 'truck'. One of my main consultants said that *7anjull-* 'to give alms', *7anjúll-ó* '(typical Wolaytta person name)', etc. originate from Italian (*angelo* 'angel'??). *abukaatuwaa* 'layer' in Alemaayehu and Tereezzaa's (1991 E.C.: 4) dictionary and *abukatuwaa* 'layer, advocate' in Lemma's (1992 E.C.: 3) dictionary, which I did not hear during my research trips, would originate from Italian *avvocato* 'layer'. Other similar examples could be found if we try to find. Nowadays, however, these languages are not so popular in Wolaytta.

Although Ferguson (1976: 64) attaches special importance to Arabic in Ethiopia, it is never a well-understood language in Wolaytta. However, I encountered an Arabic-like word, *turjumáán-iya* 'translator' (cf. ترجمان *turjumaan*), in a spoken text (the corresponding Amharic is ተርጓሚ *targWAmi* or አስተርጓሚ *AstargWAmi*). The relationship between Wolaytta *túúmm-uwa* 'garlic' and Arabic ثوم *thaum* 'garlic' is not known.

Wolaytta is never a so-called endangered language at present. Many children are acquiring it as their mother tongue. As said in section 1.5, it has more than one million native speakers. Thus, it is indeed a major language. However, we should know that the number amounts to only a few percent of the total population of the country. It is also not a language that is learned by many non-native people. Thus Wolaytta is indeed a minor language. It may also be worth noting that major Afro-Asiatic languages such as Old Egyptian, Akkadian, and Ge'ez in Ethiopia have disappeared despite of their wide use.

7.2 Variations in Wolaytta

7.2.1 Honorifics

Second- and third-person plural forms of verbs and pronouns also serve as second- and third-person singular honorifics, respectively. Thus, the following may mean 'You (honorific) laughed.', as well as 'You (PL.) laughed.'

(7.2.1-1)

7ínté	miiCC-ídeta.
you (PL.)	laugh-PF.2PL.

The following may mean 'This is his (honorific).', as well as 'This is theirs.'

(7.2.1-2)

hagéé	7etaa-g-áá.
this	their-NMNL.-ABS.

In the case of common noun, the nominalizer *-nt-a* is used to express respect.

(7.2.1-3)

Kéés-iya-<u>nt-i</u>	y-íídosona.
priest-OBL.M.SG.-NMNL.-NOM.	come-PF.3PL.

'The priest came.'

See section 4.2.5.4 for the details and further examples.

In the case of *gód-aa* 'lord', forms that are similar to their plural forms are used as honorifics.

(7.2.1-4)

7íshshi	7íshshi	7íshshi	ta-<u>gód-aatoo</u>!
OK	OK	OK	my-lord-VOC.(honorific)

'OK, OK, OK, my lord!'   Cf. ta-gód-atoo 'my lords!'

(7.2.1-5)

god-aatí	y-íídosona.
lord-NOM.(honorific)	come-3PL.

   'The lord came.'   Cf. gód-ati 'lords (NOM.)'

Although plural forms similar to the above, such as *hink-ootá* 'others', are very occasionally found, I do not know any other honorifics formed in the same way.

    We should note that all these honorific expressions are somehow related to expressions for plurality. Remember that the nominalizer *-nt-a* in (7.2.1-3) has also a pseudo-plural use (see section 4.2.5.4).

    It is very difficult to properly describe conditions on which honorifics are used. There are many factors determining use or non-use of honorifics. Ultimately, it would depend on the character of the speaker. In general, however, it seems to me that honorifics in Wolaytta are not used as often as, for example, *vous* 'you (honorific) < you (PL.)' in French or exalted forms (尊敬語) in Japanese. However, aged people are usually addressed and mentioned with honorifics. Kings are usually addressed with honorifics in fables that I collected. In Mark 6:25 written in Wolaytta, however, the girl does not address the king with honorifics as not in the same place of an Amharic Bible, and in another spoken text in which the history of Wolaytta is told the teller did not use honorifics to mention Wolaytta kings in the past.

7.2.2 Dialects

    I was not able to carry out comprehensive researches on geographical differences of the Wolaytta language. According to native speakers, however, there are geographical dialects in Wolaytta. They say, for example, 'My Wolaytta was not understood when I worked in Ofa.' 'A language of Kindo and that of Boditi are rather different.' 'Wolaytta spoken in Areka is beautiful.' As far as I know, they believe that the Wolaytta language in remote rural areas is correct and beautiful. I was recommended to conduct fieldwork in such places. This attitude toward dialects is opposite to that in Japan in some decades ago.

    One of my main consultants is born in Damot Gale (near Boditi), and the other is born and bread in Boloso Sore (near Areka), as mentioned in sections 0.3.1.1 and 0.3.1.2. Their languages are almost the same. One prominent difference between them is,

however, the use of *-ttuwa* by the latter, instead of the postposition *-daani* 'like' (see section 4.2.8.4.6). As far as I know, other people do not use *-ttuwa* in the sense of "like".

