NOTES ON THE PHONOLOGY AND GRAMMAR OF CHAHA-GURAGE

Carolyn M. Ford

Chaha is a dialect of Central Western Gurage, included by Hetzron (1977:4) under the title Gunnän Gurage. This is a Semitic language, closely related to Amharic in structure. For a discussion of the various Gurage languages and dialects and their classification see Hetzron (1977:3-29) and Leslau (1965b:266-74).

The data for this paper were collected over a period of seven years, 1975 to 1982. The author lived in the Gumer area (a neighboring dialect which differs from Chaha only in a few minor variants of pronunciation, cf. Hetzron 1977:4-5) for twenty months between 1975 and 1977, and had continuing contact with Chaha speakers while living in Addis Ababa from July 1977 to June 1983, making three trips to visit the area during that period.

The paper will approach Chaha phonology and grammar from a non-technical point of view, though some use is made of transformational generative (TG) notation. The phonology section touches only those points which are most necessary for understanding the workings of the language and which have been presented differently in previous publications. Both sections give particular attention to morphophonological processes which make Chaha-Gurage distinctive among the Semitic languages of Ethiopia.

I wish to express my gratitude to Ato Degefu Gebre Mariam, Chaha speaker who worked with me on the language, and to Dr. Klaus Wedekind, member of the Addis Ababa University Faculty, who gave much help in the organization and structure of this paper.

PHONOLOGY

We begin with a presentation of the consonant and vowel phonemes. Leslau (1950a) gave a generally accurate chart. My analysis differs from his in the following points: There is no t^{y}, which he puts in brackets. Aspiration of p, t and k is not phonemic. pʔ should be in brackets since it only occurs in borrowed words and is only pronounced by Chaha speakers who are phonologically bilingual. His bracketed ɓ is a distinct phoneme (cf. Hetzron 1977:37). See Section 2 for difference in analysis of vowel phonemes.

Hetzron (1977:37) gave a chart for the phonemes of the Gunnän Gurage dialects, with comments following for Chaha. I agree with his chart except that ñ, which he claims does not exist in Central Western Gurage, does occur rarely in Chaha, eg. /tämäñat/ 'desire'. See Section 2 for difference in analysis of vowel phonemes.

1. CONSONANTS

The following 37 (41) consonants make up the consonant phoneme inventory of Chaha-Gurage:[1]

	Bi-lab.	Bi-lab. Rnd.	Lab.-Dent.	L-Den. Rnd.	Alve-olar	Alv-Pal.	Pala-tal	Velar	Velar Rnd.	Glottal
Stops/Affr.										
vl.	p	p^w			t	č	k^y	k	k^w	(ʔ)
vd.	b	b^w			d	j	g^y	g	g^w	
ejective										
vl.	(pʔ)[2]				tʔ	čʔ	k^yʔ	kʔ	k^wʔ	
Nasals										
vd.	m	m^w			n	ñ				
Fricatives										
flat										
vl.			f	f^w			x^y	x	x^w	
vd.	β									
grooved										
vl.					s	š				
vd.					z	ž				
ejective										
vl.					(sʔ)[2]					
Lateral										
vd.					l					
Flap/Trill										
vd.					r (r̃)					
Nonsyll. Vocoids										
vd.	w						y			

Note: /p/, /t/ and /k/ are slightly aspirated, but to simplify notation this will not be marked in the rest of the paper.

Most of the phonemes in the chart need no further comment, and their phonetic realization is that indicated by the IPA symbol representing the phoneme. The following comments seem necessary and of particular interest for Chaha:

/b/ occurs word-initially and (rarely) word-medially as in /xäbäbäm/ 'he surrounded'. It does not occur word-finally except in ideophones. It could be interpreted as a geminated /β/, but no other geminated consonant has been found to occur word-initially or, apart from Hetzron's ellam 'he coveted' (1977:38), in a verb. Note Hetzron (1977:40): "In many cases original single b and k respectively became β and h (Leslau 1959a:2)." /b/ cannot be interpreted as a variant of /β/ as suggested by Leslau (1950a), since the two phonemes are labialized differently (see Section 5.5).

/x/ is Hetzron's /h/ (1977:37) and Leslau's /ḫ/ (1950). The amount of velar fricativization varies, even with the same speaker on the same word. However, it is generally fricativized in the velar area to some extent. Hetzron (1977:38) admits that the articulation of /h/ in Chaha is "somewhat tense" and states that the allophone [x] occurs in the Gumer dialect before a, o and u. I searched for and failed to find any environmental conditioning for the allophonic variation between [x] and [h] in either Gumer or Chaha.

/r/ is fronted when occurring word-finally, as in ɨmar 'donkey'. When geminated, it becomes [r̃].

/m/ is usually devoiced [m̥] word-finally and following a devoiced group of phonemes.

/ʔ/ occurs only word-initially. It always occurs if there is no other consonant at the beginning of the word. It is given quasi-prosodic status to simplify syllable description (see Section 4) and phonetic status to simplify the rest of the discussion. Thus in the following discussion, /V_/ always means [ʔV_].

/n/ If the final syllable of a word is devoiced and the penultimate consists of /nV/, /nV/ is generally devoiced as well. Example: [tämarin̥ix̥] 'I am a student', but [tämarinɨya] 'she is a student'. When followed by a bilabial, the /n/ is morphophonemically changed to [m], and when followed by a velar it is pronounced as the phonetic variant [ŋ].

2. VOWELS

Leslau's vowel chart (1950a) appears to have nine distinct phonemes and two allophones. His ä may be my æ, his ō my ö (since this is the longer of the two non-high back vowels), and his ɵ my ɨ. We agree on ä (he has allophone a), a, e, i and o. His ũ, which he lists as an allophone of ɵ (my ɨ), is probably ʷɨ, which would explain his very unlikely allophonic variation between ɵ and ũ. (I don't consider these to be allophones.) Note (Section 2) that /ʷi/ varies freely with /ʉ/.

Hetzron (1977:34) gives 8 full vowel phonemes (plus epenthetic [ə]) for Chaha. My analysis agrees with his except in the following points: I consider [ə] (my /ɨ/) a full phoneme, (see Section 2). I have included in my chart a tenth phoneme, /ʉ/. Since the occurrence of /ʉ/, except following labializable consonants, is doubtful, and since /ʉ/ varies freely with /ʷi/ following labializable consonants, one may argue that /ʉ/ does not deserve phoneme status. I have included it as a phoneme because a) Chaha speakers intuitively (and explicitly, when writing) seem to regard it as a distinct vowel, associating it with /u/ rather than /ɨ/ and b) it allows for the pairing given after the second vowel chart below, showing a trend toward the Cushitic vowel system.

Therefore, in my analysis, Chaha has the following ten vowel phonemes:

	Front Unrnd.	Central Unrnd.	Central Rnd.	Back Rnd.
High Close	i			u
Half-Close		ɨ	ʉ	
Mid Close	e			o
Open		ä		
Low Close	æ			ö
Open		a		

The chart as given includes the seven vowels of Amharic plus three other vowels (æ, ö and ʉ). Historically, /æ/ must come from the diphthong [ay] and is still pronounced as a diphthong in some Gurage dialects. Similarly, /ö/ must come

historically from the diphthong [aw] and is still pronounced as a diphthong in some dialects (cf. Hetzron 1977:35). /ʉ/ does not occur in some dialects. Thus the three non-semitic vowels are peculiar to the Chaha dialect, and I suggest that they result from the influence of Cushitic languages surrounding the Gurage area. These languages all have a ten-vowel system consisting of five distinct vowel qualities, each having contrastive length. Unroundedness for the two open vowels /ä/ and /a/ does not seem particularly significant (contrastive), and it seems that the tendency, pushed by the Cushitic system, is toward a more symmetrical system of ten vowels as follows:

	Front Unrnd.	Unrnd.	Central Neutral	Rnd.	Back Rnd.
High Close	i				u
Half-Close		ɨ		ʉ	
Mid Close	e				o
Open			ä		
Low Close	æ				ö
Open			a		

These vowels can be nicely paired according to morphophonological changes they undergo as follows: ɨ-i, ʉ-u, e-æ, o-ö, ä-a, which would then correspond to the Cushitic system i-i:, u-u:, e-e:, o-o:, a-a:.

Hetzron (1977:34) argues that [ɨ] "is not a full phoneme, but an epenthetic vowel meant to dissolve undesirable consonant clusters. It alternates with zero." This is true in many instances, especially in the conjugation of the verb. There are cases, however, where the phoneme seems to stand in its own right. Note, for example, in Section 5.3.1.1, that when the prefix tä- is attached to a word of the form /ɨ_/, it is the /ä/ that is lost rather than the /ɨ/. There are many root words, including the example sited by Hetzron (hʷɘt -> yähʷt) which have no other vowel except ɨ. Furthermore, in my data, the possessive of xʷɨt is yäxʷɨt, retaining the ɨ. Note also the contrast between yɨräxʷi 'someone sends it' (from nax-räx-nax 'send') and yɨräxɨwi 'someone finds it' (from näkäβ-räxɨβ-nɨxäβ 'find'). (Cf. Section 12.3.)

/ʉ/ varies freely with /ʷɨ/ and is the more frequent of the high rounded vowels. Contrast between the two high rounded vowels occurs only in the perfect tense of the verb: /-xʉm/ is the 1st ps. sg. form of the perfect suffix, and /-xum/ is the 2nd ps. m. pl. form. Thus ʔotxʉm 'I worked' and ʔotxum 'you (m. pl.) worked'.

/æ/ may be Leslau's /ä/ (Leslau:1957). For example, his bätäräm 'distinguish, separate' is my bætäräm (cf., bätäräm 'advance, precede'). His mätʔäräm 'castrate', however, in my data is metʔäräm (homonym to 'choose, set apart').

/æ/ and /ö/ are slightly longer than the other vowels, but vowel quality is more contrastive than vowel length (cf. Hetzron 1977:36).

3. SUPRASEGMENTALS

3.1 LEXICAL GEMINATION

As noted by Leslau (1951), lexical gemination occurs only in a few cases, and for only a few consonants, namely m, n, t and k. (Geminated r has been found only in ideophones.) Examples (Leslau:1950a): ɨkkɨm 'for no reason', ɨnnɨm 'all', ɨkka 'like this', ɨmmat 'only one, no one', attɨm 'not one, nothing'.

3.2 LEXICAL NASALIZATION

Lexical nasalization occurs on a few words: $\tilde{a}^{w}f$ 'mouth, bird', $\tilde{a}^{w}$fɑna 'nose'. Note that the nasalization is coupled with labialization of the following consonant. See Section 5.5.

3.3 STRESS

Instinctively, I feel that stress is predictable and therefore not phonemic. Generally, stress on the verb occurs on the first syllable of its (underived) stem: /yɨβära/ 'he eats', /säpäräm/ 'he broke', /tora/ 'sit!'. For further discussion of the subject see Hetzron 1977:42.

4. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

(See Section 1 regarding status of /ʔ/): All syllables have the form $C_1(C_2)V(C_3)(C_4)$. The obligatory phonemes are C_1 and V. Examples: da form of addressing an older woman; ma¦tra¦^{Y}šä 'carrying mat'; dɨf^{w}tʔ 'dinted, bent'.

4.1 OBLIGATORY PHONEMES

C_1 may be any consonant, including [ʔ], and V any vowel, except that /p/ and /β/ do not occur word-initially. Word-initial /r/ is found only in borrowed words. Generally, /b/ replaces /β/ and /n/ replaces /r/ word-initially. Thus baräm 'he said', but yäβarä 'the one who said'; and nämädäm 'he loved', but yärämädä 'the one who loved'.

4.2 OPTIONAL C_2

C_2 is always /r/ (Leslau:1950). Examples: nɨ¦βrät 'wealth'; ma¦tra¦^{Y}šä 'carrying mat'.

