CHAPTER FOUR

NOTES ON THE ZAYSE LANGUAGE*

by

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INTRODUCTION:

The language described in this paper belongs to the cluster of
languages and dialects known to Western scholars as Ometo.[1] Both the
speakers of this particular Ometo language and the language itself have
generally been referred to as Zaisse or Zayse.[2] To the speakers themselves,
however, the language is known as zaysité. With the exception of the
Koore[3], who live to the east of the Rift Valley, and some small communities
living on and around Lakes Abbaya and Chammo[4], the geographical area occupied
by Ometo speakers is all to the west of the Rift Valley, the Zayse inhabiting
the south-eastern corner of this area[5]. At least since the establishment of
Mission churches the highland area in which the Zayse live has been defined
as comprising nine localities based on the 'villages' of Kaybanná,
Lámad'a, D'uurá, Kawlée, Mahellá, Monok'á, Dambilléso, Žóoššeso
and Zuzzáso. Since the recent development of extensive farms in the
surrounding lowland areas, however, many people originating from this high-
land homeland spend at least a great deal, if not all of their lives, in the
lowlands. Villagers from the Zayse highlands are now farming areas centered
on Elgo and Wozaka on the main road between Arbaminch and Gidole.[6] I was
informed that a similar situation has developed at Dambilla in Mosiye (= Bussa)

country in the lowlands to the west of the traditional Zayse territory.[7]

The bulk of the material upon which the linguistic description pres-
ented here is based was collected in Addis Ababa in 1981 when I was able to
work intensively with Markos Kooto, a native speaker of Zayse from Kaybanná.
Two years later, during June 1983, I was fortunate enough to obtain the ass-
istance of Abaineh Unasho from D'uurá, with whom I was able to check out
some of the hypotheses which had been developing, as well as some aspects of
the earlier data about which some doubts had existed. Both Markos and
Abaineh were engaged in University studies, and it is a tribute to their
intelligent interest and enthusiasm that I was able to collect such a large
corpus of material on Zayse in the time available. It remains the case, how-
ever, that only some three weeks research time was actually devoted to this
work, so that the observations advanced here have to be accepted for what
they are, i.e., preliminary and tentative.

Zayse exhibits several features which are somewhat surprising within
Ometo. Alongside some obvious innovations, the verb system has at least one
interesting and putatively archaic feature: namely, the existence of verb
classes which have to be set up because of the appearance of lexically
distinct "post-thematic vowels" in certain inflected forms. While such a
feature has been recorded for Kafa and other Northern Omotic languages, I
believe I am right in saying that there has been no previous attestation of
it in any of the Ometo languages. Nevertheless, as will appear in §3.2., I
shall argue against the notion that this feature is an archaism preserved
in Zayse. Another surprise appears in the syntax, for Zayse has a full
series of enclitic subject pronouns that attach to the end of focussed noun
and postpositional phrases. Though this sort of feature is familiar enough
to those concerned with the languages of the Horn of Africa, on account of
the fact that it characterizes Standard Somali[8], it can hardly be said to be
a common areal feature. One would like to know whether languages sharing the
feature have other phenomena in common, and whether one or other of these might

suggest a hypothesis correlating these things in terms of diachronic development. Just these two characteristics of Zayse would serve to set it apart not only from the languages/dialects of the Central Ometo group, with which it is in geographical contiguity, but also from the geographically remoter, though genetically closer, Koyra language.[9] If only on account of these features it would be very desirable if Zayse could be subjected to more extensive research.

Like so many of the pioneer studies of south Ethiopian languages, the first description of Zayse was the work of Enrico Cerulli. Il linguaggio degli Zaisse appears as Part IV of his Studi etiopici III (1938b). The work contains a great deal of etymological speculation, some of which is most interesting, but regretably the actual language material presented and the synchronic analysis of it fails to note some of the most salient features of the language. As in the case of the present writer, Cerulli's (1929) field-work was carried out in Addis Ababa; but unlike the present writer, whose informants were well educated young men with an excellent command of both Amharic and English, Cerulli's informants were slaves belonging to Shoan chiefs! (op cit vi). Memories of ones own experiences of the frustration and difficulty of eliciting accurate, consistent material from illiterate and uneducated informants, especially when ones time was limited, rob one of the right or desire to criticize this early work, and in the following description it will be referred to only when the discrepancies are such as to require it.

Contents:

§1.   PHONOLOGY:

§1.1. CONSONANTS:

    While the approach adopted here is not that of traditional phonemics,

it turns out to be the case that the inventory of fully specified segments

required at the systematic level is not very different from that which
would be set up in such an analysis. This inventory is set out in Table 1.
In addition to these the table lists separately a handful of incompletely
specified, or archiphonemic consonants. The various arguments leading to
the establishment of these appear in §1.5.

Table 1

fully specified segments:

b	d	ż	ǰ	g	
p	t	ṡ	č	k	
b'	d'	ṡ'	č'	k'	ʔ
		s	š		h
		z	ž		

m		n
		l
		r

w			y

incompletely specified segments:

S	Š
Z	Ž

N

§1.1.1. NOTES ON THE PHONETIC REALIZATION OF THE CONSONANTS:

The following notes concern the pronunciation of the fully specified
consonants of Table 1.

1.   p is regularly subject to two rules affecting its contextual

realization:

(a) Word-initially p may undergo an optional spirantization to

[f] , e.g.

[f]ód'i / [pʰ]ód'i   *it bubbled up*

[f]últo / [pʰ]últo   *spring of water*

(b) Between non-nasal sonorants p undergoes obligatory spirantization to [f], e.g.

ʔáa[f]e   *eye*

ša[f]é   *water-hole, water-course*

dúl[f]i   *(he) punched*

nar[f]é   *needle*

In all other contexts p is realized as a lightly aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive, e.g.

hém[pʰ]elo   *light – in weight*

ʔizú[pʰ]   *six*

Geminate pp is always [p:ʰ], never [f:]; see also §1.1.2.

2. While the pronunciation of d and t involves a dental articulation, that of d' is alveolar.

3. As in the case of p when it is not subject to spirantization, the realization of the other voiceless plain stops (t, ṡ, č, k) usually involves aspiration, though this is not very pronounced when the stop follows a nasal or liquid.

4. The voiced glottalized stops (b', d') are generally implosive, and the voiceless ones (ṡ', č', k') are ejective.

5. ẓ, ṡ and ṡ' constitute a "non-palatal" affricated stop series, which, unless affected by deglottalization (see §1.6.4) have the realizations [d͡z], [t͡sʰ], [t͡s'] respectively.

6. č, ǰ, č', š and ž are all palato-alveolars. The first three are affricated stops, and the last two are fricatives, i.e. [t͡ʃʰ], [d͡ʒ], [t͡ʃ'], [ʃ] and [ʒ] respectively. Though not a common sound, ž does appear in a handful of frequently occurring words, e.g.

žillá   *green, blue,*

žóoššeso   *name of a village*

č'ážo   *permanent spring of water*

mooží   *(he) felt cold*

7.   The voiced affricated stops ẑ and ǰ are both very rare. The
latter has been recorded in three words that are judged to be loans,[10]
and for two of these there are alternative pronunciations, e.g.

  muǰále / mužále / muyále *jigger-flea,* cf. Amh. *muyale*

  ǰabána / žabána   *coffee-pot,* cf. Amh. *ǰäbäna*

  č'áj̆je   *mead,* cf. Amh. *t'ǟĵǰ*

As for ẑ , it occurs (twice) in one word, viz.

  ʔoẑẑóẑo   *steep section of hillside*

There are few other occurrences of voiced affricated stops but these
all follow nasals or liquids and are interpreted as realizations of
the archiphonemes Z and Ž ; see §1.5.

§1.1.2. GEMINATE CONSONANTS:

    It is probably true to say that there are phonologically long
congeners for all the fully specified consonants shown in Table 1, with the
exception of ʔ, h and r, which seem likely to be systematic non-
occurrences.[11] The corpus actually contains no instance of ww either, but
w is in general a rare phoneme, so that **ww may perhaps be only an
accidental gap. Although minimal pairs do not appear to be especially
frequent, consonant length is in no way predictable, and is, therefore,
lexically significant, as in the following:

    boobbé *potato;* dóbes *python;* ʔooddó *baboon;* hóode *weeds;*

    ʔoẑẑóẑo *steep section of hillside;* d'íggo *stool, chair;*

    dogé *waterbuck;* gáappo *puff-adder;* kapó *bird;* hátte *now;*

    k'até *part of compound where people and animals live;* kássa

    grain, food; bíiša *uterus;* šíčča *parched grain;* ʔečé *rabbit;*

lekkó *honeycomb;* haakó *far;* šéb'b'o *crocodile;* ŝ'ab'ó
root, blood vessel; púd'd'e *flower;* kiid'é *wooden*
partition / wall; baaŝ'ŝ'ó *calabash for storing milk;*
baaŝ'á *chin, beard;* marǎč'č'e *intestines;* baač'é *sickle;*
laak'k'á *lamb, kid;* ʔok'aré *mud;* zeessé *whey;* kasé *rib(s);*
ʔilaššé *banana /ǝnsät leaf;* hašá *boil (it)!;* gazzé *dikdik;*
bazé *kidney(s);* góožži *'get drunk, go mad';* háže *'hunting-*
wasp'; ʔummaŝé *head-rest;* wošumá *paramour;* dunná *termite*
mound; búna *coffee;* ʔiillé *palm (tree);* ŝ'iló *kite;* báyya
run away!; wayé *ear.*

Realization of the geminate consonants involves a markedly longer
duration of the closure phase in all stops, except in the case of b'b' and
d'd', which are pronounced with strong preglottalization. All other
geminates (which are [+ continuant]) have a tenser articulation and are
durationally longer, e.g.

k'ó[t̠:ʰ]o   *haft of an axe/hoe,* cf. wóo[t̠ʰ]a *farming*

ʔí[t͡:s']a   *cut!,* cf. ʔí[t͡s']óttatin *I cut (past)*

šo[2ɓ]ó   *armpit,* cf. k'o[ɓ]óro *prickly-pear, candel-*
                                                 abra euphorbia

d'ó[l:]e   *dancing, jumping,* cf. mé[l]a *empty/dry thing*

§1.2. VOWELS:

There are five vowels, viz.

         i   u

            e   o

               a

The front and back mid vowels are generally realized with a tongue position
halfway between those for Cardinal Vowels 2 & 3 and 6 & 7 respectively.

Each vowel has a phonologically distinct durationally longer counter-
part which in addition has a somewhat tenser articulation. In the case of

the long mid vowels the tongue positions are raised relative to those for
the corresponding short vowels. Except in word-final position (see §1.4.),
vowel length contrasts are extremely common, though as in the case of con-
sonants, word pairs which are differentiated solely in terms of vowel length
do not appear very commonly in the corpus, e.g.

biič'í *urinate;* dič'č'í *grow, increase;* kéesìr *houses;*

kési *go out;* láafa *weak, tired;* láfa *side;* dóosˋ *neighbour;*

dósˋ *point;* č'uuččé *louse;* č'učč *saliva.*

§1.3. THE INTERPRETATION OF LENGTH:

Insofar as long consonants are subject to exactly the same distri-
butional restrictions within words as clusters of consonants (see §1.4.) an
analysis of them as geminates (i.e., as sequences of two segments) is
preferable to one that would treat them as single ([+long]) segments. This
requires recognition in the phonotactic statements made about the possible
types of consonant sequences in clusters; see §1.4. The comparison with
clusters cannot be extended to other areas, however, for there are
alternations of consonant length in certain verb stems which makes it appear
that in some instances gemination has to be regarded as morphological;
see §2.6.1.1. Moreover, word-finally geminates undergo degemination (see
§1.6.3.), whereas word-final clusters of (dissimilar) consonants remain in
intact.

A geminate analysis of consonants predisposes us to extend a 'two
segment' analysis to long vowels as well. For the purposes of this
preliminary description of Zayse, it will be convenient to refer to
durationally long vowels simply as 'long vowels' and so reserve the term
'geminate' for long consonants.

§1.4. SURFACE PHONOTACTICS:

This section is concerned with some observed facts about segment
distribution together with the phonological interpretation of certain of them.

It seems that for Zayse all phonotactic statements can be made most concisely with reference either to stems or to words, rather than to any lower level phonological unit such as the syllable.[12]

Unless beginning with some other consonant, words are analysed as having an initial glottal stop. This is very obvious when words are uttered in isolation, and even in connected, speech vowels separated by word boundaries seem to resist crasis, and an audible glottal stop or hiatus is common.

There appear to be restrictions on the occurrence of geminate consonants. Phonetically long consonants occur only word-medially. Under-lyingly, however, it seems necessary for some words to set up (stem) final geminates. In the pronunciation of such words there does not seem to be very much difference in the duration of the final consonant from that in words which have underlying single final consonants. In suffixed forms of such words, however, the geminates are fully in evidence. Some examples are shown below.

underlying form	singular form	plural form	
ʔačč	ʔa[t͡ʃʰ]	ʔa[t͡ːʃʰ]ír	*teeth*
ʔiss	ʔi[s]	ʔi[sː]ír	*newly-wed(s)*
dóoš̬š̬	dóo[t͡s͡ʰ]	dóo[t͡ːs͡ʰ]ir	*neighbour(s)*

Although such final long consonants are commonly sibilants, as above, there are other cases where other consonant types are concerned. This is partic-ularly obvious in some of the numbers, e.g., ʔóy[d̬] *four* could be claimed to have final dd and ʔizú[pʰ] *six* to have final pp, for in their attributive forms, where a -i or -u suffix is added, or in their nominative forms, where a -i suffix is added, long consonants are clearly heard, e.g. ʔoy[d̬ː]ú tamm / ʔoy[d̬ː]í tamm *forty*, ʔizú[pːʰ]í hámátteen *six went;* see also §1.6.3. The short duration of all these final consonants in such words requires recognition of a rule of degemination for geminate consonants

in this position.

Word-final long vowels are comparatively rare, though as the following examples show, there is no phonotactically based reason for this e.g.

wúlʔaa *lowland;* bočáa *highland;* Kawlée *name of one of the "nine villages" of Zayse;* ʔáa *what?;* ʔóo *who?;* hóò *yes;* bugóò *let us clear the scrub!* (i.e., the 1st person plural inclusive jussive form of the verb).

The only two instances of word-initial consonant clusters that have been noted occur in the verb **g**wiid- *hit* and the noun k'wonŝ'á *dried meat,* and the second of these looks like a loan word, cf. Amh. k^w'ant'a *dried meat*[13]; otherwise consonant clusters occur only non-initially. All other observed consonant clusters, the vast majority of which contain only two members, conform to the surface phonotactic principle that within a cluster, segments occurring towards the right show a decrease in sonority, where sonority is defined in terms of the following hierarchy.

$$\text{glide} - \text{liquid} - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{nasal} \\ \text{fricative} \end{array} \right\} - \text{stop}$$

Some conditions have to be imposed on the generative capacity of this formula however, since clusters consisting of liquid + fricative do not seem to occur (apart from the [f] realization of p (see §1.1.1.; 1.(a), (b))); and h does not appear to occur either as the first or second member of any cluster. The following table shows some typical examples of two-member clusters.

Table 2

c^1 / c^2	liquid	nasal / fricative	stop
glide	mayró (1)	ʔaymá (2)	ʔoyčí (3)
	háwle (4)	bóorawnen (5)[14]	taybá (6)
		peyšá (7)	
		bóorawsen (8)[14]	
liquid		galmá (9)	tolkó (10)
		gárma (11)	bardó (12)
nasal or			ku[ŋ]ké (13)
fricative			go[m]bó (14)
			diškaró (15)
			pistá (16)

(Glosses: (1) *grasshopper;* (2) *kraal;* (3) *split sthg.;* (4) *stalks;*
(5) *will we bake?;* (6) *count!;* (7) *pass the day!;* (8) *will they bake?;*
(9) *type of tree* – Amh. *wanza;* (10) *hyaena;* (11) *lion;* (12) *dewlap;*
(13) *nose;* (14) *water-pot;* (15) *millet;* (16) *sprinkle!*)

It should be noted that according to the phonotactic patterns for
consonant clusters ʔ has to be reckoned as a stop, since it always occurs
as the rightmost member of a cluster. Thus: ʔitúmʔa *type of food prepared
from* ǝnsät; tinʔó *hearth;* šelʔé *small earthenware food-bowl;* wayʔí
listen; etc.

Only one type of three-member cluster has been noted. This is found
in the words kaystí *steal* and láysto *smallpox.* Words such as ʔóyč'č'i
ask; ʔoyččí *plait* and ʔayšší *accompany,* in which the leftmost member is
again y, are not uncommon.

The present analysis treats the occurrence of the high non-syllabic
vocoids within morpheme boundaries as glide "consonants", which seems
appropriate on account of the fact that no sequences of (dissimilar) vocoids
have been observed, viz. **ea, **eo, **oa, **oe, **ae, **ao. It is

evident, moreover, that certain sets of vowel + glide sequences derive from

underlying vowel + (high) vowel sequences created at morpheme boundaries;

see §1.6.2.

There are some rather curious distributional restrictions affecting

consonants in word-initial position. There are three consonants that appear

to be prohibited in this position, namely; r, s̃ and č. It may be added

that these restrictions do not appear to be confined to Zayse, and are in

evidence throughout Ometo.[15] It might seem possible to treat word-initial

[t͡s'] and [t͡ʃ'] as the contextual realizations of archiphonemes <s̃' : s̃>

and <č' : č> respectively. And perhaps, though with far less conviction,

one might treat initial [l] as the realization of an archiphoneme <l : r>.

This course has not been adopted here, however, and the non-occurrence of

r, s̃ and č word-initially is regarded simply as a case of defective

distribution.

§1.5. ARCHISEGMENTS:

A case is made out for treating the plain sibilants which follow

nasals or liquids within words as being underlyingly unspecified with

respect to the feature [± continuant]. In pronunciation such sibilants are

predictably affricated stops. The formula given in §1.4. and Table 2 showed

that fricatives do not follow nasals, and as a condition on that formula it

was further pointed out that with the exception of the surface [f]

realizations of p (in words such as dúl[f]i *punch* and nar[f]é *needle;*

see §1.1.1.; 1.(a), (b)), fricatives do not follow liquids either. Fricatives

however may follow glides and precede stops. It would seem then that a

slightly more abstract but more adequate formula for consonant clusters would

be as follows.

$$\text{glide} - \begin{Bmatrix} \text{liquid} - \text{nasal} - \text{obstruent} \\ \text{fricative} - \text{stop} \end{Bmatrix}$$

The occurrence of liquid / nasal + affricated stop sequences such as those

in the following words

buraN[t͡s]á *winnow!;* ʔár[t͡s]a *bed;* ʔal[t͡s]í *finish;*

haN[d͡z]ó *today;* már[d͡z]e *poison;* gaaN[t͡ʃ]é *stomach;*

bír[t͡ʃ]e *loose;* ʔaN[d͡ʐ]í *praise;* ból[d͡ʐ]e *type of*

bread; Bur[d͡ʐ]é *Burji person.*

and the non-occurrence of the liquid / nasal + fricative sequences **N[s],

**r[s], **l[s], **N[z], **r[z], **l[z], **N[ʃ], **r[ʃ], **l[ʃ],

**N[ʐ], **r[ʐ], and **l[ʐ] is seen as the surface consequences of an

underlying neutralization of the stop : fricative opposition in obstruents in

these contexts.[16] Accordingly, an archisegmental interpretation has been

adopted here, viz. S (= <ŝ : s>), Z (= <ẑ : z>), Š (= <č̂ : š>),

Ž (= <ĵ : ž>).

Moreover, an archisegmental interpretation is proposed to account for

the predictability of place of articulation of nasals preceding obstruents.

Thus the phonetic segments in words such as za[m]bála *tall, long;*

še[m]pó *soul, life;* bóʔi[n]te *knee;* galú[n]da *yellow;* wuzzí[n]ŝ'e

fly; č'u[n̊]č'ále *ant;* pa[ŋ]gé *wing;* kaara[ŋ]kó *bat* and bo[ŋ]k'í

snatch away are best regarded as realizations of an archisegment N which is

unspecified as to place of articulation. It should be noted, however, that

before a glottal stop the two fully specified nasal phonemes m and n contrast

(just as they do word-initially and intervocalically); thus, gu[m]ʔí *squeeze*

and za[n]ʔé *outside.*

§1.6. PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES:

§1.6.1. U-EPENTHESIS:

Comparison of alternations in suffixes reveals a surprisingly high

number of cases in which an u vowel alternates with zero. (In the following

examples, the u in question is underscored.) e.g.

(a) The affirmative declarative copula: -utte ~ -tte (cf. §2.5.). e.g.

noun		noun + copula
kaná	*dog*	kanátte
ʔoollô	*horse*	ʔoollôtte
sóoge	*salt*	sóogétte
gáʔašš	*wart-hog*	gáʔaš<u>š</u>utte

(b) The affirmative interrogative copula: -uwa ~ -wa (cf. §2.5.) e.g.

noun		noun + copula
tolkô	*hyaena*	tolkôwa
gárma	*lion*	gármáwa
šóoš	*snake*	šóoš<u>ú</u>wa
tolkír	*hyaenas*	tolkir<u>ú</u>wa

(c) The Direct Object marker (restricted to personal pronouns; cf. §2.4.1.):
-una ~ -na ~ -a. e.g.

pronoun base		pronoun + marker
ta-	*I*	tána
ne-	*you*	néna
ʔes-	*he*	ʔésa
wut-	*you(p)*	wút<u>una</u>
ʔus-	*they*	ʔús<u>una</u>

(d) The Indirect Object marker (restricted to personal pronouns; cf.
§2.4.1.): -uro ~ -ro. e.g.

pronoun base		pronoun + marker
ta-	*I*	táaro
nu-	*we(inc)*	núuro
ʔes-	*he*	ʔés<u>uro</u>
ʔis-	*she*	ʔís<u>uro</u>

(e) The postposition -us ~ -s *to, for* (cf. §2.1.4.3.). e.g.

noun		noun + postposition
haré	*donkey*	harés
ʔóok'k'aro	*frog*	ʔóok'k'aros
waaNŠá	*calabash*	waaNŠás
dóbes	*python*	dóbesus
méeNS	*barren animal*	méeNSus

(f) The postposition -unna ~ -nna *with, by means* of (cf. §2.1.4.3.).

e.g.

noun		noun + postposition
kalló	*stick*	kallónna
súge	*rope*	súgénna
súuš̀	*blood*	súušúnna

(g) The postposition -uga ~ -ga *into* (cf. §2.1.4.3.). e.g.

noun		noun + postposition
waašé̀	*water*	waašé̀ga
wulá	*hole*	wulága
keeš̀	*house*	keeš̀úga

(h) The numbers *2-4:* ∅ ~ -u / -i (cf. §2.3.). e.g.

counting form		modifying form
namʔ	*two*	namʔí / namʔú
hayš̀	*three*	hayš̀í / hayš̀ú
ʔoydd	*four*	ʔoyddí / ʔoyddú

What is the nature of this vowel? If we were to set up the
phonological forms of the various suffixes / clitics considered in cases (a),
(b), (e), (f), and (g) with underlying u, we should have to explain why u
in all these cases fails to undergo gliding when the suffix in question is
attached to a vowel-final noun stem (cf. §1.6.2.). However, since in these
cases u appears only when the suffix is attached to a (otherwise) consonant-

final noun, it could be argued that u is an underlying TV, which surfaces

only when followed by a consonant-initial suffix. But, none of the other

TVs behave in this way. Moreover, consideration of the following word, in

which the copula follows the -s benefactive postposition shows that u

now appears twice, viz.

kees̲u̲s̲ṳtte

It is for a house

This is surely best explained in terms of epenthesis.

The distribution of u in the two object markers (cases (c) and (d))

seem to follow the principle that unless a vowel ends the pronoun form,

then u appears between it and the suffix. Thus, although morphological

factors enter into the matter, the distribution of u in these forms is just

the same as that seen in the cases of the nouns, i.e., it separates a stem-

final consonant or a consonant-final element added to a stem from any

addition which begins with a consonant.

The addition of u in case (h) could be seen as providing a tone-

bearing element for the High tone of the associative construction. This

process seems to be confined to numbers, since unaccented consonant-final

nouns such as s̀'ooz *shamam* or ʔas̀ *man* do not do this; see the

discussion of such items in §1.7. The alternative occurrence of i probably

represents the retention of an earlier feature (see Hayward 1987: 219ff.);

it seems, however, that older i is being replaced by the new general

epenthetic vowel u.

In addition to the preceding, it should be noted that the regular

passive and causative stem-extensions in the verb contain u, i.e., -utt

and -uss / -us respectively (cf. §2.6.1.2.); yet there is evidence from

the retention in a few words of older passive and causative suffixes (as

well as from comparative considerations) that the present situation, in

which the stem-extensions contain u, is an Ometo innovation.

§1.6.2. GLIDING:

When the high vowel i follows any other vowel, it becomes a glide,

e.g.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

ʔayma + i   →   ʔaym[aj]

kraal   *nom.*

doro + i   →   dor[ɔj]

ewe   *nom.*

ʔibiše + i   →   ʔibiš[ɛj]

door   *nom.*

ʔaNde + is   →   ʔaNd[ɛj]s

when?   *3fs pron.*

ʔaNš'u + in   →   *aNš'[uj]n

how many?   *1p.exc.pron.*

</div>

Gliding also occurs when the high vowel u follows any vowel lower than

itself. The process is only obligatory, however, when the preceding vowel

is a ; with other vowels, various assimilations may take place, e.g.

<div style="margin-left:2em">

ʔana + us   →   ʔan[aw]s

where?   *3p pron.*

ʔoode + un   →   ʔood[ɛw]n /ʔood[u:]n

who?   *1p inc. pron.*

ʔaNš' gidallo + us →   ʔaNš' gidall[ɔw]n /gidall[o:]n

how   *much*   *3p pron.*

</div>

but note:

<div style="margin-left:2em">

waydi + un   →   wayd[u:]n

how?   *1p inc. pron.*

</div>

Except where it has been thought desirable to draw attention to the

process, the practice throughout this paper has been to transcribe the

underlying vowel rather than the surface glide.

An important exception to gliding has to be noted in the case of the copula -tte, where truncation of the final e occurs before any following vowel (cf. §2.5.).

§1.6.3. DEGEMINATION:

Word-finally geminates are reduced to a single consonant. This process gives rise to numerous alternations between single and geminate stem-final consonants, the geminate occurring before a vowel in a suffix, e.g.

singular	plural	
ʔi[s]	ʔi[s:]ír	*newly-wed(s)*
ʔa[t͡ʃ]	ʔa[t͡:ʃ]ír	*tooth/teeth*
dóo[t͡s]	dóo[t͡:s]ir	*neighbour(s)*

It should be noted that degemination, which is a regular phonological process, has to be distinguished sharply from the morphological alternation involving gemination seen in certain verb stems (cf. §2.6.1.1.).

In accordance with the slightly abstract transcription employed throughout the study, stem-final geminates are transcribed.

§1.6.4. DEGLOTTALIZATION:

Word-final s̀' loses its glottalic airstream feature, and is pronounced like its plain counterpart s̀. Not many cases of deglottalization have been observed, although it does seem to be a regular phonological process and should certainly be distinguished from morphologically significant alternations such as those described in §2.6.1.2., e.g.

plural	plural + nominative	
ʔaNgussáa[t͡s]	ʔaNgussaa[t͡s']í	*elder kinsmen*
baráa[t͡s]	baraa[t͡s']í	*younger kinswomen*

(cf. also §2.1.2. and §2.4.2.).

