A Grammar of Dime
A Grammar of Dime

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van de Rector Magnificus prof. mr. P.F. van der Heijden,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op woensdag 23 april 2008
klokke 15:00 uur

door

Mulugeta Seyoum
geboren te Asella, Ethiopië
in 1967
Promotor:             Prof. dr. M. Mous
Co-promotor:         Dr. Azeb Amha
Referent:            Prof. dr. R.J. Hayward (University of London, SOAS)
Overige leden:       Prof. dr. F.H.H. Kortlandt
                      Prof. dr. H. Stroomer
                      Dr. C.J. Rapold
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Maps

Major language families in Ethiopia
Source: Hayward (1995:7)
Omotic languages and dialects

Source: Hayward (1990:vi)
### Structure morphemes

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Abbreviations and symbols

- **-t** 1 person marker 1S/PL marker in declarative sentences
- **-tub** FUT future marker for first person
- **-ub** M masculine gender marker
- **V-ind** F.RELT relative verb with feminine head noun
- **V-ub** M.RELT relative verb with masculine head noun

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Acknowledgements

Numerous people have assisted me in the realization of the present study in one way or the other. Thanks are due to all of them. Although for reason of space not every one’s name can be given here, I will mention some of them.

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Finally, I must thank my God for his gift and care that endowed me with the strength to finish my work. I must also thank Saint Mary, the mother of God, for Her intercession and all the Saints in the Kingdom of God for their blessing.
1 Introduction

1.1 The Dime people

The southern part of Ethiopia is the homeland of a remarkable variety of communities. Their cultural and linguistic diversity results from a complex historical background, compounded by geographical and social differences. One of the communities inhabiting this culturally rich area is the Dime people. The Dime belong to the South Omo administrative region. According to Siebert (2002), the Dime people’s territory comprises a mountain range of less than 20 km’s width and 55 km’s length, which stretches from north to south with Mt. Smith (8,294 ft) as its highest elevation. There are conflicting views among different scholars concerning the statistics of the Dime population, for instance, Bender (1976:8) estimates the total Dime population at about 2,000, while Fleming (1990:495) states that “they are steadily decreasing and now threatened with extinction”. According to a 1994 census the Dime constitute a population of 5,462 people. Similarly, Siebert’s (2002) estimation of the population is 5000.

According to an interview with Ato K’elob K’alob, an elderly of about 90 years from Gerfa area, “Dime” was originally the name of the person, who first settled the Dime people in the Us’a area.” The Dime people live in six villages: Gero, Us’a, Gerfa, Genč’ire, Geč’a and Irk’a. All these villages are located on the mountains of Gerfa, Woyede, Vingi, Bampre, Gulo, Irk’a and Galč’ic’. Some of the names of the villages seem to be derived from the names of the mountains. Among these six villages, only the people of the villages of Us’a and Gero are accustomed to using oxen for farming during the recent period, while the rest only use hoes for their traditional farming activities. In general, they are settled farmers raising crops. Their products include: Maize, sorghum, t’eff (*Eragrostis abyssinica*), potato, inset, and coffee. They also keep bees and domestic animals.

The language communities surrounding the Dime area are the Chara to the north (across the river Omo), the Basketto to the north-east and east, the Aari to the southeast, the Mursi and some Surma to the south-west, and the Bodi (Me’en) to the west. The Dime communities have currently peace. Fleming (1990) states that during the reign of Emperor Menelik II, around 1910, their territories embraced all the highlands and lowlands from Us’nu River to the Omo River. However, the Dime people were unable to protect themselves against their enemies, consequently their territories declined and they only occupy now the most mountainous areas.

Due to the absence of good roads and the lack of transportation system the Dime people do not have regular connection to the outside market. An interesting aspect of the traditional knowledge of the Dime people is their production of metal by smelting the ores found in the local soil. Concerning their traditional iron technology Abbink (2005:164) states that “they were also one of the few remaining Ethiopian societies that until the late 1970s retained the traditional art of iron-smelting, carried out in 1.5-m-high earthen furnaces. The iron was used for spears, plough points and various other tools.”
Most of the Dime between the ages of 7-20 attend school; they have relatively better access to education compared to their neighbours. Consequently the current government has given educated people from the Dime area positions of authority in local administration and they govern the Sala-Mago district. For instance, during my first fieldwork the administrative head of the District, the representative of the district, the head of the justice office, the head of the local finance office, and the head of the information office at Zone levels were all from the Dime people. However, due to their restricted number, they tend to be culturally influenced by the majority groups of their neighbours like the Bodi, and Aari. Moreover, for elementary and high school education they go out of their village and are obliged to live with other communities. For instance they have to go to Hanna for elementary school and to Jinka for attending high school. Since schools are located far from their villages and because of lack of transportation, they are forced to live away at least for half a year or more. Their chance to visit their family is during summer. Since the lingua franca language is Amharic in the region they often use Amharic to communicate with the other communities, teachers and students, rather than using their mother tongue.

The Dime have some cultural affinities with neighbouring groups. Their music and musical instruments resemble those of the other Omotic people such as the Aari.

Among the different cultural activities of the Dime, an interesting one is the burial customs of their chiefs, which occurs as follows: When their chiefs die, they do not bury the corpse under the ground. They place the chief on a seat, which is placed in a hole in the ground. Subsequently he is buried up to his neck, leaving his head above ground. They cover the head with a basket to prevent any damage. Within a few days it decomposes, and worms are visible moving on the ground. It is believed that during this period all his blessings are imparted to the people. They are convinced that if they bury his whole body under the ground, they would miss his blessings and they would be exposed to danger or punishment (cf. Mulugeta 1999: 52-62). Such ideas are prevalent among the traditional believers. Concerning religious affiliation, some follow traditional beliefs others are followers of the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahedo Church or the Protestant Christian church.

Another important aspect of Dime culture is the absence of promiscuity. Marriage is an honourable tradition with them. In the course of the wedding preparations, the value of the bride price is fixed through negotiations with the family of the girl. It is accepted in the Dime culture for the bridegroom to give only one or two cattle and some money, according to his income. This stands in contrast to the neighbouring Bodi culture where a man who intends to marry a girl has to provide 37-40 cattle and one gun to her family.

1.2 The Dime language

Dime is an endangered language. As Fleming (1990:494) states, the self-name is dim-aaf (Dime-mouth) or dim-ko-af (Dime-Gen-Mouth). Dime is the name of the language, the land and the people who speak the language. It belongs to the Omotic
language family according to the classification of Fleming (1976). Concerning this Fleming (1990:500) states the following:

Dime has been classified genetically by myself, Bender (1971), Greenberg (personal communication) and others as (a) an Afro-asiatic language, (b) an Omotic or “West Cushitic” language, and (c) a member of the south Omotic branch of Omotic. But the classification of Dime is still actively controversial, with some believing that it is not even Afro-asiatic, and others contending that it – as well as the rest of Omotic – is simply Cushitic. Some also used to believe that Dime and its close kin were not related to the northern “West Cushitic” languages like Kafa or Janjero, but rather was actually related to Nilotic or East Sudanic. However, no one that I know of doubts that Dime finds its closest genetic kin in Hamer and the Ari dialects extending from Bako to Umbar and Galila in western GemuGofa.

According to Fleming (1976), Dime forms the South-Omotic branch of Omotic together with the “Hamer–Banna dialect cluster (including Beshada and Karo)”, and the “Ari dialects” (including Bako, Shangama, Ubamer, and Galila).

Most Dime people speak one or two languages next to their mother tongue, especially those living along the border with the Basketo, Aari, and Bodi. These are multilingual groups, but there are also monolingual groups in Dime which are in the middle of the Gerfa area.

Fleming (1990:490-500) states that Dime has three regional dialects: the north, central and a more divergent southern dialect. The author of the present study distinguishes two distinct dialects: the Us’a and the Gerfa dialects (Mulugeta 2005). This study is mainly concerned with the Us’a dialect. The name of the dialect is derived from the name of the village. According to my assistant, Us’a is the ancient place of Dime speakers. Concerning this Fleming (1990:498) pointed out that Us’a is “the most secure spot for Dimes.” (See also Siebert (2002) who shares this opinion).

The two dialects have some lexical and phonological differences. Moreover, most Gerfa words end in the vowel u, while in Us’a they end in e or i (see also Fleming 1990). The following words illustrate the lexical differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Us’a</th>
<th>Gerfa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>koizi</td>
<td>?asu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋasin</td>
<td>bade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋáá</td>
<td>bá</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kíisi</td>
<td>kácu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 As Bender (1990) states, the Omotic language family is the least known and the least studied language family from the Afro-asiatic phylum. Its classification is still problematic. Fleming (1976) classified it as an independent sub-family under the Afro-asiatic phylum; some scholars object Fleming’s classification and consider Omotic as part of Cushitic and use labels such as West Cushitic and “Sidama”.

2 Bender (2000:160) states that Dime is the most divergent Aroid language, which means, it is more distant from Ari and Hamer than the latter two are from each other.
1.3 Endangerment of the Dime language

One of the most important causes for urgency in linguistic research in Dime is language endangerment. Some of the earlier works on endangered languages in Ethiopia include Hayward (1998), Zelealem (1998), and Appleyard (1998), just to mention a few. Hayward (1998:17) calls on scholars to draw their attention to language endangerment: “I wonder whether our best strategy would be to draw attention as strongly as possible to any rare or unique linguistic properties found in languages that happen to be endangered, whenever we are aware of such properties.” See also Zelealem (1998) and Appleyard (1998).


Endangerment of the Dime language is strongly linked to the demographic state of its speakers. This in turn relates to historical enmity with the neighbouring Bodi people and competition for resources. Due to the fighting between Bodi and Dime people a lot of Dime died and migrated to other places. Consequently, the number of the speakers declined. Todd (1997:223) makes the following statement about this:

> The most obvious effect of the war on the Dime was that many of them left the country, and will probably never return. A similar number died. The population has therefore declined by somewhere between 1,000 and 3,000 which is a considerable loss for a people who did not originally number more than perhaps 11,000.

Fleming (1990:495) expressed a similar concern:

> Demographically the Dime are a small people, steadily decreasing and now threatened with extinction. If they disappear, it will be a case of creeping ‘ethnocide’. Unable to defend themselves against their enemies, the Bodi, yet undefended by their former masters (the ‘Dime Amhara’) or the central state,
Introduction

many Dime have either fled to Basketo and Aari lands to the east or remained in Dime huddled together defensively, fearful and depressed.

Competition for resources contributes to the endangerment of the Dime language. The violence between the neighbouring communities and disease results in economic crises and migration. Abbink (2005) expresses a similar generalization “since the early years of 20th century Dime has been a society in crisis and demographic decline, due to violence, disease, economic decline and immigration.”

The previous social and historical influence of Amhara governors and the current use of Amharic as a lingua franca language for education and administration purposes, and missionary activities in Amharic may also contribute to endangerment of the Dime language. Dime children have no possibility to learn in their language in elementary or treasury school as the language is not used in education, political and other public functions. Since Dime is a non-literate language this role is taken by Amharic.

Describing the language and developing a writing system to promote the language to be used as medium of instruction at lower level of education for native speakers may help the revival of the language.

Enfield (2004) states “without good quality documentation while the language is vital, … later generations would have no hope of reviving a language once it is moribund or dead.”

Therefore the primary concern of this research is to document the Dime language. This would contribute not only for the preservation of the Dime language but also of some cultural, social and environmental knowledge of the speakers.

1.4 Previous studies on Dime

The Dime language is not well documented. Earlier works have not attempted towards broader description of its phonology, morphology and syntax. The main source of information on Dime is the work of Fleming (1990). It is a survey of the Dime grammar, which contributed a lot to this study.

Fleming (1973) produced a comparative study of Dime, Ari and Basketo and of Dime, Ari and Hamer (in Bender 1976:314-321). In his work, he also tried to show the significance of the independent pronouns of Dime by comparing Galila, Ari and Hamer.

Furthermore, Hetzron (1988) includes some comparative notes on Dime in his study on the position of Omotic. Siebert (1995) collected some lexical items. The other source of information on Dime is David Todd (unpublished, pamphlet no. 43); he is more concerned with history and ethnography than language. Finally, Tsuge Yoichi (1996) discussed Dime consonants in his work on the consonant correspondences of south Omotic languages. Olson (1996) discussed the Dime people and the classification of their language in his Ethno historical dictionary of the people of Africa. Mulugeta (1999) provides brief information about the culture and the language (in Amharic). The recent comparative morphology of Omotic by Bender (2000) presents part of the Dime morphology partly based on the above mentioned

1.5 The scope of the present study

The present study describes the Dime language. The data for the study are mainly from the Us’a dialect. I also did some research with a few people speaking the Gerfa dialect to check the difference between the two dialects.

In comparison with other Ethiopian language groups such as Semitic and Cushitic, linguistic research on Omotic languages is still very limited. As the Dime language is an endangered language, with a small number of speakers, the primary concern of this study is to document the language. The description in the present work is a synchronic study, which makes use of data collected by the present author and also from the works of Fleming and Bender.

The major method employed in this study is fieldwork in the language area. Interview or consultation of native speakers was carried out using prepared questions based on research experience. Moreover, fieldwork guidance books such as Payne (1997) were used. Data collection included two periods of fieldwork in the Dime area. The first period was from May 2003 to December 2004 and the second period was from January 2004 to May 2005. My main research assistant was Shiftaye Yisan, 25 years old, born in Us’a in Salmago district. He worked with me during the first and second fieldwork. His talent helped me a lot to collect the necessary data for my analysis. Other highly involved people in my research were Taddease Gelbok, 20, born in Us’a; Maikro Gizachew Keto, 21, born in Us’a; Deban Gasso, 40, born in Us’a; Kuraze Mebratu, 26, born in Genchire; K’elob K’albo, 90, born in Gerfa.

1.6 What makes Dime special in the context of Omotic languages?

Dime reflects a few unusual features compared to related languages (Bender, 2000:160). Bender (1988) does not include /x, χ, u/ among the frequent consonants of the Omotic language family. The presence of these segments in the Dime language makes it somewhat different from the rest of Omotic. These segments appear in some Omotic languages only phonetically (cf. Wedekind (1990:73), for instance, the segments (/y, χ/) are found phonetically in Yemsa. Ford, (1990:430) reports that /χ/ is found phonetically in Aari. Furthermore, the consonants (/z, w, y, č/) occur very rarely in other Omotic languages (Bender 1988). Fleming (1990:505) also reports no /p/ and /h/ in Dime and according to him the glides /w/
and /y/ are questionable. However, these segments are frequent in my data. Consider some of the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/z/</th>
<th>/c/</th>
<th>/y/</th>
<th>/w/</th>
<th>/h/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zomár ‘ginger’</td>
<td>cuú ‘bottom’</td>
<td>yöznám ‘farm’</td>
<td>wunt‘ú ‘work’</td>
<td>hameţ ‘how many’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fuuz ‘heavy cough’</td>
<td>wucub ‘empty’</td>
<td>yîncî ‘laugh’</td>
<td>wuc‘i ‘drink (v)’</td>
<td>halfe ‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c‘lizz ‘tuber’</td>
<td>yîncî ‘laugh’</td>
<td>nayi ‘hyena’</td>
<td>gawwu ‘hookworm’</td>
<td>ñehé ‘house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bender (1988:125) states that across Omotic languages a five vowel system is strongly supported. However, in Dime there are five basic vowels and two half-open and two central vowels. Among these, each of the basic five vowels has a long counterpart. The remaining four vowels do not have a long counterpart. Since the latter vowels are in contrast with the five basic vowels, I conclude that they have phonemic value. Thus Dime has a nine vowels system.

Hayward (1989:30) points out that all the modern Omotic languages abandoned grammatical gender, however, Dime has grammatical gender.

Moreover, it is interesting that demonstratives in Dime are formed by combining proximity indicating morphemes sî- ‘proximal’ and sâ- ‘distal’ with the third person subject pronouns. For instance, nu ‘he’, na ‘she’, kète ‘they’ result in sinu ‘this (M), sinâ ‘this (F), sikêt ‘these’ and sanu ‘that (M), sana ‘that (F), saket ‘those’.

We observe in Dime demonstratives that the language uses prefixes (i.e. considering the independent subject pronouns as bases for the derivation of the demonstratives). This also applies to the proximal and distal morphemes sî- and sa-. No further prefix forms are attested in this language. In Omotic in general, prefixation is not a common phenomenon. Thus Dime demonstratives represent a rare pattern in the family.
2 Phonology

In this chapter, the speech sounds of Dime are identified and described. Moreover, common phonological processes, tone, syllable structure and co-occurrence of segments in the language are treated. The transcription largely employs the IPA conventions as revised in 1993. Note that \( \text{p}', \text{s}', \text{t}', \text{tf}', \text{k}' \), are glottalized consonants and \( \text{d}' \) is a voiced implosive. For the sake of convenience in subsequent sections, \( \text{tf}' \), \( \text{f} \) and \( \text{z} \) are written as \( \text{c}', \text{c}' \) and \( \text{z}' \) respectively.

We present the description of the consonants in 2.1, followed by the description of the vowels in section 2.2.

2.1 Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Alveo-palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Uvular</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plosive</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ej imp</td>
<td>p'</td>
<td></td>
<td>t'</td>
<td></td>
<td>k'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ej imp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>ź</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>vl</td>
<td>ts</td>
<td>ċ</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>vd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ej</td>
<td>s'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>vd</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ej</td>
<td>d3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquids</td>
<td>lv</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>lv</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Glides | w | | | | | | | y

Table-1 Consonant Phonemes of Dime

All consonants except \( \text{ts}, \text{d3}, ?, \text{d}, \text{x}, \text{y}, \text{h}, \text{q} \) and \( \text{r} \) occur as geminates. Before dealing with the detailed description of the consonant sounds we make some general observations about them. The evidence for these statements will be given in subsequent sections. The consonant phonemes include the plain voiceless stops \( \text{p}, \text{t}, \text{k} \) and their voiced counterparts \( \text{b}, \text{d}, \text{g} \). The glottal stop \( ? \) occurs very often word initially, and contrasts with the voiceless glottal fricative \( \text{h} \). Words that do not begin with another consonant are analyzed as beginning with a glottal stop.

The phoneme \( \text{p} \) appears in word initial position as in \( \text{p} \text{holú} \) ‘make a vow’, word-medially as in \( \text{dampu} \) ‘tobacco’, \( \text{dippi} \) ‘all’ and finally as in \( \text{gomp} \) ‘back’. We have a different analysis from Fleming (1990) who reported that there is no \( \text{p} \) in Dime. \( \text{p} \) may be realized as \( \text{f} \) or \( \text{φ} \) in medial and final positions when it is not gemi-

\*The exact pronunciation of \( \text{t}' \) is still uncertain; I sometimes heard it as a voiced ejective.
nated and when it does not form a cluster with another segment. \( p \) is aspirated and not realized as \( f \) or \( \phi \) word initially but contrasts with \( f \) as in \([p^\text{h}u\text{c}u]\) ‘small grass’, \([f\text{u}\text{c}u]\) ‘open’. We analyse \( p \) as an independent phoneme since it contrasts with other sounds and forms near-minimal pairs as in \([p^\text{h}o\text{l}u]\) ‘make a vow’, \([b\text{ok}u]\) ‘fruit sp.’ in word-initial position. Siebert (2000) also has the \( p \) phoneme in his Dime word list as in \textit{pasinpastu} ‘dull’, \textit{balup} ‘other’. He didn’t mention anything about the phonetic realizations of the sound.

The voiceless fricatives are \( f, s, \tilde{s}, \chi, h \) and the voiced fricatives are \( z, \tilde{z}, \zeta \). Fleming (1990:505) does not include the phoneme \( h \) in his chart but in the present study \( h \) is identified as a phoneme. It occurs in initial, medial and final position of words as in \( \text{lah} \) ‘six’, \( \text{hahe} \) ‘home country’, \( \text{sahi} \) ‘to brush’, and \( \text{zhe} \) ‘house’. Consonants such as \( x, \tilde{x}, \tilde{x} \) seem to be phonemes in Dime. Fleming (1990:509) did not analyse the sounds \( x, \tilde{x}, \tilde{x}, h \) as phonemes. The present author ascertained that \( x, k \) are clearly independent phonemes. They contrast with their corresponding voiced and voiceless velar and glottal consonants and each occur in word initial, medial and final positions. The voiced uvular fricative \( \tilde{x} \) in my data seems to correspond to Fleming’s \( u \) although he didn’t offer the exact phonetic description of this segment. I understand that it is the voiced counterpart of the voiceless uvular sound \( \tilde{x} \).

Even though the above velar and uvular sounds are not registered as phonemes in most Omotic languages, in some studies they are reported as phonetic elements. For instance, \( y, x, q, \tilde{x} \) occur in Yemsa, phonetically (Wedekind 1990:73). The consonants \([x, \tilde{x}, q, \tilde{x}, q]\) are included in the phonetic chart of Aari (Ford 1990:430).

The affricates contain two voiceless and one voiced consonant \( t\tilde{s}, s\tilde{t}, d\tilde{z} \). The series of ejective sounds contains five consonants \( p\tilde{t}, s\tilde{t}, t\tilde{t}, \tilde{c}\tilde{t}, k\tilde{t} \), which are common sounds in Ethiopian languages.

There are three plain nasal consonants. These are the bilabial \( m \), the alveolar \( n \) and the velar \( \eta \). The velar nasal sound \( \eta \) is also an independent phoneme since it occurs both in word medial and final positions and it contrasts with \( n, g \) in an identical environment see also Fleming (1990:508). It is also reported that \( \eta \) is found in Aari (Hayward 1990:431). The sound \( \tilde{n} \) does not occur as a phoneme but it occurs as an allophone of \( n \) before \( \tilde{c} \) or \( d\tilde{z} \) (cf. see section 2.8.3). The voiced alveolar implosive \( \delta \) occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

The last group of consonants are the glides \( w \) and \( y \), the lateral approximant \( l \) and the alveolar flap/trill \( r \). Fleming (1990:505) states that the glides \( w \) and \( y \) are questionable. In the present work the glides \( w \) and \( y \) are analysed as independent phonemes because of their wider distribution and contrast in the language.

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5 Hayward (1990:431) states that \( h \) is on the verge of disappearance from Aari (South Omotic), though not without leaving a trace in the form of breathy phonation.

6 Bender (1988) treated the consonants across Omotic languages but he didn’t mention the sounds \( x, y, \tilde{x}, u \) as sounds of the Omotic group (Bender, 1976:76).

7 Fleming (1990) states the phoneme \( /r/ \) is a resonant flap. Concerning a trill \( /r/ \) he points out that it is not clear whether it constitutes a phoneme or is derived from it or it is simply a variant.
According to Bender (1988) the consonant sounds ź, w, y, and č, are not very common in other Omotic languages but in Dime these are independent phonemes and found in any word position. The phoneme w and y occur word-initially, medially and finally.

Bender (2000:161) states that none of the phonemes h, č, r, ź, ts, x, and ş appear initially in his comparative analysis of the Aroid phonological inventory. In Dime h, č, r, ź, ts occur word-initially; however, their frequency is very low compared to their occurrence in medial and final position. For instance, I found only two words with ts, one word with ź, three words with r, two words with č and many words with h in word initial position. These sounds are found very frequently in other positions. I have no words in the corpus that begin with ş, x, y, ź, or h.

### 2.1.1 Description of the consonant sounds

The description of the consonant sounds of Dime will be presented below. When verbs are included in the examples, these are in the imperative form which is the simplest verbal form in the language. The order is based on the point of articulation of the consonants.

1. **p** is a voiceless bilabial stop
   - pólu 'make a vow'
   - gomp 'back'
   - dampe 'tobacco'
   - dippi 'all'

2. **b** is a voiced bilabial stop
   - bände 'hair'
   - būbud 'husband'
   - k’āmub 'bad'
   - kābbe 'maize'

3. **f** is a voiceless, labio-dental fricative
   - fiš 'cough'
   - kalfé 'shoulder'
   - nārfe 'needle'
   - dōf 'foam'

4. **p’** is a bilabial ejective stop. It is not attested word finally.
   - p’ild’e 'testicle'
   - c’up’u 'squeezed'

5. **m** is a voiced bilabial nasal
   - mıcı 'sister'
   - süulu 'heat'
   - hamzé 'birth place'
6. **w** is a voiced bilabial semi-vowel
   - *wuntú* ‘work’
   - *zawdin* ‘put on’
   - *gawwu* ‘hookworm’
   - *bow* ‘direction’

7. **t** is a voiceless alveolar stop
   - *t’ist* ‘sneeze’
   - *güntu* ‘rope’
   - *bilt* ‘magic, evil’
   - *gált* ‘hoe’

8. **d** is a voiced alveolar stop
   - *daré* ‘goat’
   - *s’édub* ‘short’
   - *búud* ‘heart’
   - *bubud* ‘husband’
   - *t’uddu* ‘four’

9. **t’** is an alveolar ejective stop
   - *t’ip’l* ‘drop’
   - *t’úmint* ‘arrow’
   - *p’elt’e* ‘testicle’
   - *t’át’t’e* ‘gave birth’

10. **d’** is a voiced alveolar implosive. It is a remarkable feature of Dime that /d’/ retains its implosive character after a nasal.
    - *d’le* ‘medicine’
    - *t’úmind* ‘arrow’
    - *gofind* ‘hide’
    - *p’élzend* ‘lightning’

11. **s** is a voiceless alveolar fricative
    - *sinú* ‘this’
    - *s’agbè* ‘clay’
    - *súts* ‘ask’
    - *túss* ‘pillar’

---

8. Mostly in word final position **d’** appears as an alternation of the ejective sound **t’** which seems to be a feature of the Aaroid group (Dime, Aari, Hamer) (Bender 1988: 124). For example, *t’úmint* ‘arrow’. **d’** is a voiced alveolar implosive occurs word finally and medially only after nasal sounds.
12. $z$ is a voiced alveolar fricative
   
   $\text{zu} '\text{rainbow}'$
   
   $\text{ku} '\text{fly}'$
   
   $\text{yiz} '\text{run}'$
   
   $\text{yizzi} '\text{deep}'$
   
   $\text{koiz} '\text{hen}'$

13. $s'$ is an alveolar ejective fricative. It is not attested word finally.
   
   $\text{s'e} '\text{hundred}'$
   
   $\text{k'os'u} '\text{scratch}'$
   
   $\text{p'els'e} '\text{bold}'$
   
   $\text{gas's'e} '\text{vagina}'$

14. $n$ is a voiced alveolar nasal
   
   $\text{nuku} '\text{nose}'$
   
   $\text{?urin} '\text{rat}'$
   
   $\text{zunu} '\text{up}'$
   
   $\text{wonnu} '\text{return}'$

15. $r$ is a voiced alveolar flap. The sound /r/ occurs at word final, word medial and also at word initial position. The word initial one is not as frequently found as compared to medial and final positions. No geminate form is attested.
   
   $\text{ruu} '\text{wealth}'$
   
   $\text{garz} '\text{cat}'$
   
   $\text{daré} '\text{goat}'$
   
   $\text{gofir} '\text{frog}'$

16. $l$ is a voiced alveolar lateral approximant
   
   $\text{lale} '\text{stone}'$
   
   $\text{kalfé} '\text{shoulder}'$
   
   $\text{?ili} '\text{hare}'$
   
   $\text{dyullu} '\text{cheat}'$

17. $s$ is a voiceless palatal fricative
   
   $\text{ssaaye} '\text{sand}'$
   
   $\text{misiti} '\text{seed}'$
   
   $\text{ti} '\text{ripe crop}'$

18. $z$ is a voiced palatal fricative

   $\text{zomar} '\text{ginger}'$
   
   $\text{guuzzu} '\text{drink}'$
   
   $\text{c'izz} '\text{tuber}'$

---

9 Bender (1988) states that /r/ is one of the consonant sounds, which occurs relatively commonly in the Omotic languages.

10 Bender (1988) points out in his chart of consonant correspondences of Omotic languages that $z$ occurs only in medial position. We ascertained that $\tilde{z}$ occurs at word initial, medial and...
19. **ts** is a voiceless alveolar affricate. No geminate form is attested.
   - ʔitsé ‘teeth’
   - nits ‘boy’
   - tseki ‘large’
   - tsase ‘towards there’

20. **c̣** is an alveo-palatal affricate
    - c̣uú ‘bottom’
    - bac ‘year’
    - ʔụnč̣i ‘think’
    - gič̣ó ‘big’

21. **dʒ** is a voiced palatal affricate. **dʒ** is not attested word finally and no example is recorded with a geminate **dʒ**.
    - dʒaté ‘throw’
    - ʔánkóδ̣ayé ‘arm pit’
    - dʒi ‘sew’

22. **c̣’** is a palatal affricate ejective
    - c̣’i ‘cloud’
    - gouč̣’é ‘chin’

23. **y** is a voiced palatal glide
    - yágnam ‘farm’
    - yikáy ‘not/none’
    - nayi ‘hyena’
    - ?iyyī ‘person’

24. **k** is a voiceless velar stop
    - kúbzú ‘fly’
    - ʔunkil ‘chest’
    - loók ‘chat’

25. **g** is a voiced velar stop
    - gícób ‘big’
    - mangé ‘gourd’
    - c̣’ilgí ‘pay’
    - lág ‘friend’

26. **k’** is a velar ejective stop. It is not attested word finally.
    - k’ot’ ‘velum’
    - k’u k’ú ‘taste’
    - lok’k’ub ‘small’

---

*final position in Dime.*
27.  **x** is a voiceless velar fricative. It is not attested in word initial position.
    - **kóxó** ‘love’
    - **ʔórxú** ‘fish’
    - **sóxšú** ‘roasted cereals’
    - **ʔéčz** ‘wet’

28.  **γ** is a voiced velar fricative. It is not attested word initially and finally.
    - **s’élâyé** ‘devil’
    - **gγyó** ‘inside’
    - **boyt’ú** ‘forget’

29.  **χ** is a voiceless uvular fricative. It is not attested word initially.
    - **yáyse** ‘measure’
    - **hameχ** ‘how many’

30.  **ν** is a voiced uvular fricative. It is not attested word initially and word finally.
    - **gɑuč’ė** ‘chin’
    - **lɑyχ’ė** ‘die’
    - **lɔɔs’ė** ‘neck.’
    - **wɔnɔn** ‘cattle’

31.  **η** is a voiced velar nasal. It is not attested word initially
    - **kɪŋi** ‘spider’
    - **ʔɛɛŋ** ‘high-land’
    - **tɔqas** ‘few’
    - **sλɔsì** ‘destroy’
    - **bɪɲe** ‘spear’

32.  **ʔ** is a glottal stop. It often occurs at word initial position. There are no vowel initial words in Dime. Words that start with a vowel underlingly, have a initial glottal stop phonetically.
    - **ʔórxú** ‘fish’
    - **ʔǝnkɔgʊs** ‘finger (hand)’
    - **baʔa** ‘eat’ (for cereals or solid matter)

33.  **h** is a voiceless glottal fricative
    - **s’aah** ‘vomit’
    - **hame** ‘home country’
    - **sáhi** ‘clean’
    - **ʔɛhɛ́** ‘house’

2.1.2 Near minimal pairs

In principle, if two sounds bring change of meaning in a pair of otherwise identical words, they are considered to be separate phonemes. The main objective of the arrangements of the following examples is to demonstrate the phonological contrast between consonants that are related phonetically. Some of the word pair contrasts...
are arranged based on the parameter of their voice difference. Other pairs have been arranged based on their air stream mechanism, for instance pulmonic or non pulmonic, and a group of pairs shows phonemic contrast between nasal, velar, uvular and glottal place of articulation. The following are some of the minimal and near minimal pairs that have been identified in Dime.

34. \[ \text{[p\text{p}]} \text{ [b]} \]
    \[ \text{[p\text{p}io\text{u}]} \]
    ‘make a vow’
    \[ \text{[bok\text{u}]} \]
    ‘fruit sp.’

35. \[ \text{[b]} \text{ [m]} \]
    \[ \text{[mi\text{c\i}]} \]
    ‘sister’
    \[ \text{[bi\text{c\i}]} \]
    ‘skin’

36. \[ \text{[m]} \text{ [n]} \]
    \[ \text{[m\text{k\u}]} \]
    ‘huge’
    \[ \text{[n\text{k\u}]} \]
    ‘nose’

37. \[ \text{[n\text{i}]} \text{ [n]} \]
    \[ \text{[yin\text{i}]} \]
    ‘see’
    \[ \text{[n\text{i}]} \]
    ‘today’
    \[ \text{[si\text{n\text{s\i}}]} \]
    ‘destroy’
    \[ \text{[sind\text{i}]} \]
    ‘wheat’

38. \[ \text{[t]} \text{ [d]} \]
    \[ \text{[wut\text{u}]} \]
    ‘get out’
    \[ \text{[\text{r\text{u}d\text{u}]}} \]
    ‘put’

39. \[ \text{[t\text{'i}]} \text{ [t]} \]
    \[ \text{[t\text{'i}st\text{t}]} \]
    ‘sneeze’
    \[ \text{[t\text{iss}]} \]
    ‘ripe crop’

40. \[ \text{[d]} \text{ [f]} \]
    \[ \text{[\text{f\text{\text{i}le}]} \]
    ‘medicine’
    \[ \text{[d\text{o\text{ott\text{u}}}]} \]
    ‘leg’

41. \[ \text{[t]} \text{ [ts]} \]
    \[ \text{[\text{\text{r\text{i}t\text{se}e}]} \]
    ‘teeth’
    \[ \text{[\text{\text{r\text{i}tte}}} \]
    ‘back of the neck’

42. \[ \text{[s]} \text{ [z]} \]
    \[ \text{[s\text{\text{\text{u\text{\text{u}}l\text{u}}}}]} \]
    ‘heat’
    \[ \text{[z\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{u}l\text{u}}}]}]} \]
    ‘rainbow’

43. \[ \text{[s]} \text{ [z]} \]
    \[ \text{[t\text{iss}]} \]
    ‘ripe crop’
    \[ \text{[c\text{'\text{\text{\text{i}zz}}} \]
    ‘tuber’
44. [z] [ž]  
   [żómar] ‘ginger’  
   [żamu] ‘female cow which has not given birth’

45. [s] [s’]  
   [ʔeys’e] ‘neck’  
   [ʔɔỳse] ‘break’

46. [s’] [ts]  
   [s’itsi] ‘right’  
   [s’is’i] ‘grey hair’

47. [r] [ɾ]  
   [kulú] ‘roasted grain’  
   [kúrú] ‘honey’

48. [c’] [c]  
   [c’iiggi] ‘pay’  
   [ćicci] ‘draw’

49. [y] [l]  
   [lälé] ‘stone’  
   [lä́ye] ‘now’

50. [y] [ɾ]  
   [ʔyːrin] ‘rat sp.’  
   [kuyú] ‘dig’  
   [yeri] ‘donkey’  
   [nayi] ‘hyena’

51. [k] [g]  
   [kuć’u] ‘quarrel’  
   [güć’u] ‘burnt food’

52. [ʔ] [g]  
   [gehè] ‘push’  
   [ʔehè] ‘house’

53. [ʔ] [h]  
   [hànê] ‘home country’  
   [hānê] ‘hand’  
   [šiːʃ] ‘wash’  
   [siː] ‘smell (bad)’

54. [g] [w]  
   [dʒâːʃe] ‘throw’  
   [dʒági] ‘rain with wind’
2.1.3 The distribution of consonant phonemes in Dime

In this section we demonstrate the various positions of phonemes in words and formations of consonant clusters. We show the distribution of consonants by classifying them according to their manner of articulation which is one of the basic compo-
nents of speech production. These are stops, affricates, fricatives, glottal, and nasals, liquids and glides. Each class shows the word distribution in six columns. The words of the first column show the distributions of phonemes at word-initial position; the second column illustrates the distribution at word-medial (intervocalic) position; the third column represents the distribution at word-final position. In the fourth column possibilities of gemination are illustrated; in the fifth column the distribution at the pre-consonantal position is shown; in the last column are examples of distribution in post-consonantal position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>–C</th>
<th>C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>polu</td>
<td>lupé</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>güppu</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘made a vow’</td>
<td>‘suddenly’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘fail down’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘gomp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>bändé</td>
<td>bübud</td>
<td>dübüb</td>
<td>kábbe</td>
<td>kúbzu</td>
<td>dürbab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>‘thief’</td>
<td>‘maize’</td>
<td>‘fly’</td>
<td>‘reach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>dööttu</td>
<td>düdidí</td>
<td>büud</td>
<td>ő́ddő</td>
<td>bádzé</td>
<td>bändé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘leg’</td>
<td>‘scar’</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
<td>‘out’</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tufú</td>
<td>sótú</td>
<td>géít</td>
<td>bítub</td>
<td>dóótaśg</td>
<td>góstú</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘saliva’</td>
<td>‘choke’</td>
<td>‘hoe’</td>
<td>‘straight’</td>
<td>‘way’</td>
<td>‘man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>kóbu</td>
<td>núkú</td>
<td>šáak</td>
<td>ykké</td>
<td>šóksú</td>
<td>źásinká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ant’</td>
<td>‘nose’</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
<td>‘equal’</td>
<td>‘swell’</td>
<td>‘why’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>góya</td>
<td>dýjí</td>
<td>lág</td>
<td>č’íjí</td>
<td>małglaf</td>
<td>mango</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘buttock’</td>
<td>‘sew’</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
<td>‘pay’</td>
<td>‘net’</td>
<td>‘mango’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>żafé</td>
<td>[śřf]</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘mouth’</td>
<td>‘wash’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Stops and their distribution.

As can be seen from the above table the least versatile stop consonant phoneme in different word positions is the consonant phoneme /p/. It occurs very frequently at word initial position. It is not attested as a member of a cluster, as a geminate, and word finally. This may strengthen Fleming’s (1990:507) statement that the phonemic status of /p/ is questionable in Dime. However, as we showed earlier /b/ is contrastive at word-initial position and should be regarded as a phoneme. The phone /p/ becomes / or ʃ when it occurs between or after vowels, while it is aspirated word initially.
As can be seen from the above table there are three pulmonic affricates $\text{ts}$, $\text{č}$, and $\text{dʒ}$ in Dime. The affricate sound $\text{ts}$ occurs in every positions of words but it has no geminate counterpart. It occurs frequently in the language especially at word medial and final position, e.g. $\text{ţtsi}$ ‘eat’, $\text{ţatsi}$ ‘fever’. It contrasts with $\text{t}$ in $\text{ţtsë}$ ‘teeth’ and $\text{s}i\text{tsi}$ ‘right’, $\text{s}i\text{tsi}$ ‘grey hair’. With the exception of the word $\text{ţeftsi}$ ‘need’ we did not find a cluster consonant with this sound. $\text{ts}$ is very rarely found word initially. My corpus contains only two instances of $\text{ts}$ at word initial position. The second affricate sound $\text{č}$ occurs in almost every position except in the pre-consonantal slot. It is not also frequently attested in word initial position (see also Fleming (1990:507)). The last affricate sound $\text{dʒ}$ does not occur in every position. It occurs in word-initial and pre-consonantal positions. It is not attested in other positions and it is not geminated.
### Table 4: Fricatives and their distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>~C</th>
<th>~C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>fasint’</td>
<td>yafe</td>
<td>kaf</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gufs’usind</td>
<td>halle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td>‘God’</td>
<td>‘wait’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chameleon’</td>
<td>‘knife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>súulu</td>
<td>tuusú</td>
<td>k’us</td>
<td>tuss</td>
<td>gíská</td>
<td>gársí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘heat’</td>
<td>‘family’</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>‘pillar’</td>
<td>‘ancient’</td>
<td>‘louse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>zób</td>
<td>yžžl</td>
<td>kóz</td>
<td>yizzi</td>
<td>gazde</td>
<td>bedze</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘lion’</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td>‘hen’</td>
<td>‘deep’</td>
<td>‘boundary’</td>
<td>‘out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>suunú</td>
<td>mísít</td>
<td>dootgas</td>
<td>tussu</td>
<td>fist</td>
<td>marsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘grass’</td>
<td>‘seed’</td>
<td>‘way’</td>
<td>‘cook’</td>
<td>‘cough’</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/z/</td>
<td>zomar</td>
<td>guuzú</td>
<td>fuuz</td>
<td>é’iizz</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gorz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘ginger’</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
<td>‘strong’</td>
<td>‘tuber’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s’/</td>
<td>s’ááh</td>
<td>gis’é</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>lám’s’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
<td>‘shoot’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘leprosy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/x/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>kóxó</td>
<td>‘Réx’</td>
<td>‘tubér’</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘love’</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
<td>‘cereals’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ψ/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>zay’im</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>boytú</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘tortoise’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘forget’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/χ/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>kežím</td>
<td>‘Rélo’</td>
<td>‘slowly’</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>p’eléyand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
<td>‘quick’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘lightning’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>náre</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gáñé’é</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘water’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chin’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hamzé</td>
<td>gehé</td>
<td>meh</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘birth’</td>
<td>‘push’</td>
<td>‘money’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are ten pulmonic fricative consonants in Dime. The segment /f/ appears in every position except as a geminate. The fricative consonants /s/, /z/, /s’/ are found in every position. The sibilant /z/ does not occur in pre-consonantal positions. The other segments such as /x/, /ψ/, /χ/, /h/ do not occur in every position. The fricative /h/ is found initially, medially and in word final position; it lacks a geminate counter-part and it is not found as a member of a cluster.
Table-5: Glottalised consonants and their distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>–C</th>
<th>C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p'/</td>
<td>p'ëlt'e</td>
<td>c'up'u</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>gaip'e</td>
<td>'plait'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s'/</td>
<td>s'ëmi</td>
<td>gls'i</td>
<td>kõs'</td>
<td>gõs's'e</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>?aus'i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t'/</td>
<td>t'ëmi</td>
<td>guit'-ub</td>
<td>fasint'</td>
<td>?at't'te</td>
<td>p'ëlt'e</td>
<td>'testicle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k'/</td>
<td>k'aime</td>
<td>k'uk'u</td>
<td>lak'k'ub</td>
<td>mõk'd'u</td>
<td>surk'u</td>
<td>'taste a bit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d'/</td>
<td>dil'e</td>
<td>bidi</td>
<td>?umind</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>p'ël'zondeen</td>
<td>'will shine'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As shown in the above table, d, p', and ë' do not occur geminated. Moreover, p', s', ë', and d' cannot form the first element in a consonant cluster. p' and k' do not occur at word-final position. The most restricted ejective in terms of distribution is p'.

---

\[11\] The consonants d and t' occur as free variants in word final position. d occurs in combination with a nasal when in word final position. ë and t' occur also in combination with other consonants as in, boyt'in 'forget', dubt'u 'carry'. gasë'e 'chin', etc. d is reported for the related south Omotic language Aari as a voiced implosive stop (Hayward, 1990:429).
Sound | Initial | Medial | Final | Geminate | –C– | –C–
---|---|---|---|---|---|---
/\n/m/ | mate | zime | zelim | tamme | dampe | basmub
/\n/m/ | nu | zunu | suskin | wonnu | wunt’u | ‘otnits
/\n/ŋ/ | ----- | bipe | ‘head’ | ---- | sipsi | ‘chief’
/\n/ŋ/ | ----- | ‘head’ | ---- | ---- | ‘chief’
/\n/l/ | ru | yiri | zor | ----- | carti | ‘wise’
/\n/l/ | lāl | dya | doñé | dylú | bâl | ‘ten’
/\n/w/ | wāran | ----- | bow | gaww | zawd | ‘wise’
/\n/w/ | yizé | yaye | may | ??iyi | kuyb | ‘tobacco’

**Table 6: Nasals, liquids and glides and their distribution**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>–C–</th>
<th>–C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
<td>‘wise’</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>‘fearful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| /\n/m/ | nu | zunu | suskin | wonnu | wunt’u | ‘otnits
| /\n/ŋ/ | ----- | bipe | ‘head’ | ---- | sipsi | ‘chief’
| /\n/ŋ/ | ----- | ‘head’ | ---- | ---- | ‘chief’
| /\n/l/ | ru | yiri | zor | ----- | carti | ‘wise’
| /\n/l/ | lāl | dya | doñé | dylú | bâl | ‘ten’
| /\n/w/ | wāran | ----- | bow | gaww | zawd | ‘wise’
| /\n/w/ | yizé | yaye | may | ??iyi | kuyb | ‘tobacco’

The nasal consonants m and n are attested in every position of a word. The resonant that is most restricted in terms of distribution is ŋ. It appears in only word medial, final and pre-consonantal positions. The consonant phoneme r does not occur geminated and it is not attested in post-consonantal position. It appears very frequently in initial, medial, final, and in pre-consonantal position. w frequently occurs in word initial position and in rare cases in word final position. It has also a geminated form and it is attested in pre-consonantal position. y occurs in all positions except post-consonantal. The glides w and y occur geminated as in gaww ‘hookworm’ and ??iyi ‘person’. Both do not occur in post-consonantal position. It seems that there is a restriction on the vowels that occur after y and w. The glide w is followed only by back and central vowels, while the glide y is followed by front and central vowels.

Consonant phonemes and their allophones

If one phoneme is realized by two or more different phones, these phones are called allophones. The choice of an allophone is governed by phonological rules. This section deals with the consonant phonemes and the distribution of allophones.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>–C–</th>
<th>–C–</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>[pʰ]</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
<td>‘wise’</td>
<td>‘ten’</td>
<td>‘fearful’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.4 Consonant phonemes and their allophones

If one phoneme is realized by two or more different phones, these phones are called allophones. The choice of an allophone is governed by phonological rules. This section deals with the consonant phonemes and the distribution of allophones.

66. /p/ [pʰ] voiceless aspirated bilabial stop sound initially. E.g. [pʰolú] ‘make a vow’
[ϕ] voiceless bilabial fricative occurs post-vocally e.g., [gɒϕu] ‘ribs’, [baluϕ] ‘other’

[p] voiceless bilabial stop occurs elsewhere (i.e., after nasal and where geminated, e.g., [dampu] ‘tobacco’, [günpu] ‘fall down’, [dippi] ‘all’)


[b] voiced, bilabial stop occurs elsewhere, i.e., word initially and after a nasal. e.g., [bɛɛ] ‘Adam’s apple’, [zimbits] ‘finger nail’

68. /t/ [tʰ] voiceless aspirated alveolar stop word initially e.g., [tʰamme] ‘ten’, [tʰiŋi] ‘go’

[t] voiceless un-aspirated alveolar stop elsewhere, e.g., [günṭu] ‘rope’, [fist] ‘mucus’

69. /k/ [kʰ] voiceless aspirated velar stop word initially, e.g., [kʰúc’u] ‘quarrel’


70. /n/ [ŋ] voiced palatal nasal before palatal sound, e.g., [ʔiŋiči] ‘remember’, [yinči] ‘laugh’

[n] voiced, alveolar elsewhere, e.g. [niiri] ‘gum’, [günṭu] ‘rope’

h and ŋ are in free variation word initially in some lexemes:

71. a. ʔałfe and hálfe ‘knife’
    b. ʔáwe and háwe ‘wood, tree’
    c. ʔáake and háake ‘to pick up’
    d. ʔaay and haay ‘grass’

However, there are also words, where ŋ and h are in opposition word initially.

72. a. ʔasín ‘to insult’
    b. hasín ‘behind’

Moreover, there are examples which show free variation between y and h, and y and ŋ.

73. a. yízi or hízi ‘to run’
    b. yin or ŋin ‘you (obj)’

2.1.5 Gemination

Gemination is phonemic in Dime. For instance, ʔime ‘breast’ contrasts with ʔimme ‘give’, and túmú ‘deep water’ with túmmu ‘stomach’. However gemination is not
very frequent in Dime. Consonant gemination is possible in intervocalic (medial) position and final position of words. Word initial gemination is not attested. In the following examples we provide further minimal pairs showing the phonemic status of consonant length.

74. [l] vs [ll]
   ‘quick’
   ‘slowly’

75a. [n] vs [nn]
   ‘hand’
   ‘wild fire’

75b. bit’e + i-n binn
        leave-PF-3 ‘left’

The geminate nn in (75b) is formed due to the perfective and person marker suffix. The final consonant t’ of the basic verb form changes to geminate nn after the suffixation of -i-n. Here we observe two points. The first one is the assimilation of t’ to n and word final gemination and the second is vowel deletion between two nasal consonants. More examples on word final gemination are given in (76).

76. [gu's] ‘find’
    [e'li:z] ‘tuber’

Thus, gemination is phonologically significant.

## 2.2 Vowel phonemes

We find the terms close, half-close, half-open, and open useful for the classification of Dime vowels according to height. The following vowel phonemes are recorded for Dime.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Close</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-close</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-open</td>
<td>ë</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ë</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Open</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-7: The vowel phonemes of Dime

In addition to these vowel phonemes, there are also diphthongs (see section 2.3.). The half-open vowels ë and ë tend to be more centralized than their corresponding half-close vowels (i.e., they are closer to schwa in the front/back dimension). Also, the vowels i, e, u, o, and a tend to have the position of the tongue body slightly higher than the corresponding i, e, ( and a vowels. The latter vowels are always short and do not have length opposition. Moreover, they do not occur in an open syllable at the end of words. They need a following consonant.
2.2.1 Description of Dime vowels.

The following are illustrative examples of vowels of Dime:

77. [i], close front vowel. Examples:
   ṭitsi ‘tooth’
   yizì ‘run’

78. [i], close central vowel. Examples:
    qedî ‘remember’
   irti ‘moon’

79. [e], Half-close front vowel. Examples:
    báalé ‘market’
    deyé ‘cook’

80. [e], half open front vowel. Examples:
    p’él’te ‘testicles’
    mel ‘money’

81. [a] open central vowel. Examples:
    áfì ‘mouth’
    wonná ‘return’

82. [a] half-open central vowel. Examples:
    balté ‘luck’
    dól ‘flour’
    wåsan ‘cattle’

83. [o] half close back vowel. Examples:
    pólu ‘made a vow’
    kóxo ‘love’

84. [ɔ] half-open back vowel. Examples:
    wåsan ‘cattle’
    koxu ‘crow’

85. [u] close back vowel. Examples:
    kùlu ‘stick’
    țurin ‘rat’

2.2.2 Contrast of comparable vowel phonemes

The vowels i, e, u, o and a contrast with i, e, o and a. The following are examples.

86. /a/ contrasts with /a/
86a. maté ‘problem’
     maté ‘my head’
86b. ʔɒɣʃi ‘show’
     ʔ وجش ‘break’
86c. ɡ̄ɜ ɣ ‘cat’
     ɡ̄ɜ ɣ ‘kind of container’
87. /a/ contrasts with /i/ and /l/
     87a. dɒl ‘flour’
          dɪl ‘medicine’
87b. gibzi ‘asleep’
          ɡ₂bzi ‘local beer’
88. /u/ contrasts with /i/
     88a. gɪrʃ ‘porcupine’
          gɪrʃ ‘recovery of illness’
     88b. bɪɱ ‘spear’
          kɪɱ ‘spider’
89. /e/ contrasts with /e/
     kɛts ‘taboo’
     kɛnɛ ‘dog’
90. /o/ contracts with /a/
     90a. gɔbe ‘Basketo person’
          gɔmp ‘back’
     90b. wɔran ‘cattle’
          wɔɡ ‘custom’
     90c. kɔxu ‘crow’
          koku ‘bird species’

As Bender (1986:125) states, in Omotic languages a five vowel system is very common. However, in some Omotic languages including Dime, other vowels exist. For instance, Dizi has a sixth vowel ø (Bender 1986), and Hamer has a set of ‘lax’ vowels (Lydall 1976).

2.2.3 Vowel length

Dime has a nine vowel system with the vowels i, e, u, o, a, two half-open vowels ɛ and ə, and two central vowels i and ø. Among these, only i, e, u, o, a have long counterparts. The following are examples of length contrast:
Chapter 2

91. /u/ contrasts with /uu/
   a. gusú ‘big gourd’
      guusú ‘really’
   b. suulu ‘heat’
      sul ‘dishonest’

92. /i/ contrasts with /ii/
   ìkì ‘to stab’
   ìkì ‘a kind of locust’

93. /o/ contrasts with /oo/
   bìno ‘scar on girls’
   bòono ‘to be sufficient’

94. /e/ contrasts with /ee/
   gerì ‘terrace’
   géeri ‘antelope’

95. /a/ contrasts with /aa/
   c’áan ‘load’
   c’án ‘slap’

2.3 Diphthongs

Dime has falling diphthongs. A diphthong is the combination of a sonantal with a consonantal vowel. When the sonantal element comes first, the combination is a falling diphthong (Jones 1929). When the consonantal element comes first it is a rising diphthong. All diphthongs belong to the same phonological syllable. The following examples show the falling diphthongs of Dime.

96. /ai/ [gáit] ‘hoe’
97. /oi/ [rámóid] ‘when’
    [kólz] ‘hen’
98. /ei/ [s’éd-ub] ‘short’
99. /ui/ [guít’-ub] ‘white’
    [guidú] ‘monkey’

There are diphthongs that contrast with each other in the same environment:

100. ūis ‘ask’
    ūois ‘butter’
2.4 Tone

Tone is the use of pitch in languages to distinguish words. Not all languages use tone to distinguish meaning even though they use intonation to express emphasis, emotion etc. If a language uses tone to distinguish lexical and/or grammatical meaning, tones are as important and essential as consonantal phonemes and they are referred to as tonemes. Most of Omotic languages have either tone or pitch accent. For instance, Benchmon has six contrastive tones (Wedekind 1985b, Rapold 2006).

In Dime tone has not been well treated in any of the previous studies. In the present study, we only treat the vital roles played by tone without discussing tone fully. Thus, the tone system in Dime needs further investigation.

Dime has two basic tones, H and L, we represent high tone by (’) and leave low tone unmarked.