4.3 SYLLABLE CLOSURE

The syllable may close with any consonant or vowel. If it closes with a consonant cluster, C_3 most often is /r/ and C_4 a stop, but there are many other clusters as well. Examples: gɨrd 'obligatory'; fɨrk^{Y}ʔ (baräm) 'it splintered'; bɨrz 'honey-water drink'; zäng^{Y} 'speak!'; tɨrämj 'you (f. sg.) love'; gɨβt 'middle'· antɨro^{Y}št name of religious holiday.

5. MORPHOPHONOLOGY:

5.1 GEMINATION

I understand gemination as a simple assimilation process across morpheme boundaries:

C_1 [liquid]	+	C_1 [liquid]	->	l:
C_1 [liquid]	+	C_2	->	C_2
C_1	+	C_1	->	C_1:

(Liquids include /r/ and /l/ for this discussion.)[3]

Examples:
k2ar 'thing' + -ro 'they (m.) are' -> k2allo 'they are ... things'.
nɨ- (1st ps. pl. prefix) + wär 'go' (jussive stem) + -nä (1st ps. pl. suffix) -> nɨwännä 'let us go'.
mɨr 'what' + k2ar 'thing' -> mɨk2k2ar 'what thing'.
mɨr 'big' + k2ar 'thing' -> nɨk2k2ar 'very much'.

5.2 NASALIZATION

A nasal consonant in the underlying form of some words (including some negative verbs) frequently surfaces as a nasalized vowel. Examples: ɨmb^{w}ɨrβit or ɨ̃b^{w}ɨrβit 'storm, whirlwind'; anx^{y}ɨr or ãx^{y}ɨr 'I don't know'. Some Chaha speakers prefer to include the nasal consonant when writing these words, and some prefer to omit it.

5.3 VOWEL SEQUENCE

Contrary to Leslau's claim (1950a), sequences (clusters) of vowels do not occur in Chaha-Gurage. When such a sequence would occur due to affixation of vowel-final prefixes or vowel-initial suffixes, the following processes prevent it from surfacing:

5.3.1 ELISION

5.3.1.1 /ä/ -> ∅/C_ ≠V

Examples:
tä- (comitative prefix) + ɨya 'I' -> tɨya[4] 'with me'.
bä- (instrument prefix) + äj 'hand' -> bäj 'by hand'.
yä- (relative prefix) + önä-m 'he shouted' -> yönä 'the one who shouted'.

5.3.1.2 /ä/ -> ∅/_V [+mid; +low]

Examples:

bɨx^{y}ä 'weeping' + -ax^{y}ɨ 'your' (f. sg.) -> bɨx^{y}ax^{y}ɨ 'your weeping'.
gänä 'country' + -e (direction suffix) -> gäne 'to the country'.
danä 'judge' + -o (vocative suffix) -> dano 'O judge'.

5.3.1.3

$$\begin{matrix} i \\ u \end{matrix} \rightarrow \begin{matrix} y \\ w \end{matrix} \quad / \text{root}_{\ddot{a}} \neq \_\text{suffix} \quad \text{and}$$

$$\text{ɨ; ʉ} \rightarrow \emptyset \quad / \text{root}_{\ddot{a}} \neq \_\text{suffix}$$

Examples:

danä 'judge + -ɨm:a (emphatic suffix) -> danäm:a 'the judge'
danä 'judge' + -u 'he is' -> danäw 'he is a judge'.[5]

5.3.2 CONTRACTION

When a central vowel and a high close vowel or semivowel come together across morpheme boundaries, contraction occurs and the corresponding front or back vowel surfaces. This will be a low close vowel if the central vowel is low, and it will be a high close vowel otherwise. Thus in feature notation (Hyman 1975), where α can be positive or negative and β, can also be positive or negative (α and β, independent of each other), we have the following rule for vowel contraction:

$$[\alpha \text{ low}] + [\beta \text{ back}] \rightarrow \begin{matrix} [\alpha \text{ low}] \\ [\beta \text{ back}] \end{matrix}$$

Examples:

gʸäta 'master' + -u 'he is' -> gʸätö or gʸätaw 'he is master'.
yä- obj. pref. + xʸɨta 'her' + -e direction suf. -> yäxʸɨtæ 'toward her'.
bä- instrument pref. + yɨna 'us' -> bina 'by us'.[6]
bɨ- condit. pref. + yɨdärg 'he hits' -> bidärg 'if he hits'.
a- neg. pref. + yɨčʸän 'he comes' -> æčʸän 'he does not come'.
awnam or önam 'he yelled'.
a- neg. pref. + yar 'he goes' -> æyar 'he does not go'.

5.3.3 INSERTION OF SEMIVOWELS

When two front vowels meet, /y/ is inserted; when two back vowels or a back and front vowel meet, /w/ is inserted. Examples:
wabi 'generous' + -u 'he is' -> wabiyu or wabiwu 'he is generous'.
yɨdärgʷi '(someone) hits him' + -e purpose suf. -> yidärgʷɨye 'in order that (someone) hit him'.
yɨdärge 'in order that he hit' + -u 'it is' -> yɨdärgeyu or yɨdärgewu 'it is in order that he hit'.
yɨdärge 'he hits me' + -e purpose suf. -> yɨdärgeye 'in order that he hit me'.
yä- rel. marker + čänäxʉ-m 'I came' + -e reason suf. -> yäčʸänäxʷe 'because I came'.
yä- obj. pref. + dägäfu proper name + -e dir. suf. -> yädägäfuwe 'toward Degefu'.
axu 'you' (m. pl.) + -u 'it is' -> axuwu or axutu 'it is you'.
yaro 'they go' + -e purpose suf. -> yarowe 'in order that they go'.
yäxɨno 'of them' + -u 'it is' -> yäxɨnowu or yäxɨnotu 'it is theirs'.

We can summarize these processes in feature notation. The first obligatory rule:

$$\emptyset \rightarrow C_{\substack{[\alpha \text{ back}] \\ [-\text{ cons.}]}} \quad /V \; [\alpha \text{ back}]\_\_V$$

A second obligatory rule is: Cʉ + w -> C^{w}. Two optional rules follow to cover the variant forms:
w -> t/V[+ back] and y -> w/V_V[+ back].

5.3.4 INSERTION OF CONSONANTS

Insertion of /t/ or /x/ occurs between root and suffix in some forms (see Section 5.3.3). No rule has been discovered, but further examples are given below. The places where /t/ or /x/ can occur are mutually exclusive.
ɨya 'I' + -nxʉ 'am' -> ɨyatɨnxʉ or ɨyanxʉ 'it is I'.
xɨno 'they' + -ro 'are' -> xɨnotro or xɨnoro 'it is they'.
æ 'where' + -e dir.suf. -> æte '(to) where?'.
yä- obj. pref. + axä 'you' (m. sg.) + -e dir. suf. -> yaxäxe or yaxe 'toward you'.
yɨna 'we' + -e dir. suf. -> yɨnaxe or yɨnæ 'toward us'.

5.3.5 INSERTION OF /m/

This may occur between two words with syllable structure /_CV/ and /V_/. Examples:
wäxe atärim or wäxematärim 'did (people) spend the night well?'
xʉya at or xʉyamat 'twenty-one'.

5.4 PHONETIC DEVOICING

Vowels and nasals are often devoiced at the end of a clause or sentence. Examples: čänäxʉm or čänäxʉm 'I came'; ančänäxʉ 'I did not come'. Devoicing also occurs when two consonants come together and the second is voiceless. Example: dänägäm 'he hit', but [dänäkxʉm] 'I hit'. Devoicing seldom is powerful enough to effect morphophonemic changes.

5.5 LABIALIZATION

Labialization occurs on the impersonal form of the verb and on verb forms with the 3rd ps. m. sg. light object suffix.[7] It is described in Sections 12.6 and 12.7. Consonants are labialized as follows (cf. Hetzron 1977:45):

Lab.	Rule	Unlabialized Example	Labialized Example
p ->	p^{w}	däpäräm 'he added'	däp^{w}äränɨm 'he added it'
b ->	b^{w}	baräm 'he said'	b^{w}arim '(someone) said'
β ->	w	yäβarä 'which he said'	yäwarän 'which he said to him'
f ->	f^{w}	gäfam 'he pushed'	gäf^{w}anɨm 'he pushed him'
m ->	m^{w}	dämädäm 'he gathered'	däm^{w}äjim '(someone) gathered'
k ->	k^{w}	bäkäräm 'he lacked'	bäk^{w}ärim '(someone) lacked'
g ->	g^{w}	dänägäčɨm 'she hit'	dänäg^{w}äčänɨm 'she hit him'
kʔ ->	k^{w}ʔ	kʔätʔam 'he punished'	k^{w}ʔäčʔem '(someone) punished him'
x ->	x^{w}	xänam 'he prevented'	x^{w}änanɨm 'he prevented him'

Labialization precedes the consonant in a very few cases, namely $\tilde{a}^{w}$f 'mouth, bird' and $\tilde{a}^{w}$fʉna 'nose'. But Chaha speakers are happy to write these as af^{w} and af^{w}ɨna respectively (see Section 3.2). Leslau (1950a) states that syllable-final

labialization precedes the consonant. I find no evidence for this. Leslau's betäwxna 'their house' is consistently pronounced betäx^{W}ɨna by the Chaha speakers with whom I have had contact. Also note ätäm^{W} 'sister'.

5.6 PALATALIZATION

Palatalization occurs in impersonal verb forms. See Sections 12.6 and 12.8. Consonants are palatalized as follows (cf. Hetzron 1977:46-47):

Pal.		Rule	Unpalatalized Example	Palatalized Example
t	->	č^{Y}	tot 'work!' (m. sg.)	toč^{Y} 'work!' (f. sg.)
d	->	j	yɨrämd 'he loves'	tɨrämj 'you (f. sg.) love'
tʔ	->	čʔ^{Y}	antʔäm 'he cut'	ančʔ^{Y}im '(someone) cut'
s	->	š^{Y}	tasɨs 'you (m. sg.) sweep'	taš^{Y}ɨš^{Y} 'you (f. sg.) sweep'
z	->	ž^{Y}	tɨfäz 'you (m. sg.) are better'	tɨfäž^{Y} 'you (f. sg.) are better'
r	->	y	bɨra 'eat!' (m. sg.)	bɨyä 'eat!' (f. sg.)
k	->	k^{Y}	bakäm 'I said to you' (m. sg.)	bak^{Y}ɨm 'I said to you' (f. sg.)
g	->	g^{Y}	dɨrg 'hit!' (m. sg.)	dɨrg^{Y} 'hit!' (f. sg.)
kʔ	->	k^{Y}ʔ	yɨrkʔ 'he is bigger'	tɨrk^{Y}ʔ 'you (f. sg.) are bigger'
x	->	x^{Y}	fɨräx 'be patient!' (m. sg.)	fɨräx^{Y} 'be patient' (f. sg.)

The following vowels may also undergo palatalization:

ɨ	->	i	tɨrädɨf 'you (m. sg.) sting'	tɨrädif 'you (f. sg.) sting'
a	->	ä	bɨra 'eat!' (m. sg.)	bɨyä 'eat!' (f. sg.)
ä	->	e	tɨtʔäf 'you (m. sg.) write'	tɨtʔef 'you (f. sg.) write'

6. GENERAL COMMENTS

By far the most interesting aspect of Chaha-Gurage is the morphophonology. Labialization and palatalization occur frequently, both lexically and morpho-phonemically. Sequences of vowels are avoided in every case, diphthongs having been reduced to single vowels with dinstinguishing quality. Thus the number of vowel segments is ten rather than the usual seven for Semitic languages, but the syllable structure is simplified and the cooccurrence of consonants regularized remarkably by comparison with other Ethiopic languages, both Semitic and Cushitic.