(7.2.2-1)

ha	na7-ái	néna-ttuwa	waass-ées.
this	child-NOM.M.SG.	your-like	cry-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He cries like you.'

(7.2.2-2)

7á-yyo	7óós-oi	múúss-aa-ttuwa
his-to	work-NOM.M.SG.	eating-OBL.M.SG.-like

han-énná.
become-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'He is good at eating, but not at working. (lit. to him the work does not become like eating.)'

(7.2.2-3)

7as-ái	m-aan-áa-ttuwa	lááT-ai
people-NOM.M.SG.	eat-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-like	lunch-NOM.M.SG.

giz-íya-ra	gákk-iis.
time-OBL.M.SG.-with	reach-PF.3M.SG.

'Lunch was prepared in time so that people would eat.'

I have not been able to analyze this *-ttuwa* 'like' properly. Its ending reminds us of a concrete absolutive (and thus oblique) ending of Masculine Class O common nouns, and it is indeed inflected as such common nouns although imperfectly.

(7.2.2-4)

shóDD-e-ttoi	7íít-a.
frog-OBL.-like	bad-ABS.

'What is like a frog is bad.' (Example of the concrete nominative form?)

(7.2.2-5)

shóDD-e-<u>tto</u>   wáás-oi   danday-étt-énná.
frog-OBL.-like   cry-NOM.M.SG. be able-PASS.-NEG.IMPF.3M.SG.

'A cry like that of a frog is not tolerated.' (Example of the non-concrete oblique form?)

Judging from pronominal forms preceding it, however, it is not a usual common noun. For example, in (7.2.2-1), *néna-* is used instead of *ne-* 'your' (for the inflection of this personal pronoun, see section 4.2.4.1.1). In addition, judging from their tone, *-ttuwa* in question and the derivational suffix *-ttuwa* for expressions of language names, which is discussed in section 5.2.1, are different.

(7.2.2-6a)

7í   han-íyo-g-éé   woláítt-a-<u>tto</u>.
he   become-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.   Wolaytta-OBL.-like

'What he will become is one like a Wolaytta.'

(7.2.2-6b)

7í   haasay-íyo-g-éé
he   tell-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.

<u>wolaitt-á-tt-o</u>.
Wolaytta-OBL.-(derivational suffix)-ABS.

'What he speaks is the Wolaytta language.'

Although I was not able to carry out enough researches on it, literary Wolaytta is not necessarily the same as modern colloquial Wolaytta. The most interesting phenomenon in the former would be that some common nouns in the oblique case are inflected as if they were person-name nouns. In the following, for example, *gaamm-úwa* 'lion' and *toor-áa* 'spear' take the oblique suffix *-u* as if they were Class U person-name nouns

(see section 4.2.2.3.1), although they are expected to take *-uwa* and *-aa*, respectively, as Masculine Class O and A common nouns (see section 4.2.1.1).

(7.2.2-7)

7a-toorancátett-aa	wóí	7a-minótett-aa
his-warrior-ship-ABS.M.SG.	or	his-braveness-ABS.M.SG.

7od-an-á-u	'7abbál-áá-ní	gaamm-ú
tell-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	Lake Abaya-OBL.-in	lion-OBL.

n-au	mashíng-áá-ní	toor-ú
child-VOC.M.SG.	(place name)-OBL.-in	spear-OBL.

n-au'	yáág-iyo	d-é	. . .
child-VOC.M.SG.	say so-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.	. . .

'When people say "O son of the lion (i.e. a brave man) in Abaya, O son of the spear (i.e. a warrior) in Mashinga!" in order to tell his warrior-ship or his braveness . . .'

In the following riddle[605], *Káár-iyo* 'female ape' takes the oblique suffix *-i* as if it were a feminine person-name noun (see section 4.2.2.3.1), although it is expected to take *-ee* as a derived feminine common noun (see section 4.2.1.6.2.2).

(7.2.2-8)

Káár-í	Kamball-o	Kákk-a	7ekk-á.
ape-OBL.	wandering-ABS.	kick-CONV.2SG.	take-OPT.2SG.

'Kick the meaningless wandering of an ape!'

These forms might reflect a past nominal system of Wolaytta. Further linguistic studies on Wolaytta literature are expected to be carried out.

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[605] The term "riddle" is very misleading. It is called *KáNNish-iya* in Wolaytta, and is very unique oral literature. See 若狭 (Wakasa 2005) for the details.

Texts

The following texts have been selected from those I directly collected.

As can be seen from them, sentences of Wolaytta may be fairly long because of the use of converb forms (see section 4.4.3.1). This is a peculiar feature of the language, which cannot be easily rendered into English as my unrefined translations show.

Text 1 (told by Mr. Alemu Koyra)

(T.1-1)
goromóót-iya.
evil eye-ABS.M.SG.

  'The evil eye.'