The tone-bearing unit is the vowel; there are no tone-bearing consonants or syllabic nasals in the language. Within a syllable a long vowel or a diphthong may bear a contour tone. For instance, in example 102 the adjective zíūb ‘red’ and the verb loók ‘speak’ the first part of the long vowel carries high tone and the second carries low tone. There are also examples in which the long vowel carries a level high or low tone: sūum ‘rest’ and dééñ ‘be, exist’.

Downdrift: A low tone tends to lower the pitch of a following high tone as shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H</th>
<th>L</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen in the above example, there is a gradual drop in the pitch of high tones from the beginning of the utterance to the end due to the intervening low tone during speech.

2.4.1 Tone patterns in nouns and verbs

In this section we discuss monosyllabic words. All possible combinations of H and L tone occur on monosyllabic words.

---

12 Professor Peter Ladefoged checked some of the tone patterns of Dime in his phonetic laboratory presentation when we met in Ethiopia during the International Symposium on Endangered Languages of Ethiopia, 27-30 April 2005. Moreover, many of the ideas concerning Dime tone, velar and uvular consonants, and vowel systems have been discussed with Dr. Klaus Wedekind during his stay in Addis for the same conference and for providing training in phonetics at Addis Ababa University.
There are a few mono-syllabic words. Other examples include the open syllable words cu ‘bottom’, na ‘she’, nu ‘he’. Otherwise the Dime lexicon is predominantly disyllabic. The following are examples of tone patterns in disyllabic nouns and verbs.

2.4.2 Tone and lexical distinctions.

Tone in Dime has lexical functions. It is also used to identify affirmative and question constructions. The question constructions always have a high tone. The following data illustrate the lexical functions of tone in disyllabic words.
105a. [s] ‘buy!’
105b. [s] ‘is it bought?’
106a. [z] ‘close!’
106b. [z] ‘is it closed?’

2.4.3 Tone and affixation

In this section we discuss tone stability and contour tones. Tone stability is observed when a vowel resyllabifies or when a phonological rule deletes a tone-bearing unit (TBU) and the tone remains unaffected and associates with an adjacent TBU. Such stability can not be accounted for if tone is assumed to be an integral part of the phonological segment on which it appears in the phonetic representation. Tone stability shows that tone is an auto-segmental unit. In Dime, when the plural or definite marker is added to the root the terminal vowel is deleted but the tone remains attached to the suffix. Consider the following examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Plural Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔehé</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[ʔeh-af] ‘houses’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žimé</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[žim-af] ‘chiefs’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donú</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[dōn-af] ‘potatoes’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gɔbɛ</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[gɔb-af] ‘Basketo people’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gostù</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[gɔst-af] ‘men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guuru</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[gùr-af] ‘crocodile’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kábbe</td>
<td>-af</td>
<td>[káb-af] ‘maize’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from the above examples, when the plural morpheme –af is suffixed to the noun the terminal vowel of the noun is deleted but the tone of the vowel remains and is attached to the suffix vowel. When the tone of the final vowel is low it is deleted and reduction takes place as in [káb-af] ‘maize’. The same phenomenon is observed with the definite marker:

There are languages that show tone stability such as Margia a language spoken in Nigeria Kenstowicz (1994:321): fá + ārì = fārì ‘farm’, tì + ārì = tỳārì ‘mourning’, hù + ārì = hwārì ‘grave’. In this language the definite suffix -ārì, which has an underlying HL tonal melody, is added to the nominal stems (i.e., fá, tì and hù). However, while one of the vowels is deleted, the tone is not. The tone is stable and creates a contour tone on a single vowel.
108. Root + definite
   Noun      Suffix  Definite Noun
   ʔéhé   -is  [ʔéh-ís]   ‘the house’
   zimé   -is  [zím-ís]   ‘the chief’
   guuru  -is  [guúr-ís]  ‘the crocodile’
   kábbe -is  [káb-bís]  ‘the maize’

   When the possessive suffix -kó, which has an underlying High tone, is added to a
   nominal stem, the final vowel of the noun is deleted. However, the tone is not de-
   leted and it creates a contour tone on the single vowel of the suffix as in (109a):

   109a. ʔáne  ‘hand’  +  kó ’GEN’  >  [ʔán-kó]  ‘my hand’

   In fast speech, rising and falling tones also occur due to tone stability and vowel
deletion. Examples.

   109b. lále  ‘stone’  +  káb  >  [lálkáb]  ‘stony’
   109c. ʔéhé   ‘house’  +  -af  >  [ʔéh-áf]  ‘houses’

2.5 Syllable structure

   A syllable that contains a consonant in the coda is called a closed syllable, while a
   syllable that does not contain a consonant in the coda is called an open syllable.
   Dime has both open and closed syllables. According to Clements and Keyser
   (1983:29), languages of the world may have any one of the following inventories of
   canonical syllable types.

   110. Type I: CV
        Type II: CV, V
        Type III: CV, CVC
        Type IV: CV, V, CVC, VC

   Among the above types, Dime can be considered as a type III language. However, it
   has some more syllable types: CVVC and CVCC. Goldsmith (1990:113) argues that
   languages frequently divide syllables into heavy and light syllables. Moreover, in
   word final position a super-heavy syllable may appear in a language, which consists
   of what looks like a heavy syllable plus an extra consonant (cf. McCarthy 1982:11
   and Goldsmith 1990). These types of syllables are present in Dime and are presented
   in examples (111 e and f).

   In Dime a sequence of consonants occurs only in word medial and final posi-
   tions. The number of consonants in a sequence is just two consonants. In syllables,
   the onset can not be more than one consonant while the coda can be occupied by two
   consonants. The nucleus of the syllable can be a short or long vowel. The possible
   syllable types of Dime are:

   111a. CV
         ná  ‘she’
         nú  ‘he’
111b. CVC
   káf ‘wait’
   lág ‘friend’

111c. CVV
   cú‘ ‘bottom’
   loo, mú ‘lemon’

111d. CVVC
   neey ‘hunger’
   zuub ‘red’

111e. CVCC
   gus ‘nail’
   fist ‘mucus’
   gorz ‘cat’

111f. CVVCC
   look ‘chat’
   c‘üzz ‘tuber’

2.5.1 Onset
Any consonant, except the consonants, x, ŋ, ɣ, ẑ, can be an onset of a syllable in Dime. Even though these consonants are not attested as an onset of a syllable, they can be a coda of a syllable. A word initial syllable must have an onset. Where there are no other consonants, the onset position is filled by the glottal stop, .

2.5.2 Coda
The coda of a closed syllable in Dime can be any consonant except the consonants ŋ and ɣ. These consonants are not attested in coda position. The coda of a syllable can be zero as in na ‘she’, or it may have one or a cluster of two consonants. The cluster may consist of two different consonants or a geminate consonant as shown below:

112. goft ‘happiness’
    c‘üzz ‘tuber’
    k‘ostin ‘two’

2.5.3 Nucleus
The nucleus in Dime can be a long or short vowel or a diphthong. The possible nucleuses are as follows:

113. bále ‘charcoal’
    háåke ‘pick up’
    gåit ‘hoe’

The syllable structure in Dime can thus be represented as:
2.6 Clusters of consonants

The maximum number of consonants in a cluster is two in Dime. The following three points need to be mentioned in connection to consonant sequences in Dime:

115a. There are no word-initial consonant sequences

115b. Word-final sequences of at most two consonants, of which the sonority of the first is equal to or greater than the second, including final geminate consonants. For example *fišt ‘sneeze’, *tálk ‘borrow’, *šáánk ‘floor’, *táuss ‘pillar’

115c. Word medial sequences of at most two consonants, including cases with long consonants counted as two consonants. The sonority of consonant sequence can be rising or falling in medial position. No restrictions on sequence of consonants in word medial clusters have been observed. Examples: *dámpe ‘tobacco’, *bášmub ‘fearful’, *gázde ‘boundary’, *bedze ‘out’

When consonant clusters occur word medially, the first consonant of a cluster manifests the coda of the preceding syllable, and the second consonant manifests the onset of the immediately following syllable.

2.7 Reduplication

Reduplication is a very frequent phenomenon in Dime. Some of the consonant segments, such as velar fricatives, glides, and affricates (i.e., *ts) are not used in partial reduplication.

116. sit-sá si-sitsá *sitsatsa
    morning RDP-morning ‘every morning’

For Giegerich (1992:132), the sonority of a sound is its relative loudness compared to other sounds, everything else (pitch, etc.) being equal. Speech sounds can be ranked in terms of their relative sonority: voiceless oral stops have minimal sonority while low vowels have the highest degree of sonority of all speech sounds. All other sounds are ranked in between these two extreme points of the sonority scale.
117. deis de-deis-déé-n RDP-kill-IPF-3/2
déé-n *deysid-e-n ‘kill’ ‘is killing’

118. náže ná-náý-téé-n RDP-sleep-IPF-3/2
né-e-n *naý-ţ-e-n ‘sleep’ ‘(he)is sleeping’

119. looyón lo-loy-déé-n RDP-sweet-IPF-3/2
é-n *loýyan ‘sweat’ ‘(he)is sweating’

The second syllable can also be reduplicated as in (120) and (121).

120. yiži nū yiz-i *yiži RDP-run-IPF-3/2
‘run’ ‘let him run’

121. wuč’u, wuč’-ič’i-n *wuč’ič’-i-n RDP-drink-IPF-3/2
‘drink’ ‘drank’

As can be seen from the above examples the initial CV is reduplicated in (116-119) while the final is reduplicated in (120 and 121). The words with the symbol (*) are unacceptable. In most cases reduplication seems to take place to the left of the root but whenever the glide sounds occur in word initial position, the position of reduplication changes to the right as in (120) and (121) above. Reduplication of the segments ts, γ and χ has not been recorded in the language. Since these do not occur in word initial position, we could not see their impact on the positions of reduplication as we observed in glides. The initial consonant segment is reduplicated when ts, γ or χ appears as a second segment in a word as in (116) above. If ts, γ or χ occur as a second consonant segment, and when they are preceded by a glide consonant in C1 position, the entire word is reduplicated as in (122). Reduplication of ts, γ and χ is avoided.

Examples:

122. ?até čli-ó geyó wožim wožim-déé-t
1S.SUBJ cave-LOC inside RDP-enter-IPF-1
‘I am entering to the cave’

With the exceptions discussed above consonants can be reduplicated either in word initial or word final position. If both the first and the second consonant segments in a word are potentially reduplicable, the initial segment is more susceptible for partial reduplication. Consider the following examples:

123. káš-in ká-káš-téé-n RDP-remove-IPF-3/2
remove-INF ‘to remove branch’ ‘is removing the branch’
The consonants k, g, š, s, z, l and m are all reduplicable. Only the initial segment is reduplicated when any two or more of these segments occur in the same word, as in the examples in (123-126).

As mentioned earlier, reduplication is attested in different word categories of the language.

2.8 Phonological processes

2.8.1 Spirantization

Stops are spirantized after vowels; whereas spirantization is blocked through gemination (cf. see section 2.1.4). Even though the application of this process varies from speaker to speaker, the spirantization of bilabial stops after vowels is a common phenomenon. The segments p and b are the basic forms since spirantization is blocked due to gemination. The followings are examples:

127. /p, b / > [ɸ, β] / v- or -v
   /yapē/ > [yaɸe] ‘sky’
   /ʔin-kabow/ > [ʔin-kaβow] ‘towards you’
   /liquh/ > [liquβ] ‘clean’

128. /guppu/ > [guppy] ‘fell down’
   /kabbe/ > [kabbe] ‘maize’

2.8.2 Distant voicing

A voiced consonant causes a fricative of the next syllable to be voiced, as shown below:

129. /ʔâu-af/ > [ʔâu-aβ] ‘trees’
   tree-PL

130. /glēčó-b + is/ > [glēčó-β-iz] ‘the big one’
   big-M + DEF

131. /ʔâmz-is/ > [ʔâmz-iz] ‘the woman’
   woman-DEF
As can be seen from the above examples the voicing process is triggered by ɣ, ẓ, and ɣ. The voicing assimilation takes place at a distance since there is a vocalic element (a or i) in between the consonants.

2.8.3 Homorganic nasal assimilation

This process of assimilation is regressive assimilation in place of assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant. The nasal sound assimilates to the following palatal sound /ɛ/ and /dʃ/ as in (132) and (133).

132. /ɬɛʃɪnɛʃ/ > [ɬɛʃɪnɛʃ] ‘remember’
133. /tandʒ-iz/ > [tandʒ-iz] ‘blessing’

Another interesting phenomenon is the change of the glottalized sound t' to n in the formation of the perfective form. It is a regressive assimilation after vowel deletion. It only happens to t' but not to t.

134. bit‘e ‘leave’ + in > bit‘-in > bit‘n > binn ‘he left’

2.8.4 Glottalization

Stop consonants following ejective sounds are glottalized. For instance, t changes to t' following c’. In addition to this glottal assimilation, stop consonants are glottalized following the velar nasal, e.g. k changes to k’ following ŋ.

135a. wuč‘i ‘drink’ + déč ‘IPF’ > wuč‘-t‘één ‘(he) will drink’
135b. yáaye wúyím wuč‘-wuč‘-t‘éé
   2S.SUBJ what RDP-drink-IPF
   ‘What are you drinking’?
135c. ?até tíŋ-k‘áy
   1S.SUBJ go-NEG
   ‘I do not go’

It is a bit strange that k changes to k’ following ŋ because ŋ is not an ejective/glottalized sound.

2.8.5 Truncation of glottal stop in initial syllables

Due to compound formation segments are deleted at word boundary. Specifically, when the second word starts with a glottal stop and the onset of the preceding syllable (of the first word) is also a glottal stop. The following are examples:

136b. bažá ‘take’ + ?ádi ‘come’ > bažád ‘bring’

In the combined word ?aindy ‘my mother’ the morpheme ?iind ‘mother’ is reduced to –indy.
As shown in the above examples a sequence of CV segments involving the glottal stop undergo deletion during compounding.

2.8.6 Epenthesis

Kenstowicz (1994) states that without the notion of syllable, it is difficult to understand why languages should have rules to insert vowels out of nowhere into quite specific points in phonological strings. By making use of the syllable, this is explained: the vowels are inserted to syllabify unparsed consonants.

Epenthesis is a common phenomenon in Ethiopian languages such as in Amharic (Hudson 2000, Mulugeta 2001, 2003). An epenthetic vowel i is inserted in Dime where a cluster of CCC arises due to affixation, cliticization or reduplication. The nature of the epenthetic vowel in every position of words is based on the cluster rule of the language.

If three consonants occur at word initial position, the epenthesis is between the first two consonants because a consonant cluster or geminate consonant is not permitted word initially. Since a sequence of two consonants is permitted at word medial and final position, the epenthesis is either between the first and the second or between the second and the third consonant.

For instance, between the word goft ‘happiness’ and bábe ‘father’ there is an epenthetic vowel i as in the examples below:

137a. goft ‘happiness’ + bábe ‘father’ goft-i-bábe ‘happy’
137b. gist ‘keep’ + k’áy ‘not’ gist-i-k’áy ‘not keep’

Another strategy to avoid CCC clusters is to drop the final consonant, e.g.

138. ʔaγs-₁éé-n > ʔaγs-₁éé ‘he breaks’

2.8.7 Deletion

The terminal vowels in the root are deleted when a vowel-initial morpheme is suffixed to a root.

139a. /zimé- af/ > /zimaf/ chief-PL ‘chiefs’
139b. /guuru- af/ > /guuraf/ crocodile-PL ‘crocodiles’
140. /zimé-is/ > /zim-is/ chief-DEF ‘the chief’

As can be seen from the above examples, when suffixes are added to the root the terminal vowel is deleted but the tone remains attached to either the plural or definite suffix. In some cases when the final vowel of the stem has a morphological function it is not deleted during the suffixation process, but instead the initial vowel of the suffix is deleted, as in (141).
141. ʔéčhe ‘house’ + -o = ʔéch-ó + is > ʔéh-ó-s ‘in the house’, where the final vowel -ó has a locative function.

2.8.8 Glide insertion

When the copula –éé is suffixed to the pronouns nú ‘he’, ná ‘she’, a glide is inserted as in (142a) and (142b) to avoid a sequence of more than two vowels.

142a. nú-y-éé ‘It is him’
142b. ná-y-éé ‘It is her’

Similarly, if the copula is followed by a morpheme beginning with a vowel, the glide is inserted.

142c. yá wúdúr-éé → yá wúdúr-éé-y-áá
    2S.SUBJ girl-COP 2S.SUBJ girl-COP-y-Q
    ‘You are a girl’ ‘Are you a girl?’

Glide insertion does not occur when the copula is suffixed to a noun which ends in consonant due to the deletion of the final vowel as in (143a) and (143b).

143a. nú gošt-éé ‘He is a boy’
143b. ná wúdúr-éé ‘She is a girl’

2.8.9 Allomorphs of the imperfective marker

Due to consonant co-occurrence restriction, voicing and devoicing, and palatal assimilation processes the imperfective marker -déé has variant forms.

144a. -dédé
144b. -tédé (devoicing)
144c. -t’éédé (glottalization)
144d. -déé (consonant deletion)

Examples in (145a-d) demonstrate the above four variant forms of the imperfective aspect marker respectively.

145a. ?até ṭrád-dédé-t ‘I will come/I come’
145b. nú deist-téé-n ‘he kills’
145c. nú náre wuc-ṭéé-n/dédé-n ‘he drinks water’
145d. nú ?ázs-éé-n ‘he breaks’

The initial consonant of the imperfective suffix dédé becomes voiceless due to the preceding voiceless consonant (145b). The consonant of the suffix may be omitted due to impermissible sequence of consonants (145d). The language doesn’t allow a sequence of more than two consonants. Thus, if dédé is preceded by two consonants the imperfective suffix either drops the initial consonant or uses an epenthetic vowel i.
The phonological conditions which determine these allomorphs are governed by the following rules: the voiced consonant /d/ becomes voiceless /t/ following a voiceless consonant; the voiced /d/ becomes /d/ following the ejective palatal sound or it becomes a voiceless sound /t'/ following a voiceless ejective sound. Since the language permits only a sequence of two consonants, the initial sound of the imperfective marker /d/ become zero following two consonants, or the epenthetic sound i is inserted.
3 Nouns and nominal categories

3.1 Basic form of nouns

Most nouns end in vowels. There are, however, some nouns which end in consonants. Thus nouns in Dime can be classified into vowel final (V-final) and consonant final (C-final) nouns (cf. also Fleming 1990:516-18). The nouns that end in vowels consist of two components: the root and a terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are i, e and u. With some nouns, e.g. those in (1), terminal vowel i may be replaced by u or e without causing change of meaning.16

1. ?áfi / ?áfu ‘eye’
   ?ári / ?áru ‘tree/wood’
   k’áami / k’áamu ‘leaf’
   nári / náre ‘water’
   ?ché / ?ché ‘house’

However, the alternation may not work for every word; for instance, it is possible to say náre or nári ‘water’ but not náru. The same is true for ?ché ‘house’ and gáási ‘forest’ which may alternatively be pronounced as ?ché ‘house’ and gááse. The terminal vowels e, i and u are often deleted when a vocalic morpheme is added to the noun.

It is noted that nouns ending with the vowels i/e are common in the Us’a dialect, whereas in the Gerfa dialect nouns with u-ending are much common (cf. the list of words in chapter one indicating the lexical variation between the two dialects).

There are also vocalic morphemes such as locative -ó, interrogative -a, and possessive -é; the different morphological status of these vowels, vis-à-vis the terminal vowels, is indicated by placing morpheme boundaries before them. The base-noun and terminal vowels are not separated by a morpheme boundary. Consider the following examples:

2. dóóttú ‘leg’
   dóótt-áá ‘is it a leg?’
   dóótt-ó ‘under the leg’

3. ?áf i ‘eye’
   ?áf -áá ‘is it an eye?’
   ?áf -ó ‘in the eye’

The following are examples of nouns that end in consonants:

16 Fleming (1990:500) also mentioned that his informant is capable of rendering a noun with a final [u] or [e] freely, u and e are contrastive phonemes.
4.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k’uus</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bängil</td>
<td>‘jaw’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>búud</td>
<td>‘heart’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gömp</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dóóm</td>
<td>‘foot print/heel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bóy</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šáánk</td>
<td>‘floor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîts</td>
<td>‘child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’iz</td>
<td>‘trap’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dolînd</td>
<td>‘beetle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wugîr or mule</td>
<td>‘rhinoceros’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sections deal with the inflectional morphology of nouns. In these sections definiteness, gender, number, and case are treated.

### 3.2 Definiteness

The term definite is used to refer to a specific, identifiable entity (or class of entities); it is usually contrasted with indefiniteness (Crystal 2003). The indefinite reference is not morphologically marked in the Dime language. Definiteness is marked morphologically by –is. The terminal vowels are replaced by the vowel of the definite marker –is as in the following nouns.

5.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭéhê</td>
<td>‘a house’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭéh-is</td>
<td>‘the house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nîts</td>
<td>‘a child’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nîts-is</td>
<td>‘the child’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṭìyyî</td>
<td>‘a person’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭìyy-is</td>
<td>‘the person’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yerì</td>
<td>‘a donkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yer-is</td>
<td>‘the donkey’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goštú</td>
<td>‘a male one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gošt-is</td>
<td>‘the male one’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10a.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ţámzi</td>
<td>‘a woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţámz-is</td>
<td>‘the woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10b.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ţámzi</td>
<td>gûdûm-ind-is ‘the tall woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tall-F-DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gûdûm-ub</td>
<td>gošt-is ‘the tall man’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tall-M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>man-DEF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen from example (10b), in the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase the definite marker is suffixed to the modifier.
The definite marker –is may optionally be changed to –iz when following voiced consonants. Examples:

11. [ʔeh-ːis] ‘the house
[ɡǎsɕ-ːis] ‘the road’

[ʔamz-ːiz] ‘the woman’
[ɕǔb-ːiz] ‘the red one’

Generally, definiteness is marked at the end of the noun. With the exception of the accusative marker –im, other grammatical morphemes precede it.

12a. ʔeh-ːaf-ːis ‘the houses’
dar-ːaf-ːis ‘the goats’

12b. ?atə guur-ːaf-ːis-im dei.si-t
1S.SUBJ crocodile-PL-DEF-ACC kill-PF-1
‘I killed the crocodiles’

Definiteness is optional when the noun is modified by demonstratives. For instance, if somebody asks by saying, “Who touched this gourd?” the response can be either with or without the definite marker on the head noun, (13a) and (13b) respectively.

13a. si-nū ?iyyi ʔid-i-n mɑŋ-ːis-ːm
this(M) person touch-PF-3 gourd-DEF-ACC
‘This man touched the gourd’

13b. si-nū ?iyy-ːis ʔid-i-n mɑŋ-ːis-ːm
this (M) man-DEF touch-PF-3 gourd-DEF-ACC
‘This man touched the gourd’

### 3.3 Gender

In the present section we examine gender marking in nouns, by showing morphological as well as lexical means of distinguishing gender. We also discuss periphrastic expressions of gender and how gender marking is manifested in non-verbal predicative constructions. Gender in pronouns is discussed in Section 4.1.1. We first present a brief overview of the gender system.

The gender system in Dime distinguishes masculine and feminine. The markers occur in various modifying categories: in nominal modifiers, pronominal, and relative verbs but not on the noun. Like in most Omotic languages, gender is generally semantically motivated: in nouns referring to entities that make sex distinction, gender is assigned according to their inherent gender. That is, words like ‘man’ and ‘woman’ have masculine and feminine gender respectively. Most inanimate nouns are masculine by default. However, sometimes inanimate nouns may take feminine marker in order to express smallness of the referent. With few exceptions (see below), reference to inanimate nouns is made using the pronouns nú ‘he’ or sinū ‘this (M)’ rather than nā ‘she’ or sinā ‘this (F)’. Examples:
14. nú ḥaṣe gūdām-ub dān
   he tree tall-M COP
   ‘It is a tall tree’

15. sinú lāle s’ān-ub dān
   this (M) stone black-M COP
   ‘It is a black stone.’

There are a few inanimate words that have inherent gender that is not masculine but feminine. These are the words for ‘moon’ and ‘sun’ (see also Bender, 1991: 103). Examples:

16. ṭīrf-īs múlmūl-īnd
   moon-DEF round-F
   ‘The moon is round’

17. ṭīyy-īs gēcō-nd
   sun-DEF big-F
   ‘The sun is big’

Bender (1991) following Fleming (1976) notes that “sun” is ambiguous and its modifier takes either feminine or masculine marker. However, we observed that both ṭīrf ‘moon’ and ṭīyy ‘sun’ in Dime are feminine by adjectival concord. No ambiguity is observed as informants reject the construction when the modifier is marked by a masculine gender.

18. *ṭīrfī múlmūl-ub
   moon round-M
   Intended meaning: ‘The moon is round’

19. *ṭīyy-īs gēcō-b
   sun-DEF big-M
   Intended meaning: ‘The sun is big’

Some words referring to entities that have natural sex have different lexical forms for feminine and masculine. Examples:

20a. ḥamza woman’
20b. gostū ‘man’
20c. ḥāqse ‘female lamb (goat/sheep)’ (equivalent to k’eb in Amharic)
20d. s’ūmpu ‘male lamb (goat/sheep)’ (equivalent to t’äbbot in Amharic)

To indicate the gender of a person among many persons, the numeral wōkkil ‘one’ which singles out such a referent is marked for gender. Examples:

21. wō-kō-de wōkkil-ub-is
   1PL-GEN-ABL one-M-DEF
   ‘One of us (M)’
In summary, with large animate nouns gender agreement is generally semantic. The same holds for gender marking in pronouns and demonstratives as will be discussed in detail in the respective sections below. Inanimate nouns have masculine gender agreement by default. In nouns gender is not marked but it is marked on noun modifiers. Masculine gender is marked by the suffix -ub while feminine gender is designated by the suffix -ind. The masculine gender marker -ab/ub resembles báb 'father' and the feminine gender marker -ind is very similar to ?ind 'mother'. There are instances of word formation which are similar to these gender markers.

There are some morphemes which are formally similar to the gender affixes but denote a different meaning. For instance, níts-ind 'the mother of a child' is a combination of two nouns (níts+?ind). The word níts-ob means 'something from one's childhood.' Examples:

23. kuraz-ko ?indiid-is níts-ind
   kuraze-GEN wife-DEF child-mother
   'The wife of Kuraze is the mother of Kuraze's child.'

24. šiftaye-ko šif-is ?een níts-ob
   shiftaye-GEN shoes-DEF early childhood
   'The shoes of Shiftaye are from his childhood.'

Gender marking in the relative clause is treated in section 7.1.6. Gender in pronouns and demonstratives is discussed in section 4.1.1 and section 4.2, respectively. The following table provides a summary of the gender marking morphemes in Dime.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Word class</th>
<th>Gender marker</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>-u -a</td>
<td>nú 'he'; nú 'she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Demonstratives</td>
<td>-u -a</td>
<td>sinú 'this (M); siná 'this (F)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>-ub -ind</td>
<td>gúdúm-ind-is rámzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The tall woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gúdúm-ub-is źâri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The tall tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Relative clauses</td>
<td>-ub -ind</td>
<td>kën-is ?äd-ind-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dog-DEF come-F-DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The dog which (F) came'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kën-is ?äd-ib-is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dog-DEF come-M-DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'The dog which (M) came'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1 Gender marking
3.4 Number

Nouns and noun phrases make singular and plural distinction. Singular is morphologically unmarked; plural is marked by the suffix -af. That a head noun is plural can be also inferred from the morpheme –id which is suffixed to modifiers of plural nouns. Generally, –af is suffixed to the noun base, preceding the definite marker –is and/or case marking morphemes. Examples:

25a. ꜕ẖ-af-is ‘the houses’
house-PL-DEF

25b. ḏar-af-is ‘the goats’
goat-PL-DEF

25c. guur-af-is ‘the crocodiles’
crocodile-PL-DEF

The plural marker –id is suffixed only to modifiers as in (26-28). It can be considered as plural agreement morpheme as shown below. Plural agreement replaces gender agreement: The word gičćó becomes gičćó-nd or gičćó-b suffixing –ind or –b suffixing –id to indicate feminine or masculine gender, respectively. When modifying a plural noun, however, the same adjective is gičćó-d (< gičćó + -id) to indicate agreement to the plural head noun.

26. s’us'-id kén-af
many-PL dog-PL
‘many dogs’

27. mákkim gičćó-d ?ámz-af ?ád-i-n
three big-PL woman-PL come-PF-3
‘Three big women came’

28. k’astín il-liápt'-id wúdúr-af-is yígim-yígim-déč-n
two RDP-beautiful-PL girl-PL-DEF RDP-play-IPF-3
‘The two beautiful girls are playing.’

3.5 Case

Dime has at least six morphologically distinct case marking morphemes. These are: accusative -im, dative -in, genitive -ko, locative -so and -o, instrumental -ká, ablative -de. Nominative case is unmarked. As Creissels (2000) stated “Among the languages that have case marking systems distinguishing the subject from the object, the most common type, both worldwide and at the level of African continent, is that in which the subject is unmarked for case, whereas the object takes a particular case form, called accusative”. Dime is part of this widely attested typological type. Case can be categorized into two different levels. The first one is “core case” which includes nominative, accusative and dative case. The second level, peripheral case, includes instrumental, genitive, locative, and ablative cases. Core cases express syntactic relation, while peripheral cases express semantic relations (Blake 1995:33).
In Section 3.5.1 and 3.5.2, respectively, we discuss the core cases, i.e. nominative, accusative and the marking of the dative case. In Sections 3.5.3-3.5.6, the second-level (semantic) case roles are discussed.

3.5.1 Nominative and accusative cases

Dime is a nominative-accusative language. Except for the nominative case, the other cases in this language are morphologically marked. For instance, in examples (29) and (30), the subject kéné is not morphologically marked for case.

29. kéné řéft-im deis-i-n
   dog bird-ACC kill-PF-3
   ‘A dog killed a bird’

30. řéft-im kéné deis-i-n
    bird-ACC dog kill-PF-3
    ‘A dog killed a bird’

In intransitive clauses also nominative case is not morphologically marked as in example (31).

31. kéné řéh-o yîz-i-n
    dog house-LOC run-PF-3
    ‘A dog ran home.’

The accusative case identifies object nouns; it is marked by -im. It is suffixed to the patient or affected constituent of two argument verbs. This is in line with what accusative markers do in related languages. It is marked both in definite and indefinite nouns as comparison of (32a) and (33a) with (32b) and (33b), illustrates.

32a. šiftaye zît-im şîn-i-n
     shiftaye ox-ACC buy-PF-3
     ‘Shiftaye bought an ox’

32b. šiftaye zît-is-im şîn-i-n
     shiftaye ox-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
     ‘Shiftaye bought the ox’

33a. šiftaye zîtî s’án-ub-im şîn-i-n
     shiftaye ox black-M-ACC buy-PF-3
     ‘Shiftaye bought a black ox’

33b. šiftaye zîtî s’án-ub-is-im şîn-i-n
     shiftaye ox black-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
     ‘Shiftaye bought the black ox’

As examples (32a) to (33b) demonstrate the accusative marker occurs phrase finally. If there is no modifier, the accusative marker is suffixed to the noun.
In example (33a-b) we see that the case marker is affixed to the modifier if the latter is the last element of the phrase. If instead, the word order of NP is modifier-head, -\textit{im} is attached to the noun as in example (34).

34. \textit{șiftaye} s’án-ub zít-îs-im \textit{șin-i-n} \\
shiftaye black-M ox-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3 \\
’Shiftaye bought the ox’

It is observed that the accusative can be marked two or more times in a sentence as in (35) and (36), where it is marked both on the modifier and the head noun.

35. nááse ʔâd-ib-îs-im gośl-îs-im nú yéf-i-n
yesterday come-M-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC 3SM.SUBJ see-PF-3
’He saw the man who came yesterday’

36. ʔaté nits-îs-im deis-ib-îs-im ʔîyy-îs-im yéf-i-t
1S.SUBJ child-DEF-ACC kill-M-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC saw-PF-1
’I saw the man who killed the child’

Earlier we made the observation that case marking is phrasal marking. Accusative may be marked on all noun phrase constituents (35 and 36), but if it is only marked once, it will be on the final one.

Depending on the nature of the verb, we may find two object noun phrases in a sentence, both marked for the accusative case. For instance, with three-place verbs such as ʔîm ‘give’, both the object noun and the recipient are marked with –\textit{im} as in (37a) and (37b). This is especially common when the recipient is designated by a pronoun. (See also §3.5.2. on the Dative case)

37a. ʔâtî kón-im mes’af-im ʔîm-i-t \\
1S.SUBJ 3FS-ACC book-ACC give-PF-1
’I gave her a book’

37b. nú kón-(im) t’él-im ʔîm-i-n \\
3SM.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC medicine-ACC give-PF-3
’He gave her medicine.’

The accusative case is also suffixed to interrogative pronouns in Dime. For instance, the interrogative pronouns wuyu ‘what’, ʔâyî ‘who’ have the accusative form wuy-\textit{im} ‘what’, ʔât-\textit{im} ‘whom’. The following are examples:

38. ʔâyi wuy-îm wunt’ \\
who what-ACC do-PF:Q
’Who did what?’

39. ʔâyi ʔây-îm deis-téé \\
who who-ACC kill-IPF:Q
’Who kills whom?’

Largely, in Ethiopian languages, direct object case affixes are differential according to the definite-indefinite distinction but this does not seem to be the case in Dime.
When accusative is marked on a definite noun the definite marker always precedes the case marker (cf. 35-36).

Definiteness can also be marked both on the head noun and its modifier. Example.

40. šiftaye zit-ì s’án-ub-is-im šin-i-n
    shiftye ox-DEF black-M-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye bought the balck ox’

With the exception of the inclusive marker –k, case markers tend to occur at the final position of the noun phrase. The inclusive occurs after the accusative case marker as in examples (41).

41. šiftaye zin-áf-is-im-k dei-s-i-n
    shiftye chief-PL-DEF-ACC-too kill-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye killed the chiefs too.’

When two conjoined object nouns occur in a sentence both nouns must be marked for case as in 42.

42. atóté níts-is-im-ká wúdtür-is-im-ká yef-i-t
    1S.SUBJ child-DEF-ACC-CNJ girl-DEF-ACC-CNJ see-PF-1
    ‘I saw the boy and the girl’

For the analysis of the morpheme –im as a nominalizing morpheme see section 3.6.3. Case marking in pronouns and demonstratives is treated under section (4.4).

3.5.2 The dative

The dative in Dime is marked with –in. In three place verbs, the patient/affected (direct) object complement is marked by the accusative which is discussed in the previous section. The second complement representing the recipient or goal noun is marked by the dative. The patient or the recipient argument can be omitted if it can be understood from the context. Examples:

43. šiftaye zim-is-in gim-i-n
    shiftye chief-DEF-DAT answer-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye answer to the chief’

44. šiftaye zim-ìs-in-k gim-i-n
    shiftye chief-DEF-DAT-too answer-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye answered to the chief too’

The following are some examples of verbs which take a dative:

45. ḥinim ‘give’
    ginimi ‘tell/answer’
    ḥeyisi ‘show’
    šinimi ‘buy/sell’
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The sentential examples in (46-51) illustrate that in case marking in clauses that are headed by the verbs in (45), the dative is used to mark the semantic roles recipient and beneficiary.

46. šiftaye maikro-n mes’āf-im ʔim-i-n
   Shiftaye Maikro-DAT book-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye gave a book to Maikro.’

47. šiftaye maikro-n ʔuis-im ǧim-i-n
   Shiftaye Maikro-DAT question-ACC answer-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye answered a question to Maikro.’

48. nú yif-id-im yeznám-im ʔeys-i-n
   3SM guest-PL-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3
   ‘He showed the farm to the guests’

49. nú yif-id-af-im yeznám-im ʔeys-i-n
   3SM guest-PL-PL-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3
   ‘He showed the farm to the guests’

50. nú yer-im ʔay-im baʔá ṭád-i-n
    3SM donkey-DAT hand-ACC bring come-PF-3
    ‘He brought grass for the donkey’

51. yá ʔamz-in mes’af-is-im ʃin-i-n
    2S.SUBJ woman-DAT book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
    ‘You bought the book for a woman’

3.5.3 The genitive/possessive

The genitive / possessive relation between nouns can be marked in various ways: by a genitive suffix or by juxtaposition with deletion of the final vowel of the possessed noun: compare the (a) and (b) examples in (52-53). There is no semantic difference between these structures.

52a. zob-ko dóótu dez-ub
    lion-GEN leg strong-M
    ‘A lion’s leg is strong’

52b. zob dóót dez-ub
    lion leg strong-M
    ‘A lion’s leg is strong’

53a. kó-ko ʔáne s’eid-ub
    her-GEN hand short-M
    ‘Her hand is short.’

17 Surprisingly the plural marker for modifiers is used in yif-id ‘guest’ as in (48), and an additional nominal plural suffix –af can be used with no difference in meaning as in (49). This is a peculiarity of the lexeme yif- ‘guest’.
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53b.  
\[\text{kō ŭane s'ei d-ub}\]  
her hand short-M  
‘Her hand is short.’

It is also possible to use the genitive marker more than once in the same extended noun phrase construction as in example (54) and (55).

54.  
\[\text{zim-kō ŭindiid-is-ko máte}\]  
chief’s-GEN wife-DEF-GEN head  
‘the chief’s wife’s head’

55.  
\[\text{ʔis-kō mát-ko bánde zú-ub}\]  
1S.OBJ-GEN head-GEN hair red-M  
‘My head’s hair is red.’

For more information on genitive case in pronouns, see section (4.1.3).

3.5.4 The instrumental and comitative

An instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out (Blake 1994). In Dime the instrumental case is marked by -ká.

56.  
\[\text{ʔaté ŭun-im ŭbz-is-ká kůrs'-i-t}\]  
1S.SUBJ tree-ACC axe-DEF-INST cut-PF-1  
‘I cut a tree with the axe’

57.  
\[\text{maikro gáit-ká kuy-á don-im kór-i-n}\]  
maikro hoe-INST dig-CNV1 potato-ACC plant-PF-3  
‘Maikro planted a potato digging (the earth) with a hoe.’

The morpheme –ká is also used to express comitative case. Consider the following example:

58.  
\[\text{nú kù-ko měč-ká ŭéh-ó tøj-i-n}\]  
3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN sister-COM home-LOC go-PF-3  
‘He went home with his sister.

If the morpheme -ká is used in a sentence that combines the functions of coordination and the other functions discussed above we get multiple –kás. As we discuss in section (3.5.5) the morpheme -ká expresses conjunction, comitative and instrumental. The conjunction -ká is suffixed to each coordinated constituent, while the instrumental and the comitative morpheme -ká is used only once in a single phrase. Sometimes it can also be suffixed to each noun. To identify the instrumental and the comitative -ká we distinguish them in the gloss. In example (59) -ká in ŭaté yin-ká ‘I with you’ is the comitative; in the same sentence there are two -kás in kóxš-im-ká-ká ‘with love and …’, the first -ká in this coordinated noun phrase is the comitative -ká, while the second -ká is the conjunction marking -ká.
We discuss in detail about the conjunction/coordinator -ká in the following section in addition to its usage of marking comitative and instrumental constructions.

3.5.5 Conjunction/coordinator -ká

Dime has a morpheme -ká which expresses conjunction/co-ordination, comitative, and instrumental relation (60-62). There is also a morpheme -yi which is occasionally used as an alternative form of the conjunction morpheme -ká (see ex 70a-b). In the present discussion we focus on the morpheme -ká which occurs very frequently in the language. The usage of the morpheme -ká in Dime is highly varied; other than the three functions mentioned above, -ká is also used in directional adverbials (see Section 6.4.3). The following examples demonstrate the three main uses of -ká.

60. taddese-ka maikro-ka ṭē-hō bin-n
taddese-CNJ maikro-CNJ house-LOC go:PF-3
‘Taddese and Maikro went home.’

61. ṣiftaye ki-žīnd-ka ṭē-hō ūn-i-n
shiftaye 3SM-mother-COM house-LOC go:PF-3
‘Shiftaye went home with his mother.’

62. ṣiftaye kált-ka ṭās-im das-i-n
shiftaye axe-INST wood-ACC cut-PF-3
‘Shiftaye cut the wood with an axe.’

In (60) the morpheme -ká is suffixed to each coordinated noun: e.g., taddese-ka maikro-Ká ‘Taddese and Maikro’. On the other hand, if -ká is used only once the meaning is different. For instance, -ká in ṣiftaye ki-žīnd-ka ‘Shiftaye with his mother’ in (61) expresses only the comitative. Similarly, in example (62) -ká is used only once but here it functions as instrumental because the noun it is attached to is inanimate and thus excludes a comitative reading. A comitative reading is only possible with animate nouns; example (63) is ungrammatical.

63. ṣiftaye kl-ko tebīz-ka bāl-ō ūn-i-n
shiftaye 3MS.OBJ-GEN axe-COM market-LOC go:PF-3
Intended meaning : ‘Shiftaye went to market with his axe.’

Example (64) is a further example of the instrumental/comitative function with an inanimate noun. Structurally, there is no difference between comitative and instrumental roles.

---

18 A similar morpheme -ka is used for coordination in some Ethiopian languages, e.g., in Konso (Mous to appear).
Nouns and nominal categories

64. zerse sól-im koiz-ká ʔlts-i-n
    zerse enjera-ACC chicken-INST eat-PF-3
    'Zerse ate enjera with chicken (sauce).'

Like with nouns the morpheme -ká can be used to coordinate adjectives. Compare the following examples where the coordination and instrumental functions contrast:

65. zú-ub-ká s’án-ub-ká
    red-M-CNJ black-M-CNJ.
    'red and black'

66. zú-ub s’án-ub-ká
    red-M black-M-INST
    'red with black'

67. ʔiyy-iks k’əlemi s’án-ub-is-im zú-ub-is-ká ʔikkims-i-n
    man-DEF colour black-M-DEF-ACC red-M-DEF-INST mix-PF-3
    'The man mixed the black colour with the red one.'

When multiple nouns are coordinated, -ká is suffixed to each of the nouns as in (68):

68. ʔis-ká yín-ká kó-ká kí-ká nás-im
    1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S.OBJ-CNJ 3SF.OBJ-CNJ 3SM.OBJ-CNJ water-ACC
    wuç’-i-t
    drink-PF-1
    'I, you, she, and he drank water.'

Multiple instances of -ká in the same sentence may represent two or more different functions, e.g., comitative and conjunction as in the following examples:

69a. ʔaté yín-ká koks-im-ká-ká ʔǐšinč-ká da-tub
    1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S.OBJ-CNJ-ACC 3SF:OBJ-COM-CNJ live-FUT
    'I will live with you with love and devotion.'

69b. ʔaʃi kí-ká-ká kó-ká-ká wunt’-é-t
    1S.SUBJ 3MS-COM-CNJ 3FS:OBJ-COM-CNJ work-IPF-1
    'I work with him and with her.'

69c. taddese maikro-ká-ká šiftaye-ká-ká wunt’-é-t
    taddese maikro-COM-CNJ shiftaye-COM-CNJ work-IPF-3
    'Taddese works with Maikro and with Shiftaye.'

The following example illustrates conjunction with the morpheme –yi as an alternative form to the conjunction function of –ká.

70a. ʔaʃi kí-ká-yi kó-ká-yi wunt’-é-t
    1S.SUBJ 3MS-COM-CNJ 3SF:OBJ-COM-CNJ work-IPF-1
    'I work with him and with her.'
70b. ʔati kó-ko-yi kó-ko k’obs-is-ko-yi gim-i-t
1S.SUBJ 3FS-GEN-CNJ 3FS-GEN boss-DEF-GEN-CNJ speak-PF-1
‘I reported to her and to her boss.’

The morpheme -ká is suffixed only to an object pronoun form. Even when the pronoun with -ká is used as subject NP, the form containing subject pronoun plus -ká is not acceptable as in (71b) and (72b):

71a. kó-ka kí-ka wókkil-im yígm-deé-n
3FS.OBJ-CNJ 3MS.OBJ-CNJ one-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
‘She and he are playing together.’

71b. *ná-ka nú-ká wókkil-im yígm-deé-n
3FS.SUBJ-CNJ 3MS.SUBJ-CNJ together-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
Intended: ‘She and he are playing together.’

72a. ʔis-ká yín-ká kó-ká kí-ká
1S.OBJ-CNJ 2S–CNJ 3SF.OBJ–CNJ 3S.M.OBJ–CNJ
náw-im wuc’-i-t
water-ACC drink-PF-1
‘I, you, she, and he drank water.’

72b. *ʔatl-ká yá-ká ná-ká nú-ká
1S.SUBJ-CNJ 2S.SUBJ-CNJ 3SF.SUBJ–CNJ 3SM.SUBJ-CNJ
náw-im wuc’-it
water-ACC drink-PF-1
Intended meaning: ‘I, you, she, and he drank water.’

The morpheme –ká cannot be used to coordinate verbs. Verbs are coordinated by the converb marker -ándé as in (73a) and (73b).

73a. kété ʔád-ándé gim-i-n
3PL.SUBJ come-CN2 speak-PF-3
‘They came and spoke.’ [literally “Having come, they spoke.”]

73b nú ʔíts-ándé nážt’-i-n
3SM.SUBJ eat-CN2 sleep-PF-3
‘He ate and slept.’

In summary, the same morpheme -ká is used to express conjunction, comitative, and instrumental relations. Stassen (2000) points out that many of the world’s languages use the same marker for expressing conjunction (‘A and B’) and comitative (‘A with B’) relations. He refers to such languages as ‘with-languages’. He argues that the identity of their shape may be due to a very common semantic-syntactic change from comitative marker to conjunction coordinator.

The morpheme –ik ‘too’ or ‘also’ is suffixed to nouns or conditional elements at word final position. The following are some examples:
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74a. ʔis-ko-m-ik  kí-ko-m-ik
1S:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too  3SM:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too
‘Me, and him too’

74b. ʔis-ko-m-ik  kí-ko-m-ik
1S:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too  3SM:OBJ-GEN-ACC-too
‘Me, and him too’

3.5.6 The locative

In this section we discuss case morphemes and other independent words which are used for the expression of location. There are two locative case markers which are suffixed to nouns. These are the suffixes -se ‘on’ and -o ‘in’. Examples:

75. maŋ-ís  t’arap’ez-is-se  dáh-i-n
    gourd-DEF  table-DEF-LOC  stay-PF-3
    ‘The gourd is on the table.’

76. nítts-is  ʔéh-ó  dán
    child-DEF  house-LOC  COP
    ‘The child is in the house’ (cf. citation form ʔéhé ‘house’)

77. nú  mir-ó  ʔótl-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ  river-LOC  jump-PF-3
    ‘He jumped into the river.’

Moreover, to express more specific location the locative noun can be followed by lisin ‘on top/surface of’, gay-ó ‘in the interior of’. The examples in (75-77) contrast with those in (78-80):

78. maŋ-ís  t’arap’ez-is-se  lisin  dáh-i-n
    gourd-DEF  table-DEF-LOC  on  live-PF-3
    ‘The gourd is on (surface) the table.’

79. nítts-is  ʔéh-ó  gay-ó  dán
    child-DEF  house-LOC  inside-LOC  COP
    ‘The child is inside the house’ (cf. citation form: ʔéhé ‘house’)

80. lál-ís  mir-ó  gay-ó  dán
    stone-DEF  river-LOC  inside-LOC  COP
    ‘The stone is in the river.’

The noun preceding the words lisin ‘on top/surface of’ and gay-ó ‘inside/interior of’ must always be marked for the locative case by one of the suffixes -ó or -se. Otherwise, lisin ‘on top/surface of’ and gay-ó ‘inside/interior of’ cannot be used by themselves to express location. Thus, example (81) is unacceptable because lisin is preceded by the noun t’arap’ez-is  ‘the table’, without it being marked with the locative case.
81. *maŋ-is t’arap’ez-is lisin dáh-i-n
   gourd-DEF table-DEF on stay-PF-3
   Intended meaning: ‘The gourd is on the table.’

The form gyy-ó ends in ó, which looks like the locative case marker -ó. There is a similar word baf-ó ‘near’ that has the same ending. The question is whether these words are morphologically complex forms containing a locative (nominal) base and the locative suffix –ó. There are no lexical forms such as *gyy or baf, or related lexical forms ending with any of the terminal vowels, e.g.: *gyye, *gyy1 or *gyyu
However, there are other words which are used in exactly the same way as gyy-ó and baf-ó, which have corresponding citation form nouns (examples 82). These include dōótt-ó ‘under’, gomp-ó ‘behind’ and mátt-ó ‘above/over’ and their respective nominal counterparts: dōóttu ‘leg’, gomp ‘back’ and máte ‘head’. Because of this, we consider the final vowel in gyy-ó and baf-ó ‘near’ as a locative case marker.

82. wūdūr-is ?áaz-is-ó dōótt-ó dáh-i-n
   girl-DEF tree-DEF-LOC leg-LOC sit-PF-3
   ‘The girl sat under the tree.’

The noun preceding gyy-ó, baf-ó, dōótt-ó, mátt-ó, etc., can also take the genitive case.

83. kūl-is ki-ko dōótt-ko dōótt-ó
   stick-DEF 3SM-POS leg-PF-3
   ‘The stick is under his leg.’

84. kën-is ?eh-ís-ko ?áátim wuyy-á dáh-á diš-téé-n
   dog-DEF house-GEN far stand-CN1 stay-CN1 bark-PF-3
   ‘The dog is barking far from the house.

85. nits-is nár-ko baf-ó wuyy-á yiŋ-déé-n
   child-DEF river-GEN near-LOC stand-CN1 look-PF-3
   ‘The child stands near the river and he is looking at the water.’

86. nits-is nár-ko ?áátim dáh-á ?él-déé-n
   child-DEF river-GEN far stay-CN1 call-PF-3
   ‘The child is far from the river and he is calling out.’

The following table represents summary of the locative phrases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>locative plus locational noun</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Based on</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ó + gyy-ó</td>
<td>t’arap’ez-is-ó gyy-ó ‘in the table’</td>
<td>gyy-ó ‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-se + lisin</td>
<td>t’arap’ez-se lisin ‘on the table’</td>
<td>lisin ‘top’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko + doott-ó</td>
<td>may-is-ko doott-ó ‘under the pot’</td>
<td>doottu ‘leg’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko + baf-ó</td>
<td>t’arap’ez-ko baf-ó ‘near the table’</td>
<td>baf-ó ‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ko-de + ?áátim</td>
<td>t’arap’ez-ko-de ?áátim ‘far from the table’</td>
<td>?áátim ‘far’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-5 Locative case and locational noun in Dime
The ablative case is marked by the suffix –de. It expresses source, e.g. ‘from’ or ‘out of’. In most cases the ablative case marker follows a genitive or locative stem (see section 4.1.3, table-5). Examples (87-91) illustrate that the ablative case is formed on the basis of a locative form.

87. ná kín-ze-de ʔáá-d-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
   ‘She came from his place.’

88. dim-ko ʔámže ʔed-is-se-de ʔáá-d-i-n
    dime-GEN woman mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL descend-CNV1 come-PF-3
    ‘A Dime woman came down from the top of the mountain’

89. nú ʔed-is-se-de ʔáá-d-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
    ‘He came from the top of the mountain.’

90. ná-m-ís ʔed-is-ó-de ʔáá-d-i-n
    water-DEF mountain-DEF-LOC-ABL come-PF-3
    ‘The water came from inside the mountain.’

91. nú mec-im wón-ze-de tálk'-í-n
    3SM.SUBJ money-ACC 1PL: OBJ-LOC-ABL borrow-PF-3
    ‘He borrowed money from us’

The ablative case morpheme can alternatively be suffixed to the directive particle as in example (92-95) instead of being attached to the source nouns as in the examples in (87-91).

92. šíftaye taddese-ká bow-de òch-ó ʔáá-d-i-n
    shiftaye taddesse-COM DIR-ABL house-LOC come-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye came out from Taddesse’s home.’

93. gún-ís taddese-ká bow-de ʔáá-d-i-n
    snake-DEF taddesse-COM DIR-ABL come-PF-3
    ‘The snake came out from Taddesse’s house.’

94. šíftaye taddese-ká bow-de bin-n
    shiftaye taddesse-COM DIR-ABL leave:PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye left from Taddesse’s place.’

95. ná kí-ká bow-de ʔáá-d-i-n
    3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM DIR-ABL come-PF-3
    ‘She came from his place.’

The morpheme bow- may have developed from a noun. The sequence Noun-ká–

19 The basic verb form bit’e changes to binn when the perfective morpheme –i followed by the person marker -n is suffixed to it, i.e. bit’e + in > binn.
bow (Noun-comitative/instrumental-directional) expresses direction towards the N (e.g. taddese in 96a). However, if the ablative marker is added to such a construction, i.e., Noun-ká-bow-de, it expresses direction away from the Noun (as in taddese in 96b).

96a. šiftaye taddese-ká-bow ŋi-n
shiftaye taddese-COM-DIR go-PF-3
'Shiftaye went towards Taddese.'

96b. šiftaye taddese-ká-bow-de ŋá-d-i-n
shiftaye taddese-COM-DIR-ABL come-PF-3
'Shiftaye came from the place where Taddese is found.'

In some cases of inherently locative nouns such as place names, the ablative is suffixed to nouns directly without a preceding locative case marker. For instance, in examples (97) and (98) we have gazer-de 'Gazer, a place name in south west Ethiopia', djinka-de 'Jinka, a town in south west Ethiopia' without any interference of another element between the ablative case and the noun.

97. ʔaté bunú liŋ-ub gazer-de šin-ée-t
1.S.SUBJ coffee good-M gazer–ABL buy-IPF-1
'I bought a good coffee from Gazer'

98. taddese djinka-de kúrum bá-ʔád20-dé-n
taddese jinka-ABL honey bring-IPF-3
'Taddese will bring honey from Jinka'

The ablative case marking in pronouns is treated under section (4.1.3).