GRAMMAR

Hetzron (1977) gives a thorough and accurate (at least for Chaha) description of the "Gunnän Gurage" languages, which include the Chaha dialect. Leslau (1950) gives a brief grammatical sketch of Chaha. Details given here on Chaha may be compared with these two descriptions. Some of the more important differences will be noted.

7. SOME DISCOURSE PROPERTIES[8]

(a short view of units larger than sentences with one independent verb)

7.1 DISCOURSE ELEMENTS OF THE SENTENCE

"Sentence" here refers to (a series of) one or more clauses with at least one independent verb. The sentence is composed of an optional connector, an optional cohesion clause, optional modifying clauses, and an obligatory head clause. Examples follow.

7.1.1 CONNECTORS

Conjunction ʸčʔɨn 'but' is not part of any clause but serves as a conjunction introducing an antithetical sentence. It generally occurs as the second word of the sentence, never sentence-initial. Example:

```
dägäfu    yäwär       baxam.   xat    ʸčʔɨn        anar baräm.
'Degefu   let-him-go  I-said.  he but  I-won't-go  he-said.'
i.e., 'I suggested Degefu go, but he refused.'
```

Conjunction banxäre 'rather' comes at the end of the first main clause in a coordinate sentence to indicate antithesis. Example:

```
säränɨm          banxäre anmacä.
'it-pleased-him rather  not-he-got-angry.'
i.e., "He did not get angry. Rather, it pleased him.'
```

Enclitic -(ɨ)m 'and' (cf. Hetzron 1977:128) functions like the Greek kai and is suffixed to the first word of a sentence. It takes the form -m when suffixed to a word which ends in a vowel and -ɨm when suffixed to a word which ends in a consonant. It may come between the noun root and pronominal suffix, eg., betɨmäta 'house-and-his', i.e., 'and his house'. It may also take the form -(ɨ)mma in an emphatic statement, often one involving concession, eg.,

```
dägäfu æyarwe. xatɨmma yar. ɨngʷädɨm säβ yar xäma
'Degefu won't-he-go?' he-sure he-goes. other-and person he-goes that
yatkʸäšʸ.
it-is-needed.'
i.e., 'Won't Degefu go?' 'Sure, he will go. It is necessary
that other people go as well.'
```

Enclitic -(ɨ)ʸšʸ 'and, of course' functions in the same way as -(ɨ)m and is used for emphasis in a similar way to -(ɨ)mma. Leslau (1950a) calls it a "conjunction of insistence". Hetzron (1977:130-31) notes that it has an "expressive function". Example:

```
dägäfu æ wäräm? xatɨšʸ gäne täžʸäpäräm.
'Degefu where he-went?'  'He      to-country he-returned.'
i.e., 'Where did Degefu go?' 'Oh, he returned to his home area.'
```

Enclitic -(ɨ)x 'and?, what about?' functions in the same way as -(ɨ)m but is used only in questions or "for contrastive value" as when switching topics (Hetzron 1977:131). Example:
dägäfux ænä? 'What about Degefu? Isn't he here?'

7.1.2 COHESION CLAUSE

This is a subordinate clause relating back to the previous sentence. It is the "ground" part of a ground-figure construction. Example from oral text:

at mɨs farax^{ɣ} banä. tifärx mɨš^{ɣ}t gadänä kʔar banäč^{ɣ}.
'one man patient he-was. as-he-was-patient wife talkative thing she-was.'
i.e., 'There was a patient man. While he was patient, his wife was talkative.'

7.1.3 MODIFYING AND HEAD CLAUSES

Example:

at zänga tətärf bämäč^{ɣ}ʔäräša ant ʔäč^{ɣ}ɨm,
'one matter without-it-is-left-over in-the-end she-slaughtered,

atketäfäč^{ɣ}ɨm, kʔɨß arätʔäräč^{ɣ}ɨm, tʔɨräs
she-caused-to-be-chopped, butter she-melted, inset-leaf-plate

kʔäfäfäč^{ɣ}ɨm, yäza säß yɨfte ɨnnɨm mura kʔar
she-shaped, to-that people in-front everything complete thing

atk^{ɣ}ʔänäßäč^{ɣ}ɨm.
she-brought-near.'
i.e., 'Without leaving anything undone, in the end she slaughtered (the animal), had the meat chopped up, melted the butter, prepared the inset plates, and brought everything to those people complete.'

The final clause is the head, and the other clauses are modifying clauses.

7.2 ELLIPSIS

Every sentence has a verb or copula except in the case of questions and their answers, where ellipsis may occur. Examples:

dägäfu č^{ɣ}änäm. mäč^{ɣ}ɨrä? sästɨra.
'Degefu came.' 'When?' 'Day-before-yesterday.'

wäxemɨnxäwe? wäxe. 'Are you well?' 'Well.' ('I am' understood)
dägäfu č^{ɣ}änämwe? 'Did Degefu come?' ɨnk. 'Yes.'

7.3 INTERROGATIVE SUFFIX

Yes-no questions may be marked by a suffix -we, in which case there is a falling tone on the last syllable of the last word. If the -we suffix is not added, the yes-no question will be marked by a rising tone at the end of the sentence. Examples: gäβɨya wärxämwe. or gäβɨya wärxäm? 'Did you (m. sg.) go to market?'

7.4 DIRECT SPEECH

Direct speech is always marked by a form of the verb barä-m 'say'.[9] In conversation it is also marked by intonation. The verb 'say' immediately follows the quoted speech. The subject of the verb most often precedes the quotation, but it may follow the verb 'say' with another verb.

7.4.1 GENUINE QUOTATIONS (cf. Hetzron 1977:131-33)

Example from oral text:

```
za   kʔɨračʔ "ɨyax tɨnzägɨr wäšär äsäβɨre anxäräwe"
'that flea     "I-?  when-I-jump pot I-will-break isn't-it?"
     baräm.
     he-said.'
i.e., 'That flea said, "I, when I jump, am I not going to break the pot?"'
```

7.4.2 IDIOMS

Many idiomatic expressions also take the form of direct speech (cf. Hetzron 1977:109). Note that baräm 'he said' occurs in each example below:

kʔö baräm	(of rain) 'it stopped'
ko baräm	'he screamed'
kʔus baräm	'he was silent'
tʔämbʷa baräm	'it exploded'
bæ baräm	'he refused' (bæ 'no')
ägi baräm	'he obeyed' (ägi 'okay')
gäb baräm	(of pain) 'it eased'
mena anarkʔ baräm	Lit., 'The work said, "I won't run out."' i.e., 'The work is endless.'

7.5 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections may take the place of full sentences and frequently occur in response to other than verbal stimulae. For example, when a Gurage woman sees a hyena (which is feared because it is believed to have supernatural power), she may exclaim ečʷäxu, an expression of awe. Other examples:

wäg	sign of amazement
o	sign of surprised disappointment
ek	sign of disgust
xädaš^{ʷ}	(m. sg.) 'please'
äš^{ʷ}am	greeting to one who is working
dɨrädɨg	sign of protest or dismay

8. BASIC SENTENCE STRUCTURE

8.1 CLAUSE ORDER

The predicate of the head (main) clause of a sentence always comes last in written Chaha, and its verb is independent. See Section 7.1.3 for an example.

8.2 WORD ORDER

The normal word order in Chaha-Gurage is SOV. Examples:

at mɨs sost dæng^{y}a č^{y}ɨänäm.
'one man three sons he-bore.'

mɨs bärzaz bɨräzɨz gɨzɨyä ...
'man dream when-he-dreams time ...'
i.e., 'When a man was dreaming ...'

8.3 CLAUSE TYPES

There are two basic clause types, the transitive/intransitive clause and the equative clause.

8.3.1 STRUCTURE OF TRANSITIVE/INTRANSITIVE CLAUSE

Using some TG conventions, rules may be given as follows:

$$Cl_{tr/intr} \rightarrow \begin{matrix}(adv._{time})\\(PP_{time})\end{matrix} \quad (NP_{subj}) \quad (NP_{obj}) \quad (PP_{adv}) \; V_{tr/intr}$$

The time phrase may occur other places in the clause, but this is the most common order (cf. Hetzron 1977:114). For the structure of the PP adverbial phrase, see Section 11.1. Examples:

at kärä äramäxuna m^{w}ätäm.
'one day cow-their-(m.) he-died.'
i.e., 'One day their cow died.'

gogata bofänč^{y}e jipä dän zɨräkäwim.
'skin-his in-doorway mat inside they-stretched-it-out.'
i.e., 'They stretched out the skin under the mat at the entrance.'

amärga tʔot tʔäßätʔäm.
'Amerga torch he-grasped.' i.e., 'Amerga grasped a torch.'

anč^{y}änä. 'He did not come.'

8.3.2 STRUCTURE OF EQUATIVE CLAUSE

$$Cl_{equa.} \rightarrow \begin{pmatrix} adv._{time} \\ PP_{time} \end{pmatrix} \quad (NP_{subj.}) \quad NP_{compl.} \; V\text{'to be'}$$

Again, the time phrase may occur other places (eg., after the subject). Examples:
äk^{w}a amädaru. 'today cold-is.' i.e., 'It is cold today.'
dägäfu astämari banä. 'Degefu teacher he-was.' i.e., 'Degefu was a teacher.'

9. DEPENDENT CLAUSES (See also Section 11.2.)

9.1 RELATIVE CLAUSE

The structure of the relative clause is the same as that of the independent clause except that in the perfect it is marked by the prefix yä- attached to the verb and by dropping of the final -m from the verb form.

The relative clause may function as subject, object, complement, time phrase - anywhere a noun phrase may occur. It is also used for comparison and indirect speech, as described in Section 9.1.5-6.

9.1.1 EXAMPLES OF RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH PERFECT VERBS

Independent Clause	Relative Clause
ärč̌ čänäm. 'boy came.' i.e., 'A boy came.'	yäč̌änä ärč̌ 'who-(he)-came boy' 'the boy who came'
almaz yärč̌ dänäg^{w}äč̌änɨm. 'Almaz boy she-hit-him.' i.e., 'Almaz hit the boy.'	almaz yädänäg^{w}äč̌än ärč̌ 'Almaz whom-she-hit-him boy' 'the boy whom Almaz hit'

9.1.2 RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH CONTINUOUS VERBS

The relative verb in the continuous is identical with the present continuous verb. The distinction is that the relative verb is either followed by its governing noun or has a definite article attached to it. Examples:

Independent Clause	Relative Clause
bäx^{w}et sat tɨč̌än. 'at-two hours she-comes' i.e., 'She comes at 8:00.'	bäx^{w}et sat tɨč̌än gäräd 'at-two hours she-comes girl' 'the girl who comes at 8:00'
yalmaz yɨdärgna. 'obj.-Almaz he-hits-her.' i.e. 'He hits Almaz.'	yalmaz yɨdärgnaxuta 'obj.-Almaz he-hits-her-the' 'the one who hits Almaz'

9.1.3 RELATIVE CLAUSES IN PLUPERFECT AND PAST CONTINUOUS

For pluperfect and past continuous, the relative marker yä- is attached to the helping verb näpärä-m, and the -m is dropped. Examples:

čänäm yäräpärä mɨs 'he-came rel.-helping-verb man' i.e., 'the man who had come'.
yɨčotäma yäräpärä ɨšta 'they-(f.)-work rel.-helping-verb women' i.e., 'the women who were working'.