§1.6.5. PALATAL HARMONY:

The phenomenon described here is the Zayse reflex of something that I believe to have been a feature of Proto-Omotic (see Hayward, 1988: 287). In

certain other languages of the family the present-day effects of Palatal

Harmony is much more pervasive than in Zayse.

Palatal Harmony has a static aspect in terms of a phonotactic constraint

across a root to the effect that cooccurring sibilants harmonize with respect

to palatality. Thus, roots such as the following are quite common,

non-palatal: maŝ'aŝ'-á *sweet potato;* zeess-é *whey;* suuŝ

blood; zorzór-o *backbone;* ŝ'ooz *shaman;* zaaŝŝ- *lead;*

soŝ'- *hang (tr.);* ʔožžóž-o *precipice;* etc.

palatal: šóoš *snake;* č'uuč'-é *chick;* č'áž-o *spring;*

ʔišíč *five;* žašš- *fear;* č'iraš-ó *oxpecker;* žiičč-é *ring;* etc.

while hypothetical root combinations such as **sač-; **č'az-; **šooŝ-;

**zučč-; etc. are not only unattested but deemed to be ill-formed.

A dynamic (assimilatory) aspect of palatal harmony is observed within

verb stems containing the causative stem-extensions, the regular suffixes of

which are underlying -us and -aŝ. These have optional palatal alternants

(i.e., with [ʃ] and [t͡ʃ] respectively) when a root ends in a palatal

sibilant, e.g.

causative stems in -us: paač'-u[ʃ]-/paač'-u[s]- *cause*

to become less, take away from; gaač'-u[ʃ]-/gaač'-u[s]-

cause to grind.

causative stems in -aŝ: haš-a[t͡ʃ]-/haš-a[t͡s]- *boil (tr.);*

ʔoyč-a[t͡ʃ]-/ʔoyč-a[t͡s]- *cause to twist.*

It is noted, however, that palatal harmony is not triggered by root-initial

palatal sibilants, e.g.

č'ad-u[s]- (**č'ad-u[ʃ]-) *cause to pound/stab;*

žaad'-a[t͡s]- (**žaad'-a[t͡ʃ]-) *cause to clarify.*

(cf. §2.6.1.2.1.).

§1.7. ACCENT AND TONE:

Like a number of other languages of the Horn of Africa, Zayse is best

considered as a tonal accent language.[17] From the point of view of phonology what this means is that prominence has to be regarded as culminative or syntagmatic. From a phonetic point of view what it means is that prominence is signalled by a higher pitch on the syllable(s) where it is realized without either any obvious accompaniments of increased intensity or duration or much obvious interaction with sentence prosodies (i.e., intonation) – as would be the case in a language with stress accent. This last characteristic will result in the pitch melody of a sentence being almost entirely predictable from a knowledge of the pitch properties of the words of which it is composed; hence the similarity of such languages to 'true' tone languages. However, one thing that differentiates such a system from that of a stereotypical tone language is the fact that obvious constraints are imposed on the occurrence of one of the tones. In the case of Zayse, it is the High tone which is so constrained. One result of this is that in tonal accent languages there are far fewer lexical contrasts than might be expected. Indeed the surface melodies that do occur can typically be analysed as realizations of a very small number of patterns (frequently just one), and the only lexically determined variability relates to the location of one of the tones (usually the marked one). It is the restricted nature of the location of this tone that gives such languages their common ground with languages having stress, and it is this that points up the desirability of an accentual analysis.

The foregoing delineation of tonal accent languages fits Zayse very well providing we restrict our attention to the pitch features of words uttered in isolation. For example, the surface pitch configurations found on nouns in isolation are just five, no matter how many syllables[18] are present in the word. Thus:

1. Relatively low level pitch throughout:

    This configuration is confined to monosyllables, e.g.

    [____]

    s̀'ooz   *shaman (abs.)*

    [__]

    barS   *younger kinsman (abs.)*

2. Relatively high level pitch throughout:

    This pitch configuration is confined to monosyllables and disyllables,

    e.g.

    [—]

    šooš   *snake (abs.)*

    [— ˉ]

    šooši   *snake (nom.)*

    [⎯]

    garma   *lion (gen.)*

    [⎯⎯]

    biina[j]   *mosquito (nom.)*

The remaining three surface pitch configurations are confined to polysyllabic

words.

3. Relatively low level followed by higher level pitch:

    e.g.

    [‿ ˉ]

    paNge   *wing (abs.)*

    [___ ˉ]

    kaaraNko   *bat (abs.)*

    [___ _ ˉ]

    kaaraNkiri   *bats (nom.)*

4. Relatively high level followed by lower level pitch:

  e.g.

[⎯ ⌣]

  garma   *lion (abs.)*

[⎯   ⎯]

  ʔook'k'aro   *frog (abs.)*

[⎺ ⎽ ⎽]

  dobesi   *python (nom.)*

[⎺ ⎽ ⎯ ⎽]

  dobesirutte   *pythons (cop.)*

                             i.e., *(they) are pythons*

5. Relatively high level pitch flanked by lower level pitch:

  e.g.

[⌣ ⎯ ⌣]

  horook'e   *hippopotamus (abs.)*

[⌣ ⎯ ⎯]

  horook'iri   *hippopotami (nom.)*

[⌣ ⎺ ⎺ ⌣]

  horook'ette   *hippopotamus (cop.), i.e., (it) is*

                             a hippopotamus

[⎯   ⎺ ⌣]

  kaaraNkotte   *bat (cop.), i.e., (it) is a bat*

[⎯   ⎽ ⎺ ⌣]

  kaaraNkirutte   *bats (cop.), i.e., (they) are bats*

[⌣ ⎺ ⎯ ⎽]

  ʔišičirutte   *fives (cop.), i.e., (they) are fives*

Considering that morphologically complex forms of nouns are very commonly up to five syllables in length, it will be obvious that for there to be only these five surface pitch configurations, some strongly restrictive

principles must be at work. Even a cursory examination of inflected forms of nouns (cf. the various forms for *bat*, *lion* and *hippopotamus* cited above) makes it clear that morphological factors enter into the determination of the pitch melody found on a word. The same is also true in the case of verb forms, e.g.

[‿ ⌐ ‿ ‿]

  ʔerattesen   *he will know*

[‿ ⌒ ‿ ‿]

  ʔerendi-baʔe   *he will not know*

[‿ ⁻ ‿ ‿]

  ʔeri-dokkit   *do not know!* (pl.)

[⁻ ‿ ‿]

  ʔerasen   *will he know?*

Before considering how this should be analysed, we need to take stock of a further matter. It was expressly stated above that the phenomena described are only encountered when the words concerned are uttered in isolation. When words appear in longer contexts, it becomes clear that the appearance of any stretch of high level pitch is a once-per-phrase event. Moreover, such occurrences are very commonly (though not exclusively) limited to the first word of the phrase. It is thus clear that when words are uttered in isolation they generally have the surface pitch contour of a one word phrase. Some examples are:

[‿ ⁻ ‿ ‿ ‿]   [‿ ⁻ ‿]

  tolko mek'ete   *a hyaena's bone*, cf. mek'ete

[‿ ⁻ ‿ ‿]   [‿ ⁻]

  namʔu tolkir   *two hyaenas*, cf. tolkir

[⁻ ‿ ‿ ‿]   [‿ ⁻][‿ ⁻]

  ta kana piŝo   *my dog's tail*, cf. kana; piŝo

[‿ ⌐ ‿ ‿]   [‿ ⌐]

   yewe ʔaìsi   *a man who came..., cf. ʔaìsi*

                                           man (nom.)

[‿ ⌐ ——— ‿ ‿]

   zigine yewe ʔaìsi   *a man who came yesterday...*

[⌐ ‿ ‿]

   bugi-dokkit   *do not clear (scrub)! (pl)*

[‿ ⌐ ‿ ‿]

   ʔerendi-baʔe   *he will not know*

Earlier it was stated that in a tonal accent language the total pitch pattern of a sentence could be predicted by taking account of the accentual properties of the component words of the sentence. However, as we have just witnessed, Zayse does not meet this expectation. To the extent that strings longer than words have to be reckoned with, it could be argued that this language is typologically closer to stress accent languages, where some sorts of accentual reduction/suppression are characteristically sensitive to syntactic structure. The analysis proposed here to account for the pitch patterns of phrases in Zayse is essentially an Autosegmental one and follows fairly closely that proposed for another Ethiopian language, Qafar, in which tonal accent again has a phrasal, rather than a word-sized, domain (see Parker & Hayward,1985: 218ff.).

The analysis comprises two sets of operations. The first of these concerns the classification of morphemes with respect to the presence and location of the accent.[19] Without entering into the actual details of the classification (for which see §2.1.1.and §2.6.2.1.), the broadest observation is that morphemes are either accented or unaccented. With respect to the location of the accent two positions may need to be distinguished: stem-final (SF) and pre-stem-final (PSF). (The stem is reckoned to include everything up to the last (non-inflectional) consonant; i.e., it does not include the

Terminal Vowel; see §2.1.1.). As the terms employed suggest, this distinction is only of relevance for lexemes; the majority of grammatical formatives are single syllable or single segment elements and so do not offer a choice in this matter. Moreoever, it is not really clear yet whether a SF : PSF distinction for accentual location is required for verbs (see §2.6.2.1.). Accentual presence and location is lexical and, in accordance with the customary practice in Autosegmental Phonology, is marked with an asterisk (cf. Goldsmith, 1976).

The second set of operations in the analysis concerns the tonal melody. For Zayse, it is generally only necessary to recognise one element, namely a High tone (H), which is assigned (post-lexically) on a basis of one per phonological phrase. In the present analysis all other (lower pitched) tones are assigned by a default rule which applies after the association of the phrasal H.[20] The rules associating the phrasal H with the segmental phonic material are as follows:

> i. The H tone is associated with the first (leftmost) accented syllable in the phonological phrase, except if there is a sequence of two accented syllables in the same word. In this case, H becomes associated with both, i.e., it spreads to the second accented syllable.

> ii. If a phonological phrase contains no accented morphemes, H is associated with the final post-thematic syllable of the first (leftmost) word having any syllable(s) at this position of structure.

At some later point, lower pitch is assigned to all other syllables, even if they are underlyingly accented. These rules may be formalized as follows:

> i.
>
> $$\begin{matrix} & H & & & & H \\ & | & & & & \Lambda \\ [_\phi \ldots \overset{*}{\sigma} \ldots]_\phi & & & & [_\phi \ldots \overset{*}{\sigma}\ \overset{*}{\sigma} ..]_\phi \end{matrix}$$

ii.

$$\overset{\displaystyle H}{\underset{\displaystyle [_\phi \ [_\omega \ [_\theta \quad]_\theta \ ...\overset{*}{\sigma} \ ]_\omega \ ...]_\phi}{\Big|}}$$

(In these representations, " $[_\phi \quad]_\phi$ ", "$[_\theta \quad]_\theta$", and "$[_\omega \quad]_\omega$" indicate the boundaries of phonological phrases, stems, and phonological words respectively; "σ" symbolizes a syllable.)

The following phrases exemplify the analysis. Some of the examples presented here were considered previously for the purpose of illustrating their surface pitch features.

<u>unexpanded phrases</u>:

SF accent:

$$\overset{\displaystyle H}{\underset{\displaystyle [_\phi \ [_\omega \ [_\theta \quad hor\overset{*}{o}ok' \ ]_\theta \ e \ ]_\omega \ ]_\phi}{\Big|}}$$

hippopotamus (abs.)

$$\overset{\displaystyle H}{\underset{\displaystyle [_\phi \ [_\omega \ [_\theta \quad hor\overset{*}{o}ok' \ ]_\theta \ ir - \overset{*}{i} \ ]_\omega \ ]_\phi}{\Big|}}$$

pl. nom.
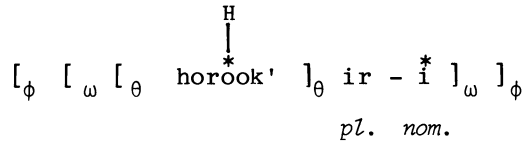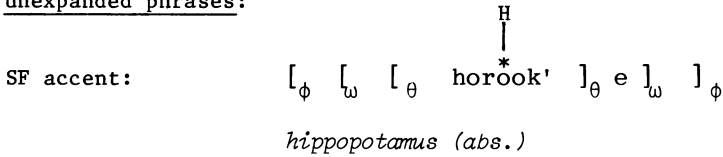
hippopotami (nom.)

$$\overset{\displaystyle H}{\underset{\displaystyle [_\phi \ [_\omega \ [_\theta \quad \overset{*}{s}oo\overset{*}{s} \ ]_\theta \ \overset{*}{i} \ ]_\omega \ ]_\phi}{\Big|}}$$

nom.

snake (nom.)

unaccented:

$$\overset{\displaystyle H}{\underset{\displaystyle [_\phi \ [_\omega \ [_\theta \quad kaaraNk \ ]_\theta \ o \ ]_\omega \ ]_\phi}{\Big|}}$$

bat (abs.)

$$\overset{\displaystyle H}{\underset{\displaystyle [_\phi \ [_\omega \ [_\theta \quad hamm \ ]_\theta \ a - it \ ]_\omega \ ]_\phi}{\Big|}}$$

imp. pl.
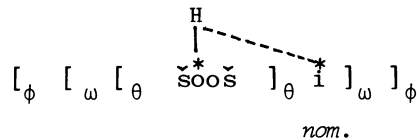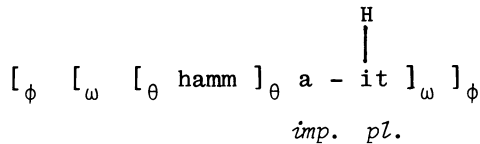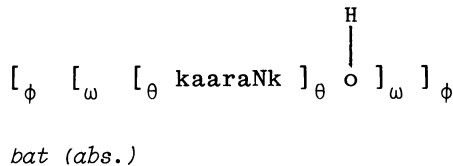
go! (pl.)   (→ hamm[áj]t; see §1.6.2.)

expanded phrases:

SF accent in first word

$$[_\phi \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{zig\'in} \;]_\theta \; \text{e} \;]_\omega \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{y\'ew} \;]_\theta \text{e} \;]_\omega \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{?a\`s} \;]_\theta \; \overset{*}{\text{i}} \;]_\omega \;]_\phi$$

      yesterday   *he came*   *man*   *nom.*

the man (nom.) who came yesterday

$$[_\phi \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{b\'ug} \;]_\theta \; \overset{*}{\text{i}} \;]_\omega \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{dokk} \;]_\theta \; \text{it} \;]_\omega \;]_\phi$$

       clear scrub   *neg.*   *pl.*

Do not clear scrub! (pl.)

$$[_\phi \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{hor\'ook'} \;]_\theta \; \overset{*}{\text{e}} \;]_\omega \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{t\'uk} \;]_\theta \; \text{e} \;]_\omega \;]_\phi$$

       hippopotamus + gen.   *leg*

leg of a hippopotamus (abs.)

First word unaccented (with post-thematic syllable(s)):

$$[_\phi \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{y\`ew} \; ]_\theta \; \text{e} \; ]_\omega \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \text{?a\`s} \;]_\theta \; \text{ir} - \overset{*}{\text{i}} \;]_\omega \;]_\phi$$

       he came   *man*   *pl.*   *nom.*

(the) people who came

First word unaccented (without post-thematic syllable(s)):

$$[_\phi \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{\`s'ooz} \;]_\theta \;]_\omega \; [_\omega \; [_\theta \; \text{?ap\'ill} \;]_\theta \; \text{a} \;]_\omega \;]_\phi$$

       shaman + gen.   *garment*

a shaman's clothing / garment (abs.)

Unaccented words (only second word has a post-thematic syllable):

$$\text{[}_\phi \quad \text{[}_\omega \quad \text{[}_\theta \text{ š'ooz]}_\theta \text{]}_\omega \text{ [}_\omega \quad \text{[}_\theta \text{ maNg]}_\theta \overset{\overset{\text{H}}{|}}{\text{o}} \text{]}_\omega \text{]}_\phi$$

    shaman + gen.   power

a shaman's power (abs.)

Especially illuminating are phrases in which no word is accented and where
no word has a post-thematic syllable.[21] In such cases H cannot be associ-
ated and so receives no phonetic realisation, with the result that the phrase
has uniform low pitch. e.g.

$$\text{H}$$

$$\text{[}_\phi \quad \text{[}_\omega \quad \text{[}_\theta \text{ š'ooz]}_\theta \text{]}_\omega \text{ [}_\omega \quad \text{[}_\theta \text{ keeš]}_\theta \text{]}_\omega \text{]}_\phi$$

    shaman + gen.   house

a shaman's house (abs.)

    Further exemplification and discussion of the details of tonal accent
appears in subsequent sections. For the present, just three matters call
for some consideration.

    The first matter concerns the term "phonological phrase". At the
risk of presenting a circular argument, the phonological phrase in Zayse has
to be defined as the domain of one High tone. To a certain degree, phonolo-
gical phrases coincide with phrases as defined by the syntax, so to this ex-
tent, they are independently motivated. This is true in the case of all
non-embedded NP's and P(ostpositional)P's. Embedded phrases and phrases
contained in embedded clauses seem to behave just like any other constituent
of the matrix phrase with respect to the association of the H tone; and this
behaviour confirms the impression that the H tone association operates in a
domain delimited by a relatively superficial (phonological) bracketing. It
is in the VP that the matter becomes complicated and seems positively to
require recognition of a distinct "phonological phrase" entity. As regards
the occurrence of H, a VP that consists of a verb and its complement is

capable of behaving in two ways. In one case, we find that the verb and its complement phrase each has a H associated with it, i.e., each behaves as an independent unit for purposes of tone, and in the other case we find just one occurrence of H for the entire VP. It is suggested that this duality of tonal phrasing correlates with focus (cf. §3.2.). When some NP or PP is focussed (and it may well be a complement of the verb), the following verb is treated as a single unit with it in the assignment of phrasal H tones, but when this is not the case (i.e., in instances of neutral focus), each constituent is independently assigned a H tone. The behaviour of the copula is instructive here. Intuitively, it seems plausible to suggest that the complement of the copula in equative sentences is always focussed.[22] One result of this is that the copula has become enclitic (cf. §2.5.).

The third matter that needs to be mentioned concerns intonation. Earlier in this section, the point was made that in the stereotypical tonal accent language, the pitch configuration of a sentence would be the sum of the pitch configurations of the words composing it. In such a language, there would be an absence of sentence (intonation) melodies of the kind typically found in languages exhibiting stress accent.[23] As the subsequent account has shown, Zayse does not conform entirely to the stereotype. Moreover, it deviates still further from the type in displaying some pitch features that cannot be explained within the descriptive apparatus outlined above. These anomalies appear in certain interrogative, negative, and jussive verb forms, and are discussed in §2.6.2.1. In view of the fact that such anomalous verb forms occur sentence-finally, it seems reasonable to suggest that the pitch behaviour found in them represents the emergence of sentence-final prosodic features.[24]

Finally, it is necessary to make clear the conventions employed in this study for the representation of accent and tone. Except in those cases where it is of descriptive relevance to distinguish accent (indicated by an

asterisk) from the phrasal H tone, only the latter will be represented, and this will be indicated by means of an acute accent located on the (first) vowel letter of the syllable.

§1.8. COMPARISON WITH THE EARLIER ACCOUNT OF ZAYSE PHONOLOGY:

There are certain matters in which the foregoing account of the phonology differs from Cerulli, 1938b. The inventory of consonants listed in the 1938 work is claimed only to be phonetic, so that the inclusion of f and f^h (= [ɸ] ?) as well as p there (which are all treated as contextual variants here) is perfectly in order. Moreover, the fact that that work does not note the existence of b' or ż is not surprising, for both these sounds are rare – ż especially so. It is surprising, however, that the pho-netic difference between [t͡sʰ] and [t͡s'] was not noted. There are many items transcribed with a digraph ts, and since this is said to correspond to t' (as found in a language such as, presumably, Wolaitta) (Cerulli, 1938b: 179), it may be inferred that Cerulli used it to represent the ejective affricate. However, in non-initial positions, it is phonologically necessary to differ-entiate this from the plain affricate, i.e., ŝ. Perhaps the most serious discrepancy between the earlier work and the present one concerns vowel length. Virtually the only cases where Cerulli indicates long vowels is in word-final position, where he marks nearly every vowel as long. It will be recalled (see §1.4.) that this is precisely the position where long vowels occur only rarely.

§2. NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR – FORMS:

§2.1. NOUNS:

§2.1.1. THE ABSOLUTIVE FORM AND ITS PROPERTIES:

The citation form of a singular noun, i.e., the form which is uttered in isolation, is identical to the form which occurs in direct object function. It is the entirely unmarked form, and will be referred to as the absolutive form. If we were to disregard accentual variation and concentrate only upon

segmental composition, it would be true to say that this the form which

occurs in every syntactic function except that of subject. Moreoever, the

range of tonal behaviour of any noun is entirely predictable once we know

the accentual pattern of the absolutive form.

From the point of view of their phonological structure in the abso-

lutive, there are two types of noun, namely, vowel-final and consonant-final

types. The Terminal Vowel (abbreviated to TV hereafter) of the first type

may only be e, a or o. Since in certain morphologically complex forms suf-

fixes replace the TV, the latter are best regarded as some sort of appendage

to, rather than part of, the root. However, the quality of the TV, i.e.,

whether it is e, a or o, is not predictable, so that it has obviously to be

included in the lexical entry. The great majority of nouns belong to this

first type, which is exemplified in the following.

lág-e	*friend*	búur-a	*influenza*
kább-e	*work*	bíiš-a	*after-birth*
k'úlp-e	*blister*	gorponn-á	*lungs*
gumár-e	*fist*	š'ibbin-á	*type of bread*
šúm-e	*mushroom*	ʔéel-o	*pond*
maay-é	*liver*	bíšš-o	*woman*
ʔummaš-é	*head-rest*	muš'ur-ó	*heart*
bam?-é	*dumplings*	k'ob'or-ó	*cactus*
saabb-á	*young man*	kays-ó	*thief*
laak'k'-á	*kid*	šaat-ó	*baby*
šaš-á	*tendon*	sin-ó	*forehead*
maš'aš'-á	*sweet potato*	č'iraš-ó	*oxpecker*

In the majority of cases, consonant-final nouns end in a sibilant,

though other consonants are also found finally - p, t, m, n, r, for example.

Simply to enter the bare citation form of a consonant-final noun would not

be adequate for lexical purposes, for with some nouns the addition of one or

other of the suffixes in morphologically complex forms would reveal that what
seemed to be a short final consonant was actually a long one. In explanation
of this, it has been assumed that the language has a phonological rule which
causes degemination of final geminate consonants (§1.6.3.). The single /
geminate status of a final consonant cannot, therefore, be decided from the
actual citation form. Elicitation of suffixed forms, such as the plural or
the nominative, however, shows the underlying status of the final consonant,
e.g.

absolutive	nominative	
ʔi[s]	ʔi[s:]í	*newly-wed*
dóo[t͡sʰ]	dóo[t:sʰ]í	*neighbour*
č'u[ɟ͡ʰ]	č'u[t:ʃʰ]í	*saliva*
ʔizú[pʰ]	ʔizú[p:ʰ]í	*six*
dóbe[s]	dóbe[s]i	*python*
máa[t͡sʰ]	máa[t͡sʰ]í	*milk*
ʔiší[ɟ͡ʰ]	ʔiší[ɟ͡ʰ]í	*five*

The following are further examples of consonant-final nouns:

gáʔaš	*warthog*	gooppós̀	*chameleon*
dás	*diarrhoea*	ʔas̀	*man, person*
méeNS	*barren animal*	s̀'ooz	*shaman*
ʔačč̌	*teeth*	góožiš	*drunkard*

In the matter of the location of accent, nouns fall into three types.
Accent may be: stem-final (SF), i.e., associated with the last syllable of
the stem; pre-stem-final (PSF), i.e., associated with some syllable preceding
the last stem syllable; unaccented (U). The accentual type of a noun may be
determined by direct inspection of the absolutive form. Consideration of the
following illustrative examples makes it clear that this threefold accentual
classification does not correlate in any way with the threefold distinction
observed in TV's; both are independent lexically determined properties of
nouns. e.g.

SF:	yís-e	*copulation*	hǎNŠ'-e	*part of compound for*
	k'asín-e	*elbow*		*keeping animals*
	ʔúpp-a	*small hill*	šíd-a	*honey*
	biŠ'ál-a	*bridle*	báz-o	*God*
	zír-o	*dawn*	ʔallék'-o	*proud person*
PSF:[25]	bóʔiNt-e	*knee*	hárguŠŠ	*wound*
	Lámad'-e	*people of*	k'úppaNS-a	*bladder*
		Lamad'a village	máačin-a	*woman*
	k'óloŠ'-o	*testicles*	pélleŠ'-o	*small type of deer*
	ʔóok'k'ar-o	*frog*		*(klipspringer ?)*
	púluNS	*grey hair*		
U:	pad'd'-é	*roof*	Š'eer-é	*goats (collectively)*
	k'alal-é	*type of gruel*	zall-á	*wall*
	ʔap-á	*sky*	ʔahuss-á	*story, anecdote*
	ʔad-ó	*salt-lick*	sooll-ó	*type of bread (i.e.,*
	wodor-ó	*rope*		*ɨnjära)*

This classification also proves to be relevant for consonant-final nouns. Elsewhere, I have argued that the consonant-final nouns of Zayse originally had a Terminal Vowel *-ɨ (Hayward, 1987), and the account of accent and tone given in §1.7. provides an explanation for why it is that the only "low-toned" nouns of the language are consonant-final. Under the view that such nouns are unaccented and that phrasal H tone can only associate with a post-thematic syllable in such nouns, we explain not only the anomaly of their having uniform low pitch but also the fact that when any suffix is added, the resulting pitch patterns become identical to those of vowel-final unaccented nouns. In addition to consonant-final nouns which are unaccented (the absolutive forms of which are low-tones), consonant-final nouns with SF and PSF accent also occur, e.g.