The following table represents summary of case marking morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>case type</th>
<th>Case marker</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>šiftaye yil-im yažn dan</td>
<td>Shiftaye is a farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>-im</td>
<td>šiftaye yil-im yažn dan</td>
<td>Shiftaye is a farmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>yer-ín</td>
<td>for a donkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-de</td>
<td>ke-se-de, ke-ko-de</td>
<td>from them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive/possessive</td>
<td>-ko</td>
<td>ʔamz-is-ko doótu</td>
<td>the woman’s leg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-se and -ó</td>
<td>t’arbaz-is-se/t’arboz-is-ó</td>
<td>on the table</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-ká</td>
<td>ʔaté ʔár-is-im fibz-is-ká</td>
<td>I cut a tree with the axe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-7: Summary of case marking morphemes in Dime

The ablative, dative, comitative and instrumental cases are also directly suffixed to interrogative pronouns as in example (99-101).

---

20 The word báʔád is a combination of two words bára ‘take’ and ŋádi ‘come’.
3.6 Derived nominals

In this section we deal with derivation of nouns. Agentive, abstract and infinitive nominals are derived by adding the morphemes -bab, -im, and -in respectively to verbal or adjective base. Moreover, the cognate object nouns are also derived from their corresponding verb root by adding the above morpheme –im. Below, each of these is discussed in turn.

3.6.1 Agentive nouns

The morpheme –bab is suffixed to verb roots to derive agentive nouns. Such derived agentive nouns refer to the agent of the action indicated by the verb. The morpheme -bab seems to have originated from the noun bābe ‘father’\(^{21}\). The following are examples:

102. Root derived agentive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Agentive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yiż-</td>
<td>‘run’ yiż-bab ‘runner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt’-</td>
<td>‘work’ wunt’-bab ‘worker’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šem-</td>
<td>‘beg’ šem-bab ‘beggar’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyēn-</td>
<td>‘sew’ dyēn-bab ‘sewer’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōx</td>
<td>‘love’ kōx-bab ‘lover’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The (a) and (b) examples below illustrate the base verb and the use of the derived noun.

103a. nū ?olóz yiż-déé-n

3SM.SUBJ quick run-IPF-3

‘He will run quickly’

103b. nū ?ahō-b yiż-bab dán

3SM.SUBJ good-M run-AGEN COP

‘He is a good runner’

---

\(^{21}\) In Sheko, a member of the Dizoid branch of Omotic, the word baaba ‘father’ is used in a similar way: e.g., unk’u ‘steal’ unk’u –baab ‘thief’ (Hellenthal p.c.).
3.6.2 Infinitives

The infinitive is formed by suffixing the morpheme –\textit{in} to the verb root (see also Fleming, 1990:565).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base form / imperative</th>
<th>Derived infinitives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yîz-</td>
<td>yîz-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔád-</td>
<td>ʔád-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuć’-</td>
<td>wuć’-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔuuś-</td>
<td>ʔuuś-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔits-</td>
<td>ʔits-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’ááh-</td>
<td>s’ááh-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kůb-</td>
<td>kůb-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Base form and Infinitive form of verbs

The infinitive occurs as object complement of verbs in both affirmative and negative constructions. Examples:

105a. ʔaṭi ʔád-in k’ay-deé-t  
1S.SUBJ come-INF want-IPF-1  
‘I want to come’

105b. ʔád-in k’ay-deé-t  
come-INF want-IPF-1  
‘I/we want to come’

106a. ʔaté yîn-im gîs’-in k’ay-deé-t  
1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC beat-INF want-IPF-1  
‘I want to beat you’

106b. nú yîn-im gîs’-in ʔád-deé-t  
3SM.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC beat-INF come-IPF-3  
‘He comes to beat you.’

107. bay-is ʔits-in ʔahô-b  
food-DEF eat-INF good-M  
‘The food is good to eat.’

108. zîm-is ʔád-in k’ay-káy  
chief-DEF come-INF want-NEG  
‘The chief doesn’t want to come.’
There are also a few examples of infinitives with the morpheme –ta. But this morpheme is not productively used.

109. këtë yîn-im yîq-tá bin-n kaf-tëé-n  
3PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC see-INF go:PF-3 wait-IPF-3  
‘They are waiting to see you.’

3.6.3 -im nominalization

In Dime –im is used as a nominalizer morpheme which is suffixed to adjectives to derive abstract nouns and sometimes to verb roots to derive verbal nominals.

First we will discuss the use of the morpheme –im to derive abstract nouns from adjectives and second its use to derive cognate object nouns from their corresponding verbs. The following examples illustrate nouns derived from adjectives.

110. ?án-is-ko gičó-b-is-im ság-in gá-gám-déé-n  
tree-DEF-GEN big-M-DEF-NMZ cut-INF RDP:difficult-IPF-3  
‘The bigness of the tree makes it difficult to cut it.’  
(Adj = gičó ‘big’)

111. ḍúúr-is-ko gičó-b-is-im ?éh-is-se-de  
elephant-DEF-GEN big-M-DEF-NMZ house-DEF-LOC-ABL kol-déé-n  
high-IPF-3  
‘The bigness of the elephant is more than that of the house’  
(Adj = gičó ‘big’)

112. kën-m ?áfál-is-ko s’án-ub-is-im t’um-is-ká  
3SM.OBJ-ACC cloth-DEF-GEN black-M-DEF-NMZ dark-DEF-COM yekki wón-i-n  
equal be-PF-3  
‘The blackness of his cloth makes him (look) darker’  
(Adj = s’ánu ‘black’)

113. sánk-is-ko č’ak’k’-ub-is-im ?ahó-b dán  
field-DEF-GEN small-M-DEF-NMZ good-M COP  
‘The smallness of the field is good.’  
(Adj = č’ak’k’ ‘small’)

From the above examples (110-113) we observe two problems. First, if we consider -im as a nominalizer, it is strange that the definite marker precedes the nominalizer. If it is not a nominalizer the second option is to analyse -im as the accusative case marker –im. However, this second hypothesis is also problematic. That is, the –im-marked nominals occur in subject position (cf. 110-113). For now, we choose to analyse –im as a nominalizer morpheme which derives abstract nouns from adjectives. The use of such derived abstract nouns in context can be observed
in texts (1:012, 013; text7:005). For instance, the word wókkil ‘one’ is changed to wókkil-im ‘unity’. Just like in Amharic, where ḏand ‘one’ becomes ḏand-ţnnät ‘unity’; the adjectives k’äyy ‘red’ becomes k’äyy-ţnnät ‘redness’, and dägg ‘kind’ dägg-ţnnät ‘kindness’, by suffixing -ţnnät.

The morpheme –im can also be added to verbs to derive cognate nouns. No other affix intervenes between these two.

114. Root derived nouns

yígi - ‘play’ yíg-im ‘game’
̉́ňts - ‘eat’ ̉́ňts-im ‘food’

The derived form is then used in sentences as cognate object to its related verb. For instance, by suffixing the morpheme –im to the verbs ̉́ňts ‘eat’, yígi ‘play’, zági ‘dance’ their corresponding cognate object forms ̉́ňts-im ‘food’, yíg-im ‘game’ and zág-im ‘dancing/dance’ are derived.

115. 3SM.SUBJ food-NMZ eat-PF-3
  ‘He ate food’

116. 3SM.SUBJ dream-NMZ dream-PF-3
  ‘He dreamed a dream’

117. 3SM.SUBJ dance- NMZ RDP:dance-IPF-3
  ‘He is dancing a dance’

118. 3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ play-IPF-3
  ‘They play a game’

The derived cognate object can be used both as subject and object. Its use in the object position is illustrated in the examples in (115-118). The following example illustrates its use as subject:

119. 3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ-DEF RDP:hate-IPF-3
  ‘They hate the game’

The fact that the cognate object is used as subject as in (119) and that an additional accusative –im is needed to form the accusative of a cognate object noun as in (120) justifies the analysis that –im has a nominalizing role.

120. 3PL.SUBJ game- NMZ-DEF-ACC RDP:hate-IPF-3
  ‘They hate the game’

In example (119) the noun is nominative, not overtly marked for case. In (120) the morpheme –im occurs twice: once preceding the definite marker and once following
the definite marker. In its first occurrence it nominalizes the verb. In its second occurrence it indicates that the derived nominal functions as object. In example (121) which is extracted from (Text 4: 005), *laž-im-is-im* ‘corpse/dead body’ is derived from *lažt’i* ‘die’.

121. *yak-af makkim ?ád-á wókkil-is laž-im-is-im*
    sister-PL three come-CNV1 one-DEF corpse-NMZ-DEF-ACC
    k’asin-sub-is níts-is-im makkim-sub-is gon-is-im
    second-ORD-DEF child-DEF-ACC third-ORD-DEF hive-DEF-ACC

    ‘Three of his sister’s children come and then the first, the second and the third son carry the corpse, the child of the chief and the hive, respectively.

It is not possible at this point to satisfactorily defend the analysis of –*im* only as an accusative case marker, or as a nominalizer or as a morpheme that simultaneously serves to mark accusative case and to derive nominals from verbs and adjectives. Each of these possible analyses has a problem. We therefore leave this question open as a topic that needs further investigation.

### 3.7 Compound nouns

A compound is a complex word that consists of two or more lexemes. Dime allows the following types of compounds:

122. word class compononets compounds

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ADV+N</th>
<th><em>lizin</em> ‘fast’ + <em>níts</em> ‘child’</th>
<th>lizin-níts</th>
<th>‘thunder storm’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>V+V</td>
<td><em>baža</em> ‘take’ + <em>řádé</em> ‘come’</td>
<td>baža-řádé</td>
<td>‘bring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N+N</td>
<td><em>řafe</em> ‘eye’ + <em>níts</em> ‘child’</td>
<td>řafe-řafe</td>
<td>‘tears’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The N+N compounds in (122) look very similar to genitive phrases which can be formed through juxtaposition of two simple nominals or alternatively through suffixation of –*ko* on the possessed nominal. In the present analysis, the forms in (122) are considered compounds because –*ko* cannot intervene between the two components. There are however, expressions such as those in (123) which formally look like the compounds we have shown before but may not be fully lexiclized because their first component can take –*ko*.

123. N+N *řáne* ‘hand’ + *gús* ‘finger’  *řán-gús / řán-ko gús*  ‘finger’
    N+N *dóottu* ‘leg’ + *gús* ‘finger’  *dóott-gús / dóott-ko gús*  ‘toe’

There are also compound words which are formed by combining interrogative pronouns, conjunctions and some other word classes. Such kinds of compounds often contain more than two forms:

124. *wúy-dó-look*  ‘something’
    *wúyú*  ‘what’
    *dót*  ‘if’
    *look*  ‘thing’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>Syllables</th>
<th>English Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>124.</td>
<td>wūyim- dōt-ik 'anything'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wūyim 'what'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōt 'if'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–ik 'too'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125.</td>
<td>?amo-dōt-ik 'anywhere'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>?amó 'where'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dōt 'if'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>–ik 'too'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4 Pronouns

In this chapter we discuss personal pronouns and demonstrative pronouns. We will show that third person pronouns are the source of gender and number markers on demonstratives.

4.1 Personal pronouns

There are two separate sets of subject and object personal pronouns in Dime. In each set, both person and number are distinguished. For the third person singular, a further distinction in gender is made. In this section we also discuss dative and genitive/possessive personal pronouns. The base forms of the dative, possessive and ablative pronouns correspond formally to that of object pronouns. In contrast, the base form of subject pronouns is different from all other pronouns. This formal correspondence between object pronouns and dative, possessive and ablative pronouns is indicated by including OBJ (object) when glossing the latter group of pronouns, e.g. ki-n ‘for him’ is glossed as 3SM.OBJ-DAT.

4.1.1 Subject and object pronouns

Subject personal pronouns are independent and, except for the third person singular forms which show vowel alternation according to gender, they are morphologically simple. Object pronouns are different from these in that they comprise two to three morphemes: the base form of the pronoun, an additional –n- element (see below for discussion) and the accusative case marker -im which is also used for marking accusative case on nouns. There are seven subject and object pronouns. These are listed in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>?até</td>
<td>‘I’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yáay/yáye</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SF</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wótú</td>
<td>‘we’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yesé</td>
<td>‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kété</td>
<td>‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Subject and object personal pronouns in Dime

In table 1, we observe that some of the base forms of subject and object pronouns are formally related but not identical. That is, the initial syllables of the plural object and subject pronouns are similar, as is the second person singular subject and object pronoun. In contrast, the base forms of third person singular feminine and third person singular masculine subject and object pronouns are completely different: ná ‘she’ and kó-in kon-im ‘her’. Similarly, the subject form of 3MS is nú ‘he’ while in the corresponding object pronoun kin-im ‘him’ we find the base form ki-. The object pronouns cannot occur independently but they require a case marker, while sub-
ject pronouns are not marked for case. We notice also from the above table that the
first person subject and object pronoun forms ṭaté and ḏis- are not identical. Their
similarity is based on the initial segment ʔ. The vowel and the second consonantal
segment are different.

The Dime pronouns are similar in some respects to pronouns of other south
Omotic languages, such as Aari and Hamar. However, there are also some differ-
ences among the languages with respect to their pronouns. For instance, as reported
by Hayward (1990), Daniel (1994), the initial pronominal of object and subject pro-
nouns in Aari are similar to the object and subject pronouns of Dime. The object
form of the 3MS in Aari is ki-m and 3FS is ko-m whereas the corresponding 3MS
and 3FS subject pronouns are: na ‘he’ and no ‘she’, just as in Dime. In both Aari
and Dime, the direct object (accusative) marker is (-im). However there is a differ-
ence between Dime and Aari with regard to the affixation of (-im). In the pronoun
paradigm of Dime the accusative marker -im is not directly suffixed to the object
pronoun but rather it is preceded by an -a- element. This seems peculiar to Dime,
which we discuss more fully in section 4.4. In Hamar there is no independent form
for subject pronouns; the distinction between subject and object pronouns is marked
by nominative and accusative suffixes –si and –na, respectively (cf. Moges, 2005:
117).

As can be observed from table 1, gender is distinct only in the third person
singular pronouns; in the other pronouns it is not distinguished. In third person sin-
gular subject pronouns, masculine and feminine gender is marked by the suffixes -u
and -a respectively (i.e., nu ‘he’ and na ‘she’). The masculine and feminine gender
markers -ub and -ind are not used. The corresponding third person singular mascu-
line and feminine object pronouns are distinguished as ki- and ko- respectively. The
following examples illustrate the use of subject and object pronouns:

1a. ṭati don-im déy-i-t
   1S.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
   ‘I cooked the potato.’

1b. ná ḏis-im yéf-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-ACC see-PF-1
   ‘She saw me.’

2a. wótú wuuf ṭád-in k’ay-déé-t
   1PL.SUBJ all come-INF want-IPF-1
   ‘We all want to come.’

2b. ná wón-im k’is’-im k’óm-i-t
   3SF.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-ACC bread-ACC make-PF-3
   ‘She made us bread.’

3a. nú wuch’-wuch’-déé-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-drink-IPF-3
   ‘He is drinking.’
3b. wótú kín-im yéf-i-t
   1PL.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-ACC see-PF-1
   ‘We saw him.’

In examples (2b, 3b) we have an n element before the accusative case marker. Analyt-
ic problems related to n intervening between the object pronoun base and the ac-
cusative case marker are discussed in section 4.4. For our purpose here, this specific
form is not transliterated. Instead, n is represented as part of the pronoun. A for-
malnly similar dative case marking morpheme –(i)n on the other hand is transliterated
as DAT.

The second person singular subject pronoun yáay or yáye can be reduced to
yá, which is used as an alternative form to yáye. However, the other subject per-
sonal pronouns do not have a short form. The short form of the second person singular
pronoun is only used as subject. Thus, second person has three subject forms
yáye, yáay and yá, and only one object form, yín-im. The following three sentences
illustrate the three forms.

4a. yáye wunt'-ée-n k’áys-is-tée-n
   2S.SUBJ  work-IPF-2 need-CAUS-IPF-2
   ‘You must do it.’

4b. yáye wunt'-ée-n k’áys-is-tée-n
   2S.SUBJ  work-IPF-2 need-CAUS-IPF-2
   ‘You must do it.’

4c. kété yín-im yín-tá bin-n kaf-tée-n
   3PL.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-ACC see-INF go:PF:3 wait-IPF-3
   ‘They are waiting to see you.’

4.1.2 The dative in personal pronouns

Pronouns can be marked by the dative suffix -in ‘for/to’. This morpheme is realised
as –n when it follows a vowel and as –in when it follows a morpheme that ends in a
consonant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>?is-in</td>
<td>wo-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for/to me’</td>
<td>‘for/to us’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yí-n</td>
<td>ye-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for/to you’</td>
<td>‘for/to you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kí-n</td>
<td>ké-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for/to him’</td>
<td>‘for/to them’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kó-n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘for/to her’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Dative pronouns

Examples (5 and 6) illustrate that dative marking in nouns is used for the semantic
roles recipient and beneficiary.

5. nútú dar-ín nár-is-im ?eys-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ goat-DAT water-DEF-ACC show-PF-3
   ‘He led the goat to the water (so that it can drink).’
In pronouns the same semantic roles, i.e. recipient and beneficiary may be expressed either by the dative (7) or accusative cases (8). In example (8) pronominal forms kon and ken which look like the dative found in the examples in (7) are affixed with the accusative –im and designate a recipient.

7a. zim-is kî-mât-in kó-n medal-im ðim-i-n
   chief-DEF 3SM.REFL-DAT 3SF-DAT medal-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘The chief himself gave her the medal.’

7b. kétë wó-n sól-im śin-i-n
   3PL.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-DAT enjera-ACC buy-PF-3
   ‘They bought enjera for us.’

7c. ná kî-n meh-im ðim-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-DAT money-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘She gave him money.’

8a. nú kón-im d’él-im ðim-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC medicine-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘He gave her medicine.’

8b. yá kén-im mes’af-is-im śin-i-n
   2S.SUBJ 3PL-OBJ-ACC book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3
   ‘You bought the book for them.’

As the above examples suggest, dative and accusative cases are not always clearly distinguished in pronouns. This is one of the difficulties in the analysis of Dime pronouns. Moreover, what looks like the dative case occurs with some mono-transitive verbs as in (9a). In contrast the accusative form occurs in di-transitive constructions where the dative case is expected as in (8) and (9b).

9a. yesé kó-n yēf-i-n
   2PL.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-DAT see-PF-2
   ‘You saw her.’

9b. ťafë kón-im mes’af-im ðim-i-t
   1S.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-ACC book-ACC give-PF-1
   ‘I gave her a book.’

We will further discuss this issue in section 4.4.

4.1.3 Genitive/possessive pronouns

The genitive marker in Dime is -ko. It is suffixed to the object pronouns to form the genitive personal pronoun as shown in table 3:
Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṭis-ko / ṭa</td>
<td>wó-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘my’</td>
<td>‘our’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>yi-ko</td>
<td>ye-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘your’</td>
<td>‘your’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>kí-ko</td>
<td>ke-ko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘his’</td>
<td>‘their’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kó-ko</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘her’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Genitive pronouns

The genitive personal pronouns function as possessive modifiers, (10, 11), and as independent possessive pronouns, (12).

10. kó-ko ṭáne s’éid-ub
    3SF.OBJ-GEN hand short-M
    ‘Her hand is short.’

11. kó-ko mící
    3SF.OBJ-GEN sister
    ‘Her sister’

12. yá ṭis-ko-ká wunt’-wunt’-éé-n
    2S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN-INST RDP:work-IPF-3
    ‘You are using mine/working with mine.’

The genitive can be also expressed with juxtaposition without using the suffix ko-.

Compare the (a) and (b) forms in the following two examples:

13a. ṭató ṭis-ko dóót-im nár-ká ṣìt-i-t
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN leg-ACC water-INST wash-PF-1
    ‘I washed my leg with water.’

13b. ṭató ṭa-dóót-im nár-ká ṣìt-i-t
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-leg-ACC water-INST wash-PF-1
    ‘I washed my leg with water.’

14a. nú kí-ko dóót-im tebzi-gá k’ars’-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN leg-ACC axe-INST cut-PF-3
    ‘He cut his leg with an axe.’

14b. nú kí-dóót-im tebzi-gá k’ars’-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-leg-ACC axe-INST cut-PF-3
    ‘He cut his leg with an axe.’

A summary of the possessive pronouns both with and without ko- are given in the following table. The terminal vowel u is omitted in the later form.

---

₂² -ká is changed to -gá due to the preceding voiced sound.
Genitive form

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>with –ko</th>
<th>without –ko</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ās-kō dōtu</td>
<td>āa-dōot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīn-kō dōtu</td>
<td>yī-dōot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-kō dōtu</td>
<td>ki-dōot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-kō dōtu</td>
<td>ko-dōot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-kō dōtu</td>
<td>wo-dōot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye-kō dōtu</td>
<td>ye-dōot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-kō dōtu</td>
<td>ke-dōot</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: possessive pronouns in Dime

The ablative case marker, –de, is preceded either by the locative or genitive case.

15a. ās-se-de dūbi meh temm-im dūb-i-n.  
1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3  
‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’  (birr is the name of Ethiopian currency)

15b ās-kō-de dūbi meh temm-im dūb-i-n  
1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3  
‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>ABL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ās-se-de</td>
<td>ās-kō-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīn-ze-de</td>
<td>yīn-kō-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-ze-de</td>
<td>ki-kō-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko-ze-de</td>
<td>ko-kō-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wo-ze-de</td>
<td>wo-kō-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ye-ze-de</td>
<td>ye-kō-de</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ke-ze-de</td>
<td>ke-kō-de</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Ablative case marking on pronouns

4.1.4 Reflexive pronouns

It seems that the reflexive marker is derived from the noun māt ‘head’
\(^{23}\), e.g. in the word āa-māt/ ‘myself’ the morpheme /-māt/ is derived from /māte/ ‘head’. The reflexive root is preceded by either the genitive personal pronoun or by the object pronoun. Thus from the object pronoun āa and māt the reflexive āa-māt/ ‘myself’ is formed (Reflexive-1 in table 6); alternatively, the dative marking morpheme –in can be added to simple reflexive-1 forms to derive reflexive-2 forms (cf. Table 6) as in āa-māt-in ‘myself’. The noun māt ‘head’ may instead be preceded by the genitive

\(^{23}\)Heine (1999:18) states that if in a given African language a new marker for reflexive arises, then it can be predicted with a certain degree of probability that that marker will be derived from a noun meaning ‘body’. A second choice, having a considerably lower degree of probability is that it will be a noun for ‘head’.
personal pronouns (cf. 4.1.2) and followed by either the dative case ending –in or by the conjunction/instrumental marker -ká as in ʔis-ko-mát-ká ‘I myself’ (lit. ‘I by my head’). We refer to these two latter forms as reflexive-3 and reflexive-4 in Table 6, respectively. These forms are not interchangeable; each of them has a slightly different meaning according to the case suffixed to it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject Pronouns</th>
<th>Reflexive1</th>
<th>Reflexive2</th>
<th>Reflexive3</th>
<th>Reflexive4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>ʔis-im</td>
<td>ʔa-mát</td>
<td>ʔa-mát-in</td>
<td>ʔis-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>ʔis-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yin-im</td>
<td>yl-mát</td>
<td>yl-mát-in</td>
<td>yl-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>yl-ko-mát-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SM</td>
<td>kin-im</td>
<td>kl-mát</td>
<td>kl-mát-in</td>
<td>kl-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>kl-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>won-im</td>
<td>wo-mát</td>
<td>wó-mát-in</td>
<td>wó-ko-mát-in</td>
<td>wó-ko-mát-ká</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Reflexive pronouns

When the subject and the object are the same person the reflexive pronoun is co-referential with the subject of the clause in which it occurs. Consider the following examples:

16a. ṭaṭi ʔa-mát tičinč-i-t
   1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-REFL cut-PF-1
   ‘I cut myself.’

16b. ṭaṭi ʔa-mát-in karf-i-n
   1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-REFL-DAT speak-PF-1
   ‘I spoke to myself.’

17. nu kl-ko-mát-in ʔayim-káy
   3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN-REFL-DAT move-NEG
   ‘He can’t move himself,’ (lit. he can’t move for his head).

18a. kété ké-ko-mát-in k’am-im sips-i-n
   3PL.SUBJ 3PL.OBJ-GEN-REFL-DAT blame-PF-3
   ‘They blamed themselves for the accident.’ (lit. they blamed the accident for their head)

18b. nu kl-ko-mát-ká ʔayim-káy
   3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN-REFL-INST move-not
   ‘He can’t move by himself.’ (lit. he can’t move by his head).

From the above examples, we observe that there are four forms of reflexive pronouns. That is, the reflexive pronouns are formed either by suffixing -mát to the subject pronouns as in (16a) or by adding the dative marker as in (16b) or by the combination of possessive plus –má and finally a dative marker as in (17) and (18a).
Some reflexive pronouns may be used for emphasising the subject. For instance, in (19), to express the chief is the person who gave somebody the medal, the reflexive pronoun is used with the noun chief. In the data at hand, for the emphatic, only the reflexive forms with the dative case are used (19-20). There are no examples with the other reflexive forms. Whether or not these can be used for emphasis cannot be demonstrated.

19. \( \text{zim-\text{i}s k\text{-m\text{a}\text{t-im k\text{o-}\text{n medal-im 7im-\text{i-n}}} } \text{chief-DEF 3SM-REFL-DAT 3SF-DAT medal-ACC give-PF-3} \) ‘The chief himself gave her the medal.’

20. \( \text{6ftaye k\text{-m\text{a\text{t-im kir-im pu\text{-\text{c}}-}\text{n}}} } \text{shiftaye 3SM.OBJ-REFL-DAT door-ACC open-PF-3} \) ‘Shiftaye himself opened the door.’

The following table summarizes the personal pronouns and all suffixes which they take.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
<th>Instrumental</th>
<th>Reflexive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>?at\text{e}</td>
<td>?is-im</td>
<td>?is-in</td>
<td>?is-ko</td>
<td>?is-ko-de</td>
<td>?is-k\text{\text{a}}</td>
<td>?a-mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yaye</td>
<td>yin-im</td>
<td>yin-n</td>
<td>yin-ko</td>
<td>yin-ko-de</td>
<td>yin-k\text{\text{a}}</td>
<td>y-\text{m\text{a\text{t}}}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>kin-im</td>
<td>ki-n</td>
<td>ki-ko</td>
<td>ki-ko-de</td>
<td>ki-k\text{\text{a}}</td>
<td>ki-mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>n\text{a}</td>
<td>kon-im</td>
<td>ko-n</td>
<td>ko-ko</td>
<td>ko-ko-de</td>
<td>ko-k\text{\text{a}}</td>
<td>ko-mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wot\text{\text{u}}</td>
<td>won-im</td>
<td>wo-n</td>
<td>wo-ko</td>
<td>wo-ko-de</td>
<td>wo-k\text{\text{a}}</td>
<td>wo-mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yesi</td>
<td>yen-im</td>
<td>ye-n</td>
<td>ye-ko</td>
<td>ye-ko-de</td>
<td>ye-k\text{\text{a}}</td>
<td>ye-mat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>k\text{\text{e\text{t-e}}}</td>
<td>k\text{\text{e\text{-\text{m}}-im}</td>
<td>k\text{\text{e-n}</td>
<td>k\text{\text{e-ko}}</td>
<td>k\text{\text{e-ko-de}}</td>
<td>k\text{\text{e\text{-\text{ka}}</td>
<td>k\text{-\text{m\text{a\text{t}}}</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-7 Summary of personal pronouns

4.2 Demonstrative pronouns

In Dime, the same forms are used both as demonstrative pronouns and demonstrative adjectives. Consider the following examples:

21a. \( \text{sin\text{\text{a}}} \text{ w\text{\text{u\text{d\text{u}-is djinka-de 7ad-i-n}}} } \text{this(F) girl-DEF jinka-ABL come-PF-3P} \) ‘This girl came from Jinka.’

21b. \( \text{sin\text{\text{a}}} \text{ ?is-ko mi\text{\text{c\text{i}}} } \text{this(F) 1S.OBJ-GEN sister} \) ‘This one is my sister.’

22. \( \text{sak\text{\text{i-im} \text{?is-ti}}} \text{that(M)-ACC eat} \) ‘Eat that one.’

Thus demonstratives can be used as modifiers (21a), or they may head a noun phrase as subject or object as in (21b) and (22).
Gender is marked on singular demonstrative pronouns. Consider the following examples:

23. \textit{sína} \textit{ʔámz-is} \textit{ʔád-déé-n}  
   this (F) woman-DEF come-IPF-3  
   ‘This woman is black.’

24. \textit{sína} \textit{ʔámz-is} \textit{ʧiŋ-déé-n}  
   that (F) woman-DEF go-IPF-3  
   ‘That woman will go.’

25. \textit{sánú} \textit{ʔiyy-ʔis} \textit{ʧiŋ-déé-n}  
   that (M) man-DEF go-IPF-3  
   ‘That man will go.’

26. \textit{sínú} \textit{ʧiŋ-déé-n}  
   this (M) go-IPF-3  
   ‘This one (M) will go.’

27. \textit{sína} \textit{ʧiŋ-déé-n}  
   this (F) go-IPF-3  
   ‘This one (F) will go.’

In plural demonstrative pronouns gender is not marked. The following are examples:

28. \textit{sikét} \textit{ʔámz-af}  
   these woman-PL  
   ‘these women’

29. \textit{sikét} \textit{nîts-af}  
   these child-PL  
   ‘these children’

30. \textit{sakét} \textit{ʔámz-af}  
   those woman-PL  
   ‘those women’

31. \textit{sakét} \textit{goş-af}  
   those man-PL  
   ‘those men’

Dime demonstratives can be classified into two basic types: those that distinguish distance only and those that involve elevation. Below, each of these is discussed in turn.

4.2.1 Demonstratives indicating nearness/ farness

There are two basic demonstrative forms, proximal (Prox) \textit{si-} and distal (Dis) \textit{sa-}. The full form of these demonstratives is formed by combining them with the third person subject pronouns \textit{nú} ‘he’, \textit{ná} ‘she’, \textit{kéíté} ‘they’. This results in the forms in
(32). Observing the compounding, from here on, the components of the demonstrative pronouns are separated by a morpheme boundary and are glossed separately.

32. NOM ACC

32a. sínú si-kín-im
   Prox-3SM.SUBJ Prox-3SM.OBJ-ACC
   'this (M)' 'this (M)'

32b. síná si-kón-im
   Prox-3SF.SUBJ Prox-3SF.OBJ-ACC
   'this (F)' 'this (F)'

32c. sa-nú sa-kón-im
   Dis-3SM.SUBJ Dis-3SM.OBJ-ACC
   'that (M)' 'that (M)'

32d. sa-ná sa-kón-im
   Dis-3SF.SUBJ Dis-3SF.OBJ-ACC
   'that (F)' 'that (F)'

32e. sí-két si-két-im
   Prox-3PL.SUBJ Prox-3PL.OBJ-ACC
   'these' 'these'

32f. sa-két sa-két-im
   Dis-3PL.SUBJ Dis-3PL.OBJ-ACC
   'those' 'those'

Demonstratives take the accusative case marker –im when they occur in object position. Interestingly, while saki and sanú are used interchangeably in their subject form, only the base saki is used in the object form. That is, the accusative form is only sakín-im ‘that’; there is no form *sanún-im for the same meaning. Just like the accusative form of personal pronouns, the element n follows the demonstrative pronoun preceding the accusative case yielding sakín-im, as in (32c) above.

Diesel (1999:29) shows that in Lezgian the stem of demonstrative pronouns is formed from a demonstrative root and a third person pronoun, in a similar way as in Dime, or a classifier. The following table illustrates Dime demonstratives with their corresponding pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demonstratives</th>
<th>Corresponding pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sínú/sínú ‘this (M)’</td>
<td>nú ‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>síná ‘this (F)’</td>
<td>ná ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanú/saki ‘that (M)’</td>
<td>nú ‘he’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saná ‘that (F)’</td>
<td>ná ‘she’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>síkét/síket ‘these’</td>
<td>két ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sa-két ‘those’</td>
<td>két ‘they’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-8: Demonstrative pronouns in Dime
The proximal singular and plural demonstrative pronouns are pronounced as *sinū* or *ʔsinū*, and *sikēt* or *ʔiskēt* by different speakers. The demonstrative forms *sanū* and *saki* are used alternatively. The latter, *saki* ‘that’, seems to be a reduced form of the adverbial *sakiyo* ‘there’. The following are examples:

33. *sinū dim-ko bāhil-im gim-déé-b-is mıs’af*

   *This is the book which has information about the Dime culture.*

34. *sinū ʔati t’ėst-čć-č-is ṭiŋ-ub hotel*

   *This is the best hotel that I know.*

35. *sanū ʔati t’ėst-čć-č-is ṭiŋ-ub hotel*

   *That is the best hotel that I know.*

36. *sikēt ẓim-af yīz-déč-n*

   *These chiefs will run.*

37. *sakeč ʔámz-af ʔád-déč-n*

   *Those women will come.*

There are two adverbial demonstratives: *sikiyō* ‘here’ and its distal counterpart *sakiyo* ‘there’.

38a. *sakeč ʔámz-af sakiyō ūŋ-i-n*

   *Those women went there.*

38b. *ẓim-af-is sikiyō dáh-i-n*

   *The chiefs stayed here.*

4.2.2 Demonstratives expressing ‘up-there’ and ‘down-there’

Demonstratives indicating up-ward and down-ward directions are used to refer to persons or places located at a higher or lower altitude from both the speaker and the listener’s point of view. These demonstratives are distal demonstratives because they are used when facing away from the mountain slope on which speaker and hearer are situated. Hayward (1980:285) describes demonstratives with a similar meaning in Gidole (also Dirayyat); comparable forms are attested in Maale (Azeb Amha 2001: 140-141). This might be wide-spread among languages of the area.

24 In some cases, speakers use only *kiyō*, as a distal counterpart, instead of *sakiyō*. 
The roots of the Dime elevation-demonstratives are ʔaa for higher altitude and čúú for lower altitude. Fleming (1990:527) reported that čúú means down there; on a mountain that can be quite far. These roots are followed by the third person subject personal pronoun čúú-nú or by the proximal demonstrative čúúy sinú and the latter by an accusative marker when in object position čúúy sinú-m or by a deviant form of the object personal pronoun čúú-kínú-m. The deviation of the object personal pronoun lies in the fact that the gender vowel of the subject pronoun is fully realised and the vowel of the accusative -im is suppressed; thus, while the masculine and feminine third person object pronouns are kínim and kónim respectively, in these elevation demonstratives their forms are kínúm and kónam. This suggests that the n element in these pronouns is (a remnant of) the third person object pronoun. The fact that the proximal demonstrative form is used in these distal elevation demonstratives is surprising; possibly the proximal demonstratives are used as default demonstrative. The elevation demonstratives are presented in Table 9 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ACC</th>
<th>ACC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>čúú-nú</td>
<td>čúúy sinú</td>
<td>čúúy sinú-m</td>
<td>čúú-kúnú-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čúú-ná</td>
<td>čúúy siná</td>
<td>čúúy siná-m</td>
<td>čúú-kó-ná-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>čúú-két</td>
<td>čúú-két-im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaa-nú</td>
<td>ʔaay sinú</td>
<td>ʔaa-kúnú-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaa-ná</td>
<td>ʔaay sina</td>
<td>ʔaa-kó-na-m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaa-két</td>
<td>ʔaa-két-im</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: Elevation demonstrative pronouns

Examples:

39. čúú-nú sugur dán
down-3MS Bodi COP
‘That down there is a Bodi man.’

40. čúú-ná sugur čómzi dán
down-3FS Bodi woman COP
‘That down there is a Bodi woman.’

41. čúú-két sugur-ko-d25 dán
down-these/those Bodi-GEN-PL COP
‘Those down there are Bodi people.’

42. ʔaa-nú ʔehte fiq-ub ʔéh-ko kutse dá-déč-b-is
up-3MS bird beautiful-M house-GEN top of house stay-IPF-M.RELT-DEF
‘That bird up there on the top of the house is beautiful.’

25 Note that here, the modifier NP sugur (i.e., ‘a Bodi person’) takes the plural gender modifier –(d) rather than the plural noun modifier –af.
43. ʔaa-ná ʔed-ko máte dá-déé-nd-is ʔis-ko ʔind
up-3FS mountain-GEN head stay-IPF.RELT-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN mother
“That is my mother who stays up there on the top of the mountain.’

4.3 Prefixes added to demonstratives

In Omotic in general, prefixation is not a common phenomenon. In Dime we find prefixes in demonstratives.

If the object referred to is placed in a higher altitude than the speaker, the prefix s’ay- is added to the demonstrative sinú ‘this’ forming s’ay-sinú ‘this above the speaker’. If the object is found in horizontal position to the speaker, the Dime may use one of the following demonstratives depending on the distance between the point of reference and the referent: ʔoy-sinú ‘this near and visible horizontally’, say-sinú ‘that far away from the speaker’, and s’uy-sinú ‘that, out of sight of the speaker’. Interestingly, all these forms are based on the proximal demonstrative sinú (or its gender and number variants siná and siket) and the different prefixes express the distance, more suggesting that the proximal demonstrative is used as default. The prefix s’uy- can be reduplicated to intensify the expression of the distance even more.

44. s’ay-sinú ‘this here, (visible)’
ʔoy-sinú ‘this, at higher altitude compared to the speaker’
say-sinú ‘that, (further away, visible)’
say-sikét ‘those, (further away, visible)’
s’uy-si-nú ‘that, (furthest away out of reach and/or invisible)’
s’u-s’uy-si-nú ‘that, (furthest away, out of reach and/or invisible)’

45. say-sinú nár-is sede sinú nár-is kol-déé-n
that water-DEF than this water-DEF big-IPF-3
‘That river is bigger than this river.’

46. say-sikét kén-áŋ šinn-is kó-ko wuuf yížiz-déé-n
those dog-PL five-DEF 3FS.OBJ-GEN all run:RDP-IPF-3
‘All those five dogs of hers are running.’

47. say-sinú tóŋ-ub níts-is ʔád-i-n
that small-M boy-DEF come-IPF-3
‘That small boy came.’

48. say-sikét nú tóqas meh-im ké-n ʔím-i-n
those 3MS some money-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-IPF-3
‘He gave some money to those.’

The bases of the above forms are the simple demonstrative forms sinú, sanú, etc.; thus the elevation markers s’ay-, ʔoy- and say- are prefixes added to these base forms. There are no further prefixes in the language.
Case marking in personal and demonstrative pronouns

Personal pronouns and demonstratives are marked for case. First we discuss case marking in personal pronouns and later we will discuss case marking in demonstratives. Dime has two separate sets of subject and object pronouns. In each set, first, second and third person and singular-plural are distinguished. For the third person singular, a further distinction in gender is made. This results in the seven independent subject and object pronouns listed in table 10 below. The table also shows the dative, accusative, genitive, ablative, and instrumental pronouns which are formed on the basis of the object pronouns.

We briefly discussed in sections 4.1.1 to 4.1.3 case marking in pronouns and mentioned the problem of distinguishing accusative and dative forms in pronouns. In this section we focus on the analysis of the morphemes -im and n in object pronouns and on the formal similarity of the latter segment with the dative marker -(i)n.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
<th>Dative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>INST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1S</td>
<td>?atè</td>
<td>?is-im</td>
<td>?is-in</td>
<td>?is-ko</td>
<td>?is-ko-de</td>
<td>?is-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2S</td>
<td>yaye</td>
<td>yin-im</td>
<td>y-i-n</td>
<td>yi-n-ko</td>
<td>y-i-n-ko-de</td>
<td>yi-n-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>nu</td>
<td>kîn-im</td>
<td>kî-n</td>
<td>kî-ko</td>
<td>kî-ko-de</td>
<td>kî-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FS</td>
<td>na</td>
<td>kôn-im</td>
<td>kô-n</td>
<td>kô-ko</td>
<td>kô-ko-de</td>
<td>kô-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>wotú</td>
<td>won-im</td>
<td>wô-n</td>
<td>wô-ko</td>
<td>wô-ko-de</td>
<td>wô-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>yesî</td>
<td>yen-im</td>
<td>ye-n</td>
<td>ye-ko</td>
<td>ye-ko-de</td>
<td>ye-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>kêtê</td>
<td>kên-im</td>
<td>kê-n</td>
<td>kê-ko</td>
<td>kê-ko-de</td>
<td>kê-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table –10: Pronouns and their case marker forms

As we observe in the above table the subject pronoun forms are not marked for case, while the object pronouns are marked for various cases. The following examples illustrate their uses:

49. kêtê won-im gîs'-i-n
   3PL.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-n-ACC hit-PF-3
   ‘They hit us.’

50. nà kôn-im mes'af-im ñîm-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-n-ACC book-ACC give-PF-3
   ‘She gave her a book.’

With the exception of the first person singular, in all object pronouns we find the segment n preceding the accusative marker -im. In the second person singular, this n occurs in all columns except the subject. A number of analyses or interpretation may be suggested with regard to the status of n in the object and related case forms:

The first possibility is that the insertion of n is phonologically motivated to avoid sequence of vowels, as suggested by Tsuge (1997:579). This can raise the following two questions:
i. Why is the element \( n \) not added to 2S in its object, genitive, ablative, instrumental forms in table 10 above?

ii. Why is the element \( n \) not used in nouns (51) and in interrogative pronouns (52)?

51  \( ?\text{ā}t\text{i} \ k\text{īr-im} \ z\text{is'-i-t} \)  
1S.SUBJ door-ACC close-PF-1  
'I closed the door.'

52.  \( ?\text{āy-i} \ ?\text{āy-im} \ \text{deis} \)  
who who-ACC kill:PF  
'Who killed whom?'

If the insertion on \( n \) was phonologically conditioned we would expect to find it in all personal and interrogative pronouns that meet the condition and also in nouns.

Since the \( n \) element and the dative case marker -(i)n are formally identical, one might suggest the analysis that the object pronoun paradigm is built on the dative case and displays a synchronic double case marking. However, this does not seem to be a likely scenario because were this an instance of double case marking one would expect the dative to be built on the accusative rather than the other way round.

There is a third analysis which I support. This is the line taken by Hayward and Tsuge (1998) in their historical and comparative analysis of Omotic languages. These authors suggest that the recurring –n element in the pronoun paradigm of many Omotic languages is a remnant/fossil element of a once productive morpheme. They write:

In data recently collected from the Biyo dialect of Aari we see perhaps the last relics of a dative/benefactive function of *-n in Aari. This suffix was recorded only with pronouns; no examples having appeared with nouns.  
(Hayward and Tsuge, 1998:27)

As Hayward and Tsuge (1998:24) stated, among the Ometo languages, accusative *n still survives as a fossil in the first and second person pronouns, and occasionally in interrogative pronouns e.g., in Zayse.

Thus, the \( n \) element in Dime in object pronouns may be the fossil element *n which is attested in many Omotic languages.

The other issue is case marking in demonstratives. The accusative case is suffixed to modifying demonstrative pronouns following the \( n \) element. Examples:

53.  \( \text{nū} \ \text{māy} \ \text{sikin-im} \ \text{sin-ēe-n} \)  
3SM.SUBJ pot this-ACC buy-IPF-3  
'He buys this pot.'

---

26 In Aari, a related language, the accusative case marker –im is suffixed to pronouns without any intervention of –n.
54. **nú sinú mát-im śin-i-n**
   3SM.SUBJ this pot-ACC buy-PF-3
   ‘He bought this pot.’

As can be seen from the above examples case is not marked on both demonstratives and nouns. It is marked either on the noun or on the demonstrative; whichever occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase carries the case marker.

Case marking on interrogative pronouns is similar to case marking in nouns. The accusative case marker is directly suffixed to the interrogative pronouns without the intervention of the –n element, as in (55).

55. **ʔayi ʔáy-im deis**
   who who-ACC kill:PF
   ‘Who killed whom?’
5 Adjectives and modifying nouns

5.1 Adjectives

In Dime adjectives constitute a separate word class. They are characterized by gender agreement whereas nouns and verbs are not marked for gender. There is a uniquely adjectival morpheme –id for plural agreement. Thus, the masculine and feminine gender distinction and plural agreement is a unique feature of adjectives compared to nouns and verbs. In addition adjectives may be marked for case and definiteness. Dime adjectives may precede or follow the nouns they modify. Semantic categories expressed by the adjective class include: dimension, colour, age, value, physical property and human propensity of the referent.

Generally, the basic form of the gender marking morphemes is –ub (masculine), –ind (feminine) and –id (plural). These are directly affixed to adjectival modifiers or to relativized verbs, sometimes replacing the terminal vowel of the adjective or the verb. In a few cases, however, it is the vowel of the gender morphemes that is dropped. Accordingly the above mentioned morphemes may be realised as -nd (1b), –b (2b), and -d respectively.

Comparison of the (a) and (b) examples in (1-3) demonstrates the above mentioned dropping of the vowels.

1a. ŋamzi fl-ňnt’-ind-is
   woman RDP-beautiful-F-DEF
   ‘the beautiful woman’
1b. ŋamzi gičo-nd fl-ňnt’-ind-is
   woman big-F RDP-beautiful-F-DEF
   ‘the big beautiful woman’

2a. goštú li-ňnt’-ub-is
   man RDP-beautiful-M-DEF
   ‘the handsome man’
2b. goštú gičo-b li-ňnt’-ub-is
   man big-M RDP-beautiful-M-DEF
   ‘the big handsome man’

3a. k’ástin-Âd-is gudüm-id zim-áf
   two-PL-DEF tall-PL chief-PL
   ‘the two tall chiefs’
3b. dâr-is-im wûdûr-is-in šin-i-d ŋamz-af-is
   goat-DEF-ACC girl-DEF-DAT buy-PF.F.RELT woman-DEF
Adjectives share a number of features with nouns in that they are marked for number, definiteness, and case. For instance, adjectives and nouns both may take the accusative marker -im and the definite marker -is. The main distinction between adjectives and nouns is that adjectives are marked for gender while nouns are not. Fleming (1990:528) states: “Dime adjectives behave like themselves for the most part, taking some number and gender suffixes which are largely confined to adjectives.”

Adjectives can appear independently without the (understood) head noun that they modify. Consider the following examples:

4a. s’á’n-ub-is ?ád-i-n
   black-M-DEF come-PF-3
   ‘The black one (M) came.’

4b. s’á’n-ind-is ?ád-i-n
   black-F-DEF come-PF-3
   ‘The black one (F) came.’

For inanimate nouns the adjectives generally take the masculine gender marker but alternatively it may take the feminine gender marker only to express the diminutive. Consider feminine and masculine gender marking in the following extract:

5. ?eene ?eš-in is k’áaru wókkil-ind déén–ka
   like this story-DEF ape one-F exist-PF
   wóran-im gíst-tée-n wóran-im gíš-á bókú
   cattle-ACC keep-IPF-3 cattle-ACC keep-CNV1 fruit (sp.)
   s’ot-tée-n boke-tub wón-čé ?áre ?áfe
   milking-IPF-3 boke-tub (of boku)-FUT 1PL-COP wood fruit
   č’ ak’k’-ub déen
   small-M exist

   ‘The story goes like this: there was one ape that kept cattle. As she tended her cattle, she collected their milk under the boku tree. This is the tree which produces for us the boku fruit.’

In the first clause of the text the feminine gender marker -ind is suffixed to the numeral modifier wókkil-ind ‘one’, while the masculine gender marker -ub is suffixed to the adjective č’ak’k’-ub in the last clause (see also text-7:001, text-6:005, text 8:002, 003). Tree is masculine because masculine is the default gender for inanimates; ape, being animate, can have feminine agreement depending on its natural/biological gender.

27 laXT¹ ‘die’ is used only for human beings. For other animals deyí ‘die’ is used.
Adjectives and modifying nouns

Adjectives show number agreement with nouns in three ways: by redupli-
cation or by suffixing the plural agreement suffix –id or both. The adjective may be
fully or partially reduplicated to express plurality. Example (6b) illustrates full redu-
plication of the adjective giicô-b ‘big’.

6a. ṭis-ko ꞌu ꞌu giicô-b-is ṭah-i-n
1S.OBJ-GEN stick big-M-DEF break-PF-3
‘My big stick is broken.’

6b. ṭis-ko ꞌu ꞌu giicô-giicô-b-is ṭah-i-n
1S.OBJ-GEN stick RDP-big-M-DEF break-PF-3
‘My big sticks are broken.’

The possessed noun phrase in (6b) can also be constructed as kul-af giicô-d ‘big
sticks’ or giicô-d kul-af, with the addition of the plural marker -af. An example of
plural agreement with –id is given in (7).

7. ṭeen-i-b giš-ká ṭiyi màkkim-id am-ze déén ṭél-i-n
early-PF.M.RELT time-INST person three-PL Dime-ACC-LOC exist call-PF-3
‘In early times there were three people who were in Dime; it was said.’

Partial reduplication, in which word initial CV of the adjective is reduplicated is also
attested (8b).

8a. ṭéhé ṭé ak’k’-ub
house small-M
‘small house’

8b. ṭéh-af ṭé o-č’ak’k’-ub
house-PL RDP:small-M
‘small houses’

The base form of some adjectives can be either a verb or an adverb. There are also
some underived adjectives. As Givon (1990) states: adjectives fall semantically
somewhere in between verb and nouns. In Dime some adjectives have corresponding
verbal forms. The difference is that the adjectives consistently take the masco-
larine or feminine gender suffixes –ub and -ind respectively. Compare the follow-
ing forms:

9. Verb stem    Adjectivival form
s’eidî ‘be short’     s’eid-ub gostû        s’eid-ind wuduri
’a short man’        ’a short girl’

ďlibi ‘steal’     ďlib-ub gostû        ďlib-ind компонент
’a thief (M)’        ’a thief (F)’

[an stealing man] [a stealing woman]

gûdûmû ‘lengthen’    gûdûm-ub gostû    gûdûm-ind компонент
[an stealing man] [a stealing woman]
Adjectival verbs take the same tense-aspect markers as other main verbs.

10. Verb stem perfective imperfective

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gúdúmu</td>
<td>gúdúm-i-n</td>
<td>gúdúm-déč-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diibi</td>
<td>diib-i-n</td>
<td>diib-déč-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuču</td>
<td>wuč-i-n</td>
<td>wuč-téč-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are sentential examples of the verb wuču 'dry'.

11a. wuč-is wuč-téč-n
     wood-DEF dry-IPF-3
     ‘The wood will be dry.’

11b. wuč-is wuč-i-n
     wood-DEF dry-PF-3
     ‘The wood has dried.’

In (12) the same form diib- ‘thief’ functions as an adjective (diib-ub) which modifies ñiyis ‘the person’ and as a verb which is inflected for aspect (diib-i-n). At the end of section 5.2 we show that such adjectives can also be used independently as nouns.

12. ñiy-is diib-ub ñau-is diib-i-n
     person-DEF thief-M wood-DEF stole-PF-3
     ‘The thief (M) has stolen the wood.’

Fleming (1990: 528) states that “yet one adjective, liŋg 28 ‘good, beautiful, clean’ can act like a verb also show concord with nouns!” Fleming uses liŋiŋ, liŋg, and liŋkt’ in his transcription. The following are examples from Fleming (1990: 533). The glossing is modified in some cases by the present author.

13a. liŋ-sp-i-n
     RDP:clean-CAUS-PF-3
     ‘He cleaned.’

13b. ñam-is liŋkt’-ub-éé
     country-DEF good-M-COP
     ‘It’s the good country.’

---

28 I transcribe this word as ŋ or ŋt’ assuming that it has two alternative roots.
Adjectives and modifying nouns

13c. łŷŋk’-ind
   RDP-beautiful-F
   ‘beautiful (feminine)’

13d. łŷŋk-dḗ-n
   1S.OBJ-ACC   RDP-beautiful-IPF-3
   ‘It makes me happy.’

Fleming describes the same word as adjective and verb based on the suffix that it
takes. Compare also example (14a) and (14b), where lā́́y is the head of the clause
(14a) and a modifying category (14b).

14a. łŷf-śl-ś-inká   lā́-lā́y-i-n
    cloth-DEF-ACC  RDP-wash-REAS  RDP-soft-PF-3
    ‘The cloth became soft since it was washed.’

14b. łŷf-śl-ś-inká   lā́-lā́y-ub-is-im   ši-n-i-n
    3SM.SBJ cloth  soft-M-DEF-ACC  buy-PF-3
    ‘He bought the soft cloth.’

The base form of some adverbs and adjectives is related. The relation can be inter-
preted in two ways: i.e., the adverbs are derived from adjectives by omitting the
gender marker or alternatively, it could be analysed as the adjectives are derived
from adverbs by adding a gender marker. However, it is difficult to conclude which
of these two directions of derivation is the best for the Dime data at hand. Consider
the (a) and (b) forms in the following examples.

15a. łŷy-ub-im   giččo k’áss
    2PL.SBJ local_beer-ACC more add
    ‘You add more beer.’

15b. łŷy-ub-im   giččo k’áss
    maikro big-M child
    ‘Maikro is a big boy.’

16a. łŷy-ub-im   giččo k’áss
    3SM.SBJ well run-IPF-3
    ‘He runs nice/well.’

16b. łŷy-ub-im   giččo k’áss
    3SM.SBJ good-M man
    ‘He is a good man.’

One can not elicit roots of adjectives in isolation. If we try, we may get gender
marked forms such as zu-ub ‘red’.