9.1.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES WITH EQUATIVE VERBS

For equative clauses, the relative prefix yä- is attached to a perfect form of the verb xärä-m 'become' for present tense, and a form of the verb näpärä-m 'live' for past tense. Future tense requires a continuous form of xärä-m. Examples:

Independent Clause	Relative Clause
zɨx dæng^{Y}a tämariro. 'this children student-are' i.e., 'These children are students.'	tämari yäxäro dæng^{Y}a 'student rel.-became children' 'the children who are students'
zɨx dæng^{Y}a tämari banäbo. 'this children student were' i.e., 'These children were students.'	tämari yäräpäro dæng^{Y}a 'student rel.-were children' 'the children who were students'
zɨx dæng^{Y}a tämari yɨxärote. 'this children student will-be' i.e., 'These children will be students.'	tämari yɨxäro dæng^{Y}a 'student they-become children' 'the children who will be students'

9.1.5 RELATIVE CLAUSE IN COMPARISON

A relative clause followed by the word xäma 'like' and a main clause expresses comparison. Example:

^{Y}čʔæt yɨwätʔa xäma äx^{W}a tɨyäm.
'sun comes-out like now it-appeared'
i.e., 'Now it is visible, as when the sun comes out.'

9.1.6 RELATIVE CLAUSE IN INDIRECT SPEECH

Indirect speech is also marked by a relative clause followed by the word xäma 'that' and a main clause. The verb of the main clause will usually be one of cognition. Example:

k^{Y}ʔäč^{Y}ʔɨm tanä nägä yaf^{W}äri
xäma ɨnnɨm säβ yɨx^{Y}ɨn.
'one-gets-tired as tomorrow one-rests that all person he-knows-it.'
i.e., 'Everyone knows that by working hard now one rests in the future.'

9.2 MODIFYING CLAUSES

Modifying clauses include transitive/intransitive clauses and equative clauses which are not embedded sentences. They are distinguished from head or main clauses by the fact that they have a dependent verb, including what Hetzron (1977:94-98) calls a converb.[10] Examples:

Modifying Clause	Main Clause
atäta ᵛčänäm (tanä)	bet gäpam.
'one-of-them he-came (as-is)	house he-entered.'
i.e, 'One of them came and	entered the house.'
äkʷa kʸʔäᵛčʔim	nägä yafʷäri.
'today one-gets-tired	tomorrow one-rests.'
i.e., 'By working hard today,	one is able to rest tomorrow.'

(In the impersonal verb, the subordinate form is distinguished from the independent form by a vowel change. For example, kʸäᵛčʔim is the subordinate form, and kʸʔäᵛčʔim is the independent form of 'one became tired'. See Section 12.6.)

10. NOUN PHRASES

The noun phrase has the following structure:

				Demonstrative			
NP	->	$NP_{possessive}$ $Cl_{relative}$	(number)	(adj.)	Noun		def. suf. poss. suf.

Two such noun phrases may occur consecutively in an appositive relationship. See the second example below. Examples:
zix nikʔixyä bet 'this big house'
yäbiru nikʔ ärᵛč mamo 'Biru's oldest son Mamo'
yičᵛot mis 'he-works man' i.e., 'the man who is working'

11. CASES OF NOUN PHRASES AND EMBEDDED SENTENCES (cf. Hetzron 1977:54-56)

Any noun phrase can be expanded or replaced by a subordinate clause. Following is the description of the various noun phrase cases and the corresponding subordinate clauses with their functions. The selection of the various phrases as in the formulae of Sections 8.3.1-2 is governed by the verb or, in genitive phrases, by the main noun phrase.

11.1 PREPOSITIONAL AND POST-POSITIONAL PHRASES:

PP	->	(prep.)	+	NP	+ post-pos.	
		prep.	+	NP		

11.1.1 THE CASE MARKED BY PREFIX bä-

The case marked by prefix bä- may serve as instrument, time, location or adverse object (Hetzron's B-Complement). Examples:
bɨnt?ar dänägem. 'by-stick he-hit-me' i.e., 'He beat me with a stick.' (Recall /ä/ -> ∅/C_ ≠V, Section 5.3.1.1.)
bäx ank^{Y}?ä wäräm. 'at-that after he-went' i.e., 'He left after that.'
mɨs bäbet f^{W}är ʕonam. 'man on-house top he-sat' i.e., 'The man sat on top of the house.'
dägäfu bämatɨyos mət?ɨt? k?ar ʕotäm. 'Degefu against-Matthew bad thing he-worked.' i.e., 'Degefu did a bad thing to Matthew.'

11.1.2 yä-

The case marked by prefix yä- also serves several functions.

11.1.2.1 DIRECT OBJECT

The object prefix yä- attaches to the first word of a noun phrase to show direct object where it might be confused with the subject. In the first example below, the object prefix is necessary to distinguish subject from object. In the second example, no object marker is needed since a pencil obviously could not take a person. In the third example, the object marker is used even though the verb shows masculine subject and feminine object; it is common to use the object prefix with proper names, definite nouns, and definite pronouns. Examples:
dägäfu yäg^{W}äpæyata dänäg^{W}änɨm. 'Degefu obj.-brother-his he-hit-him.'
dägäfu ɨrsas wäsädäm 'Degefu pencil he-took.'
dägäfu yalmaz dänägänam. 'Degefu obj.-Almaz he-hit-her.'

11.1.2.2 BENEFACTIVE OBJECT (Hetzron's L-Complement)

The object prefix yä- is required when a benefactive object is specifically stated. Example:

dägäfu yägɨræd k?awa afät?ärärämam.
'Degefu for-girls coffee he-boiled-for-them-(f.)'
i.e., 'Degefu boiled coffee for the girls.'

11.1.2.3 POSSESSION, GENITIVE CONSTRUCTION, GOAL

yämamo betu. 'of-Mamo house-it-is.' i.e., 'It is Mamo's house.'

yäz bet säβ! yädɨyä säβ!
'of-this house person' 'of-outside person'

(Expressions used in place of our knock at the door and answer to it.)

yäsäβ wäxe ænä. 'of-person good there-is-not' i.e.,
'There are no good people.'

yaddis aββäβa arte. 'to-Addis Ababa I-will-go.'

11.1.2.4 DIRECTION

An optional prefix yä- and an obligatory suffix -e show direction toward. Examples:
dägäfu gäne wändäm. 'Degefu country-dir. he-went-down-(west).'
i.e., 'Degefu went (west) to his home area.'
æte tar? 'where-dir. you-go' i.e., 'Where are you going?'
yädägäfuwe ar. 'to-Degefu-dir. I-go.' 'I am going to Degefu's.'

11.1.2.5 MANNER

The case marked by optional prefix yä- and adverb xäma 'like' expresses manner. Examples:
yaβaxä xäma tot. 'manner-father-your like work!' i.e., 'Work like your father!'
ǯäp xäma yaxära. 'lion like he-shouts' i.e., 'He roars like a lion.'

11.1.3 tä-

The case marked by prefix tä- can be partitive, comparative, source, direction from (with optional suffix -e), comitative or time. Examples:

täčʸänäβo dængʸa xʷetäxuna šäpätäm.
'from-they-came children two-of-them he-chose.'
i.e., 'He chose two children out of those who came.'

mamo täbɨru yɨrkʔ. 'Mamo than-Biru he-is-bigger.'
ɨxa täbar ačʸänäxum. 'water from-river I-brought.'
tæte čʸänäxäm? 'from-where did-you-come?'
täbetäna čʸänäxum. 'from-house-my I-came.'
dägäfu tärčʸäta čʸänäm. 'Degefu with-son-his he-came.'
gʷeta afär täsämæ fätʔäräm. 'God earth with-sky he-created.'
täx ankʸʔä 'from-that after' i.e., 'after that'

11.1.4 VOCATIVE CASE

The case marked by suffix -o is vocative. Hetzron (1977:55) notes that this marker is optional (i.e., one may call a person without adding the suffix). He claims that the suffix is -w after a vowel. I have not found this. Rather, any other vowel is dropped. Examples:

Nominative Case		Vocative Case
dägäfu	(proper name)	dägäfo
ärčʸ	'boy'	ärčʸo
zɨrgʷat	(proper name)	zɨrgʷo

11.2 CORRESPONDING SUBORDINATE CLAUSES (cf. Hetzron 1977:99-105)

Subordinate clauses which correspond to the above described noun phrases will now be described. They will be classified according to function rather than form.

11.2.1 TIME

The prefix bä-/bɨ- (or sometimes tä-/tɨ-) attached to a verb expresses a temporal idea. The vowel ä goes with perfect verbs and ɨ with continuous verbs. Examples:

wängel baße gam^{w}ä mena wɨkʔät anatʔinät täxɨm
'Gospel in-he-gave-me time, work knowledge carpentry with-that-and
aßem.
he-gave-me.'
i.e., 'When he gave me the Gospel, he gave me work or knowledge, that is,
carpentry, with it.'

yädɨrä nɨmajɨnät tɨna^{y}ʒɨn äx^{w}a
kʔäpäräm.
'of-formerly love when-I-see-it now it-lacked.'
i.e., When I compare with former times, love is lacking now.'

fɨrd bosädä ank^{y}ʔä säk^{w}ʔärim.
'judgment in-he-took after one-hanged-him.'
i.e., 'After he was sentenced, he was hanged.'

This construction also marks the first of two consecutive events and is used as a cohesion device. Example from oral text:

tɨxar wæ b^{w}arim. tɨxar wæ biwɨri
'bedbug descend! one-said-to-him. bedbug descend! when-one-says

"ɨya yoyäxun m^{w}an yɨsä^{y}ʔɨn?" baräm.
"I rel.-I-descend-it who he-drinks-it?" he-said.'
i.e., 'It was said, "Bedbug, you go down (and get water)." When it was said,
"Bedbug, you go down," he said, "Who is going to drink what I go down (and
get)?"'

11.2.1.1 t-

t- with a negative verb followed by yɨfte 'before' places one event before another. Examples:

tanar yɨfte 'ätsar^{y}xäšä.
'when-not-I-go before I-will-visit-you-(m. sg.).'
i.e., 'I will visit you before I go.'

11.2.1.2 tɨ- ... (tanä)

tɨ- ... (tanä) 'as ... (asis)' with a continuous verb expresses simultaneous events or manner. Example:

tiyar (tanä) weg yidärs banä.
'as-he-goes as-is song he-sings he-was.'
i.e., 'As he went along, he was singing a song.'

11.2.1.3 tɨ- ... dar

tɨ- ... dar 'as ... until' with a continuous verb expresses duration. Examples:
mamo tiČän dar äkɨsšä. 'Mamo as-he-comes until I-shall-wait.' i.e., 'I shall wait until Mamo comes.'
mamo tiČän dar menaxä däpär. 'Mamo as-he-comes until work-your finish.' i.e., 'Finish your work by the time Mamo comes.'

11.2.1.4 tanä

A perfect or jussive verb with tanä 'as is' expresses consecutive events. Examples:
Čänäm tanä bɨzä kʔar Čotäm. 'he-came as-is many things he-worked.' i.e., 'He came and did many things.'
betänæ nɨwännäm tanä ɨya atäžxäšä. 'house-my-to let's-go as-is I-shall-show-you.' i.e., 'Let's go to my house and I will show you.'

11.2.2 CONDITION

11.2.2.1 REAL CONDITION

The prefix bä-/bɨ- attached to the perfect or continuous form of the verb expresses real condition. Examples:
xʉt bäČänä gɨßɨräta yɨsd. 'he if-he-came things-his let-him-take.' i.e., 'If he should come, have him take his things.'
xʉt biČän ɨmate nɨwännäšä. 'he if-he-comes together we-shall-go.' i.e., 'If he comes we will go together.'

11.2.2.2 CONTRARY-TO-FACT CONDITION

tä- attached to the perfect form expresses a condition contrary to fact (CTF). Examples:

xʉt täČänä ɨmate nɨwännä banä.
'he if-(CTF)-he-came together we-go-indef. it-was.'
i.e., 'If he had come, we'd have gone together.'