SF:	súNS	*name*	šóoš	*snake*
	ʔošíčč	*right hand*	máaš̀	*milk*
PSF:	dóbes	*python*	gáwaš̀	*greedy person*
	míččuč	*roasted meat*	bíša?	*girl*
U:	č'učč	*saliva*	barS	*younger kinsman*
	na?	*boy*	k'azaš̀	*beggar*

§2.1.1.1. SOME DERIVED NOUNS:

Various sets of nominal derivatives based on ethnic designations have been noted, viz.

gardúl *Gidole (D'irayta) people*

gardulás̀	*Gidole man*
gardulaš̀'ó	*Gidole woman*
gardulá	*Gidole territory*
gardulté	*Gidole language*

zargúl *Zargula people*

zargulás̀	*Zargula man*
zargulaš̀'ó	*Zargula woman*
zargulá	*Zargula territory*
zargulté	*Zargula language*

woláyš̀ *Wolaitta people*

woláyš̀aš̀	*Wolaitta man*
woláyš̀aš̀'o	*Wolaitta woman*
wolayš̀á	*Wolaitta territory*
wolayš̀ité	*Wolaitta language*

melé *Gemu people*

melás̀	*Gemu man*
melaš̀'ó	*Gemu woman*
melé	*Gemu territory*
meleté	*Gemu language*

góbbo   *people living on the far side of Lake Chammo*[26]

góbbaš	*Gobbo man*
góbbaš'o	*Gobbo woman*
góbboso	*Gobbo territory*
gobbeté	*Gobbo language*

?amará   *Amhara people*

?amáraš	*Amhara man*
?amáraš'o	*Amhara woman*
?amarté	*Amharic*

It seems likely that the names of the "nine villages" of Zayse are also derived from clan names of the traditional inhabitants, viz.

name of inhabitants	name of village
kaybánne	kaybanná
lámad'e	lámad'a
duur	duurá
kawlé	kawlée
mahélle	mahellá
monók'e	monok'á
dambílle	dambilléso
žóošše	žóoššeso
zuz / zuzá gera	zuzzáso

§2.1.2. NOUN PLURALS:

For all but one small set of nouns the plural is formed simply by suffixation of -ir. With consonant-final nouns this suffix is attached direct, but with vowel-final nouns it replaces the TV. -ir is an unaccented formative, so that it will be associated with the phrasal H tone only in the event of its being the final post-thematic syllable in the first word of a phonological phrase. e.g.

singular	plural	
waaNŠá	waaNŠír	*cup/s*
ʔárSa	ʔárSir	*bed/s*
kuNké	kuNkír	*nose/s*
ʔáape	ʔáapir	*eye/s*
tolkó	tolkír	*hyaena/s*
ʔóok'k'aro	ʔóok'k'arir	*frog/s*
šóoš	šóošir	*snake/s*
ʔérbas̀	ʔérbas̀ir	*liar/s*
karS	karSír	*black one/s*

One other plural formative has been noted: -aaš', but as far as nouns are concerned, this is restricted to terms denoting nuclear kin.[27] When this suffix comes word-finally (i.e., when no suffix follows it) the sibilant undergoes deglottalization (see §1.6.4.); the glottalized segment emerges in tact, however, in longer forms with suffixes. -aaš' has been recorded in the following:

singular	plural	
ʔaddá	ʔaddáa[t͡s]	*father/s*
ʔíNdo	ʔíNdaa[t͡s]	*mother/s*
ʔápa	ʔápaa[t͡s]	*grandmother/s*
ʔáNgo [28]	ʔáNgaa[t͡s]	*elder kinswoman/-en*
baró [28]	baráa[t͡s]	*younger kinswoman/-en*
ʔaNgussé	ʔaNgussáa[t͡s]	*elder kinsman/-en*
barS	barSáa[t͡s]	*younger kinsman/-en*

As in the case of -ir, H tone appears on the plural marker -aaš' only when the noun is unaccented (observe especially the forms of barS in the preceding examples. In addition to its occurrence in the plural forms of these nouns, the same plural suffix also occurs in the plural forms of the deictic pronouns (cf. §2.4.2.). The rarity of its occurrence suggests that this

formative is an archaism - an idea that supported by comparative evidence.[29]

§2.1.3. GENDER:

For the purposes of agreement, nouns fall into two categories. The smaller of the two classes consists only of nouns denoting animate males, and may, for that reason, be regarded as a "masculine gender". It is quite clearly the marked category. The default case for agreement includes nouns denoting female animates, and although it is not really appropriate to describe this as "feminine gender", for ease of reference, that term will be employed.[30] The categorization has no overt expression in the noun itself, but may emerge in the verb, where the selection of subject marking elements in certain verb forms has to agree with the gender of the NP head. This gender agreement may also emerge in the NP, where selection of the appropriate form of the referential determiner or definite article (cf. §2.4.2.1.) has to agree with the gender of the head. In the examples which follow, gender distinguishing elements are underscored; e = masculine, i = feminine.

ʔaší gelátte̲sin

a man entered

biššó[j] geláttḭsin

a woman entered

ʔi̲-waašɛ[j] géešóttḭsin

the water cleared

ʔe̲-haré[j] ʔadótte

the donkey is big

ʔi̲-keeší ʔadótte

the house is big

Zayse has nothing corresponding to the surface pleonastic *it* of English, but, as can be seen in the following examples, the predicates of sentences the English counterparts of which would appear with the pleonastic element have

the default (feminine) gender agreement, e.g.

> taná gumúršattisin
>
> *I was pleased   lit. (It) pleased me*
>
> táaro ló?ottis   biše
> *me-to   good-cop.-fem.   seemed*
>
> *It seemed good to me   lit. to me it is good that it seemed*
>
> ketáttisin
> *It dawned*
>
> móožáttisin
> *It got cold (of the weather)*
>
> žilláttisin
> *It became verdant (e.g., of the countryside)*

§2.1.4. CASE:

Noun heads generally stand final in their phrases, so that markers distinguishing syntactic functions of the NP generally appear on the heads (see, however, §3.2.). Before considering the marking of certain important functions such as that of subject (nominative) and possessor (genitive), attention is directed to some examples of NP's in object and nominal predicate functions, where the head appears in the absolutive forms (cf. §2.1.1.).

> gárma demáttetin
> *I saw a lion   cf.* **gárma** *lion*
>
> šída ?eettáttunin
> *we (exc.) brought honey cf.* **šída** *honey*
>
> ?úsini modó wórgáa ba?e
> *they do not want beer   cf.* **modó** *beer, ale-gruel*
>
> k'ástennattes   kapó gwiidin
> *bow-instr.-cop.-3ms   bird   hit*
>
> *It's with a bow that he hit the bird*

há[j] wuzzíNS'étte

this is a fly   *cf.* wuzzíNS'e *fly*

ʔisí méeNSútte

she is a barren cow   *cf.* méeNS *barren cow*

há[j] maNdarátte šin

this was a village   *cf.* maNdará *village*

For a discussion of the behaviour of the copular verb, which appears in the last three examples, see §2.5.

§2.1.4.1. NOMINATIVE:

The final word in a NP functioning as subject is marked as nominative. This final word is usually the head noun itself. Nominative marking for noun nouns of all types involves addition of what is underlyingly an $\overset{*}{-i}$. While this is superficially apparent in the case of consonant-final nouns, with vowel-final nouns, the $\overset{*}{-i}$ attaches directly to the TV and undergoes gliding (cf. §1.6.2.). e.g.

absolutive	nominative	*grain*
bahé	bahé[j]	*grain*
ʔiNS'íre	ʔiNS'íré[j]	*tongue*
kaná	kaná[j]	*dog*
gárma	gármá[j]	*lion*
móogo	móogó[j]	*burial*
šéb'b'o	šéb'b'ó[j]	*crocodile*
ʔúuš	ʔúuší	*ɨnsät*
č'íiruNS	č'íiruNSi	*tick*

Only by postulating that the nominative marker is accented can we explain its tonal behaviour (cf. in particular, the phrasal H association rule i. in §1.7.). Thus:

	U noun	SF noun	PSF noun
underlying form	kana + ĭ*	s̆eb'b'o + ĭ*	č'ĭiruNS + ĭ*
Gliding	kanaĭj*	s̆eb'b'oj*	——————

H tone association:
kanaĭj* (with H associated)   s̆eb'b'oj* (with H)   č'ĭiruNSĭ* (with H)

| surface form | kaná[j] | s̆éb'b'ó[j] | č'íiruNSi |

Regular plural nouns (in -ir) usually take the nominative marker direct, but they may optionally replace -ir by -ĭ*, e.g.

absolutive plural	nominative plural	
gármir	gármiri / gármí	*lions*
tolkír	tolkirí / tolkí	*hyaenas*
s̆óos̆ir	s̆óos̆iri / s̆óos̆í	*snakes*

Nominatives of plurals in -aaŝ' behave with perfect regularity too, though, unlike -ir, the plural formative has not been observed to drop when the nominative suffix is added, e.g.

absolutive plural	nominative plural	
?íNdaa[t͡s]	?íNdaaŝ'i	*mothers*
?addáa[t͡s]	?addaaŝ'í	*fathers*

§2.1.4.2. GENITIVE:

As is the case with other modifying elements in the NP, a genitive precedes its head. Although there is no segmental marker of the construction, a tonal change occurs in one type of noun when it is is the genitive; specifically, it is observed that H tone appears on the final post-radical syllable of a noun in the genitive when that noun has SF accent. e.g.

zikkólá paNge

(an) eagle's wing cf. zikkóla *eagle* paNgé *wing*

tűké kure

ankle   cf. tűke *leg*   kuré *wrist*

Such a change would be accounted for quite straightforwardly by the rules of H association and spreading, if we were to postulate a rule assigning an accent (the "associative accent") to the last post-radical syllable of a noun in the genitive. Although this Associative Accent rule would apply to all nouns, the rules governing phrasal H tone association would ensure that an overt tonal difference would be observed only in nouns with SF accent. Examination of genitive constructions containing the three types of noun and of the derivations that follow will make this clear.

U noun:	kaná pišo	*a dog's tail*
SF noun:	š'égá pišo	*a she-goat's tail*
PSF noun:	pélleš'o pišo	*a klipspringer's tail*

	U noun	SF noun	PSF noun
underlying form	kana pišo	š'ega piŝo	pelleš'o piŝo
Associative Accent rule	kaná piŝo	š'egá piŝo	pelleš'ó piŝo
H tone association	kaná piŝo	š'egá piŝo	pelleš'ó piŝo

Exactly the same explanation can account for double genitives such as the following:

ʔuzzé š'ega tuke

(a) heifer she-goat's leg   cf. ʔuzzé *heifer*

viz.

underlying form   ʔuzze š'ega tuke

Associative Accent rule   ʔuzze š'ega tuke

                                      H
                                      |

H tone association   ʔuzze š'ega tuke

Especially interesting are cases where the genitive noun is unaccented and is consonant-final. In the absence of any post-radical suffix, the Associative Accent rule cannot apply, with the consequence that the phrasal H tone can only associate with the following word. e.g.

> kaat gílʔa
>
> *middle finger cf.* kaat *king;* gílʔa *finger*

but
> ʔad'ó gilʔa [31]
>
> *thumb*

> k'azaš̀ ʔapílla
>
> *(a) beggar's clothes cf.* k'azaš̀ *beggar;* ʔapílla *clothes*

but
> k'azaš̀ír ʔapilla
>
> *beggars' clothes*

The corpus contains a number of noun + noun items the meanings of which are not always strictly compositional, so that it might be appropriate to call them compounds. With only one set of apparent exceptions (see below), the tonal patterns on these items is entirely accounted for under the analysis of genitives presented here. Some examples are:

kapó ʔiš̀iNke	*down-feather, cf.* kapó *bird;* ʔiš̀íNke *hair*
máš̀ kaat	*queen bee, cf.* máš̀ *bee;* kaat *king*
múrk'á baNga	*wheat, cf.* múrk'a *uncovered;* baNgá *barley*
č'áaná ʔoollo	*pack-horse, cf.* č'áana *load;* ʔoolló *horse*
č'aččé miNš̀'a	*pestle, cf.* č'aččé *pounding;* miNš̀'á *wood*
gútá peešti	*day after tomorrow, cf.* gúta *tomorrow*[32]
ʔummá sorge	*brain, cf.* ʔummá *head;* sórge *bone marrow*
kuNké wula	*nostril, cf.* kuNké *nose;* wulá *hole*
muš̀'úró kulle	*solar plexus, cf.* muš̀'úro *heart;* kullé *small type of calabash*
č'eemó kaš̀š̀a	*supper, cf.* č'eemó *night;* káš̀š̀a *food*

kúčé gawo	*palm (of hand), cf.* kúče *arm, hand;* gawó
ʔirá kaat	*rain-maker, cf.* ʔirá *rain* kaat *king, chief*
Zaysé bagade	*Lake Chammo, cf.* zaysé *Zayse* bagáde *lake*

The exceptions referred to above belong to a set of derived nouns already considered in §2.1.1.1. It is clear that the last syllable in items such as garduláˢ *Gidole man*, zarguláˢ *Zargula man*, and meláˢ *Gemu man* has to be identified as the noun ʔaˢ *man, person*. Since this is an un-accented noun and has no post-stem-final syllables, our rules would not predict the fact that it bears the H tone. The explanation proposed here is that in these items -aˢ has the status of a derivational (stem-forming) suffix. (This was assumed in the presentation in §2.1.1.1.) Thus, items such as garduláˢ etc. are regarded as (synchronically) single-stem items happening to have stem-final accent, viz. gardulaˢ*, etc. This analysis would have the added advantage that we would not have to accord -aˢ a diff-erent status from -aˢ'o in the female-denoting counterparts of such nouns, for since free-standing occurrences of the latter have not been observed, this item could only be analysed as a derivational suffix. The same line of argu-ment leads to the analysis of ʔamáraˢ *Amhara man*, góbbaˢ *Gobbo man,* and woláyˢaˢ *Wolaitta man* as (single) nouns with pre-stem-final accent. (Note also gáwaˢ *greedy person, cf.* gawó *belly;* wóotaˢ *farmer, cf.* wóota *cultivation;* ʔólaˢ *warrior, cf.* ʔóla *enemy;* góožaˢ *drunkard / one who presses one to drink too much (i.e., causes one to get drunk)* - all of which are analysed as having pre-stem-final accent.) Derived nouns such hargaˢ *invalid (cf.* hargé *sickness)* and k'azaˢ *beggar (cf.* k'az-(A)- *beg)* provide examples of the third accentual type, i.e., the unaccented type.

It seems generally to be the case that in nominal derivation of the sort just considered the TV of the first element drops. In forms such as the following, it is suggested that the contracted variants (where the TV has dropped) may also represent single nouns, i.e., they are no longer

genitival constructions or compound nouns.

> ʔádé hare / ʔádhare   *male donkey, cf.* ʔáde *man;* haré *donkey*
>
> ʔíNdá ʔoollo / ʔíNdoollo   *mare, cf.* ʔíNda *woman;* ʔoolló
>
>   *horse*

    Certain spatial concepts are expressed by means of a genitive construction the head of which is a locative, e.g.

> ʔótá galla   *on (the) pot, cf.* ʔóta *pot;* gálla *body*
>
> ʔótá ʔoommo   *under (the) pot, cf.* ʔoommó *underpart*
>
> ʔótá laNkʼe[33]   *around (the) pot*
>
> ʔótá ʔapanna   *over (the) pot (=* ʔapa + -unna *with / by means of (the) sky, cf.* ʔapa *sky)*
>
> ʔótá lapaa   *beside (the) pot (=* lápa* + -áa* *to side of pot*
>
> bočé guttaapa   *from (the) mountain top (=* gutte + -aapa *from (the) top, cf.* gutté *top)*

The last three examples also involve certain of the case markers to be discussed in the next section.

§2.1.4.3. CASE-LIKE SUFFIXES, POSTPOSITIONS, ETC.:

    In addition to certain postpositional elements which function in a very case-like way, there are other types of elements concerned in the expression of spatial relationships, and these will also be described in this section.

1. <u>Postpositions</u>:

    The corpus contains examples of five suffixes that one can safely call postpositions: -ro, -s, -nna, -pa, and -ga. The status of a further suffix, -aa, will be considered later.

    Both -ro and -s signal a dative / benefactive function. The two suffixes appear to be in complementary distribution. In my field-notes, the former occurs only with personal pronouns, while the latter occurs in every other case. The distribution shows up well in the following pair of examples.

kanás   ʔačó   ʔiNgáttesin
dog-to   meat   he-gave

He gave meat to a dog

táaro miiššé ʔiNgáttesin
me-to   money   he-gave

He gave money to me

Further examples of the use of -ro, and discussion relating to it are provided in §2.4.1.; see also Cerulli, 1938 b.

If we analyse -s as pre-accented (i.e., as ⃰-s), the tonal behaviour of the phrases headed by this element in examples such as the following fit well within the account given in §1.7.

maatá harés ʔiNgáttesin

he gave grass to a donkey   cf. haré *donkey*

waaʂ̀ʂ̀é ʔórgés ʔiNgáttesin

he gave water to a goat   cf. ʔorgé *goat*

piró ʔóok'k'aros ʔiNgáttesin

he gave a butterfly to a frog   cf. ʔóok'k'aro *frog*

maaʂ̀ šóošús ʔiNgáttesin

he gave milk to a snake   cf. šóoš *snake*

As the last example shows, epenthetic u occurs after consonant-final nouns.

Providing the spreading (cf. §1.7.) of phrasal H is restricted to an environment where the first of the two contiguous accents is stem-final[34], we can also account for the following.

ha waaNšaí maaʂ̀úsutte (**maaʂ̀úsútte)
this cup-nom. milk-for-cop.

this cup is for milk   (/maaʂ̀ + ⃰-s + ⃰-tte/)

It is noted that -s also appears (redundantly ?) with the content question ʔáala *why?*, e.g.

ʔáalásun   yeedde
why?-for-2s pron.   came

Why did you come?

Cognates for both -ro and -s appear elsewhere in Omotic; see Chapter 11 (C.) in this volume.

-nna marks PP's with an instrumental function. (Cognates for this element abound in Omotic; see Chapter 11 (F.).) e.g.

ʔésí kapó k'ásténna   gwiidi
he   bird bow-and-arrow-with hit

It was with a bow-and-arrow that he hit the bird

súušúnnattes   tišin
blood-with-cop.-3ms pron. painted

It was with blood that he painted (it)

ʔésa kallónnattet   gwiidin
him   stick-with-cop.-1s pron. hit

It was with a stick that I hit him

súgénnatten   ʔísa ʔač'in
rope-with-cop.-2s pron. her   tied

It was with a rope that you tied her

As with -s, the tonal behaviour of phrases headed by this postposition are accounted for if we regard it as pre-accented.

One important use of -nna is witnessed in reflexive constructions; see §2.4.1.

Ablative notions are expressed by means of the postposition -pa, which again, is best regarded as pre-accented. e.g.

ʔánápan   yeedde
where?-from-2s pron. came

Where did you come from?

ʔogeí Kaybannápa Gidóolétte ʔellide
road-nom. Kaybanna-from Gidoole-cop. runs

It is from Kaybanna to Gidoole that (the) road runs

ʔe-ʔaȿí maNdárágapatte yeen
the-man-nom. village-loc.-from-cop. came

It is from in (the) village that the man came

As Zaborski (Ch.11 (H)) observes, cognates of Zayse -pa seem to be confined to Ometo.

It is difficult to attach any precise meaning to the fifth postposition, -ga. From the examples available, it is safe to state that it is used to signify interior location, e.g.

ʔi-miiš̌šeí saaȿ'inégatteen
the-money-nom. box-loc.-cop.-exists

It is in a box that the money is

waaȿeí ʔótágatteen
water-nom. pot-loc.-cop.-exists

It's in a pot that the water is

k'aareí miNȿ'ága kesi
monkey-nom. tree-loc. climbed

A monkey climbed in a tree

But in such cases as the following, only general location (cf. English *at*) without a specifically "interior" interpretation seems to be required.

ʔooddoí bočéga kesi

A baboon climbed a mountain

bočé guuttegapattun wud'd'in
mountain top-loc.-from-cop.-1p.inc. pron descended

It is from the top of the mountain that we (inc.) descended

As with the other postpositions, epenthesis of u occurs when -ga is suffixed to a consonant-final noun. But in the event that a noun stem ends

in ʂ̌, an alternative process may occur in which g undergoes devoicing and, concomitantly, its accent is deleted, viz.

> ʔe-ʔaʂ̌í keeʂ̌úgatte gelin

and   ʔe-ʔaʂ̌í keeʂ̌kátte gelin

> *It was into the house the man entered cf.* keeʂ̌ *house*

There is some evidence that this process can operate even if the noun has a TV lexically, e.g.

> ʔóok'k'aroi waaʂ̌ʂ̌éga (/ waaʂ̌ká) d'ollí wud'd'i
>
> *frog-nom.*   *water-loc.*   *jumped*   *descended*
>
> *A frog went jumping down into the water*

2. -aa - a further postposition?

There is a suffix -aa found attached to various nouns and which appears often to have a directional sense. Affixation of this element involves dropping any TV the noun may have. e.g.

> tá[j]šapáa hamaaten
>
> *I am going to (the) river*   *cf.* šapé

also   šapáattet hamaan

> *It is to the river that I'm going*

> ʔísí č'ažáa ha[ŋ]gi
>
> *She went to (the) spring*   *cf.* č'ážo

There are sentences, however, where it is hard to maintain that there is any directional sense, e.g.

> ʔi-busúʔá[j] woráapattiis   kesin
>
> *the animal-nom. forest-aa-from-cop.-3fs pron. went out*
>
> *It is from the forest that the animal went out*

> bočé   guttaapattun   wud'd'in
>
> *mountain-gen. top-aa-from-cop.-ip.inc pron. descended*
>
> *It is from the top of the mountain that we descended*

For these sentences, alternatives with -ga (i.e., with wórágapattiis and guttegapattun) were fully acceptable, and my informant claimed that the meanings were identical.

The main problem with -aa, however, consists in accounting for the tonal patterns of the phrases in which it occurs. If it were accented, we might have expected nouns with stem-final accent to show H spreading (cf. §1. 7.); but this does not happen, viz.

<div style="text-align:center">

wora + aa → woráa (**wóráa)

č'ažo + aa → č'ažaa (**č'ážáa)

</div>

We might, of course, feel that it was necessary to postulate special proper-ties for this suffix, which would enable it to attract accent off some pre-ceding syllable, but this ad hoc move would weaken out otherwise fairly uni-fied account. Moreover, I do not think this is necessary. Instead, I suggest that forms such as šapáa, č'ažáa, woráa, etc. be analysed not as noun + postposition or noun + case marker, but as a special class of locative noun which is derived from a common noun by replacement of the TV by a formative -aa. Thus, the gloss for šapáa might be something like *'place where there is a river'* or perhaps *'The River'*. We have already observed that the acc-entual properties of other types of derived nominals may be quite distinct from their more basic counterparts (cf. §2.1.1.1.). Support for this analy-sis comes in the form of a set of items that turned up in the vocabulary collection, viz.

bočáa	*highlands (Amharic* dǎga*), cf.* bočé *mountain*
wûl?aa	*lowlands (Amharic* k'olla*), cf.* wûl?a *plain*
giddáa	*midst, cf.* giddó *middle*
gawáa	*interior, cf.* gawó *belly*
d'attáa	*posterior, behind, cf.* d'atté *back*

(Note also the following, for which more basic nominal counterparts are not attested in the corpus: kópaa *behind, posterior;* biráa *front;* giNdáa

ahead.) Further consideration is given to -aa in §3.2., where it is suggested that derivative forms containing this suffix are to be found in the base of focussed verb forms in the imperfect. It is to be hoped that future work on Zayse will shed further light on this formative.

3. <u>Locative nouns</u>:

There seem to be two types of locative noun in my material. There are "primary" locative nouns, which are self-standing items denoting special locations. The clearest cases here are kará and zaẃa, both of which refer to *the area or space inside a house* and zaané, which refers to *space outside a house*. (The English adverbials *indoors* and *outdoors* come close to these in meaning.) e.g.

> ?aŝí   kará   ye satte
> *man-nom. indoors exist-cop.*
>
> *There is a man in the house*

> karátteten
> *indoors-cop.-1s pron. exist*
>
> *It is indoors that I am*

If the analysis presented in 2. above of -aa as a locative noun formative is correct, then we might assume a much larger membership for the class of "primary" locative nouns.

What are here termed "secondary" locative nouns are found as the heads of genitive constructions, and in such constructions acquire a locative meaning, though at least some of them may have independent meaning and existence (cf. also §2.1.4.2.). e.g.

> ?ótá galla   *on a pot, cf.* gálla *body*
> ?ótá gutte   *on a pot, cf.* gutté *top, peak*
> ?ótá ?oommo   *under a pot, cf.* ?oommó *underpart*
> ?ótá laNk'e   *around a pot, cf.* laNk'é *periphery*
> ?ótá lapa   *beside a pot, cf.* lápa *side*

ʔótá ʔapanna   *above a pot*

Further examples of these are as follows:

k'aareí miNὸ'á galla kesi

A monkey climbed on (the) tree

kapoí miNὸ'á ʔapanna parad'd'i

A bird flew above (the) tree

§2.2. ADJECTIVES:

Adjectives are like nouns in terms of their structure, i.e., they are either consonant-final or they take one of the three (lexically specified) TV's, o, a, or e. Some typical adjectives are the following.

líkko	*soft*	bínna	*warm*
mód'd'o	*fat*	buuré	*scrappy, untidy*
lóʔo	*good*	ʔélle	*fast*
ὸ'iigó	*strong, hard*	č'ínne	*near*
zaNbála	*tall, long*	ʔeerés	*small*
háta	*short*	gӗeŠš	*clean, clear*
žillá	*green, verdant*	bóoὸ	*white*
hӗera	*hot*	karS	*black*

Again as with nouns, adjectives may be unaccented or accented; if they are of the latter type, accent may occur stem-finally or pre-stem-finally. In addition to the preceding examples, see also:

U:	haakó	*far*	lagó	*many, much*
SF:	hagéllo	*new*	tóya	*cold (of sthg)*
PSF:	héNpelo	*light (in weight)*	ὸ'íik'k'as	*few, a little*

In addition to the predicative and attributive functions typical of adjectives in general, as illustrated by the following,

ʔe-ʔaὸí zoʔótte

The man is red cf. zoʔó *red*

ʔi‑ḱeeŝí   ʔad'ótte

The house is big   *cf.* ʔad'ó *big*

mód'd'ó   goho

a fat ram

mélá   miNŝ'a

dry wood

karS   ʔoolló

a black horse

Zayse adjectives seem commonly to assume a head function in NP's, e.g.

karŝí   háyʔi

A black (one) died

mélá[j]   báʔe

There isn't a dry (one)

mód'd'ir   ʔáykóttetin

I seized fat (ones)

As the first two examples show, adjectives assume the nominative marking when they are final in their phrases.

As a modifying (attributive) element in a NP, the adjective precedes the head, and, accordingly, receives the Associative accent (§2.1.4.2.); see the examples above.

There is an apparently transparent relationship between most adjectives and their inchoative verb counterparts, e.g.

adjective		verb	
č'éNŠa	*dark*	č'éNŠ-A-	*become dark*
géešš	*clean*	géež-O-	*become clean*
kíta	*dirty (of person)*	kit-A-	*become dirty*
ʔíita	*bad, ugly*	ʔfit-O-	*become bad / ugly*
ŝ'iigó	*strong, hard*	ŝ'fig-A-	*become strong / hard*

š'illó	*deep*	š'ill-A-	*become deep*
ʔulk'ó	*dirty (of water)*	ʔúlk'-A-	*become dirty*
tóya	*cold (of sthg)*	toy-A-	*become cold*

(The conventions for representing verb stems are explained in §2.6.1.)
Nevertheless, the formation is, in fact, subject to various factors reflecting lexical idiosyncracy. From a segmental point of view, the derivation seems to involve dropping the TV and selecting one or other of the two post-thematic vowels (represented here by convention as O or A). But, as the examples show, there seems to be no regular correlation between TV and post-thematic vowel (though see the hypothesis advanced towards the end of §3.2.) Then, from the standpoint of accent and tone, there is again no obvious correlation; thus, an adjective may have SF accent, while the stem of its verb counterpart is unaccented (cf. §2.6.2.1.), and vice versa.

§2.3. NUMERALS:

The lower numerals, 1-4, have modifying forms which are distinct from the forms used in counting[35], viz.

Table 3	counting form	modifying form
1	bizzó	bizzí
2	nam?	nam?í / nam?ú[36]
3	hayš	hayší / hayšú
4	ʔoydd	ʔoyddí / ʔoyddú
5	ʔišíč	ʔišíč
6	ʔizúp	ʔizúp
7	láap	láap̣
8	lakkúče	lakkúčé
9	š'íNgo	š'íNgó
10	támm	támm
100	š'éet	š'éet

The forms ʔoydd and támm are, of course, subject to word-final degemination

(see §1.6.3.)[37].

Multiples of 10 and 100 are formed with támm and ŝ'éet respective-
ly, which are preceded by the modifying form of the relevant numeral, e.g.