(T.1-2)

woláítt-á	biitt-áa-ni	goromóót-e
Wolaytta-OBL.	country-OBL.M.SG.-in	evil eye-ABS.

g-íyo	harg-ée	de7-ées.
say-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	disease-NOM.M.SG.	exist-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'In the Wolaytta land, there is a disease that one calls evil eye.'

(T.1-3)

he	goromóót-ee	7as-áa	m-óbare
that	evil eye-NOM.M.SG.	people-ABS.M.SG.	eat-after

7as-ái	goromóót-iya	Tal-íya
people-NOM.M.SG.	evil eye-OBL.M.SG.	medicine-ABS.M.SG.

7ushsh-íya	bitán-iya-kko	b-ées.
make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-OBL.M.SG.-toward	go-IMPF.3M.SG.

  'If that evil eye eats people, people go to a man who makes drink a medicine for the

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evil eye.'

(T.1-4)

he	Tal-íya	7ushsh-íya	bitán-ee
that	medicine-ABS.M.SG.	make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

y-íídí	7ee	Talót-iya	harg-ída
come-CONV.3M.SG.	uh	rue-ABS.M.SG.	become sick-REL.PF.SUBJ.

na7-áa	Talót-iya	sing-iss-ées.
child-ABS.M.SG	rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-CAUS.-IMPF.3M.SG.

'That man who makes drink the medicine comes, and, uh, rue, he makes the child who has become sick sniff rue.'

(T.1-5)

Talót-iya	sing-iss-íyo	wod-é
rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-CAUS.-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.	time-ABS.

he	Talót-iya	sing-ída	na7-ái
that	rue-ABS.M.SG.	sniff-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-NOM.M.SG.

bajigam-óbare	7abaraad-óbare	'ha	na7-áa
go daft-after	go daft-after	this	child-ABS.M.SG.

goromóót-ee	m-íisi.'	g-ées,
evil eye-NOM.M.SG.	eat-PF.3M.SG.	say-IMPF.3M.SG.

Tal-íya	7ushsh-íya	bitán-ee.
medicine-ABS.M.SG.	make drink-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	man-NOM.M.SG.

'When he makes (him) sniff (lit. time that he makes sniff) rue, if that boy who sniffed the rue goes daft or fuss around, "The evil eye ate this boy." says the man who makes drink the medicine.'

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(T.1-6)

hegáá-ppé	b-íidí	Tal-íya
that-from	go-CONV.3M.SG.	medicine-ABS.M.SG.

goromóót-e	Tal-íya	bookk-ídí
evil eye-OBL.	medicine-ABS.M.SG.	dig out-CONV.3M.SG.

7eh-íídí	7as-áa	7ushsh-ées.
bring-CONV.3M.SG.	people-ABS.M.SG.	make drink-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He goes from there, and digs out the medicine, the medicine for the evil eye, and brings (it), and makes people drink (it).'

(T.1-7)

na7-áa	harg-ída	na7-áa
child-ABS.M.SG.	become sice-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-ABS.M.SG.

7ushsh-ées.
make drink-IMPF.3M.SG.

'He makes the boy, the boy who has become sick drink (the medicine).'

(T.1-8)

harg-ída	na7-ái	goromóót-ee
become sick-REL.PF.SUBJ.	child-NOM.M.SG.	evil eye-NOM.M.SG.

d-íyo-g-éé	7ee
exist-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.	uh

goromóót-e	Tal-íya	7úy-idi
evil eye-OBL.	medicine-ABS.M.SG.	drink-CONV.3M.SG.

hegáá-ppé	simm-í-nne	paT-í
that-from	return-CONV.3M.SG.-and	be cured-CONV.3M.SG.

7agg-ées.
cease-IMPF.3M.SG.

    'The boy who has become sick, the one whom the evil eye has possessed (lit. lives), uh, drinks the medicine for the evil eye, and then immediately gets well (lit. returns from that and is cured and ceases)'.

Text 2 (told by Mr. Asela Gujubo)

(T.2-1)
7eeró.
OK

    'OK.'

(T.2-2)

7iss-í	mant-íya-ni	7iss-í	keett-áa-ni
one-OBL.	region-OBL.M.SG.-in	one-OBL.	house-OBL.M.SG.-in

7aayy-íya-nne	7aaw-ái	d-íí-shiini
mother-NOM.F.SG.-and	father-NOM.M.SG.	exist-SUBOR.-while

7imatt-ái	y-íí-ní	tukk-íya
guest-NOM.M.SG.	come-SUBOR.-in	coffee-ABS.M.SG.

7ess-an-á-u	'shoor-ó-ppé
stand (v.t.)-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	neighbor-OBL.-from

7as-ái	guj-étt-idaa-g-áá-ssí
people-NOM.M.SG.	add-PASS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-OBL.-for

tukk-íya	7ess-aná.'	g-áádá
coffee-ABS.M.SG.	stand (v.t.)-FUT.	say-CONV.3F.SG.

7aayy-íya	KóLL-o	gel-áasu.
mother-NOM.F.SG.	larder-ABS.	enter-PF.3F.SG.