(Note that the form nɨwännä is the jussive form, but the meaning is closer to the idea of the indefinite future. I suggest it is the indefinite future with suffix -šä omitted and carries the meaning of something that could have happened but didn't.)

xʉt täČänä ɨya banar /bamb^{w}ärxʉ/.
'he if-(CTF)-he-came I if-not-I-go /if-not-I-went/.'
i.e., 'If he had come, I wouldn't go /have gone/.'

11.2.3 MEANS, REASON, MANNER

bä- with the infinitive expresses means, reason or manner. Examples:

tɨrama bɨrätäna baßotäna nɨkʔkʔar amätʔätʔem.
'yesterday iron-my by-to-give-my very-much it-grieved-me.'
i.e., 'I was very grieved that I had earlier given up my gun.'

"g^{w}eta axä kʔäyä at äga näßsända yaxä kʔaru," boßär
'"God you protect one time soul-our of-you thing-is," by-to-say

ɨkka tiyari ...
like-this as-one-goes ...'
i.e., 'As people went saying, "God, you protect; our souls are yours once and for all ..."'

mena bätotot nɨβrät yɨräxɨwi. 'work by-to-work wealth is-gained.'
i.e., 'Wealth is gained by working.'

11.2.4 REASON

The suffix -e attached to the relative perfect form of a verb indicates reason. Example:
gʷäpæyana yäv̆äne sarem. 'brother-my rel.-he-came-because it-pleased-me.' i.e., 'I am glad because my brother came.'

11.2.5 PURPOSE

The suffix -e attached to the continuous form of a verb indicates purpose or desire. Examples:

bäsär yiβäræ (yiβära-e) tʔæ antʔäm.
'meat he-eats-purpose sheep he-slaughtered.'
i.e., 'He slaughtered a sheep in order to eat meat.'

yiv̆äne nɨv̆änä. 'he-comes-pur. we-want.' i.e., 'We want him to come.'

For negative purpose, a prefix b- is attached to the negative verb in addition to the suffix -e. Example:
bæv̆äne xʷänanɨm. 'neg.-he-comes-pur. he-prevented-him' i.e., 'He prevented him from coming.'

11.2.6 ESSIVE (STATE)

The prefix bä- and suffix -e attached to the perfect form expresses state. Example:
xut bäv̆one näkäβxanɨm. 'he state-he-sat I-found-him.' i.e., 'I found him (just) sitting (there).'

12. VERBS

The verb phrase consists of a verb word with optional proclitic, optional post-position and optional auxiliary verb (banä annäpärä tanä).

VP -> (Procl.) V (Post-pos.) (Aux. V)

Hetzron (1977:69) gives the structure of the verb word as follows (taking only what applies to Chaha):

$$\text{(subordination)} + \begin{matrix}\text{(pers.} + \text{stem [+ gender])}\\ \text{(stem} + \text{person)}\end{matrix} + \text{(comp. pron.)} + \begin{matrix}\text{(MVM)}\\ \text{(subord.)}\end{matrix}$$

I submit the following examples:

yädänäg^{w}äčän (ärč) 'the (boy) whom she hit'. Here we see the prefix yä- which shows subordination; the stem dänäg; the person marker -äč-; and the complement pronoun -n (3rd ps. m. sg.) with labialization (see Section 12.7) on g -> g^{w}. yɨdärgämayowe 'in order that they (f.) hit them (m.)'. Here we see the 3rd person marker yɨ-; the continuous stem därg; the gender (and number) marker -äma; the 3rd ps. m. pl. comp. pron. -yo; and the subordination (purpose) marker -(w)e.

For each verb root, there are three basic stems from which all other verb forms are derived. (For a classification of verb types according to the shape of these stems, see Hetzron 1977:69-77.) The three stems may be labelled perfect, continuous, and jussive. Each stem takes ten forms as it is conjugated according to person, gender and number, plus an impersonal form which requires an object (the object also being conjugated according to person, gender and number) when occurring as a main (head) verb. Paradigms for two regular verbs follow.

12.1 PERFECT ASPECT

Stem:			ʸčot 'work'	βäna 'eat'
1st	ps.	sg.	ʸčotxam	bänaxam
2nd	ps. m.	sg.	ʸčotxäm	bänax^{ʸ}m
2nd	ps. f.	sg.	ʸčotx^{ʸ}ɨm	bänaɔ
3rd	ps. m.	sg.	ʸčotäm	bänam
3rd	ps. f.	sg.	ʸčotäčɨm	bänaʸčɨm
1st	ps.	pl.	ʸčotnäm	bänanäm
2nd	ps. m.	pl.	ʸčotxum	bänaxum
2nd	ps. f.	pl.	ʸčotxɨmam	bänaxɨmam
3rd	ps. m.	pl.	ʸčotom/ʸčotäβom	bänom/bänäβom
3rd	ps. f.	pl.	ʸčotämam/ʸčotäβämam	bänämam
Impersonal			ʸčoʸɨm [11]	b^{w}änäm

Pluperfect is expressed by the perfect form followed by the helping verb banä 'he was'. Examples: ʸčotäm 'he worked'; ʸčotäm banä 'he had worked'.

12.2 CONTINUOUS ASPECT

Stem:			ʸčot' work'	βära 'eat'
1st	ps.	sg.	äʸčot	äβära
2nd	ps. m.	sg.	tɨʸčot	tɨβära
2nd	ps. f.	sg.	tɨʸčoʸč	tɨβäyä
3rd	ps. m.	sg.	yɨʸčot	yɨβära
3rd	ps. f.	sg.	tɨʸčot	tɨβära
1st	ps.	pl.	nɨʸčotnä	nɨβäranä
2nd	ps. m.	pl.	tɨʸčoto	tɨβäro
2nd	ps. f.	pl.	tɨʸčotäma	tɨβäräma
3rd	ps. m.	pl.	yɨʸčoto	yɨβäro
3rd	ps. f.	pl.	yɨʸčotäma	yɨβäräma
Impersonal			yɨʸčoʸɨ	yɨwärä

The following tenses are derived from the continuous form:

12.2.1 PAST CONTINUOUS

Past continuous is expressed by the continuous form of the verb followed by helping verb banä 'he was'. Example: yiǯot banä 'he was working' or 'he used to work'.

12.2.2 DEFINITE FUTURE[12]

Definite future is expressed by the continuous form with suffix -te. Examples:
äßärate 'I will eat'/'I am about to eat'/'I am going to eat'.
tiǯotte 'she will work'/'she is about to work'/'she is going to work'.

12.3 JUSSIVE[13]

Stem:			tot 'work'	ßira 'eat'
1st ps.		sg.	nitot	nißra
2nd ps.	m.	sg.	tot	bira
2nd ps.	f.	sg.	toǯ	biyä
3rd ps.	m.	sg.	yätot	yäßra
3rd ps.	f.	sg.	titot	tißra
1st ps.		pl.	nitotnä	nißranä
2nd ps.	m.	pl.	toto	biro
2nd ps.	f.	pl.	totäma	biräma
3rd ps.	m.	pl.	yätoto	yäßro
3rd ps.	f.	pl.	yätotäma	yäßräma
Impersonal			yätoǯi	yäwrä

Once the perfect, continuous and jussive stems of a verb are known, its entire conjugation is clear. (We must add the note, however, that a palatal second radical will be depalatalized in the 3rd ps. m. pl., 3rd ps. f. pl. and perfect impersonal forms. See Hetzron 1977:99.) One simply plugs the stem into the paradigms given. Thus in the remainder of the paper, verbs will be referred to in the form perfect stem-continuous stem-jussive stem, eg., ǯot-ǯot-tot 'work'.

12.3.1 INDEFINITE FUTURE

Indefinite future or willingness is expressed by jussive stem with continuous prefixes and suffixes plus suffix -šä. Examples:
ätotšä 'I am willing to work' or 'I will probably work'.
tißirämašä 'You (f. pl.) will/may eat.'

12.3.2 t-CONVERB

The pseudo-gerundive noted by Leslau (1969b) and called the t-converb by Hetzron (1975b; 1977:94) is formed from the 2nd ps. f. sg. jussive with infix -ti- and perfect personal suffix endings. The paradigm differs slightly from that given by Leslau: ǯot-ǯot-tot 'work'

		Singular	Plural
1st	ps.	toč̆tɨxu	toč̆tɨnä
2nd	ps. m.	toč̆tɨxä	toč̆tɨxu
2nd	ps. f.	toč̆tɨxʸɨ	toč̆tɨxɨma
3rd	ps. m.	toč̆tä	toč̆täβo
3rd	ps. f.	toč̆täč̆	toč̆täma
Impersonal		toč̆to	

Example:
däpitɨxuš anxʸɨr. t-converb from jäpär-jäpɨr-däpɨr 'finish' with -š emphatic suffix, followed by neg. 1st ps. sg. of verb 'know' in continuous aspect. Meaning: 'I don't know everything (about the subject at hand).' Lit., "having finished I don't know."

The t-converb may occur with an indefinite future verb but not with definite future or jussive. Thus täntɨxu äwäršä 'coming I-shall-go' is acceptable but not *täntɨxu arte or *täntɨxu niwär. The latter two would be expressed čänäxum arte and čänɨxum niwär or nɨtänɨm niwär. (That is, perfect with definite future and either perfect or jussive with jussive.) For further discussion see Hetzron 1977:94.

12.4 EQUATIVE VERB (cf. Hetzron 1977:105-107)

The verb 'to be' is irregular. The full paradigm is as follows:

Past Tense			Affirmative	Negative
1st	ps.	sg.	banäxu	annäpärxu
2nd	ps. m.	sg.	banäxä	annäpärxä
2nd	ps. f.	sg.	banäxʸɨ	annäpärxʸɨ
3rd	ps. m.	sg.	banä	annäpärä
3rd	ps. f.	sg.	banäč̆	annäpäräč̆
1st	ps.	pl.	banänä	annäpännä
2nd	ps. m.	pl.	banäxu	annäpärxu
2nd	ps. f.	pl.	banäxɨma	annäpärxɨma
3rd	ps. m.	pl.	banäβo	annäpäräβo
3rd	ps. f.	pl.	banäma	annäpäräma
Present Tense				
1st	ps.	sg.	-nxu	anxärxu
2nd	ps. m.	sg.	-nxä	anxärxä
2nd	ps. f.	sg.	-nxʸɨ	anxärxʸɨ
3rd	ps. m.	sg.	-u	anxärä
3rd	ps. f.	sg.	-nɨya	anxäräč̆
1st	ps.	pl.	-ɨndä	anxännä
2nd	ps. m.	pl.	-nxu	anxärxu
2nd	ps. f.	pl.	-nxɨma	anxärxɨma
3rd	ps. m.	pl.	-ro	anxäro
3rd	ps. f.	pl.	-räma	anxäräma

Definite future, jussive and indefinite future are regular, based on the verb xär-xär-xɨr 'become'. Examples:

yɨxärte 'he/it will be'; atɨxäräma 'you (f. pl.) won't be'; nɨxɨr 'let me be'; æxɨr 'let him/it not be'; tɨxɨrᵛšä 'she will probably be'.

æmɨra tämari banäxu; zädärä čᵛäwačᵛɨnxu.
'last-year student I-was; this-year farmer-I-am.'

dägäfu wäxe ärčᵛu banxäre neßa anxärä.
'Degefu good boy-is rather thief he-is-not.'

xari säß xɨro. 'knowledgeable people be!' 'Be knowledgeable people!'