17. č’ak’-ub   kénù
    small-M  dog
    ‘a small dog (M)’

17. č’ak’-ub   kénù
    small-F  dog
    ‘a small dog (F)’
18. **zu-ub** red-M ox-DEF ‘the red ox’  
**zú-und** red-F cow-DEF ‘the red cow’

In contrast, there are modifying forms that do not take gender marker i.e., neither the masculine marker –ub nor the feminine marker –ind is used. For instance, the modifiers **wolgí** ‘new’, **še** ‘wet’, **ć’ümú** ‘rotten’, do not show agreement of any sort with their head. Some of the meanings expressed by these words can also be expressed by adjectives, which are marked for gender: **žin-ub** ‘wet’, **šukun-ub** ‘rotten’ (see the forms in tables below). Thus, I assume these are not adjectives because gender agreement is the characteristic of adjectives (see also section 5.2). Since these words are not verbs, nor adverbs, they are best treated as nouns. Consider the following examples:

19. **maikro**/ch64:0133+6002 today cloth new-ACC buy-PF-3  
‘Maikro has bought a new cloth.’

20. **maikro**/ch64:0133+6002 cloth new-ACC water-LOC wash-PF-3  
‘Maikro washed a new cloth in water.’

21. **wolgú**/ch64:0133+6002 cloth new burn-PF-3  
‘The new cloth is burned.’

Gender is not directly marked in nouns in Dime. If the noun is marked with the plural marker –af, the plural agreement morpheme –id is suffixed to modifiers. Thus, modifiers show plural agreement with the head noun.

22. **k’astin-af-is**/ch64:0133+6002 three-PL-DEF thief-PL ball-ACC play-IPF-3  
‘The three thieves will play football.’

The following are some more examples of modifiers with plural agreement.

23. **k’astin-id-is**/ch64:0133+6002 two-PL-DEF tall-PL chief-PL come-is-PF-3  
‘The two tall chiefs came.’

24. **mákkim**/ch64:0133+6002 three tall-PL chief-PL come-PF-3  
‘Three tall chiefs came.’

‘He gave money to the black women.’

A series of two or more modifiers can occur in the same structure. The following are elicited examples:
Adjectives and modifying nouns

26. gięčo-b-is s‘án-ub yeři  žád-i-n
    big-M-DEF black-M donkey come-PF-3
    ‘The big black donkey came.’

27. gudúm-ub-is kór-m-ub ?atsí zim-is lážt‘-i-n
    tall-M-DEF thin-M old chief-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The tall, thin, old chief has died.’

28. ?ahó-b-is gudúm-ub kór-m-ub zimí ?atsí yižž-déé-n
    good-M-DEF tall-M thin-M chief old run-RDP-IPF-3
    ‘The good, tall, thin, old chief is running.’

29. gięčo-b-is s‘án-ub fi-fiňt‘-ub zim-âf
    big-M-DEF black-M RDP-beautiful-M chief-PL
    ?atsí  žád-žád-déé-n
    old RDP-come-IPF-3
    ‘The big, black, handsome old chiefs are coming.’

Adjectives may also be used as predicates in non-verbal clauses. Gender is also expressed in predicative adjectives, as is illustrated below (see also in section 9.1). The use of a copula -ée or dan is not obligatory.

30a. sinú  ?čh-is gięčo-b-ée/dán
    this house-DEF big-M-COP
    ‘This house is big.’

30b. sinú  ?čh-is gięčo-b
    this house-DEF big-M
    ‘This house is big.’

31a. ná  fi-fiňt‘-ind-ée/dén
    3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F-COP
    ‘She is beautiful.’

31b. ná  fi-fiňt‘-ind
    3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F
    ‘She is beautiful.’

32a. ná-r-is súúlum-ub-ée/dán
    water-DEF hot-M-COP
    ‘The water is hot.’

32b. ná-r-is súúlum-ub
    water-DEF hot-M
    ‘The water is hot.’

In the following section, I categorize adjectives according to semantic classes including dimension, physical property, human propensity, colour, age and value, (see Dixon (1982)).
The following are some sentential examples of adjectives that are used to express dimension.

33. náu-is šāak-ub
river-DEF wide-M
‘The river is wide.

34. buč-e řéd-is gúdům-ub dán
buč(name) mountain-DEF tall-M COP
‘The mountain buč-e is high.’

Table-1: Adjectives of dimension

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>č’ak’k’-ub</td>
<td>‘small’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’číd-ub</td>
<td>‘short’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ôol-ub</td>
<td>‘thin’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’ark’ûk’-ub</td>
<td>‘narrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gičćo-b</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gúdům-ub</td>
<td>‘long/tall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t’ér-ub</td>
<td>‘thick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāak-ub</td>
<td>‘wide’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řáat-ub</td>
<td>‘far’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Adjectives of physical property

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>adjective</th>
<th>meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saak-ub</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sůůlům-ub</td>
<td>‘hot’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řints-ub</td>
<td>‘heavy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dūot-ub</td>
<td>‘low’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>řin-ub</td>
<td>‘wet’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>līppt’-ub/lig-ub</td>
<td>‘beautiful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’olům-ub</td>
<td>‘sharp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dąž-ub</td>
<td>‘hard/strong’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šůukun-ub</td>
<td>‘rotten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sůr-ub</td>
<td>‘sour’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurkur-ub</td>
<td>‘ugly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wucim-ub</td>
<td>‘dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sînt’-ub</td>
<td>‘dirty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laj-ub</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zerka-b</td>
<td>‘fat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>báyzem-ub</td>
<td>‘cold’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An example:

35. ná fi-lipt’-ind wůdůr
she RDP-beauty-F girl
‘She is a beautiful girl.’
### Table 3: Adjectives of human propensity

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjective</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>matismatista-b</td>
<td>‘difficult’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koziim-ub</td>
<td>‘agreeable’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ahobi-b</td>
<td>‘peaceful/good’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basm-ub</td>
<td>‘fearful’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lookumka-b</td>
<td>‘calm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kitim-ub</td>
<td>‘selfish’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yift-ub</td>
<td>‘stranger, visitor’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lookba-b</td>
<td>‘talkative’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentential examples illustrate the above adjectives:

36. nu kitim-ub ?iyye
   3SM.SUBJ selfish-M person
   ‘He is a selfish person.’

37. nu big-in basm-ub
   3SM.SUBJ spear-DAT fear-M
   ‘He is fearful of spear.’

### Table 4: Colours

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>zub-ub</td>
<td>‘red’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s'ani-ub</td>
<td>‘black’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciilil-ub</td>
<td>‘blue’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guit-ub</td>
<td>‘white’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ciargand-ub</td>
<td>‘green’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t'ultul-ub</td>
<td>‘gray’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sicim-ub</td>
<td>‘mixed (colour)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following sentences illustrate the above adjectives that express colours:

38. kete s'ani-
    3PL.SUBJ black-PL
    ‘They are black.’

39. maikro-ko ?unts-in nu ?afal guit-ub-im shin-i-n
    maikro–GEN fiancee-DAT 3SM.SUBJ cloth white-M-ACC buy-PF-3
    ‘Maikro bought white cloth for his fiancee.’

40. maikro-ko biig-kah kolaf dare k'at-im zund-im ?ik-i-n
    maikro-GEN spear-INST wild goat young-ACC red-F-ACC pierce-PF-3
    ‘Maikro has pierced the red wild young goat with his spear.’

In the following table we include adjectives which express value as well as two adjectives which express taste; the latter do not fit easily to the previous semantic categorisations:
Table 6: Value
Sentential examples with value expressing adjectives:

41. ná ʔámze ʔahó-nd-čé
   3SF.SUBJ woman good-F-COP
   ‘She is a good woman.’

42. ná ʔáfál k’ám-ub-im k’ōbt’-i-n
   3SF.SUBJ cloth bad-M-ACC dress-PF-3
   ‘She is dressed with a bad cloth.’

The following are quantifying adjectives:

s’us’-id ‘many’
yiss-ub ‘little’
wuuf-id ‘all’
tògas few
fat’te much

Table 7: Quantifying adjectives

The form tògas ‘few’ in Table 7 is a quantifying modifier and it combines with countable head nouns (43a-b). It is based on the adjective tōn-ub ‘small’ (43c); see also Section 7.1.2 ex (13a-b). The adjective yiss-ub ‘little’ is directly used as a quantifier for non-countable nouns (44). For quantifying large numbers, the adjective s’us’-u ‘many’ is used with countable nouns (45), and the nominal modifier fat’te ‘much’ is used with non-countable nouns (46). The quantifier wuuf-id ‘all’ is an adjective (47).

43a. tògas wūdūr-af
    few girl-PL
    ‘a few girls’

43b. say-si-két nú tògas meh-im kē-n ʔim-i-n
    those 3MS.SUBJ some money-ACC 3PL.OBJ-DAT give-PF-3
    ‘He gave some money to them.’

43c. say-si-nú tōn-ub nits-is ʔad-i-n
    that small-M boy-DEF come-PF-3
    ‘That small boy came.’

44. giččo yiss-ind náre
    very little-F water
    ‘very little water’
Adjectives and modifying nouns

45. s’us’-id ŋá mz-af-is-ko ʔakim-is
   many-PL woman-PL-DEF-GEN calabash-DEF
   ‘the calabash of all the women’

46. gičó ʃat’t’e navigate
   very much water
   ‘plenty of water’

47. wuuf-id zim-af
   all-PL chief-PL
   ‘all the chiefs’

5.2 Modifying nouns

Nouns can modify nouns (see also in Section 7.1.1). Modifying nouns are not marked with gender suffixes. In Dime the independent words ʔatsé ‘old male’, ɡašin ‘old female’, ʃot ‘cow’, and zit ‘ox’ are used to express the sex of the head noun as shown below:

48a. kéné ʔats-is dey-i-n
    dog male-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The male dog died.’

48b. kéné ɡaš-in-is dey-i-n
    dog female-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The female dog died.’

49a. ʃot-nits-is dey-i-n
    cow-child-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The female calf died.’

49b. zit-nits-is dey-i-n
    ox-child-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The male calf died.’

Adjectives may precede modifying nouns such as ʔatsé ‘old male’, ɡašin ‘old female’. In this situation too, these nouns carry the function of modifier noun with the full semantic contribution i.e., inclusive of the sense ‘old’. Consider the following examples:

50a. kéné s’án-ub ʔatsé
    dog black-M old.male
    ‘old black dog (M)’

50b. kéné s’án-ind ɡašin
    dog black-F old.female
    ‘old black dog (F)’
Table-5 Modifying nouns of age

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Modifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔatsé</td>
<td>‘old (M)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gəsin</td>
<td>‘old (F)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nits</td>
<td>‘young’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wolgú</td>
<td>‘new’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔɛxil</td>
<td>‘baby’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kyuśimi</td>
<td>‘middle-aged’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-5 Modifying nouns of age

Sentential examples of the above noun modifiers:

51. **maikro ʔim ʔáfal wolg-im śin-i-n**
    Maikro today cloth new-ACC buy-PF-3
    ‘Maikro has bought a new cloth today.’

52. **medan ʔáfal ʔats-im náñ-ô ʔis-i-n**
    Medan cloth old-ACC water-LOC wash-PF-3
    ‘Medan washed the old cloth in water.’

53. **ʔiyy-íś ʔatsé dey-i-n**
    man–DEF old die-PF-3
    ‘The old man died.’

54. **ná nits ʔɛxil kóx-deé-n**
    3SF.SUBJ child baby love-IPF-3
    ‘She loves a baby child.’

It is also possible to indicate the gender of the child by using a female or male noun as a modifier. Consider the following examples.

55a. **gost nits-is**
    ‘the male child (M)’
    male child-DEF

55b. **ʔámzu nits-is**
    ‘the female child’
    woman child-DEF

Sentential examples:

56. **nú gostú nits-is-im ʔeh-ô ba-bin-n**
    3SM.SUBJ male child-DEF-ACC house-LOC take-go:PF-3
    ‘He brought the boy home.’

57. **nú ʔámzu nits-is-im ʔindiid wonts-i-n**
    3SM.SUBJ female child-DEF-ACC wife make-PF-3
    ‘He married the young girl.’

Since nouns are not marked for gender the noun **nits** doesn’t take the masculine or feminine gender marker.

The word **yif-ub** ‘guest’ functions as modifier. For example in **yif-ub gostú** ‘a (male) guest’ the noun **gostú** ‘man’ is modified by **yif-ub** ‘guest’. On the other hand, **yif-ub** can also head a noun phrase by itself as in, **yif-ub ʔád-i-n** ‘a guest
came’, in which case *yîf-ub* is used independently. However, *yîf-ub* can not be a noun because only adjectives receive the suffix -ub/-ind. The inflection of the root form *yîf-* ‘guest’ parallels that of adjectives as given below:

58a. *yîf-ub–is* ‘the guest (M)’

58b. *yîf-ind–is* ‘the guest (F)’

59. *yîf-ub–is naâne ?ád-i-n*
   guest-M-DEF yesterday come-PF-3
   ‘The guest (M) came yesterday.’

60. *yîf-ub–is-im tuku-m wûc’ ?et’*
   guest-M-DEF-ACC coffee-ACC drink say
   ‘Ask the guest (M) to have coffee.’

61. *yîf-ind–is ?ámoïd ?ád*
   guest-F-DEF when come
   ‘When did the guest (F) come?’

62. *yîf-ind–is-im ?el*
   guest-F:DEF-ACC call
   ‘Call the guest (F)’!

Interestingly, the root *dîib-* ‘steal’ belongs to two word classes in Dime. It is used as an adjective (*dîib-ub* in 63) by adding a gender marker; at the same time, it is used independently as a noun: *dîibi* ‘a thief’ (63b).

63a. *dîib-ub ?ar-is dîib-i-n*
   thief-M wood-DEF stole-PF-3
   ‘A thief (M) has stolen the wood.’

63b. *?is-se-de dîibi meh temm-im dîib-i-n.*
   1S.OBJ-LOC-ABL thief money ten-ACC steal-PF-3
   ‘A thief has stolen ten birr from me.’
6 Other word classes

6.1 Numerals

The Dime numeral system is decimal, although there are a few complex numerals which consist of more than one base form. The numerals 1 - 10 are the following:

1.  wókkil ‘one’
    k’astín ‘two’
    mókkim ‘three’
    ŋúddú ‘four’
    sinni ‘five’
    láxi ‘six’
    tússum ‘seven’
    k’asnasís ‘eight’
    wóklásís ‘nine’
    tamme ‘ten’

The numerals k’asnasís ‘eight’ and wóklásís ‘nine’ seem to be respectively formed from k’astín ‘two’ and -asís, and wókkil ‘one’ and -asís. In each case, the final syllable of the lower numeral is dropped. Thus, k’asnasís can be interpreted as ‘two more to ten’ and wóklásís as ‘one more to ten’.

Numerals (11 to 19) can be formed in two ways: (1) with the combination of tamme ‘ten’ and a lower numeral or (2) tamme ‘ten’ followed by ŋáf-ó plus the lower numerals; ŋáf-ó is the locative form of the noun ŋáfé ‘mouth’. These two forms can be used alternatively without any meaning difference. ŋáf-ó can not be replaced by any other noun. Examples:

2a. tamme mákkim dár-áf
    ten three goat-PL
    ‘thirteen goats’

2b. tamme ŋáf-ó mákkim dár-áf
    ten mouth-LOC three goat-PL
    ‘thirteen goats’ [lit. ‘in the mouth of ten (add) three’]

In the following list, we provide a single representation for the two ways of forming the numerals (11-19):

---

29 Fleming (1990:541) has (bokolas/ukalas/okolas). My data show wókkil which is similar to his last example.
3. tamme (ʔaf-ō) wókkil ‘eleven’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) k’astin ‘twelve’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) màkkim ‘thirteen’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) ʔuddū ‘fourteen’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) sinni ‘fifteen’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) láxi ‘sixteen’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) tússu ‘seventeen’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) k’asnáis ‘eighteen’
tamme (ʔaf-ō) wóklásis ‘nineteen’

Number twenty has a lexical form woidu. The rest of the decimal numbers from thirty up to ninety are formed by a combination of tamt’l and the lower numerals. In this combination there is a formal modification of tamme ‘ten’ to tamt’l.

4. woidu ‘twenty’
tamt’i màkkim ‘thirty’
tamt’i ʔuddū ‘fourty’
tamt’i sinni ‘fifty’
tamt’i láxi ‘sixty’
tamt’i tússu ‘seventy’
tamt’i k’asnáis ‘eighty’
tamt’i wóklásis ‘nineteen’

ʔaf-ō may optionally be used in counting from ‘twenty one’ to ‘twenty nine’. Consider the following two examples:

5. woidi (ʔaf-ō) wókkil ‘twenty one’
woidi (ʔaf-ō) k’astin ‘twenty two’

In the numerals higher than 30 using ʔaf-ō is not optional. The absence of ʔaf-ō makes the structure ungrammatical in the numerals from thirty to hundred as shown by the forms preceded by (*):

6. tamt’i màkkim ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘thirty one’ *tamt’i-màkk-ʔaf-wókk
  tamt’i màkkim ʔaf-ō k’astin ‘thirty two’ *tamt’i-màkk-ʔaf-k’ast
  tamt’i ʔuddū ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘fourty one’ *tamt’i-ʔudd-ʔaf-wókk
  tamt’i ʔuddū ʔaf-ō k’astin ‘fourty two’ *tamt’i-ʔudd-ʔaf-k’ast
  tamt’i sinni ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘fifty one’
  tamt’i sinni ʔaf-ō k’astin ‘fifty two’
  tamt’i láxi ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘sixty one’
  tamt’i láxi ʔaf-ō k’astin ‘sixty two’
  tamt’i tússu ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘seventy one’
  tamt’i tússu ʔaf-ō k’astin ‘seventy two’
  tamt’i k’asnáis ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘eighty one’
  tamt’i k’asnáis ʔaf-ō k’astin ‘eighty two’
  tamt’i wóklásis ʔaf-ō wókkil ‘ninety one’
  tamt’i wóklásis ʔaf-ō wóklásis ‘ninety-nine’
There is one large number after tam’ti wóklásiš ṭáf-ó wóklásiš ‘ninety-nine’. This numeral has a simple form s’eé ‘hundred’. The same simple form is used in a number of Omotic languages, e.g. Maale, Wolaitta, Haro (cf. Azeb Amha 2001, Hirut W/Mariam 2004).

Examples of other complex counting forms:

7.  
\[\text{s’eé wókkil ṭáf-ó wókkil}\] ‘one hundred and one’
\[\text{s’eé wókkil ṭáf-ó k’astin}\] ‘one hundred and two’
\[\text{s’eé wókkil ṭáf-ó tamme}\] ‘one hundred and ten’
\[\text{s’eé wókkil ṭáf-ó woyidu}\] ‘one hundred and twenty’
\[\text{s’eé wókkil ṭáf-ó tam’tí mókkim}\] ‘one hundred and thirty’
\[\text{s’eé k’astin}\] ‘two hundred’
\[\text{s’eé mókkim}\] ‘three hundred’
\[\text{s’eé tammi}\] ‘one thousand’
\[\text{s’eé tammi tómmi}\] ‘ten thousand’

Ordinal numerals are formed by suffixing the morpheme –s’sub to the cardinal numerals, which is followed by the definite marker –is:

8.  
\[\text{wókkil-sub-is}\] ‘the first’
9.  
\[\text{k’astin-sub-is}\] ‘the second’
10.  
\[\text{mókkim-sub-is}\] ‘the third’
11.  
\[\text{wut-sub-is}\] ‘the fourth’
12.  
\[\text{sin-sub-is}\] ‘the fifth’
13.  
\[\text{woi-sub-is}\] ‘the twentieth’

### 6.2 Conjunctions

There are a few elements which are used for conjoining or disjoining clauses. The major ones are the suffixes –ká ‘and, with’ and –ik ‘also, too’, (See section 3.5.3). Conjoining words are dótık ‘or’, ŋéndotık ‘but’, dót ‘if’, ŋengašká ‘because’, bow-de-tífo ‘after’, bow-de-wuto ‘before’. We will discuss each of them below:

The element dótık ‘or’ seems to be a combination of two elements. The conditional marker dót ‘if’ and the inclusive –ik ‘too, also’. Like -ká, dótık also is marked on both nouns. Examples:

14a.  
\[\text{šífaye dótık taddese dótık ṭád-déé-n}\]  
Shiftaye or taddese or come-IPF-3  
‘Shiftaye or Taddese will come.’

14b.  
\[\text{ʔáté sól-im dótık k’is’-im dótık ṭíst-téé-t}\]  
1S.SUBJ enjera-ACC or bread-ACC or eat-IPF-1  
‘I will eat enjera or bread.’

The form ŋéndotık ‘but’ comprises a number of different morphemes. It seems to be a combination of ŋen ‘thing’, dót ‘if’, ik ‘too, also’. Examples:
15a. ṭaté ñēb-o ṭād-dē-č ṭēntōk
   1S.SUBJ house-LOC come-IPF-1 but
   nū ṭād-kāy
   3SM.SUBJ come-NEG
   ‘I will come home but he will not come.’

15b. wuč’u ṭēntōk gužu-kōy
    drink but drunkard-NEG
    ‘Drink but do not be a drunkard.’

The other connector is dōt ‘if’ (see also in section 12.3.2.). It marks conditional clauses. The following are some examples.

16a. sik’un-im t’il-is-im yá wuč’-á dōt
    this-ACC medicine-ACC 2S.SUBJ drink-CNVT COND
    yá lägt’-čé-n
    2S.SUBJ die-IPF-2
    ‘If you drink this medicine, you will die.’

16b. diib dōt ṭaté ṭād-kāy
    rain COND 1S.SUBJ come-NEG
    ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

The conditional clause morpheme dōt (17a) has an alternate reduced form –dō. The short form cliticizes to the element that precedes it, as in (17b-c).

17a. nāv-is bāyzem-ub dōt ṭafí wuč’-t’ub
    water-DEF cold-M COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
    ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

17b. nāv-is bāyzem-ub-dō ṭafí wuč’-t’ub
    water-DEF cold-M-COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
    ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

17c. diib-dō ṭaté ṭād-kāy
    rain-COND 1S.SUBJ come-NEG
    ‘If it rains, I will not come.’

The reason clause linker ŋengašká ‘because’ is used to conjoin two clauses (18).

18a. nū meh-bab ŋengašká ūlīŋ-is-č
    3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN because well-CAUS-CNVT1
    wunt’-čé-n
    work-IPF-3
    ‘He is rich because he works well.’
Other word classes

18b. nú yîz-im šál-kây ṭengašká ṭáte dán
     3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG because old COP
     ‘He can’t run because he is old.’

Ṭengašká often occurs between two clauses. It can also occur sentence initially as in (19a) and (19b).

19a. ṭengašká Ḟīñ-is-á wunt’-ée-n nú meh-bab
     because well-CAUS-CNV1 work-IPF-3 3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN
     ‘Because he works well, he is rich.’

19b. ṭengašká ṭáte dán nú yîz-im šál-kây
     because old COP 3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG
     ‘Because he is old, he can’t run.’

The coordinating conjunctions, bow-de-tifó ‘after’, bow-de-wutó ‘before’ and other connecting elements that are not included here are treated in Section 12.3.5. Table-2 summarizes the connecting morphemes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mor</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ik</td>
<td>also/too</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dot</td>
<td>if</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dot-ik</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭen-dot-ik</td>
<td>but</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭen-gás-ka</td>
<td>because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wonna-dot-ik/won-ká-dot-ik</td>
<td>although</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭen-wonna-dot-ik</td>
<td>therefore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Coordinators

6.3 Adverbials

Dime adverbials can be categorized into three semantic groups: manner, time and directional adverbials. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. Directionals are expressed with a bound morpheme.

6.3.1 Manner adverbials

Manner adverbs indicate the manner in which the action is carried out. Dime has a few lexical forms that are used for expressing manner. The following are examples:

20. nú ṭahó s’afit-i-n
     3SM.SUBJ good write-PF-3
     ‘He wrote well.’

21. nú bos-ká ṭahó lookum-déé-n
     3SM.SUBJ very-COM good speak-IPF-3
     ‘He speaks very well.’

Similarly, the adverb giččo ‘very’ is added to the quantifiers to express degree.
22a. giččó s’us’u ṭěh-áf
‘very many houses’

22b. giččó yiss-ind náxe
‘very little water’

22c. giččó fatt’e náxe
‘a lot of water’

The adverbs ṭahó ‘well’ and giččó ‘very’ are formally related to the adjectives ṭahó-b ‘good’ and giččó-b ‘big’ respectively.

Other manner adverbs are ṭölóx ‘soon’ and ṭölóx ‘slowly’ which contrast by gemination of the medial consonant. The following are examples:

23a. nú ṭölóx láx’t-i-n
3SM.SUBJ soon die-PF-3
‘He died soon.’

23b. nú ṭölóx dáḥ-á ūŋ-deé-n
3SM.SUBJ slowly stay-CN1 go-IPF-3
‘He goes slowly.’

Reduplicated manner adverbs may be used to express intensity of the action. This is illustrated below:

24. ná ṭölóx ṭölóx ūts-i-n
3SF.SUBJ RDP:quick eat-PF-3
‘She ate very quickly.’

6.3.2 Time adverbials

Adverbials of time that are commonly used are the following:

25a. wutó ‘early/before’
25b. nááxe ‘yesterday’
25c. ūnī ‘today’
25d. gáshím ‘tomorrow’

The following are sentential examples:

26. ná ūnī ūŋ-deé-n
3SF.SUBJ today go-IPF-3P
‘She will go today.’

27. nú mes’af-im nááxe ūs-in-n
3SM.SUBJ book-ACC yesterday buy-PF-3
‘He bought a book yesterday.’
Reduplication of time adverbials expresses frequentative (or habitual) action as shown in the examples below:

29a nu sītsi-sīts-o bal-ō tūŋ-dēé-n
3SM.SUBJ RDP-morning-LOC market-LOC go-IPF-3
‘He goes to the market every morning.’

29b nu ?axt-e?axt-o ŋeh-ō tūŋ-dēé-n
3SM.SUBJ RDP-evening-LOC home-LOC go-IPF-3
‘He goes home every evening.’

The following list includes all attested forms expressing adverbs of time:

| sīσo  | ‘morning’ |
| wutó  | ‘before’  |
| sáʔat | ‘time’ (borrowed from Amharic: sɪʔat ‘time’ |
| tūrdú | ‘year’    |
| sis’i | ‘day’     |
| site’e | ‘daily’   |
| tīre’  | ‘monthly’ |
| tāay  | ‘now’     |
| dāhin | ‘late’    |
| tōlōx | ‘soon’    |
| tāak  | ‘still’   |
| tōlōx | ‘slowly’  |
| naare | ‘yesterday’|
| ḡiñi  | ‘today’   |
| garim | ‘tomorrow’|
| ḡoksin | ‘the day after tomorrow’ |
| ḡoncil | ‘the fourth day’ |

Table-3: Time adverbials

6.3.3 Directional adverbials

A combination of bound forms is used to express directional adverbs. To express ‘direction towards someone or something’, there are at least two forms. The first one is -kā-bow which is formed by a combination of the comitative/instrumental marker –kā and the directional lexeme bow. It is attached to the goal noun, as in example (30):

30a. kēťe kē-kā-bow yīz-dēé-n
3SF.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-COM-DIR run-IPF-3
‘They run towards him.’
30b. koos-is-im šiftaye maikro-ká-bow ǧis’-i-n
   ball-DEF-ACC šiftaye maikro-COM-DIR  kick-PF-3
   ‘Shiftaye kicked the ball to Maikro.’

30c. kúmz-is šiftaye-ká-bow ʔayim-déé-n
   fly-DEF  šiftaye-COM-DIR move-IPF-3
   ‘The fly moves towards Šiftaye.’

The form -ká-bow can be attached to any noun or pronoun base. In the case of pronouns it is attached to the object form of the pronoun as shown in the following list:

31. ?is-ká -bow  ‘towards me’
    wò-ká-bow  ‘towards us’
    yín-ká-bow  ‘towards you (S)’
    ye-ká-bow  ‘towards you (PL)’
    kó-ká-bow  ‘towards her’
    Kl-ká-bow  ‘towards him’
    ké-ká-bow  ‘towards them’

The second way of expressing ‘direction towards a goal’ is through the use of bow-gas-ká. Like -ká-bow, bow-gas-ká also contains the lexeme bow and the morpheme –ká. However, they occur in different orders (compare examples (30-31) with (32)). Moreover, in bow-gas-ká the two bound morphemes are intervened by the obligatory occurrence of gaš, which seems to be derived from the noun gaše ‘road’. The following are examples:

32a. ná  ?is-ká  bow-gaš-ká  ?ád-déé-n
    3SF.SUBJ  1S.OBJ-COM  DIR-road-INST  come-IPF-3
    ‘She comes towards me.’

32b. ké-té  Kl-ká  bow-gaš-ká  ýiz-déé-n
    3PL.SUBJ  3SM.OBJ-COM  DIR-road-INST  run-IPF-3
    ‘They run towards him.’

The ‘source of movement to a direction’ is expressed by adding the ablative marker –de to one of the two directive forms which we discussed above, namely, -ká-bow. Examples:

33. koos šiftaye-ká-bow-de ʔuza-ká bin-n
    ball  Šiftaye COM-DIR-ABL  roll-INST  go:PF-3
    ‘The ball rolled away from Šiftaye.’

34. šiftaye maikro-ká-bow-de bin-n
    Šiftaye  Maikro-COM-DIR-ABL  go:PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye left from the place of Maikro.’

35. koos-is-im šiftaye maikro-ká-bow-de ǧis’-i-n
    ball-DEF-ACC šiftaye maikro-COM-DIR-ABL  kick-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye kicked the ball away from Maikro.’
The combination of -ká–bow-de and pronouns yields the following forms:

36. /is-ká-bow-de/ ‘from the direction/place of me’
    wó-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/place of us’
    yín-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/place of you (S)’
    ye-ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/place of you (PL)’
    kó-ká–bow-de ‘from the direction/place of her’
    kl–ká-bow-de ‘from the direction/place of him’
    ké-ká–bow-de ‘from the direction/place of them’

Finally, there are two deictic directional adverbs: sáá-gaš-in ‘in that direction, i.e., direction further away from the speaker’, and sóó-gaš-in ‘in this direction, i.e, direction closer to the speaker’. The forms sáá- and sóó- have some related forms in demonstrative pronouns, say-si-nú ‘that, (further away, visible)’, ñoy-si-nú ‘this, (near and visible)’ (cf. Section 4.2.). Examples:

37a. wó-n sáá-gaš-in ñim
    1PL.OBJ-DAT that-road-DAT give
    ‘Give us through that side (i.e., further away from the speaker).’

37b. nü sóó-gaš-ká ñád-i-n
    3SM.SBJ this-road-INST come-PF-3
    ‘He came towards this side (i.e., closer to the speaker).’

The following is a stretch of connected speech, where several examples of the usage of directional adverbials are attested:

38a. šiftaye taddese-ká maikro-ká dāhì koos-im
    1S.SUBJ shiftaye taddese-CNJ maikro-CNJ be ball-ACC
    yigim-yigim déen-ká
    RDP-play exist-PF
    ‘I, Shiftaye, Taddesse and Maikro were playing football.’

38b. taddese koos-im /is-ká-bow/ gis’-inká maikro wonn-á
    taddese ball-ACC 1S.OBJ-COM-DIR beat-REAS maikro turn-CNV1
    šiftaye-ká-bow kolits-á gis’-i-n
    shiftaye-COM-DIR pass-CNV1 beat-PF-3
    ‘Taddesse kicked the ball towards me, Maikro got it and he kicked it back and passed it to Shiftaye.’

38c. šiftaye koos-im wonts-á maikro-ká-bow gašš-in
    shiftaye ball-ACC return-CNV1 maikro-COM-DIR road-DAT
    yid-deéf-ká koos-is zaak-i-n sáá-gaš-ká bin-n
    catch-TEMP-COM ball-DEF roll-PF-3 that-road-INST go:PF-3
    ‘When Shiftaye kicked the ball back towards Maikro, the ball rolled and left towards that way (i.e, it did not reach Maikro).’
38d. săkiyó dad-éé-b nits-is maikro-ká-bow
there stay-IPF-RELT (M) child-DEF maikro-COM-DIR
wunts-á ţis'-i-n
return-CNV1 beat-PF-3
'The child who was walking around nearby kicked it back to Maikro.'

38e. koos-is za-zag-ima maikro-ká-bow ţád-á wuy-i-n
ball-DEF RDP:roll-INCH maikro-COM-DIR come-CNV1 stand-PF-3
maikro šiftyaye-ká-bow wontsá ţis'-i-n
maikro shiftyaye-COM-DIR return-CNV1 beat-PF-3
'The ball rolled towards Maikro and it stopped near him. Maikro then kicked it back towards Shiftyaye.'

38f. koos-im šiftyaye ţis-ká-bow ţis'-inká
ball-ACC shiftyaye 1S.OBJ-COM-DIR beat-REAS
?=áte šiftyaye-ká-bow wonts-á ţis'-inká
1S.SUBJ shiftyaye-COM-DIR return-CNV1 beat-REAS
wótú yissá yigim-i-t
2PL.SBJ some play-PF-1
'Shiftaye kicked the ball towards me, I kicked it back towards Shiftyaye and we played like this for some time.'

38g. koos-is gaš-ká-bow zaa-ká gaše dadééy-id wonts-á
ball-DEF road-INST-DIR roll-INSTroad RDP:exist-PL return-CNV1
wó-ká-bow gis'-i-n
1PL-COM-DIR beat-PF-3
'The ball rolled towards passers-by in the road, they kicked it back towards us.'

38h. kiyó wonn-á sáa-gaš-ká sóo-gaš-ká yissá yigim-i-t
there turn-CNV1 there-road-INST here-road-INST some play-PF-1
'We played the ball by directing it to here and there (in the road).'

6.4 Question words

The following are interrogative pronouns or content question words of Dime:
### Table 4: Question words

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wuyú</td>
<td>wuy-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţáyi</td>
<td>ţay-im</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţamo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţasiyá</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ţameh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţámoid</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţaminú</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţásinká</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the above eight interrogative pronouns two have an accusative form i.e., wuy-im ‘what’, ţay-im ‘whom’. Moreover, except for the first interrogative pronoun wuyú ‘what’ the others begin with the same syllable ţa-.

The content question word ţasiyá ‘how’ is used in greetings, e.g., ţástadeč ‘how are you?’ which contains ţas-‘how’. Similarly, ţas ţoxt ‘good morning’ consists of ţas ‘how’ and ţoxt ‘morning’.
7 Noun phrase and quantifier phrase

The present chapter on syntax provides basic information on noun phrases with nouns, adjectives, numerals, possessive marker, demonstratives and relative clauses as modifiers. We also discuss locative noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrase).

7.1 Noun phrases

In Dime, noun phrases have a flexible word order: both head-modifier and modifier-head orders occur. A noun can be modified by another noun, an adjective, a numeral, or a demonstrative. The order of morphemes in the noun phrase follows the following pattern: in modifiers, the first inflectional morpheme is the gender marker, then follow, an optional plural marker, the definite marker and finally the case marker. In nouns, the first inflectional morpheme is the plural marker which is followed by the definite and case markers; the inclusive marker –ik may follow the case marker word finally.

Gender is marked on modifiers but not on the head noun. If the noun is plural the plural agreement morpheme, –id, is suffixed on the modifier(s). In some cases the nominal plural marker –af can also be affixed to a modifier. But the morphemes –id and –af do not coccur. Definiteness and case markers often occur phrase finally but it is also possible to mark both the modifier and head noun in the phrase by definiteness and case morphemes. Numerical modifiers may or may not be marked with the plural agreement morpheme. Generally, the syntax of noun phrases exhibits flexibility in the order of constituents i.e., with few exceptions modifiers can precede or follow their head noun. There is also a degree of flexibility in marking grammatical morphemes which are part of the head noun on the modifier. These include number, definiteness and case marking morphemes.

In the following section we will discuss nouns with different modifiers.

7.1.1 Noun phrases with a noun as modifier

When a noun is used as modifier, the order of the head noun and the modifier noun is not free. The noun modifier always precedes the head noun. In the following examples the constituent order cannot be reversed:

1a. ět nît
   cow child
   ‘female calf’

1b. zît nît
   ox child
   ‘male calf’

The modifiers ět ‘cow’ and zît ‘ox’ express the gender of the head noun nît ‘child’, which in this context refers to a newly born calf. Similarly, the nouns ēstû ‘man’ and ūmèz ‘woman’ modify the head noun nît ‘child’ to express the gender
of a newly born baby.

2a. *gost ňits*
    man child
    ‘male baby’

2b. *ʔánz ňits*
    woman child
    ‘female baby’

The examples (1) and (2) have modifier-head order. In these examples the order of constituents cannot be changed whereas generally word order in noun phrases is flexible. Thus, reversing *ʔot ňits* to *ńits ʔot* or *gost ňits* to *ńits gost* in the examples in (1-2) is not possible. There are a few examples with noun-noun pattern but these do not seem to be phrases. The following are examples:

3a. *ńits-ind*
    child-mother
    ‘one’s brother, born by the same biological mother’

3b. *dómm-aaw*
    drum-wood
    ‘wooden drum’

4a. *néz máy*
    water pot
    ‘water pot’

4b. *wohú máy*
    meat pot
    ‘meat pot’

7.1.2 Noun phrases with adjectives as modifiers

When the head noun is modified by an adjective, the adjective takes a morphological gender marker in agreement with the head noun: –ub is affixed to the adjective when the head noun is masculine while –ind and –id are respectively attached to the head noun when it is feminine singular and plural.

The word order is flexible when the modifier is an adjective (cf. section 12.5).

5a. *gostú gúdúm-ub ŝad-déé-n*
    man tall-M come-IPF-3
    ‘A tall man will come.’

5b. *gúdúm-ub gostú ŝad-déé-n*
    tall-M man come-IPF-3
    ‘A tall man will come.’
6a. "šān-ind-is lāyť'-éé-n
woman black-F-DEF die-IPF-3
'The black woman will die.'

6b. s'ān-ind-is šāmz-is lāyť'-éé-n
black-F-DEF woman-DEF die-IPF-3
'The black woman will die.'

The adjectives guduumb ‘tall’, s’ān-ind ‘black’, are modifiers of the head nouns gostū ‘man’, šāmzi ‘woman’.

As showed in Section 3.5.1, the accusative case, i.e. one of the core cases, appears not only in nouns but also on certain dependents of the noun such as adjectives and determiners. It is generally marked on the last element of the noun phrase, whether the phrase-final element is a head or modifier. However, in some instances both the head noun and the modifiers are marked for the accusative case (see Section 12.2). The following examples demonstrate phrasal marking of the accusative case.

Examples:

7a. kēnē ŋefti gicco-b-im deis-i-n
dog bird big-M-ACC kill-PF-3
'A dog killed a big bird.'

7b. kēnē gicco-b ŋeft-im deis-i-n
dog big-M bird-ACC kill-PF-3
'A dog killed a big bird.'

Due to the flexible order of Adj + N or N + Adj, example (7b) has two readings. It can be ‘a big dog killed a bird’ because the adjective gicco-b ‘big’ can modify the noun kēnē ‘dog’ as in (8). Alternatively, it can be understood as: ‘a dog killed a big bird’ because the adjective gicco-b ‘big’ can also modify the noun ŋeft-im ‘bird’ (9).

8. kēnē gicco-b
dog big-M
‘big dog’

9. gicco-b ŋeft-im.
big-M bird-ACC
‘big bird’

If the position of the modifier is before the first noun, the above ambiguity is avoided as (10).

10. gicco-b kēnē ŋeft-im deis-i-n
big-LOC-M dog bird-ACC kill-PF-3
'A big dog killed a bird.'

Marking the left-most word of the NP for case leads to ungrammaticality as in (11):
11. * ké̄n-im gíc̄ó-b ñeffü deis-i-n  
   dog-ACC big-LOC-M bird kill-PF-3  
   Intended meaning: ‘A big dog killed a bird.’

If the noun is plural and it is marked by the suffix –af, the adjective accordingly takes the plural agreement morpheme –id, as in example (12):

12. s’án-id wúdúr-af-is yílz-déé-n  
   black-PL girl-PL-DEF run:RDP-IPF-3  
   ‘The black girls are running.’

The agreement morpheme -id is not needed when the plural marker –af is suffixed to the adjective.

13a. ʔámzi tóq-ind-is-im baʔ-i-n  
   woman small-F-DEF-ACC take-PF-3  
   ‘The woman took the smaller one.’

13b. ʔámzi tóq-ind-af-is-im baʔ-i-n  
   woman small-F-PL-DEF-ACC take-PF-3  
   ‘The woman took the smaller ones.’

When a sequence of adjectives occurs in the same NP, the order of adjectives is not restricted. Compare the order in the following examples:

14. sinú guít’-ub k’óól-ub ñyy-ís láxí’-i-n  
   this white-M thin-M man-DEF die-PF-3  
   ‘This white skinny man died.’

15. sinú k’óól-ub guít’-ub ñyy-ís láxí’-i-n  
   this thin-M white-M man-DEF die-PF-3  
   ‘This skinny white man died.’

16. sanú ñahó-b gíc̄ó-b ké̄n-ís dey-á-n  
   that good-M big-M dog-DEF die-PF-3  
   ‘That big good dog died.’

Interestingly, when a series of adjectives are used as modifiers, the adjectives need not occur together. Some may occur before the noun while the remaining ones follow the head noun (17). This aspect of the syntax and its implication for constituent identification is not fully understood and it needs further research.

17a. sanú gíc̄ó-b ké̄n-ís ñahó-b-is dey-á-n  
   that big-M dog-DEF die-PF-3  
   ‘That big good dog died.’

17b. ñahó-b-is gudúm-ub k’óól-ub zími ñatsí  
   good-M-DEF tall-M thin-M chief old  
   ‘The good, tall, thin, old chief.’
7.1.3 Noun phrases with numeral and possessive noun as modifiers

When the numeral occurs at the right edge of the noun phrase, it is marked for number, case and definiteness. Otherwise the head noun is marked for case. Compare the following two examples:

18a. **maikro kʰastín-id zim-áf-is-im yéf-i-n**
    maikro  two-PL chief-PL-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘Maikro saw the two chiefs.’

18b. **maikro zíné kʰastín-áf-is-im yéf-i-n**
    maikro  chief  two-PL-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘Maikro saw the two chiefs.’

In noun phrases in which the modifier numeral is kʰastín ‘two’ or higher (e.g. mákkim ‘three’), plural marking on the head noun is optional (18b). Numerals show number agreement (20-21) but this is not obligatory, as we have seen in example 24 of chapter 5, which is repeated below as example (19):

19. **mákkim gúdúm-id zim-áf ʔád-i-n**
    three  tall-PL  chief-PL come-PF-3
    ‘Three tall chiefs came.’

20. **mákkim-id ʔámsz-af ʔád-i-n**
    three-PL  woman-PL come-PF-3
    ‘Three women came.’

21. **kʰastín-id wúdúr-af-is yízh-déé-n**
    two-PL  girl-PL-DEF RDP-play-IPF-3
    ‘The two girls are running.’

A possessive pronoun requires the genitive suffix –kó and it precedes the noun. For instance, in (22-23), ŋis-kó ‘my’ modifies the head noun zimú ‘chief’ that follows it.

22. **ʔató  ŋis-kó zim-ím yéf-i-n**
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN chief-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘I saw my chief.’

22. **ʔató  ŋis-kó zim-ái-m yéf-i-n**
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN chief-PL-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘I saw my chiefs.’

23. **ʔató  ŋis-kó kʰastín-id zim-ái-m yéf-i-n**
    1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN two-PL chief-PL-ACC see-PF-3
    ‘I saw my two chiefs.’

Thus, a possessive pronoun modifier is not as flexible in word order as adjective and numeral modifiers.
7.1.4 Noun phrases with demonstratives as modifiers

The head noun can be preceded or followed by a demonstrative. Demonstratives agree with their head noun in number and gender. These are bound morphemes which consist of the proximal/distal marker plus a third person feminine or masculine pronouns (see section 4.2). For instance, *sinú* ‘this (M)’ is a combination of the proximal morpheme *si-* ‘this’ and the third person singular masculine pronoun *nu* ‘he’, while *sana* ‘that (F)’ consists of the distal morpheme *sa-* and the third person singular feminine pronoun *na* ‘she’. In the present section I simply translate *sinú* and *sana* as ‘this’ and ‘that’ and *sikét* and *sakét* as ‘these’ and ‘those’ respectively.

In examples (24-27), the demonstratives modify the nouns *แชมป* ‘woman’, *สถือ* ‘man’, *ซิมิ* ‘chief’. In all cases, the demonstratives precede the head noun.

24a. *sinú สถืู*
   this:M man
   ‘this man’

24b. *sana แชมป*.
   that:F woman
   ‘that woman’

25a. *sa-két ชิม-้ำ-ิส*
   those chief-PL-DEF
   ‘those chiefs’

25b. *si-két ก*อสิ่ง ชิม-้ำ-ิส น้ำดี
   these two chief-PL-DEF come-PF-3
   ‘These two chiefs came.’

The following examples illustrate that demonstratives may follow their head noun.

26. *แชมป-ิส siná*
   woman-DEF this (F)
   ‘this woman’

27. *แชมป-ิส สาน*.
   woman-DEF that (F)
   ‘that woman’

7.1.5 Noun phrases with the relative clause as modifier

The relative clause is marked for the gender or number of the noun that it modifies. When the modified noun is feminine the feminine gender marker is attached to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the relativised noun. The same holds for the masculine and plural relativised noun as in the examples in (28-29). (See also section 12.2).
Noun phrase and quantifier phrase

28a. [bay-im ṭist-ée-b-is] gostū č’ak’k’-ub
food-ACC eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF man small-M
‘The man who eats food is small.’

28b. [bay-im ṭist-ée-d-is] gost-af č’ak’k’-ub
food-ACC eat-IPF-PL:RELT-DEF man-PL small-M
‘The men who eat food are small.’

29a. [bay-im ṭist-ée-nd-is] ṭămze č’ak’k’-ind
food-ACC eat-IPF-F.RELT-DEF woman small-F
‘The woman who eats food is small.’

29b. [bay-im ṭist-ée-d-is] ṭamz-af č’ak’k’-ub
food-ACC eat-IPF-PL:RELT-DEF woman-PL small-M
‘The women who eat food are small.’

The word order of the head noun and the relative clause is flexible (30) and (31).

30. gostū [ṭist-ée-b-is bay-im] č’ak’k’-ub
man eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF food-ACC small-M
‘The man who eats food is small.’

31. ṭâmze [ṭist-ée-nd-is bay-im] č’ak’k’-ub
woman eat-F.RELT-DEF food-ACC small-M
‘The woman who eats food is small.’

When the relative clause precedes the noun it modifies, the relative verb must occur as the final constituent of the relative clause. For instance, the relative clause in (32), which contains the same constituents as examples (28) and (30) is ungrammatical because the order of the two constituents within the pre-nominal relative clause, i.e., the verb and its complement, is changed.

32. [ṭist-ée-b-is bay-im] gostū č’ak’k’-ub
eat-IPF-M.RELT-DEF food-ACC man small-M
Intended meaning:... ‘The man who eats food is small.’

7.1.6 Locative noun phrases

The nouns máte ‘head’, dóottu ‘leg’, and gömp ‘back’ have a locative form mátt-ó ‘over’, dóott-ó ‘under’, and gömp-ó ‘behind’, respectively. They express a locative relation by combining with another noun. The order of the constituents is fixed. In example (33a-b) both nouns are marked with the locative suffix -ó whereas in the examples in (34-35), the first noun is marked with the genitive morpheme –ko and the second noun is marked with the locative suffix -ó. In the examples in (33), it is difficult to identify the exact status of the suffix –ó on the first member of the pair of nouns, i.e., ?ám-is-ó (33a) and ?ēch-ó (33b). The –ó on these nouns could be a shortened form of the genitive -ko, because this suffix is used in the parallel examples in (34-35). Alternatively, the -ó on the first noun of the locative noun phrases in (33) could be assigned through concord with the second noun in the phrase. This second
explanation is plausible because in Dime modifier and head can take the same af-
fixes even when this is not needed structurally e.g., definiteness and accusative case
markers may occur on both modifier(s) and the head noun (see section 11.4. ex.28
and 29). Whether there is any semantic difference related to the alternative use of
posessive –ko and locative –ó in the locative phrases such as those in (33a-b) is not
known. Further investigation is needed to resolve this.

33a. wudúr-is ñú-is-ó dúótt-ó dág-h-i-n
girl-DEF tree-DEF-LOC leg-LOC sit-PF-3
‘The girl sat under the tree.’

33b. nú ñú-ó góm-pó wuy-dé-n
3SM.SUBJ house-LOC back-LOC stand-IPF-3
‘He stands behind the house.’

34a. nüts-is ?ámz-is-ko góm-pó dág-h-i-n
child-DEF woman-DEF-GEN back-LOC sit-PF-3
‘The child sat behind the woman.’

34b. nú nüts-is-ko mátt-ó ?úil-i-n
3SM.SUBJ child-DEF-GEN head-LOC jump-PF-3
‘He jumped over the child.’

35. nú t’erep’ez-ko-de mátt-ó ?úil-i-n
3SM.SUBJ table-GEN-ABL head-LOC jump-PF-3
‘He jumped over the table.’

The examples in (36) demonstrate that bafó ‘near’, g̤yó ‘inside’ are used in a simi-
lar way as mátt-ó ‘over’, dúótt-ó ‘under’, and góm-pó ‘behind’ which are discussed
above. However, unlike the latter nouns, bafó ‘near’, g̤yó ‘inside’ do not have a
corresponding citation form. Thus, we have to address the question whether the final
vowel of the two nouns is part of the lexical root or whether it is the locative mor-
pheme –ó. In the present analysis, we assume that the final vowel of these words is
the locative marker –ó because bafó ‘near’ and g̤yó ‘inside’ occur in parallel con-
structions as those in (33) which clearly have a suffixal –ó and because there are no
other citation form nouns in Dime which end in the vowel –ó (see also Section
3.5.5.).

36a. nüts-is ñind-is-ko baf-ó dág-h-i-n
child-DEF mother-DEF-GEN near-LOC sit-PF-3
‘The child sat near his mother.’

36b. lál-is ñéh-ís-ó g̤y-ó dáň
stone-DEF house-DEF-LOC inside-LOC COP
‘The stone is inside the house.’

The constituents on the right hand side of the locative noun phrases are not postposi-
tions because they occur following case marked nouns and they themselves are also
marked for locative case. Additional examples:
7.1.7 Measure phrases

Measure phrases have nominal heads that signify entities, which are employed as units of measurement. Any noun phrase indicating quantity, size, distance etc., can be called a measure phrase (cf. Matthews 1997). Measure phrases in Dime express precise amounts of both [-count] and [+count] nouns; structurally, they function as specifiers of the head noun that is being quantified. The following are examples:

39. mákkim ɗsáyáy yilé
   three metre land
   ‘three metres of land’

40. k’astín ɗsáyáy ŋáre
   two metre wood
   ‘two metres of wood’

In examples (41-43) below, the morpheme –ká is suffixed to the head noun. –ká in this use represents the instrumental case; it is used when the measure noun refers to some kind of container or means of transportation (in contrast –ká is not used in the examples in (39-40))

41. k’astín ɗakim-ká ɗáse
   two calabash-INST water
   ‘two calabash of water’ (Lit. two calabash with/by water)

42. ŋinni ɗoyur-ká ɗéí
   five sack-INST teff
   ‘five sacks of teff (Lit. five sacks with/by teff)’

In the above examples, the measure phrase as a whole, e.g., k’astín ɗakim-ká ‘two calabash’ (41-42), ŋinni ɗoyur-ká ‘five sack’ (42), specifies the head noun, i.e., ɗáse and ɗéí, respectively.

The noun modified by a measure phrase can be a simple noun as in (41-42), or it can also be a noun plus a modifier as in (43), in which the head bunú is modified by ɗaf-ó:

43. k’astín ɗakim-ká ɗaf-ó bunú
   two calabash-INST seed-LOC coffee
   ‘two calabash coffee beans’

The measure phrases quantify uncountable nouns such as ɗéí ‘teff’, ɗáse ‘water’, as
in (42-43) as well as countable nouns such as ዋወር ‘wood as in (40), which are heads of the complex noun phrase. The measurement expressions contain countable nouns (sacks, bottles, metres), which may themselves be specified by numerals, for instance, ‘two bottles’. Moreover, various ways of transportation can also function as quantifiers of heads in measure phrases. These too take the instrumental marker - Reef as shown below:

44 ያንን ምር ድን ምንዳን ምስ ምንድ ፈወር-
‘five donkey-loads of wheat’

45 ዛም ዕውን-
‘ten car-loads of maize’

In Dime measure phrases precede the head noun. If the measure phrase and the head noun are reversed the structure becomes ungrammatical. Consider the following examples:

46 ያንን-
‘two bottles of water’

47 ንراتيج-
‘three metres of land’

Within the measure phrase, however, it is possible to reverse the numeral and the unit of measurement as shown below:

48 ን/facebook-ወር-
‘two calabashes of water’

49 ያንን-
‘two bottles of water’

50 ንبرا-
‘three metres of land’

51 ንبرا-
‘three metres of land’

In other Ethiopian languages such as Koorete (North Omotic) there is a similar structure of classifier phrases (Baye Yimam 1984, Biniyam Sisay 2002, Getahun Amare 2003).
Dime also has noun classifier phrases which are similar in structure to the measurement phrases we discussed above. The classifier noun phrase does not use measurement or container terms but rather individuating and enumerating nouns.

52. ṣáf-ó wókkil bun-ko
   eye-LOC one coffee-GEN
   ‘one coffee bean’

53. máte kábbe wókkil
   head maize one
   ‘one cob maize’

54a. č’lë’i k’āstin ṣayim-ko kááse
    root two enset-GEN plant
    ‘two individual plants of enset’

54b. č’lë’i láž kábbi-ko kááse
    root six maize-GEN plant
    ‘six individual plants of maize’

54c. č’lë’i ŋʊddú birtukan-ko kááse
    root four orange-GEN plant
    ‘four individual orange plants’

The selection of the head noun of the classifier phrase, e.g. č’lë’i ‘root’ in č’lë’i k’āstin ‘two roots’ in (54a), ṣáf-ó ‘seed’ in ṣáf-ó wókkil ‘one seed’ (in 52), is based on whether the head of the complex noun phrase refers to a plant, or to different parts of the plant, e.g., seed or fruit.