'While a mother and a father live in a region, in a house, guests came and, in order to make coffee, having said "I will serve coffee for the people, those who were added from the neighborhood.", the mother entered the larder.'

(T.2-3)

KóLL-o	gel-ádá	sími	bógg-a
larder-ABS.	enter-CONV.3F.SG.	thus	plunder-CONV.3F.SG.

shááy-aasu.
parch-PF.3F.SG.

'She entered the larder, and thus, she parched (coffee) hastily (lit. having plundered).'

(T.2-4)

wuyíg-ee-ni	de7-íya	7as-ái	Ká
floor-OBL.-at	exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.	people-NOM.M.SG.	furthermore

7iss-í	ló77-o	ló77-o	kaass-áa-kka
one-OBL.	good-OBL.	good-OBL.	play-ABS.M.SG.-too

kaa7-ées.
play-IMPF.3M.SG.

'On the other hand the people sitting on the floor were chatting with each other (lit. plays a good good play too).'

(T.2-5)

gááyy-iya-kka	7úy-ees.
hookah-ABS.M.SG.-too	drink-IMPF.3M.SG.

'They were also smoking (lit. drinks) hookah.'

(T.2-6)

bántáná	Kop-iss-á		b-á
themselves	think-CAUS.-REL.PF.SUBJ.		thing-OBL.

7ubb-á	b-áá		sími	7útt-idi
all-OBL.	thing-ABS.M.SG.		thus	sit-CONV.3PL.

haasay-óosona.
talk-IMPF.3PL.

'All things they worry about (lit. all things of what made themselves think), thus, having sat down, they were talking.'

(T.2-7)

7iss-óí	7iss-úwá-rá	Kóp-aa
one-NOM.M.SG.	one-OBL.M.SG.-with	thought-ABS.M.SG.

laam-étt-oosona.
change-PASS.-IMPF.3PL.

'They were exchanging opinions (lit. one with one they were changing thought with each other).'

(T.2-8)

yáán-i-shiini	7aayy-íya	KóLL-oo-ni
become so-SUBOR.-while	mother-NOM.F.SG.	larder-OBL.-in

bógg-a	bógg-a	7oott-áusu.
slunder-CONV.3F.SG.	slunder-CONV.3F.SG.	work-IMPF.3F.SG.

'Meanwhile, the mother was working hastily in the larder.'

(T.2-9)

tukk-íya	shááy-ausu.
coffee-ABS.M.SG.	parch-IMPF.3F.SG.

'She was parching coffee.'

(T.2-10)

shááy-idoo-g-áá   kess-áusu.
parch-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.   make come out-PF.3F.SG.

'She served what she had parched.'

(T.2-11)

Ká	guyy-é	zaar-ádá	'har-á
furthermore	back-ABS.	return-CONV.3F.SG.	other-OBL.

badal-áa-kka	7iin	Kúrs-iya
corn-ABS.M.SG.-too	uh	snack to go with coffee-ABS.M.SG.

shááy-ada	bógg-a	kess-aná.'
parch-CONV.1.SG.	plunder-CONV.1.SG.	make come out-FUT.

g-áádá	dirb-í-shiini
say-CONV.3F.SG.	be in haste-SUBOR.-while

7akeek-énn-aa-ni	tam-áa	7acc-áa-ni
be careful-NEG.INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-in	fire-OBL.M.SG.	side-OBL.M.SG.-in

sími	su7-úwa	porrrrrrr	7oott-á-nne
thus	fart-ABS.M.SG.	(onomatopoeia)	do-CONV.3F.SG.-and

sú7-a	7agg-áasu.
fart-CONV.3F.SG.	cease-PF.3F.SG.

'Furthermore, she returned back and, having said "I will parch other corn, uh, snack to go with coffee, and serve (them) hastily.", while she was in haste, carelessly near the fire, thus, she let out a fart once and for all, making a sound "porrrrrrr".'

(T.2-12)

yáán-ii-ni	ha77í	su7-úwa	7á	porrrrr
become so-SUBOR.-in	now	fart-ABS.M.SG.	she	(onomatopoeia)

7oott-á	su7-ídoo-g-áá	7í-yyo
do-CONV.3F.SG.	fart-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.	her-for

kamm-an-á-u	bal-ett-an-á-u
cover-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	mistake-Vt.-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to

7og-ée	7iTT-íi-ni
way-NOM.M.SG.	refuse-SUBOR.-in

'Then, when for her sake there was no way any more (lit. when a way refused) to hide, to whitewash the fact that she had let a fart, making a sound porrrrr'

(T.2-13)

na7-íyo	baa-r-ó	'ta-na7-ée
child-ABS.F.SG.	herself-NMNL.-ABS.	my-child-VOC.F.SG.

ta-na7-ée	hai	ha77í'	léél-aa-ni
my-child-VOC.F.SG.	well	now	slowness-OBL.M.SG.-in

g-áádá	haitt-áa-ni	shiiK-ádá
say-CONV.3F.SG.	ear-OBL.M.SG.-at	approach-CONV.3F.SG.