20	nam?í / nam?ú tamm	30		hayŝí / hayŝú tamm
40	?oyddí / -ú tamm	50		?išíč tamm
90	ŝ'íNgó tamm	1000		támm ŝ'eet[38]

It will be observed that the tonal behaviour of these and other numbers can
be explained by the remarks advanced concerning the Associative Accent rule
(cf. §2.1.4.2.) and the general analysis of tonal accent given in §1.7.

In forming intermediate numerals támm takes a suffix -áne, while
s'éet takes a suffix -úun / -úune. The resultant forms have tonal patt-
erns different from those that would be predicted by our general rules, and
I am tempted to regard them as lexicalized. Moreoever, the higher (more
complex) numerals pose a number of difficulties for the present tonal anal-
ysis; some of this may be due to an intonational pitch rise that indicates
non-finality. Clearly, much more research is called for in this area. The
following are some examples.

11	tammáné bizzo
12	tammáné nam?
21	nam?í tammáné bizzo
37	hayŝí tammáné laap
673	?izúp ŝ'eetúuné láap tammáné hayŝ
399	hayŝí ŝ'eetúuné ŝ'íNgó tammáné ŝ'iNgo

When functioning as quantifiers in NP's, the tonal behaviour of num-
erals fits well within the analysis of the Associative construction (cf. §2.
1.4.2.). Unlike many languages of the Ethiopian region, nouns that are
quantified by numerals have to take the plural. e.g.

nam?í ?aŝiri yeedi

Two men came

      hay`ìí miisiri háy?i

Three cows died

      hay`ìí miisir demáttetin

I saw three cows

      `ì'éet  `ì'eerir demáttetin

I saw a hundred goats

§2.4. PRONOUNS AND DETERMINERS:

It is convenient to describe pronouns and determiners together, for the simple reason that with simple morphological adjustments, the same basic forms manifest either head or modifier function in an NP (in at least a great many cases).

§2.4.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND POSSESSIVE DETERMINERS:

It is necessary to distinguish at least two types of personal pronoun:

      (i)   independent pronouns

      (ii)   bound (clitic) subject pronouns

Each type will be considered in turn.

(i)

The independent pronouns are shown in the following table.

Table 4	subject	direct object complement	postpositional complement	copular complement
1s	tá[j]	tána	táa(-ro)	tánte
2s	né[j]	néna	née(-ro)	nénte
3ms	?é sí	?é sa	?é su(-ro)	?é ste
3fs	?í sí	?í sa	?í su(-ro)	?í ste
1p.exc.	níi	nína	níi(-ro)	nínte
1p.inc.	nú[j]	núna	núu(-ro)	núnte
2p	wútini	wútuna	wútu(-ro)	wútúnte
3p	?úsini	?úsuna	?úsu(-ro)	?úsúnte

A number of things that emerge in the table require some discussion.

1.

We observe that Zayse has an inclusive : exclusive distinction for the first person plural. In view of the fact that this distinction and obvious cognates of the two forms are reported for Gimira (cf. Chapter 1, §2.2.2.), it has to be regarded as an archaism.[39] It should be noted, however, that there appears to have been a switch as between form and category in the two languages. As far as I could ascertain (though my informants were not altogether consistent on the matter), the exclusive pronoun refers to speaker(s) and addressee(s) only. The exact reference of these pronouns should be checked in any future research.

2.

It will be observed that the same nominative suffix occurs as with nouns (cf. §2.1.4.1.). As in the case of vowel-final nouns, the -i becomes a glide, e.g.

tai   →   ta[j]   *I*

nui   →   nu[j]   *we (inc.)*

This does not happen, however, in the *1p.exc.* form, viz.

nii   →   n[i:]   *we (exc.)*

3.

With the exception of *3ms* and *3fs* forms a -na suffix occurs in all the personal pronouns when functioning as a Direct Object complement. A case marking formative in n (usually as an accusative marker) crops up throughou throughout Omotic (see Chapter 11, especially (3)), and its occurrence here in Zayse pronouns has to be seen as an archaism. Nouns in Direct Object function in Zayse appear in the absolutive form without any sort of case marking. Some examples are:

tá[j] ʔesa de[ŋ]gí   ʔésa demáttetin

I saw him

ʔésí núna de[ŋ]gi   núna demáttesin

He saw us (inc.)

4.

What are here called "copular complements" are pronominal forms to
which the copula is attached. The underlying form of the copula as found in
all other constructions is hypothesized as -tte (cf. §2.5.). The contracted
form -te found here seems to be confined to the pronouns. The phenomenon
invites comparison with Koyra, which also has a contracted copular clitic
-ko, which also is confined to pronouns - the usual form is -(u)kko (see
Hayward, 1982: 232ff). In view of the distributional similarity, it would
seem natural to identify the nasal element present in most of the copular
complement forms with the -n(a) formative discussed in 3. above. Some caut-
ion is needed, however, since comparison with Koyra reveals that the latter
has variants for *1s, 2s* and *1p* copular complement pronoun forms which contain
m, viz. ta[ŋ]ko / tamakko *It is I*; ne[ŋ]ko / nemakko *It is you(m)*; etc.

5.

Full sets of independent pronouns functioning as complements of post-
positions were recorded only in two cases. The one listed in the above table
is with -ro. However,-ro itself is interesting for in the corpus it only
appears attached to pronominal forms; in general, a dative or benefactive
sense is usually expressed by means of the postposition -s (cf. §2.1.4.3.).
Thus, the forms táaro, etc. seem really to represent a sort of Indirect Ob-
ject. This is a view which is further supported by the fact that they may be
replaced by Direct Object complement forms without change of meaning. (The
reverse substitution, i.e., the replacement of -na forms in Direct Object
function by -ro forms is not possible.) It will be noted that those pronouns
that are analysable as vowel-final show prolongation of the vowel, while those
that end in consonants take the epenthetic u (cf. §1.6.1.). e.g.

ʔέsí táaro miišέ ʔi[ŋ]gí

He gave me money

ʔísuro lóʔóttis biše

It seemed good to her

miišeí   wúturo (/wútuna)   yesátte

You (p) have money   lit. *Money exists for you (p)*

The second occurrence of a pronominal complement to a postposition occurs in reflexive constructions. The reflexive complement is analysed as: pronoun + -nna, i.e., the agentive / instrumental marker (cf. §2.1.4.3.). It will also be noted that there are two occurrences of the pronoun, viz.

1s	taná	táanna	*myself*
2s	nená	néenna	*yourself*
1p.exc.	niná	níinna	*ourselves*
1p.inc.	nuná	núunna	*ourselves*
2p	wútuna	wutúunna	*yourselves*

There is one 3rd person reflexive pronoun which contains the root be (instead of the ʔes-, ʔis-, ʔus- series), viz.

3com.	bená	béenna	*himself, herself, themselves*

Some examples are:

tá[j]   taná   táanna   gwíidi

I hit myself

bená   béenna   gwíidóttusin

They hit themselves

6.
     There is a reciprocal pronoun, wolá; it serves for all persons. It should be noted that verbs in sentences having reciprocal objects are in the passive voice form (cf. §2.6.1.2.), e.g.

wolá   zeerúttottunin

We (inc.) spoke to each other

níi   wolá   maadútti

We (exc.) helped each other

wolá gan?úttottitin

You (p) insulted each other

(ii)

The bound subject pronouns are as follows:

1s	-t	*1p.exc.*	-in
2s	-n	*1p.inc.*	-un
3ms	-s	*2p*	-it
3fs	-is	*3p*	-us

The key elements of each of these are easily identifiable with their counter-parts in the table of independent pronouns above.

The bound subject pronouns appear to have two distinct functions (though cf. §3.2.). Firstly, they occur as pronominal affixes in verb forms, (presumably in) agreement with the head of the subject NP. Verbal subject pronouns are exemplified here in the affirmative imperfect declarative paradigm of šag-A- *separate (tr.).* (The subject pronouns are separated out by means of hyphens.)

1s	šagáate-t-en	*1p.exc.*	šagáat-in-en
2s	šagáate-n-en	*1p.inc.*	šagáat-un-en
3ms	šagáate-s-en	*2p*	šagáat-it-en
3fs	šagáat-is-en	*3p*	šagáat-us-en

When the pronoun occurs in juxtaposition to the post-thematic vowel (see §2.6.1.1.), any vocalic elements undergo Gliding (cf. §1.6.2.). The point is illustrated with the affirmative perfect interrogative paradigms of šag-A- *separate (tr.)* and **goog**-O- *go round.*

1s	šágá-t-idde	góogó-t-idde
2s	šágá-n-de	góogó-n-de
3ms	šágá-s-idde	góogó-s-idde
3fs	šágá-[j]s-idde	góogó-[j]s-idde

1p.exc.	šágá-[j]n-idde	góogó-[j]n-idde
1p.inc.	šágá-[w]n-idde	góogó-[w]n-idde
2p	šágá-[j]t-idde	góogó-[j]t-idde
3p	šágá-[w]s-idde	góogó-[w]s-idde

The second function of the bound subject pronouns is related to focus in NP's and PP's.   In general, we may describe focalization of a complement phrase as involving a type of cleft construction. Unless the focussed phrase is headed by one by one of the content question words (i.e., WH-words), the copula cliticizes onto it and a subject pronoun then cliticizes onto the copula.   If the head of the complement phrase is a content question word, the copula does not appear, and the subject pronoun cliticizes directly onto the head. e.g.

?e -?aší   maNdárágapatte s   yee n
the man-nom. village-at-from-cop.-3ms pron.   came

It is from the village that the man came

bočé   guttaapattun   wud'd'in
mountain   top-from-cop.-1p.inc. pron descended

It is from the mountain top that we (inc.) descended

súgé nnatte t   ?i sá   ?ač'in
rope-with-cop.-1s pron.   it   tied

It is with a rope that I tied it

?óodé n   demin
who-2s pron.   saw

Whom did you see?

?áná[j]t   hamaan
where-2p pron. go

Where are you going?

For further discussion of focus constructions, see §3.2.

The possessive determiners are as follows:

1s	tá	1p.exc.	nî
2s	né	1p.inc.	nú
3ms	ʔé	2p	wú
3fs	ʔí	3p	ʔú

Since these forms are monosyllables, it would not be clear whether their H tone reflects an underlying accent, or is the result of the default association of the phrasal H tone.   That they are actually underlyingly accented is apparent from the fact that the three 3rd person possessive determiners form minimal pairs with the three cliticizing articles ʔe-, ʔi-, ʔu- (cf. §2.4.2.1.), e.g.

> ʔí š'ega *her she-goat*
>
> ʔi-š'éga *the she-goat*

A pronominal series is formed from a construction consisting of possessive determiner + maaš, viz. tá-maaš *mine*, né-maaš *yours*, ʔí-maaš *hers*, etc. Since this item has only been found in construction with the possessives, it is probably best to regard it as a bound form; I have written it with a hyphen. Some examples are:

> tá šidai   lóʔótte
> *my honey-nom. good-cop.*
>
> *My honey is good*

> yewéndess   ʔaši   ʔé   ʔadatte
> *he-will-come man-nom. his father-cop.*
>
> *The man who is coming is his father*

> ʔí keeši   géeššútte
> *her house-nom. clean-cop.*
>
> *Her house is clean*

> há[j]   tá-maašutte
> *this   mine-cop.*
>
> *This is mine*

> wú-maaŝutte s   worge
>
> *yours (p)-cop.-3ms pron. wants*
>
> *It is yours (p) that he wants*

An emphatic expression of possession was noted, viz.

> tá   ?umátte
>
> *my   head-cop.*
>
> *It is my very own   cf.* Amharic *yärase näw*

§2.4.2. DEICTIC DETERMINERS AND PRONOUNS:

There are six distinct sets of deictic forms, which are presented in the table below. Unfortunately, there are some gaps in my data, especially in the case of the copular complement forms.

Table 5	determiner	pronoun		
		subject	direct object complement	copular complement
this - near speaker	ha	há[j]	hayá	háytte
that - near addressee	yi	yií	yá	yítte
that - equally near to speaker & addressee	godí	godif	godiyá	?
that - at lower level than speaker	yiddi	yiddif	yiddiyá	?
that - at higher level than speaker	wo	wó[j]	?	?
that - far from both speaker & addressee	so	só[j]	soyá	sóytte

To express the sense of a very great degree of remoteness, the reduplicated forms SOO-SO and WOO-WO are available. The following are some examples:

> ha   kúlliri   lagótte
>
> *these guinea-fowl-plu.-nom. many-cop.*
>
> *These guinea-fowl are many*

hǎ[j] hay?i

This one died

yá worgǎate ten

I want that one (near you)

godiyá´ ?ée hátte tin

I liked that one

só[j] tá-maaȿutte

That one is mine

?ě-maaȿi yítte

His is that one (near you)

soyá táaro ?éewa

Bring that one for me!

yi bíꞩꞩótte yewe

It is this woman who came

Number is not marked in the determiners, so that ha, so, etc. trans-
late both as *this* or *these*, *that* or *those*, according to the number category
of the head noun; cf. the first of the above examples. There is, however, a
number distinction in the pronominal forms. The plural formative is -aaȿ'
(cf. §2.1.2.). In all cases a linking dd (or d) element appears between the
pronominal stem and the plural marker; the origin of this element is not at
all clear to me. I am also unable, at present, to account for the tonal
patterns on these pronominal forms.

Table 6	absolutive sg.	absolutive pl.	nominative pl.
	hayá	háydaaȿ'	haydaaȿ'í
	yá	yíiddaaȿ'	yiiddaaȿ'í
	godiyá	godíiddaaȿ'	godíiddaaȿ'í
	soyá	sóyddaaȿ'	soyddaaȿ'í

         yiddiyá   yiddíiddaaŝ'   yiddíiddaaŝ'í

         ?   wóyddaaŝ'   woyddaaŝ'í

Word-final deglottalization (cf. §1.6.4.) affects the terminal affri-
cate unless it is followed by some vowel-initial suffix, such as the nomina-
tive marker or the regular plural suffix -ir, which occurs in variant (plu-
ralia tantum) forms.

     Some examples are:

          yiiddaaŝ'í (/ yiiddaaŝ'irí) karŝútte

          Those are black

          soyddaaŝ'í (/ soyddaaŝ'irí) galúNdátte

          Those are yellow i.e., *coloured like the* galúNda *tree*

          godíiddaaŝ' worgáateten

          I like those

§2.4.2.1. DEFINITE ARTICLES:

     There are three determiners which seem to function rather like defin-
ite articles.

          <u>masculine</u>   <u>feminine</u>   <u>plural</u>

          ʔe   ʔi   ʔu

In order to account for the tonal behaviour of NP's containing these items,
I have analysed them as proclitic. Some examples are:

          tá[j] gárma de[ŋ]gí

          I saw (a) lion

          tá[j] ʔe-gárma de[ŋ]gí

          I saw the lion

          tá[j] gármir de[ŋ]gí

          I saw lions

          tá[j] ʔu-gármir de[ŋ]gí

I saw the lions

In the case of lexical items distinguishing male and female animates, the
selection of ?e or ?i is automatic, but in the case of many nouns which de-
note animates, but where there is no lexicalized differentiation according to
the sex, selection of the articles has a positive semantic function, e.g.

> ?e-gármá[j] ha[ŋ]gí
>
> *The lion went away*
>
> ?i-gármá[j] ha[ŋ]gí
>
> *The lioness went away*
>
> ?e-haré[j] ?é-maaš̌utte
>
> *The donkey is his*
>
> ?i-haré[j] ?é-maaš̌utte
>
> *The female dankey is his*

For inanimates (and animates for which discrimination with respect to sex is
not usual) ?i as the default "feminine" gender form is employed; cf. §2.1.3.
e.g.

> ?i-waaš̌é[j] gé̌ešš̌útte
>
> *The water is clean*
>
> ?i-kalló ?isánna šooš̌ ta wod'éssi mé?átteyin
>
> *the stick it (fem.)-with snake I killed   has broken-NS*
>   *pron.*
>
> *The stick with which I killed the snake has broken*

Definiteness is expressed in Wolaitta (and possibly other Central
Ometo varieties) by means of some suffixal process or a change in the form of
the TV (see Adams, 1983: 255ff.). In my (admittedly brief) investigation of
Koyra (Hayward, 1982), I found no evidence of a "definite article" of any sort
sort. It would seem that the Zayse articles are rather unique; it is quite
obvious that they are related to the 3rd person pronominal forms, but the
precise nature of the relationship is far from clear at the moment.

Finally, mention should be made of an item yiwodé, which might also be regarded as an article. From the description my informant gave, this item would be used in designating a referent identifiable from a particular occasion known to speaker and addressee, e.g.

yiwodé k'otto

the hoe (of a particular occasion)

§2.4.3. CONTENT QUESTION WORDS:

With the exception of ʔóo / ʔóodé *who?* and ʔáa *what?*, which may appear in subject function, all content question words function as complements of verbs or postpositions. For obvious pragmatic reasons, such items seem invariably to be focussed, with the result that they appear bearing the clitic subject pronouns (cf. §2.4.1.). This fact is indicated in the following list of base forms by means of a hyphen in parenthesis.

ʔóo / ʔóodé	*who?*	ʔóodé(-) *whom?*
ʔáa	*what?*	ʔáa(-) *what?*
ʔáNdé(-)	*when?*	
ʔáná(-)	*where?*	
ʔáalá(-) / ʔáalás(-)	*why?, for what purpose?*	
ʔáala ʔepaa(-)	*why?, for what purpose?*	
ʔáagaʔi(-)	*why?, for what reason?*	
ʔáala ʔutte(-)	*why?, for what reason?*	
ʔáNš'(-)	*how many?*	
ʔáNš' gídallo(-)	*how much?*	*cf.* giddés *amount*
wáydí(-)	*how?*	

Some examples are:

ʔóo (/ ʔóodé) yewe

Who came?

ʔóodén demin
Whom did you see?

ʔáa wayye

What happened?

ʔáan kabbin

What did you do?

ʔáas ʔač'ín

What did he tie?

ʔáNdén hammeNde

When will you go?

ʔáná[j]s hamaan

Where is she going?

ʔánápá[j]t   yeedde

where-from-2p pron. came i.e., Where did you (pl) come
                                                          from?

ʔáalásus (/ ʔáala ʔepaas) yeedde

Why (for what purpose) did he come?

ʔáaggaʔin (/ ʔáala ʔutten) yeepin

Why (for what reason) did you cry / weep?

wáydúus yeen

How did they come?

ʔáannán   ʔéså gwiidin
what-with-2s pron. him hit

With what did you hit him?

ʔáNȿ' gídallo[j]s worgan

How much does she want?

ʔáNȿ'ú[j]t worgan

How many do you want?

Attachment of the subject pronoun clitics occasions certain morphopho-
nemic adjustments, viz.

1.   In addition to Gliding (cf. §1.6.2.), the long vowel of ʔáa(-) *what?*
undergoes truncation when vowel-initial pronouns are attached, e.g.

        [ʔajs] *what + 3fs pron.;*   [ʔaws] *what + 3p pron.*

  cf. [ʔaːs] *what + 3ms pron.*

2.   Final i in wáydí(-) undergoes total assimilation to u when *1p.inc.*
and *3p* pronouns are attached, e.g.

        wayd[uː]n *how + 1p.inc. pron.*

3.   Final e in ʔóodé(-) and ʔáNdé(-) optionally undergoes total assi-
milation to the high vowels in *3fs, 1p.inc., 1p.exc., 2p,* and *3p* clitic
pronouns, e.g.

        ʔaNd[iː]s / ʔaNd[ej]s *when + 3fs pron.*

        ʔaNd[uː]n / ʔaNd[ew]n *when + 1p.inc. pron.*

4.   Initial u in *1p.inc.* and *3p* pronouns optionally undergoes total assi-
milation to final o in ʔáǸ' gídallo(-) *how much?*, e.g.

        ʔaǸ' gidall[oː]n / ʔaǸ' gidall[ow]n

        how much + 1p.inc. pron.

§2.4.5. OTHER DETERMINERS AND QUANTIFIERS:

    The corpus contains a few other items which may have a determinative
or quantifying function; each of them can stand as head or dependent item in
a NP. The items in question are: ʔeerállo *some, certain;* bizzó-bizzo
each; ʔuddá *all, every;* bilé *another, the other,* e.g.

        ʔeerállo kulliri demáttetin

        I saw some guinea-fowl

        ʔeerálló[j] ỵeedi

        Some came

        tá[j] bizzó-bizzo ʔekke

        I took each one

bilé   ?orgei   ?ad'ótte

The other he-goat is bigger

bilé   ?epáttetin

I took another / the other

?uddá   kulliri   yeedi

All the guinea-fowl have come

?uddáttus   ?epin

It was everything that they took

§2.5. THE COPULA:

The affirmative copula is always enclitic, and is analysed as having

the underlying form *-tte. When it attaches to any consonant-final

item, it is preceded by epenthetic u (cf. §1.6.1.). Within the analysis of

accent and tone proposed in this study, the copula is regarded as pre-accent-

ed, i.e., as assigning an accent to whatever vowel precedes it. The copula

is an extremely common and important element in Zayse; it occurs in the

following grammatical constructions.

1.

It functions in nominal and adjectival predication, e.g.

só[j]   modótte

That is beer

há[j]   wuzzíNȿ'étte

This is a fly

?e-?aȿí   wóotaȿutte

The man is a farmer

?í   soolloi   ló?ótte

Her bread is good

2.

The copula attaches to a phrase (NP or PP) which is focussed; the

resulting construction bears some similarity to a cleft sentence. (Indeed, a hypothesis recognizing this similarity is developed in §3.2.) If the focussed constituent is a verbal complement, it is usual for the copula to be followed by a clitic pronoun agreeing with (expressing ?) the subject of the sentence. It should be noted that the clitic pronouns, but not the copula itself, occur attached to content question words, which are regarded as being inherently focussed (cf. §2.4.3.). e.g.

woota꞉ŝutte ye we   (subject NP focussed)
It was a farmer that came

maaḧétte s wod'in   (direct object NP focussed)
It was a leopard that he killed

gútáttet baḧé ꞎammeNde   (temporal NP focussed)
It is tomorrow that I shall buy grain

hóð, ꞎapáattet hamaan   (PP focussed)
Yes, it is to (the) river that I am going

3.
        The copula appears as a component of several verb forms. It is found, for example, in the affirmative forms of the declarative perfect ("long" form) and the declarative perfect past. (See also the discussion concerning the analysis of the declarative imperfect and imperfect past in §2.6.2.2.) In such forms,   the copula is always followed by a bound subject pronoun. e.g.

Ɂúttó-tte-s-in   (declarative perfect)
sit-cop.-3ms pron.-FPM   (FPM final predication marker)
He has sat down

Ɂúttó-tte-t-iddič   (declarative perfect past)
sit-cop.-1s pron.-FPM
I had sat down

The occurrence of verb forms containing the copula is in complementary

distribution with focussed NP/PP phrases (as described under 2.), which
suggests the argument that such verb forms are themselves focussed, so that
a sentence such as ʔe -ʔaŝí ʔúttótte si n might be given a somewhat liter-
al rendering as: *The man, it is sitting that he was.* For extensive discuss-
ion of this point, see §3.2.

The following observations relate only to the predicate function of
the copula (i.e., 1. above).

There seems to be no special negative form of the copula as such; the
negative locative-existential verb baʔe / baʔa *there is not* is employed.
It is invariable. e.g.

> né[j] wóotaŝ báʔe
> *You are not a farmer*

> só[j] ʔogé báʔe
> *That is not a road*

For the expression of past state predications –ši n is suffixed to
–tte and báʔa, e.g.

> há[j] ʔardaŝáʔátte ši n
> *This used to be a dwelling place*

> ʔé sí 1626 ʔaŝutte ši n
> *He used to be a good man*

> ʔí sí ʔíita bi ŝŝo báʔaši n
> *She was not a bad woman*

In line with the situation found for verbs generally, there is a dis-
tinct interrogative copula. It is also a clitic, viz. –wa[*]. With consonant-
final words epenthetic u occurs. e.g.

> só[j] gármáwa
> *Is that a lion?*

há[j] šóošúwa

Is this a snake?

soyddaaŝ'í gármiruwa

Are those lions?

§2.6. VERBS:

§2.6.1. VERB STEMS:

Verb stems may be simple or extended. Extended-stem (ES) verbs differ from simple-stem (SS) verbs in having a derivational suffix which is associated with the formation of further verbs; simple-stem verbs contain a root only.

§2.6.1.1. SIMPLE STEMS:

Although the majority of SS verbs have a root shape conforming to the monovocalic template CV(V)C(C)(C)-, others with longer, i.e., CV(V)C(C)VC(C)- roots are not uncommon. The following are typical Zayse verb roots:

?oŝ'-	*beat*	mod'-	*understand*
dur-	*play instrument*	gaw-	*become pregnant*
?erb-	*tell a lie*	d'isk-	*feel drowsy*
tayb-	*count*	gan?-	*insult*
maNg-	*begin*	daNč'-	*gird on*
?utt-	*sit down*	žašš-	*fear*
ŝ'okk-	*drip (intr.)*	šiik'-	*approach*
heeg-	*become thin*	meed-	*shave (refl. & non-refl.)*
č'aak'k'-	*swear an oath*	?eedd-	*feel longing for*
kayst-	*steal*	hollo?-	*bend down*
?ibiŝ'-	*close, shut*	parad'd'-	*fly*
heNpel-	*become light (wgt.)*	gulŝ'iNt-	*swim*
ŝ'uNdurk-	*punish*	?aašuNŠ-	*feel, stroke*

Examination of the inflectional paradigms shows that the stem in SS

verbs may exhibit certain morphologically determined alternations. Leaving
aside consideration of tonal patterns (for which see §2.6.2.1.), there are
at least three distinct patterns of alternation, each of which occurs indep-
endently of the others.

One alternation pattern relates to the length of the final consonant
in the root. In the "short" perfect (cf. §2.6.2.) and certain other forms
the root-final consonant is geminated, whilst in other forms - the "long"
perfect, for instance - it is single. Such alternation is lexically governed,
for there are verbs with non-alternating single root-final consonants, as
well as verbs with non-alternating geminate root-final consonants. e.g.

		short perfect	3ms long perfect	
1.	CC- ~ C-	bookkí	bookátte sin	*dig*
		ʔašší	ʔašátte sin	*save, rescue*
		šiččí	šičátte sin	*roast grain*
		č'uttí	č'utátte sin	*spit*
		keellí	keelátte sin	*terrace*
		č'addí	č'adátte sin	*pound, stab*
2.	C- only	wod'í	wod'átte sin	*grind*
		kaš...	kašátte sin	*prepare, cook*
		goobí	goobátte sin	*act bravely*
		moogí	moogátte sin	*bury*
		heppetí	heppetátte sin	*sieve*
		k'azí	k'azáttesin	*beg*
3.	CC- only	boossí	boossátte sin	*honour*
		timmí	timmátte sin	*become wet*
		ʔaallí	ʔaallátte sin	*run out, finish*
		žillí	žillátte sin	*become green*
		geešší	geeššátte sin	*stay overnight*
		binní	binnátte sin	*feel / become hot*

Another alternation pattern concerns the quality of what may be termed
the "post-thematic vowel". In certain forms (e.g., the long perfect) the
vowel immediately following the stem is a in some verbs, but o in others. It
is probably the simplest analysis to say that in certain other forms (e.g.,
the short perfect and the imperative) no post-thematic vowel is present, for
in such forms any vowel that follows the stem can be analysed as an inflect-
ion (or as part of an inflection). e.g.