12.5 VERB OF EXISTENCE (cf. Hetzron 1977:108-109)

This verb is also irregular. Its past tense, both negative and affirmative, is the same as that for the verb 'to be' (Section 12.4). Definite and indefinite future and jussive are expressed by näpär-räßɨr-nɨßär 'live', which is conjugated regularly. The present tense is conjugated as follows:

Affirmative	Singular	Plural
1st ps.	närxu	nännä
2nd ps. m.	närxä	närxu
2nd ps. f.	närxʸɨ	närxɨma
3rd ps. m.	närä	näräßo
3rd ps. f.	näräčᵛ	näräma
Negative		
1st ps.	ænäxu	ænännä
2nd ps. m.	ænäxä	ænäxu
2nd ps. f.	ænäxʸɨ	ænäxɨma
3rd ps. m.	ænä	ænäßo
3rd ps. f.	ænäčᵛ	ænäma

Examples:
mɨšᵛt näräčᵛwe. 'woman is-present?' i.e., 'Is the lady of the house there?'
näräčᵛ. 'She is there.' or ænäčᵛ. 'She is not there.'
kʔawa närä. 'coffee there-is.' i.e., 'There is coffee.'
kʔawa näränaxuwe. 'coffee there-is-to-you-(m.pl.)?' i.e., 'Do you have any coffee?'
aso ænä. 'salt there-is-not i.e., 'There is no salt.'
aso æne. 'salt there-is-not-to-me' i.e., 'I have no salt.'
aso ænäwä. 'salt there-is-not-in-it' i.e., 'There is no salt in/on it.'

12.6 MORPHOPHONOLOGY OF THE IMPERSONAL FORM OF THE VERB

The impersonal form of the verb, noted by Cohen, Polotsky (1938:144; 1951:21ff), Leslau (1967:1156-59) and Hetzron (1971a:197), "fulfils the function of an agentless passive." Except as a converb, it requires a heavy complement suffix. If no actual object is in mind, the neutral 3rd ps. m. sg. complement suffix is used. Examples:

dänägäm	'he hit';	dänägʷɨyam	'someone hit her';
		dänägʷɨkum	'someone hit you (m. pl.)';
baräm	'he said';	bʷarim	'someone said to him'/ 'someone said'.

As Hetzron (1971a) has noted, a benefactive object or adverse object suffix drives out a direct object suffix. Example: dägäfu yädänägʷɨpʷä ɨntʔar zɨmu. 'Degefu rel.-someone-hit-with(a.o.)-it stick this-it-is' i.e., 'This is the stick with which Degefu was hit.'

The impersonal is formed from any of the three basic stems. It is marked by internal labialization, i.e., labialization of the last labializable consonant, if such is present (cf. Hetzron 1971a); palatalization of the last consonant of the root if it is dental or alveolar (other palatalizable consonants are also labializable and internal labialization takes precedence); and depalatalization of the last consonant in certain cases as described below.

a) If the perfect stem has the form _PV where P is a palatal consonant, P will be depalatalized and the semivowel w will be inserted after the root-final vowel.[14] Examples:

Perfect Stem	Verb Meaning	Perfect Impersonal
maᶹčä	'be angry'	matäwɨ
aᶹšä	'see'	asäwɨ
sɨyä	'buy'	sɨrawɨ[15]
aᶹčʔä	'close'	atʔäwɨ

b) If the continuous or jussive stem has the form _PV where P is a palatal consonant, P will be depalatalized. Examples:
Continuous Stem: sɨyä 'buy'; Cont. Impers. yɨsrä
Jussive Stem: säyä 'buy'; Juss. Impers. yäsrä

It is not clear what Hetzron (1971a) means by his statement that the impersonal form "is fairly often used with explicit subjects," since the purpose of the impersonal is to veil the subject, i.e., the agent. Perhaps he means that the object is often explicit, and admittedly this object may appear on the surface to be the grammatical subject of the sentence. For example, dägäfu dänägʷim 'Degefu someone-hit-him' carries the same idea as the English 'Degefu was hit.'

12.7 MORPHOPHONOLOGY OF VERBS WITH 3rd ps. m. sg. OBJECT SUFFIX

Internal labialization occurs with the light 3rd ps. m. sg. object suffix as for the impersonal. Palatalization and depalatalization do not occur. The labialization takes place on the last labializable consonant of the conjugated form (not the root). Examples: dänäg-därg-dɨrg 'hit'; dänägxʷɨ-m 'I hit' + -n- 3rd m. sg. obj. -> dänägxʷɨnɨm 'I hit him'. Note that here the last labializable consonant was already labialized and no further labialization occurs. This is always true of the perfect 1st ps. sg. form with 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. suffix (cf. Hetzron 1971a:196).
nɨdɨrg 'let-me-hit' + -n- 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. -> nɨdɨrgʷɨn 'let me hit him'
dänägäčᶹ-ɨm 'she hit' + -n- 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. -> dänägʷäčᶹänɨm 'she hit him'.
äčᶹot 'I work' + -n- 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. -> äčᶹotɨn 'I work it' (In this example, none of the consonants is labializable; thus no labialization occurs.)
tɨβära 'you (m. sg.) eat' + -n- 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. -> tɨwäran 'you (m. sg.) eat it'
bɨra 'eat!' (m. sg.) + -n- 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. -> bʷɨran[16] 'eat it!'

12.8 MORPHOPHONOLOGY OF 2nd ps. f. sg. FORM OF VERB

Palatalization occurs on the final consonant of the 2nd ps. f. sg. form of the verb. In the perfect, this final consonant is always x, part of the 2nd ps. f. sg. suffix. In the continuous and jussive, it is the stem-final consonant. If the stem ends in a vowel, this vowel is also palatalized according to the rules of Section 5.6. If the final consonant is not palatalizable, and the penultimate consonant is velar, it will be palatalized. If the final consonant is not palatalizable and the penultimate consonant is not velar, the vowel following the penultimate consonant is palatalized. (cf. Hetzron 1977:47-48.) Examples:

Continuous Stem		2nd ps. f. sg. Form
xäda	'deny/disown	tɨxäjä
gäfa	'push'	tɨg^{y}äfä
täfa	'spit'	tɨtefä
xäbɨβ	'surround'	tɨxäbiβ

12.9 NEGATION

Negation is shown by a prefix on the verb.

12.9.1 'NEGATION IN PERFECT ASPECT

The negative prefix for perfect aspect is an-. The final -m is also dropped. Examples:

Affirmative		Negative	
dänägäm	'he hit'	andänägä	'he did not hit'
dänägneyom	'we hit them'	andänägneyo	'we did not hit them'
dänäg^{w}ɨk^{y}ɨm	'(someone) hit you (f. sg.)'	andänäg^{w}ɨk^{y}ɨ	'(someone) did not hit you (f. sg.)'
dänägäm banä	'he had hit'	andänägä banä	'he had not hit'

12.9.2 NEGATION IN CONTINUOUS ASPECT

The negative prefix for continuous aspect is a- for all except 1st ps. sg., for which it is an-. In 1st ps. sg., the personal prefix ä- is dropped when the negative prefix is added. In all other persons, the personal prefix is retained. Examples:

Affirmative		Negative	
yɨdärg	'he hits'	ædärg	'he does not hit'
ar	'I go'	anar	'I don't/won't go'
nɨš^{y}änä	'we want'	anš^{y}änä	'we don't/won't want'
tɨš^{y}ä	'she wants'	atš^{y}ä	'she doesn't/won't want'

Note that negation for present continuous, definite future and indefinite future is

the same. Note, too, that when the negative prefix is attached, the vowel ɨ of the personal prefix is dropped. This is also a morphophonemic change. See Section 2.

12.9.3 NEGATION IN JUSSIVE ASPECT

The negative prefix for jussive aspect is also a-, and it is attached to the indefinite future form with dropping of suffix -ᵞšä. Examples:

Affirmative		Negative	
dɨrg	'hit!' (m. sg.)	atdɨrg	'don't hit!' (m. sg.)
yätoto	'let them work'	ætoto	'let them not work'
dɨrgäman	'hit me!' (f. pl.)	atdɨrgäman	'don't hit me!'

An emphatic negative command can be formed by prefix ɨn- and the perfect (with dropping of perfect suffix -m). Examples: ɨndänägxᵞɨ 'see that you (f. sg.) don't hit!'; ɨmbᵂärxä 'see that you (m. sg.) don't go!' In the second example note the morphophonemic change n -> m and w -> bᵂ. Thus we have the rule

$$C_{nasal} \neq 1w \rightarrow mb^{W}.$$

These forms are also used as questions (marked by intonation) to mean 'Why didn't you ...?', eg., ɨmbᵂärxä? 'Why didn't you (m. sg.) go?'

For further discussion of the construction see Leslau 1969a.

12.10 VERBS EXPRESSING ADVERBIAL IDEAS

Many ideas which would be expressed as adverbs in English are expressed by verbs in Chaha-Gurage. Examples:

afät?äräm wäräm. 'he-hurried he-went' i.e., 'He went quickly.'
xaräm gäpam. 'he-knew he-entered' i.e., 'He entered intentionally.'

13. PRONOUNS IN VARIOUS POSITIONS

There are both independent pronouns and pronoun suffixes. Since many of the pronoun suffixes attach to the verb and are affected by its form, it seems appropriate to treat them here.

13.1 INDEPENDENT PERSONAL PRONOUNS

		Singular	Plural
1st	ps.	ɨya	yɨna
2nd	ps. m.	axä	axu
2nd	ps. f.	axᵞ/axᵞa	axɨma
3rd	ps. m.	xᵂɨt/xᵂɨta	xɨno
3rd	ps. f.	xᵞɨt/xᵞɨta	xɨnäma

Emphatic possessive is shown by prefix yä- plus independent pronoun. Examples:

yɨya bet 'my house'; yäxɨno bet 'their house'. Also emphatic are the expressions ɨya gägäna 'I myself' and axä gägaxä 'you (m. sg.) yourself'.

13.2 PRONOMINAL DEFINITE SUFFIXES[17]

These suffixes, as Hetzron (1977:56) has pointed out, only occur where the preceding discourse or the situation has established definiteness. They are the same as the third person forms of the personal pronoun, but they attach to the noun or adjective to show definiteness. Examples:

bet	'house'	betxuta	'the house'	betxɨno	'the houses'
gäräd	'girl'	gärädxʸɨta	'the girl'		
ɨ\s^ta		'women'	ɨ\s^taxɨnäma		'the women'

13.3 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

zɨ(x)	'this'	xɨ(x)	'that'
za	'that' (closer)	xa	'that' (farther away)

xa and za can also be used like the English "former" and "latter". For example, in a narrative about two girls named Martha and Mary, suppose Martha is discussed first, then Mary, and then the narrator says,

zaxʸɨta bäᵛonaᵛ mädär xaxʸɨta ᵛänäᵛɨm.
'that-one-(f.) in-she-sat place that-one-(f.) she-came.'
i.e., 'The former one (Martha) came to the place where the latter one (Mary) was sitting.'

Hetzron (1977:57) notes correctly that the demonstrative pronouns can be prefixed to the subsequent word. In Chaha, however, this does not trigger gemination. Examples: xɨbet 'that house'; hɨgaɱʷä 'that time'; zɨsäβ 'these people'.

The demonstrative pronouns can also have a prefix attached to them, with subsequent shortening of their form (zɨ to z, xɨ to x). Examples: yäz bet 'of-this house'; bäx gɨzɨyä 'at that time'.

Plural is shown by the verb or plural noun or plural definite suffix. Examples: xɨx säβ bäᵛonowe 'those people as-they-were-seated' (pl. verb); zɨx gɨräd 'these girls' (pl. noun); xɨxäxuna 'those ones' (pl. def. suffix).

13.4 PRESENTATIVE PRONOUNS (See also Hetzron 1971b.)

Hetzron (1977:57) lists what he calls "presentative pronouns" with the meaning 'here it is for you'. In Chaha they are:

m.	sg.	yäxä	m.	pl.	yäxu
f.	sg.	yäxʸ	f.	pl.	yäxäma

13.5 POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES

			Singular	Plural
1st	ps.		-äna	-ända
2nd	ps.	m.	-axä	-axu
2nd	ps.	f.	-ax^{y}	-axɨma
3rd	ps.	m.	-äta	-äxuna
3rd	ps.	f.	-äx^{y}ɨta	-äxɨnäma

Examples: bet 'house'; betäna 'my house'; betäxɨnäma 'their (f.) house'; ärč^{y} 'boy'; "arč^{y}ax^{y} 'your (f. sg.) boy'; ärč^{y}axu 'your (pl.) boy'.