If the numerals are dropped from the above phrases this would lead to ungrammatical structure. Parallel to the examples in (54), we get the following unacceptable expressions:

55. *č’lë’i ṣayim-ko kááse
    root enset-GEN plant
    Intended meaning:… ‘two individual plants of enset’

56. *č’lë’i kább-ko kááse
    root maize-GEN plant
    Intended meaning:… ‘six individual plants of maize’

57. *č’lë’i birtukan-ko kááse
    root orange-GEN plant
    Intended meaning:… ‘four individual orange plants’

Classifier nouns precede the noun (phrase) which they modify. Within the classifier noun phrase, the numeral and the classifier noun may change their order.

It is common in Dime that the accusative case is marked at the right edge of the noun phrase. Therefore, if the classifier is the last element within the complex noun phrase, it is marked for the accusative case (in the same manner as other noun phrases).
58. \(\text{nú ŋu \(\text{k'ab-ko mát-im das-i-n}\)\) 3SM.SUBJ four maize-GEN head-ACC cut-PF-3

'He cut four heads of maize.'

59. \(\text{ná šinnī bun-ko ŋaf-im k'aid-éé-n}\) 3SF.SUBJ five coffee-GEN seed-ACC need-IPF-3

'She wants five beans of coffee.'

60. \(\text{wótū k'åstin kamay-ko mát-im šin-i-t}\) 1PL.SUBJ two sorghum-GEN head-ACC buy-PF-1

'We have bought two heads of sorghum.'

However, changing the order of numerals, classifier and head nouns is also possible. If we compare examples (58) and (61), the structures correspond exactly to Amharic, hulát yamašilla ras ‘two head of Sorghum(two Sorghum head)’ or hulát ras mašilla ‘two head of Sorghum’ etc. Compare the examples in 58-60 with those 61-63.

61. \(\text{nú máti ŋu ŋu ŧudd-im k'ab-ko das-i-n}\) 3SM.SUBJ head four-ACC maize-GEN cut-PF-3

'He has cut four heads of maize.'

62. \(\text{ná šinnī ŋaf-im bun-ko k'aid-éé-n}\) 3SM.SUBJ five fruit-ACC coffee-GEN need-IPF-3

'She wants five beans of coffee.'

63 \(\text{wótū k'åstin mát-im kamay-ko šin-i-t}\)

1PL.SUBJ two sorghum-GEN head-ACC buy-PF-1

'We have bought two heads of sorghum.'

The noun classifier phrases mát ŋu ŧudd-im ‘four head’ in (61), šinnī ŋaf-im ‘five fruits’ in (62), and k'åstin mát-im ‘two heads’ in (63) restrict their respective heads. When the genitive marker –ko is suffixed to the nouns k'åbbe ‘maize’, bunú ‘coffee’, kamay ‘sorghum’, the accusative marker is suffixed to the classifier noun phrases such as máti ŋu ŧudd-im ‘four head’, šinnī ŋaf-im ‘five beans’, and k'åstin mát-im ‘two head’ as in (61), (62) and (63), respectively. It is not clear why the accusative is marked on the classifier phrases, while the genitive is marked on the head noun. Maybe the head noun represents the whole part of the noun, while the classifier represents one of the part (partitive).

Dime has yet another strategy to classify nouns, which can be considered as classification of functions of certain entities. For example, cattle can be categorized as ‘meat-cattle’, ‘farm-cattle’, and ‘milk-cattle’, etc. The following are examples:

66. \(\text{dóši wàәәn k'åstin}\)

milk cattle two

'two milk cows'
In the above constructions the numeral plus noun forms are not classifier phrases, rather they label the function or role of the different types of cattle.

Generally, only a few types of classifier phrase are identified in Dime. Maybe this result supports the typological analysis of Creissels (2000), who pointed out that nominal classification systems are more used in East Asian languages, but are extremely rare in African languages. In Dime, measure phrases, classifier nouns and the functional categorization are used side by side to a limited extent (cf. Aikhenvald 2000 for a cross-linguistic analysis of classifiers).
8 Verb inflections

This chapter contains discussion of the verb root, subject-agreement, tense-aspect marking, and negation. All verb inflections in Dime involve suffixation.

8.1 Verb roots and the imperative

The basic verb is mainly biconsonantal. Hayward (2000:93) states that the Omotic verb root is most frequently biconsonantal, as is also the case in Chadic and Cushitic languages. The imperative form of the verb is the simplest verb form in Dime. The imperative stem can end in one of the vowels -e, -i, and -u or in any consonant. However, the basic form or the imperative verb stems which end in vowels lose the vowel when suffixes are added to the basic form, e.g., the plural addressee marker -is or the negative marker -koy. We can thus categorize the basic verb in two types. The first one contains verbs that end in a vowel, and the second one contains verbs that end in a consonant. Both type I and type II verbs have the same structure after suffixation, as in the plural addressee form in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Imperative stem</th>
<th>Basic form (Single addressee)</th>
<th>Plural addressee</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type I</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yįzi</td>
<td>yįzi-is</td>
<td>Run</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>žade</td>
<td>žad-is</td>
<td>Come</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč'u</td>
<td>wuč'-is</td>
<td>Drink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type II</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>źuus</td>
<td>źuus-is</td>
<td>Cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tālk'</td>
<td>tālk'-is</td>
<td>Borrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’āah</td>
<td>s’āah-is</td>
<td>Vomit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kǔb</td>
<td>kǔb-is</td>
<td>Carry</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: The basic verb forms of Dime

In the type I imperative stems the final vowels are varied. This is due to the vowel harmony between the root vowel and the imperative vowel. The final vowel assimilates completely to a preceding i, e or u but this is not the case with o and a. If the first vowel is o the second is either o or u. If the first vowel is a, the following vowel is either e or i. That is the vowels o and a show harmony in roundness. The following examples demonstrate the vowel harmony of the final vowel with the preceding one.

1. e-ending     i-ending     u-ending
   Žiēnē ‘say’      Žimī ‘give’      Žūdū ‘put’
   Šemē ‘beg’      Ŭgi ‘go’        Kuyū ‘dig’
   T’eesē ‘know’   Yįzi ‘run’      Wuč’u ‘drink’
   Žāde ‘come’     Gāmi ‘win’      Fōtu ‘fail’
As can be observed from the above examples, imperative verbs have a final vowel whose shape is to a large extent determined by the preceding root vowel and which disappears before suffixation. In addition, there are very few verbs ending with \(-o\) in Dime, for instance, **boono** ‘be sufficient’, **fooko** ‘embrace’, **k’oŋk’o** ‘knock’ which show similar pattern to the previous examples. There are also some exceptional verb forms where final vowels are not determined by the preceding root vowel, for example: **k’oțe** ‘arrive’, **bōsini** ‘end/finish’, **bukţe** ‘take by force’, **bolidî** ‘forecast’ etc.

The basic verb form is used in commands and in some interrogatives with content question words (cf. 4a below). In negative imperatives or prohibitions the final vowel of the basic verb is dropped and the special negative marker -\(-kóy\) (not the negative declarative marker **káy**), is attached to the verb root. Consider the following examples:

2. Commands Prohibitions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Command</th>
<th>Prohibition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yiž̄u</td>
<td>yiz-kóy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>géhê</td>
<td>géh-kóy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ņolóy</td>
<td>ņolóy-kóy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dahin</td>
<td>dahin-kóy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuy</td>
<td>wuy-kóy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For plural addressees the imperative verb is marked by \(-is\). This morpheme is suffixed only to utterances directed to participants in the dialogue such as commands, questions, and greetings.

3a. ſiftaye k’int’i

shiftay stand.up

‘Shiftaye stand up!’

3b. ſiftaye-ká taddese-ká kint’-is

shiftaye-CNJ taddese-CNJ stand_up-PL.ADR

‘Shiftay and Taddese stand up!’

4a. ņás ņotst

how spend night

‘Good morning! (singular addressee)’

4b. ņás ņotst-is

how spend night-PL.ADR

‘Good morning! (pl. addressee)’

The following examples illustrate the use of the morpheme \(-is\) in interrogative clauses:

5a. yá wuy-im ņits

2S.SUBJ what-ACC eat:Q

‘What did you (2S) eat?’ (cf. basic form: ņitsi)
Verb inflections

5b. yá wúy-im ?its-deé
   2S.SUBJ what-ACC eat-IPF:Q
   ’What do you (2S) eat?’

5c. yese wúy-im ?its-is
   2PL.SUBJ what-ACC eat-PL.ADR:Q
   ’What did you (2PL) eat?’

The suffix -is does not occur with first and third person. Consider the following examples:

6. nä ¿ás ?ọxt
   3SF.SUBJ how night
   ’How is she doing today?’ (lit. How did she pass the night)

7. nú wúy-im ?its
   3MS.SUBJ what-ACC eat
   ’What did he eat?’

8. ná ¿ámoid ?ád
   3PS.SUBJ when come
   ’When did she come?’

Fleming (1990:568) states that verb roots with the suffix -u and with the suffix -m are used with a single addressee, while verb roots with the suffix -is are used when the command is directed to two or more addressees. However, as we have shown above, the verb roots may end in a vowel or a consonant in the case of a single addressee, while the suffix –is is used consistently with plural addressees. Whether the difference in our observations are based on dialect differences needs to be checked.

8.2 Subject agreement marking

Subject agreement in Dime is marked only in declarative affirmative clauses (for indirect indication of the second person in interrogative verbs, see section 12.4). The agreement indicates only person, distinguishing first person from second and third persons. The verb does not indicate the number and gender of the subject. The suffix -t indicates that the subject of the clause is first person (singular or plural), and the suffix -n indicates second and third person singular and plural subjects. The following table illustrates person marking in Dime verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal affix</th>
<th>Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-t</td>
<td>1(S and PL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>2 and 3 (S and PL)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Person markers

The following are examples that show person agreement on the verb.
9a. ʔaté don-im déχ-i-t
1S.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
‘I cooked potato.’

9b. wótú don-im déχ-i-t
1PL.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-1
‘We cooked potato.’

9c. nú don-im déχ-i-n
3SM.SUBJ potato-ACC cook-PF-3
‘He cooked potato.’

9d. ná don-im déχ-i-n
3SF.SUBJ potato cook-PF-3
‘She cooked potato.’

9e. yá don-im déχ-i-n
2S.SUBJ potato cook-PF-2
‘You cooked potato.’

In summary, when the subject is first person the person marker in the verb is –t; it is –n when the subject is second or third person. The verb does not indicate whether the subject is plural or singular; masculine or feminine.

8.3 Aspect marking

Tense-aspect is expressed using suffixation and reduplication. In Dime the first person is distinguished from other persons as demonstrated in the overview in table 2. There is no person differentiation in the progressive past.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>person</th>
<th>imperfective</th>
<th>progressive(now)</th>
<th>Progressive(past)</th>
<th>perfective</th>
<th>far past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ʔad-déé–t</td>
<td>ʔad-ʔad-déé–t</td>
<td>ʔad-ʔad-déé–ká</td>
<td>ʔad-i-t</td>
<td>ʔad-ʔad-i-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>others</td>
<td>ʔad-déé–n</td>
<td>ʔad-ʔad-déé–n</td>
<td>ʔad-ʔad-déé–ká</td>
<td>ʔad-i-n</td>
<td>ʔad-ʔad-i-n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-3: Aspect tense distinction for the verb ʔad ‘come’

In the following sections we discuss the imperfective, progressive (present/past), perfective and far past tenses.

8.3.1 Imperfective –déé–

The imperfective aspect is marked by –déé and -tub. –déé is used for all persons in verbal constructions. -tub is used only in non-verbal clauses and as alternative for –déé for first person singular and plural subject in verbal constructions. –déé is followed by the person markers -n or –t (but see section 12.4).
The imperfective form consists of the basic verb, the imperfective morpheme and the person marker. The paradigm of the verb ḏade 'come' is shown below:

10. ḏaté ḏād-déé-t 'I will come/I come.'
    ( ḏáte ḏād-tub) 'I will come/I come.'
    wótú ḏād-déé-t 'We will come/we come.'
    (wótú ḏād-tub) 'We will come/we come.'
    yáay ḏā-déé-n 'You will come/you come.'
    yéis ḏā-déé-n 'You(PL) will come/you come.'
    nū ḏā-déé-n 'He will come/he comes.'
    ná ḏā-déé-n 'She will come/she comes.'
    kété ḏā-déé-n 'They will come/they come.'

Some more examples of Dime imperfective verbs:

11. Imperfective form

    ḏay-sé-é-n 'he breaks'
    wójim-déé-é-n 'he enters'
    wúc'-t'-éé-é-n 'he drinks'
    k’ááms-éé-é-n 'he hears'
    k’obt'-éé-é-n 'he wears'
    názt-éé-é-n 'he sleeps'
    yiz-éé-é-n 'he runs'
    dáh-éé-é-n 'he sits'

The imperfective marker -déé has variant forms -t’eé-, -tée, -ée due to consonant assimilations such as devoicing, glottalization and consonant sequence restrictions. For further information on phonological processes that apply to -déé see Section 2.8.9, ex. 144).

The suffix -déé of the imperfective seems to have originated from the existential verb déen. The imperfective aspect indicates present, habitual and future.

12. ná bindi nár-ó t’ul-déé-n 3SF.SUBJ always river-in swim-IPF-3
    'She always swims in the river.'

13. ḏaté nár-ó t’ul-déé-t 1S.SUBJ river-in swim-IPF-1
    'I swim in a river.'

The suffix –tub as in (14b) is used to indicate the imperfective aspect which subsumes present, habitual and future tenses in verbal constructions. –tub is used only in first person in free variation with -déé.

14a. ḏaté nár-ó t’ul-déé-t 1S.SUBJ river-LOC swim-IPF-1
    'I will swim in a river.'
14b. ʔaté nár-ó t’ul-tub
1S.SUBJ river-LOC swim-IPF:1
‘I will swim in a river.’

8.3.2 Progressive

To express the progressive aspect, Dime uses partial or full reduplication of the verb stem. The reduplicated stem is marked with the imperfective aspect marker. Consider the following progressive construction:

15. ʔaté nár-ó t’ul-tul-déé-t
1S.SUBJ river-LOC RDP-swim-IPF:1
‘I am swimming in a river.’

The reduplication in the progressive aspect has two patterns. In one type the entire root is reduplicated as in (16) and (17), and in the other reduplication affects only the first CV sequence as in (18).

16. nú sól-im ʔits-i-ʔist-ée-n
3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC RDP-i-eat-IPF:3
‘He is eating enjera’

17. kété ʔeh-ó ʔiŋ-ʔiŋ-déé-n
3PL.SUBJ house-LOC RDP-go-IPF:3
‘They are going home.’

18. nú lá-láʔt’éé-n
3SF.SUBJ RDP-die-IPF:3
‘She is dying.’

In the reduplication of the entire root (16), epenthetic i is inserted to avoid an impermissible sequence of consonants (i.e., the tsʔ sequence is not permitted). In partial reduplication, some consonants, such as velar fricatives, glides, and the affricate ts cannot be reduplicated. For instance nau, ‘sleep’ can be partially reduplicated as nú-nau-téé-n ‘he/she/they is/are sleeping’ but not as *nauz-e-téé-n, since ze cannot be reduplicated. Similarly, there is restriction in the reduplication of y and y (see, 2.8).

The progressive forms of the verb ʔuŋ ‘go’ with various subjects are shown below:

19. ʔaté ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-t ‘I am going.’
wótú ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-t ‘We are going.’
yáay ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-n ‘You are going.’
yesé ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-n ‘You are going.’
nú ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-n ‘He is going.’
ná ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-n ‘She is going.’
kété ʔuŋ-ʔuŋ-déé-n ‘They are going.’

If the reduplication of the verb stem in the above examples is omitted, the construc-
tion expresses the imperfective (i.e., future or habitual), e.g. na ŋndé-n ‘she will go’. It is reported that Koorete, one of the Omotic languages in the Ometo cluster, also has a verb paradigm in which the verb root is reduplicated to mark a different aspect (Azeb, 1994:11).

The copula morpheme deén-ká is used to express past progressive action of the main verb. The verbs are not inflected for person in the past progressive, as illustrated in (20):

20. até t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘I was swimming.’
    wóti t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘We were swimming.’
    yáay t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘You were swimming.’
    yesé t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘You were swimming.’
    nú t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘He was swimming.’
    ná t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘She was swimming.’
    kétė t’ul-t’ul-deén-ká ‘They were swimming.’

8.3.3 Perfective -i

The perfective aspect is mainly used to refer to completed actions. It is marked by the morpheme -i. The duration between the completion of the action/event and the utterance affects the form of the verb. If the completion of an event was followed by a long duration, then the verb is fully or partially reduplicated (cf. section 8.3.4). The following examples illustrate the perfective construction.

21. nú ?ání sutsó ʔádi-n
    3SM.SUBJ today morning come-PF-3
    ‘He came this morning.’

22. kétė ʔádi-n
    3PL.SUBJ come-PF-3
    ‘They came.’

23. atú bay-is-im bós-í-t
    1S.SUBJ food-DEF-ACC finish-PF-1
    ‘I finished the food.’

24. yá ʔádi-n
    2S.SUBJ come-PF-2
    ‘You came.’

As can be seen from the above examples, the perfective morpheme -i is followed by one of the two person markers: -n and -t. The paradigm of the verb ŋdï ‘come’ is shown in (25):
25. ṭaté  ṭád-i-t  ‘I came.’
wótú  ṭád-i-t  ‘We came.’
yáay  ṭád-i-n  ‘You came.’
yesé  ṭád-i-n  ‘You came.’
nú  ṭád-i-n  ‘He came.’
ná  ṭád-i-n  ‘She came.’
kété  ṭád-i-n  ‘They came.’

The following proverbs illustrate the use of the perfective aspect:

26. ŋissim yéf-ká-déé  tir-im  tir-i-n
    groom  see-NEG-PF  carpet-ACC  plait-PF-3
    ‘Without seeing the bridegroom they prepared the carpet.’
    [i.e., actions have to be carried out according to their priority]

27. guďu  kó-goy-im  yín-ká-déé  ñiyi-ko-m  k’or-i-n
    monkey  3SF.OBJ-buttock-ACC  see-NEG-PF  man-GEN-ACC  complain-PF-3
    ‘A monkey complained about others’ beauty while forgetting to see a scar
    on its own buttock.’ [i.e., criticizing others but to fail to notice one’s own
drawback is easy]

8.3.4 Far past

The remote past is expressed by reduplication of the verb stem and the addition of
the perfective morpheme, as shown in (28a) and (28b).

28a. ṭaté  nár-is-o  t’úl-t’ul-i-t
    1S.SUBJ  river-DEF-LOC  RDP-swim-PF-1
    ‘I swam in the river (a long time ago).’

28b. nú  ṭád-ṭád-i-n
    3SM.SUBJ  RDP-come-PF-3
    ‘He had come long ago.’

The following paradigm illustrates the inflection of the verb ṭád  ‘come’ for the far
past.

29. ṭaté  ṭád-ṭád-i-t  ‘I came long ago.’
wótu  ṭád-ṭád-i-t  ‘We came long ago.’
yáay  ṭád-ṭád-i-n  ‘You came long ago.’
yesé  ṭád-ṭád-i-n  ‘You came long ago.’
nú  ṭád-ṭád-i-n  ‘He came long ago.’
ná  ṭád-ṭád-i-n  ‘She came long ago.’
kété  ṭád-ṭád-i-n  ‘They came long ago.’

It seems that in affirmative constructions, copula verbs and reduplication have an
important role in expressing different tense-aspect distinctions, while in negative
constructions tense-aspect is not marked. The past and future tenses are expressed in
copula constructions (see also Section 9.2 and 9.3).
8.3.5 Aspect and negation

With one exception (see below in this section), the verb morphology of Dime does not distinguish perfective-imperfective aspect in negative constructions. The verb shows only the negation marker –káy. The negative morpheme may be realized as either -ká, -káy or k’áy. The variation between the first two forms is the following: –ká is a reduced form of –káy and it occurs at non-final position, affixed to a copula verb or a main verb. k’áy is used following ejective consonants and the velar nasal (ŋ).

In negatives, aspectual distinction is neutralized as shown below:

| Verb | Time   | Negation
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30.</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>ʔád-káy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31.</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>ʔád-káy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>ná</td>
<td>ʔád-káy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>wótí</td>
<td>wunt'-i-káy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

30.  ná ʔád-káy 3SF.SUBJ today come-NEG

'She does not come today.'

31.  ná ʔád-káy 3SF.SUBJ tomorrow come-NEG

'She will not come tomorrow.'

32.  ná ʔád-káy 3SF.SUBJ yesterday come-NEG

'She didn’t come yesterday.'

33.  wótí wunt'-i-káy 1P.SUBJ tomorrow work-i-NEG

'We will not work tomorrow.'

The negative forms of the verb wunt’ in (33) and the paradigm of ũn ‘go’ in (34) illustrate that the initial consonant, k, of the negative marker changes to k’ after ejectives and ŋ (see also Section 2.8.4.).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Negative Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>34.  ʔaté ũn-káy 'I do/will/ did not go.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40.  wótú ũn-káy ‘We do/will/ did not go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.  yáay ũn-káy ‘You do/will/ did not go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36.  yesé ũn-káy ‘You do/will/ did not go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.  nú ũn-káy ‘He does/will/ did not go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.  ná ũn-káy ‘She does/will/ did not go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39.  kété ũn-káy ‘They do/will/ did not go.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With verbs which end in consonants other than ejectives and ŋ the negative suffix is –káy but not -k’áy. For example, kété gaaz-káy ‘they will not curse’.

Refusal is expressed through a slightly different negative construction. As we already mentioned and demonstrated in example (34), tense-aspect is generally not expressed in negative verb forms. In the expression of refusal, however, the existen-
tial verb déén / déét and the morpheme –tub which marks future tense follow the negative marker –k’á(y)/ –ká(y) as illustrated in (35).
35. **wótú gárím wunt’-k’a-déét-tub**  
   1P.SUBJ tomorrow work-NEG-exist-FUT  
   ‘We shall not work tomorrow.’ (lit. We are expected to work tomorrow, but we refuse to work)

The structure of the verb in example (35) is complex as it involves two verbs: **wunt’** ‘work’ and **déét** ‘exist’. The final verb **déét-tub** is observed in nominal clauses (see section 9.3). The negative morpheme **-káy** also occurs following a copula verb but at sentence-final position (see examples 39 below):

36. **nu sóó ñád-ká dāhim**  
   3SM.SUBJ here come-NEG stay  
   ‘He has not come yet.’

37. **nu näáre ñád-káy**  
   3SM.SUBJ yesterday come-NEG  
   ‘He did not come yesterday.’

38. **nu kéní yí-ká-déé**  
   3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG-PF  
   ‘It was not a dog.’

39. **ís-ko kéní yí-káy**  
   1S.OBJ-GEN dog COP-NEG  
   ‘I have no dog.’

In interrogative sentences aspect is marked (cf. section 12.4). Verbs are not inflected for person in interrogatives.

We summarize the inflection of verbal suffixes in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Aspect marker</th>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affirmative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>-dée</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>FUT</strong></td>
<td>-tub</td>
<td>no person marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-4: Verbal suffixes
9 Nominal clauses

In this chapter we deal with tense-less, past and future copula clauses. We also discuss nominal clauses in negative and interrogative constructions. The copula may or may not be overt. In the following table, we present an overview of the affixes that mark attributive/equative and existential/possessive copula clauses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>copula</th>
<th>tense-less</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
<th>negative non-past</th>
<th>negative past</th>
<th>negative future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>equative/attributive</td>
<td>-če</td>
<td>dán</td>
<td>déébdéé</td>
<td>dééntub</td>
<td>yi-káy</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>existential/possessive</td>
<td>děén</td>
<td>děéděé-ká</td>
<td>děéntub</td>
<td>yi-káy</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé</td>
<td>yi-ká-déé-tub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: Copula and tenses

9.1 Tenseless nominal clauses

Present / tense-less equative and attributive nominal clauses are marked by –če or dán. These morphemes are used alternatively without any apparent meaning difference. Consider the following equative constructions:

1. maikro ūís-kó wutun-ub ūísim-če
   maikro OBJ-GEN old-M brother-COP
   ‘Maikro is my eldest brother.’

2. maikro ūís-kó wutun-ub ūísim dán
   maikro OBJ-GEN old-M brother COP
   ‘Maikro is my eldest brother.’

In example (1), the subject of the clause Maikro is the referent that is equated to the nominal predication ‘my eldest brother’. Payne (1997:114) states that “equative clauses are those, which assert that a particular entity (the subject of a clause) is identical to the entity specified in the nominal predicate. Equative clauses mark a close connection between one referent and other referents”.

The copula markers in tense-less equative-attributive clauses may be dropped (4). In example (4), gabar ‘farmer’ is in the predicative position and it is used to identify the subject as belonging to a group of farmers.

3a. k’alób gabar-če
    k’alób farmer-COP
    ‘K’alób is a farmer.’
3b. k’alób gabar dán
k’alób farmer COP
‘K’alób is a farmer.’

4. k’alób gabar
k’alób farmer
‘K’alób is a farmer.’

In the examples in (5) and (6) the copula expresses the property that is associated with the subject.

5. zób-is wolk’a-b kúfo-b-ée
lion-DEF strong-M beast-M COP
‘The lion is a strong animal.’

6. zób-is wolk’a-b kúfo-b dán
lion-DEF strong-M beast-M COP
‘The lion is a strong animal.’

In Dime, nominal clauses can be constructed in three ways: either by a zero copula without employing any marker as in example (7) or using one of the copula morphemes as in (8) and (9). Thus the copula is optional in present tense equative and attributive clauses.

7. nù níts ʔahó-b
3SM.SUBJ child good-M
‘He is a good child.’

8. nù níts ʔahó-b-ée
3SM.SUBJ child good-M-COP
‘He is a good child.’

9. nù níts ʔahó-b dán
3SM.SUBJ child good-M COP
‘He is a good child.’

Attributive clauses qualify the subject in terms of property, colour, etc. In the (a, b, c) examples in (10-12) we illustrate present tense copula constructions with zero-marking, with the morphemes -ée or dán.

10a. ná ʔfi-ʔnt’-ind-ée
3SF.SUBJ RDP: beauty-F-COP
‘She is beautiful.’

30 In Ethiopian languages zero copula construction is a common phenomenon, which is attested in Tigre, Ge’ez (Crass, Demeke, Meyer and Watter, 2005), and Basketo (Omotic) (Alemayehu, 2002). Typologically it is reported that in many languages the optionality of the copula is restricted to the present tense (Hengeveld 1992:209).
Nominal clauses

10b. ná fi-fígt'-ind dán
3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F COP
‘She is beautiful.’

10c. ná fi-fígt'-ind
3SF.SUBJ RDP-beauty-F
‘She is beautiful.’

11a. ná-is súulum-ub -éé
water-DEF hot-M COP
‘The water is hot.’

11b. ná-is súulum-ub dán
water-DEF hot-M COP
‘The water is hot.’

11c. ná-is súulum-ub
water-DEF hot-M
‘The water is hot.’

12a. ʔakim zú-ub-éé
calabash red-M COP
‘The calabash is red.’

12b. ʔakim zú-ub dán
calabash red-M COP
‘The calabash is red.’

12c. ʔakim zú-ub
calabash red-M
‘The calabash is red.’

In existential and possessive nominal clauses, even in non-tensed forms, the copula is obligatory. If the existential copula is missing, the construction becomes ungrammatical. Example:

13. níts-is déén
child-DEF exist
‘There is a child.’

The possessive construction is a special form of the existential/locative construction in which the possessor is expressed with a genitive case suffix and the possessed is the subject of the existential form déén. Compare the possessive construction in (14a) with the existential/locative one in (14b):

14a. ʔis-ko níts ʔahó-b déén
me-GEN child good-M exist
‘I have a good child.’
14b. kênî ʔéh-ô dêen
  dog  house-LOC exist
  ‘There is a dog in the house.’

The copula verb is not inflected for person. If the possessive clause is inflected for person, e.g., by first person marker –t, the construction is ungrammatical as in (15).

15. *ʔîs-ko nîts ʔahô-b dêet
   1S.OBJ-GEN  child  good-M exist
   Intended meaning: ...‘I have a good child.’

In the following sections, we discuss tense-aspect marking in nominal clauses. Affirmative, negative and interrogative equative, existential and possessive constructions will be examined in turn.

9.2 Past tense nominal clauses

The past nominal clause is expressed by dêen-kâ, which comprises the existential verb dêen and the perfective marker –kâ. This form applies to the past tense of attributive/equative clauses (The past tense of locative/possessive construction is different, see below). Compare the past nominal clauses in the (a) examples with their corresponding present or tense-less nominal clauses in the (b) examples:

16a. nû nîts dêen-kâ
   3SM.SUBJ  child  exist-PF
   ‘He was a child.’

16b. nû nîts dán
   3SM.SUBJ  child  COP
   ‘He is a child.’

17a. yá ʔastemare dêen-kâ
   2S.SUBJ  teacher  exist-PF
   ‘You were a teacher.’

17b. yá ʔastemare dán
   2S.SUBJ  teacher  COP
   ‘You are a teacher.’

18a. nîts dêen-kâ
    child  exist-PF
    ‘There was a child.’

18b. nîts dêen
    child  exist
    ‘There is a child.’

The existential clause has only a copula verb and a complement, while the equative clause has a subject, a complement noun and a copula verb. Both the existential and equative clauses respectively illustrated in examples (16-17) and (18) use the past
tense copula déén-ká for second and third person. However, the past tense form of first person existential and equative clauses is different.

The suffix –déé is used as an imperfective marker in verbal clauses, as we have shown earlier. Surprisingly, in the non-verbal clauses –déé serves as a perfective aspect marker in combination with a distinct existential verb dééb. This combination, i.e., dééb-déé is used only when the subject is first person as in (19a), whereas in the second and the third person, the form déén-ká is used (16-18, above). The unacceptable sentence in (19c) illustrates that déén-ká cannot be used with first person subject; (19d) illustrates that the existential verb dééb cannot combine with the perfective marker –ká.

19a. /áté níts dééb-déé
   1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
   ‘I was a child.’

19b. /áté níts dán
   1S.SUBJ child COP
   ‘I am a child.’

19c. */áté níts déén-ká
   1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
   Intended meaning: ‘I was a child.’

19d. */áté níts dééb-ká
   1S.SUBJ child exist-PF
   Intended meaning: ‘I was a child.’

The 2nd and 3rd person past tense equative/attributive and existential-locative nominal clauses are similar in that all of these use the copula déén-ká. The past possessive, however, requires reduplication of the first CV of the verb déén-ká as in (20a). The present possessive/existential form is given in (20b) for comparison (reduplication is also used in verbal clauses to mark far-past, see Section 8.3.4.).

20a. kó-kó níts ʔahó-b dééb-ká
    3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M RDP-exist-PF
    ‘She had a good child.’

20b. kó-kó níts ʔahó-b déé
    3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist
    ‘She has a good child.’

If the reduplicated existential verb in (20a) is replaced by a non-reduplicated déén-ká, the structure becomes ungrammatical as in (21) below:

21 *kó-kó níts ʔahó-b déén-ká
    3SF.OBJ-GEN child good-M exist-PF
    Intended meaning: ‘She had a good child.’

The past tense existential verb déén-ká is also used in combination with main verbs to indicate the past continuous tense, in which case the main verb is reduplicated
before dén-ká (see section 8.3.2).

### 9.3 Future tense nominal clauses

The future tense in nominal clauses is expressed by the morpheme –tub. The same morpheme is used for expressing future or imperfective in verbal clauses, specifically with first person pronouns. In non-verbal constructions –tub expresses future tense with all subjects, irrespective of the person value of the subject. This is illustrated by the following examples comparing the equative, existential, and possessive future nominal clauses (22), (23), and (24) or (25), respectively. Due to the assimilation process the existential form déen changes to déét.\(^{31}\)

22. ná ʔámze déét-tub
   3SF.SUBJ woman exist-FUT equative
   ‘She will be a woman.’

23. wúdúr-af déét-tub
   girl-PL exist-FUT existential
   ‘There will be girls.’

24. kl-ko mes’af déét-tub
   3SM.OBJ-GEN book exist-FUT possessive
   ‘He will have a book.’

25. ?is-ko mes’af déét-tub
   1S.OBJ-GEN book exist-FUT possessive
   ‘I will have a book.’

In verbal constructions –tub occurs as an alternative form of déét (see section 8.3.1). In copula clauses, however, –tub is directly affixed to déét as in examples (23-25).

### 9.4 Negative nominal clauses

The negative nominal clause is headed by the negative copula yi- and the negative marker -káy. Equative, attributive, existential, locative as well as possessive negative nominal clauses use yi-káy. In examples (26-28) the present negative nominal clause is illustrated:

26. nú kéní yi-káy
   3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG
   ‘It is not a dog.’

27. kéní yi-káy
   dog COP-NEG
   ‘There is no dog.’

\(^{31}\) The final consonant –n in déen assimilates to the consonant –t that follows it: déen-tub > déettub.
28. ʔís-ko kěnì yi-káy
   1S.OBJ-GEN dog COP-NEG
   I have no dog.

As mentioned earlier, in verbal constructions too, the negative marker -káy is added to the main verb. This is illustrated here in (29) (see also Section 8.3.5 on verbal negative construction).

29. kěn-is ʔád-káy
dog-DEF come-NEG
   ‘The dog doesn’t come.’

The past negative nominal clause is expressed by the element yi-ká-déé as shown below for equative, locative and possessive nominal clauses.

30. nú kěnì yi-ká-déé
   3SM.SUBJ dog COP-NEG-PF
   ‘It was not a dog/he had no dog.’

31. kěnì yi-ká-déé
dog COP-NEG-PF
   ‘There was no dog.’

32. kěnì yi-ká-déé-tub
dog COP-NEG-PF-FUT
   ‘There will be no dog.’

In connection to the past negative form illustrated in (30-32), two important points should be noted: first, the morpheme -déé, which has been analysed as imperfective aspect marker in main verbs in Chapter 8, is used as perfective aspect marker in negative nominal clauses, as in (30-32) (see also section 9.2 ex.17). Secondly, preceding the perfective marker -déé in negative nominal clauses, and generally in medial position, the negative marker is realised as -ká instead of –ka. The -ká in this context should not be confused with the perfective aspect marker -ká in affirmative past nominal clauses, i.e., déen-ká.

The copula is obligatory in negative nominal clauses and in tensed nominal clauses in contrast to non-tensed ones.

9.5 Interrogative nominal clauses

The interrogative marker in nominal clauses is -áá for second person singular and plural, both in perfective and imperfective aspects. For the other persons, the interrogative in nominal clauses is indicated prosodically, through a high tone on the final vowel of the aspect marker. Interrogative sentences of Dime are treated in section 12.4. Here we will only provide a few examples of nominal interrogative clauses.

A glide is inserted between the copula and the interrogative marker -áá or the aspect marker -i as in (33-35).
33. yá ʔastemar-ée-y-ā
   2S.SUBJ teacher-COP-y-Q
   ‘Are you a teacher?’

34a. ʔiyé ʔeh-ō déé-y-ì
   person house-LOC COP-y-PF:Q
   ‘Was there a man in the house?’

34b. ʔiyé ʔeh-ō déé
   person house-LOC COP:Q
   ‘Is there a man in the house?’

35. kó-ko kané déé-y-ì
   3SF.OBJ-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
   ‘Did she have a sister?’

36. yá wúdúr dán-āā
   you girl COP-Q:2
   ‘Are you a girl?’

37. nú ʔáy dá-déé
   3SM.SUBJ who COP-IPF:Q
   ‘Who is he?’

38. kün-ko kané déé-y-ì
   3SM.OBJ-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
   ‘Did he have a sister?’

The morpheme -ì is a perfective aspect marker which is used in first and third person interrogative (34a, 35), while the vocalic element -āā is an interrogative marker for the second person both in affirmative and negative interrogative clauses (see also section 12.4.1 on interrogative sentences).

9.6 Some comparative notes

In contrast to Dime, in related Omotic languages such as Maale, a distinction of the present/tense-less and past copula constructions is not attested. Consider the following example from Maale:

39. ʔizi temaa-re-ke ‘He is/was a student’ (Azeb 2001: 226)

In Basketo there is no special copula, in this language zero copula and independent lexemes are used to represent negative or past copula constructions as shown below:

40 ʔizi tamare
    she student
    ‘She is a student.’

(Alemayehu 2002: 8)
41. ቆጥር ተማረ በወ (Alemayehu 2002: 8)
   she student not
   ‘She is not a student.’

42. ቆጥር ችና ተማረ ው ታሪ (Alemayehu 2002: 8)
   she before student was
   ‘She was a student before.’

However, Aari, which is closely related to Dime, has copula constructions that are similar to Dime. This language uses the morpheme –ye for present tense copula, as in example (43) and (44). For existential clauses the verb of existence daye is used as in example (45).

43. ካኖስ ገብረ ይ-ወ (Daniel 1993: 39)
   this gebre house-be
   ‘This is Gebre’s house.’

44. ይንስ-ት ይኒ የጆ ይ-ወ (Daniel 1993: 39)
   boy-M-DEF tall-be
   ‘The boy is tall.’

45. ካረ ግወስጋን ይ-ወ (Daniel 1993: 39)
   cold big exist-past
   ‘There is a severe cold.’

The negative copula is marked by dak-aye in example (46).

46. እስመ ይ鲹-ወ (Daniel 1993:39)
   good be-not-past
   ‘It is not good.’

The following table summarizes the copula markers in Dime. The final row, which indicates tense-aspect marking in main verb clauses, is given for contrast.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Copula</th>
<th>Tense-less</th>
<th>PAST</th>
<th>FUTURE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Equative/attributive</td>
<td>dán / -ée  `I am/ you are/ they are/ he/she is'</td>
<td>dééb-deé `I was/ we were'</td>
<td>déé-t-tub `I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive</td>
<td>déén       `I have, he/she has'</td>
<td>dééb-deé `I/we had'</td>
<td>déé-t-tub `I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will have'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Existential/locative</td>
<td>déén `I exist, you are at X, etc.'</td>
<td>dééb-deé `I was at X'</td>
<td>déé-t-tub `I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will be at X'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>yi-káy `I am not/ you are not/ they are not/ he or she is not'</td>
<td>yi-ká-deé `I was not/ we were not/ she/he was not/ you (S/PL) / they were not'</td>
<td>yi-ká-dee-t-tub `I/ you/ he, she/ we/ you (pl)/ they/ will not be'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbal aspect</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>perfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**Table-2. Copula verbs in Dime**

- Verb root: ŋits - `eat`
  - ŋits-déé-t `I/we eat or will eat`
  - ŋits-déé-n `you / he / she / they eat or will eat'
  - ŋits -i-t `I/we ate`
  - ŋits -i-n `you / he / she / they ate`
  - ŋits -tub (only for first person, as alternative to imperfective déé e.g. ŋate sol-im ŋits -tub /déé `I eat/will eat'
10  Verbal derivations

In Dime there are no derived words that are formed by prefixes. In contrast, suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Derived stems such as causative, passive, and reciprocal are formed by suffixing their respective morphemes to the verb roots. Reduplication is also a means of derivation. The derivational morphemes are shown in Table-1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Derivational morpheme</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-is/-s</td>
<td>Causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-int’</td>
<td>Passive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sim</td>
<td>Reciprocal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ima</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-1: The verbal derivational suffixes

10.1  Causative

The causative is formed by suffixing the morpheme -is to the verb root. The morpheme -is is widely attested with this function in many Afroasiatic languages (cf. Bender, 2000:6).32 The realization of the subject, causee, affected entity and the verb form in Dime is illustrated in the following example:

1. /?ind-is ni ts-is-im /dys-im /s-is-i-n
   mother-DEF child-DEF-ACC milk-ACC buy-CAUS-PF-3
   ‘The mother got the child to buy milk.’

In this example, /?ind-is ‘the mother’ is the causer subject, /ni ts-is-im ‘the child’ is the causee and /dys-im ‘milk’ is the affected entity. Both the causee and the affected entity are marked by the accusative case. The verb is morphologically marked by the causative suffix. Concerning morphological marking of the causative, Comrie (1989:167) writes:

Turning to morphological causatives, the prototypical case has the following two characteristics. First, the causative is related to the non-causative predicate by morphological means, for instance by affixation, or whatever other morphological techniques the language in question has at its disposal (e.g., Turkish). The second characteristic of the prototypical morphological causative is that this means of relating causative and non-causative predicates is productive: in the ideal type, one can take any predicate and form a causative form of it by the appropriate morphological means.

The causative derivation in Dime is productive. Some examples:

32 This includes a number of Omotic languages such as Basketo, Ko:rete, Kullo, and Maale (see Azeb 1994, 2001).
2. Base Causative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sini</td>
<td>‘buy/sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕini</td>
<td>‘cause to buy/sell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt’u</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt’-is</td>
<td>‘cause to work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káf</td>
<td>‘keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>káf-is</td>
<td>‘cause to keep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerf</td>
<td>‘tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kerf-is</td>
<td>‘cause to tell’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕišinči</td>
<td>‘remember’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŕišinč-is</td>
<td>‘cause to remember’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birši</td>
<td>‘add’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birš-is</td>
<td>‘cause to add’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč’u</td>
<td>‘drink’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuč’-is</td>
<td>‘cause to drink’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are examples of causative constructions of intransitive (3) and transitive (4) verbs.

3. nälts-is ŕiyy-ís-im k’in-ís-i-n
   child-DEF man-DEF-ACC wake-CAUS-PF-3
   ‘The child woke the man up.’

4. ?atu gošt-ís-im náne maŋé wókkil-im wuč’-ís-i-t
   1S.SUBJ boy-DEF-ACC water gourd one-ACC drink-CAUS-PF-1
   ‘I made the boy drink a calabash of water.’

When the morpheme /–ís/ is suffixed to intransitive verbs, the verb is transitivized as in (3). Such kinds of transitivized verbs may take an additional causative suffix. Consequently a double causative verb form is created. Fleming (1990:578) refers to such kinds of causative forms in Dime as complex causatives. The causee or agent of the original verb and the patient of the original verb receive the accusative case marker. Fleming (1990:579) provides the following example to demonstrate what he labelled as complex causative:

5. sat’an is-im zób-ís-im deis-ís-i-n
   sat’an me-ACC lion-DEF-ACC die-CAUS-CAUS-PF-3
   ‘Satan made me kill the lion.’

Double causative marking is also reported for other Omotic languages (cf. Azeb 1994:1123).

Azeb (2001:95) states in her analysis of Maale verbs that “the causative verb stem may be formed from transitive or intransitive verbs. In the causative of intransitive verb roots, the causative suffix is realized twice. One of these double causative affixes can be regarded as having a transitivizing effect to the intransitive verb”. Similarly, in Dime double causative occurs in the causative of intransitive verbs. The following are examples:

6. ŕan-is ŕats-i-n
   wood-DEF burn-PF-3
   ‘The wood burned.’

7. nu ŕan-is-im ŕats-ʔats-ís-tee-n
   3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC RDP-burn-CAUS-IPF-3
   ‘He is burning the wood.’
Verbal derivations

8. \( \text{nú} \) \( \text{kìn-im} \) \( \text{ʔár-is-im} \) \( \text{ʔats-is-is-i-n} \)

3SM.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-ACC  wood-DEF-ACC burn-CAUS-CAUS-PF-3
‘He made him burn the wood.’

Reduplication affects the causative suffix. For instance, when reduplication takes place for expressing far past tense and if the verb stem is causative, each reduplicant contains the causative marker.

10. \( \text{deisi} \) ‘kill’ \( \text{deis-is-deis-is-in} \) ‘he caused someone to kill’
\( \text{ʔayzi} \) ‘break’ \( \text{ʔayz-is-ʔayz-is-in} \) ‘he caused something to break’
\( \text{sőŋk} \) ‘kiss’ \( \text{sőŋk-is-sőŋk-is-in} \) ‘he caused someone to kiss’
\( \text{ʔím} \) ‘give’ \( \text{ʔím-is-ʔím-is-in} \) ‘he caused something to give’
\( \text{šini} \) ‘buy’ \( \text{šin-is-šin-is-in} \) ‘he caused something to buy’
\( \text{gis’i} \) ‘kick’ \( \text{gis’-is gis’-is-in} \) ‘he caused someone to kick’

11. \( \text{šiftaye kòn-im} \) \( \text{deis-is-deis-is-i-n} \)
	Shiftaye 3SF.OBJ-ACC RDP-CAUS-kill-CAUS-PF-3
‘Shiftaye caused someone to kill her (long ago).’

The following table provides more examples of Dime causative verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intransitive</th>
<th>Causative</th>
<th>Double causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ʔats} ) ‘burn’</td>
<td>( \text{ʔats-is-i-n} )</td>
<td>( \text{ʔats-is-is-i-n} ) ‘he made somebody burn it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{wuc} ) ‘dry’</td>
<td>( \text{wuc-is-i-n} )</td>
<td>( \text{wuc-is-is-i-n} ) ‘he made somebody dry it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ʔín-t} ) ‘wet’</td>
<td>( \text{ʔín-is-i-n} )</td>
<td>( \text{ʔín-is-is-i-n} ) ‘he made somebody wet it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{dey} ) ‘be strong’</td>
<td>( \text{dey-is-i-n} )</td>
<td>( \text{dey-is-is-i-n} ) ‘he made somebody strengthen it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{k’ób} ) ‘dress’</td>
<td>( \text{k’ób-is-i-n} )</td>
<td>( \text{k’ób-is-is-i-n} ) ‘he made somebody dress it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( \text{ʔuus} ) ‘cook’</td>
<td>( \text{ʔuus-is-i-n} )</td>
<td>( \text{ʔuus-is-is-i-n} ) ‘he made somebody cook it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-2: Double causatives

10.2 Passive

In passive constructions the subject is affected by the action of the verb. The passive is marked by \( \text{int} \)’-, which is suffixed to the verb root preceding the aspect marker. Compare the (a) examples in (12-14) with those in (12-14b).

12a. \( \text{ʔámz-is} \) \( \text{ʔár-is-im} \) \( \text{ʔays-i-n} \)
	woman-DEF  wood-DEF-ACC  broke-PF-3
‘The woman broke the wood.’

12b. \( \text{ʔár-is} \) \( \text{ʔays-int’-i-n} \)
	wood-DEF broke-PAS-PF-3
‘The wood was broken.’
13a. wotú ʔois-is-im sikyó wud-i-t
1PL.SUBJ butter-DEF-ACC here keep-PF-1
'We kept the butter here.'

13b. ʔois-is sikyó wud-int'-i-n
butter-DEF here keep-PAS-PF-3
'The butter was kept here.'

14a. ʔaté sól-im ʔis-tée-t
1S.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-IPF-1
'I will eat enjera.'

14b. sól-is ʔits-int'-ée-n
enjera-DEF eat-PAS-IPF-3
'The enjera will be eaten.'

In example (12b, 13b, and 14b) the active verbs \( aXs-i-n \) ‘you(sg./pl.)/he/she/they broke’, wud-i-t ‘I/we kept’, ʔis-tée-t ‘you(sg./pl.)/he/she/they eat’ are changed to \( aXs-int'-i-n, wud-int'-i-n, ʔits-int'-ée-n \), respectively. In this passive construction who or what was responsible for the action is not mentioned. Often overt expression of the agent is avoided in Dime. However, it is not ungrammatical to express the agent in passive forms as can be observed in example (15d). Comrie (1977) states that some languages do not allow the expression of the agent, while in other languages it appears that passive clauses must always contain an agent phrase.

As mentioned earlier, the passive marker in Dime is suffixed to the verb preceding the aspect marker i.e., preceding the perfective marker -i and the imperfective marker -dée. However, it may also occur without the aspect marker in content question forms, as in (15c). Example (15) represents a short dialogue.

15a. nîts-is wûyîm wox-woxant'-ée
child-DEF why RDP-scream-IPF:Q
‘Why is the child screaming?’

15b. ʔasînt'adôt nû gls'-int'-gls'-int'-ib-is-o
because 3MS.SUBJ RDP-beat-PAS-M.RELT-DEF-LOC
‘Because he is being beaten.’

15c. nû ʔây-ká gls'-int'
3SM.SUBJ whom-INST beat-PAS-Q
‘By whom is he being beaten?’

15d. nû kî-bab-kâ gls'-int'-i-n
3SM. OBJ-father-INST beat-PAS-PF-3
‘He is being beaten by his father.’

A similar form of the passive marker, -int, is also attested in Basketo, a neighbour-

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33 When the imperfective marker is suffixed to the verb stem ʔitsi, metathesis takes place to avoid non-permittable sequence of the consonants ts and t. Thus, ʔitsi is changed to ʔistéén
Verbal derivations

ing Omotic language of Dime and also in Maale (see Azeb 1994, 2001).

The active and passive forms of some verbs are given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Passive Perfective</th>
<th>Passive Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìits-ì-n</td>
<td>ìits-ì-ne</td>
<td>ìits-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>ìits-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bug-ì-n</td>
<td>bug-ì-ne</td>
<td>bug-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>bug-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ôbt'-ì-n</td>
<td>k’ôbt'-ì-ne</td>
<td>k’ôbt-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>k’ôbt-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâms-ì-n</td>
<td>kâms-ì-ne</td>
<td>kâms-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>kâms-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bast-ì-n</td>
<td>bast-ì-ne</td>
<td>bast-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>bast-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuc'-ì-n</td>
<td>wuc'-ì-ne</td>
<td>wuc-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>wuc-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?âgs-ì-n</td>
<td>?âgs-ì-ne</td>
<td>?âgs-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>?âgs-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt'-ì-n</td>
<td>wunt'-ì-ne</td>
<td>wunt-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>wunt-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ats-ì-n</td>
<td>?ats-ì-ne</td>
<td>?ats-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>?ats-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfective</th>
<th>Imperfective</th>
<th>Passive Perfective</th>
<th>Passive Imperfective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ìits-ì-n</td>
<td>ìits-ì-ne</td>
<td>ìits-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>ìits-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bug-ì-n</td>
<td>bug-ì-ne</td>
<td>bug-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>bug-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k’ôbt'-ì-n</td>
<td>k’ôbt'-ì-ne</td>
<td>k’ôbt-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>k’ôbt-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kâms-ì-n</td>
<td>kâms-ì-ne</td>
<td>kâms-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>kâms-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bast-ì-n</td>
<td>bast-ì-ne</td>
<td>bast-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>bast-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wuc'-ì-n</td>
<td>wuc'-ì-ne</td>
<td>wuc-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>wuc-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?âgs-ì-n</td>
<td>?âgs-ì-ne</td>
<td>?âgs-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>?âgs-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wunt'-ì-n</td>
<td>wunt'-ì-ne</td>
<td>wunt-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>wunt-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?ats-ì-n</td>
<td>?ats-ì-ne</td>
<td>?ats-int'-ì-i-n</td>
<td>?ats-int'-ì-ì-ne</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table-3: Passive verbs

10.3 Reciprocal

The reciprocal stem is formed by suffixing -sim to verb roots. The reciprocal refers to an activity carried out by participants, who are both agent and patient of the action. Agent and patient are both expressed in the subject, which has to be plural or a coordinated noun phrase.

16. sonk- ‘kiss’ sonk-i-sim ‘kiss each other’
   k’ây- ‘find’ k’ây-sim ‘find each other’
   gîs- ‘kick’ gîs-s’im ‘kick each other’
   deis- ‘kill’ deis-sim ‘kill each other’
   kaf- ‘wait’ kaf-sim ‘wait for each other’

Since a sequence of more than two consonants is not permitted in the language, the epenthetic vowel -i- is inserted between the verb root and the suffix -sim when the verb root ends in a geminate consonant or with a cluster of consonants, as in the case of the verb sonk-i-sim. Examples:

17. maikro-kâ šİftey-kâ sônk-i-sim-i-n
    maikro-CNJ šİftey-CNJ kiss-i-REC-PF-3
    ‘Maikro and Shifaye kissed each other.’

18. taddese-kâ tayê-kâ gîs-s’im-i-n
    taddese-CNJ tayê-CNJ kick-REC-PF-3
    ‘Taddese and Taye kicked each other.’

34 Affixation seems to be a very common means for deriving reciprocal verbs cross-linguistically (see Mchombo, 1991, Lewis 1967, Evans 2003).
19. \textit{diim-bab-is} deis-sim-i-n  
war-AGEN-DEF kill-REC-PF-3  
'The warriors killed each other.'

10.4 Inchoative verbs

Dime forms inchoative verbs mainly through reduplication of the verb root. There are morphological elements that additionally signal an inchoative verb. The inchoative marker \textit{–ima} is consistently used in addition to reduplication. When comparing the reduplicated inchoative verb with its corresponding nominal form, we observe that in some inchoative forms there is an additional final segment \textit{–t'}. The exact function of the element \textit{–t'} needs further investigation. The reduplication can be partial, affecting the first syllable of the stem as in (20-22) or it can be full reduplication of the stem (23-24).

20. Basic form derived inchoative  
\textit{sââk} \textit{sââ-k-imá}  
'wide' RDP-wide-INCH  
'become wide'

21. \textit{baam} ba-baamt'-ima  
'near' RDP-near-INCH  
'become nearer'

22. \textit{zû–b} \textit{zû–zû–má}  
'red-M' RDP-red-INCH  
'become red'

23. \textit{wuc} \textit{wuc-wúc-imá}  
'dry' wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH  
'The wood becomes dry.'

24. \textit{?atsî} \textit{?ats-im–?ats-im-t'-imá}  
'old' RDP-old-ACC-t'-INCH  
'become old'

The following sentential examples illustrate the use of the inchoative verbs listed above:

25. \textit{?âr-is} wuc-wuc-imá  
wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH  
'The wood became dry.'