'to her daughter "My daughter, my daughter, well, now", said she slowly, and she approached (her) ear, and'

(T.2-14)

'ta-na7-ée	"tá	sú7-aas."	g-á.
my-child-VOC.F.SG.	I	fart-PF.1SG.	say-OPT.2SG.

7as-ái		hiin	KóLL-o[606]		wuyíg-ee-ni
people-NOM.M.SG.		uh	larder-OBL.		floor-OBL.M.SG.-at

haasay-íya		7as-ái		ha77í	síy-iis.
talk-REL.IMPF.SUBJ.		people-NOM.M.SG.		now	hear-PF.3M.SG.

hegáá-ssí	"tá	tá	sú7-aas."	g-á.'	
that-for	I	I	fart-PF.1SG.	say-OPT.2SG.	

'"My daughter, say 'I farted.' (to the people). The people, uh, the people who are talking (sitting) on the floor have heard (the fart) now. Because of this, say 'I, I farted.' (to them)."'

(T.2-15)

yáág-idoo-r-á		na7-íya		Ká
say so-REL.PF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.		child-NOM.F.SG.		furthermore

TóKKu	g-íídaa-r-á		'ta-7aayy-íya
high (preverb)	say-REL.PF.SUBJ.-NMNL.-NOM.		my-mother-NOM.F.SG.

"'tá	sú7-aas.'	g-á."	yáág-ausu.'
I	fart-PF.1SG.	say-OPT.2SG.	say so-IMPF.3F.SG.

yáág-a-nne
say so-CONV.3F.SG.

'The one whom she said so to, the girl, furthermore, the one who stood up said "My mother said 'Say "I farted."'"', and'

(T.2-16)

7á	kamm-an-á-u	kóyy-iyo-g-áá
she	cover-INFN.-OBL.M.SG.-to	want-REL.IMPF.nonSUBJ.-NMNL.-ABS.

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[606] Probably, this word should be deleted.

| háa | kess-ádá | | 7ó | bór-o | bór-o |
| to here | make come out-CONV.3F.SG. | | her | blame-OBL. | blame-OBL. |

| wóí | pókk-uwa-u | 7aatt-ádá | 7imm-á |
| or | shame-OBL.M.SG.-to | pass-CONV.3F.SG. | give-CONV.3F.SG. |

7agg-áasu.
cease-PF.3F.SG.

'(the girl) exposed (lit. made come out to here) what she wants to hide, and to her, blame, blame, or rather, shame, she betrayed her immediately (lit. passed and gave her and ceased).'

(T.2-17)

| yáán-ii-ni | 'néná | néná | hai | na7-á | b-á.' |
| become so-SUBOR.-in | you | you | well | child-OBL. | thing-ABS. |

| g-áádá | 7aayy-íya-kka | dagamm-ádá |
| say-CONV.3F.SG. | mother-NOM.F.SG.-too | be surprised-CONV.3F.SG. |

| KóLL-o[607] | wuyíg-ee-ni | d-íya | 7as-ái-kka |
| larder-OBL. | floor-OBL.-at | exist-REL.IMPF.SUBJ. | people-NOM.M.SG.-too |

| '7a | 7aa | laa | wóíg-eetii?' | g-íídí |
| oh | oh | hey | say what-INTER.IMPF.2PL. | say-CONV.3M.SG. |

| miiCC-í | miiCC-í | 7agg-íis. |
| laugh-CONV.3M.SG. | laugh-CONV.3M.SG. | cease-PF.3M.SG. |

'Then, having said "You, you, well, a childish thing.", the mother was also surprised, the people who were (sitting) on the floor also said "Ah, ah, hey, what do you say?" and immediately laughed and laughed."

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[607] Probably, this word should be deleted.

(T.2-18)

hagéé	Kánt-aa-ni	woláítt-á	hais-íya.
this (NOM.)	short-OBL.M.SG.-in	Wolaytta-OBL.	story-ABS.M.SG.

'This is a Wolaytta story, (told) briefly.'

Appendix

Endings of the Common Noun = (4.2.1.2-1)

Tone Class I

Non-concrete

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-á	-á	-í	-ée	´-oo
M. Class E	-é	-é	-éé	-ée	´-oo, ´-ee
M. Class O	-ó	-é	-óí	-óo	´-oo
F.	-ó	-é, -í	-á	-óo	´-oo

Concrete, Singular

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-áa	-áa	-ái	-ái	-áu
M. Class E	-íya	-íya	-ée	-ée	-íyau
M. Class O	-úwa	-úwa	-ói	-ói	-úwau
F.	-íyo	-ée	-íya	-íi	-ée

Concrete, Plural

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	-atá	-atú	-atí	-atée	-átoo
M. Class E	-etá	-etú	-etí	-etée	-étoo
M. Class O	-otá	-otú	-otí	-otée	-ótoo
F.	-etá	-etú	-etí	-etée	-étoo
	-otá	-otú	-otí	-otée	-ótoo