	3ms long perfect	short perfect	
1. O verbs	č'óod'ótte si n	č'óod'd'í	*chop up*
	báy?ótte si n	báy?í	*split (tr.)*
	búdótte si n	búdí	*sow*
	múuš'ótte si n	múuš'í	*kiss*
	č'ínnótte si n	č'ínní	*approach*
A verbs	hašátte si n	haší	*boil (intr.)*
	zeek'átte si n	zeek'k'í	*stink*
	?oyčátte sin	?oyčí	*twist sthg.*
	maš'átte sin	maš'í	*pick*
	š'illátte sin	š'illí	*become deep*

Comparison of the forms given for *chop up, approach* and *sow* in the O
set with the forms given for *stink, pick* and *become deep* in the A set shows
that the three lexically determined groupings of verbs vis à vis the length
of the root-final consonant (as described above) is quite independent of the
O : A post-thematic vowel classification of verbs.

It will be noted in the above examples that tonal differences appear
to accompany the O : A distinction. The extent of this regularity is consid-
ered in §2.6.2.1.

To the limited extent to which the matter has been investigated, it
would appear that a lexical distinction noted between infinitives terminating
in -e and -o (cf. §2.6.4.) also correlates with verbs having post-thematic

vowels O and A respectively. Thus:

infinitive	3ms long perfect	
máʂ'o	maʂ'átte si n	*pick*
wóoto	wootátte si n	*work, cultivate*
báyʔe	báyʔótte si n	*split (tr.)*
d'úuʔe	d'úuʔótte si n	*burst*

Only in the case of the irregular verbs described in §2.6.3. was this corre-
lation seen to break down. But since infinitives were collected systemati-
cally for only a small proportion of the verbs in the corpus, the analysis
on this point remains far from satisfactory.

The third alternation pattern is witnessed in all SS verbs having a
root-final p (which is pronounced as [f]; see §1.1.1.), b or m in forms such
as the long perfect or infinitive. In the short perfect (and certain other
forms) root-final p, b, and m are replaced by [k :^{h}], [g:], and [ŋg] resp-
ectively, while in the imperative we find geminate labial consonants, viz.
[p :^{h}], [b:], and [m:]. It should be noted that such alternations cannot
be predicted from a knowledge of the root-final element of the short perfect,
and only in cases of the [f] ~ [k :^{h}] ~ [p :^{h}] and [b] ~ [g:] ~ [b:]
alternations would a knowledge of the imperative form enable us to predict
the other forms. It has seemed reasonable, therefore, to assume that under-
lyingly the root-final elements in such verbs are /p/, /b/ and /m/.[40]
Some examples of these alternations are the following:

3ms long perfect	short perfect	imperative	

1. [f] ~ [k :^{h}] ~ [p :^{h}]

3ms long perfect	short perfect	imperative	
tú[f]ótte si n	tú[k :^{h}]ɾ	tú[p :^{h}]a	*plant*
k'á[f]ótte si n	k'á[k :^{h}]ɾ	k'á[p :^{h}]a	*scatter (tr.)*
dú[f]ótte si n	dú[k :^{h}]ɾ	dú[p :^{h}]a	*sting*
si[f]átte si n	si[k :^{h}]í	si[p :^{h}]á	*sew*

ʔe [f]átte sin	ʔe [k:ʰ]í	ʔe [p:ʰ]á	*take*
cf. bu[kʰ]átte sin	bu[k:ʰ]í	bu[k:ʰ]á	*thresh*
lí[k:ʰ]ótte sin	lí[k:ʰ]í	lí[k:ʰ]a	*become soft*

2. [b] ~ [g:] ~ [b:]

d'a[b]átte sin	d'a[g:]í	d'a[b:]á	*leave (tr.)*

3. [m] ~ [g] ~ [m:]

huu[m]átte sin	huu[ŋg]í	huu[m:]á	*winnow*
ku[m]átte sin	ku[ŋg]í	ku[m:]á	*become full*
kaŝ'u[m]átte sin	kaŝ'u[ŋg]í	kaŝ'u[m:]á	*breathe*
hée [m]ótte sin	hée [ŋg]í	hée [m:]a	*guard, keep*
č'óo[m]ótte sin	č'óo[ŋg]í	č'óo[m:]a	*chew*
cf. má[ŋg]ótte sin	má[ŋg]í	má[ŋg]a	*begin*
ti[m:]átte sin	tí[m:]í	tí[m:]a	*become wet*

Verbs having root-final p , b, or m do not seem to be very frequent (only 19 have been recorded). Again, it should be noted from the preceding examples that the membership of this group is subdivided by the O : A division.

Wherever it is necessary in this paper to distinguish the representation of verb roots for their membership of the various alternation classes, the following conventions will be observed:

    i. Roots having a CC- ~ C- alternation will be represented with the second consonant letter of the geminate form in parenthesis, viz.

        book(k)- *dig;* šič(č)- *roast grain;* etc.

    ii. Membership of the O and A alternation classes will be indicated by means of an upper case "O" or "A" respectively. This symbol will follow the hyphen indicating the termination of the root, viz.

        bud-O- *sow;* haš-A- *boil (intr.)*

        book(k)-A- *dig;* č'ood'(d')-O- *chop up;* etc.

§2.6.1.2. EXTENDED-STEM VERBS:

Although the point has not been exhaustively investigated, it is probable that every SS verb has at least one ES verb counterpart. Zayse stem-extensions vary with respect to form and also with respect to function, but it is clear that, from the point of view of both form and function, there are just two overall categories: transitivizers and intransitivizers. All stem-extensions occur with the "basic" stem of the SS verb, i.e., the one with consonantal properties typical of the long perfect – though without the post-thematic vowel. The consonantal termination of the stem extension constitutes the stem-final consonant in the ES verb, and it is subject to no morphologically determined alternations in the way that the (root) final consonant in a SS verb may be.

§2.6.1.2.1. TRANSITIVIZING STEM-EXTENSIONS:

Compared with their SS congeners transitivized ES verbs have a extra agent in their argument structure. The addition of a transitivizer extension to the root of an intransitive verb resubcategorizes it as transitive, while the addition of a transitivizing extension to the root of a transitive verb resubcategorizes it as a causative.

There are three forms of transitivizing extension (though see the final paragraph of this section): -us(s), -aš and -s. -us(s) and -aš seem to be in total free variation (though there may be lexically governed preferences) and have to be regarded as the regular, productive forms. Although the matter was not fully checked, it also seems that the final sibilant of the -us(s) extension can be either single or geminate. Some examples are:

SS verb (basic stem)		ES verb	
š'oo?-A-	*knead*	š'oo?us- / š'oo?aš-	*c. to knead*
zi h-A-	*plaster*	zihus- / zihaš-	*c. to plaster*
kit-A-	*get dirty*	kitus- / kitaš-	*dirty (tr.)*
?e p-A-	*take, marry*	?epus-	*arrange marriage*

mel-A-   *dry (intr.)*   melus- / melaš-   *dry (tr.)*

wad'(d')-A- *train animal*   wad'us- / wad'aš-   *c. to train*

keel(l)-A-   *terrace*   keelus- / kaalaš-   *c. to terrace*

tal?-A-   *borrow*   tal?us-   *lend*

?er-A-   *know*   ?erus-   *teach*

The −s suffix most commonly occurs when the root-final consonant of
the SS verb is a sonorant, but this is by no means entirely regular, and
alternative forms with one of the more productive transitivizing extensions
may also occur. e.g.

heem-O-   *guard, herd*   hee[nt͡s]−[41]/ heemus- *c. to guard*

kam-A-   *cover*   ka[nt͡s]−[41]/ kamus-   *c. to cover*

č'aan-A-   *load*   č'aanus- / č'aanaš- *c. to load*

hagel(l)-A- *become new*   hage[lt͡s]−[41]   *renew*

heNpel-O- *become light*   heNpe[lt͡s]−[41]   *lighten*

kes-O-   *go out / up*   kess-   *put out, take off clothes*

Whatever type of transitivizing extension occurs, it may be subject
to palatal harmony (cf. §1.6.5.). This appears to be obligatory in the case
of the −s stem-extension (as well as with its affricate realization). In the
case of −us(s) and −aš, however, palatal harmony is optional only. e.g.

haač'-O-   *scrape,*   haač'u[ʃ]-   *c. to scrape, etc.*
                   scratch   / haač'u[s]-

šič(č)-A-   *roast grain*   šičču[ʃ]-   *c. to roast grain*
                                     / šičču[s]-
                                     / šičča[ʧ^h]-
                                     / šičča[t͡s^h]-

č'eNŠ-A-   *become dark*   č'eNšu[ʃ]-   *darken (tr.)*
                                     / č'eNšu[s]-

moož-A-   *become cold*   moožu[ʃ]-   *make cold*
                                     / moožu[s]-

haš-A-   *boil (intr.)*   hašu[ʃ]-   *boil (tr.)*

/ hašu[s]-

/ haša[ʧʰ]-

/ haša[t͡sʰ]-

In the case of -s, the palatalization process is not only obligatory, but may also interact with anticipatory assimilation processes, e.g.

ʔuš-O-   *drink*   ʔu[ʃ:]-   *c. to drink*

dič'(č')-A-   *grow*   di[t͡:ʃʰ]-   *c. to grow*

/ dič'u[ʃ]-

/ dič'u[s]-

geež-O-   *become clean*   gee[ʃ:]-   *make clean*

šiik'-A-   *come near*   šii[ʃ:]-   *bring near*

Similar to the last three examples, we find certain one-off occurrences of stem-final alternations which can be explained as resulting from assimilation to the -s stem-extension; there would certainly be phonotactic motivation for such processes (cf. §1.4.). e.g.

yeep-A-   *weep, mourn*   yee[s:]-   *c. to weep / mourn*

/ yeepus-

ʔiit-O-   *become bad*   ʔii[s:]-   *make bad*

muu-d-[42]   *eat*   muu[s:]-   *feed*

sii-d-[42]   *hear*   sii[s:]-   *c. to hear*

Intransitivizing extensions function as an "agent reducing" device. It follows, therefore, that the SS congeners of such verbs are generally transitive. Relative to these, intransitivized verbs lack direct objects, and may often be regarded as agentless passives or (occasionally) as reflexives. There is only one regular intransitivizing extension, viz. -utt.[43] e.g.

SS verb (basic stem)		ES verb	
ye l-A-	*give birth*	ye lutt-	*be born*
gooš-A-	*hurt (tr.)*	goošutt-	*be hurt, suffer pain*
me he š-O-	*copulate (♂)*	me he šutt-	*copulate (♀)*
ʔiNS-A-	*conquer*	ʔiNSutt-	*be conquered*
good(d)-A-	*chase*	goodutt-	*be chased*
šag-A-	*separate*	šagutt-	*be separated, separate (intr.)*
moož-A-	*become cold (weather)*	moožutt-	*feel cold*
binn-A-	*become hot*	binnutt-	*feel hot*

A few denominal formations in -utt have been recorded, where an SS
verb does not appear to exist, e.g.

> zorutt- *discuss, cf.* zoré *discussion*
>
> naayutt- *become hungry, cf.* naayé *hunger*

We also find a few pairs of ES verbs which, although they lack a basic
SS verb, consist of one member with a transitivizing extension and another
with an intransitivizing extension. Both members of such doubly deponent
pairs of verbs usually exhibit morphological irregularities in the forms of
their stem-extensions. e.g.

transitivized ES verb		intransitivized verb	
gumur[t͡sʰ]-	*please*	gumur[t]-	*become happy*
me t[et͡:sʰ]-	*trouble (tr.)*	me t[ʉt:]-	*be troubled*
kaš-	*cook (tr.)*	kaš' (š')-	*cook (intr.)*
ʔee š-	*burn (tr.)*	ʔee š'-	*burn (intr.)*
k'ays-	*snap (tr.)*	k'ayš'-	*snap (intr.)*
me ʔ-	*break (tr.)*	me [nt͡s]-	*break (intr.)*

Attention is directed to the fact that throughout this section all
representations of SS verbs have included an indication of the membership of
the root with respect to the O : A alternation classes, but that no such

indication has accompanied the representations of extended stem verbs. This is because the behaviour of ES verbs appears to be predictable in this regard; transitivized verbs belong to the A class, while intransitivized verbs belong to the O class.

§2.6.2. INFLECTIONS:

The present section culminates in a paradigmatic display of certain representative verbs. It is necessary first, however, to say something about the various inflectional categories referred to in the paradigms, and also to attempt a partial explanation of the tonal behaviour of forms listed there (cf. §2.6.2.1.).

The paradigms presented in §2.6.2.2., although complete in themselves, are almost certainly only a subset (and perhaps only a small subset) of those which exhaustive future research will bring to light.[44] But having said this, it is likely that the inflectional paradigms included here are the most important ones.

The inflectional morphology indicates a non-overlapping division between forms marked for non-indicative mood and forms marked for perfect / imperfect aspect, i.e., for the former grouping, aspect is not distinguished, and for the latter grouping, indicative is the unmarked mood.

The non-indicative moods are the imperative, jussive and future. The paradigms of the imperative and jussive show a complementary distribution with respect to distinctions based on subject agreement, i.e., the imperative is confined to 2nd person forms, and the jussive lacks only 2nd person forms, though the distinctive marking of the imperative and jussive, seen in the affirmative forms, and even more strikingly in the negative forms, precludes any morphologically based analysis of the two as one paradigm. The future has a full paradigm. Morphological justification for regarding the future as a mood category rather than treating it as a term in a three-term tense system along with past (here analysed as perfect) and present (here analysed

as imperfect) consists in the fact that the future shares with the jussive
a common form for the negative interrogative. However, the main reason for
analysing the overall system as I have done is that the aspectually marked
forms (perfect and imperfect) may also be secondarily marked for tense dis-
tinctions; so that in addition to perfect and imperfect paradigms, there are
perfect past and imperfect past paradigms; in this system, the future, which
might – on semantic grounds – be presumed to belong to the imperfect rather
than the perfect, does not appear to fit at all.

The occurrence / non-occurrence of the post-thematic vowel (cf. §2.
6.1.1.) cuts across the division just presented. Post-thematic vowel dis-
tinctions are limited to long perfect and future paradigms. The other stem
alternations, i.e., stem-final geminate ~ single consonant alternations, and
the stem-final labial ~ velar alternations (cf. §2.6.1.1.) also display some-
what idiosyncratic distributional properties. Thus, geminate alternants are
confined to the short perfect and to the affirmative imperative and jussive
forms, and to relative clause forms of the future; the velar alternants of
the labial ~ velar alternations are found in the short perfect and certain
negative forms. (For further discussion of this matter, see §2.6.3., §2.6.
4., §2.6.5., and §3.2.)

One of the most marked characteristics of Ometo languages (at least
of those we have adequate data for) is the occurrence of interrogative para-
digms (cf. Moreno, 1938b; Adams, 1983; Hayward, 1982). As §2.6.2.2. shows,
Zayse is not without this feature. Moreover, in addition to segmental morph-
ological differences between declarative and interrogative forms, there seem
to be pitch shapes associated with some of the interrogative paradigms which
militate against the attempt to analyse verb forms totally in terms of the
tonal accent analysis offered earlier for non-verb forms (see §2.6.2.1.).
One surprising, but obvious, observation concerning the interrogative forms
is that in all cases, they appear to be morphologically simpler than their

respective declarative counterparts. A not implausible explanation will
shortly be advanced for this.

It is convenient for a discussion of Zayse to make a threefold dist-
inction in inflected paradigms. The three types, "simple", "compound", and
"complex", are distinguished on formal grounds. Forms in simple paradigms
consist of stem + affixes only. Forms in compound paradigms consist of main
and auxiliary verb constituents; for the main part, these are found in the
negative paradigms. Like forms in compound paradigms, those in complex para-
digms are periphrastic, though they have a different structure. According
to the present analysis all complex forms are identified by the presence of
a tt or t formative preceding the pronominal subject. Such an element app-
ears in all affirmative declarative forms of the long perfect, perfect past,
imperfect, imperfect past, and future paradigms. This is exemplified here
with 2nd person singular forms of the verb gel-A- *enter;* the formative
under discussion is underscored in the examples.

<u>affirmative declarative</u>

perfect	ge lá<u>tte</u> nin
perfect past	ge lá<u>tte</u> niddič
imperfect	ge láa<u>te</u> nen
imperfect past	ge láa<u>te</u> neč
future	ge lá<u>tte</u> nen

The analysis proposed here is that this tt ~ t formative is to be
identified as the copula as discussed in §2.5. This claim requires some
justification beyond the fact that one of the forms (i.e., tt) shares a
physical resemblance with the consonantal part of the copula. That justifi-
cation begins to emerge from the observation that verb forms containing this
formative are never found in sentences where a NP or PP is focussed. When
such a constituent is focussed, the copula, followed in some cases by a
clitic subject pronoun, attaches to the end of the phrase. In such cases,

the verb form which occurs not only lacks tt or t , but never takes a clitic subject pronoun either; thus, for a given aspect (± tense) or mood, the form is invariable. On the other hand, when no other phrasal constituent is focussed, both tt ~ t and the subject pronoun may occur in the verb - as in the forms above. Further consideration is given to the syntactic analysis of this in §3.2., but, in anticipation of the conclusions reached there, where it is argued that the operation of focus involves the formation of a type of cleft construction, it is suggested here that Zayse, unlike English or, indeed, most other Ethiopian languages[45], employs the same clefting device for verb focus as it does for focussing any other sentence constituent.

Earlier it was noted that relative to their declarative congeners, interrogative verb forms are morphologically simpler; thus, imperfect declarative geláattenen *You enter* but imperfect interrogative geláanen *Do you enter?* Comparison of declarative and interrogative forms of complex paradigms reveals that in the latter the tt ~ t formative under discussion is never present.

It would scarcely be appropriate to analyse the declaratives as having a structure derived by a syntactic transformational rule (cf. §3.2.) without extending the same analysis to the interrogatives, especially since it is only sentences containing interrogative verb forms that invariably trigger responses with declarative verb focus forms. It seems reasonable to regard such asymmetry as there is as being due to morphological, rather than to syntactic differences. It is, therefore, suggested that in the presence of the feature "interrogative", a verb form requires no overt manifestation of the copula. This argument is substantially strengthened (being raised to the level of a cross-category generalisation) when it is recalled that exactly the same absence of the copula characterizes NP's and PP's headed by content question words - items which are inherently focussed (cf. §2.4.3.).

The question of the allomorphy of the copula needs to be addressed.

The form functioning in nominal predicates is clearly -tte (§2.5.). The
same is true of the form employed in NP and PP focus. To this point, however,
the form of the copula found in complex paradigm forms (hereafter "CPF's")
has been presented as either -tt or t. The geminate ~ single consonant allo-
morphy is not confined to verb forms, however, for, though the form with
gemination must be regarded as having the "elsewhere distribution", we do
find a single-consonant form, viz. -te, with the personal pronouns (cf. §2.
4.1.). But what about the final e? Why is this not present in the copula
found in CPF's? The answer to this is that e is, in fact, very frequently
present, but that under certain circumstances, it undergoes elision. Exam-
ination of the affirmative declarative paradigms of the complex type reveals
the presence of an e after the -tt or -t in *1s, 2s, 3ms* and *non-specific*
members; other vowels appear in all other members. Comparison of affirmative
declarative with affirmative interrogative forms, where the copula is not,
of course, present, with the result that the subject pronouns follow the
post-thematic vowel or imperfect aspect marker, suggests strongly that al-
though the *1s, 2s* and *3ms* bound subject pronouns are underlyingly consonant-
initial, the remainder are underlyingly vowel-initial. (Albeit, these vowels
often undergo glide formation, as described in §1.6.2.) This, of course, was
assumed in the presentation of the set of bound subject pronouns in §2.4.1.
(ii). Accordingly, the e which always appears in *1s, 2s,* and *3ms* members of a
complex paradigm must belong to the preceding formative. The non-occurrence
of e with the remaining members of the pronominal set requires us to post-
ulate a deletion rule, though the fact that such deletions do not take place
in comparable phonological situations in non-verbs argues that the process
is sensitive to morphological determinants.

The perfect has two forms, a long form (described here as one of the
complex paradigms) and a short invariable form in which a suffix -i follows
the stem. The fact that this form of the perfect is marked by a palatal

vowel, that all forms of the imperfect are marked with a low vowel (though see the analysis in §3.2.), and that the majority of forms of the affirmative jussive have rounded vowels will not have been lost on comparativists (cf. Zaborski, 1984, 1986), but the possible diachronic significance of this will not be dwellt upon here.

From a synchronic point of view, the short perfect seems to occur in sentences where no constituent is focussed. According to the analysis proposed in this study, the long perfect (and, indeed, all CPF's) are forms in which the verb itself is focussed, and, as will be explained shortly, the "invariable" forms occur when some complement of the verb is focussed. Thus, the short perfect is a focus-neutral form.

The question naturally arises as to whether similar focus-neutral forms exist for other paradigms, most notably for the imperfect. I can only record the fact that no such forms appeared spontaneously, nor even when an effort was made to elicit them. It may perhaps be the case that the short "perfect" is actually aspect-neutral and that many examples of it in my field notes could equally well have been translated with imperfect aspect. We might see some support for such a view in the fact that non-final verbs with a participle-like function (comparable to the "converb" of Ethiopian Semitic languages) are formally identical to the short perfect (cf. §2.6.6.). Moreover, precisely the same form appears in the negative imperative. Proper resolution of this apparent asymmetry will have to await future research.

For each indicative declarative paradigm, there will be found a form that I have labelled the "invariable form". Distributionally, these forms seem to be restricted to sentences in which some non-verb phrase is focussed (see §3.2.). I believe it is appropriate to call attention to a formal identity between the stem shape in invariable forms and that found in the majority of subordinate (embedded) clause verb forms, which are also invariable for person. In general, the point is not obvious from a comparison of such

forms for those verbs that show no stem alternations (cf. §2.6.1.1.), but for those showing alternations, it is very obvious. Thus, consider these forms of *go*.

	invariable form	relative clause form
perfect	ham-(in)	ham-(ess)
imperfect	ham-(aan)	ham-(aass)
future	hamm-(en)	hamm-(endess)

The distribution of single / geminate stem-final consonants in the stem is the same, and it should be noted that the velar alternant, which character-izes the short perfect – in this case ha[ŋ]g-(i) – is not found in the perfect stems here. Moreover, the stem found in the complex paradigm of the future is not geminate (as it is here); thus, *3ms* ham-(attesen) *he will go*.

What then are we to make of the post-stem portions of the invariable forms? It is to be noted that all the invariable forms terminate in a con-sonant, either -n or -č. Futher comparison shows that similar final con-sonants occur in many of the complex paradigms – though not in the interro-gative perfect. It is, moreover, simple to pick out a distributional patt-ern for these two consonants. The palatal consonant is confined to the aff-irmative perfect and imperfect pasts; the nasal occurs elsewhere. We may, therefore, conclude that -č signals "past" and -n signals "non-past".[46] What is, I think, most significant of all is the fact that -n and -č are always sentence-final. Furthermore, at least in the case of -n[47], it does not seem necessary that attachment is to an overt verb; thus:

karáttesen
house-cop.-3ms pron.-e-n

It is in the house that he is

ʔótá   gallatteten
water-pot-gen. 'on'-cop.-1s pron.-e-n

and   tá[j]   ʔótá   gallatt[e:]n

I-nom.   water-pot   "on"-cop.-NS pron.-e-n

It is on the water-pot that I am

On the basis of these various observations, it appears that -n and -č are probably to be considered as main predication markers having the phonological status of clitics.

The vocalic elements that precede -n / -č seem fairly clearly to be associated with aspect differences, but a partial mismatch between the set of vowels occurring before -n / -č in CPF's as compared with the set that occurs before -n / -č in the invariable forms complicates the analysis. (In the following illustrative forms, the vowels under consideration are underscored; the verb employed is *go*.)

	invariable forms	CPF's *(1s)*
perfect	ham-i-n	hamattet-i-n
perfect past	ha[ŋ]g-ii-č	hamattetidd-i-č
imperfect	ham-aa-n	hamaatet-e-n
imperfect past	ham-aa-č	hamaatet-e-č
future	hamm-e-n	hamattet-e-n

The most consistent generalisation that one is able to extract from this data is that i/ii signals "perfect", while aa/e signals "imperfect". But even this generalisation breaks down if we bring the subordinate clause forms into the comparison again (see above), for here, the vowel preceding the subordinate predication marker (-ss) in the perfect is e. The analysis is yet further complicated by the fact that a terminal consonant (-n / -č) is entirely lacking in the case of one CPF, namely, the interrogative perfect (cf. also the behaviour of -ss in the relative perfect; cf. §3.3.), and the form ends in -e. Finally, it needs to be mentioned that the corpus contains a few alternative invariable forms, which also lack a terminal consonant, and end in -e; these variant forms are included in the paradigms (§2.6.2.2.).

§2.6.2.1. TONAL PATTERNS IN VERB FORMS:

Even on the basis of my very limited investigation of the language,
it is apparent that specific patterns of pitch variation are an integral
accompaniment to (and, indeed, partial exponence of) the various paradigms.
It is also apparent that there are lexically governed distinctions in the
tonal patterns of paradigms. Both these observations are illustrated very
clearly in forms such as the following.

	wod'-A- *kill*	miš-O- *be replete*
short perfect aff.	wod'í	míší
3ms long perfect aff.	wod'átte sin	mišóttesin
NS future aff.	wod'átteyin	mišótteyin
2s imperative aff.	wod'á	míša
3ms jussive aff.	wod'ó	míšó

Examination of these forms suggests two things. Firstly, that there
is a correlation between the tonal pattern displayed by a verb and its mem-
bership of the O or A alternation class (cf. §2.6.1.1.). This correlation
seems to hold up very well for verbs with (C)VC radicals. However, verbs
with longer stems (whether these stems are simple or extended) seem to show
some divergence in certain forms, e.g.

	boor-A- *bake*	mokkor-A- *try*	bu?-utt-[48] *be united*
short perfect aff.	boorí	mokkorí	bu?útti
3ms long perfect aff.	bóorattesin	mokkórattesin	bu?úttottesin
NS future aff.	bóoratteyin	mokkórátteyin	bu?úttotteyin
2s imperative aff.	boorá	mokkorá	bu?útta
3ms jussive aff.	booró	mokkoró	bu?útto

Unfortunately, my investigation of full paradigms for verbs having longer
stems was insufficient to ascertain whether or not the partial divergences
seen in SS verbs such as boor-A- and mokkor-A- are representative of

verbs of this type. It seems likely, however, that intransitivized ES verbs in -utt may well have a distinct pattern of their own.

The second thing suggested by an examination of the above forms of (C)VC- verbs is that the tonal patterns of verb forms may be amenable to essentially the same sort of analysis as that proposed for nouns (cf. §2.1. 1.). It will be recalled that while some noun roots were regarded as having a radical accent, others were analysed as unaccented. Similarly, in the case of verbs, it would be possible to consider verbs such as miš-O- *become replete* as lexically accented, and verbs such as wod'-A- *kill,* as unaccented. The occurrence of H in verb forms would then follow from exactly the same rules as those required for nouns. Thus, the H tones on the inflectional elements in wod'í and míší, wod'átte sin and míšótte sin, wod'átte yin and míšótte yin, wod'ó and míšó would all be accounted for by claiming that these particular affixes are inherently accented. The double H tones in these forms of miš-O- would follow from the H spreading rule already motivated for certain noun forms. The tonal differences between the imperatives wod'á and míša would be explained if we analysed the imperative inflection as unaccented, for in such a case the default H association rule will ensure that this element receives H tone in wod'á only.