26. \textit{?iyy-is} ?ats-im ?ats-im-t'-imá  
person-DEF old-ACC old-ACC-t'-INCH  
'The person became old.'
27.  ki /ch64:0133+6002 -ko /indid-ko guufū-sā-sāk-ima
   3SM.OBJ-GEN wife-GEN chest RDP-wide-INCH
   ‘The chest of his wife became wide.’

28.  ?ámz-is-ko  ?àfe  zú-zú-imá
   woman-DEF-GEN eye RDP-red-INCH
   ‘The eye of the woman became red.’

Dime also uses the verb ñud- ‘come’ following the inchoative form to express durational inchoatives as in (29).

29.  ?áu-is  wuc-wuc-imá  ñád-i-n
   wood-DEF RDP-dry-INCH come-PF-3
   ‘The wood became dry (slow progress).’

The verbs in examples (20 - 28) get aspectual interpretation from the context. Other Dime verbs that are not inflected for aspect include converbs, dependent verb forms which are used frequently in the language. The main verb inflects for aspect but the converb is not inflected (see Section 12.3.1). Example:

30.  šiftaye  sól-im  ?its-á  taddese  náu-im  wuc-á
    shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CN1 taddese water-ACC drink-CN1
    kóté  ŋũ-i-n
    3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3
    ‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

In Dime, intensive or frequentative action is expressed through reduplication of adverbs rather than using any productive derivational morpheme. Example:

31.  ná  ?ólóx  ?ólóx  ñits-i-n
    3SF.SBJ RDP quick eat-PF-3
    ‘She ate very quickly.’

It is reported that in Omoto languages such as Maale, Basketo, and Koorete reduplication of the verb root is used to mark intensive/frequentative verb stems (see Azeb 1994: 1124).
11 Verbs and their arguments

Dime verbs can be categorized into one place verbs (intransitive) and two or three place verbs (i.e. transitives). There are however, some verbs that function as both one and two place verbs. For instance, \textit{wučú} ‘dry’ is such a verb as illustrated in (1a) and (1b):

1a. \textit{?uw-is} \textit{wuč-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
wood-DEF dry-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘The wood dried.’

1b. \textit{?iy-is} \textit{?ás-im} \textit{wuč-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
sun-DEF wood-ACC dry-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘The sun dried the wood.’

11.1 One place (intransitive) verbs

These are verbs with a single argument. They include verbs such as \textit{wuₕy} ‘stand’, \textit{?ádi} ‘come’, \textit{?lfi} ‘cry’ and \textit{yžá} ‘run’ which occur with a subject. Such verbs may be proceeded by a circumstantial complement. For instance, in the example (2-6) \textit{?eh-o} ‘in the house’, \textit{?ami} \textit{?aatim-de} ‘from a far country’, \textit{gicó} ‘too much’, \textit{kí-kó mič-ká} ‘with his sister’, and \textit{timhirt-o} ‘to school’ are such complements.

2. \textit{nít-is} \textit{?eh-is-o} \textit{wuₕy-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
child-DEF house-DEF-LOC stand-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘The child stood in the house.’

3. \textit{nú} \textit{?ami} \textit{?aatim-de} \textit{?ád-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
3SM.SUBJ country far place-ABL come-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘He came from a far country.’

4. \textit{nú} \textit{gicó} \textit{?lf-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
3SM.SUBJ very cry-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘He cried very much.’

5. \textit{nú} \textit{kí-kó} \textit{mič-ká} \textit{?eh-o} \textit{tiₕ-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
3SM.SUBJ 3SM OBJ-GEN sister-COM house-LOC go-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘He went home with his sister.’

6. \textit{nú} \textit{timhirt-o} \textit{yž-ₕ-i-n}

\begin{verbatim}
3SM.SUBJ school-LOC run-PF-3
\end{verbatim}

‘He ran to school.’

11.2 Two place (transitive) verbs

Givón (1984) classifies two-place verbs into two main types: prototypical transitive verbs and less prototypical transitive verbs. The prototypical transitive verb has a property that singles it out: having agent and patient nouns. The less prototypical transitive verb may deviate from the transitive verb prototype in various ways (cf.
Givón 1984: 89-106). For our purpose we classify the two place verbs in Dime as semi-transitive and mono-transitive. Each of these is discussed in turn.

11.2.1 Semi-transitive

These types of verbs have an optional cognate object noun; the stem of the verb and the object noun are formally very similar. Semi-transitive verbs behave syntactically like normal transitive verbs although the cognate object can be left out. In the following sentential examples the (a) and (b) forms represent sentences with and without the cognate object:

7a. nú ʻīts-im ʻīts-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ food-NMZ/ACC eat-PF-3
   'He ate food.'

7b. nú ʻīts-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ eat-PF-3
   'He ate.'

8a. nú káx-im káx-si-n
   3SM.SUBJ dream-NMZ/ACC dream-PF-3
   'He dreamed a dream.'

8b. nú káx-si-n
   3SM.SUBJ dream-PF-3
   'He dreamed.'

9a. ʔámz-is ʔán-im ʔá-ʔán-déé-n
   woman-DEF urine-NMZ/ACC RDP-urine-IPF-3
   'The woman is urinating urine.'

9b. ʔámz-is ʔá-ʔán-déé-n
   woman-DEF RDP-urine-IPF-3
   'The woman is urinating.'

10a. nú zág-im zá-zág-déé-n
    3SM.SUBJ dance-NMZ/ACC RDP-dance-IPF-3
    'He is dancing a dance.'

10b. nú zá-zág-déé-n
    3SM.SUBJ RDP-dance-IPF-3
    'He is dancing.'

11a. kété ʔíg-im ʔíg-déé-n
    3PL.SUBJ game-NMZ/ACC play-IPF-3
    'They play game.'

11b. kété ʔíg-déé-n
    3PL.SUBJ play-IPF-3
    'They play.'
As mentioned earlier, the stem of the verb and its object complement are formally similar. The main difference is that the verb forms are inflected for aspect while the noun forms are affixed with the morpheme \textit{\texttt{-im}}. This \textit{\texttt{-im}} is either the nominalizer \textit{\texttt{-im}} or the accusative case marking morpheme \textit{\texttt{-im}}. Evidence for \textit{\texttt{-im}} being a nominalizer in the examples in (7a-11a), comes from the fact that the cognate object noun can be used as subject in a passive sentence as in (12), see also Section 3.6.3.

For semi-transitive verbs with cognate-object nouns in related languages, see Azeb Amha (2001), Rapold (2006); for a cross-linguistic survey, see Næss (2003).

\subsection{11.2.2 Mono-transitive}

This is a simple transitive verb with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object. The subject is not marked by any special morpheme for its syntactic/semantic role. The object noun is marked by the accusative case marker \textit{\texttt{-im}}. Such verbs often occur with overt subject and object complements. Some of the verbs that are categorized in this sub-class are \textit{\texttt{ko\textbar{z}d}}- ‘like’, \textit{\texttt{sin}}- ‘buy, sell’, \textit{\texttt{de\textbar{z}}}- ‘cook’ and \textit{\texttt{zis}}'- ‘close’, as exemplified below:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{?ats-im-is \textit{\texttt{\textbar{int}}-i-n}}}
\item \textit{\texttt{eat-NMZ-DEF eat-PAS-PF-3}}
\item \textit{\texttt{The food was eaten.}}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{\textbar{ats}-im-is \texttt{\textbar{ats}-int’-i-n}}}
\item \textit{\texttt{eat-NMZ-DEF eat-PAS-PF-3}}
\item \textit{\texttt{The food was eaten.}}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{\textbar{a}fim \texttt{\textbar{i}yy-af-is-im \textbar{ko\textbar{z}d-i-t}}}}
\item \textit{\texttt{1S.SUBJ Dime people-PL-DEF-ACC like-PF-1}}
\item \textit{\texttt{I liked the Dime people.}}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{\textbar{shita}ye \texttt{mos’af-is-im \texttt{\textbar{sin-i-n}}}}}
\item \textit{\texttt{shiftaye book-DEF-ACC buy-PF-3}}
\item \textit{\texttt{Shiftaye bought the book.}}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{\textbar{a}fi \texttt{d\textbar{on}-is-im \textbar{de\textbar{z}-i-t}}}}
\item \textit{\texttt{1S.SUBJ potato-DEF-ACC cook-PF-1}}
\item \textit{\texttt{I cooked the potato.}}
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{\texttt{\textbar{a}fi \texttt{k’ir-is-im \texttt{zis’-i-t}}}}
\item \textit{\texttt{1S.SUBJ door-DEF-ACC close-PF-1}}
\item \textit{\texttt{I closed the door.}}
\end{itemize}

The phrases \textit{\texttt{dime \texttt{\textbar{iy}-af-is-im}} ‘the Dime people’, \textit{\texttt{mos’af-is-im}} ‘the book’, \textit{\texttt{d\textbar{on}-is-im}} ‘the potato’, and, \textit{\texttt{k’ir-is-im}} ‘the door’ are objects of the transitive verbs \textit{\texttt{ko\textbar{z}d}}- ‘like’, \textit{\texttt{sin}}- ‘buy/sell’, \textit{\texttt{de\textbar{z}}}- ‘cook’ and \textit{\texttt{zis}}'- ‘close’ respectively, and bear the accusative case \textit{\texttt{-im}}.

\subsection{11.3 Three place (di-transitive) verbs}

Verbs in this group commonly take three arguments. They include \textit{\texttt{\textbar{imi}} ‘give’, \textit{\texttt{gimi}} ‘tell’, and \textit{\texttt{bitsi}} ‘send’.
17.  

\[
gost\text{-is } \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / G\textendash\textit{is\textordmasculine}'\text{-im } g\textit{im\textordmasculine}-n
\]

man-DEF 1S.OBJ-DAT bread-ACC give-PF-3  
‘The man gave me bread.’

18.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{os-\textordmasculine}'\text{-im } \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / l\textit{ook\textordmasculine} k\textit{uss\textordmasculine}-im \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{im\textordmasculine}-n
\]

shiftaye maikro-DAT chat story-ACC tell-PF-3  
‘Shiftaye told Maikro the story.’

19.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{os-\textordmasculine}'\text{-im } \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / m\textit{eh\textordmasculine}-im \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / b\textit{its\textordmasculine}-n
\]

shiftaye maikro-DAT money-ACC send-PF-3  
‘Shiftaye sent money to Maikro.’

20.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / m\textit{es\textordmasculine}'\text{af\textordmasculine}-im \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / b\textit{a\textordmasculine}'\text{\textordmasculine} a\textit{\textordmasculine}-tub
\]

3S.F.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-DAT book-ACC bring-come-PF-3  
‘She brought a book for me.’

21.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / y\textit{l\textordmasculine} f\textit{id\textordmasculine}-im \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / y\textit{ez\textordmasculine}'\text{n\textordmasculine}-im \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}}
\]

3S.M.SUBJ guest-DAT farm-ACC show-PF-3  
‘He showed the farm to the guest.’

In some cases speakers leave out one of the objects of di-transitive constructions when these can be understood from the context, as in (22a-22c).

22a.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{os-\textordmasculine}'\text{\textordmasculine} / \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{im\textordmasculine}-tub
\]

1S.SUBJ shiftaye-DAT book-ACC give-FUT  
‘I will give the book to Shiftaye.’

22b.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{os-\textordmasculine}'\text{\textordmasculine} / g\textit{im\textordmasculine}-tub
\]

1S.SUBJ shiftaye-DAT give-FUT  
‘I will give to Shiftaye.’

22c.  

\[
\text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / m\textit{es\textordmasculine}'\text{af\textordmasculine}-im \text{\textit{\textordmasculine is\textordmasculine}} / g\textit{im\textordmasculine}-tub
\]

1S.SUBJ book-ACC give-FUT  
‘I will give the book (to somebody).’
12 The syntax of clauses

Dime sentences often exhibit SOV word order. However, word order is not strict in the language. Fleming (1990: 572) reported that “Dime is clearly an SOV language, at least in its surface structure and in its simple declarative sentence.”.

The following sentence types are distinguished: affirmative and negative declarative clauses, interrogatives and imperatives. Nouns and their modifier(s), and verbs and their complements are discussed in chapter 7 and chapter 11, respectively. Imperative sentences are discussed in chapter 8. In the present chapter we deal with simple declarative clauses, relative clauses, complex clauses and interrogative clauses.

12.1 Simple declarative clauses

A simple declarative clause is made up of one independent clause with only one predicate. Simple clauses include sentences with main verbs, copula verbs, and adjectival or nominal predicates.

A simple clause consists of a noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP):

1. \([\text{zim-}][\text{daré wōkkil-im šin-i-n}]\)
   chief-DEF goat one-ACC buy-PF-3
   ‘The chief bought one goat.’

2. \([\text{zim-}][\text{wūdūr-}][\text{yēf-i-n}]\)
   chief-DEF girl-DEF-ACC see-PF-3
   ‘The chief saw the girl.’

3. \([\text{ʔiyy-}][\text{l-}][\text{ts-}][\text{steen}]\)
   man-DEF bread-ACC RDP-eat-IPF-3
   ‘The man is eating bread.’

As demonstrated in example (4) adverbials precede the verb which is clause-final.

4. \([\text{ʔámz-}][\text{náahe ŋ}][\text{d-i-n}]\)
   woman-DEF yesterday come-PF-3
   ‘The woman came yesterday.’

The following examples illustrate simple clauses in which negation is marked on the main verb.

5. \([\text{ʔiyy-}][\text{k-}][\text{ts-káy}]\)
   man-DEF bread-ACC eat-NEG
   ‘The man is not eating bread.’

6. \([\text{zim-}][\text{daré wōkkil-im šin-káy}]\)
   chief-DEF goat one-ACC buy-NEG
   ‘The chief does not buy a goat.’
12.2 Relative clauses

The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun in Dime. The relative verb form is characterised by the morphemes –ub (masculine), – ind (feminine) or –id (plural agreement) which are identified as gender markers in modifiers of nouns. When the relativised noun is feminine the feminine gender marker is affixed to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the head noun. Thus the gender distinction of the relativized noun is obligatorily marked on the relative verb. The verb in the relative clause may also be inflected for definiteness and case as well as for verbal inflectional categories such as aspect.

The initial vowel of the gender markers is deleted when the perfective or imperfective aspect marker is suffixed to the relative verb. A similar deletion is observed in adjectives. Thus, the masculine and feminine gender markers appear as –b and –nd respectively, while the plural agreement morpheme appears as –d. Examples:

7. /a/ númz-is káydé–nd–is–im /a/ álf–is–im yéf–i–n

woman-DEF want-IPF.F.RELT-DEF-ACC knife-DEF-ACC saw- PF-3

‘The woman found the knife that she is looking for.’

8. /a/ númz-is káy–i–nd–is–im /a/ álf–is–im yéf–i–n

woman-DEF want-IPF.F.RELT-DEF-ACC knife-the ACC saw- PF-3

‘The woman found the knife that she looked for.’

9. /a/ tááy /a/ númz–is káy–dé–b–is–im /a/ gost–is–im

now come-IPF.M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-DEF-ACC

‘He sees the man who is coming now.’

The imperfective or perfective aspect marker, –déé or –i, is suffixed to the main verb as in (7–9) and an aspect marker is also suffixed to the relative verb, preceding the gender marker. The definite and accusative markers are affixed following the gender marker in the relative clause.

In some relative clauses, gender is marked twice, as in (10a). In these examples, the independently used numeral has its own gender marker. In addition, the relative clause, which is a nominalized modifier, is also marked for gender as well as definiteness.

10a. /a/ wókkil–ub /a/ númz–is káy–déé–b–is /a/ númz–is káy–i–nd–is–im /a/ gost–is–im

‘the one who wants (M)’

‘the one who goes (M)’

‘the one who shaves (M)’

‘the one who speaks (M)’

‘the one who played (F)’

‘the one who runs (F)’

‘the one who looked (F)’

‘the one who looks (F)’
The syntax of clauses

The following is a sentential example:

10b. wókkil-ub k’ay-dé-b-is ?éh-ìm ?ád-i-n
    one-M want-IPF-M.RELT-DEF house-ACC come-PF-3
    ‘The one who wants the house came.’

If a possessive pronoun is used as a nominal predicate and thus occurs following the head noun of the relative clause, the gender of the possessed noun is marked on the (pronominal) predicate (compare 11a with 11b). The examples in (12) illustrate copula clauses the subject-complement of which is modified by a relative clause.

11a. ?is-ko nîts-is ?ád-déé-n
    1S.OBJ-GEN child-DEF come-IPF-3
    ‘My child comes.’
    [non relativized]

11b. [tááy ?ád-ub [nîts-is]] ?íis-kø-b dán
    now come-M.RELT child-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN-M COP
    ‘The child who comes now is mine.’
    [SBJ relativized]

12a. [tááy ?ád-ub [?íis-kø nîts-is]] gumt’-dëen-ká
    now come-M.RELT 1S.OBJ-GEN child-DEF sick-exist-PF
    ‘My child who comes now was sick.’
    [SBJ relativized]

12b. [tááy ?ád-ub [nîts-is] ?íis-kø-b]
    now come-M.RELAT child-DEF 1S.OBJ-GEN-M sick-exist-PF
    ‘My child who comes now was sick.’
    [SBJ relativized]
    (‘Lit. ‘The child who’s coming now, who is mine, was sick’)

The following examples are further illustrations, contrasting subject and object relativization.

13a. goštú yer-ìm nááxe șin-i-n
    man donkey-ACC yesterday sell-PF-3
    ‘A man sold a donkey yesterday.’
    [non-relativized]

13b. yer-ìm nááxe șin-î-b-ís goštú láyt’-i-n
    donkey-ACC yesterday sell-PF- M.RELT-DEF man die-PF-3
    ‘The man who sold a donkey yesterday died.’
    [SBJ relativized]

13c. gostim nááxe șin-i-b-ís yer-îs láyt’-i-n
    man yesterday sell-PF-M.RELT-DEF donkey-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The donkey that a man sold yesterday died.’
    [OBJ relativized]

14. dar-îm wûdû-în sin-i-nd ʔámz-ís láyt’-i-n
    goat-DEF-ACC girl-DAT buy-PF-M.RELT woman-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘The woman who bought a goat for a girl died.’
    [SBJ relativized]

15. ʔámzim nîts-ín șin-i-b dar-îs láyt’-i-n
    woman child-DAT buy-PF-M.RELAT goat-DEF ACC die-PF-3
    ‘The goat that a woman bought for a boy died.’
    [OBJ relativized]
The relative verb agrees with the head of the relative clause in number, gender and definiteness. If the relativized noun is plural the suffix –(i)d is suffixed to the relative verb as shown in (16).

16.  
dór-is-im  wúdúr-is-in  śin-i-d  ʔámz-af-is  
goat-DEF-ACC  girl-DEF-DAT  buy-PL.RELT  woman-PL-DEF  
láxt'-i-n  
die-PF-3  
‘The women who bought the goat for the girl died.’

The imperfective marker déé and the perfective marker –i are suffixed to the relative verb preceding the gender marker. Since these final vowels have morphological function they are not deleted; instead, the initial vowel in the suffix is deleted.  

17.  
níts-is-in  gárim  òhin-im  śin-déé-nd  ʔámz-is  
child-DEF-DAT  tomorrow  sheep-ACC  buy-IPF.F.RELT  woman-DEF  
‘the woman who will buy a sheep for the child tomorrow’

18.  
níts-is-in  náávé  òhin-im  śin-i-nd  ʔámz-is  
child-DEF-DAT  yesterday  sheep-ACC  buy-PF.F.RELT  woman-DEF  
‘the woman who bought a sheep for the child yesterday’

The definite marker can be suffixed only on the relativized noun as in (19) or on both the relative verb and on the relativized noun as in (20-21):

19.  
ʔámz-is-im  níts-is-in  śin-i-b  dár-ís  láxt'-i-n  
woman-DEF-ACC  child-DEF-DAT  buy-PF-M.RELAT  goat-DEF  die-PF-3  
‘The goat that the woman bought for the boy died.’

20.  
gost-im  náávé  śin-i-b-is  yer-ís  dey-i-n  
man-ACC  yesterday  sell-PF-M.RELT-DEF  donkey-DEF  die-PF-3  
‘The donkey that the man sold yesterday died.’

21.  
náávé  ʔád-i-b-is-im  gost-is-im  nú  yéf-i-n  
yesterday  come-PF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC  man-DEF-ACC  3SM.SUBJ  see-PF-3  
‘He saw the man who came yesterday.’

Just like other nominal modifiers relative clauses may precede or follow the noun which they modify. In most of the examples above, the relative clause precedes the head noun. Examples (22-23) illustrate the reverse order:

35 láxt'í ‘die’ is used only for human beings. For other animals déyí ‘die’ is used.

36 Terminal vowels that have no morphological function in nouns are deleted when suffixes follow them. For instance, ʔëhë ‘house’ becomes ʔëh-ís ‘the house’ but if the final vowel has morphological function it is not deleted: ʔëh-ó ‘in a house’, ʔëh-ó-s ‘in the house’. In the last word, the vowel of the suffix –ís is deleted.
22. gostu [tist-ec-b-is bay-im] čak’k’-ub
   man eat-IPF-M-DEF food-ACC small-M
   ‘The man who eats food is small.’

23. ţamzi [tist-ec-and-is bay-im] čak’k’-ind
   woman eat-IPF-F-DEF food-ACC small-M
   ‘The woman who eats food is small.’

12.3 Complex clauses

A complex clause contains one or more dependent clause(s) and a main/matrix clause. Below we discuss complex clauses involving converbs, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and temporal clauses.

12.3.1 Converbs

In Dime, the converb is a verb form that is used for the expression of (co)subordination and does not form a sentence on its own. The converb is not inflected for aspect or tense, while the main verb inflects for aspect.

There are two converb markers in Dime: a short form -a, and a long form -ande. We label these as CNV1 and CNV2, respectively. There is a slight difference in the distribution of the two converb forms: a converb with the suffix -a is used to express events that are simultaneous or sequential to that expressed by the main verb as in (24) and (25).

24. nú sól-im ţits-á nár-im wuc’-á ţiŋ-i-n
   3SM.SUBJenjera-ACC eat-CNV1 water-ACC drink-CNV1 go-PF-3
   ‘Having eaten enjera and having drunk water, he went.’

25. nú gjinka-de ţad-á gumt’-á dāh-á
   3SM.SUBJJinka-ABL come-CNV1 sick-CNV1 live-CNV1
   wonn-á ţiŋ-i-n
   turn-CNV1 go-PF-3
   ‘He came from Jinka, he became sick, he stayed (here) and left.’

Connected speech containing several of the short converb -a is given in (26).

26. núaři ʔatů bal-ó ţiŋ-á, ʔafů bay-im
    yesterday 1S.SUBJ market-LOC go-CNV1 1S.SUBJ food-ACC
    šin-á, kin-im ʔaté ʔis-ko ʔindid-ko
    buy-CNV1 3SM.OBJ-ACC 1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN wife-GEN
    ʔeh-ó ba-ţad-á ʔafů kó-ko deed-á
    house-LOC take-come-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 3SF.OBJ-GEN cook-CNV1
Yesterday I went to the market, I bought some grain, I brought it home to my wife, I told her to cook it, she cooked it and we ate it.

In contrast to -á the suffix -ánde is mainly used to express anterior events that occur before the event that is expressed by the main verb. Consider the following example:

27. nú sól-im ŋits-ánde náu-im wuč'-á ŋi-i-n  
3SM.SUBJ enjera-ACC eat-CNV2 water-ACC drink-CNV1 go-PF-3  
‘He went out after he ate enjera and drunk water.’

If -ánde appears twice in sequence with the same subject in a sentence, the resulting construction is ungrammatical as in example (28).

28*. nú dšinka-de rád-ánde gumt'-ánde dáb-ánde wonn-á  
3SM.SUBJ jinka-ABL come-CNV2 sick-CNV2 live-CNV2 back-CNV1 ŋi-i-n  
go-PF-3  
Intended meaning: ‘He, having come from jinka, having been sick, he lived (here) and went back.’

However, when two or more converbs occur in a sentence and if these are separated by different subject nouns each of the converbs can be marked by -ánde, allowing it to occur twice or more times in the same sentence (30).

29. šhiftaye sól-im ŋits-á taddese náu-im wuč'-á  
shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV1  
kété ŋi-i-n  
3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3  
‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

30. šhiftaye sól-im ŋits-ánde taddese náu-im wuč'-ánde  
shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV2 taddese water-ACC drink-CNV2  
kété ŋi-i-n  
3PL.SUBJ go-PF-3  
‘Shiftaye having eaten enjera and Taddese having drunk water they went.’

On the other hand if there is only one converb in the sentence, either of the two converb marker can be used.

31. nú ráur-is-im des-á yer-ís-im kofs-i-n  
3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC cut-CNV1 donkey-DEF-ACC load-PF-3  
‘Having cut the wood he loaded it on the donkey.’

32. nú ráur-is-im des-ánde yer-ís-im kofs-i-n  
3SM.SUBJ wood-DEF-ACC cut-CNV2 donkey-DEF-ACC load-PF-3  
‘Having cut the wood he loaded it on the donkey.’
The syntax of clauses

Furthermore repetition of the reduplicated converb is used to express repeated, durational, frequentative or distributive actions as illustrated in the following examples.

33. nũ to-toys-á to-toys-á ŋts-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-less-CNV1 RDP-less-CNV1 eat-PF-3
   ‘He ate less and less (food).’

34. nũ bi-birs-á bi-birs-á ŋts-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-more-CNV1 RDP-more-CNV1 eat-PF-3
   ‘He ate more and more (food).’

35. nũ yǐz-iz-á yǐz-iz-á fač-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ run-RDP-CNV1 run-RDP-CNV1 tire-PF-3
   ‘Having run and run he became tired.’

36. nũ gu-gumt'-á gu-gumt'-á la-láxt'-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-sick-CNV RDP-sick-CNV1 RDP-die-PF-3
   ‘Having been sick a long time he died.’

37. nũ meh-is-im faš-faš-á faš-faš-á
   3SM.SUBJ money-DEF-ACC RDP-divide-CNV1 RDP-divide-CNV1
   bos-i-n
   finish-PF-3
   ‘Handing out his money to several people, he finished it.’

38. nũ ?ats-á-?ats-á ?ār-is-im bos-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ RDP-burn-CNV1 wood-DEF-ACC finish-PF-3
   ‘He burned and burned the wood and finished it.’

In complex sentences, converbs and other adverbial modifiers can be combined:

39. šiftaye sót-im ŋts-á nās-im wuč-á ?ād-á
   shiftaye enjera-ACC eat-CNV1 water-ACC drink-CNV1 come-CNV1
   dôt ?até dōt-im sīt-á fir-im fir-a
   COND 1S.SUBJ leg-ACC wash-CNV1 mattress-ACC lay-mattress-CNV1
   ?ō-is-tub
   sleep-CAUS-FUT
   ‘If Shiftaye comes having eaten enjera and drunk water, I will wash his feet and lay a mattress for him so that he can sleep.’

To sum up, there are two converb markers: -á and ánde. There is a slight difference in their distribution. That is, speakers prefer to use the short form to express a sequence of two or more actions that are carried out by the same subject.

Similar verbal constructions are reported for other Ethiopian languages (cf. Azeb Amha 2001:190, Azeb Amha and Dimmendaal 2006, Gasser 1983, Rapold 2006).
12.3.2 Conditional clauses

A conditional clause is subordinate to a main clause and it is marked by *dót* or *-dó*. The implementation of the situation which is expressed in the conditional clause is the prerequisite for implementation of the action expressed by the verb in the main clause. The conditional marker *dót* or its reduced form *-dó* can be used alternatively, as in (40a) and (40b).

40a. *náris báyžem-ub dót ʔafí wuč'-t'ub*
   
   water-DEF cold-M COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
   
   ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

40b. *náris báyžem-ub-dó ʔafí wuč' t'ub*
   
   water-DEF cold-M-COND 1S.SUBJ drink-FUT
   
   ‘If the water is cold, I will drink it.’

41. *nú ňád-déč–n k'ay-á dót nú*
   
   3SM.SUBJ come-IPF-3 want-CNV1 COND 3SM.SUBJ
   
   *kín-im yéf-téé-n*
   
   3SM.OBJ-ACC see-IPF-3
   
   ‘If he wants to come, he will see him.’

42. *sikín-im t'il-is-im yá wuč'á dót*
   
   this-ACC medicine-DEF-ACC 2S.SUBJ drink-CNV1 COND
   
   *yá lázt'ée-n*
   
   2S.SUBJ die-IPF-2
   
   ‘If you drink this medicine, you will die.’

The conditional clause need not contain a finite verb. It may contain a converb (42), or a nominal adjectival construction without a copula (40). The conditional clause mainly occurs before the main clause; however, it is also possible for it to occur after the main clause.

43. *nú ňád-káy diib k'án-ándé dót*
   
   3SM.SUBJ come-NEG rain rain-CNV2 COND
   
   ‘He will not come, if it rains.’

When the verb in the main clause is negative, it is not marked for aspect (43).

12.3.3 Reason clauses

A reason clause (REAS) is a type of subordinate clause that describes the motivation for an event or state of affairs to take place. The reason clause is marked by the morpheme *-inká* which is suffixed directly to the verb.

44. *nú giččó-b sa'at-im yiz-inká liša gíst-in*
   
   3SM.SUBJ long-M time-ACC run-REAS well breath-INF
45. **nu des-ká-b** bay-im ŋits-inká s'áss-i-n
   3SM.SUBJ know-NEG-M.RELT food-ACC eat-REAS vomit-PF-3
   ‘Since he ate unknown food, he vomited.’

46. **wunt’-i-bab-is** bay-is-im mers-inká nits-af-is
   servant-i-AGEN-DEF food-DEF-ACC prevent-REAS child-PL-DEF
   č’ir-i-n
   complain-PF-3
   ‘Since the servant took away their lunch, the children complained.

There is also another morpheme which marks reason clauses: ṭengašká ‘because’. ṭengašká introduces the reason clause as in (47) and (48) (for more discussion on conjunctions, see Section 6.4.)

47. **nu mëh-báb ṭengašká li-liŋ-is-á** **wunt’éé-n**
   3SM.SUBJ money-AGEN because RDP-well-CAUS-CNV1 work-IPF-3
   ‘He is rich because he works well.’

48. **nu yîz-im sáł-káy ṭengašká ŋátse dán**
   3SM.SUBJ run-ACC can-NEG because old COP
   ‘He can’t run because he is an old man.’

12.3.4 Concessive clauses

A concessive clause is a subordinate clause which refers to a situation that contrasts with the one described in the main clause. In Dime there are at least three morphologically complex concessive conjunctions. The first one is wûy-dôt-ik, which means ‘although’. The second way of expressing concession is through the use of the conjunction wûy-im-dôt-ik, ‘even though’ and another way of expressing concessive meaning is by using the conjunction wûy-dôt-ik wonnadot ‘whatever’. The first and the second conjunctions are related. All concessive conjunctions contain the conditional dôt and the morpheme –ik ‘too’. Examples:

49. **wûy-dôt-ik yá koż-kâ-dôt-ik tâá-dôt-ik**
   what-COND-too 2S.SUBJ like-NEG-if-too now-if-too
   ṭahó-b wontá k’áys-ís-téé-n
   good-M be-CNV1 find-CAUS-IPF-2
   ‘Although you don’t like him you can still be polite.’

50. **wûy-im-dôt-ik ná ḫîŋ-ind won-ká**
   what-ACC-COND-too 3SF.SUBJ beauty-F be-NEG
51.  wú-y-dót-ik  wann-a  dót  yá  wunt’-á  dót
what-COND-too return- CNV1 COND 2S.SUBJ work-CNVI COND
?

1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN tell-RELT-DEF-ACC  3SM.OBJ-ACC  tell-NEG
'Whatever you do, don’t tell him what I told you.'

12.3.5 Temporal clauses

A temporal clause in Dime can be marked by -déék’a ‘when’, wutó ‘before’ or tífó ‘after’, as in the following examples:

52a.  nú  nár-is-im  wúc’-déék’a  yíd-i-n
3SM.SUBJ water-DEF drink-TEMP cough-PF-3
'When he drank water, he coughed'

52b.  nú  són-go mop-o  wann-a  ūn-déék’a  nay  ?ád-i-n
3SM.SUBJ here back-LOC turn-CNVI go-TEMP hyena come-PF-3
'When he turned back and looked, a hyena had already come.'

In the examples in (52), the temporal marker -déék’a is suffixed to the dependent verb that precedes the main verb. In this construction, the verb with the third person singular marker occurs as an independent main clause verb, i.e., yíd-i-n ‘he coughed’. The dependent temporal clauses are not marked for tense-aspect.

In example (53), the temporal marker wutó ‘before’ and tífó ‘after’ conjoin the relativized verb and the main verb. In all cases of temporal clauses, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause.

53a.  nú  k’otin-úb  bow-dé  wutó  ?átí  nít-af-ko
3SM.SUBJ arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL before 1S.SUBJ child-PL-GEN
bay-im  ūn-déék-t
food-ACC give-IPF-1
'Before he arrives, I’ll give the children their food.'

53b.  nú  k’otin-úb  bow-dé  tífó  ?átí  nít-af-kó
3SM.SUBJ arrive-M.RELT DIR-ABL after 1S.SUBJ child-PL-GEN
bay-im  ūn-déék-t
food-ACC give-IPF-1
'After he arrives, I’ll give the children their food.'
The syntax of clauses

... Dime interrogatives have suprasegmental tone as a marked feature, as questions do in English and other languages. Dime questioning tends strongly towards high pitch and stress on the last syllable of a sentence. Dime interrogatives can be divided into two types: polar interrogative that involve a “yes” or “no” answer and non-polar interrogatives, which involve content question words.

12.4.1 Polar interrogatives

In this section we discuss informative polar interrogatives and tag questions. The form of the verb in polar interrogative clauses differs according to the person of the subject of the interrogative clause. First and third person informative polar interrogative sentences are signalled by dropping the subject agreement marker from the verb. This reduction of the person marker applies both in the perfective and imperfective aspect. For example, in the first and third person imperfective declarative form of the verb k’óm- is k’óm-déé-t and k’óm-déé-n respectively. The interrogative counterpart of both the first and third person is: k’óm-déé ‘will we, I, he/she/they bake?’, which only differs from the respective declarative forms only in the absence of the person markers -t and -n (see example 54-55). Similarly, the perfective declarative form of these persons is respectively k’óm-i-t ‘I/we baked’ and k’óm-i-n ‘he/she/they baked’ and the interrogative counterpart of these two forms is: k’óm-i ‘Did he/she/they bake?’.

Thus, in the first and third person, the forms of the perfective and imperfective polar interrogative correspond to their affirmative counterparts except for the deletion of the person marker and change of intonation. On the other hand, with the second person singular and plural subject, the declarative verb form of which has the same person marker -n as that used in the third person, polar interrogative is formed by adding the morpheme -áá to the verb root, replacing both tense-aspect and person marking morphemes. With the second person, the morpheme -áá functions as an interrogative marker in both perfective and imperfective declarative clauses. Compare the second person declarative clause in (56a) with the second person interrogative in (56b). In (56b) both tense-aspect and person marking morphemes are replaced by -áá.

54a. wótu sól-is-im k’óm-déé-t
1PL.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-1
‘We will bake the enjera.’

54b. wótu sól-is-im k’óm-déé
1PL.SUBJ enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-Q
‘Shall we bake the enjera?’

55a. mante sól-is-im k’óm-déé-n
mante enjera-DEF-ACC bake-IPF-3
‘Mante bakes the enjera.’
preceding the interrogative marker because of a regular glide insertion rule in the language when a sequence of two vowels occurs.

59. Imperfective declarative Imperfective interrogative constructions is the absence of person marker

In the following two paradigms, the imperfective declarative and imperfective interrogative can be compared. This shows that the major distinction between the two constructions is the absence of person marker –n or –t in the interrogative structures.

59. Imperfective declarative Imperfective interrogative

As we observe from the above examples, the second person form, in contrast to the first and third person forms, is marked for the interrogative by –áá. There is a –y-preceding the interrogative marker because of a regular glide insertion rule in the language when a sequence of two vowels occurs.
The syntax of clauses

The interrogative in copula clauses is similar to that in verbal clauses. That is, a question marker -áá is suffixed to the copula when the subject is second person and when the clause is imperfective as in (60). In the perfective interrogative copula clause however, aspect is marked by attaching the regular perfective aspect marker –i to the copula verb.

60. yá wúdúr dán-áá
    you girl COP-Q:2S
    ‘Are you a girl?’

61. nú ŋáy dá-dec
    he who COP-IPF:Q
    ‘Who is he?’

62. yín-ko kané déé-ý-í
    you-GEN sister COP-y-PF:Q
    ‘Did you have a sister?’

Fleming (1990:537-541) reports that Dime interrogative verbs drop the final person marking suffix –n or –t and substitute it by –aa or –ee. The following are some of the examples Fleming provided: lotoTAA ‘did you spend the night well?’; k’Amu mObEE ‘Is it bad?’ (it seems that Fleming used upper-case vowels to indicate suprasegmental features such as tone and/or intonation). The morpheme –aa which Fleming mentioned corresponds to the interrogative marker -áá which we mentioned earlier. This suffix is also used in perfective interrogatives. The morpheme –ee, however, seems to be a variant of the imperfective marker –dec, which loses its initial consonant when preceded by another consonant.

To summarise, there are two ways of forming the interrogative in Dime: first by using the interrogative morpheme -áá. The second way is by adding high tone on the vowel of the aspect marker and omitting the person marker from verb final position. Interestingly, interrogative and declarative clauses differ in the way they treat subject agreement. That is, interrogative clauses treat the second person subject as distinct from first and third persons by overtly marking the interrogative only when the subject is second person. In contrast, affirmative declarative clauses treat the first person subject differently from second and third person subject by using one special subject agreement marker on the verb, i.e., -t for first person singular and plural, while second and third person singular and plural are marked by one and the same morpheme -n.

The full paradigm of perfective declarative and perfective interrogative is provided below:
63a. Perfective declarative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>የተ ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘I came.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወር ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘we came.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የህ ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘he came.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የструктур ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘she came.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወር ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘they came.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የሆስ ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘you (S) came.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወም ይاقل ይድ ሃል-ት</td>
<td>‘you (PL) came.’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

63b. Polar negative interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>የተ ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t I come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወር ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t we come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የህ ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t he come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የструктур ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t she come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወር ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t they come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የሆስ ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t you (S) come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወም ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t you (PL) come?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dime has no other subcategories of polar interrogatives; for example, permissive polar interrogatives are not different from other polar interrogatives.

Givon (1990:786) pointed out that cross-linguistically different languages have different systems of polar interrogative marking. For instance, only intonation is used in Israeli Hebrew, both morphological marking and intonation in Swahili, both word order and intonation in German. He further states that:

To code a yes/no question distinctively vis-à-vis the declarative norm, a language may resort to all three syntactic coding devices – intonation, morphology and word order. Of the three, intonation is probably universal. Morphology, word order or both are added in many - but by no means all - languages.

Givon (1990:786)

Dime uses intonation for polar interrogative marking, as well as ‘subtractive morphology’ and in some cases additive morphology, but not word order (cf. Azeb Amha, forthcoming, and Hellenthal 2005).

Polar negative interrogatives are not marked for aspect and person. Both the perfective (63b-65a) and the imperfective negative forms (65b-67) have the same verbal structure. Moreover, there is no variation on the verbal form corresponding to the person, number and gender of the subject.

63b. Polar negative interrogatives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Amharic</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>የተ ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t I come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወር ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t we come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የህ ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t he come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የструктур ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t she come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወር ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t they come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የሆስ ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t you (S) come?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>የወም ይاقل ይድ ሁኔሉ-ለ እለ-ል</td>
<td>‘Didn’t you (PL) come?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following are sentential examples:

64a. ይለ ጱን-ክ’አይ-አል

2S.SBJ go-NEG-Q

‘Didn’t you go?’

64b. ይለ ጱን-ክ’አይ- እላ

2S.SBJ go-NEG-Q

Don’t you go?’
The syntax of clauses

65a. ná wunt'-is-im bos-káy-áá
3SF.SUBJ work-DEF-ACC finish-NEG-Q
‘Didn’t she finish the work?’

65b. ná wunt'-is-im bos-káy-áá
3SF.SUBJ work-DEF-ACC finish-NEG-Q
‘Doesn’t she finish the work?’

66. yá bay-im ñits-káy-áá
2S.SUBJ food-ACC eat-NEG-Q
‘Aren’t you eating the food?’

67. kété nás-ó bosín-ká fiñ-k'áy-áá
3PL.SUBJ water-LOC place-CNJ go-NEG-Q
‘Aren’t they going to the river at all?’

Consider also the form of gáña-k'áy-áá ‘will you not eat me?’ in the following example, extracted from text 1 (ex 011), in which the interrogative marker –áá occurs following the negative marker.

68. kén-is gím-a ŋaté yín-kó kiyó
dog-DEF speak-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN there
k'ót-a đót yá gáña-k'áy-áá ?et'-á ?üis-i-n
arrive-CNV1 if 2S.SUBJ eat-NEG-Q say-CNV1 ask-PF-3
‘The dog asked (the hyena) by saying “If I come down to you, will you not eat me?”

In the remaining part of this section we discuss tag/confirmation questions. This is a type of yes/no question that consists of a declarative clause followed by a “tag” that requests confirmation or rejection of the declarative clause (cf. Payne 1997). The examples in (69-73) question confirmation of a negative statement.

69. yá kën-im yeñ-káy. (yá)yeñ-áá
2S.SUBJ 3MS.OBJ-ACC see-NEG, see-PF-Q
‘You did not see him, did you?’

70. ŋifaye t'úl-im ñal-káy, (nú) ñal-déé
ŋifaye swim can-NEG, 3MS.SUBJ can-IPF-Q
‘Shiftaye cannot swim, can he?’

71. ŋifaye t'úl-im ñal-káy, (nú) ñal-i
ŋifaye swim-ACC can-NEG, 3MS.SUBJ can-PF-Q
‘Shiftaye could not swim, could he?’

72. ŋaté kën-im gís'-káy, (ŋaté) gís'-i
1S.SUBJ 3PL.OBJ-ACC beat-NEG, 1S.SUBJ beat-PF-Q
‘I did not beat them, did I?’
73.  yá t’úlim šál-káy, (yá) šál-áá
2S.SUBJ swim can-NEG, 2S.SUBJ can-Q
‘You can not swim, can you?’

The structure of the verb in the “tag” question is the same as that in regular interrogative clauses.

Confirmation questions after affirmative statements are expressed by a copy of the verb followed by the negation marker -káy. The suffix –áá is added to the verb following the negative marker for all persons. Here the interrogative marker –áá which is used only with second person subjects in affirmative interrogatives is attached to all negative interrogative verbs irrespective of the person of the subject and the aspect of the verb. Examples:

74.  p’et’ros yín-im madd-i-n, (nú) mad-káy-áá?
Peter 2S.OBJ-ACC help-PF-3 (3MS) help-NEG-Q
‘Peter helped you, didn’t he?’

75.  mante sakiyó déén-ká, (ná) yi-káy-áá?
mante there exist-PF (3FS) COP-NEG-Q
‘Mante was there, wasn’t she?’

76.  ?áté dáh-i-t, (?áti) da-káy-áá
1S.SUBJ late-PF-1, I be late-NEG-Q
‘I’m late, am I not?’

77.  wó-n k’iy. šál-káy-áá
1PL.OBJ-DAT go, can-NEG-Q
‘Let’s go, can’t we?’

12.4.2 Non-polar interrogatives

In this section we treat content question words. There are eight content question words in Dime. It seems that all of these are derived from two basic roots wu- and ʔa-. The accusative form of content question words is suffixed with the accusative case marker -im just as in nouns. The content question words can be used predicatively without the copula morpheme, as in tense-less nominal clauses in general.

78.  ?ámz-ís ?ámó-de
woman-DEF where-ABL
‘Where is the woman from?’

79.  ?ámz-ís ?ámó
woman-DEF where
‘Where is the woman?’

In the imperfective aspect, polar and non polar interrogative clauses have a similar structure. Their main difference is the presence or absence of a content question word. The two interrogative clauses mark the verb for imperfective aspect in the same way. Compare the (a) examples in (80-81) with the ones in (b).
The syntax of clauses

In the perfective, however, polar and non-polar interrogatives are different. In polar
interrogatives the person marker is deleted from the verb and high tone is added to
the perfective aspect marker. In contrast, in non polar interrogatives both the person
and aspect marker are deleted from the verb as in (82b), (83b) and (84).

A list of perfective content question forms using the verb kóxú ‘love’ and various
subjects is given in (84).

In perfective polar interrogative clauses the suffixes -ı is essential (except in second
person). The absence of the perfective aspect marker makes the structure ungram-
matical. In contrast, in perfective non-polar interrogatives, it is the absence of the aspect marker that identifies the structure, as the list in (84) and the sentential examples in (85) demonstrate.

More than one content question word may occur in a sentence. The following are examples:

85.  qui  qui-im  deis
    who  who-ACC  kill:PF:Q
    ‘Who killed whom?’

86.  qui  qui-im  deis-tée
    who  who-ACC  kill-IPF:Q
    ‘Who kills whom?’

In examples (85) and (86) the same question word is realized with a nominative and accusative case. The accusative is marked by –im, while the nominative one is unmarked. Different types of question words can also occur in the same sentence, one as a subject and the other as an object (87-91). The object is always marked with the accusative marker.

87.  qui  wuy-im  wúc’
    who  what-ACC  drink:PF:Q
    ‘Who drank what?’

88.  qui  wuy-im  wúc-deée
    who  what-ACC  drink-IPF:Q
    ‘Who drinks what?’

89.  qui  amó-de  ŋád
    who  where-ABL  come:PF:Q
    ‘Who came from where?’

90.  qui  amó  ŋé
    who  where  go:PF:Q
    ‘Who went to where?’

91.  qui  wuy-im  qui-ká  ŋam-ó  wunt’
    who  what-ACC  who-CNJ  where-LOC  work:PF:Q
    ‘Who did what with whom and where?’

As examined above, it is possible to use multiple content question words in the same sentence. As Wachowicz (1975) typological observation correctly indicates multiple content words are used when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants, specifically when preceding statements/comments are about several parallel events.

Content question words may be marked by the dative, ablative or other peripheral cases (92-95).
92. ʔáy-ká ʔéén nū ʔits-int’
  who-INFL exist 3SM eat-PAS:Q
  ‘By whom was it eaten?’

93. yaʔ ʔáy-in məs’af-is-im ʔlm
  2S.SBJ who-DAT book-DEF-ACC gave:Q
  ‘To whom did you give the book?’

94. wuyó-de kín-im ya wunt’
  what-ABL 3SM.OBJ-ACC 2S.SBJ made:Q
  ‘From what did you make it?’

95. ʔaté ʔáy-ká nás-ó ʔúŋ-túb
  1S.SBJ who-ABL 3SM.OBJ-ACC 2S.SBJ go-FUT:Q
  ‘With whom will I go to the river?’

Negative interrogative clauses with content question words are suffixed with the negative marker –k’áy. In these cases aspect or tense distinction is not marked on the verb:

96. ná ʔamóíd dime-n ʔúŋ-k’áy
  3SF.SBJ when dime-DAT go-NEG
  ‘When is it that she does not go to Dime?’

97. ʔáyi ʔád-k’áy
  who come-NEG
  ‘Who did not come?’

98. ʔameh-id núts-ad ʔád-k’áy
  how.many-PL child-PL come-NEG
  ‘How many of the children are not coming?’

In summary, in the polar interrogative construction -déé marks imperfective aspect, while –t marks perfective aspect for first and third person. The morpheme –āa is a verbal interrogative marker that has a restricted use in perfective and imperfective polar interrogative clauses; namely, it is affixed to the verb when the subject of the interrogative clause is second person. In negative tag/confirmation questions the interrogative is marked by –āa for all persons. In non-polar interrogative clauses, the perfective aspect is not marked morphologically on the verb. The imperfective aspect is marked morphologically (using the morpheme -déé) both in polar and non-polar interrogatives. In both perfective and imperfective negative polar and non-polar interrogatives, the negative marker -k’áy is suffixed to the verb.

12.5 Word order

In Dime SOV word order is frequent. With the exception of the subject, every constituent is morphologically marked for case. Perhaps because of this morphological marking, which reflects the grammatical relation among the words in a sentence, word order is not strict in Dime. The following examples demonstrate the frequent...
word order of simple sentences in both transitive and intransitive clauses:

96. **gošt-iš yž-deé-n**  
boy-DEF run-IPF-3  
‘The boy runs.’

97. **nù k’is’-im ḳst-éé-n**  
3SM.SUBJ bread-ACC eat-IPF-3  
‘He eats bread.’

12.5.1 Word order in NPs

First we discuss word order in nouns and noun modifiers. This involves word order of noun phrases with adjectives, numerals, demonstratives and possessives. The word order of nouns and noun modifiers is flexible as the difference in the (a) and (b) forms in the examples in (98-95) shows.

98a. **nù gūdm-ūb ḳar-im ḳats-i-n**  
3SM.SUBJ tall-M tree-ACC burn-PF-3  
‘He burned a tall tree.’

98b. **nù ḳāsí gūdūm-ub-im ḳats-i-n**  
3SM.SUBJ tree tall-M burn-PF-3  
‘He burned a tall tree.’

99a. **ná mákkim ḳaṃz-af-im baʔád-i-n**  
3SF.SUBJ three woman-PL-ACC bring-PF-3  
‘She brought three women.’

99b. **ná ḳaṃz-af mákk-im baʔád-i-n**  
3SF.SUBJ woman-PL three-ACC bring-PF-3  
‘She brought three women.’

100a. **siná ḳaṃzi**  
this woman  
‘this woman’

100b. **ḥaṃzi siná**  
woman this  
‘this woman’

Changing word-order in morphologically marked genitive constructions does not bring a change in meaning. Consider the following examples:

101a. **zim-kó ḳindii-d-ká ḳind-ká ḳád-i-n**  
chief-GEN wife-CNJ mother-CNJ come-PF-3  
‘A chief’s wife and mother came.’
In non-verbal constructions the predicative constituent occurs at sentence final position. For instance, the noun ḍịs-ko ịndiidi ‘my wife’ (102a), saná ‘that’ (102b and 102c) and ḍịs-ko-nd ‘mine (F)’ (102d) are predicates of their respective clauses.

102a. saná ḍịs-ko ịndiidi
that (F) 1S.OBJ-GEN wife
‘That is my wife.’

102b. ḍịs-ko ịndiidi saná
1S.OBJ-GEN wife that (F)
‘My wife is that.’

102c. ịndiidi ḍịs-ko saná
wife 1S.OBJ-GEN that (F)
‘My wife is that.’

102d. saná ịndiidi ḍịs-ko-nd
that (F) wife 1S.OBJ-GEN (F)
‘That is my wife.’

In example (102d) the genitive pronoun at the predicate position is suffixed with a gender marker, which indicates the gender of the possessed noun.
More examples that demonstrate the freedom of word order are given below. Object can precede subjects, (106b); and follow the verb, (106c). The occurrence of the verb at sentence initial position is not common; however, there are instances of simple sentences, where the verb occurs initially (106d).

106a. yer-îs ?ay-im ³îts-i-n
donkey-DEF grass-ACC eat-PF-3
‘The donkey ate grass.’

106b. ?ay-im yer-îs ³îts-i-n
glass-ACC donkey-DEF eat-PF-3
‘The donkey ate grass.’

106c. yer-îs ³îts-in ?ay-is-im
donkey-DEF eat-PF-3P grass-DEF-ACC
‘The donkey ate the grass.’

106d. ³îts-i-n yerî ?ay-im
eat-PF-3 donkey grass-ACC
‘A donkey ate grass.’

The word order alternation in sentences with dative complements is illustrated in (107a-d) below:

107a. nú me§a`f-im náa`re ³îm-i-n
3SM.SBJ book-ACC yesterday buy-PF-3
‘He gave some books to them.’

107b. nú yîss-ub-im me§a`f-im náa`re ³îm-i-n
3SM.SBJ 3PL.DAT some-M-ACC book-ACC buy-PF-3
‘He gave some books to them.’

107c. nú me§a`f-im náa`re yîss-ub-im ³îm-i-n
3SM.SBJ book-ACC 3PL.DAT some-M-ACC buy-PF-3
‘He gave some books to them.’

107d. me§a`f-im náa`re ³îm-i-n nú yîss-ub-im
book-ACC 3PL.DAT some-M-ACC buy-PF-3
3SM.SBJ 3SM.SBJ
‘He gave some books to them.’
In Dime, dependent clauses usually occur before the main clause. However, they may also occur after the main clause, as illustrated in the examples below:

108a. ṭáṃz-is ṭád-á dót ṭíyy-ís ṭíŋ-deé-n
   woman-DEF come-CNVI COND man-DEF go-IPF-3
   ‘If the woman comes, the man will go.’

108b. ṭíyy-ís ṭíŋ-deé-n ṭáṃz-is ṭád-á dót
   man-DEF go-IPF-3 woman-DEF come-CNVI COND
   ‘The man will go, if the woman comes.’

Word order is also flexible in relative clauses. The order of the relativized noun and the relative clause can be changed as examples (109) and (110) demonstrate:

109. níts-im deis-i-b-is ṭíyy-ís ṭád-i-n
    child-ACC kill-PF-M.RELT-DEF man-DEF come-PF-3
    ‘The man who killed the child came.’

110. ṭíyyí níts-is-im giš'-i-b-is lați'-i-n
    man child-DEF-ACC beat-M.RELT-DEF die-PF-3
    ‘A man who has beaten the child died.’

However, within the relative clause, word order change is ungrammatical as in (111).