Tone Class II

Non-concrete

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	´-a	´-a	´-í	´-ee	´-oo
M. Class E	´-e	´-e	´-éé	´-ee	´-oo, ´-ee
M. Class O	´-o	´-o	´-óí	´-oo	´-oo
F.	´-o	´-e, ´-i	´-á	´-oo	´-oo

Concrete, Singular

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	´-aa	´-aa	´-ai	´-ai	´-au
M. Class E	´-iya	´-iya	´-ee	´-ee	´-iyau
M. Class O	´-uwa	´-uwa	´-oi	´-oi	´-uwau
F.	´-iyo	´-ee	´-iya	´-ii	´-ee

Concrete, Plural

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M. Class A	´-ata	´-atu	´-ati	´-atee	´-atoo
M. Class E	´-eta	´-etu	´-eti	´-etee	´-etoo
M. Class O	´-ota	´-otu	´-oti	´-otee	´-otoo
F.	´-eta	´-etu	´-eti	´-etee	´-etoo
	´-ota	´-otu	´-oti	´-otee	´-otoo

Endings of the Place-name Noun = (4.2.2.2.2-1)

Tone Class I

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.	ADV.
Class A	-á	-á	-í	-ée	´-aa	-í
Class E	-é	-é	-éé	-ée	´-ee	
Class O	-ó	-ó	-óí	-óo	´-oo	

Tone Class II

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.	ADV.
Class A	´-á	´-á	´-í	´-ee	´-aa	´-í
Class E	´-é	´-é	´-éé	´-ee	´-ee	
Class O	´-ó	´-ó	´-óí	´-oo	´-oo	

Endings of the Person-name Noun = (4.2.2.3.2-1)

Tone Class I

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
Masculine Class A	-á	-á	-í	-ée	´-aa
Masculine Class E	-á	-é	-éé	-ée	´-ee
Masculine Class O	-á	-ó	-óí	?	(´-oo)
Masculine Class U	-á	-ú	-ú	-ée	´-oo
Feminine	-ó	-í	-á	?	(´-ee)

Tone Class II

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
Masculine Class A	´-á	´-á	´-í	´-ee	´-aa
Masculine Class E	´-á	´-é	´-éé	´-ee	´-ee
Masculine Class O	´-á	´-ó	´-óí	´-ee	´-oo
Masculine Class U	´-á	´-ú	´-ú	´-ee	´-oo
Feminine	´-ó	´-í	´-á	´-ii	´-ee

Numerals = (4.2.3.1.1-1)

	COUNT.	ABS.	OBL.	INTER.
1	7ist-á	7iss-úwá	7iss-í	7iss-óo
2	naa77-á	naa77-á	naa77-ú	naa77-ée
6	7usúppun-a	7usúppun-a	7usúppun	7usúppun-ee
11	7isíín-ó	7isíín-é	7isíín-í	7isíín-ee
		(7isíín-ó)	(7isíín-é)	

Personal Pronouns A = (4.2.4-1)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
1SG.		ta-	tá		
		taa-	táá		
	táná	tana-	táání	tánee	tánoo
		tanaa-	tán		
2SG.		ne-	né		
		nee-	néé		
	néná	nena-	nééní	nénee	nénoo
		nenaa-	nén		
1PL.		nu-	nú		
		nuu-	núú		
	núná	nuna-	núúní	núnee	núnoo
		nunaa-	nún		
2PL.		7inte-	7ínté		
		7intee-			
	7ínténá	7intena-	(7inteni)	7ínténee	7ínténoo
		7intenaa-			

Personal Pronouns B = (4.2.4-2)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
3M.SG.	7á	7a- 7aa-	7í	7ée
3F.SG.	7ó	7i- 7ii-	7á	7íi
3PL.	7etá	7eta- 7etaa-	7etí	7etée

Nominalizers = (4.2.5.1-1), (4.2.5.2-1), (4.2.5.3-1), (4.2.5.4-1)

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.	VOC.
M.SG.	-gáá	-gáá	-géé	-gée	´-goo
PL.	-geetá	-geetú	-geetí	-geetée	-géétoo
F.SG.	-ró	-rí	-rá	-ríi	-ree
F.SG.	-nnó	-nní	-nná	-nníi	´-nnee
*[608]	-nta	-nta	-nti	-ntee	-ntoo

Postpositions = (4.2.8.1-1)

	Non-predicative	Predicative	Interrogative
'for, to'	-u	*	*
'for, to'	-yyo	*	*
'toward'	-kko	-kko	-kkoo
'from'	-ppe	-ppe	-ppee
'with'	-ra	-ra	-ree
'for, to'	-ssi	-ssa	-ssee
'in, at, by'	-n(i)	-na	-nee
'like'	-da(a)n(i)	-daana	-daanee

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[608] Honorific, Pseudo-plural