The approach works very well for the majority of forms of verbs such as wod'-A- and miš-O-. Clearly, it would be satisfying to have a unified analysis for nouns and verbs. It is also satisfying to note that at least in the case of (C)VC- verb radicals, the accented : unaccented distinction ties in with the distinction between O : A alternation classes. However, as we have seen already, the tonal behaviour of verbs with longer stems does not show this correlation fully. The tonal behaviour of such verbs (see the above table of forms for boor-A-, mokkor-A-, etc.) also does not seem to be susceptible of an analysis in terms of the simple two-fold accentual distinction employed for nouns and (C)VC- verbs.[49]

A further obstacle facing the attempt to apply a unitary analysis to nouns and (C)VC- verbs is the fact that the latter have some forms in which the overall pitch configuration is: (a) the same for both types of verbs: (b) of a form that does not follow in any predictable way from the accentual analysis proposed for either type. e.g.

	wod'-A-	miš-O-
perfect interrogative aff.	wód'átidde	míšótidde
perfect interrogative neg.	wod'i-baʔa	miši-baʔa
future interrogative aff.	wód'ate n	míšote n
future interrogative neg.	wod'aʔa	miša?a

The fact that the majority of verb forms exhibiting such unpredicted tone patterns are interrogatives makes it not too implausible to suggest that the tonal patterns seen here result from the superimposition of sentence domain prosodies, which, as in other verb-final Ethiopian languages (see Parker and Hayward, 1985: 222ff.), are realised sentence-finally on the verb. But, the resolution of these matters has to await extensive future research.

§2.6.2.2. THE PARADIGMS:

The paradigms of three representative SS verbs are set out below. They are: ʔe r-A- *know*, bug-O- *clear scrub*, and ham-A- *go*.[50] Super-script letters in italics refer to notes that follow the paradigms.

1.   perfect:

 (i) declarative

    affirmative

    A. long perfect

	ʔe r-A-	bug-O-	ham-A-
1s	ʔe rátte tin	búgótte tin	hamátte tin
2s	ʔe rátte nin	búgótte nin	hamátte nin
3ms	ʔe rátte sin	búgótte sin	hamátte sin

3fs	ʔerátti sin	búgóttisin	hamáttisin
1p.inc.	ʔeráttinin	búgóttinin	hamáttinin
1p.exc.	ʔeráttunin	búgóttunin	hamáttunin
2p	ʔeráttitin	búgóttitin	hamáttitin
3p	ʔeráttusin	búgóttusin	hamáttusin
NS[a]	ʔerátteyin	búgótteyin	hamátteyin

B. short perfect

common	ʔerí	búgí	ha[ŋ]gí
negative[b][e]			
common	ʔeri-báʔa	búgí-baʔa	ha[ŋ]gi-báʔa
invariable form			
common	ʔerin	bugin	hamin

(ii) interrogative

affirmative[d]

1s	ʔérátidde	búgótidde	hámátidde
2s	ʔéránde	búgónde	hámánde
3ms	ʔérásidde	búgósidde	hámásidde
3fs[c]	ʔeráysidde	búgóysidde	hámáysidde
1p.inc.[c]	ʔeráynidde	búgóynidde	hámáynidde
1p.exc.[c]	ʔeráwnidde	ƚúgównidde	hámáwnidde
2p[c]	ʔeráytidde	búgóytidde	hámáytidde
3p[c]	ʔeráwsidde	ƚúgówsidde	hámáwsidde
NS[a]	ʔeráydde	búgóɣdde	hámáydde

negative[b][e]

common	ʔeri-baʔa	bugi-baʔa	ha[ŋ]gi-baʔa

2. <u>perfect past:</u>

(i) declarative

affirmative^{(d)(f)}

1s	?eráttetiddič	búgóttetiddič	hamáttetiddič
2s	?erátteniddič	búgótteniddič	hamátteniddič
3ms	?eráttesiddič	búgóttesiddič	hamáttesiddič
3fs	?eráttisiddič	búgóttisiddič	hamáttisiddič
1p.inc.	?eráttiniddič	búgóttiniddič	hamáttiniddič
1p.exc.	?eráttuniddič	búgóttuniddič	hamáttuniddič
2p	?eráttitiddič	búgóttitiddič	hamáttitiddič
3p	?eráttusiddič	búgóttusiddič	hamáttusiddič
NS^(a)	?erátteyddič	búgótteyddič	hamátteyddič

negative^{(b)(e)}

common	?erí-ba?ešin	búgí-ba?ešin	ha[ŋ]gí-ba?ešin

invariable form

common	?eriič	bugiič	ha[ŋ]giič

(ii) interrogative
affirmative^{(d)(f)}

1s	?érátiddič	búgótiddič	hámátiddič
2s	?érániddič	búgóniddič	hámániddič
3ms	?érásiddič	búgósiddič	hámásiddič
3fs^(c)	?éráysiddič	búgóysiddič	hámáysiddič
1p.inc.^(c)	?éráyniddič	búgóyniddič	hámáyniddič´
1p.exc.^(c)	?éráwniddič	búgówniddič	hámáwniddič
2p^(c)	?éráytiddič	búgóytiddič	hámáytiddič
3p^(c)	?éráwsiddič	búgówsiddič	hámáwsiddič
NS^(a)	?éráyddič	búgóyddič	hámáyddič

negative^{(b)(e)}

common	?erí-ba?ašin	búgí-ba?ašin	ha[ŋ]gí-ba?ašin

3.   <u>imperfect</u>:

(i) declarative

affirmative

1s	?eráateten	búgáateten	hamáateten
2s	?eráatenen	búgáatenen	hamáatenen
3ms	?eráatesen	búgáatesen	hamáatesen
3fs	?eráatisen	búgáatisin	hamáatisen
1p.inc.	?eráatinen	búgáatinen	hamáatinen
1p.exc.	?eráatunen	búgáatunen	hamáatunen
2p	?eráatiten	búgáatiten	hamáatiten
3p	?eráatusen	búgáatusen	hamáatusen
NS[a]	?eráatteyin	búgáatteyin	hamáatteyin

negative[e]

common	?eráa-ba?a	búgáa-ba?a	hamáa-ba?a

invariable form

common	?eraan / ?ere	bugaan / buge	hamaan / ha[ŋ]ge

(ii) interrogative

affirmative

1s	?eráaten	búgáaten	hamáaten
2s	?eráanen	búgáanen	hamáanen
3ms	?eráasen	búgáasen	hamáasen
3fs[c]	?eráysen	búgáysen	hamáysen
1p.inc.[c]	?eráynen	búgáynen	hamáynen
1p.exc.[c]	?eráwnen	búgáwnen	hamáwnen
2p[c]	?eráyten	búgáyten	hamáyten
3p[c]	?eráwsen	búgáwsen	hamáwsen
NS[a]	?eráàn	búgáàn	hamáàn

negative^(e)

common   ʔeraa-baʔa   bugaa-baʔa   hamaa-baʔa

4.   <u>imperfect past</u>:

  (i)   declarative

        affirmative^(f)

1s	ʔerɇateteč	búgɇateteč	hamɇateteč
2s	ʔerɇateneč	búgɇateneč	hamɇateneč
3ms	ʔerɇateseč	búgɇateseč	hamɇateseč
3fs	ʔerɇatiseč	búgɇatiseč	hamɇatiseč
1p.inc.	ʔerɇatineč	búgɇatineč	hamɇatineč
1p.exc.	ʔerɇatuneč	búgɇatuneč	hamɇatuneč
2p	ʔerɇatiteč	búgɇatiteč	hamɇatiteč
3p	ʔerɇatuseč	búgɇatuseč	hamɇatuseč
NS^(a)	ʔerɇatteeč	búgɇatteeč	hamɇatteeč

        negative^(e)

common   ʔerɇa-baʔešin   búgɇa-baʔešin   hamɇa-baʔešin

        invariable form

common   ʔeraač   bugaač   hamaač

  (ii)   interrogative

        affirmative^(f)

1s	ʔerɇateč	búgɇateč	hamɇateč
2s	ʔerɇaneč	búgɇaneč	hamɇaneč
3ms	ʔerɇaseč	búgɇaseč	hamɇaseč
3fs^(c)	ʔerɇyseč	búgɇyseč	hamɇyseč
1p.inc.^(c)	ʔerɇyneč	búgɇyneč	hamɇyneč
1p.exc.^(c)	ʔerɇwneč	búgɇwneč	hamɇwneč
2p^(c)	ʔerɇyteč	búgɇyteč	hamɇyteč

3p^(c)			

$3p^{(c)}$	?eráwseč	búgáwseč	hamáwseč
$NS^{(a)}$	?eráàč	búgáàč	hamáàč

negative^(e)

common	?eraa-ba?ašin	bugaa-ba?ašin	hamaa-ba?ašin

5.   <u>future</u>:

(i)   declarative

affirmative

1s	?erátteten	búgótteten	hamátteten
2s	?eráttenen	búgóttenen	hamáttenen
3ms	?eráttesen	búgóttesen	hamáttesen
3fs	?eráttisen	búgóttisen	hamáttisen
1p.inc.	?eráttinen	búgóttinen	hamáttinen
1p.exc.	?eráttunen	búgóttunen	hamáttunen
2p	?eráttiten	búgóttiten	hamáttiten
3p	?eráttusen	búgóttusen	hamáttusen
$NS^{(a)}$	?erátteyen	búgótteyen	hamátteyen

common	?eréndí-ba?e	búgéndí-ba?e	haméndí-ba?e
	/ ?erá?e	/ búgá?e	/ hamá?e

invariable form

	?eren	bugen	hammen

(ii)   interrogative

affirmative

1s	?ératen	búgoten	hámaten
2s	?éranen	búgonen	hámanen
3ms	?érasen	búgosen	hámasen
$3fs^{(c)}$	?éraysen	búgoysen	hámaysen

1p.inc.[c]	ʔéraynen	búgoynen	hámaynen
1p.exc.[c]	ʔérawnen	búgownen	hámawnen
2p[c]	ʔérayten	búgoyten	hámayten
3p[c]	ʔérawsen	búgowsen	hámawsen
NS[a]	ʔérayen	búgoyen	hámayen

negative[e]

common	ʔerendi-baʔa	bugendi-baʔa	hamendi-baʔa
	/ ʔeraʔa	/ bugaʔa	/ hamaʔa

6. imperative:

affirmative[g]

2s	ʔerá	búga	hammá
2p	ʔeráyt	búgayt	hammáyt

negative[h]

2s	ʔerí-dok	búgí-dok	ha[ŋ]gí-dok
2p	ʔerí-dokkit	búgí-dokkit	ha[ŋ]gí-dokkit

7. jussive:

affirmative

1s	ʔerán	búgán	hammán
3s	ʔeró	búgó	hammó
1p.inc.	ʔeríìn	búgíìn	hammíìn
1p.exc.	ʔeróð	búgóð	hammóð
3p	ʔeraw	bugaw	hammaw

negative

common	ʔeráʔa	búgáʔa	hamáʔa

Notes to the paradigms:

The *NS* (non-specific) subject pronoun forms appear to be used only

when the sentence seems to contain an overt subject NP (later to be

analysed as a syntactically independent topic), e.g.

<p style="text-align:center">haré šamess ʔaši háyʔótteyin</p>

<p style="text-align:center">(The) man who bought a donkey died</p>

However, while the form with the specific pronoun, i.e., háyʔóttesin

he died, could stand in the appropriate context (where the subject is

understood) as an acceptable single word sentence, this would not be

the case for háyʔótteyin. A proper explanation of the NS form is

postponed until §3.2.

Very frequently, the y of NS forms undergoes elision; this is expeci-

ally noticeable in the imperfect and future paradigms. Nevertheless,

the underlying form of this (dummy) pronominal clitic has certainly to

be analysed as /y/. A y ([j]) is clearly to be heard in all forms

in the closely related Zargulla dialect.

(b) Both declarative and interrogative negatives in all perfect paradigms

appear to be based on the short perfect.

(c) Attention is directed to the glides in these forms. Comparison with

the corresponding members of the declarative paradigm shows that these

glides derive from the underlying vowels which are initial in these

particular clitic pronouns; cf. §1.6.2., §2.4.1.(ii).

(d) A number of affirmative paradigms of the perfect aspect contain an

element −idd− . This element should, I think, be recognized as con-

taining a reflex of the Proto-Omotic verb formative *d which is dis-

cussed in Hayward,1984b (cf. also the identification of this element in

the irregular verbs described in §2.6.3.). What the preceding vocalic

element (i.e., the i) represents (either synchronically or diachronic-

ally) is not at all clear, though one is tempted to see the palatality

as an indicator of perfect aspect.

(e)   It will be noted that the negatives of all indicative forms have (at
least as one of their options) a compound paradigm containing some
form of the verb ba?-, which, as an independent lexical verb, has the
meaning *not to be / exist.*

(f)   Attention is directed to the final -č element in these paradigms. It
is further to be noted that a -čča component in the past tense copu-
lar forms has been recorded for Koyra (Hayward, 1982: 233-4).

(g)   While the endings of the affirmative imperative forms are readily com-
pared with those found in their Koyra counterparts (cf. Hayward, 1982:
251), there is no sign of the labial velar glide which precedes these
endings in Koyra. Comparative evidence (cf. Cerulli, 1938b: 24; Plazi-
kowsky-Brauner, 1950: 74ff.) requires us to consider this glide as
archaic.

(h)   The negative imperative is most interesting; the auxiliary dokk-
has obviously to be connected with the South Omotic Aari verb described
in Ch.8 §2.7.2.5.). Other Ometo languages (for which we have data)
appear to have reflexes of an ancestral formative to be reconstructed
as something like *-opp.

§2.6.3. IRREGULAR VERBS:

     In addition to the existential verb yes-A- (described at the end of
this section) six verbs having somewhat irregular morphology have been noted.
All of them are common verbs of frequent occurrence; they translate as: *come,*
eat, hear, say, bring, and *run away.* On comparative grounds, it seems likely
that the idiosyncrasies displayed by these verbs have arisen on account of
their having a root-final glide or vowel. I shall not attempt here to esta-
blish invariant underlying forms for these verbs, but simply present and
discuss as much of their allomorphy as the material available permits.

There are certain characteristics common to all six verbs that makes it possible to consider them as a distinct set for descriptive purposes. These properties are:

1. In the long perfect, there is a stem-final t or tt. This precedes the post-thematic vowel, which for each of the verbs under consideration is a (i.e., they all belong to the A class).[51]

2. A d or dd element appears before the -i suffix of the short perfect (cf. §2.6.2.2. Note (d)).

3. In the imperative and jussive, a glide, y(y) or w, appears before the endings, which latter are regular. The same glides also appear preceding stem extensions beginning with vowels. From the point of view of a synchronic analysis, it might seem feasible, in some cases, to derive these glides as epenthetic insertions between vowels of differing tongue heights, for it will be recalled that Zayse does not permit vowel sequences (cf. §1.4.). Where the vowel is i, a palatal glide is inserted, in other cases w (the non-syllabic congener of the epenthetic vowel; cf. §1.6.1.) is inserted. However, rather idiosyncratic length alternations which affect both the root vowel and the glide in an apparently uncorrelated way suggest that these glide alternants are deeply morphologized. Moreover, the verb *eat* exhibits qualitative alternations of the root vowel, and in *run away*, the yy in the imperative is quite unmotivated on phonological grounds.

The features discussed here, and others, are available for inspection in the representative forms set out in the following table.[52]

Table 7	*come*	*bring*	*eat*
long perfect *(3ms)*	yettattesin	ʔeettattesin	muutattesin
short perfect	yeedi	ʔeedi	muudi
imperative *(2s)*	yewa	ʔeewa	miya

invariable forms:

perfect	yeen / yeedi	ʔeen	muun
imperfect	yewaan	ʔeewaan	miyaan
future	yewen	ʔeewen	miyen
perfect past	yeeddič	ʔeeddič	muuddič
imperfect past	yewaač	ʔeewaač	miyaač

extended stems:

in -us	yewus-	ʔewus	muuss-
in -utt	yewutt-	ʔewutt-	miyutt-
	hear	*say*	*run away*[53]

long perfect *(3ms)*	siittattesin	yittattesin	baattattesin
short perfect	siidi	yidi	baadi
imperative *(2s)*	siya	yiyya / yiiya	bayya

invariable forms:

perfect	siin	yin	?
imperfect	siyaan	yiyyaan	?
future	siyen	yiyyen	?
perfect past	siiddič	yiddič	?
imperfect past	siyaač	yiyyaač	?

extended stems:

in -us / -s	siiss-	yis-[54]	?
in -utt	siyutt-	yiyutt-	?

The existential verb is yes-A-. It is highly idiosyncratic in its behaviour. As in certain other Ethiopian languages, perfect forms have imperfect (or "present state") meanings. The long perfect does not take bound subject pronouns after -tte, and is, therefore, a single invariable form. Nor does the main verb marking element (or final predication marker) -i-n (cf. discussion towards the end of §2.6.2.) occur. Thus:

long perfect (all persons)   yesátte

short perfect   yesí

e.g.

  ʔaȿí kará yesátte

  There is a person in the house

No other forms of yes-A- were encountered - at least, no overt ones. Nevertheless, I believe that it is important for structural reasons to recognize certain "covert occurrences" of the existential verb. For example, in focussed PP's having a locative/existential sense, there is no phonetically realized form of yes-A-, e.g.

  ʔótá   ʔoommottesen

  water-pot-gen. underpart-cop.-3ms pron.-final pred. marker

  It is under the water-pot that it (he) is

 cp. mandárágapattes   yeen

  village-loc.-from-cop.-3ms pron came-final pred. marker

  It is from in the village that he came

Since the final verb of a sentence containing a focussed NP or PP is one of the "invariable forms", which are based on the relative verb stem (for the arguments for this, see §3.2.), it is hypothesized that the existential verb lacks a relative form.[55] Thus, in a sentence such as the first of the two above, the final predication marker has no verb to attach to, and so attaches to the next word to its left.

Negation is accomplished suppletively by means of báʔe *he/she/ is not present.*

yes-A- is employed in one type of expression of possession; a postpositional clitic (cf. §2.1.4.3.) attaches to the logical subject, which is in the absolute, e.g.

  táaro yesátte

  me-to exists

  I have

§ 2.6.4. COMPOUND VERBS:

Compound verb formations consisting of an uninflecting lexical compo-
nent followed by an inflecting form of a verb with the independent lexical
meaning *say* or *do* are a typical feature of the Ethiopian language area (cf.
Ferguson, 1970), and Zayse is not without this. In such compounds, the com-
pounding (i.e., *say*) verb itself functions simply as a bearer of inflection-
al marking, and seldom retains much lexical content of its own. In the
Zayse forms that were collected, the compounding verb displays a degree of
structural reduction (in comparison with *say* as a main verb) that suggests
it is to be regarded as enclitic. Some typical examples (illustrated as
short perfect forms) are the following:

?elléydi	*move / travel rapidly, cf.* ?élle *fast*
bo?éydi	*become bald, cf.* bo?á *bald*
wul?éydi	*become flat, cf.* wúl?a *plain*
?eróydi	*obey, agree, cf.* ?eró *alright, O.K.*
maléydi	*become beautiful, cf.* maláade *beautiful*

Similar compounds based on forms derived from verb roots have also been
noted.[56] They seem to be particularly characteristic of the final verb
phrase in conjoined verb structures, e.g.

ha[ŋ]gíitta máak'oγya (= maak'o + yiyya)
go!-and   *returning say!*

Go and come back!

yeedíitta muuttayya (= muutta + yiyya)
come!-and   *eating say!*

Come and eat!

(See also §2.6.6.)

Mention is made of another formation involving *say*, which has to be
distinguished from the preceding one. It consists of a verbal noun / infin-
itive followed by *say*, and is used to express the notion that an event or

action is just about to take place, e.g.

hamé	yidi	*he / she / etc. was about to go*
y̧éllo	yidi	*she / I / etc. was about to give birth*
gélo	yidi	*he / she / etc. was about to enter*
ʔardá	yidi	*he / she / etc. is about to settle,*
yessá	y̧idi	*remain, live, be (exist)*
hamé	y̧aatisen	*he is about to go*
hamé	yaatinen	*we are about to go*
miyé	yaateten	*I am about to eat*

§2.6.5. INFINITIVES:

To the limited extent that the subject has been investigated, it appears that infinitives are formed according to the following rules:

1. Verbs of the O class form their infinitives by means of a suffix −e.

2. Verbs of the A class form their infinitives by means of a suffix −o.

3. In the great majority of cases, infinitive forms have stem-final accent.

The stem shape employed as base in infinitive formation is not to be identified as that found in forms such as the affirmative declarative perfect. It could be argued that the formation of infinitives involves a morphologically determined process of degemination which may affect a stem-final geminate. However, in the discussion of this alternation (§2.6.1.1.), it was observed that this is a lexically determined phenomenon, for not all verbs with stem-final geminates have alternants with single consonants. This lack of predictability requires the use of a diacritic the conventions for which have been given in the section referred to.

Some examples of infinitives of SS verbs are the following:

báyʔe	bayʔ-O-	*split*
šóole	šool-O-	*strip, peel (tr.)*
č'óod'e	č'ood'(d')-O-	*chop up*

d'úuʔe	d'uuʔ-O-	*burst*
ʔáč'e	ʔač'(č')-O-	*tie*
wóoto	woot-A-	*hoe*
bóoko	book(k)-A-	*dig*
ʔáč'o	ʔač'(č')-A-	*reap*
máṣ'o	maṣ'-A-	*pick*
ʔóyčo	ʔoyč-A-	*twist*

The irregular verbs (cf. §2.6.3.) often seem to form infinitives after the patterns of both O and A classes; their tonal patterns are also unpredictable, viz.

yéwo / yewé	*to come*		hámo / hamé	*to go*	
ʔéewo / ʔeewé	*to bring*		ʔépo / ʔepé	*to take*	
d'ábo / d'abé	*to leave*		síye	*to hear*	
yíyye	*to say*		míye	*to eat*	

Unfortunately, only a few examples of sentences containing infinitives were collected. As might be expected, infinitives take an -i nominative when in subject function. e.g.

> ʔúše tá[j] ʔeehátteyin
> *I shall like to drink*

> haméttet   worge
> *to-go-cop.-1s pron. want*
> *It is to go that I want*

> míyétten   worge
> *to eat-cop.-2s pron. want*
> *It is to eat that you want*

> modó ʔuše[j] lóʔótte
> *beer to drink-nom. good-cop.*
> *To drink beer is good*

kóŝ'é[j]   lóʔo   baʔe

To uproot (something) is not good

Finally, mention should be made of another type of verbal noun, which seems to be formed only sporadically. This form is consonant-final in the absolutive, and observation of its nominative form reveals that this stem-final consonant is always geminate; the absolutive form itself is accounted for by word-final degemination (cf. §1.6.3.). Furthermore, in some cases, the final geminate consonant differs from the single or geminate consonant found in the verbal stem(s). This suggests that the formation of this verbal noun type involves suffixation of a consonant which may occasion assimilatory behaviour across the morpheme boundary. Examination of the following examples suggests that the suffix may be - or may once have been - -s or -ŝ; But the data is insufficient to establish this.

<u>verbal noun</u> (nominative)

maŝŝí	maŝ-A-	*pick*
ʔúšší	ʔuš-O-	*drink*
kóŝŝí	koŝ'(ŝ')-O-	*uproot*
šóččí	šod(d)-O-	*uproot*
báyŝŝí	bayʔ-O-	*split*
č'óoččí	č'ood'(d')-O-	*chop up*
tússí	tup-O-	*plant*
bússí / búŝŝí	bud-O-	*sow*
d'úussí	d'uuʔ-O-	*burst*
ʔaččí	ʔač'(č')-A-	*reap*
ʔáččí	ʔač'(č')-O-	*tie*

§2.6.6. NON-FINAL VERB FORMS AND SOME TYPES OF VERB CONJUNCTION:

Non-final verbs in chains of two or more VP's having a common subject (i.e., a syntactic situation where Amharic would employ the converb form)

tend to appear in the short perfect form. The overall aspect / tense sett-
ing of the sentence is determined by the form of the final verb. e.g.

ʔe-ʔaʃí   gelí   ʔútti
the man-nom. having entered having sat down

múudi   geháttesin / gehí
having eaten he slept (long perf.) / slept (short perf.)

The man having returned home, sat down, (and) eaten,
went to sleep

In some cases that were noted, the final verb closing the sentence was the

appropriate aspect / tense form of *say* which itself seemed to be semantic-

ally quite empty. e.g.

ʔe-ʔaʃí   múudi   ʔúši
the man-nom. having eaten having drunk

gehí   yiyyáatisen
slept (short perf.) say-imperf.-cop.-3ms pron.-FPM

The man having eaten (and) drunk, sleeps

A conjunctive element -itta (underscored in the illustrative examples) may

be added to the penultimate short perfect form, and to this the copula and a

clitic subject pronoun may further be attached, thus giving this penultimate

verb the structure of a complex paradigm form. However, what the signifi-

cance of such forms are in terms of the analysis of focus suggested in this

study is far from understood. e.g.

tá[j] gáde ša[ŋ]gí máačo ʔekkíittattet
I-nom. land buying   wife   take (short perf.)-'and'-
yésa   yiyyen[57]   *cop.-1s pron.*
dwell / exist say-fut.

I will buy land, take a wife, and settle

ʔe-máagá[j] gelíittattes
the chief-nom. enter (short perf.)-'and'-cop.-3ms pron
ʔúttó   yiyyen[57]
sit down say-fut.

The chief will enter and sit down

It will be noted that in such examples, the final verb does not contain a short perfect form but rather a form identifiable simply as stem + post-thematic vowel. The significance of this is taken up in §3.2.

Pairs of conjoined imperatives may stand in simple independence, e.g.

yewá míya

Come! Eat!

hammá máak'a

Go! (and) Return!

Alternatively, the first may appear in the short perfect form together with -iitta; in which case, the second verb has the structure just described, i.e., stem + post-thematic vowel; and this is followed by the imperative of *say*. e.g.

yeedíitta muutta yiyya

Come and eat!

ha[ŋ]gíitta máak'o yiyya

Go and return!

§3. NOTES ON THE GRAMMAR - SYNTAX:

§3.1. PHRASE AND SENTENCE STRUCTURE:

In general, Zayse appears to be a language which fulfils the "S-O-V" stereotype. The head of every phrasal construction occurs in final position, viz. nominal determiners and complements all precede the noun: phrasal complements precede postpositions or verbs in PP's and VP's respectively; "main" verbs precede "auxiliary" verbs, etc. Nevertheless, much remains to be discovered with respect to ordering constraints between the various dependent categories within phrases. Within NP's, the data collected suggests that determiners (articles, deictics, possessives) precede numerals, adjectives, relative clauses, etc., but other possible orderings were not checked; nor

were the logically possible differences of ordering between numerals, adjec-
tives, relative clauses, etc. tested for acceptability. Similarly, the mut-
ual ordering relationships of different types of phrasal complements of the
verb remain to be explored.

In spite of the strict observation of a "head-last" syntactic type
as far as phrases are concerned, there are many obvious violations of the
type when we consider sentences. It is not the case that all clauses are
verb-final. And, furthermore, it will be argued in the next section that
many sentences that appear to have verbs finally do not really have that
structure. These and other anomalies are a result of the all important
effect of syntactic re-arrangements concerned with focus. It would scarcely
be going too far to say that an understanding of focus is the key to Zayse
syntax. The time available for investigating focus, indeed, for syntax gen-
erally, was very limited, and much of the hypothesis advanced here for foc-
us structures in Zayse was developed in Britain, long after the corpus was
collected - and with no further access to a native speaker. Consequently,
questions of the sort that would confirm or disconfirm aspects of the analy-
sis must remain unanswered until further fieldwork can be undertaken. Never-
theless, although necessarily tentative and, perhaps in part, speculative, I
feel that the analysis offered in the following section has the virtue of
descriptive unity, for it draws together a number of rather pecuilar pheno-
mena in the grammar of the language and provides accounts for them in terms
of a simple underlying construction which is operated upon by a few very
simple transformational rules.