111. *deis-i-b-is níts-im ṭíyy-ís ṭád-i-n
    kill-M.RELT-DEF child-ACC man-DEF come-PF-3
    Intended meaning:... ‘The man who killed the child came.’

Although word-order in a clause and within an NP is not strict, the changing of word order in Noun-Noun modifiers and compound words brings meaning change or leads to ungrammaticality. For instance, the order of the following construction is restricted:

112. ṭot níts
cow child
    ‘male calf’

113. ṭáf-náš
eye-water
    ‘tear’

The reverse order, namely, níts ṭot or náše ṭáf is not possible in the above examples.
13 Texts

13.1 Greetings

In this section we present some texts and greetings. Greetings are expressed using the words ūs ‘how’ and ūɔχ ‘spend day’ or ūɔxt ‘spend night’. The word ūs seems to be a reduced form of ūsia ‘how’. Thus, literally ūs ūɔxt means ‘how (did you) spend (the) night?’

Greeting in the morning

1. ūs ūɔxt
   how spend night
   ‘Good morning’ (2SF/M)

2. ūs ūɔxt-is
   how spend night-PL
   ‘Good morning (2PL)’

The answer to the above greetings will be:

3. ūhō ūy ūs ūɔxt
   fine 2S.SUBJ how spend night
   ‘Fine! How have you spent the night.’

Greeting in the evening or midday

4. ūs ūaɔχ
   how spend day
   ‘Good afternoon (2SF/M)’

5. ūs ūaɔχ-is
   how spend day-PL
   ‘Good afternoon (2PL)’

The (interrogative) greeting forms illustrated above, can also be used to enquire the well-being of somebody else.

6. Maikro ūs ūaɔχ
   Maikro how spend day
   ‘How is Maikro doing (how did he spend the day?)’

7. ná ūs ūaɔχ
   3SF.SUBJ how spend day
   ‘How is she doing?’

8. ūhō! ūy ūs ūaɔχ
   fine 2S.SUBJ how spend
   ‘Fine! How did you spend the day.’
As can be seen from the above examples, there are different types of greetings for the morning and afternoon. There are no special greeting terms for the evening; there is no equivalent of the Amharic እንዳማን ዋማስሃክ, a special greeting expression for the evening.

Leave taking is expressed in the following way:

9a. saro ?açı
   peace spend day
   ‘have a peaceful day’

9b. saro ?ozt
   peace spend night
   ‘have a peaceful night’

The above leave taking expressions are formally similar to greetings in some other Omotic language such as Wolayta. For instance in Wolayta: sáro péta means ‘good day/have a nice day’, while sáro ከahkan means ‘good night/have a nice evening (Alemayehu Dogamo, pc)’.

The following dialogue contains some more examples of Dime greeting expressions:

10a. ?äs እ-แดด- לוקח
    how be-IPF:Q
    ‘How are you?’

10b. ?até እ- addButton እ-بعث-ያ-ሌ
    1S.SUBJ. good 2S.SUBJ. good be-IPF-yn-Q
    ‘I am fine, how are you?’

11. wuuf-is እ- addButton እ-اعة-ሌ
    all-DEF good-w-Q
    ‘Is everything fine?’

12. ?iiyyi wuuf-is እ-.addButton እ-اعة-debian እ-(usuario) እ-اعتنام-ስ እ-מחזיק-ብ-入户
    person all-DEF good 2S.SUBJ. good come-Q enter-CNV1 stay-PF-3
    ‘Everybody is fine. Is everything alright (you came with good news)? Get in and sit down.’

13. yaf እ-.addButton እ-اعتنام-ስ እ-اعتنام-ስ እ- AppDelegate እ-اعتنام-ስ
    God bless 1S.SUBJ. stay-NEG quickly go-IPF-1
    ‘God bless (you)! I will not stay (long). I will leave soon.’

14. saro እ-اعتنام-ስ
    peace stay-CNV1
    ‘Stay in peace!’

15. saro እ-اعتنام-ስ
    peace stay-PL
    ‘Stay in peace!’
The following extract illustrates conversation during a visit to a sick person.

16a.  ámba-dée  
how-IPF:Q
’how are you?’

16b. saksiyo  ñëénde da-dée-t 
there  like that live-IPF-1
’I am in the same condition (Lit., there, like that I live).’

17a. wúy-dót-ik  loote-káy-áá 
what-if-too  better–NEG-Q
‘There is no change in your situation?’

17b. wúy-dót-ik  loote  yi-káy 
what-if-too  better  COP-NEG
’Nothing, I don’t feel better.’

18a. say-ká-dó  ?akim  ñëh-ó  üqi 
cure-NEG-COND  doctor  home-LOC  go
’If you do not feel better, (it is better you) go to the hospital.’

18b. ?akim  ñëh-ó  üqi-ta  meh  yi-káy 
doctor  home-LOC  go-DAT  money  COP-NEG
’To go to the hospital, I have no money.’

19a. ?áhá!  meh  yi-káy  ñid-inká  ?akim  ñëh-ó  üpi-ká 
ha!  money  COP-NEG  remain-REAS  doctor  home-LOC  go-NEG
ñid-áá  meh-im  ?áti  tald-ub 
stay-Q  money-ACC  1.SUBJ  lend-M
’ha! you stay here because you don’t have money? I will lend you some money.’

19b. yaf  ìm  meh  yent-’a-do  ?íni  ?éeneno  ?akim  
God  give  money  get-CNVI-COND  today  right.now  doctor
ñëh-ó  üpi-tub 
home-LOC  go-FUT
’May God give you, if I get money, I will go to the hospital right away.’

20a. ñóly?  ?akim-in’t 
quick  treat-PAS
’See a doctor soon!’

20b. ñëssí!  ìf  ìm  
ok  God  give
’Ok! Thank you!’ (lit. ‘(May) God give (you)’)
13.2 Stories

This section includes transcribed and glossed Dime stories. Text 1 is a story about a dog and a donkey. Text 2 describes the process of building a Dime house. Text 3 is about the good will of a Dime girl whose name is Abeba Shiftaye Mehil. Text 4 concerns the cultural traditions on selecting a Dime Chief. Text 5 narrates the friendship between two people. Text 6 is a story of the friendship between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape. Text 7 is concerned with an ape and his relatives. Text 8 pursues a narrative concerning three people. Text 9 is a tale of the rat and the elephant. Text 10 relates the story of the rabbit and Deffersa (a wild animal sp.).

In all the texts we use a four-line transliteration: in the first line we represent the Dime sentence as it is recorded, in the second line we indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes is given, the fourth line contains a free-translation of the whole sentence.

13.2.1 Text 1: A dog and a donkey

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan, 13 August 2003, Dime, Ethiopia.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kénká yerká} & \quad \text{dog-CNJ donkey-CNJ} \\
\text{\textquoteleft A dog and a donkey\textquoteright} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kénká yerká wókkil ŋinsé} & \quad \text{dog-CNJ donkey-CNJ one day} \\
\text{\textquoteleft Once upon a time, a dog and a donkey agreed and say, “we must go to the bush in order to search for food together”. They went as agreed. After arriving at the appointed place, they began to search for food.\textquoteright} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{báyi m k\’áy-á ŋís-túb} & \quad \text{find-CNV1} \\
\text{\textquoteleft “Once up on a time, a dog and a donkey agreed and say, “we must go to the bush in order to search for food together”. They went as agreed. After arriving at the appointed place, they began to search for food.’} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[38\text{dyemere} \text{ ‘start’ is borrowed from Amharic.}\]
The donkey found grass to eat and satisfied himself.

The dog failed to find any food; consequently he remained hungry.

The donkey said “In the tradition of our father and mother after having eaten we neigh.” Despite this the donkey felt some fear, especially when the dog told him not to neigh.

However, the donkey begged him saying ‘Since my stomach is full I must neigh’.

The copula -de occurs following verbs or adjectives after person or gender markers. At this position it seems to function as focus marker.

It is interesting that the element –ta which occurs rarely as an alternative form of the infinitive marker –in appears here as –t’a following the infinitive marker –in.
After the dog climbed up the tree, the donkey started neighing. On hearing the donkey’s voice, two hyenas appeared. Having come, they caught the donkey and ate it.

The dog said “Perhaps, dangerous wild animals will come to eat us, let me first climb up a tree and then you can neigh”.

Yet the dog feared that if he descended from the tree, he would (himself) be eaten by the hyenas. It remained silent there where he was. However,
without him realizing his mouth began to water and saliva dribbled onto the head of one of the hyenas’.

010. **nayis zúnú wuná yînhdècy yéfkà ñanśo kéní dán**

    nay-is  zúnú wun-a  yînh-dècy yéf-kà  ñan-is-ò  kéní  dán

    *hyena-DEF up  turn-CNV1 look-IPF see-NEG tree-DEF-LOC dog COP

**nayis kéniskó yà sóò ʔàdu ʔatè**

    nay-is  kén-is-kò  yà  sóò  ʔàdu  ʔatè

    *hyena-DEF dog-DEF-GEN 2S.SUBJ LOC come 1S.SUBJ.

**yînhó sâkiyó k’óttí ʔêfînkà**

    yînh-kò  sâkiyó  k’óttí  ʔêf-înkà

    *2S.OBJ-GEN there arrive tell-REAS

‘When the hyenas looked up, there was a dog on the tree. They hyena told the dog that either it should descend from the tree and come to them or they would climb up the tree’.

011. **kênís gîmà ʔatè yînhko sâkiyó k’ôta**

    kên-is  gîm-à  ʔatè  yînh-ko  sâkiyók’ôt-à

    *dog-DEF speak-CNV1 1S.SUBJ 2S.OBJ-GEN there arrive-CNV1

**dót yá gâ?ak’âyàá ʔet’á ʔuyiśin**

    dót  yà  gâ?a-k’ây-âá  ʔet’-á  ʔuyiś-i-n

    *COND 2S.SUBJ eat-NEG-Q say-CNV1 ask-PF-3

‘The dog asked the hyenas “If I come down to you, won’t you eat me?”’

012. **nayis gîmânde sóò wutò wohîm ye François**

    nay-is  gîm-ânde  sóò  wutô  woh-im  yéf-kà

    *hyena-DEF speak-CNV2 here front meat-ACC see-NEG

**ʔatè yînim wûyà gâ?adéè**

    ʔatè  yîn-im  wûy-á  gâ?a-déè

    *1S.SUBJ 2P OBJ-ACC what-INF eat-IPF:Q

**kênís yìcâ yîló kikàbow ñâdînkà**

    kên-is  yìc-à  yîl-ô  kí-kà-bow  ñâd-înkà

    *dog-DEF down-CNV1 ground-LOC 3MS.OBJ-COM-DIR come-REAS

**wókkîl-im wohîm gâ?am-éè ʔêfît**

    wókkîl-im  woh-im  gâ?a-m-éè  ʔêf-i-t

    *one-NMZ meat-ACC eat-m-ée say-PF-1

‘The hyenas replied to the dog “Don’t you see all this meat around us, why should we eat you?” Subsequently the dog climbed down the tree and the hyenas allowed him to eat meat with them’.

013. **wókkîlîm wohîsim gâ?andé yéfka bô’ónit**

    wókkîl-im  woh-is-im  gâ?-andé  yéf-kà  bô’ôn-i-t

    *one-NMZ meat-DEF-ACC eat-CNV2 see-NEG finish-PF-1
Finally, the hyenas said; “now we want to eat you!”

The dog said, “As I am somebody who is going to die, let me do it in my custom.”
"If so, (they said) sing quickly and show us your talent!" However, when the hyenas ordered the dog to sing, he was able to deceive them and escape death and arrived safely at his owner’s house.

13.2.2 Text 2: The process of building a Dime house

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan on September 2, 2003, Ethiopia.

001. **hay ḍéhím kíc’t’a binn k’āysistéeh gas**
    hay ḍéh-im kíc’t-á bin-n k’āys-is-téé-b gas
gass house-ACC built-CN1V go-:PF-3 find-CAUS-IPF-RELT (M) road
'The required way of building a house'.

002. **wútó ḍéh-im kíc’t’a binn bísiním meret’t’één**
    wútó ḍéh-im kíc’t-á bin-n bísin-im meret’-t’éé-n
    before house-ACC work-CN1V go-:PF-3 place-ACC choose-IPF-3
    kiyóde tifó doç ŋaarium k’árs’á kutsétén
    kiyó-de tifó doç-ňás-im k’árs’-á kuts-téé-n
    there-ABL after-LOC wall-wood-ACC collect-IPF-3
    'In order to build a hut, one has to choose a suitable place for the building. Then, the required amount of wood for construction purposes must be cut and collected'.

003. **ʔóló sícim gíržáímká tíñímká bá¿ádéét**
    ʔóló síc-im gir-ʔás-im-ká tíñ-im-ká bá¿á-déé-t
    also this-ACC RB-wood-ACC-CNJ rope-ACC-CNJ bring-IPF-1
    šikíska gíržálíská tíñíská s’us’u bowde
    šikís-ká gir-ʔás-is-ká tíñ-is-ká s’us’u-bow–de
    this-CNJ RB-wood-DEF-CNJ rope-DEF-CNJ full-ABL
    ōhísim kíc’t’a binn bísiním málcá
    ōh-is-im kíc’t-á bin-n bísin-im málc-á
    house-DEF-ACC built-CN1V go-:PF-3 place-ACC remove forest-CN1V
    tíñístéen kukuyá lalalá bàsintsétén
    tíñ-is-téé-n ku-kuy-a lalalá bàsints-téé-n
    clean-CAUS-IPF-3 RDP-dig-CN1V level make-IPF-3

---

3MS.OBJ-GEN owner-DEF-GEN house-LOC die-NEG-IPF arrive-PF-3-ée

‘meret’-ée-n’ ‘choose’ is from Amharic marrít’á ‘chose’.

RB is an abbreviation of ‘reinforcing beam’.
Different types of wood are required: for framing the roof, for reinforcing beams and for making rope. After preparing wood for the roof, for the reinforcing beam and rope, the existing trees and undergrowth must be removed from the place. It must be dug and leveled (and made suitable for constructing the hut).

Subsequently, the width of the hut must be measured out, the site leveled, and holes dug.

On completing the holes, the wooden pillars to support the walls must be planted and the soil compressed (to bear the weight of the pillar).
After finishing the central part of the house, a hole is dug, and the ring of the roof is constructed usually with four reinforcing beams proportionate to the hut’s width. Following this the reinforcing beam for the roof on the outside wall of the house are removed and a pillar is planted in the hole in the middle of the house.

The reinforcing wood is put on it until the house is finished and then thatched the roof with (dry) grass. He also covers the hole through which the central pillar was planted, by thatching over it.

Consequently, he arranges and levels the floor of the hut, adding water to compress it.

Finally, when the hut painting is dry the owner prepares coffee and invites the neighbours to the house to have coffee. They celebrate the end of a construction by drinking coffee together inside the house) and subsequently the occupants begin to live there.
13.2.3 Text 3: Good will of a Dime girl

This story was told by Abeba Siftey Mehel September 26, 2003, Jinka.

\textit{\'Aho b k'aysiste}
\textit{\'Aho-b k'aysis-tê-n}
good-M desire-IPF-3
\textit{\'Good wish\'}

\textbf{001. \'Até \'iskó bâbê sîftaye mihelisde}
\textbf{\'Até \'Is-ko bâbê shiftaye mihel-de}
1S.SUBJ 1S.OBJ-GEN father shiftaye mihel-DEF-ABL

\textbf{\'iskó \'Ind \'Atan bersobisde s'\'êttammi}
\textbf{\'Is-ko \'Ind \'Atan bersob-is-de s'\'ët-tammi}
1S.OBJ-GEN mother \'at-an bersob-DEF-ABL thousand-ten

\textit{\'ókkila\'se tamt'í tussum \'afó turdu k'\'astin bačká}
\textit{\'Okkila\'se tamt'i tussum \'Af-o turdu k'\'astin ba\'c-ká}
nine hundred seventy mouth-LOC year two year-INST

\textit{\'At\'imt'it}
\textit{\'At'imt'-i-t}
born-PF-1
\textit{\'My father is Shiftaye Mihel and my mother is Atan Bersob. I was born in}
\textit{the year nineteen seventy two (1972) (according to the Ethiopian calen-
dar)\'}.  

\textbf{002. \'Até \'At\'imt' ub bačisodé k'int'á ōnī}
\textbf{\'Até \'At'im-t'ub ba\'c-is-o-dé k'int'-á \'Onį}
1S.SUBJ born-PUT year-DEF-LOC-ABL begin-CNV1 today

\textbf{k'otebká \'Até \'\'Isin\'c\'Isin\'c\'ká \'Isko woydî m\'akkim}
k'oteb-ká \'Até \'\'Isin\'c-\'Isin\'c-ká \'Is-ko woidi m\'akkim
count-by 1S.SUBJ RDP-think-COM 1S.OBJ-GEN twenty three

\textit{bač k'ot'ín}
\textit{ba\'c k'ot'-i-n}
year arrive-PF-3
\textit{\'Counting my age from my date of birth, I am twenty-three year old\'}.  

\textbf{003. \'Até \'At\'imt' bowde bač tammi k\'asinubiská}
\textbf{\'Até \'At'imt' bow-de bač tammi k\'asin-ub-is-ká}
1S.SUBJ born DIR-ABL year ten two-M-DEF-COM

\textit{timhert \'êhó woj\'imt táá bow \'isko}
timhert \'êh-o woj\'im-t-táá bow \'Is-ko
school house-LOC enter-PF-1P now DIR 1S.OBJ-GEN
tihirtisim bobonístéé
* bo-bonis-téé-t
school-DEF-ACC  RDP-finish-IPF-1
'I attended school from the age of twelve, this year I will finish my secondary school education'.

004. kiyódé wonnándé yaf gímá dót
kiyó-de  wonn-ándé  yaf  gim-á  dót
there-ABL  return back-CNV2  God  say-CNV1 COND

?ísko wunisko ?afís ʔádá dót
ʔís-ko  wun-is-ko  ?af-ís  ʔád-á  dót
1S.OBJ-GEN  work-DEF-GEN  result-DEF  come-CNVI COND

ʔató timhert ʔéhé gigícóbow ʔúngétéét kiyódé
ʔató  timhert  ʔéhé  gigícó-bow  ʔúngéé-t  kiyó-de
1S.SUBJ  school  house  very-DIR  go-IPF-1  there-ABL

wonnándé bosínisée ʔandjím ʔandjímt’a
wonn-ándé  bos-i-n-is-ée  ʔandjím-ʔandjímt’tá
return back-CNV2  finish-PF-3-CAUS-IPF  RDP-grading-INF
‘If, by grace of God, I achieve a good result in my matriculation exams, I will join a College or University and eventually return (to my area) after graduation’.

005. ʔádándé ʔísín wonnéeb wunim
ʔád-ándé  ʔís-in  won-déé-b  wont’im
come-CNV2  1S.OBJ-DAT’  be-IPF-M.RELT  work-ACC

yídibowde ʔjáŋk’érn wonna bubínéé
yídí-bow-de  ʔjáŋk’-érn  wonna  bubín-ée
catch-DIR-ABL  final-IPF-3  return-CNVI  husband-ée

dadéét bubínéé dái bowde ʔjáŋk’ wonna
da-déé-t  bubín-ée  dái  bow-de  ʔjáŋk’-wonna
live-IPF-1  husband-ée  stay  DIR-ABL  final-return-CNVI
‘After returning, I will get a job, get married and thereafter live together with my husband’.

006. ʔíská kíká wókkílim dáhá wón
ʔís-ká  kí-ká  wókkil-im  dáh-á  wó-n
1S.OBJ-CNJ  3MS.OBJ-CNJ  one-NMZ  sit-CNVI  1PL-DAT

wúnim t’éméh hene zorenzorentándé ʔískoimk
wó-n-im  t’éméh  hene  zoren-zorent-ánnde  ʔísko-im-k
1PL.OBJ-ACC  convenient  like  RDP-advice-CNVI2  1S.OBJ-GEN-ACC-too

kikiomk tüssafim maddéét kiyódé
kí-kó-im-k  tüss-af-im  mad-déé-t  kiyó-de
3SM.OBJ-GEN-ACC-too  relative-PL-ACC  help-IPF-1  there-ABL
13.2.4 Text 4: The selection of a chief in Dime

This story was told by Miakro Gizachew Keto on December 26, 2003, Ethiopia.

A chief is selected according to his degree of kinship with the previous chief. When a chief dies, one of his sons will be assigned to succeed him as the next chief. Normally the eldest son of a chief is assigned to inherit his father’s role as a chief.

There is a customary procedure for assigning a chief:

The wise old men hold a meeting.
004. ŋinim baʔaddéén
ŋin-im baʔ-ad-dé-ŋ
sheep-ACC take-come-IPF-3
‘They bring a sheep’.

005. kuru baʔaddéén
kuru baʔ-ad-dé-ŋ
honey take-come-IPF-3
‘They bring honey’

006. gonumká bindimká baʔaddéén
gonum-ká bind-im-ká baʔ-ad-dé-ŋ
hive-CNJ ash-ACC-CNJ take-come-IPF-3
‘They bring a hive and ashes’.

007. sikétim wúúfism kutsbowl deító deydaθ ?áááá
sikét-im wuuf-is-im kuts-bowl-de-tító dey-daθ ?áá-
these-ACC all-DEF-ACC collect-DIR-ABL-after wise man-PL come-CN
wokkilim kutsumá kiko woogisim dulumá.
wokkil-im kutsu-má kí-ko woog-is-im dulum-a,
one-NMZ meet-CNVL 3SM.OBJ-GEN law-DEF-ACC dance-CNVL
‘After all these materials are collected, the wise men come together and
dance according to the custom’.

008. nits wúto bísine ?ého k’íru ?áááá nitsísim
nits wúto bísine ?ého k’íru ?áá-a nits-is-im
child infront place house-GEN door come-CNVL child-DEF-ACC
yakís yídã kalísé baʔa dulumdulumá
yak-is yíd-a kalísé-sé baʔ-a dulum-dulum-a
sister-DEF catch-CNVL shoulder-DEF-LOC take-CNVL RDP-dance-CNVL
babkó kís ñehó baʔak’ot’á laat’imísiko
babkó kís-ñeh-o baʔak’ot-’ú laat’-im-is-ko
father-GEN god-house-LOC enter-arrive-CNVL death-NMZ-GEN
wúto wúdin ñínísim moçá deydaθ
wúto wúd-in ñín-is-im moç-a dey-daθ
in front put-INF sheep-DEF-ACC slaughter-CNVL wise man-PL
č’olayisím wútś’un yígbowl deító
č’olay-is-im wútś-un yín-bowl-de-tító.
intestine-DEF-ACC out-CNVL see-DIR-ABL-after
nitsíim maɣskaʔa kuröká bindká wuufubísim
nits-im maɣs-ká-ká kuru-ká bind-ká wuuf-ub-is-im
child-ACC blood-COM-CNJ honey-CNJ ash-CNJ all-M-DEF-ACC
'Then the wise men and the sons of the proposed chief’s sister (the candidate chief’s cousins) come to his door to bring him out. They dance carrying the candidate on their shoulder, and then they bring him before the God of his father. The wise men slaughter a sheep and then they tell his fortune predicting his future life, by reading the sheep intestines. They paint the body of the candidate with blood, honey and ashes. After painting his whole body they put the fat on the neck of the child and they pierce the wings of a bird on the hive.'
‘Then three of his sister’s children come and then the first, the second and the third son carry the corpse, the son of the chief and the hive, respectively. They pass over mountains dancing quietly and visiting different places with the corpse and the son of the dead chief. When they (finally) return they bury the corpse of the chief. They bury him so that his body is underground, but his neck and head remain above ground’.

100. *kiyódo wan na mátim bâdzé sîsêchîs*

kiyó-dô wann-á máts-im bâdzé sîs-êé-b-is
there-COND return-CNV1 head-ACC outside leave-IPF-M.RELT-DEF

*zimisko ?anjiš yîlzé šit’îydeën’*

zim-is-ko ?anjiš yîl-zé šit’îy-de-î-n
chief-DEF-GEN bless-CAUS ground-LOC remain-IPF-3

‘Then they bury the corpse leaving the head above the ground to get the chief’s blessing’.

101. *nîtsîs kiyó-de wann-á deyzaf bâñá mîsesî*

nîts-is kiyó-de wann-á deyz-af bâñ-á mîs-ês-ô
child-DEF there-ABL return-CNV1 wise-PL learn-CNV1 god house-LOC

*bâñáda bab wunt’êb wunisîmkâ*

bâ-ñád-ô bab wunt’ê-b wun-is-im-kô
take-come-CNV1 father work-IPF-M.RELT work-DEF-ACC-CNJ

*woogisîmkâ tomarsâ k’amub bisinô tiŋtítêcè*

woog-is-im-kô tomars-â k’um-ub bisin-ô tiŋ-tê-cè
rule-DEF-ACC-CNJ learn-CNV1 bad-M place-LOC go-IPF

*yîká-m gîma sîshowde nîtsîs bisînîsô*

yî-ká-m gîm-ô sîs-bow-de nîts-is bisîn-is-ô
COP-NEG-ACC tell-CNV1 leave-DIR-ABL child-DEF place-DEF-LOC

*dâhâ woogisîm won’t’â šit’éen*

dâh-ô woog-is-im won’t-’â šit’êé-n
live-CNV1 custom-DEF-ACC work-CNV1 left-IPF-3

‘Subsequently, the son returns and then the wise men bring him to the Gods’ house where his father was working. They teach him the rules and they advise him not to go to bad places. Finally, he acts as a chief based on the rules and the custom he is taught’.

13.2.5 Text 5: A story about two friends

This story was told by Shiftaye Yisan on February 19, 2005, Jinka.
001. ḥiyyi kʿastin lágafis

ḥiyyi kʿastin lág-af-is

person two friend-PL-DEF

‘The two friends’

002. ʔenub bacó ḥiyyi kʿastin id wókkilim

ʔeen-ub bač-ʔ ḥiyyi kʿastin-id wókkil-im

early-M.RELT year-LOC person two-PL one-NMZ

dáhá sitʾe wókkilsitsʾe tiʃándé kubu tiʃánde

dáh-ʔ sitʾe wókkil-sitsʾe tiʃ-ʔándé kubu tiʃ-ʔándé

stay-CNV1 day one-day go-CNV1 forest go-CNV2

ʔamim yịntubéę edá rišinčin

ʔam-im yịŋ-tub-ée edá rišinč-ʔ-

country-ACC see-FUT-ée tell-CNV1 think-PF-3

‘One day some years ago two friends decided to visit a specific place in the forest’.

003. rišinc bowde tifó wókkilim dáhá tiŋá kiyó

rišinc-ʔ bow-de tifó wókkil-im dáh-ʔ tiŋ-ʔ kiyó

think DIR-ABL after one-NMZ stay-CNV1 there

bisino kʿottebká ŋolo rišinčká dééká

bisin-ʔ kʿotte-bká ŋolo rišinč-ʔ ká dééká

place-LOC arrive-M.RELT-COM also think-COM TEMP

kékodé wókkilubis náyisim yín yeʃéę̱n

kéko-ʔ wókkil-ub-is náy-is-im yín yeʃ-ʃé-ę̱n

3PL.OBJ-GEN-ABL one-M-DEF hayena-DEF-ACC 2P-DAT see-IPF-3

nayim yeʃ-ʔándé wútó kiko wókkilim

nay-im yeʃ-ʔándé wút-ʔ k-ko wókkil-im

hayena-ACC see-CNV2 before-LOC 3SM.OBJ-GEN one-ACC

laqisóde ʃímká dáhá yízandé ʔaró

laq-ʔis-ʔ de ʃim-ká dáh-ʔ yíz-ʔándé ʔar-ʔ-

friend-DEF-LOC-ABL tell-NEG live-CNV1 run-CNV2 tree-LOC

fattéę̱n

fat-ʃé-ę̱n

climb-IPF-3

‘Together, they arrived at the place they intended to visit and one of them saw a hayena suddenly coming in their direction. This person quickly climbed up the tree to hide himself without telling his friend.’

004. nú sóó gọmpó wunná yịndééká nay ʔádin

nú sóó gọmp-ʔ wunn-ʔ yịnd-ʃééká nay ʔád-ʔ-

3SM.SUBJ here back-LOC turn-CNV1 see-TEMP hyena come-PF-3
‘When he (the other friend) turned back and looked the hyena had already come.’

005. ŋásó wut-ta bam bamt’ée bašínká
źásó wut-ta bam-bamt’-éé-n bašínká
tree-LOC climb-INF RDP-near-IPF-3 fear-REAS

wuyá dadeéfa wókkilub
wuy-á da-deéfká wókkil-ub
stop-CN1 live-TEMP one-M

‘The other friend was too afraid to start climbing up the tree, because the hyena was already approaching him’.

006. ŋiśinći kiko mató ŋáđin
źiśinći kí-ko mátt-ó ?ád-i-n
think 3SM-OBJ-GEN mind-LOC come-PF-3

źen kiko babafká ńiyi dežid
źen kí-ko bab-af-ká źiyyí dež-ıd
early 3SM.OBJ-GEN father-PL-COM man wise-PL.RELT

gimdeéfká náy jálajz’-im gaʔak’áb ńeńá gím
gim-deéfká náy jál-ájz’-im gaʔa-k’áb ńeńá gím
tell-TEMP hyena RDP:die-NMZ/ACC

‘Then a new idea occurred to him. He said, he said (to himself), “our forefathers, the wise men say that hyenas do not eat flesh from human corpse.”’

007. ziminnta ńoló ńaté ńaśo yizá wutkáméčé 'isko
ziminnta ńoló ńaté ńar-ó yiz-á wut-kám-će ńís-ko
ziminnta also 1P.SBJ tree-LOC run-CN1 climb-NEG-ée 1S.OBJ-GEN

‘I can not run and I can not climb up the tree to save myself’.

008. lagisk ńísko gimká dáhá ŋaśó wutá
lag-is-k ńís-ko gim-ká dáh-á ńar-ó wut-á
friend-DEF-too 1S.OBJ-GEN speak-CN1 live-CN1 tree-LOC climb-CN1

dáhá tááy ńaté ńasítubebet’-ándé ŋiśinći mätó ņádá
dáh-á tááy ńaté ńasíitu-bebet’-ándé ŋiśinći mät-ó ?ád-á
stay-CN1 now 1S.SBJ how-can be-CN2 think-DEF head-LOC come-CN1

bowde yíló nanaqta dáhá jálajz’im
bow-de yíl-ó ná-näq-t-á dáh-á jál-ájz’-im
DIR-ABL earth-LOC RDP:ledown-CN1 stay-CN1 RDP-die-NMZ

bezá dähinká nü ńaśó dáhá kinim yínimá
bezá däh-inká nü ńar-ó dáh-á kin-im yín-imá
like stay-REAS 3SM.SBJ tree-LOC stay-CN1 3SM.OBJ-ACC see-INCH
dähinká nay-is ʔádándé nú nánájáta
stay-REASHayena-DEF come-CN V2 3SM.SUBJ RDP-sleep-CN V1

dähinká klinim šušuxá yínjína ʔóló
stay-REAS3SM.OBJ-ACC RDP-smell-CN V1 RDP-see-CN V1 again

lála yi’sim bezá bosin gištka šedínká yíná dáhá
RDP:dead-NMZ seem final breeze-NEG remain-REAS see-CN V1 stay-CN V1

šušuxá řusú bit’bowde
RDP: smell-CN V1 to-there go-DIR-ABL.

‘Since my friend climbed up the tree without warning me, the best thing to
do at this moment is to lie down, so that I appear to be a dead person.’ As
he lay down on the ground, his friend watched him from the tree above.
The hyena came to the sleeping friend and snuffled around him, finally left
him and went away’.

009. kíko lag-is yiló yičá
kí-kí lag-is yil-ó yič-á
3SM.GEN friend-DEF earth-LOC climb down-CN V1

nayis bit’bow-de tifo yičá
hayena-DEF go-DIR-ABL after climb down-CN V1

ʔádándé řini nayis yiko k’amó wuyim
come-CN V2 tody hayena-DEF 2S.OBJ-GEN ear-LOC what-ACC

gım-décwuyimde gímá ʔádá bit’e gíminká
what-CN V1 leave speak-REAS

‘When the animal was gone, the friend in the tree descended and ap-
proached the one on the ground, asking him what the hyena had said when
he snuffled around near his ear’.

010. nű gímande laqis k’amub gízé
nű gím-ándé lag-is k’am-ub gízé
3SM.SUBJ speak-CN V2 friend-DEF bad-M time

yımim seyskáy yımim šakšakíšá kimättin
2S.OBJ-ACC cure-NEG 2S.OBJ-ACC RDP:leave-CN V1 3SM-head-DAT
The friend (who had lied down on the ground) told the other; “in time of danger, a person who does not save his friend but rather saves only himself is not a good friend. Thus, the hyena advised me not to accompany such a friend in the future”.

13.2.6 Text 6: The relation between a lion, a wolf, a monkey and an ape

001 ʔašker zóbko yayi güüdi k’áári mákkim déén-ká
servant wolf monkey three exist-PF

mákkimsibis kiko zóbko ʔašker woná
three-ORD-DEF three-ORD-DEF three-ORD-DEF

k’alim k’aamsá dán
order hear-CNV1 COP

k’alim k’aamsá bindi kiko ʔehko
order hear-CNV1 always house-GEN

kiko tízzazik kiko kitok tííntíndéén
3SM.OBJ-GEN order-too 3SM.OBJ-GEN message RDP:go-IPF-3

‘The ape served the lion tending his garden, delivering messages for him and carrying out his orders all the time’.

003 ʔoló k’östiníš ñams’eña wóninká kén lälé
again two-DEF impolite 3PL-DAT stone

43 tízzaz ‘order’ is a borrowed Amharic word tīzzaz ‘order’
gičóbim mátsse kóbsá wuyswuysá dán
big-M-ACC máts-se kóbs-á wuys-wuys-á dán
‘The lion forced the other two (animals) to carry big stones on their heads and stand like that in order to teach them to serve him in a polite way’.

004. gúdlími yi yeisímiyi wuys wuysse dadéělží
monkey-CNJ wolf-ACC-CNJ RDP-stand stay-TEMP
k’óbsée k’ááré č’amim dyģá dežiněé yá
lord-COP ape shoes-ACC sew-CN1 know-PF-3 éé 2S.OBJ
‘The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion’.

005. kórdkormá yítis yítisinká ḏahá! ḏééná
kórdkorm-á yítis-yítis-inká ḏahá! ḏééná
RDP-inform-CN1 RDP-catch-CAUS-RÉAS ḏahá! Like this
‘When the monkey and the wolf were standing in such a way, they asked the lion why he went barefoot on the ground, when the ape could sew shoes for him. Consequently the lion caught the ape’.

006. k’ááré kíko ḏekikó dáhándé kínim
ape 3SM.OBJ-GEN floor-LOC stay-CN1 3SM.OBJ-ACC
kórmbá yístéebisim k’a-k’amsitéén
inform-CN1 catch-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC RDP-hear-IPF-3
‘The monkey and the wolf asked the ape to appear before the lion’.
007. k‘ak’ams-tub bow-de ʔaté ʔasiá bultubéč
k‘a-k‘ams-tub bow-de ʔaté ʔasiá bult-ub-ée
RDP-hear-FUT DIR-ABL 1S.SUBJ how solve-M.RELT-ée
ʔedáʔedá ʔišinká dán
ʔed-áʔed-á ʔišink-á dán
RDP-say-CNV1 think-CNV1 COP
‘The ape spent some time thinking “how can I solve the problem presented by the lion and how should I answer him”.

008. ʔišinč-ʔišinč dåh-yá k‘áäre
ʔišin-ʔišincá dåh-á ʔiší yá k’ááre
RDP-think stay-CNV1 ok 2S.SUBJ ape
č’amų dyxgá destene daχná
č’amu dyxg-á destene daχn-á
shoes sew-CNV1 know say-CNV1
destyá ʔedá giminká ñéé ʔaté
deste-y-á ʔed-á gim-inká ñéé ñaté
know-y-CNV1 say-CNV1 speak-REAS yes 1S.SUBJ
d’estetéé melsim zób-in gimín
deste-y-éé mels-im zób-in gim-i-n
know-IPF answer-ACC lion-DAT speak-PF-3
‘As the ape mused over what she should answer to the lion, the lion asked her whether she could sew shoes for him. The ape replied to the lion that she could indeed sew shoes’.

009. zóbin ʔaté destetéé daá gimá
zóbin ʔaté destet-y-éé da-á gim-á
lion-DAT 1S.SUBJ know-IPF say-CNV1 speak-CNV1
gimu bowde ʔólotáa ya kiko yayko
gimu bow-de ʔólo taa ya ki-ko yay-ko
speak DIR-ABL also now 2S.SUBJ 3SM.OBJ-GEN wolf-GEN
djinimí ʔóló kiko goídko fatayími
djinimi ʔóló ki-ko goid-ko fatayimi
vein also 3SM.OBJ-GEN monkey-GEN leather
baʔánde č’am-im dyigdeeb dééńká
baʔ-ánde č’am-im dyig-dee-b déen-kaná
take-CNV2 shoes-ACC sew-IPF-M.RELT exist-PF
šimné šifinká ʔaté ŕiŋá kékóde
šimné šid-inká ñaté ŕiŋ-á ké-ko-de
five remain-REAS 1S.SUBJ go-CNV1 3PL-GEN-ABL
mícá bažá žime děénká Žimzín mícá Žímmaminká
mícá baž-á žime děén-ká Žimz-i-n míc-á Žímmam-ininká
take-off take-CNV1 give exist-PF give-PF-3 take off-CNV1 give-REAS

bač’otá násó džagá
ba-c’ot-á nár-ó džág-á
bring-arrive-CNV1 river-LOC fall-CNV1

'Consequently, the lion asked the ape to sew a (pair of) shoe(s) for him. Since the ape was sly and cunning, she asked the lion to bring the wolf’s vein as string and the skin of the monkey as leather, to serve as materials for sewing the shoes. In order to get the required material, the lion killed the monkey and the wolf and gave the ape the skin of the monkey and the vein of the wolf'.

010. džigá bažadeé Žedá gímdéén Žíši Žedá
džig-á baža-deé Žed-á gímdéén Žíš-á Žéd-á
sown-CNV1 bring-IPF say-CNV1 speak-IPF-3 ok say-CNV1

kété k’alism zim daá k’alism bažadéén
kété k’al-is-im zim da-á k’al-is-im baža-deé-n
3PL.SUBJ word-DEF-ACC silent say-CNV1 word-DEF-ACC bring-IPF-3

'The ape informed the lion that she would bring him the shoes. Meanwhile the ape did not do anything'.

011. džigá bažadéé děénká džigá dahanávé
džig-á baža-deé děén-ká džig-á dah-ándé
sown-CNV1 bring-IPF exist-PF sew-CNV1 stay-CNV2

kiko budék woon t’aanná Žíšinča dadeédadéédé
ki-ko bud-ká woon t’aann-á Žíšinč-á da-deé-da-deé
3SM.SUBJ GEN hear-CNJ only study-CNV1 think-CNV1 RDP-stay-IPF

žólóbe žabía k’aáre yá džigá
žóló-b-ze Žabía k’áre yá džig-á
next-M.RELT-LOC hear-you ape 2S.SUBJ sew-CNV1

bažadik yá da-á gímminká Žíši Žaté
bažad-ik yá da-á gímminká Žíši Žaté
take-come-too 2S.SUBJ say-CNV1 speak-REAS ok 1S.SUBJ

džig-džigá bosinká yane daá Žíská gáso
džig-džig-á bos-inká yane da-á Žísk-á gáso
RDP-sew-CNV1 finish-REAS somebody say-CNV1 1S.OBJ-COM way-LOC

yínim yínenim bezdé bašbašá bažíncé daá
yínm-ym yínm-en-im bezdé baš-baš-á baž-i-n-éé da-á
2S.OBJ-ACC yourself like RDP-fear-CNV1 take-PF-3-éé say-CNV1

'Eventually the lion (became impatient) and ordered the ape to bring him
012. **Kiko zóbo gíminká ñaydéé ba?á dëéenka**
ki-ko zób-ko gím-inká ñay-déé ba?-á dëéen-ká
3SM.SUBJ-GEN lion-GEN speak-RES who-IPF take-CNV1 exist-IPF

*Then the lion asked “who took the shoes?”*

čúu násó dáhá ba?inéé nááó
čúu nár-ó dáh-á ba?-i-n-ée nár-ó
donw river-LOC stay-CNV1 take-PF-3-ée river-LOC

?absé maló loxché dáhá dëgdeén
?absé mal-ó loxché-á dáh-á dëg-déén
edge sandy-LOC make-CNV1 stay-CNV1 sew-IPF-3

dëéen-ká násó dáhá ba?inéé ñefá gîmdéén
dëéen-ká nár-ó dáh-á ba?-i-n-ée ñef-á gîmdéén
exist-IPF river-LOC stay-CNV1 take-PF-3-ée say-CNV1 speak-IPF-3

*The ape told the lion that he (the offender) lived in the river and that he took the shoes when he emerged from the water, as she stood at the river-bank sewing the shoes using the water to wet the skin*.  

013. **?een dot k’iye ñis-in kotá ?eçse nú**
?een dot k’iye ñís-in kotá ?eçse nú
early happen COND move 1S.OBJ-DAT arrive-CNV1 show 3SM.SUBJ

?eçsinéé
?eçs-i-n-ée
show-PF-3-ée

*The lion said that if this really happened, the ape should go with him and show him the place*.  

014. **Daá ñuá kotánté čúu ñistané nááó**
daá ñuá kot-án-á čúu ñistané nár-ó
say-CNV1 go-CNV1 arrive-CNV2 down it is river-LOC

gâyô zoób ñëstéén zób ñís-kob
gâyô zôb-is ñës-íséé-n zôb ñi ñís-kob
inside lion-DEF show-IPF-3 lion oh! 1S.OBJ-GEN

?ásé daá ba?ádéé daá nááó gâyô wúysiné
?ásé daá ba?-ád-éé daá nár-ó gâyô wûys-i-n-ée
1S.OBJ say-CNV1 take-come-éé say-CNV1 river-LOC inside ask-PF-3-ée

*The ape brought the lion to the river bank and pointed her finger into the*
River saying: “he is down there”.

015. `daa` k`ot`inaká zóbisim.bizdée meselká yimt’ée
`da-á` k`ot-inká zó-b-is-im biz-dée-b meselk-á yim-t’ée-n say-REAS lion-DEF ACC like-IPF-M.RELT similar-CONJ saw-IPF-3

náno gayó dáha nú wókkil č`irín-č`ir-ánđe
nár-ó gyó-ó dáb-á nú wókkil č`irín-č`ir-ánđe river-LOC inside-LOC stay-CONJ one RDP aggressive-CN2

“When he looked into the water, the lion saw somebody resembling him, his own reflection in the river. He became aggressive and opened his mouth to defeat his enemy’.

016. gažin ńisč-ánđe zúnú wóninká ?ìl k`ob sóó yínim
gaż-i-n ńisč-ánđe zúnú wón-inká ńil k`ob sóó yín-im eat-IPF-3 think-CN2 up return-REAS ah’ lord here 2S.OBJ ACC

?até wućumdéée ?amanana yá náno ?ọtlkáyáá

?čedá gímdéénc čéen dót t’etánde zúnú ?ụtsub
?čed-á gim-deé-n čéen dót t’et-ánđe zúnú ?ụts-ub say-CN1 speak-IPF-3 like this COND say-CN2 up climb-M.RELT

?oló k`otá č`irinká čúú dáha kíyeh
?oló k`ot-á č`ir-in-ká čúú dáb-á kí-yeh again arrive-CN1 aggressive-REAS down stay-CN1 3SM-like

dašíinká tasfera yizzó fotändé nú
daš-inká tasfera yizz-ó fot-ánđe nú openmouth-REAS stand deep-LOC fall-CN2 3SM.SBJ

zóbis kikomátká wókkil kíyó k’ék’eyí?iín
zó-b-is kí-kom-â-t-ká wókkil kíyó k’ék’-éyi-t’i-n-í-n lion-DEF 3SM.OBJ-GEN-CNJ one there disappear-PASS-PF-3

‘Subsequently, it looked calm and turned away from the water. At this point the ape admonished him; “Oh! My Lord why do you turn back? I think you should rather attack the one in the river”. The lion returned to the river and looked down into the water. Seeing his own image he became aggressive and opened his mouth. When the lion opened his mouth, the image inside the river also opened its mouth. The lion jumped down into the river to attack him and he disappeared’.

017. čúú kíko sib-is koká ?ik’isokáká
čúú kí-kó sib-is ko-ká ?ik’-is-ko-ká down 3SM.OBJ-GEN shoes-DEF 3SF-CNJ material-GEN-CN2
misälem yiqandéc ʔóló ʔádá zóbisimzé keysinen
misälem⁴⁴ yin-ândé ʔóló ʔád-á zób-is-im-zé keysin-i-n
example see-CNV2 again come-CNV1 lion-DEF-ACC-LOC avoid-PF-3

k’áäre zelem-ub.
k’áäre zelem-ub
ape wise-M
'(It went) down, with his shoes and material. The lesson is the wise ape avoided the lion again.'.

13.2.7 Text 7: An ape and her relatives

001. ʔéene ʔéinis k’áäre wókkilind déénká
ʔéene ʔéisin-is k’áäre wókkil-ind déén-ká
like that story-DEF ape one-F exist-PF

wónanim gísttéeín wónanim gišá boku
wón-im gíst-tée-n wón-im giš-á boku
cattle-ACC keep-IPF-3 cattle-ACC keep-CNV1 fruit(sp.)

s’ottéén boket’ú wónéč ʔáfe ʔáfe
s’ot-tée-n boket’ú wó-n-ée ʔáfe ʔáfe
suck-IPF-3 bear fruit 1PL-DAT-ée wood fruit

č’ek’k’ub déén
č’ek’k’-ub déén
small-M exist
'The story goes like this: there was an ape that kept cattle. As she tended her cattle, she collected their milk under the boko tree (kind of tree). This is a tree which produces for us the boku fruit'.

002. ṭísbow djiśīm s’ohayi
ṭís-bow djiś-im s’ohayi
1S.OBJ-DIR milk-ACC milking

kiśayi ʔádđéčón
kiśayi ʔád-déč-n
make_offering come-IPF-3
'He milks there and comes to make offering to the ancestor spirit.'

003. kiśá ʔádi bow-de djiśis
kiś-á ʔádi bow-de djiś-ís
make_offering-CNV1 come DIR-ABL milk-DEF

sikínim ʔaté tüssabisim wuufu ʔelélé
sikín-im ʔaté tüss-ab-is-im wuufu ʔel-el-á
this-ACC 1S.SUBJ relative-M.RELT-DEF-ACC all call-RDP-CNV1

⁴⁴ misälem ‘example’ is an Amharic loan word.
kišá wuč’t’ind ʔaté wondá
kiš-á wuč’t’-i-nd ʔaté wondá
engaged in sorcery-CNV1 drink-PF-F.RELT 1S.SUBJ alone

wuč’t’indéé bedá ʔísēnšnéen
wuč’t’-ind-éé bed-á ʔísēnš-ée-ń
drink-PF-F.RELT-ée say-CNV1 think-IPF-3
‘After offering part of the milk, she thought to herself: “What shall I do, call my relatives or drink it alone?”’

004. ʔísēnčá ʔísēnčá ʔísēnčis bosin kinim
ʔísēnč-á ʔísēnč-á ʔísēnč-is bosin kin-im
RDP think-CNV1 think-DEF finally 3SM.OBJ-ACC

cenek’čene k’ísinká ʔélisim ʔélélizá
cenek’-čene k’-is-inká ʔél-ís-im ʔél-é-iz-á
RDP-worry-DEF-REAS call-DEF-ACC call-RDP-CAUS-CNV1

ké-n ʔeχsá ʔeχs-á ʔáfisse wuč’adot kétik
ké-n ʔeχs-á ʔeχs-á ʔáf-is-sé wuč’a dót két-ik
3PLOBJ-DAT RDP-show-CNV1 eye-DEF-LOC drink COND 3PL.OBJ-too

gak’ad’akáyéé ʔaté wón dáká wuč’ádó
gak’ad-k’a-ká-y-ěé ʔaté wón dák-á wuč’-á dót
dis appoint-not-COP 1S.SUBJ 1PL.OBJ-DAT stay-CNV1 drink-CNV1 COND

gagak’t’éénéé t’aändé ʔełélédéén.
gagak’-t’éé-n-ée t’a-ándé ʔel-é-đéé-n.
oppose-IPF-3-FOC say-CNV2 call-RDP-IPF-3

‘While worried and in deep thought, she decideds to call them, and to show them the milk (clearly) in front of them. She said to herself: “if I drink it alone, they will be seriously disappointed. If we get together and I drink it alone, they will not object to that very much.” Finally, she called them all.

005. tusabisim wuufu k’áare děebisim
tus-ab-is-im wuufu k’áare děé-eb-is-im
relative-M.RELT -DEF-ACC all ape call-M.RELT-DEF-ACC

ʔeľá bosá ʔólo kíko wulaf-imik
ʔeľ-á bos-á ʔólo kí-ko wul-af-im-ik
call-CNV1 finish-CNV1 again 3SM-GEN neighbour-PL-ACC-too

‘Finally the ape invited all her relatives, and neighbours’.

006. daddebisim ʔiyyáf ʔeľá bosbosá
da-déé-b-is-im ʔiyy-áf ʔeľ-á bos-bos-á
live-IPF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC man-PL call-CNV1 RDP:finish-CNV1
When she had called all the people together, the ape stood between them and said; “dear friends I called you here for a very small thing, it really isn’t a big matter. It concerns this small quantity of milk that I have collected until now. I called you to show you the milk under the boko tree with your own eyes and just to drink it soon’.

007. ʔeχʔεχάndé ʔafó ʔohʊ ʔαsá ʔbɪtsɨnkɑ
ʔeχʔεχάndé ʔaf-ó ʔohʊ ʔαsá ʔbɪtsɨnkɑ
RDP-show-CN V2 mouth-LOC just enter-CN V2 send-REAS
kétik gadt’k’adéé binnéé
két-ik gadt’-k’a-déé bin-n-éé
3PL.OBJ-TOO oppose-NEG-PF go-PF-3-éé
‘After being shown the milk, they went away without any opposition’.

008. ðóló ðini nú gay woná
ðóló ðini nú gay won-á
again today 3SM.SUBJ fool be-CN1V

ðáhá ðéh-ó wónu wuč’ib dót gagagt’edáne
ðáh-á ðéh-ó wónu wuč’-ib dót ga-gagt’-ádné
stay-CN1V house-LOC only drink-RELT (M) COND RDP oppose-CN2V

ðáá wótú ðéšinéé ðéshin ðiyyká
ðá-á wótú ðéshin-déé-b ðéshin ðiyy-ká
say-CN1V 1PL.SUBJ narrate-IPF-RELT (M) story person-COM

ðató wókkilim ðínta ðáá ðiyyká tusum tusum
ðató wókkil-im ðínt-ta ðá-á ðiyy-ká tusu-m-tusu-m
1S.SUBJ one-NMZ go-DAT say-CN1V person-COM RDP relative-ACC

ðáá ðínta ðáá lookinééééé-b lookís
ðá-á ðínt-ta ðá-á lookin-déé-b look-is
say-CN1V go-INF say-CN1V talk-IPF-RELT (M) thing-DEF

ðíshinindééééé ?ató ?ésinééééé
this-ACC-déé 1S.SUBJ narrate-IPF-1

‘Now, if she had stayed at home like a foolish person and drank it (alone) they would have quarrelled with her. This story that the ape knew how to live with her relatives in a good way. This is the moral of the story’.

13.2.8 Text 8: The three persons

001. ðëneh ðíská ðíyiyi mákkimid dimamze déén ?él
ðënehgï-ká ðíyiyi mákkim-id dim-äm-zé déén ?él
ey early time-INST person three-PL Dime-ACC-LOC exist say
‘Early times there were three people who were in Dime.’

002. ðíyiyi mákkimisóde wókkilis durbab kiko
ðíyiyi mákkim-is-ó-de wókkil-is dur-bab ki-ko
person three-DEF-LOC-ABL one-DEF wealth-AGEN 3SM.OBJ-GEN

bayik déén santik déén wuuf -ub look déén.
bay-ik déén santik déén wuuf-ub look déén.
food too exist money exist all-M thing exist
‘There were three people, one of whom was well-placed, having food, money and everything he needed.’
The (other) two were thieves. One of the two was clever and he was very wise.’

‘The other thief was a fool. One day the thieves woke up and went to the rich man’s house to steal. When they arrived at the door of the rich man, the wise man positioned himself somewhere within the fence and instructed the other thief, “go to the store of the wealthy man and steal his food by breaking open the store.”'
005. tááy wobis gaay-is lupu woχmá k’ot-ándé
tááy wo-b-is gaay-is lupu woχm-á k’ot-ándé
now one-M DEF fool-DEF suddenly enter-CNV1 arrive-CNV2

ʔéhó klikó goterisim k’otándé k’ik’mistéen
ʔéh-ő kí-kó goter-is-im k’ot-ándé k’i-k’ín-is-téé-n
house-LOC 3MS.OBJ-GEN store-DEF-ACC arrive-CNV2 RDP-left-CAUS-IPF-3

goterisim k’insándé bayi kiko natint’ism
goter-is-im k’ins-ándé bayi kí-ko natint’-is-im
storm-DEF-ACC lift-CNV2 food 3MS.OBJ-GEN roof-DEF-ACC

buktíébká ñiýyís durbbaís ?ádándé yíltín
buktíé-b-ká ñííy-is dur-b-b-is ?ád-ándé yílt-i-n
take-M.RELT-COM man-DEF/wealth-AGEN-DEF come-CNV2 catch-PF-3

The fool entered the house suddenly. Breaking through the roof of the store
he removed the contents. While he was busy doing this, the wealthy man
came and caught him.