Endings of the Affirmative Declarative Imperfective = (4.4.2.1.1-1)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-áis(i)	1PL.	-óos(i), -éettees(i)
2SG.	-áasa	2PL.	-éeta
3M.SG.	-ées(i)	3PL.	-óosona
3F.SG.	-áusu		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-ais(i)	1PL.	´-oos(i), ´-eettees(i)
2SG.	´-aasa	2PL.	´-eeta
3M.SG.	´-ees(i)	3PL.	´-oosona
3F.SG.	´-ausu		

Endings of the Negative Declarative Imperfective = (4.4.2.1.2-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-íkke	1PL.	-ókko, -étténná
2SG.	-ákká	2PL.	-ékkétá
3M.SG.	-énná	3PL.	-ókkóná
3F.SG.	-úkkú		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-ikke	1PL.	´-okko, ´-étténná
2SG.	´-ákká	2PL.	´-ékkétá
3M.SG.	´-énná	3PL.	´-ókkóná
3F.SG.	´-úkkú		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-ííkke	1PL.	-óókko, -éétténná
2SG.	-áákká	2PL.	-éékkétá
3M.SG.	-éénná	3PL.	-óókkóná
3F.SG.	-úúkkú		

Endings of the Affirmative Interrogative Imperfective = (4.4.2.1.3-1)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-íyanaa	1PL.	-íyo, -íyonii	
2SG.	-ái	2PL.	-éetii	
3M.SG.	-íi	3PL.	-íyonaa	
3F.SG.	-ái			

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-iyanaa	1PL.	´-iyo, ´-iyonii	
2SG.	´-ai	2PL.	´-eetii	
3M.SG.	´-ii	3PL.	´-iyonaa	
3F.SG.	´-ai			

Endings of the Negative Interrogative Imperfective = (4.4.2.1.3-2)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-íkkínáa	1PL.	-ókkóníi, -étténnée	
2SG.	-íkkíi	2PL.	-ékkétíi	
3M.SG.	-énnée	3PL.	-ókkónáa	
3F.SG.	-ékkée			

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-íkkínáa	1PL.	´-ókkóníi, ´-étténnée	
2SG.	´-íkkíi	2PL.	´-ékkétíi	
3M.SG.	´-énnée	3PL.	´-ókkónáa	
3F.SG.	´-ékkée			

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-ííkkínáa	1PL.	-óókkóníi, -éétténnée	
2SG.	-ííkkíi	2PL.	-éékkétíi	
3M.SG.	-éénnée	3PL.	-óókkónáa	
3F.SG.	-éékkée			

Endings of the Affirmative Declarative Perfective = (4.4.2.2.1-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-áas(i)	1PL.	-ída
2SG.	-ádasa	2PL.	-ídeta
3M.SG.	-íis(i)	3PL.	-ídosona
3F.SG.	-áasu		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-aas(i)	1PL.	´-ida
2SG.	´-adasa	2PL.	´-ideta
3M.SG.	´-iis(i)	3PL.	´-idosona
3F.SG.	´-aasu		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-áas(i)	1PL.	-íída
2SG.	-áádasa	2PL.	-íídeta
3M.SG.	-íis(i)	3PL.	-íídosona
3F.SG.	-áasu		

Endings of the Negative Declarative Perfective = (4.4.2.2.2-1)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-ábe7íkke	1PL.	-íbe7ókko, -íbe7étténná
2SG.	-ábe7ákká	2PL.	-íbe7ékkétá
3M.SG.	-íbe7énná	3PL.	-íbe7ókkóná
3F.SG.	-ábe7úkkú		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-abe7íkke	1PL.	´-ibe7ókko, ´-ibe7étténná
2SG.	´-abe7ákká	2PL.	´-ibe7ékkétá
3M.SG.	´-ibe7énná	3PL.	´-ibe7ókkóná
3F.SG.	´-abe7úkkú		

Endings of the Affirmative Interrogative Perfective = (4.4.2.2.3-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-ídanaa	1PL.	-ído, -ídonii
2SG.	-ádii	2PL.	-ídetii
3M.SG.	-ídee	3PL.	-ídonaa
3F.SG.	-ádee		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-idanaa	1PL.	´-ido, ´-idonii
2SG.	´-adii	2PL.	´-idetii
3M.SG.	´-idee	3PL.	´-idonaa
3F.SG.	´-adee		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-íídanaa	1PL.	-íído, -íídonii
2SG.	-áádii	2PL.	-íídetii
3M.SG.	-íídee	3PL.	-íídonaa
3F.SG.	-áádee		

Endings of the Negative Interrogative Perfective = (4.4.2.2.3-2)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-ábe7íkkínáa	1PL.	-íbe7ókkóníi, -íbe7étténnée
2SG.	-ábe7íkkíi	2PL.	-íbe7ékkétíi
3M.SG.	-íbe7énnée	3PL.	-íbe7ókkónáa
3F.SG.	-ábe7ékkée		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-abe7íkkínáa	1PL.	´-ibe7ókkóníi, ´-ibe7étténnée
2SG.	´-abe7íkkíi	2PL.	´-ibe7ékkétíi
3M.SG.	´-ibe7énnée	3PL.	´-ibe7ókkónáa
3F.SG.	´-abe7ékkée		