§3.2. FOCUS:

Zayse syntax appears to distinguish in a formal way just four situ-
ations with regard to focus, viz.

1.   Sentences in which no constituent is focussed, e.g.

tá[j]   wóota̰s̀   de[ŋ]gí
I-nom.   farmer   saw

I saw a farmer

2. Sentences in which the subject NP is focussed, e.g.

wóota̰s̀utte   yewe
farmer-cop.   comes

It is a farmer who comes[58]

3. Sentences in which some complement phrase (NP or PP) is focussed, e.g.

a. wóota̰s̀uttet   demin
    farmer-cop.-1s pron.   saw-FPM

    It was a farmer whom I saw

b. ziginéttet   bahé šamin
    yesterday-cop.-1s pron. grain bought-FPM

    It was yesterday that I bought grain

c. keḛs̀ugáttet   gelin
    house-into-cop.-1s pron. entered-FPM

    It was into the house that I entered

4. Sentences in which the verb itself is focussed, e.g.

tá[j]   wóota̰s̀   demátteyin
I-nom.   farmer   saw-cop.-NS pron.-FPM

or   wóota̰s̀   demáttetin
farmer   saw-cop.-1s pron-FPM

I SAW a farmer

(Note: *FPM* = final predication marking elements)

What the last three situations (i.e., the sentences having focussed constituents) have in common is the attachment of the clitic copula to the head of the focussed phrase. What distinguishes the sentences in 3. and 4. from the one in 2. is the presence of a clitic subject pronoun following the copula; and what distinguishes the sentences in 3. from those in 4. is the location

of the *FPM* elements (-i-n in the examples given): in 3. the *FPM* are final

in the verb form, while in 4., although they are still the final elements

in the complex paradigm verb forms shown here, they follow the copula + pro-

nominal sequence.

The preceding similarities and differences are very obvious. But

there are some less obvious similarities and differences, which relate to

the verb stems. The (invariable form) verb stems found in the sentences

containing a focussed NP or PP constituent are all of the same kind. In

discussing similarities and differences in stem shapes, it is well to recall

the account in §2.6.1.1., where it was explained that stem alternations are

witnessed only in some verbs. In the above sentences, for example, the verbs

see and *buy* would have strikingly distinct stem shapes if they were to ap-

pear in sentences lacking a focussed constituent (type 1. above), viz.

de[ŋ]g- and ša[ŋ]g- respectively. The verb *enter*, however, and many

other verbs would have the same stem shape in sentences illustrating any

type of focus situation - including one of no focus. Furthermore, it turns

out that the stem shape found in verbs in sentences having a focussed NP or

PP is identical to that found in the relative clause form of the verb. Thus,

in the cases of *see* and *buy* above, we find the stems dem- and šam-, and

it is these same stems that we find in the relative clause forms of these

verbs; thus:

> haré šamé(ss) ?aš ...   (*ša[ŋ]ge(ss))
>
> *the man who bought a donkey...*
>
> maahé demé(ss) biššo ...   (*de[ŋ]ge(ss))
>
> *the woman who saw a leopard...*

This identification receives especial support from a consideration of future

relative forms, for the stems of those verbs that show single ~ geminate

alternations of the final consonant have the geminate alternant in the fut-

ure. Thus, in sentences having NP focus such as

gutátten bahé šamménde

tomorrow-cop.-2s pron. grain will buy

It is tomorrow that you will buy grain

šapáattet hamménde

river-loc.-cop.-1s pron. will go

It is to the river that I will go

we observe the stem alternants šamm- and hamm-, and it is precisely these
that occur in the future relatives of these verbs, e.g.

bahé šammendess [59] biššo ...

the woman who will buy grain...

hamméndess[59] ?aš ...

the man who will go...

(Once again, it is to be recalled that not all verbs show this alternation;
thus, geléndessi *the one who will enter* (*gelléndessi).).

Clearly, sentences such as those exemplified in types 2 and 3 (I shall
consider type 4 later) are structurally odd. The fact that they have medi-
al occurrences of the copula to which (in case 3.) may be cliticized a pro-
nominal which is often the only overt subject of the sentence can hardly be
said to conform to the S-O-V prototype - unless such sentences can be anal-
ysed as surface derivatives of underlying sentences more in conformity with
that prototype. Recognition of the fact that final verbs in sentences con-
taining focussed NP's or PP's are formally similar to relative clause verbs
offers a key to just such an analysis. Many of the basic assumptions and
arguments of the analysis to be advanced here are identical to those of ana-
lyses of the syntax of focus proposed first for Somali (Saeed, 1982 [60]), and
subsequently applied to Arbore (Hayward, 1984a·106-126) and to a comparison
of the focus structures of Somali and Dirayta (Hayward and Saeed, 1984).
However, in order to keep this section as brief as possible, I shall restrict
myself to the bare bones of the argument, on the assumption that those who

are interested in an extended discussion will have recourse to the above

mentioned works.

One type of structure that occurs extremely frequently in Ethiopian

languages is a so-called "free" or "headless" relative clause. Such clauses

translate into English as ...*the one who...*, ...*the thing which...*, *etc.*

When such structures function as subjects of nominal predicate sentences

such as,

> hargessí   tá bišatte
> *became sick-sbr.-nom. my daughter-cop.*
>
> *The one who got sick was my daughter*

(Note: *sbr.* = subordinator)

one feels intuitively that the predicate NP is focussed. It is probably

safe to say that from the point of view of discourse, the verb of the rela-

tive clause (and any complement(s) it may have) is already part of the back-

ground information shared by speaker and hearer. It is easy to see how, in

such a sentence, the copula itself would seem virtually to take on the gram-

matical role of marking its complement NP as focussed.[61] The structure of

the above sentence is assumed to be as in Figure 1. (The internal structure

of the relative clause shows NP's indexed for coreferentiality.[62])

Fig. 1
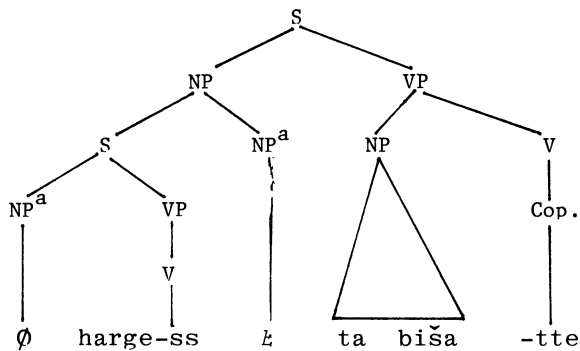
(A nominative case marker, -i, would subsequently be assigned to the subject

NP to yield hargessi .)

A transformational rule of "Focus Fronting" (cf. Saeed, 1984: Ch.4)

which shifts the VP containing the focussed element to the front of the sentence is now invoked, which creates a structure identical in the main to that of sentences having what was termed a focussed "subject" (i.e., type 1.). Consequent upon Focus Fronting, the -ss *subordinator* of the relative clause is deleted.

Fig. 2
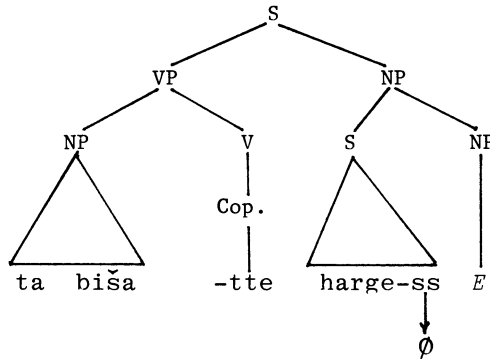
This is not the entire story, for we have yet to account for the replacement of the aspect-marking vowel of the relative verb (-e in the present case) by the elements of the *FPM*. This will be postponed until after we have considered the derivation of sentences in which some other constituent is focussed. It will nevertheless be appreciated that this analysis explains: (a) how we come to have a (copula) verb in mid-sentence, and (b) why the verb form that appears sentence-finally necessarily has the stem shape of a relative clause verb. It is now relevant to point out another piece of evidence for the rule of Focus Fronting.

The type of sentence we have been considering was described as having a focussed subject NP. Now, in Zayse, all   subject NP's are invariably marked as having nominative case (cf. §2.1.4.1.); even a headless relative clause has nominative marking (cf. hargessí above). The one exception to this, however, arises in the case of focussed subject NP's. But this is precisely what our analysis predicts, for underlyingly a focussed "subject" is not a subject at all; it is a copular complement, and. as such, stands in the unmarked absolutive form.

One final point concerns content question words that appear in what we have been calling "subject" focus sentences. From section §2.4.3., it will be recalled that though the copula has a distinct overt form (i.e.,-wa) for polar interrogative sentences, it has a zero realization in the context of sentences containing content question words. (Cf. also the argument concerning interrogative verb forms in §2.6.2.). From the point of view of focus, it is assumed that phrases containing content question words are necessarily focussed. Even though content question words like ?óo *who?* and ?áa *what?* in sentences such as ?óo yewe *Who came?* and ?áa wayye *What happened?* do not appear with an overt copula, the evidence that they require an identical analysis to other sentences having "subject" focus is that the verb forms that occur are relatives. Especially interesting is an alternative form given for the above sentence, viz. ?óodé yewe *Who came?*, where I would tentatively suggest that -dé is a fossil of an earlier Omotic verb *to be* (cf. Hayward, 1984b)[63] My 1983 informant also provided the following sentence

     yeeddessí ?ooden
      who?-cop.-FPM

    The one who came, who was it?

which has virtually the form we would hypothesize as the sentence underlying ?óo (/ ?óodé) yewe. One superficial difference between them is easily explained by the fact that the verb *come* is irregular and has two relative verb stem variants for the perfect, viz. yewe / yeedde.

  The structure of sentences in which some complement is focussed can be generated by essentially the same analysis, but here, in addition to Focus Fronting and deletion of the -sś subordinating marker on the relative verb (together with its replacement by *FPM* elements), it is necessary to account for the bound subject pronoun which follows the copula in the focussed phrase. Since the focussed element has to be coreferential not with the subject but with a complement of the relative verb, it is necessary to posit

some other entity as subject of the verb. I suggest that all such relative

clauses have as their subjects one of the lexical personal pronouns (cf.

§2.4.1.). For example, for a sentence such as

> šapáatten   hamaan
> *river (loc.)-cop.-2s pron.   going-FPM*
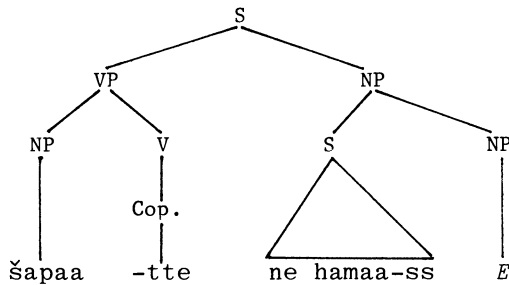>
> *It's to the river that you're going*

an underlying nominal predicate sentence structure similar to that of Figure

1 is posited, viz.

Fig. 3
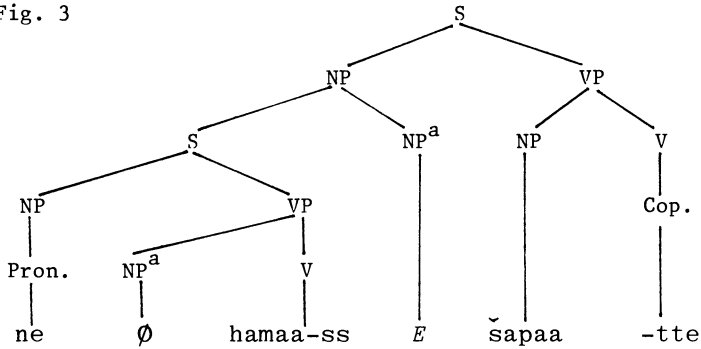
Focus Fronting then yields the structure in Figure 4.

Fig. 4

The eventual surface form of the focussed phrase is attained by means of

leftward cliticization of the subject pronoun of the relative clause. As

in many other cases of cliticization, certain phonological adjustments are

necessary; in the present case (and for certain others of the pronouns), de-

letion of the final vowel of the form is all that is required. Of course,

such a rule seems to involve movement across a major constituent boundary,

but the operation is phonological only, and the real syntactic constituency

remains unaltered, viz.

Fig. 5
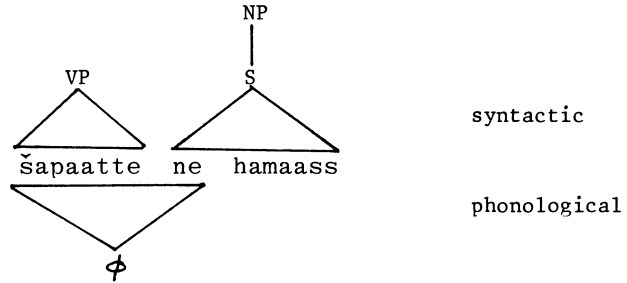
The same analytic apparatus seems adequate for infinitival complement

expressions such as the following (cf. 2.6.4.).

hamóttet   worge
to go-cop.-1s pron. want

It is to go I want

Moreover, the only additional thing requiring recognition in the analysis as

a consequence of sentences such as

k'ástennattes   kapó gwiidin
bow-with-cop.-3ms pron. bird hit-FPM

It was with a bow that he hit the bird

is that the phrase structure rules should allow PP's as complements of the

copula in the underlying equative clause structures which serve as input to

Focus Fronting.

A very real problem, however, seems to be raised by a sentence such

as   ?ésa   kallónnattet   gwiidin
him   stick-with-cop.-1s pron. hit-FPM

It is with a stick that I hit him

which was given as an acceptable variant for

kallónnattet   ?ésa   gwiidin

The problem is that ?ésa *him* appears far outside the relative clause site

posited for it. Moreover, a further variant which I suggested, viz.

ʔésa   kallónnattet ʔésa   gwiidin

was rejected as unacceptable. Clearly, a rule which could move the pronoun away from its containing clause would appear to explain the complementarity of its distribution. But, any attempt to derive this variant by means of a movement rule would, of course, constitute a breach of a generalization about the structural possibilities of human languages so well recognized as to have been codified as a constraint of Universal Grammar.[64]

An alternative proposal would be to account for the sentence-initial ʔésa as some sort of extrasentential element such as a topic. In fact, this is the line of explanation I shall follow. But having now broached the problem – and having hinted at a possible solution – it is necessary to introduce other data which, even more flagrantly, seem to undermine the analysis I have been forwarding. Thus:

1a.　　　　　　ʔe-ʔaší   keeškátte   gelin
the man-nom. house-in-cop. entered-FPM

It was into the house that the man entered

1b.　　　　　　keeškáttes　　　　gelin
house-in-cop.-3ms pron. entered-FPM

It was into the house that he entered

2a.　　　　　　taí   šapáatte   hamaan
I-nom. river (loc.)-cop. going-FPM

It is to the river that I'm going

2b.　　　　　　šapáattet　　　　　　hamaan
river (loc.)-cop.-1s pron. going-FPM

It is to the river that I'm going

3a.　　　　　　ʔi-busúʔá[j] wórágapatte　　　kesin
the animal-nom. forest-loc.-from-cop. going / coming out-FPM

*It was from within the forest that the animal emerged*

wórágapattis   kesin

forest-loc.-from-cop.-3fs pron. going / coming out-FPM

It was from within the forest that it (lit. "she") emerged

ha bahé šamaass bišsoí ziginétte yeedde

this grain she-buys-sbr. woman-nom. yesterday-cop. came

It was yesterday that this woman who is buying grain came

ziginéttis   yeedde

yesterday-cop.-3fs pron. came

It was yesterday that she came

Two things emerge very clearly here: first, that full expanded NP's may pre-
cede the focussed phrase, and, unlike the case of initial ʔésa considered
above (which is a direct object complement of the relative verb, and so stands
in the absolutive form), these NP's are marked as nominatives; second, that
the presence of such pre-focussed phrase "subjects" correlates with the abs-
ence of a clitic subject pronoun following the copula.

As far as the first point is concerned, the behaviour of Zayse is no
more aberrant than Somali or Arbore, for the focus structures of which anal-
yses substantially the same as the one proposed here have been maintained.
In both these languages, pre-focussed phrase NP's have been handled as insta-
nces of base generated pre-sentential topics. Applying this approach to
Zayse would mean that we analyse the form underlying 1a. (i.e., prior to
Focus Fronting) in the following way.
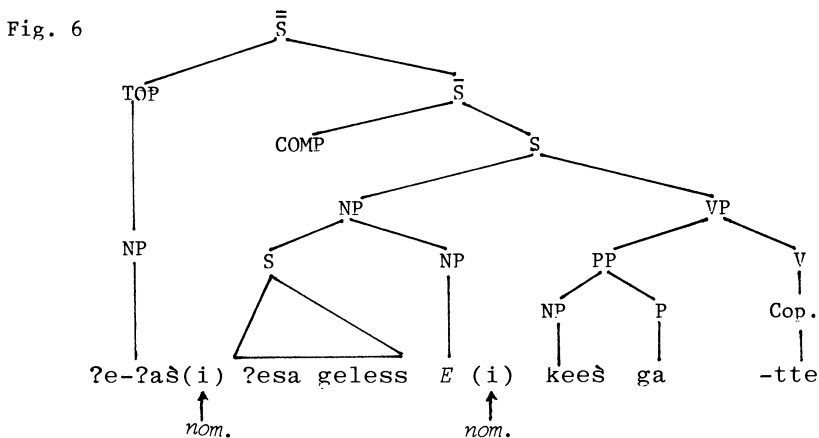
Fig. 6

As indicated in Fig. 6, subsequent nominative marking, which occurs at the end of subject NP's, could appear twice in this sentence, and whatever happens in terms of constituent re-arrangement within S (as brought about by Focus Fronting), nominative marking on the topic NP remains. It would be misleading, however, to give an impression that this phenomenon occurs only in constructions concerned in some way with focus: we may note it in such as the following.

> ?e-?aȘí yewačéečessi háy?ótteyin
> *the man-nom.   came-neg.-sbr.-nom.   he died*
>
> *The man, the one who did not come died*

alongside
> ?e-yewačéečess ?aȘí háy?ótteyin
> *the come-neg.-sbr.   man-nom.   he died*
>
> *The man who did not come died*

Similar "double subject" NP's are a commonplace feature of Somali, where topics which are semantically interpretable as coreferential with the sentence-internal pronominal subject may receive nominative marking. For example, in

> ninkani awr buu keenay
> *man-this-nom.   he-camel FOCUS-3ms pron.   he brought*
>
> *This man, it is a he-camel that he brought*

both ninkani and uu (cliticized onto and coalesced with the focus particle baa) are both subjects in concord with keenay. Saeed's explanation of this runs:

> "It appears that the topic case phenomenon may be ...
> an instance of semantic co-reference interfering with
> or perhaps better, over-riding the grammatical agree-
> ment rules." (Saeed, 1984: 205)[65]

The second point raised by the observation of sentences 1-4 above, however, establishes a clear line of demarcation between Zayse and the East Cushitic languages referred to, for where Zayse does not permit a clitic subject pronoun if there is a topic co-referential with it, clitic subject

pronouns in Somali and Arbore are an obligatory feature of all complement

focus structures.[66] I propose, therefore, to handle the non-co-occurrence

facts of Zayse in the following way. Pronouns will be generated as the real

underlying subjects of free relative clauses. If a topic NP precedes the

sentence, and it is interpretable as semantically coreferential with that

pronoun (such that it would receive nominative marking), a rule will be trig-

gered deleting the pronoun. The data collected give no indication of the

point in the derivation at which Pronoun Deletion takes place; it could pre-

cede or follow Focus Fronting. But it seems clear to me that some such rule

must be postulated, for a moment's reflection will show that the reverse of

Pronoun Deletion, i.e., a proposal that a pronoun is inserted by rule, is

quite untenable, for in the absence of a topic (which is precisely the cond-

itions under which the pronouns occur), there would be absolutely no source

for the features necessary to distinguish the inserted pronoun. For the pre-

sent, and with the extremely limited data available, this seems to be the

only solution consonant with the concern to maintain the analysis of focus

proposed here.

Before moving on to consider sentences of type 4, I consider it exped-

ient to present a brief review of what has been achieved by analysing focus

structures in the manner suggested.

There are four distinct assumptions in the analysis, namely: (1) that

focussed constituents originate as VP's consisting of a copula together with

its NP or PP complement; (2) that the subject NP of the predication described

in (1) is a free relative clause; (3) that the subjects of these relative

clauses are lexical pronouns; (4) that the phrase structure rules of the lan-

guage allow for pre-sentential NP topics, the set of which may include items

interpretable semantically as coreferential with the free relative clause

pronominal subjects. Furthermore, three rules have been specifically proposed,

namely: Focus Fronting - a syntactic transformation moving the object

described in (1) in front of the object described in (2); Pronoun Deletion

- a syntactic deletion affecting a subject pronoun of the type described in

(3) if the semantic coreferentiality of it and a topic (as described in (4))

obtains; Pronoun Cliticization - a phonological rule attaching a subject pro-

noun leftwards onto the copula after Focus Fronting has taken place. Taken

together these proposals provide a unified answer to a number of otherwise

unconnected problems.

Firstly, an explanation is found for why the final verb in a sentence

containing a focussed constituent (what in §2.6.2. was termed "the invariable

form") has properties otherwise found only in relative clause verbs. Secondly,

it explains why the item -tte, which has many of the syntactic properties

of verbs, should be found in syntactic positions completely atypical of verbs.

Thirdly, the relative clause origin hypothesized for the subject pronouns

accounts for the fact that sentences with complement focus have, while sent-

ences with subject focus do not have, clitic pronouns, for in the latter,

relativization (cf. §3.3.), which operates by deleting a clausal pronoun co-

referential to its (antecedent) NP head, will have ensured that that pronoun

is absent, viz.

Fig. 7
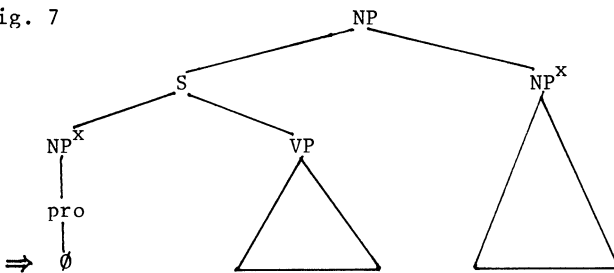
In cases of complement focus, however, the subject pronoun survives, for in

such cases, the clausal pronoun affected by relativization is not the subject,

viz.

Fig. 8
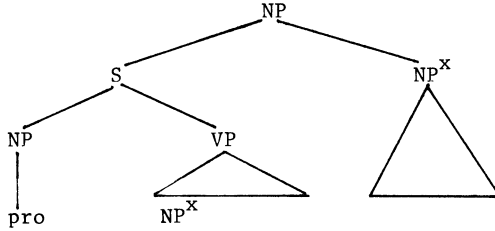
The obvious alternative to the present analysis is to say that -tte
is a focus marker which attached to the focussed constituent. If it could
be supported, such an alternative would, of course, be far simpler. But
apart from conceptual simplicity, this proposal has nothing to recommend it
The analysis of -tte as a "peripatetic" focus marker provides an explanation
for only one of the odd distributional facts accounted for so straightforward-
ly in the analysis offered here, i.e., ex hypothesi, the focus marker analysis
"explains" why -tte follows the focussed constituent; but it explains nothing
else. A further difficulty attaching to to this analysis is that if we see
-tte as a focus marker, we are surely obliged to provide an explanation for
why the morphologically determined allomorphy of this element (i.e.,-tte /
-te / $\emptyset$) is identical in terms of both form and distribution to that of the
copula. I see quite intractable problems in the focus marker approach.

Sentences of 4 such as

taí wóotaš demátteyin

I SAW a farmer

in which it is claimed that the verb itself is focussed, would, on first in-
spection, appear to require a substantially different analysis to the one
proposed for subject and complement focus sentences. The only superficially
apparent similarity between verb focus sentences, with complex paradigm forms
(CPF's), and other focus sentences consists in the presence at some point of a
sequence copula + subject pronoun. Nevertheless, I believe it is possible
to argue for the same analysis for all focus sentences.

One key to understanding subject / complement focus sentences was
the identification of the stems of the final verb forms of those sentences
as those of relative verbs. In the present case, there is no separate "final"
verb word; all we have is the CPF itself, and in this there is a verb stem,
but it precedes the copula, and does not always have the shape expected for
a relative verb - in particular, it does not have a geminate final consonant
in the future for those verbs that have this feature. On the other hand,
the verb stems in the CPF's can consistently be said to have the shape of
(deverbative) derived nominals, such as the infinitive. This may be confirm-
ed by inspection of the following table in which are set out the stems found
in short perfect, CPF's, relative clause forms, and infinitive for some verbs
of the type that exhibit stem alternations. (It must again be recalled that
many verbs have invariant stems; cf. §2.6.1.1.)

Table 8

short perfect	all CPF's	relative clause	infinitive	
ha[ŋ]g-	ham-	ham- ~ hamm-	ham-	*go*
ša[ŋ]g-	šam-	šam- ~ šamm-	šam-	*buy*
tukk-	tup-	tup- ~ tupp-	tup-	*plant*
bookk-	book-	book- ~ bookk-	book-	*dig*
ʔič'č'-	ʔič'-	ʔič'- ~ ʔič'č'-	ʔič'-	*throw*

Although they are hardly convincing in themselves, these observations
about stem shape are at least consistent with a hypothesis that the stem in
CPF's is nominal. Further support for this hypothesis comes from a consider-
ation of the post-thematic vowel. In invoking the post-thematic vowel we
draw attention to another oddity of Zayse. As we have seen (cf. §2.6.1.1.),
post-thematic vowels in Zayse impose a lexical classification on verbs, some
verbs requiring -a, others -o. The arbitrary nature of this division would,
from a comparative standpoint, seem to oblige us to reckon it as archaic.

Yet, post-thematic vowels in verbs are certainly not a general feature of Ometo: indeed, to the best of my knowledge, they have not been reported for any other Ometo language. On the other hand, post-thematic vowels, i.e., the so-called "terminal vowels" (TV's), are a regular feature of nominals in Zayse, and in Ometo generally (cf. Hayward, 1987). The analysis of stem plus post-thematic vowel as a nominal in Zayse would dispense with what is otherwise an anomaly in comparative Ometo. This interpretation also explains why the occurrence of post-thematic vowels within the Zayse verb system is confined to CPF's.[67] In the table above, attention was directed to the similarity of stem shape in CPF's and infinitives. Nevertheless, it is not possible to say that the nominal in CPF's is actually the infinitive, for the TV's of those infinitives recorded in the corpus are never the same as the post-thematic vowels for given lexical verbs (cf. §2.6.4.). We have, therefore, to regard the CPF nominals as distinct forms. This similarity, but non-identity, of vowels is also observed in Koyra, another Ometo language having CPF's. The first "verbal" (actually "nominal") form in the CPF's recorded for Koyra (cf. Hayward, 1982: 252-254) terminates in -a, viz.

> *1s* affirmative declarative imperfect: kapakko-ta-kake
>
> *1s* affirmative interrogative perfect: kapa-ta-katto
>
> *1s* affirmative interrogative imperfect: kapa-ta-kake

(The forms exemplified are those of kap- ~ kat- ~ kak- *watch, guard*. The vowel concerned is underscored. The copula in Koyra is -kko.) Once again, although the stem of this form can readily be identified as the same as that found in the infinitive, the TV of the infinitive itself is -e (cf. Hayward, 1982: 259).
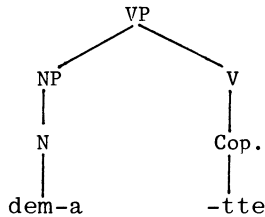
Under the hypothesis that the base of a CPF is really a nominal, it would follow that the first part (underscored) of a form such as

> demattetin
>
> *I SAW*

has a structure just like that of the NP / PP + copula predicate postulated

for sentences with subject or complement focus, viz.