13.6 OBJECT/COMPLEMENT SUFFIXES

13.6.1 O-SUFFIX

There is a double set of object suffixes which Hetzron (1969:108, 1977:62; also Polotsky 1938:160ff, 1951:29ff) refers to as heavy and light. (The light ones are listed first.) Hetzron calls these suffixes the 0-suffix (1977:60), and notes that they cover both objective and dative case.

			Singular	Plural
1st	ps.		-e/-n	-(ɨ)ndä
2nd	ps.	m.	-(a)xä/-kä	-(a)xu/-ku
2nd	ps.	f.	-(a)x^{y}ɨ/-k^{y}ɨ	-(a)xu/-ku
3rd	ps.	m.	-n (+ lab.)/-i	-no/-yo
3rd	ps.	f.	-na/-ya	-näma/-yäma

The (a) occurs only if the verb form preceding the suffix ends in a consonant. The light set of suffixes occurs with all singular forms except second person feminine. The heavy set occurs with second person feminine singular and all plural forms. However, the first person singular perfect verb takes heavy suffixes for the second person objects. For this reason Hetzron (1971a:192) calls the suffixes for first person singular "medium suffixes, a mixture of the features of light and heavy allomorphs", offering an explanation from historical linguistics for why some are heavy and others light. I suggest, however, that this is a morphophonemic adjustment and that the underlying form has the expected light suffix. Thus dänägxu-m 'I hit'+ -xä 2nd ps. m. sg. obj. -> *dänägxuxäm -> *dänägxxäm -> dänägkäm 'I hit you (m. sg.)'.[18] The other three forms involved are as follows: dänägxu-m + -x^{y}ɨ -> dänägk^{y}ɨm 'I hit you (f. sg.)'; dänägxu-m + -xu -> dänägkum 'I hit you (m. pl.)'; dänägxu-m + -xɨma -> dänägkɨmam 'I hit you (f. pl.)'.

Note: In 2nd and 3rd ps. pl., to refer to a mixed group (both men and women present) one would use the masculine suffix.

Examples of light and heavy object suffixes on 3rd ps. verbs: dänäg-därg-dɨrg 'hit'; dänägem 'he hit me'; dänägonɨm 'they hit me'; dänägänaxäm 'he hit you (m. sg.)'; dänägokäm 'they hit you (m. sg.)'; dänäg^{w}änɨm 'he hit him'; dänägäwim[19] 'they hit him'; yɨdärge 'he hits me'; dɨrgäwi[20] 'hit him!' (m. pl.); ädärgx^{y}ɨte 'I will hit you (f. sg)'; yɨdɨrgnašä 'he will (probably) hit her'.

13.6.2 BENEFACTIVE

For benefactive object, the benefactive infix -r- or -n- is inserted. For 3rd ps. benefactive object suffixes, the -r- goes with the light object suffixes and the -n- with the heavy ones. Otherwise -n- is used throughout. Some changes in the suffix occur as well. Hetzron (1977:60) calls these suffixes the n-suffixes, with meaning 'for, to the benefit of'. The light/heavy n-suffixes for benefactive object then become:

			Singular	Plural
1st	ps.		-ni	-ndä
2nd	ps.	m.	-nxä/-nkä	-nxu/-nku
2nd	ps.	f.	-nx^{Y}ɨ/-nk^{Y}ɨ	-nxɨma/-nkɨma
3rd	ps.	m.	-rä/-nä	-ro/-no
3rd	ps.	f.	-ra/-na	-räma/-näma

Again the 1st ps. sg. perfect form takes heavy indirect object suffixes for second person objects, and I suggest that the same process is in operation, with metathesis also occurring as follows: ʏotxə-m 'I worked' + -nxä 2nd ps. m. sg. n-suffix -> *ʏotxənxäm -> *ʏotɨnxəxäm -> cotɨnkäm 'I worked for you (m. sg.)'. The other forms involved are: ʏotɨnk^{Y}ɨm 'I worked for you (f. sg.)'; ʏotɨnkum 'I worked for you (m. pl.)'; ʏotɨnkɨmam 'I worked for you (f. pl.)'.

As with the direct object, a 3rd ps. m. sg. benefactive light object suffix triggers labialization.

2nd ps. m. sg. verb with light n-suffixes: ʏot-ʏot-tot 'work'; ʏotxänim 'you worked for me'; ʏotx^{W}äräm 'you worked for him'; ʏotxändäm 'you worked for us'; ʏotxärämam 'you worked for them (f.)'.

3rd ps. f. pl. verb with heavy n-suffixes: ʏot-ʏot-tot 'work'; ʏotämank^{Y}ɨm 'they (f.) worked for you (f. sg.)'; ʏotämanäm 'they (f.) worked for him'; ʏotämandäm 'they (f.) worked for us'; ʏotämanom 'they (f.) worked for them (m.)'.

13.6.3 ADVERSE OBJECT

There is another kind of object, more or less opposite to the benefactive, which carries the idea of "against" or "upon" rather than "for". An infix -β- or -p- is inserted. -p- goes with first and third person heavy object suffixes, -β- with the rest. Hetzron (1977:60) calls these suffixes the b-suffix, with meaning 'in, with, from, against, to the detriment of'. The paradigm is as follows:

			Singular	Plural
1st	ps.		-βi/-pi	-βɨndä/-pɨndä
2nd	ps.	m.	-βxä/-βkä	-βxu/-βku
2nd	ps.	f.	-βx^{Y}ɨ/-βk^{Y}ɨ	-βxɨma/-βkɨma
3rd	ps.	m.	-wä/-p^{W}ä	-βo/-po
3rd	ps.	f.	-βa/-pa	-βäma/-päma

A 3rd ps. m. sg. adverse light object suffix also triggers labialization.

Again, the 1st ps. sg. perfect form takes heavy adverse object suffixes for second person objects, and I suggest that the same process is in operation, as follows: ǰotxʉ-m 'I worked' + -βxä 2nd ps. m. sg. b-suffix -> *ǰotxʉβxäm -> *ǰotɨβxxäm -> ǰotɨβkäm 'I worked against you (m. sg.)'. The other forms involved are: ǰotɨβkʸɨm 'I worked against you (f. sg.)'; ǰotɨβkum 'I worked against you (m. pl.)'; ǰotɨβkɨmam 'I worked against you (f. pl.)'.

Examples of usage: mutʔɨtʔ ǰotɨβkäm. 'bad I-worked-against-you (m. sg.).' i.e., 'I did you wrong.' yäsänäkʔä xäma ojɨpʷäm. 'rel.-he-stole that one-told-against-him.' i.e., 'Someone told on him for stealing.'

2nd ps. m. sg. verb with light b-suffixes: ǰot-ǰot-tot 'work': ǰotxäβim 'you worked against me'; ǰotxäwäm 'you worked against him'; ǰotxäβom 'you worked against them'; tɨǰotɨwä 'you work against him' or 'you work by/in it'; tɨǰotɨβɨndä 'you work against us'.

3rd ps. f. pl. verb with heavy b-suffixes: wär-ar-wär 'go': wärämapim 'they (f.) went on me (i.e., to my disadvantage)'; wärämapʷäm 'they (f.) went on him'; wärämapämam 'they (f.) went on them (f.)'.

Hetzron (1977:60-61) notes correctly that only one of the three kinds of complement suffixes can occur on a verb at one time, and both the n- and the b-suffix have precedence over the 0-suffix. In a case where both a direct object and another object (benefactive or adverse) are present in the syntax, the direct object may (optionally) be expressed by a pronoun. Example: (yäxʸɨt) yädänägʷäpʷä ɨntʔar '(obj.-her) rel.-he-hit-with stick' i.e., 'the stick with which he hit her'.

13.7 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

mʷan	'who'	mɨr	'what'
æ/æte/bæte	'where'	yämɨr	'why'
mämɨr	'how'	mäǰä	'when' (future)
ætäxʉna	'which of them'	mäǰɨra	'when' (past)
mɨraxɨr	'how many'	mɨraxɨräga	'how many times'

Note that several of the interrogative pronouns consist of more than one morpheme. For example, mɨraxɨräga 'how many times' has three morphemes: mɨr 'what' + axɨr 'approximately' + äga 'times'. All three morphemes can stand on their own. Examples: xʉya axɨr säβ 'twenty approximately people', i.e., 'about twenty people'; xʷet äga bänaxʉm 'two times I-ate', i.e., 'I ate twice.'

Note that in order to ask "when", one must know whether the event is past or future. Thus dägäfu ǰänäm 'Degefu came' triggers the question mäǰɨra 'when?'; but dägäfu yɨǰänte 'Degefu will come' triggers the question mäǰä 'when?'

14. NOUNS

14.1 GENDER

Nouns show gender only if a definite suffix is attached. Gender is shown in the verb for 2nd and 3rd persons. The only feminine nouns are those referring to female people. All other nouns, even cows and hens, take masculine suffixes and verbs.

Examples: äramxʷata č'ʔänäm. 'cow-the-(m.) he-gave-birth'; mɨštxʸɨta ʸʔänäʸčɨm. 'woman-the-(f.) she-gave-birth'.

14.2 NUMBER

There are only a few nouns with plural form (cf. Hetzron 1977:52-53). They are listed below.

Singular		Plural	
mɨs	'man'	gämɨya	'men'
mɨʸšt	'woman'	ɨʸšta	'women'
ärʸč	'boy'	dængʸa	'boys/children'
gäräd	'girl'	gɨræd	'girls'
äram	'cow'	äre	'cows/cattle'

Apart from the words listed above, number is not shown in the noun itself but by the verb, by a definite suffix or by a "number word" (See Sections 12, 13.2, 15.1 and 15.3.)

15. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives do not show number or gender morphologically but, like nouns, may have a definite suffix, which does. Adjectives precede the noun they are describing. They may stand alone with a definite suffix, or even with a possessive suffix, if the governing noun is known. Examples: nɨkʔɨyäxʷata 'big-the-(m.)' i.e., 'the big one'; nɨkʔäta 'big-his' i.e., 'his big brother'; nɨkʔ gʷäpæyata 'big brother-his' i.e., 'his big brother'; nɨkʔɨyä bet 'big house'.

15.1 CARDINAL NUMBERS

Cardinal Numbers precede any other adjective describing the same noun. They may appear with the governing noun understood. Examples: sost gef säβ 'three tall people'; xʷet name. 'two give-me-(m.-sg.)' i.e., 'Give me two.'

15.2 ORDINAL NUMBERS

As noted by Leslau (1950) and Hetzron (1977:111), the ordinal numbers are formed from the cardinal numbers with suffix -änä. Examples: at 'one'; atänä 'first' (or yɨftwärär 'original'); xʷet 'two'; xʷetänä 'second'; arba amɨst 'forty-five'; arba amɨstänä 'forty-fifth'.

Ordinal numbers may take definite suffixes, eg., xʷetänäxʷata 'the second one'. They may also take governing nouns, eg., sostänä säβ '(the) third person'.

15.3 OTHER QUANTIFIERS

bɨzä	'many/much'	kʔäri	'few/little'
atat	'some'	nɨkʔkʔar	'very much'
ɨnnɨm	'all'	attɨm	'none/not one'

Examples: bɨzä bet 'many house(s)'; atat mɯt2ɨt2 säβ 'some bad person(s)'; nɨk2k2ar äxɨr 'much grain'.