Endings of the Declarative Future = (4.4.2.3-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs	-aná
Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs	´-ana
Mono-consonantal verbs	-aaná

Endings of the Interrogative Future = (4.4.2.3-2)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs	-anée
Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs	´-anee
Mono-consonantal Verbs	-aanée

Endings of the Affirmative Optative = (4.4.2.4.1-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	-á	2PL.	-ité
3M.SG.	-ó	3PL.	-óná
3F.SG.	-ú		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	´-a	2PL.	´-ite
3M.SG.	´-ó	3PL.	´-óná
3F.SG.	´-ú		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

2SG.	-á	2PL.	-iité
3M.SG.	-ó	3PL.	-óóná
3F.SG.	-ú		

Endings of the Negative Optative = (4.4.2.4.2-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	-óppa	2PL.	-óppite
3M.SG.	-óppó	3PL.	-óppóná
3F.SG.	-úppú		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

2SG.	´-oppa	2PL.	´-oppite
3M.SG.	´-óppó	3PL.	´-óppóná
3F.SG.	´-úppú		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

2SG.	-óóppa	2PL.	-óóppite
3M.SG.	-óóppó	3PL.	-óóppóná
3F.SG.	-úúppú		

Endings of the Short Converb = (4.4.3.1-1)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-á	1PL.	-í
2SG.	-á	2PL.	-í
3M.SG.	-í	3PL.	-í
3F.SG.	-á		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-a	1PL.	´-i
2SG.	´-a	2PL.	´-i
3M.SG.	´-i	3PL.	´-i
3F.SG.	´-a		

Endings of the Long Converb = (4.4.3.1-2)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	-ádá	1PL.	-ídí
2SG.	-ádá	2PL.	-ídí
3M.SG.	-ídí	3PL.	-ídí
3F.SG.	-ádá		

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

1SG.	´-ada	1PL.	´-idi
2SG.	´-ada	2PL.	´-idi
3M.SG.	´-idi	3PL.	´-idi
3F.SG.	´-ada		

Mono-consonantal Verbs

1SG.	-áádá	1PL.	-íídí
2SG.	-áádá	2PL.	-íídí
3M.SG.	-íídí	3PL.	-íídí
3F.SG.	-áádá		

Endings of the Simultaneous = (4.4.3.2-1)

Tone Class I

1SG.	-áidda	1PL.	-íiddi
2SG.	-áidda	2PL.	-íiddi
3M.SG.	-íiddi	3PL.	-íiddi
3F.SG.	-áidda		

Tone Class II

1SG.	´-aidda	1PL.	´-iiddi
2SG.	´-aidda	2PL.	´-iiddi
3M.SG.	´-iiddi	3PL.	´-iiddi
3F.SG.	´-aidda		

Endings of the True Relative = (4.4.3.3-2)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

	Subject Oriented	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	-íya	-íyo
Perfective	-ída	-ído
Short Perfective	-á	-ó

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

	Subject Oriented	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	´-iya	´-iyo
Perfective	´-ida	´-ido
Short Perfective	´-a	´-o

Mono-consonantal Verbs

	Subject Oriented	Non-Subject Oriented
Imperfective	-íya	-íyo
Perfective	-íida	-íido
Short Perfective	-á	-ó

Ending of the Derived Relative = (4.4.3.3-3)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

Future	-aná
Negative (General)	-énná
(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	-ábe7énná
(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	-íbe7énná

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

Future	´-ana
Negative (General)	´-enna
(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	´-abe7énná
(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	´-ibe7énná

Mono-consonantal Verbs

Future	-aaná
Negative (General)	-éénná
(Perfective; 1SG., 2SG., 3F.SG.)	-ábe7énná
(Perfective; 3M.SG., Plurals)	-íbe7énná

Endings of the Future Infinitive = (4.4.4.1-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-an-á	-an-á		-an-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-an-áa	-an-áa	-an-ái	

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	´-an-a	´-an-a		´-an-ee
Concrete (SG.)	´-an-aa	´-an-aa	´-an-ai	

Mono-consonantal Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-aan-á	-aan-á		-aan-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-aan-áa	-aan-áa	-aan-ái	

Endings of the Negative Infinitive = (4.4.4.2-1)

Tone Class I, Ordinary Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-énn-á	-énn-á		-énn-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-énn-aa	-énn-aa	-énn-ai	

Tone Class II, Ordinary Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	´-énn-á	´-enn-a		´-énn-ée
Concrete (SG.)	´-enn-aa	´-enn-aa	´-enn-ai	

Mono-consonantal Verbs

	ABS.	OBL.	NOM.	INTER.
Non-concrete	-éénn-á	-éénn-é		-éénn-ée
Concrete (SG.)	-éénn-aa	-éénn-aa	-éénn-ai	

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* "E.C." stands for the Ethiopian Calendar, for which see section 4.2.3.5.

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