Fig. 9

```
                    VP
                  /    \
               NP        V
               |         |
               N        Cop.
               |         |
             dem-a      -tte
```

But the claim that verb focus (i.e., CPF's) can be handled in the same way

as subject / complement focus would lead us to expect that the next part of

the structure should consist of a subject pronoun and a relative verb. The

former is certainly there, but there is no obvious sign of the latter.

I believe, nevertheless, that it is possible to maintain that a verb

is there <u>structurally</u>. As support for this claim, we must reconsider locat-

ive predications (cf. §2.6.3.). It will be recalled that there is one verb

in Zayse which has been described as lacking any phonetic manifestation in

sentences in which a location NP or locative PP is focussed, namely the loc-

ative existential verb *to be in / at*. Consider

karáttesen

house (location)-cop.-3ms pron.-FPM

He is in the house (It is in the house that he is)

waašše$́$?ótágatteyen

water-nom.   pot-in-cop.-NS pron.-FPM

Water is in the pot (Water, it is in the pot that it is)

saaš'iné   ?oommottisen

box-gen.   underpart-cop.-3fs pron.-FPM

It / she is under the box (It is under the box that it is)

(Translations that I consider to express more accurately the focus of these

sentences have been given in parenthesis.)

The oddity of sentences such as the above is that, other than the copula,

they contain no overt verb. (In the earlier section, this point was made clear but consideration of its implications was postponed to the present section.) Yet, it is only in complement focus sentences such as these, where we expect a relative verb, that we observe the absence of a verb; thus, compare the first sentence above with

> ?aší   kara   yesatte
> *man-nom. house   exists in-cop.*
>
> *There is a man in the house*

The hypothesis being argued for would assign to the sentence karáttesen a structure such as the following.

Fig. 10
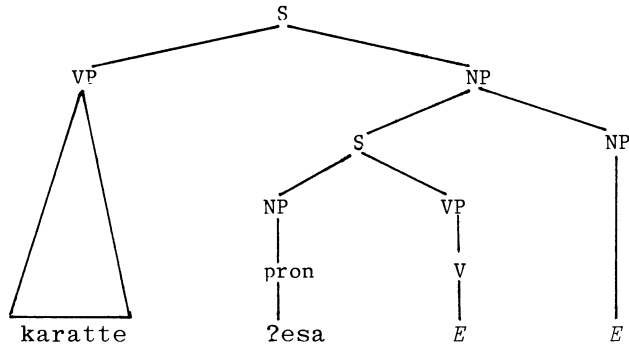
The implications of this are obvious for an analysis of verb focus sentences, for it enables us to identify the missing verb in CPF's. Moreover, to say that that verb is the locative existential verb makes good sense from a semantic point of view, and enables us to provide (admittedly somewhat "Irish"!) paraphrases for CPF's such as demáttetin and hámanen as *It is seeing that I am in* and *Is it going that you'll be at?*

Three matters still remain to be accounted for: 1. the occurrence of the non-specific pronoun -y in CPF's; 2. the -aa vowel in CPF's in the imperfect; 3. the nature of the *FPM*.

In terms of its location in CPF's, the non-specific pronoun behaves just like the other cliticized subject pronouns; but it is in complementary

distribution with them. It occurs whenever an independent NP subject occurs;

in the absence of such an independent NP subject, however, the non-specific

pronoun may not occur, and a specific personal pronoun has to occur, e.g.

         taĺ   yiyá   ʔéehatteyin
         I-nom. that one like-cop.-NS pron.-FPM

but: yiyá   ʔéehattetin
         that one like-cop.-1s pron.-FPM

         I LIKE that one

         ʔĺsĺ   ʔikʼáratteyin
         she-nom. refuse-cop.-NS pron.-FPM

but: ʔikʼárattisin
         refuse-cop.-3fs pron.-FPM

         She REFUSED

A very straightforward comparison can be made between the appearence of spec-

ific subject pronouns in CPF's and the appearence of specific subject pronouns

in sentences with complement focus, and the explanation offered there is en-

tirely relevant here. In the analysis, it has been argued that the true sub-

ject of the relative clause verb in a focus structure is pronominal, and that

independent NP subjects are actually extrasentential. Furthermore, a rule

of Pronoun Deletion was postulated to account for the absence of the pronoun

under conditions of semantic co-referentiality between it and a topic. In

the case of verb focus, i.e., in CPF's, we have exactly the same analysis up

to the point of Pronoun Deletion. At this point, and under the same condit-

ions as for Pronoun Deletion, it is suggested that a rule operates to replace

the lexical pronoun with a dummy pronoun -y.

     It was an essential step in the foregoing analysis of verb focus to

claim that the first element in CPF's is nominal, and that this nominal con-

sists of a derived stem + a Terminal Vowel (alias post-thematic vowel), which

is either -a or -o. However, an obvious difficulty for this analysis seems

to arise in the case of imperfect CPF's, for here, instead of a post-thematic vowel, we find a uniform element -aa . Now this looks so temptingly like a relic of the archaic vocalic aspectual marking, that one must consider well before demolishing it as a potential foundation for further speculation. But clearly, if the present analysis is to retain its unity, rather than to degenerate into a series of unconnected and ad hoc explanations, it is necessary to think of a possible nominal origin for this -aa element. In fact, we do not need to think for long. In §2.1.4.3.-1., I have suggested that Zayse has nouns terminating in -aa. Moreover, the evidence suggests that nouns in -aa are often morphological derivatives of more primitive nouns. If now we hypothesize an extension of the base to which this morphological process applies, namely to those deverbative nominals in -a and -o which function in CPF's, we have a source for the distinct stem which appears in imperfect aspect CPF's. A further element of support for this identification comes from the semantics. It was noted in §2.1.4.3.-1. that nouns in -aa have a distinct locative meaning, and perhaps it is this that makes them the natural choice for an imperfective predication.

I am unhappy to say that the foregoing discussion of the syntax of focus appears to have shed no light on what I have been calling the *FPM* (Final Predication Marking) elements; these still remain a mystery. If these sentence-terminal elements were found only at the end of CPF's and focussed locative predications (as above), it might be possible to suggest that they were the manifestation of the otherwise phonetically zero relative form of the existential verb hypothesized for these structures. But, they occur finally in all sentences with focussed constituents, where they attach to the (overtly present) final relative verb. The fact that the *FPM* is in complementary distribution with the subordinator -ss, found in embedded clause verb forms, and that the optional absence of the *FPM* in the perfect parallels the optional absence of this suffix, does suggest one very tentative speculation as to the linguistic identity of these elements. Many of the East

Cushitic languages of The Horn have what have traditionally been referred to as "selectors".[68] These particle-like elements appear before verbs, and they usually display formal differences correlating with predication categories generally expressed in the verb itself - such as mood, polarity, and aspect Functionally then, the "selectors" could be said to classify sentence types (cf. Saeed, 1984:**179ff.**)and they could be compared to complementizers, though with the notable difference that, in most cases, they actually precede main clause verbs. It may be mooted then, that the *FPM* elements of Zayse are analogues of the "selectors" of East Cushitic. But even if this proved to be a sustainable identification, one mystery would simply be substituted for another, for, as far as I am aware, there exists no theoretically motivated account of the "selectors" to date.

§3.3. RELATIVE CLAUSES:

Relative clause forms of verbs do not show any inflections for person or number, though they do take overt marking for other categories such as aspect, mood and negation. At least for some verbs, there are distinct stems for relative clause forms. Some exemplification of this point, and discussions of its significance for explaining focus have appeared earlier in this study (cf. §2.6.2. and §3.2.). Below are listed the forms of those verbs for which perfect, imperfect, and future relative forms were systematically elicited.[69]

perfect	imperfect	future	
hamé(ss)	hamáass	hamméndess	*go*
šóolé(ss)	šooláass	šooléndess	*peel,strip*
č'óod'é(ss)	č'ood'áass	č'óod'd'endess	*chop up*
búgé(ss)	búgáass	búgendess	*clear scrub*
ʔač'é(ss)	ʔač'áass	ʔač'č'éndess	*tie*
ʔáč'é(ss)	ʔáč'áass	ʔáč'č'endess	*reap*
gaač'é(ss)	gaač'áass	gaač'č'éndess	*grind*

č'adé(ss)	č'adáass	č'addéndess	*pound, stab*
káŝ'é(ss)	káŝ'áass	káŝ'ŝ'endess	*be cooked*
yewé(ss)	yewáass	yewéndess	*come*
ʔeewé(ss)	ʔeewáass	ʔeewéndess	*bring*
síyé(ss)	síyáass	síyendess	*hear*
míyé(ss)	míyáass	míyendess	*eat*
yíyyé(ss)	yíyyáass	yíyyendess	*say*
yíssé(ss)	yíssáass	yíssendess	*do*

Although all the above forms have a final -ss subordinator, two things need to be said about this. Firstly, only in the case of free (headless) relatives in subject position, when nominative marking occurs, will -ss be distinctly heard as geminate; in other cases, Final Degemination takes place (cf. §1.6.3.). Secondly, it seems that -ss is optional only in perfect relatives (indicated by placing it in parenthesis in the preceding examples). Nevertheless, in free relative clauses in the perfect, -ss may not be absent.

The following sentences illustrate relative clauses in NP's displaying a variety of syntactic functions.

> yewé(ss)   ʔaŝiri   háyʔótteyin
> *came(-sbr.) man-pl.-nom. died-cop.-NS pron.-FPM*
> *People who came DIED*

> zigíne   hame   naʔi   háyʔótteyin
> *yesterday went   boy-nom. died-cop.-NS pron.-FPM*
> *A boy who went yesterday DIED*

> yewáass   ʔaŝi   tá   ʔadatte
> *coming-sbr. man-nom. my father-cop.*
> *The man who is coming is my father*

> ha   naʔí   hamáassí   zigíne   hargaŝŝútteŝin
> *this boy-nom. going-sbr.-nom. yesterday sick person-cop.-past*
> *This boy, (the one) who is going, was sick yesterday*

cf.   ha   hamáass naʔi zigíne hargaŝŝúttešin

This boy who is going was sick yesterday

ʔe-yewé(ss)   naʔa demáttetin

the came(-sbr.)   boy   saw-cop.-1s pron.-FPM

I SAW the boy who came

ʔi-šógáass   biššo ʔeráttetin

the washing-sbr. woman   know-cop.-1s pron.-FPM

I KNOW the woman who is washing

tá ʔeress   ʔaŝi   yéedi

I   knew-sbr. man-nom. came

A man whom I know came

ʔe-haré   ʔi šaméssí   tá maaŝutte

the donkey she bought-sbr.   my property-cop.

The donkey, (the one) she bought, was mine

cf.   ʔi šamé(ss)   hare[j] tá maaŝutte

she bought (-sbr.) donkey-nom. my property-cop.

The donkey which she bought was mine

ʔačó ʔe ʔíŝáassi   ʔíitatte

meat   he cuts-sbr.-nom. bad-cop.

Meat, (that) which he is cutting, is bad.

cf.   ʔe ʔíŝáass ʔačo[j] ʔíitatte

he cuts-sbr. meat-nom. bad-cop.

The meat he is cutting is bad

tá[j] ʔi bayséss hare   wórgóttetin

I-nom. she sold-sbr. donkey wanted-cop.-1s pron.-FPM

I WANTED the donkey which she sold

šóoš ʔesánna tá wod'e(ss) kallo[j] meʔátteyin

snake it-instr. I kill(-sbr.) stick-nom. broke-cop.-
                                               -NS pron.-FPM*

The stick with which I killed the snake broke

The only examples of negative relatives in the corpus are the following.

> ʔe - yewačéeče(ss) ʔaŝi háyʔótteyin
>
> *The man who did not come died*

cf.

> ʔe - ʔaŝí yewačéečessi háyʔótteyin
>
> *The man, (the one) who did not come, died*
>
> ʔi-bíšŝo ʔúttačeessi tá ʔaNgotte
>
> *The woman, (the one) who did not sit down, is my sister*

cf.

> ʔúttačeess bišŝo[j] tá ʔaNgotte
>
> *The woman who did not sit down is my sister*

See, however, the negative forms in the following section.

§3.4. SENTENTIAL COMPLEMENTS:

The verb forms found in sentential complements are clearly not based on the infinitive, and though it appears as if they have the relative stem shapes in the imperfect and future, this is obviously not the case in the perfect. The —s ending has almost certainly to identified as the —ss subordinator found in relatives, but there is no evidence that in this function a geminate form of it ever occurs. Distinct affirmative and negative forms - the latter being compounds employing d'ab(b)- *leave (tr.)* - have been noted for the perfect, the imperfect, and the future; they are invariable for person. gel-A- *enter* is used to illustrate these forms.

	affirmative	negative
perfect:	gelíis	gelaččé d'aggiis
		/ gelaččées
imperfect:	geláas	gelaččé d'abaas
future:	geléndes	gelaččé d'abbendes

The following are some example sentences containing such forms.

> ʔe-ʔaŝí hayʔíis ʔeráttetin

I KNOW / KNEW that the man died

ʔi-biššó[j] hayʔiis ʔeráttetin

I KNOW / KNEW that the woman died

tá geliis ʔésí ʔerátteyin

He KNOWS / KNEW that I entered

né gelaččees (/ gelaččé d'aggiis) ʔeráttesin

He KNOWS / KNEW that you did not enter

só biššo[j] hayʔendes ʔeráttenin

You KNOW that that woman will die

há ʔaȿi háyʔaččе d'abaas ʔeráttetin

I KNOW that this man is not dying

The following forms were collected for the irregular verbs and for the verbs *go* and *take*, which have the labial ~ velar alternation of the final stem consonant.[70]

	perfect	imperfect	future	negative
come	yéeddes	yéwaas	yewéndes	yewaččé d'aggiis, etc.
hear	síiddes	síyaas	síyendes	síyaččé d'aggiis, etc.
eat	múuddes	míyaas	míyendes	míyaččé d'aggiis, etc.
bring	ʔéeddes	ʔeewáas	ʔeewéndes	ʔeewaččé d'aggiis, etc.
say	yíddes	yíyyaas	yíyyendes	yíyyaččé d'aggiis, etc.
go	ha[ŋ]gíis	hamáas	hamméndes	hamaččé d'aggiis, etc.
take	ʔekkíis	ʔepáas	ʔeppéndes	ʔepaččé d'aggiis, etc.

NOTES:

*   I wish to acknowledge here my indebtedness to the Institute of Language Studies of Addis Ababa University under whose auspices the Zayse research was undertaken. I acknowledge too my gratitude to the School of Oriental and African Studies (University of London) and the Central Research Fund of the University of London for financial grants covering the costs of the research.

1.   The Ometo group is classified within the northern branch of the Omotic language family; for a discussion, see Fleming, 1976b.

2.   The only previous account of the language is Cerulli, 1938b.

3.   The Koore were earlier referred to as the Amarro or Badditu.

4.   I.e., the Haruro, Gidiccho and Ganjule.

5.   To the best of my knowledge, there is no ethnographic work dealing specifically with the Zayse.

6.   I was informed that those Zayse now farming in Elgo came there from Kaybanná, Žóoššeso and Zuzzáso, and that the Zayse now farming in Wozaka came from Lámad'a, D'uurá, Kawlée and Mahellá

7.   The Zayse now farming in Dambilla came there from Monok'á and DaNbilléso.

8.   An account of another occurrence of this feature in Arbore is given in ·Hayward, 1984a:120ff.

9.   Zayse has been grouped with Koyra (or Koorité, i.e., the language of the Koore) and Haruro as Eastern Ometo; cf. Bender, 1971; Fleming, 1976b; 300. The connection with Koyra is confirmed in the Zayse historical tradition which claims that they and the Koore originated from a common homeland at Kóle, an area to the west, in the present-day territory of the Gamo.

10. Although comparisons are made here with Amharic, it is not suggested that Amharic is necessarily the source, or even the indirect source, of these items.

11. The fact that r (a single tap) does not have a long counterpart could be coupled together with the fact that r does not occur word-initially either, and these could be seen as evidence in favour of a syllable based analysis, since, if we were to claim that r could not occur syllable-initially, it would automatically follow that a long (or geminate) segment (in which an internal syllable boundary would necessarily be posited) would not be possible. This would not be at all satisfactory, however, for there are other consonants, namely ŝ and č, which do not occur word-initially, though word-internally we do find them as geminates. Moreover, we find intervocalic occurrences of r, and the claim that r does not occur syllable-initially would require us to analyse a word such as paró *zebra* as $[par]_{\sigma}[o]_{\sigma}$, which would not only violate universal principles of syllabification, but would create an anomaly as far as Zayse is concerned, since, if no words can have a vocalic onset, it would be somewhat odd if syllables could do so. All in all, reference to the syllable in the phonotactics of Zayse makes for more problems than it solves; see also Note 12. Notwithstanding, an adequate statement of tonal behaviour does seem to require reference to the syllable; see Note 18.

12. This is because any reference to the syllable here, would, in order to account correctly for word-internal clusters, necessarily require reference to distributional constraints correlating syllables with certain consonant types in their codas with other syllables having certain types of consonants in their onsets. Moreover, word-final (and, therefore, syllable-final) consonants are themselves rather uncommon, so that many coda consonants would not be attested save in

word-internal positions. Accounting for consonant clusters in terms
of the internal structure of stems or words is more direct, and intu-
itively more satisfying.

13.   Of course, one could avoid saying that there are initial clusters by
treating these as labialized velars, i.e., as single consonants.

14.   Words containing w preconsonantally are rare, except in certain verb
inflections like those shown here, where they are derived from under-
lying u. In general, and especially when compared with y, w is not
at all common word-internally.

15.   The restriction on the occurrence of š and č initially is so widespread
a feature within N. Omotic, that it has implications for reconstruct-
ion; see Hayward, 1989.

16.   The sequences l[dz] and l[tʃ] have also not been recorded. Accord-
ing to the hypothesis proposed here, these gaps would be considered
as accidental, and might be expected to turn up in a more extensive
corpus.

17.   The name "tonal accent" seems preferable to "pitch accent" for it re-
cognizes what is shared by systems of this type with tone languages;
"pitch" is really too neutral, since it is appropriate to use the
term when speaking of any auditory perception of the fundamental fre-
quency. For a discussion of the defining features of tonal accent
languages see Hyman, 1978, 1981. For other autosegmental treatments
of tonal accent in languages of the Horn, see Parker and Hayward, 19
85: 218, and Banti, forthcoming.

18.   Long vowels and vowel + glide sequences generally have a level pitch
throughout, even when the glide is derived from an accented vowel.
It is important to note this, for in the case of the nominative of
unaccented nouns, the perceived location of H after Gliding occurs is

upon the vowel as well as upon the glide, i.e., one hears a level

pitch rather than a rise, e.g.

$$[\frown]$$
$$\text{tolko} + \overset{*}{\text{i}} \longrightarrow \text{tolk}[\text{ɔj}]$$

In general this is indicated by marking H (by means of the acute acc-

ent) on the vocalic nucleus of the derived syllable, viz. tolkó[j]

19.   It is to be appreciated that "*" is an abstract diacritic with no

       phonetic properties of its own.

20.   It would not be inappropriate to regard low / non-high simply as

       tonelessness.

21.   It is unfortunate that the corpus contains no examples of this sort

       having a length greater than two words.

22.   To focus the subject NP also calls for a cleft construction contain-

       ing the copula; see §3.2.

23.   Somali is probably a language which meets this condition.

24.   Cf. Parker and Hayward, 1985:222-4, where for Qafar it is claimed that

       intonation features occur independently of the tonal accent system.

25.   PSF nouns are comparatively rare. It appears to be the case that

       some of them are morphologically complex - at least in their origins.

26.   The Góbbo may perhaps be identified with the Koore; but I am not at

       all sure about this.

27.   Zayse has no special words for *son* or *daughter*. For these, phrases

       such as tá naʔa *my boy, etc.* and tá bišaʔa *my girl, etc.* are em-

       ployed; their plurals are regular, i.e., with -ir.

28.   While ʔáNgo denotes ones aunts (paternal and maternal), elder sisters

       or female cousins, baró denotes only younger sisters and female

       cousins. ʔaNgussé and barS denote the respective male counterparts

of these.

29.   See Hayward, 1982: 223.

30.   The significance of the fact that in Zayse the default gender is
        feminine, rather than masculine (which is the case in all the other
        Ometo languages that have been described to date), is discussed in
        Hayward, 1989.

31.   The meaning of ʔadʼo is *big, great;* it is found in various of the kin
        terms, e.g., ʔadʼó   ʔadda *grandfather,* ʔadʼó   ʔaNgo *aunt (moth-
        er's sister).*

32.   The meaning of peešti is not known.

33.   I have found no cognates for laNkʼe.

34.   I assume that there is a condition of some sort prohibiting sequences
        of more than than two contiguous syllables with H tone.

35.   In Koyra this distinction is found for all the numerals *1-10;* cf.
        Hayward, 1982: 228-9.

36.   Hayward (1987: 220) interprets these final vowels as relics of an
        earlier TV, which corrects my earlier analysis of final -i in modify-
        ing forms of consonant-final nominals (including numerals) in Koyra
        as a genitive marker.

37.   Even when intervocalic, the final bilabial stop in the words for *six*
        and *seven* never seem to be spirantized, though they were not very
        long either, viz.

                    ʔizú[p]í hamátteyin
                    Six went

                    láa[p]í hamátteyin
                    Seven went

I suspect that from a phonological point of view they are geminates; cf. also the formative -ppe in the Koyra numerals: ʔizzúppe *six;* lappe *seven;* hazzúppe *eight;* ʔoddúppe *nine.*

38. We also find ší ʔa for *1000* - presumably a loan.

39. Cerulli (1938ᴸ) does not report the distinction for Zayse.

40. Similar alternations occur elsewhere in Omotic, and are obviously archaic; they appear in lexical material gathered by Mary Breeze for Benchnon Gimira; they also appear in Koyra (cf. Hayward, 1982: 235ff).

41. Concerning the affricates here, see §1.5.

42. As in other Ometo languages, *eat* and *hear* belong to a set of verbs that very commonly display irregularity (cf. §2.6.3.). Their idiosyncratic behaviour arises from the fact that they lack a proper stem-final consonant.

43. It should also be noted that -utt is a formative for "reciprocal verbs", e.g.

    wolá   zeeruttottunin

    We (inc.) spoke to each other

44. Comparison of a recent in-depth description of the categories of the Wolaitta verb (Adams, 1983) with earlier descriptions of that language and other Central Ometo varieties suggests that a very great deal may remain to be discovered in the grammars of all the Ometo languages.

45. However, the same - or a very similar - thing does occur in Koyra; cf. Hayward, 1982: 252.

46. This invites comparison with a final -n which marks the imperfect aspect in all the (irregular) vowel-final verbs in Koyra; cf. Hayward, 1982: 243.

47. My material contains very few "past tense" nominal predications, so

that the possible occurrence of -č in sentences of this type is simply not known.

48.   buʔ-utt- *be united* is, of course, an intransitivized ES verb.

49.   It should not be forgotten, however, that there is a third accentual class for nouns, i.e., what was termed the PSF type. But it is not at all obvious that the tonally odd verbs that are under discussion here can be considered a counterpart of this type.

50.   Unfortunately, I did not record a complete paradigm for any SS verb such as book(k)- *dig* which shows an alternation of single C with geminate CC stem-finally.

51.   Although the irregular verbs described here all have a as the post-thematic vowel, they are not uniformly like Class A verbs in their tonal patterns. Nor are their infinitives always what we expect for Class A verbs (cf. §2.6.5.).

52.   Tonal marking recorded for these items was conflicting and confused, and has been omitted here in consequence.

53.   Unfortunately, only a few forms of this verb were recorded.

54.   yis- also means *do*. The intransitive / transitive pairing of verbs meaning *say* and *do* is, of course, frequently encountered in the languages of Ethiopia in connection with the formation of compound verbs. Here, however, the relationship is morphologically explicit.

55.   I say "hypothesized" since my field-notes are not clear on the matter. Moreover, the analysis of many of the locative existential predications of the type illustrated in §2.1.4.3. and the analysis of CPF's depend rather heavily upon this point. The analysis was developed long after I had any access to a Zayse speaker. I look forward to an opportunity of establishing this empirically.

56.   Cf. Amharic *k'äräbb-alä He approached a little*; Qafar *kùdda-iyyah*
        he runs away (for a short time); see Cohen, 193ᶜ: 266; Parker and
        Hayward, 1985: 251.

57.   The verb *say* shows an invariable (i.e., non-complex paradigm) future
        form - at least in this construction. This may well be an archaism
        retained in this irregular but much used verb.

58.   Although I have generally translated focus sentences in Zayse by means
        of English cleft sentences, this must not be taken as implying any
        formal similarity.

59.   The final -ss is, of course, degeminated in pronunciation unless it
        is followed by a vocalic suffix.

60.   Saeed's PhD thesis (1982) appeared in published form in 1984.

61.   I am not prepared to say that it is a focus marker, however; argu-
        ments adduced in support of my position on this appear later in this
        section.

62.   I assume that underlyingly the subjects of such relative clause
        verbs are pronominal, and that the operation of relativisation will
        involve the deletion of a pronominal when it is coreferential with
        the (antecedent) NP head.

63.   It seems reasonable to suggest a similar etymology for -dé.

64.   I refer here to the so-called Complex Noun Phrase Constraint (cf.
        Ross, 1968), which has the effect of prohibiting the movement of any
        element out of a relative clause. For a very clear discussion of
        this constraint, the reader is referred to Radford, 1981: Ch.7.

65.   For an illuminating discussion of Somali topic structures, the reader
is referred to Saeed, 1984: Ch.7. The relevance of Saeed's treatment
for the syntax of other Ethiopian languages will be very apparent to
those who have puzzled over these matters!

66.   There is another very important difference between East Cushitic lan-
guages like Somali and Arbore and Ometo languages like Zayse. In the
former, most sentences other imperatives are characterized by the pre-
sence of what have traditionally been called "selectors". These are
a set of elements that occur sentence-initially, and the occurrence
of one or other of them distinguishes the sentence type (as declara-
tive, polar interrogative, jussive, negative, etc.). In some East
Cushitic languages, the selectors may also carry aspectual distinctions
It is important in comparing Zayse with Somali, etc,,to note that the
selectors occur in sentences where there is no syntactic focus, and
in this case, the clitic subject pronouns attach to the selectors.
Thus, with the obvious exception of sentences in which subjects them-
selves are focussed, clitic subject pronouns are always present in
non-imperative sentences.

67.   It will be recalled that there is a strong correlation for verbs with
CVC- stems between tonal pattern and post-thematic vowel (cf. §2.6.2.
1.). At various places in this study, however, I have had to point
out that this correlation was only partial; verbs with longer stems
and the irregular verbs (in which the stems are less than CVC- in
structure) behave oddly. Since lexical tone classes need to be recog-
nized for all Ometo languages (for which the data is adequate on the
matter), while only Zayse seems to require a lexical division of verbs
with respect to a post-thematic vowel, it seems reasonable to say that
the two things have independent origins. The correlation - such as it
is - between tone pattern and post-thematic vowel is most probably due

to analogical simplification, and is not yet complete.

For use of the term, see, for example, Tucker and Bryan, 1956: 583ff.

I was unable to obtain any past perfect or past imperfect relative forms.

A variant with t was noted in the affirmative perfect forms of the verbs ʔuš(š)-O- *drink* and žašš-O-*fear*, viz. ʔúštes / ʔušíis, žaštíis / žaššíis. Like the dd element found in the perfects of the irregular verbs, this t must represent an archaism.