15.4 QUALIFYING ADJECTIVES

The following is just a sampling of the many qualifying adjectives in Chaha-Gurage:

wäxe	'good/well'	mɯt2ɨt2	'bad'
nɨk2	'great/big(ger)'	ɨrs	'small(er)'
nɨk2ɨyä	'big'	ɨrsɨyä	'small'
nund	'expensive'	xari	'knowledgeable'
gawa	'stupid/unlearned'	g^{y}är	'gentle'
bɯ^{y}e	'of bad character'	nozänä	'ugly'

16. ADVERBS

(Also see Section 13.7 "Interrogative Pronouns".) A partial listing of adverbs follows.

xɨmäga	'just then/at once'	(xɨx 'that' + -m 'and' + äga 'time')
äk^{w}a	'today'	äx^{w}a 'now'
sästä	'day-after-tomorrow'	sästɨra 'day-before-yesterday'
nɨk2k2ar	'very much'	ɨkkɨm 'in vain/without reason'
a^{y}äm	'completely/never'	dirä 'formerly'
gaxɨm	'a little while ago'	bäskärä 'recently/few days ago'

Note that the expressions for 'day after tomorrow' and 'day before yesterday' are derived from the number 'three'. Thus counting backward or forward, today is day one. If today is October 15, the days will be described as follows:

Date	Chaha	English Equivalent
Oct. 12	näβätɨra (from arβät 'four')	three days ago
Oct. 13	sästɨra	day before yesterday
Oct. 14	tɨrama/tɨramɨna	yesterday
Oct. 15	äk^{w}a	today
Oct. 16	nägä	tomorrow
Oct. 17	sästä	day after tomorrow
Oct. 18	näβätä	three days from now

A similar c- ction indicates past and future time in terms of years:

zädɨrä	'this year'	emɨra 'last year'
mäxärä	'next year' or	yɨč^{y}än zäβär 'the coming year'
sarsäya	'two years ago' (from sost 'three')	sarsä 'year after next'

17. DERIVATIONS (cf. Hetzron 1977:112)

17.1 DERIVED VERB STEMS

A causative-reflexive (or factitive - Hetzron 1977:72) verb may be formed by attaching the prefix at- to the verb stem. If the initial consonant of the verb stem is palatalizable, it will be palatalized.

A reflexive-passive verb may be formed by attaching the prefix tä- to the perfect stem and t- to the continuous and jussive stems.

The infinitive is formed by attaching either the suffix -ot or the prefix wä- to the jussive stem. (cf. Hetzron 1977:110)

A reciprocal-passive verb may be formed by attaching the reflexive-passive prefix and making a vowel change in the basic stem. The first vowel of the basic stem becomes a.

A causative verb (Hetzron 1977:72) may be formed by attaching the prefix a- to the verb stem. Examples:

Basic Stem:	šäkät-šäkt-säkt	'fix'
Causative-Reflexive:	atšäkät-atšäkt-atsäkt	'have repaired'
Reflexive-Passive:	täšäkät-tšäkät-tsäkät	'be fixed'
Reciprocal-Passive:	täšakät-tšakät-tsakät	'be reconciled'
Recip.-Pas.-Infin.:	täsakätot or wätsakät	'to be reconciled'
Basic Stem:	zɨräkʸä-zräkʸ-zängʸ	'speak'
Causative:	azrakʸä-azrakʸ-azangʸ	'cause to speak'

17.2 DERIVED NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES (cf. Leslau 1950b:236; Hetzron 1977:54)

Many abstract nouns and some concrete nouns and some adjectives derive from verbs. In the following examples, note the frequent occurrence of palatalization.

Verb:	čot-čot-tot	'work'
Agent:	čäwač	'farmer'
Verb:	nämäd-rämd-nɨmäd	'love'
Goal:	namaji	'loved one'
Abstract Noun:	nɨmajä/nɨmajɨnät	'love'
Adjective:	nund	'expensive'

Agents and abstract nouns may be derived from nouns or adjectives. Examples:

däm	'blood'	dämänä	'murderer'
mena	'work'	menänä	'worker'
dængʸa	'children'	dængʸɨnät	'youth/immaturity'
wäxe	'good/well'	wäxenät	'goodness/well-being'

18. GENERAL COMMENTS

The overall grammatical structure of the Chaha-Gurage language is similar to that of Amharic and other Semitic languages. Distinguishing characteristics include the masculine-feminine dichotomy in 2nd and 3rd person forms of the verb, both singular and plural; the impersonal form of the verb and accompanying morphophonological changes; morphophonological changes in the verb when certain object suffixes are added; and two sets (light and heavy) of object suffixes. The lack of a plural form for most nouns, treatment of all nouns except those referring to women as masculine, and the past-future dichotomy in adverbial expressions of time are also features not found in Amharic.

FOOTNOTES

1. Symbols are used as in the International Phonetic Alphabet except for the following:

Symbol Used Here	Correspnding IPA Symbol
r (r̃)	(r)
č	t
j	dʒ
čʔ	tʔ
š	
ž	ʒ
y	j

2. /pʔ/ and /sʔ/ occur only in borrowed words and are pronounced only by those who are phonologically bilingual.

3. This analysis differs somewhat from the analyses of Ullendorff (1955:126-127), Leslau (1950), and Hetzron (1977:38-40).

4. Recall (Section 1) that /V_ / means [ʔV_]. In this elision process, both the /ä/ and the [ʔ] are lost. Similarly, whenever a prefix is attached to a word of the form /V_/, the [ʔ] is lost.

5. I disagree with Hetzron's statement (1977:35) that ä + u -> o. As noted here, ä + u -> äw.

6. I disagree with Hetzron's statement (1977:35) that ä + i/y -> e and may sometimes merge into æ. Rather, ä + i/y -> i.

7. Hetzron (1971:192-207); 1977:45-46) calls this "internal labialization". See also Hetzron 1969:107-108,120).

8. For further discussion of discourse for Gunnän languages see Hetzron 1977:112-136.

9. This verb is irregular in the following forms of the perfect: 1st ps. sg. baxum; 2nd ps. m. sg. baxäm; 2nd ps. f. sg. baxʸim; 2nd ps. m. pl. baxum; 2nd ps. f. pl. baximam.

10. The form of the dependent verb in the perfect (except impersonal) is the same as the independent verb, but its non-final position requires a dependent interpretation. It does not take object suffixes.

11. This form without object suffix occurs only as a subordinate verb, eg., čočim jäpʷärim 'being worked it was finished'.

12. Hetzron (1977:85-86) is right in correcting Leslau's opposite interpretation of the two future forms (Leslau 1950b:238; 1952:77; 1968:71).

13. For a discussion of the three patterns of jussive, see Leslau 1964.

14. Hetzron (1971:196) and Leslau (1967:1159-61) have noted the existence of such a rule but fail to explain it in detail.

15. Here the vowel also is depalatalized. See Section 5.6.

16. Even though the underlying form of the stem has initial consonant ß, recall that word-initial ß becomes b. Labialized b becomes b^w.

17. Hetzron (1977:56) correctly notes that the word at 'one' is sometimes used as an indefinite article, eg., at säß čänäm 'a person came'. More often, however, indefiniteness is not marked: säß čänäm '(a) person/people came'.

18. Thus I hypothesize that underlying *xx becomes k.

19. The -o suffix of 3rd ps. m. pl. perfect dänägo-m 'they hit', coming together with the heavy 3rd ps. m. sg. obj. suffix -i, requires insertion of w, which takes the rounding from the -o, a sort of dissimilation process giving us the rule o≠i -> äwi.

20. The same dissimilation process is occurring here (see Footnote 19).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bender, M.L., et. al. 1976. Language in Ethiopia. London: Oxford University Press.

Hetzron, Robert. 1972a. Ethiopian Semitic, Studies in Classification (Journal of Semitic Studies, Monograph No. 2, Manchester: The University Press.) 144 pp.

----------. 1968. "Main Verb Markers in Northern Gurage," Africa. Vol. 38, pp. 156-172.

----------. 1969. "Third Person Singular Pronoun Suffixes in Proto-Semitic," Orientalia Suecana. Vol. 18, pp. 101-127.

----------. 1970. Review of Leslau 1968a. Berkeley: University of California Press.

----------. Apr.-June 1971a. "Internal Labialization in the tt-Group of Outer South Ethiopic," Journal of the American Oriental Society. Vol. 91, No. 2, pp. 192-207.

----------. 1971b. "Presentative Function and Presentative Movement," Studies in African Linguistics, Supplement 2, pp. 79-105.

----------. 1972b. "The Shape of a Rule and Diachrony," Bulletin of the School of Oriental and Africa Studies. Vol. 35, pp. 451-475.

----------. 1975a. "Genetic Classification and Ethiopian Semitic," in James and Theodora Bynon, eds., hamito-Semitica (Proceedings of the Colloquium on Hamito-Semitic historical linguistics) (The Hague: Mouton) pp. 103-127.

----------. 1975b. "The t-converb in Western Gurage," Afroasiatic Linguistics. 2/2, pp. 15-26 (39-50).

----------. 1977. The Gunnän-Gurage Languages. Napoli:Istituto Orientale di Napoli (Ricerche XII). 264 pp.

Hyman, Larry M. 1975. Phonology Theory and Analysis. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 268 pp.

Leslau, Wolf. 1965a. An Annotated Bibliography of the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia. London: Mouton & Co. pp. 266-274.

----------. Undated. "Characteristics of the Ethiopic Language Group of Semitic Languages," Handbook of African Languages - Linguistic Analysis. pp. 593-613.

----------. Apr. 1945. "The Influence of Cushitic on the Semitic Languages of Ethiopia - A Problem of Substratum," Word. New York. Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 59-82.

----------. 1950a. Ethiopic Documents: Gurage. New York: Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, No. 14.

----------. Dec. 1950b. "Observations on Gurage Documents," Word. Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 234-238.

----------. Apr. 1951. "Observations on Gurage Notes," Africa: Journal of the International African Institute. Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 139-145.

----------. Jan.-Mar. 1952. "The Influence of Sidamo on the Ethiopic Languages of Gurage," Language. Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 63-81.

----------. 1956. Etude descriptive et comparative du gafas. (ethiopien meridional) (Collection Linguistique publiee par la Societe de linguistique de Paris, 57) (Paris: Klincksieck).

----------. 1957. "Observations on a Comparative Phonology of Semitic Ethiopic," Annales d'Ethiopie. Addis Ababa. Vol. 2, pp. 147-166.

----------. Jan.-Mar. 1964. "The Jussive in Chaha," Language. Vol. 40, No. 1, pp. 53-57.

----------. 1965b. "Is There a Proto-Gurage?" Offprint from Proceedings of the International Conference on Semitic Studies, Jerusalem. pp. 1-20.

----------. 1967. "The Impersonal in Chaha," To Honor Roman Jakobson. The Hague: Mouton, pp. 1150-1162.

----------. 1968. "The Expression of the Future in the Ethiopian Languages," Journal of African Languages. Vol. 7, Part 1, pp. 68-72.

----------. 1969a. "The Negative Particle 'in in Arabic and (')än in Ethiopic," Annali. Vol. 29, pp. 137-145.

----------. 1969b. "The Pseudo-Gerundive in ˆÊaha," Rassegna di Studi Etiopici. Rome. Vol. 23, pp. 27-42.

Polotsky, Hans Jakob. 1938. 'Etudes de grammaire gouragué," Bulletin de la Societe de linguistique de Paris. Vol. 39, pp. 137-175.

----------. 1951. Notes on Gurage Grammar. (Oriental Notes and Studies). Jerusalem: The Israel Oriental Society. No. 2.

Shack, William. 1966. The Gurage, A People of the Ensete Culture. London: Oxford University Press.

Ullendorff, Edward. 1955. The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia: A Comparative Phonology. London: Taylor's (Foreign) Press, 273 pp.