006. yídf bowde yáddándé ?óló bayisóde šankise
yídf bow-de yádd-ándé ?óló bay-is-ó-de šank-is-se
catch DIR-ABL catch-CNV2 also food-DEF-LOC-ABL field-DEF-LOC

wutsá gisím-in parstín.
wuts-á gisímn parst-i-n
take out-CNV1 kick-INF start-PF-3

‘After having caught him, the rich man took the thief out side and he
started to kick him’.

007. gigiz’tébká nú kiyó dábá
gi-giz’-t’éé-b-ká nú kiyó dáb-á
RDP-hit-IPF-3.M.RELT-INST 3MS.SUBJ there stay-CNV1

ʔuys-ʔuksá ?áté yídnsítí tísim gigiz’tééné
ʔuys-ʔuksi-á ?áté yídnsítí tís-im gi-gis’t’éé-n-ée
RDP: cry-CNV1 1S.OBJ catch 1S.OBJ-ACC RDP: hit-IPF-3-ée

ʔínenándé ʔuys ʔuystéen miolfo
ʔínen-ándé ʔuys-ʔuys-téé-n miolfo
like-CNV2 RDP: cry-IPF-3 out-GEN

‘When the rich man hit the thief, the thief cried out to his friend saying: “I
have been caught and am being beaten (by him).” He cried out like this for
a long time’.

008. milóbis ŋu miló dábándé yáayisó yízándé
miló-b-is ŋú miló dáb-ándé yáay-is-ó yíz-ándé
Out-M.RELT-DEF there out stay-CNV2 you-DEF-LOC run-CNV2
The (second) thief who remained outside replied to his friend, who had been seized; “why don’t you get up and escape?” The (first) thief responded to his friend; how can I escape when I am being held tight and receiving heavy blows?”

Now, all three men; both the rich man and the two thieves knew the Dime language.”

‘The wise thief thought of a clever way of saving his foolish friend. He asked him “which part of your body has been seized (by the rich man)?”’

‘The foolish thief replies; “My hand, he is holding my hand”’.

‘The (second) thief who remained outside replied to his friend, who had been seized; “why don’t you get up and escape?” The (first) thief responded to his friend; how can I escape when I am being held tight and receiving heavy blows?”

Now, all three men; both the rich man and the two thieves knew the Dime language.”

‘The wise thief thought of a clever way of saving his foolish friend. He asked him “which part of your body has been seized (by the rich man)?”’

‘The foolish thief replies; “My hand, he is holding my hand”’.
Chapter 13

013. ʔáníškoʔanim yídín  
ʔáníškoʔanim yídín  
yes 1S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch-PF-3  
'The wise friend said; did he catch your hand?'

014. ʔínícíškó táá  
ʔínícíškó táá  
early 2S.OBJ-GEN hand-ACC catch-REL(M)-DEF 1S.OBJ-loc now  
fasténě ʔíní yá kín zede  
fasténě ʔíní yá kín zede  
escape first 2S.SUBL 3S.MOBJ than  
ʔíníkúsmíš yídá dót  
ʔíníkúsmíš yídá dót  
2S.OBJ-GEN 3S.MOBJ nose-ACC catch-COND  
'The wise thief replied (again); “yes is manged to catch your nose you couldn’t escape from him!”'

015. yá ʔíní fasfaskáy dáhínká ፡Ǽéééénká nú ፡ʔamís  
yá ʔíní fasfas-káy dáb-inká ፡Ǽéééénká nú ፡ʔam-is  
2S.SUBL first RDP-free-not stay-REAS say-exist-PF 3S.MSUBJ man-DEF  
durabá-is ʔíní ፡ʔamís yídá gís’t’íbis  
durabá-is ʔíní ፡ʔam-is yíd-á gís’t’-íb-is  
rich-AGEN-DEF first hand-DEF-ACC catch-CNV1 hit-M.RELT-DEF  
ʔaháá sinú ፡ʔissedé fásá ፡ʔádá bídéééééé-áá ፡ʔáf-ángé  
ʔaháá sinú ፡ʔiss-ededé fásá ፡ʔád-á bíd-éééééé-áá ፡ʔáf-ángé  
Oh! this 1S.OBJ-than escape come-CNV1 go-IPF-Q say-CNV2  
táá ፡ʔáf míkúsmísh yíttub dán  
táá ፡ʔáf míkú-ś-ím yít-tub dán  
now 1S.OBJ nose-DEF-ACC catch-FUT COP  
'Upon hearing this exchange of words the rich man took note and thought to himself; “if I catch his nose he will not escape from me!”'

016. ʔéfandé nákúsmísh ፡ʔotelé yítéééska nákúsím  
ʔéfandé nákúsmísh ፡ʔotel-é yítéééb-ká nákúś-ím  
say-CNV2 nose-DEF-ACC jump-CNV1 catch-M.RELT-NEG nose-ACC  
yídá gíz’túb ፡ʔéééska kíko ፡ʔáníšdé  
yíd-á gíz’túb ፡ʔééé-íb-ká kí-ko ፡ʔán-is-ó-de  
catch-CNV1 hit-M.FUT say-TEMP 3S.OBJ-GEN hand-DEF-LOC-ABL  
fasándé dífubís gaaayisík yizador wutíncé.  
fasándé dífubís gaaay-ísík yizador wut-i-n-éé.
Consequently he tried to catch his nose, thinking that he could hold him more firmly and kick him harder. However, the foolish thief was able to benefit from the sudden movement to escape out of his hand, and rush to his friend. And this is how the story ended.

In ancient times it was said that the wise man who stayed outside, as well as foolish thief who went inside were able to escape.

When the rat asked the daughter of the elephant agreed to marry.

The rat asked the daughter of the elephant to marry him.
‘...the shadow of the elephant’s father who came for the wedding covered them’.

‘Due to the huge shadow of the elephant over him the rat thought that cloud had come and it was going to rain. Then the rat exclaimed: “is it going to rain? He was afraid. He said; “where should I hide?”’, he ran and hid in the cotton. Then the rat emerged from the cotton and hid himself in the calabash.’

‘The elephant father ate his food and lie down on the ground to rest. When the elephant lay down on the ground, he touched the calabash, in which the rat had come and it was going to rain. Then the rat exclaimed; “is it going to rain? He was afraid. He said; “where should I hide?”’, he ran and hid in the cotton. Then the rat emerged from the cotton and hid himself in the calabash.’

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46 deébée without suffixing to verb expresses a type of verb ‘to be’ which seems relative and also seems to be emphasized.
006. teré ñaté ñiyi yá ñiyinée dakayi eëkk’ub
    teré ñaté ñiyi yá ñiy-in-ée dakayi eëkk’ub
Ah! 1S.SUBJ man 2S.SUBJ man-DAT-ée marry small-M

iskinéé dadéébis yînim ñay fak’id yînká
    ñis-kin-ée da-deé-b-is yín-im ñay fak’id yín-ká
1S-3SM-COP stay-IPF-M.RELT-DEF 2S.OBJ-ACC who permission 2S-COM

‘Oh! I am a dignified person; you should marry a worthy husband! Who permitted you to marry such a small animal?’

007. yâ ñiskinéé gîm bowde nû
    yâ ñis-kin-ée da-déé gîmi bow-de nû
2S.SUBJ 1S-3SM-COP stay-IPF speak DIR-ABL 3SM

lum-ó wozím-á dâhá wôrîm k’amsândé ñóló nû
    lum-ó wozím-á dâh-á wôr-im k’ams-ândé ñóló nû
hole-LOC enter-CN1 stay-CN1 talk-ACC hear-CN2 also 3SM

‘After saying this to his daughter, the elephant went. The rat was listening and heard everything that the elephant told to his daughter, as he hid in the hole below’.

008. duuriñ bayîm ñitsá k’int’á tukum wuë’á
    duur-is bay-im ñits-á k’int-á tukum wuë’á
elephant-DEF food-ACC eat-CN1 stand-CN1 coffee leaf drink-CN1

yaxnu bînn k’int’á ñitiñdëfîká tîfiñtífî tîñándë
    yaxnu bînn k’int-á tî-ñiñ-dëfîká tîfiñ-tîfî tîñ-ândë
leave.-PF-3 prepare-CN1 RDP-go-TEMPRDP: behind go-CN2

k’otá kikistëfîká kíso gañská woyimá
    k’ot-á kí-ki-stëfîká kíso gañská woyim-á
arrive-CN1 RDP-toilet-TEMP anus road-INST enter-CN1

kîkò kókò bâbisko buudum
    kî-kó kó-kó bâb-is-kó buud-im
3SM.SUBJ-GEN 3SF-GEN father-DEF-GEN heart-ACC

k’ars’a kînim láñ-láṣtëèn
    k’ars-á kînim láñ-làṣṣ-iëèn
cut-CN1 3SM-ACC RDP-die-IPF-3

‘The elephant having eaten his food and drunk coffee he went to his farm. When the elephant sat down to relieve himself, the rat entered into his body through his anus and ate his heart. This caused the elephant’s death’.

009. lañyáñ wonná yîzá ñadá yînkó
    láñyáñ wonn-á yîz-á ñd-á yín-kó
RDP-kill-CN1 again-CN1 run-CN1 come-CN1 2S.OBJ-GEN
dudukunká nū ṭōlōy ṭádká šitinká yūi?
duduk-inká nū ṭōlōy ṭád-ká šit-inká yūi?
RDP-burry-REAS 3SM.SUBJ hurry come-NEG absent-REAS oh!

seniyá láyśibisim wótu kínim
seniyá laỹς-i-b–is-im wótu kín-im
like this die-PF-M.RELT-DEF-ACC 1PL.SUBJ 3SM-ACC

wuyká yá deysití kikó tusunká kínimká
wuy-ká yá deysiti kí-kó tusun-ká kín-im-ká
what-COM 2S.SUBJ kill 3SM-GEN relative-CNJ 3SM-ACC-CNJ

‘The rat killed the elephant and came back to his wife and told her that her
father had died. He called all her relatives and gathered them to bury her
father. They carried the corpse and buried him’.

‘However, after he was buried relatives of the elephant said: “the elephant
may come back to us (i.e. may haunt us?)”. Therefore they decided to take
revenge on the rat. They invited rats, and gave the elephant a house and kept them
together there’.

mum źímá dahá kín gebzinká bayımká
mum źim-á dah-á kí-n gebz-inká bay-im-ká
alone give-CNV1 stay-CNV1 3SM.-DAT local beer-REAS food-ACC-COM

źíma bosá yīnźé źiyiŷ źáddub
źim-a bos-á yin-zé źiyiy źád-dub
give-CNV1 finish-CNV1 2S.OBJ-LOC man come-FUT

źėdá miló gaśká k’irim zis-á k’irim
źed-á miló gaś-ká k’ir-im zis-á k’ir-im
say-CNV1 outside road-INST door-ACC close-CNV1 door-ACC
zìzisˈá dàhá ʔòoloʔèhése nunìm wùdèn
zi-zìsˈá dàhá ʔòolo ʔèh-se nun-im wùdè-n
RDP-close-CNV1 stay-CNV1 again house-LOC fire-ACC put-IPF-3

‘The elephant’s relatives waited some days, leaving the rats alone in the house. They gave them food and local beer to drink, warning them not to come out and not to see anybody. They closed the doors firmly, and eventually set fire to the house’.

012. ṇèhse nunum wùdinká kétè ʔèntay ʔesìnsá
ʔèh-se nun-im wùd-inká kétè ʔèntay ʔesìns-á
house-LOC fire-ACC fire-REAS 3PL.last time correct-CNV1

linisubò lumó ʔotʃot ʔỳ́z̀ wùzmá
lin-ís-ub-ò lum-ò ʔotʃ-ʔot ʔỳ́z̀-á wùzm-á
prepare-CAUS.M.RELT-LOC hole-LOC RDP-enter run-CNV1 enter-CNV1

gìríngíčèm ʔaká kutsá wùtsub déɛnká ʔòolo
gìríngíč-im ʔak-á kuts-á wùtsub déɛn-ká ʔòolo
bush-ACC pick-CNV1 collect-CNV1 put-FUT exist-PF again

‘However, while the house burned the rats run away and entered a hole, which they had prepared before. They collected fruits from the bush and left them in the fire. When the house burned down the fruits exploded’.

013. kétè ʔèhím ʔatsá ʔìsnì ʔègírtaςɪn ʔègírtaςɪn
kétè ʔèh-im ʔats-á ʔìsnì ʔègír-taς-i-n ʔègír-taς-i-n
3PL.SUBJ house-ACC fire-CNV1 this RDP-explode-IPF-3 explode-IPF-3

ʔèdá mìzìm fàydéɛfkká nù ʔèhkìɛkò ʔòtá
ʔèdá mìz-ìm fày-déɛfkká nù ʔèh-kìɛkò ʔòt-á
say-CNV1 name-ACC count-TEMP 3SM house-ground arrive-CNV1

‘As the house burned down, the fruits exploded. The elephants outside counted the explosions and assumed that each one marked the explosion of the body of a rat. Finally the rat who was the husband of the elephant’s daughter (emerged) and asked who had set fire to the house’.

014. kèkó mälkeydin mälkeydinká ʔabesìde tasm wòtù ʔàsiyà
kèko mälkeyd-in-mälkeyd-ìnkà ʔabesìde tasm wòtù ʔàsiyà
3PL-GEN RDP-disturb-REAS my dear near 1PL how
They reacted to the question with confusion. One of the elephants exclaimed; “Dears, what shall we do?” Finally they sent the rat (husband) with his wife to their home in the morning’.

Somewhere along the way, the rat told her that he wanted to urinate but that he would see her off to their home first’.

On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him’.

‘On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him’.

Somewhere along the way, the rat told her that he wanted to urinate but that he would see her off to their home first’.

‘On the way he departed from her and ate the crops (peas) of the farm along the way. The owner hit him on his cheek with a stone. When he was struck by the stone, he came back to his wife and told her the crow had hit him’. 
‘He told his wife to wash him with hot water’.

018 ná ŋolo táá ŋolo búbudéé t’ibisim ʔlist
ná ŋolo táá ŋolo búbud-éé t’ib-is-im ʔlist
3SF.SUBJ again now again husband-éé consider-DEF-ACC me

náre šišideʔdéeɛnɛ nuancedáʔamó k’ottí
náre šišideʔ-ɗéɛn-káʔamó k’ottí
water RDP:washexist-PF where arrive

yeďá ſuřin řergim šušubišá tíré déeɛnɛká
yeď-á šuřin řerg-im šu-ʃub-ɨɛ-á tíře déeɛn-ká
say-CNV1 bed leaf-ACC RDP:get dry-CAUS-CNV1 bed exist-PF

ʔirγɛm šušubiš melɛ ʔišiša
ʔirγɛ-m šuš-ub-ɨɛ melɛ ʔišiš-á
leaf-ACC get dry-M.RELTCAUS floor make_sleep-CNV1

‘She prepared hot water, intending to wash his jaw and make him sleep on the bed. He ordered his wife to prepare a leaf outside, and remove the moisture in order to wash him outside on it. She put the leaf outside on the bed to wash him, while he slept outside on the floor’.

019. náre šiží dá djiɗɛɛfɛkákinim melɛde zol ɡis’á
náre šiží dá djiɗɛɛfɛká kin-im melɛ-ɗe zol ɡis’-á
water wash say enter-TEMP 3SM-ACC floor-ABL crow hit-CNV1

baʔá ɡis’i babinnée dadéɛb wóko
baʔ-á ɡis’-i ba-bin-n-ɛɛ da-déɛ-b wó-ko
take-CNV1 hit take-go:-PF.3-ɛɛ exist-M.RELT 1PL.OBJ-GEN

terete déeɛɛ
terete déeɛɛ
story exist-ɛɛ
‘When she entered the home to bring the water in order to wash him, the crow had struck him and taken him away. This is how the story is told’.

13.2.10 Text 10: A story about a rabbit and a deffersa

001. řilká kükká
řil-ká kük-ká
rabit-CNJ deffersa-CNJ
‘Rabit and deffersa’

002. řilká kükká bač giččom wókkila dáhimá
řil-ká kük-ká bač gičč-ő-b-im wókkila dáh-imá
rabit-CNJ deffersa-CNJ year big-LOC-M-ACC one stay-INCH

47 A deffersa is a kind of waterbuck.
Many years ago, the Rabbit and the Deffersa lived together.

Rat deffersa-ACC servant stay-CNV2 always me-GEN body-ABL

séima-ka bitsa-á ḳis-ko zere ʔalš’im-ʔalš’imá ḳisim
flea-INST find_out-CNV1 me-GEN body RDP: scratch-INCH 1S.OBJ-ACC

seye gagaʔadéenéé seyimaká ḳisko bitsá dáhe dá
flea RDP-eat-IPF-3-eé flea-INST me-GEN find-CNV1 stay say
gimit
tell-PF-1

‘The deffersa was told by the rabbit that he would have to stay with him as a servant and remove the fleas from his body. He suffered from the bites of the fleas, which made him scratch his body very often’.

All the deffersa were subservient to the rule of the rabbits and they spent a very long time like this.

‘All the deffersa were subservient to the rule of the rabbits and they spent a very long time like this’.

horn-DEF-ACC hand-COM catch-NEG value near-LOC arrive-NEG money
told previously was true. They continued picking off the fleas from the rabbits’ bodies without touching the ears.

‘It went on like this for a long time. The differsas thought what they were doing power over them, and they stayed like this for a long time’.

006. kété ṭoló gussu ŋintaxubiséé da kiko
kété ṭoló gussu ŋintax-ub-is-ée da kĩ-ko
3PL also true previous-M-DEF-ée say 3SM-GEN

k’aamsé k’otká dãh-á
dark-LOC arrive-NEG stand-3
ear-LOC arrive-NEG stay-CNV1

seyimá ?akimá dãhá yidádéeftá nú ṭoló
seyim-á ?akim-á dãh-á yídá-dééftá nú ṭoló
tick-ACC stand-3 SM-ACC pick-CNV1 stay-CNV1 catch-TEMP 3SM also

kéko foko ʔil-is na-na-țée-ń
3PL-GEN handed rat-DEF RDP-sleep-3

‘It went on like this for a long time. The differsas thought what they were doing previously was true. They continued picking off fleas from the rabbits’ bodies without touching the ears.’

007. kuku wôkkilubis ʔollóyá
kuku wôkkil-ub-is ʔollóyá
defersa one-M-DEF slowly

ʔanim kiko kâámsē k’otsá ʔinjèéftá
ʔanim kĩ-ko kâám-še k’ots-á ʔinj-đééftá
hand-ACC 3SM-DEF ear-LOC arrive-CNV1 see-TEMP
The rabbit later woke up from his sleep and started moving around. Another day when the rabbits ordered the defferas to pick off the fleas from their body they refused to serve them. The defferas admonished the rabbits not to trouble them. The rabbits warned them, threatening that if they did not serve them they would be killed by their sharp horns. The defferas replied that they could no longer suppress them. We can kick you with our legs and we attack you together'.
'The rabbit was afraid and rushed out, when they (the differsas) came towards them. In this way the differsas liberated themselves from the influence of the rabbit, they declared their freedom. It is said that it happened this way'.
# 14 Word list

In this section we provide Dime word list in two different columns. In the first column the word list is arranged based on the following order: ʔ, b, č, č', d, f, g, h, dʒ, k, k', l, m, n, p, p', r, s, s', š, t, t', ts, w, y, z, ž. In the second column the word list is arranged based on the English alphabet. Nouns end in vowels or consonants. The nouns that end in vowels consist of two components: the root and a terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are i, e and u. The imperative is the basic form of Dime verbs. The imperative stem can end in one of the vowels -e, -i, and -u or in any consonant. Adjectives are characterized by using the suffixes -ub/-ind.

## 14.1 Dime- English word list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dime</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʔaafé  n face</td>
<td>ʔ̣atsi  n fever</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔááke  v pick up</td>
<td>ʔ̣at’t’e  v give birth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaaak  n paternal grandmother</td>
<td>ʔ̣at’t’imd  n offspring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaasé  v insult</td>
<td>ʔ̣ane  n hand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔabsáy  n fire wood</td>
<td>ʔ̣angášká  cnj because</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔabse  n edge</td>
<td>ʔ̣ankóðsáye  n arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔacint’  v hide</td>
<td>ʔ̣ankógús  n finger(hand)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔade  v come</td>
<td>ʔ̣ankóšónke  n palm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáddá  n four</td>
<td>ʔ̣anzół  n hawk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáfal  n cloth</td>
<td>ʔ̣arú  n hippopotamus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáfé  n mouth</td>
<td>ʔ̣atse  v burn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáfe  n eye</td>
<td>ʔ̣atse  v.old</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáfé  v display/expose</td>
<td>ʔ̣are  n tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaf  v result</td>
<td>ʔ̣ásí  v drive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔahó  adv well</td>
<td>ʔ̣aybič  n fire fighting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaho-b  adj good</td>
<td>ʔ̣ayli  n servant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔákán  adj younger brother</td>
<td>ʔ̣áyí  Int.pron who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔákím  n calabash</td>
<td>ʔ̣áimé  n movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔákk  n stomach</td>
<td>ʔ̣ayse  n gift for marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔayím  n enset</td>
<td>ʔ̣ayyán  n luck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔalge  n bed</td>
<td>ʔ̣áydog  n high-land</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔámas-ub  adj individual</td>
<td>ʔ̣áysošá’i  v swallow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔámme  n woman</td>
<td>ʔ̣áftí  n bird</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔánjim  v bless</td>
<td>ʔ̣áftsí  n need</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔámme  n wild fire</td>
<td>ʔ̣áfché  n house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔánúftin  n menstruation</td>
<td>ʔ̣él  v call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔayse  v break, bend</td>
<td>ʔ̣eme  n termite sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔaygá  n clay</td>
<td>ʔ̣eně  n ancient</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔášinká  int why</td>
<td>ʔ̣eš  n wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔásí  v insult</td>
<td>ʔ̣enon  v judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʔáič  pron 1</td>
<td>ʔ̣aysí  v show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñànsè'ì</td>
<td>n throat (neck)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènsè'ì</td>
<td>v sink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñècè'im</td>
<td>v to be wise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèsin</td>
<td>n story</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèti</td>
<td>v wound him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñètim</td>
<td>n wound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrèzen</td>
<td>v sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèdi</td>
<td>n tongue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèfi</td>
<td>v cry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèlk</td>
<td>n paternal grand father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìni</td>
<td>n sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèntsè</td>
<td>n red-eyed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèkìi</td>
<td>v pierce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèkìmìse</td>
<td>v mix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèlì</td>
<td>n hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèm ñìydìdin</td>
<td>n ñudder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèìme</td>
<td>n breast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèìmi</td>
<td>v give</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèìni</td>
<td>n today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènkìn</td>
<td>n ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìjì</td>
<td>n journey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìse</td>
<td>v make wet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìse</td>
<td>n weight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèsìmì</td>
<td>n elder brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrími</td>
<td>v threaten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèsìncì</td>
<td>v think</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèsìn</td>
<td>v get hurt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìdìb</td>
<td>n aunt son/daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìdìd</td>
<td>n wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènìdòttìk e</td>
<td>v, therefore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènkìnàn</td>
<td>n maternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènsè'ì</td>
<td>n day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñènsì'èe</td>
<td>n bee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrfè</td>
<td>n moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrìsì</td>
<td>v eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrìsì</td>
<td>n teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrìtee</td>
<td>n back of the neck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrìsì</td>
<td>v lay down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrìsin</td>
<td>n sorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèryì</td>
<td>n sun light</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèryìyi</td>
<td>n person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrògùé</td>
<td>v shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèrògùsùn</td>
<td>n shout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèròyìrù</td>
<td>n sack</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèròcu</td>
<td>n a hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèròis</td>
<td>n butter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñèròksìn</td>
<td>adv the day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòrìkù</td>
<td>n snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòròxù</td>
<td>n fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòtònts</td>
<td>n calf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòlp 'ù</td>
<td>v draining water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòtu</td>
<td>n cow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòtìlu</td>
<td>v jump</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòtòlùy</td>
<td>adv slowly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòlòlùy</td>
<td>adv also/again</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòlòlùy</td>
<td>adv quick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñòtsú</td>
<td>v peel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùbòù</td>
<td>n evaporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùddù</td>
<td>n four</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùdù</td>
<td>v put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùdùl</td>
<td>n mortar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùkù</td>
<td>v exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùmìndì</td>
<td>n arrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùrììn</td>
<td>n rat spec</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùnìkìl</td>
<td>n chest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùùsù</td>
<td>v cook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùùsùm</td>
<td>n horn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñùùsù</td>
<td>v ask</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ñááke</td>
<td>n hearth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñaalìm</td>
<td>n blind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáálé</td>
<td>n market</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáám</td>
<td>n near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáání</td>
<td>n big wound</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáà'ìa</td>
<td>v eat (for serials or solid matter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáàrìd</td>
<td>v bring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáábe</td>
<td>n father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáá-báän</td>
<td>n paternal uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñááčì</td>
<td>n year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñááčì ñìntahó</td>
<td>adv last year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñááčìcá</td>
<td>n cattle fence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñááfò</td>
<td>n village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáágzem-ub</td>
<td>adj cold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñááhe</td>
<td>n paternal aunt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáálcì</td>
<td>n difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáále  (kilc'ì)</td>
<td>n charcoal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáálagì</td>
<td>n foolishness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáál-ub</td>
<td>adj other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáábbáalu</td>
<td>n father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáámbì-ub</td>
<td>adj shallow of water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáám</td>
<td>adj/adv near</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáándìe</td>
<td>n (fur of wild animal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáántì</td>
<td>n appointed drinking day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáángì</td>
<td>n vagina lip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñáángìl</td>
<td>n jaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
búge v marry
bárži n meaning
básim n fear
básim-ub adj fearful
bayi n food
bázze n debt
bazzás-ub adj damned
báááki v boil stone
bábásten v fear
bált'è n forehead
bált'è n trade
bánnde n hair
bárgal n enemy
barži n millet
bárži n translate
báx v get fat
bak'ul n mule
balté n luck
baliçe n cooked cereal
bartsé v increase
basé n clay plate (for baking enjera)
bçét n refugee
béçz n star
bédzce adv out
bedá v say
bésin (gusu) v correct
betá betá n lizard sp.
bezá v seem
béé n blood
béçx n goiter
béçx n fruit spec.
bigé n spear
báiändi v satisfy
bändi adv. always
bändi n ashes
bítokí n bottle
birú n summer
bírizi v repent
bitší v send
bit-ub adj straight
bílit n evil
bít'è v leave
bíté n leather/skin
biláltká n system
bir n adam’s apple
bókú n fruit sp.
boyt'ú v forget
boliddi v forecast
bósini v end/finish
boólú v curse to kill
bono n scar on girls
bóóno v be sufficient
bóyité v be slippery
bóy n knee
bóbud n husband
búčú n flower
búítú v unite
búrí n kidney
búulú n dust
búlkú n clear forest
búxúlu v sprout
bukté v take by force
bükú n solid soil
bulú v disconnect
bültu v solve
búnmú n coffee
búnk'ám n coffee leaf
búud n heart
bugu v rob

č
čišči v draw/spill
čůu adv bottom

č'
č'áán n meeting place
č'áák'e n oath
č'áák v swear
č'ác'ážán v slap
č'álle v make peace
č'áne v load
č'árti v emerge
č'ák'k-ub v small
č'á'ilil-ub adj yellow
č'ár'gond-ub adj green
č'erké n dew
č'éri n mercy/forgiveness
č'ésime n flower
č'íyi n cave
č'itźź n tuber
č'íči n root
č'íicè n cloud
č'iiği v pay
č'it'í v relax
Word list

c’ólay n belly
c’ólu n dirty (spoiled intestine)
c’úbí v smoke
c’úbú n smoke
c’úc’ufí v rot
c’úp’ú v squeezed
d
dáafe n cutter
dáare n wall
dáhi v live, sit, stay
dál v beat
dámpe n tobacco
dán copula is/are/am
dándé n long/high grass
dammé n drum
dawú n dragon
dóré n goat
déém-ub adj virgin
déen/ déét v exist
déxse v cut
déxse n shadow
déxší v be strong
deyí v die (of non-humans)
déyí v kill
dexé v cook
déy-ub adj wise
díbi v steal
díbi n rain
díbi-řżgáf n heavy rain
díb-ub adj thief
dídí n scar
dífími n war
dífini n soup (type)
dís v grind
dístá v grow
dippi - all
dísá v boil
díží n mid land
dólínd n beetle
dóstal v adjust the grinder
dómí n cut
dot cnj. if
dotík cnj. or
doótgáš n way/path
doám n foot print
doóttu n leg
dóótsílum n bended leg
doξsú n round
dóxt’ú v swir
donú n potato
dóótsílum adv under
dúbt’ú (kub’ú) v carry
dójó v noise made by lion or ox
dóuf n foam
dóólm n dance
dúuňú n clay soil
duunu adv down
dúůnínd n slop
dúřbab n rich
dúřu n wealth
dúůřú n elephant
dúůkú v grave
dúůít v dance
dúdí n dump
dúrum n stamp
dúůkú v bury
duyúú v stoop
d
dáŋ n throat
dáše v open mouth
dése v know
dol n flour
díl/díle n medicine
dúům n night
dóyiṣlál v adjust the grinder
f
fáčí v be tired
fáre v fly
fášé v escape
fásí/falé v divide
fásínt’ v separate
fátská:b adj useless
fátyáy n leather mat
fáuíhe n light rain
fáiđí v judge
fáiđé v count
fářé v fight
fášíndé n difference
fáiđé v read
fánti v boil
gáádi v demarcate/divide
gááyi n fool
gáâz v curse
gále n provisions for journey
gawwu n hookworm
gáádí v suck
gááit n hoe
gááim adv tomorrow
gáák’di v disappoint
gááža v bite
gáámi v win
gáámis n robber
gáñciru n pot (big)
gááčib n plant sp.
gáärse n flea
gááram máástin n wizard
gáársi n house
gáási n road
gáási n forest
gáá’s’e n clitoris/vagina
gááip’e v plaited (hair)
gáánde n boundary
gáárim v groan
gáär n plant spec
gáábsé n group work
gáárče n chin
géhé v push
gómámod-dúb adj inseparable
gómáné n honorable woman
górá n cat
góshin n old woman
géré n terrace
gééri n an telope
gézhé n local beer
gíči n teff
gíd’o adv between
gílúo adv. down
gímí v tell
gíni n vein
gíringié n bush
gírsí v relapse
gí’s’i v hit
gí’s’im n satisfaction
gí’s’t v breath
gíši n shepherd
gíčči v cover
gíččó adv very /more
gíččó-b adj big
gíld v belch
gímél n camel
gírí n road
gíró n porcupine
gíšími n pasture
gíška adj ancient
gíš’e v shoot
gíš’i v satiate
gíš’im n quarrel
gírí v hate
gírsí v recovering
gírsí n porcuoine
gísbé n basketo (person)
gáívó adj inside
gááwo n step back
gófínd’ v hide
gófir n frog
góft n happiness
góídú n monkey
gómp n back (body part)
góngu n boat
góngu n plate for serving food
gont’ v disagree
gómá n beehive
gós’u n mosquito
góíturu n barn
góyá n buttack
golán n tail
góštú n man
gúdúm n pork
gúdúm-ub adj tall
guit’-ub adj white
guls’ú n alge
guntu n rope
gunt’i n disease
güppi v fall down
guurfú n empty (of house only)
guurfel n a kind of hole
gusu n nail
gisu n big gourd
gis-man n gourd for drinking beer
güuf n shield
güfs‘und n chameleon
güfü n nail
guflu n ribs
gufu v stamp (on land)
guc’ú n burnt food
guudýú n state of drunkenness
guudýbab n drankard
gumi v fry
gunt’ú n thunder
gunt’i v twist
guru n crocodile
gusá n truth
guzú n v get drunk

h

háakkó v resign
háake v ‘pick up’
hälle n knife
hamcy adv how many
hamé n home country
hamé n birth place
hiqi v go
hiriq n pea
hirim n hump

dʒ

dʒáyáy n metre
dʒáne n forearm
dʒáne v throw
dʒástin v disappear
dʒafé n pluck
dʒala n friend
dʒamdʒamin v drink continuously
dʒamdʒímé v be difficult

dʒamme n salt
dʒampé n side (body part)
dʒank’é v move
dʒigi v sew
dʒagi n rain with wind
dʒíní n muscles
dʒísí v milk
dʒiré n valley
dʒimžinp’ v tremble
dʒomar n ginger
dʒorá n storm
dʒubúr n circular wind
dʒullú v cheat

k

káade v faint
káase v plant
kábbe n maize
kádi n locust
káf v wait
kámáyí n sorghum
kámme n wing
kánim n sister (younger)
káse n check
kásí v suckle
kásil n molar teeth
káze n fierewood
kalfe n shoulder
kárím v chew
kátsí n worm
kerfe v talk
kéts n taboo
kétsí n vagina
kéyíí v dream
kejíí n dream
kéki n bird spec
kété pron. they
keysí v erase
kéné n dog
kéz n sudden news of death
ki pron. him
kíji n spider
kísí v snore
kísí n faeces
kílim n day
kísi n wasp
kit v command/order
kitim-ub adj selfish
kitok n message
kic v cover with grass
kilo v follow foot step
kind n eye lash
kirkirc-ub adj hard
kiyo adv there
ko prn, her
koi v kick hard
kotsub n iron/metal
koiz n hen
koju v build (stone)
koku n bird spec
kolo n child walk
koluh adv previous
kooli n eagle
koolu v put side way
kosi v pass
komob v win
korada n bell
kofu v plant
korumu n coriander seed
koysim n agreement
koxy n love
kobu n ant
kobt'u v carry
kojfu n lung
koisam n sugar cane
koizkise n hen poop
komu n wind
korr n talk
korr-bab n talkative
ko'tiri v jump
koiyu n scar (made of polished wood bark)
kom v keep corpus from any danger
kox n crow
kubah n fly
kubitsu v load down
kubitsi v carry
kufu n forest
kucu v quarrel
kuciim v call
kulu n stick
kulai n burnt grain
kunti v chew diet
kumu n cabbage
kumu v bread
kuku n deffersa (animal spec)

kuyu v dig
kuy-bab n digger
kuru n honey
kurkur-ub adj ugly
kutsim v meet
kutsint n pile
kuisti n fat (of meat)

k'aáme n ear/leaf
k'aamsé v hear/listen
k'aáre n ape
k'aay n fog
k'ahe n necklace (of shell and beads)
k'ané v rain
k'anzé n day
k'anzé n two
k'asinsé n devil
k'ayé v want
k'ofé v spread
k'amu n accedent
k'am-ub adj bad
k'batu n belt
k'ač'ac'ir n giraffe
k'are n edge
k'arase n strature
k'ensi v lift
k'erxe v gird
k'ets pron nothing
k'eyi v disappear
k'esi v get off
k'ere n saturday
k'edu n door
k'indo v wake up
k'inde n shirt
k'inti v stand
k'iši v practice magic
k'is's'i n bread
k'isat n elbow
k'iz n trap
k'ohtu v wear
k'óoxu v continue
k'ót v speak
k'ob n lord
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>k'o</td>
<td>hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'oib'ú</td>
<td>carry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'oísú</td>
<td>porridge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ómou</td>
<td>make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ondingac</td>
<td>leprosy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ónjk'o</td>
<td>knock</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ónjišu</td>
<td>fifty leg worm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'óp'ilf</td>
<td>beans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ós'ún</td>
<td>scratch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'óte</td>
<td>arrive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'ot</td>
<td>velum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'úuxu</td>
<td>knot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'uk'u (la's'e)</td>
<td>taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'úg</td>
<td>fire wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'uurink'árs</td>
<td>back bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutsu</td>
<td>collect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k'us</td>
<td>bone</td>
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</table>

**I**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lále</td>
<td>stone</td>
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<tr>
<td>lázin</td>
<td>corpse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laste</td>
<td>die</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lág</td>
<td>friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láx</td>
<td>six</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laas'</td>
<td>looking back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lak'-ub</td>
<td>adj small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>láms'</td>
<td>leprosy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laz-ub</td>
<td>adj soft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lansé</td>
<td>prepare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lén't</td>
<td>joy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lés'e</td>
<td>taste</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lés'i</td>
<td>lick</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fíln</td>
<td>bird (spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fíq-ub</td>
<td>adj clean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fíq-id</td>
<td>adj innocents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fín</td>
<td>correct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fít</td>
<td>witch craft</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fílq-ub</td>
<td>adj beautiful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fisín</td>
<td>prep on surface</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look</td>
<td>matter/thing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lóös'u</td>
<td>uvula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lóókk</td>
<td>chat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lóbač</td>
<td>armpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loomú</td>
<td>lemon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>looyón</td>
<td>sweat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luimmu</td>
<td>n window/opening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luísú</td>
<td>n screw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Lúpé** adv suddenly

**M**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>máys</td>
<td>blood</td>
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<td>mááke</td>
<td>mushroom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máddi</td>
<td>help</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máádi</td>
<td>frog (spec)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mánj</td>
<td>gourd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mánts</td>
<td>weed (sthr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máte</td>
<td>head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máot-gat'en</td>
<td>head ache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mató</td>
<td>top</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máf</td>
<td>tribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mángó</td>
<td>mango fruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>máy</td>
<td>pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mákí</td>
<td>sexual intercourse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makkín</td>
<td>three</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mársí</td>
<td>fat (of person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>madintí</td>
<td>promise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maqalaf</td>
<td>net (for fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marok'í</td>
<td>soup (of seed or meat)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mároí</td>
<td>needle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mársí</td>
<td>forbid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mást</td>
<td>problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mèd</td>
<td>cajole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mičí</td>
<td>elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>müd</td>
<td>deny</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mičí</td>
<td>snail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mízi</td>
<td>name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mící</td>
<td>take off</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mili</td>
<td>millstone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miló</td>
<td>outside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mimír</td>
<td>refuse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mité</td>
<td>twins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miunjí</td>
<td>placenta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit'rí</td>
<td>snach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mísí</td>
<td>seed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meh</td>
<td>money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mehan</td>
<td>lizard hole</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mok'dú</td>
<td>brain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mólu</td>
<td>egg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morá</td>
<td>spleen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móttísí</td>
<td>judge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morku</td>
<td>roar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mûkú</td>
<td>huge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
múúru n yeast
mulú n testicle
múúz n banana

n
nááre adv yesterday
nákur n pure honey
nár may n pot (of water)
náre n water
nára-timmint’ n pool
nátint’ n roof
náztë v sleep
nayí n hyena
narázint’ n stout person
nárze n needle
neey n hunger
nits n child
nitskánd n pregnant
níku n nose
 núnu n fire

p
parts v brush
parsten v start
polú v made a vow
puc’u (máč’i) n short grass

p’
p’ále v split
p’él’zond n lighting
p’él’te n testicle
p’él’s’e n ‘bold’

r
rukum n negotiation
rukú n catapult
ruú n wealth

s
sááni n broom
saró n peace
sáhi adv clean
sákét dem those
sánt-bab n rich
sánuí dem. that
sáne n brush
sahí v rub
saké v fat-tailed (sheep)
sakíyó adv there
sáts-im v to select a wife
séyí v recover
sinub adj dirty/ugly
sindi n wheat
sínsí n damage/destroy
sisí n wax
síyí n flea
síkiyó adv here
sítsé n fruit bowl
sítsá n morning
síkét dem. these
sinúi dem. this
sor-ub adj sour
sótu n choke
suúðúnd n ape (spec)
sul-ub adj. dishonest
sulú n cheater
súnú n kind of food (from inset)
súr n trousers
sútú n evening
súúlú n heat
suku n Ari people
surk’ú v taste
sul n aggressive

s’
s’ááh v vomit
s’ááame n eagle
s’aamé n pain
s’áffí v shave
s’án-ub adj black
s’eláyé n devil
s’ééle n a lofty place for scouting
s’éeet n hundred
s’èrýé v spit
s’éid-ub adj short
s’ilint’ n big pool
s’ímí n sperm
s’ís’e dax v be short
Word list

ś'is'ì n grey hair
ś'it n gun
ś'ítu n soot
ś'itśi adv. right'
ś'ohú v milk a cow
ś'olum-ub adj sharp
ś'osu n evil spirit
ś'os-bab n wizard (magician)
ś'úmu n evil eye
ś'úmpu n lamb
ś'úrú v be pregnant
ś'útsú v plug
ś'ur-ind adj pregnant
ś'us'-id adj many

Ś

śáak n light
śáák adv wide
śááme n calabash (big)
śáán n urine
śáánk n floor
śáánke n field/plain
śáanko n desert
śááse n rock
śáát n spring (water)
śáaye n ‘sand’
śáčim n butterfly
śáhi v extract
śákat n chair
śákre n termite
śáásde v urinate
śáaye v pick
śááyí n sand
śákse v pull
śáldé v be able
śálé n thread
śášt n stool
śámpé n life
śéli v warm
śép'í v baptize
śemé v beg
śésem-deeb v beggar
śëmpé n soul
śícim-ub adj mixed
śít’é v absent
śig v open
śigín v lie down
śirí v wash
śíří n shadow
śúří n shoe
śihu v smell (bad)
śini n penis
śini v buy/sell
śire n termite
śiší v leave
śítí n place of worship
śítim n handicapped person
śídí v absent
śigín n cause to sell/buy
śínčí v on sell
śinní n five
śirími n diarrhoea
śizí v wash
śiz-bab n washer
śoottú v make shape
śoxsú n roasted cereals’
śokšú v swell
śúšú v hide
śúgím v whistle
śúkú v shake
śúku n malaria
śúntú n a cover
śúftá v deceive
šunu n bird (spec)
šūskin v quiver
šūskdeeb n bad smell
šukú n movement
šukúmu n animal foot mark
šúuxum n bad smell/rotten
šúugínd adj never married woman
šuun v relax
šuunú n grass

t

taáyte n liver
taáyi adv now
tablatbab v speak about unnecessary topics
táxil n saliva
tayjí v exploit
talk’ v borrow
tammé n ten
tārīkí n story
tamí ‘makkím n thirty
tamt’i-ʔuddu n fourty
tamt’i-šini n fifty
tamt’i-laxi n sixty
tamt’i-tussu n seventy
tamt’i-k’asnasis n eighty
tamt’i-woklasis n ninety
točči v revange
tšku v strike
tamaré n student
tése n sister-in law
tebiz/ kált n axe
tiči v cut
tíc-báb n cutter
tipi v go
tiri n mat
tiri n dust
tičé n slaughter
tiči v circuncise
t’št v sneez
ťšš n ripe crop
ťšš’li v melt
tóol n mud
tošas adj. few
tuń n lake
túcú v count
tufú n saliva
túk’ú v crouch
túrinsí n malt
túss n pillar
tússu n seven
tummu n stomach
túm n garlic
tusu n family

T’
t’aámé n mursi (person)
t’esi v know
t’česi n shadow of person
t’čemi v push
t’esin -báb n known
ťśšt v sneeze
t’čimí n stomach ache
t’ip’i v drop
t’čiキー adv easyly
t’ülü v swim
t’üm n darkness
t’ult’abub adj gray
t’uṭsi v fill

Ts

tsase prep towards there
tskes (adj) large

W

wáde please
wató pron we
woču adv well
wóbu pron other
wóχim n enter
wóχ n knee
wókkil n one
wókkilam adv. together
wóklasis n nine
wókši v a limp person
wólgu n new
wósu n paddle
wonna adv. also
wonnú v return
wontsú v answer
won-ub adj alone
wohú n meat
woxu v scream
woídú n twenty
wóžu n tube /washint/
wxón n cattle
wxánimú v enter
wúcub adj empty
wuc’u v drink
wudu v keep
wuddum(ʔuddú) n four
wudunits n metal (used as a pestle)
wútú v go out/climb
wuuc’b adj. all
wuuf-bison adv. every were
wuuf-sís’é adv every day
wugár n rhinoceros
wuyí v stop
wuyé int. what
wuc’ub adj dry
wunt’u n work
wutó loc infront of
wuyisu v stop
**Word list**

**Y**

- ýáfe *n* God/sky
- ýáyi *n* wolf
- ýáya/ýaye *pron* you
- yefé *v* see
- ýázní *v* cultivate
- ýakk-ob *pron* yours
- ýäré *n* donkey
- ýáysé *v* measure
- ýáznám *n* farm
- yékké *adv* equally
- yesí *pron* you (pl)
- yídí *v* catch
- yífíd *n* guests
- yírí *n* placenta
- yící *v* climb down
- yídím *v* start
- yígi *n* playing
- yiká́y *neg* not/none
- yíllé *n* land/earth
- yín *pro.* for you
- yígií *n* look/see
- yínje *v* try
- yínći *v* laugh
- yímítí *v* flint
- yíší *n* pain
- yísí *v* put off
- yiss-úb *adv.* few/little
- yitsí *v* take appointment
- yízi *v* run
- yízzi *adv* deep

**Z**

- zaádim *lazy*
- zaáge *v* dance
- zaák *v* roll
- zaákkábur *n* a kind of animal food

---

14.2 English-Dime word list

**a**

- able šaldé *v*
- accedent k’amu *n*
- add water kásé *v*
- adjust the grinder dóistál *v*
- advise zoor *v*
- agreement kożsim *v*
alge guls’ú n
all (every) dippí -
all wuuf-id adj
alone won-ub adj
also wanna cnj
also/again ?olo adv
always bidi adv
antelope gééri n
ancient giska adj
anger/sorrow ?isín n
answer wontsú v
ant ñínt n
ant kóbu n
antelope geeri n
ape k’ááre n
appoint yitsí v
ari people suku n
arm ?ané n
armpit lóbáé n
arrive k’óte v
arrow ?umínt’ n
ashe bindí n
ask ?tíys v
axe tebíz/ kált n

b

back gómp n
back of the neck n ?itée
bad feeling after food ?íní n
bad smell šuskídééb n
bad k’am-ub adj
barke lion or ox dóxú v
buffalo miki n
bush giringiç n
bread kúmú n
banana múüz n
baptize šép’i v
barn góturu n
basketo (person) góbé n
be strong deşé v
beans k’óp’ilí’í n
beat dál v
beautiful línñ-ub adj
because ṣangáská cnj
become sweet lóoyón v
bed ?algé n
beehive gó nú n
beer gebé n
bees wax šísí v
beetle dóind n
brush parts v
buy/sell šíni v
beggar šéem-deeb n
bel korada n
belt k’abati n
belly c’olay n
bend ?ayży v
bended leg dóótu-sítim n
between gidó adv
big gícacho - adj
tree ñuubí n
tree spec kókú n
tree spec zéli n
wath n
birth place hamzá n
bite gárá v
black s’an-ub adj
bladder fúg n
bless ?ánjim v
body zere n.
broad p’els’e n
bone k’úús n
borrow tálk’ v
bottle bikóli n
bottom cáú pro
boundary gázde n
bow ?uminí n
brain mák dú n
bread k’í’si’si n
breast čime n
bring bařád v
broom sááni n
brother (young) ?akan n
build with grass kíc’í v
build with stone kókú v
bull zíti n
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<td>búnú</td>
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<td>bágzem-ub</td>
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<td>collect</td>
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<td>come</td>
<td>ŋáde</td>
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<td>k’óóxu</td>
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<td>ċi</td>
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<td>cry (shout)</td>
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<td>cut</td>
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<td>cut</td>
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<td>tìč-bab</td>
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<td>dúúl</td>
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<td>zááge</td>
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<td>darkness</td>
<td>t’ám</td>
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<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>ŋinsé</td>
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day after tomorrow ʔóksín  
day k'áñzé  
death láxt'í  
disease guńt'ím  
debt báże  
deceive šuïftá  
deep yízzi  
deferssa (animal spec) kúku  
demarcate gáóðí  
deny máltí  
deny míðí  
descend yičí  
desert šánkó  
devel k'áñsíné  
devel s'elayé  
dew c'erké  
diarrhoea širími  
dictator suul  
die (non-human) deyi  
die laxt'í  
difference bálé  
different fašínd-ub adj  
difficult djaamjímé  
difficulty zááme adv  
dig kuyú  
digger kuy-báb  
dirty (from intestine) c'ól-ub adj  
dirty/ugly sín-ub adj  
disagree gont'  
disappear djašin(k'eyi)  
disconnect bulú  
dishonest sulub adj  
display/expose ʔafé  
dis-virgin déembim bitsín v  
divide faší/ falé  
dog k'éncé  
donkey yerí  
door k'liří  
door ziš'í  
dove (red-eyed sp.) ʔišté  
down duumú  
down gilt  
lining water ʔólp'ú  
drink much djamjámí  
draw/spill čičí  
dream keží  
dream kežím  
dress kic'i  
drink while eating kúmti  
drinking on appointment bant  
drive ʔáysí  
drop t'íp'i  
drink (get) guuzú  
drunkard guúdžáb  
drum dammé  
dry wúč-ub  
dump dudi  
dust buulú  
dust tíří  

**E**

eagle kólú  
eagle s'ááme  
ear/leaf k'ááme  
eary ʔéncé  
erase keysí  
easy t'ók-ub adv  
eat ʔísí  
eat (cereal) baža  
edge k'óre (ʔabse)  
egg mólu  
eight k'ášinašíš  
eighty tami'- k'ášinašíš  
elbow k'isot  
elder brother ʔísím  
elphant düru  
emerge č'órtí  
empty wúcub adj  
empty (of house only) guufú  
enemy bárgal  
enset ʔayim  
enter wáxímu  
equally yekké  
escape fásé  
explot taźší  
ever bilt  
eye žafe  
eye lash kindé
f

face ñaabé n
daucus klíši v
fail fótu v
faint kááde v
fall fós/nú/gúppu n
down gúppu v
family tuusu n
farm yáýnám n
fat kušú / báé n
fat (white part of meat) marší n
father bábe n
father in low báb-bálub n
father’s mother ñaaak n
father’s sister báhe n
fatigue fáéi n
fat-tailed (sheep) saké n
finish bósín v
fear báším n
fearful bášm-ub adj
fedup (be_), annoyed fóóla v
fever ñátsí n
few nóñas adj
field/plain šánáke n
firewood káże n
fifty tám’ti-síini n
fight faré v
fill t’utsí v
final bósín v
finger (hand) ?ankógüš n
finger guš n
fire núñú n
firewood lág n
fire extinguisher ?áybič n
firewood ?absáx n
fish ?óryu n
five šinní n
flea gáurse n
flea (sp.) šíyí n
food (type of) zóólú n
floor sánk n
fool gááyi n
flour dál n

flour of crop product dalim n
flower č’ésíme n
fly kúžú n
fly (found on buffalo) záá n
fly (spec) fáré v
flirt yint’in v
foam dúf n
fog k’aay n
food bayim n
food (for animals to recover) záákábur n
food for journey gále n
food from inset súnú n
follow foot step kílo v
foolish (be) balagí v
foot print dóóm n
forbid marsí v
forecast bolídi v
forearm dýáse n
forehead bálté n
forest gááši n
forest kífú n
forge záte n
forget boy’tú v
four tóódú n
four wuuddum n
fourty tám’ti-tóódú n
few/little yiss-úb adj
fresh crop fíší n
friend dšala n
friend lág n
frog gofir n
frog spec máádi v
fruit sp. bóbó n
fruit-bat sítse n
fly gumi v
fur (wild) bánde n

g

garlic túým n
gass (smoke) tóóba n
give birth ñátt’té v
get off k’éysí v
gift for marriage tóóye n
hare *dáomári* n
hard *k’áč’anč’ir* n
give *čimí* v
gladden *lent’i* v
go (past) *binn* v
go *tińi* v
go out climb *wútú* v
God/sky yáfe n
handicapped person *šítim* n
hand *šáne* n
happiness *goft* n
hard *k’ér’čir-ub* adj
hare *žíl* n
hate *giri* v
hawk *tżóńol* n
how many *haméč* int
head *máte* n
headache *máto-gat’en* n
test/listen *k’aamsé* v
heart *búud* n
hearth *bááke* n
heat *súulu* n
heavy rain *diibi-čžgáf* n
heavy cough *fuuz* n
help *máddi* v
hen dropping *koiz-kisè* n
here *kó* pron.
hide *göfint’ (šúfú)* v
high land *žééń* n
him *kí* pro.
hinge the neck *só tu* v
hippopotamus *žarú* n
hit *gsí’i* v
hose *gáiit* n
hole *ńóčú* n
home (big) *guurfel* n
home country *háme* n
honorable woman *gonné* n
honey *kůrú* n
hookworm *gawwu* n
horn *ńůsúm* n
hot leaf *zuumú* n
house *čéhé* n
how many *haméč* pron
huge *mükú* n
hump *hirim* n
hundred *sčét* n
hunger *neey* n
husband *bůbud* n
husk *k’óbú* n
hyena *nayí* n

**i**

I *žáte* pro
if *dót* cnj
impolite/powerful *k’am-úb* adj
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Definition</th>
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<td>increase</td>
<td>barşé v</td>
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<td>žáma n</td>
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<td>in front of</td>
<td>wutó loc</td>
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<td>innocent</td>
<td>fiq-ub adj</td>
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<td>inseparable</td>
<td>gammad-ub adj</td>
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<tr>
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<td>gyó adv</td>
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<td>zób n</td>
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<td>live, sit, stay</td>
<td>dái hi v</td>
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<td>táázte n</td>
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<td>mehan n</td>
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<td>locust</td>
<td>kádi n</td>
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<tr>
<td>lofty place for scouting</td>
<td>s’čéle n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look/see</td>
<td>yiši v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look in</td>
<td>fiiri v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>looking back</td>
<td>laas’í n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lost</td>
<td>dyási v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>louse</td>
<td>gársí n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>love</td>
<td>kóxú v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luck</td>
<td>řayyán n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lung</td>
<td>kofcú n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made a vow</td>
<td>pólu n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magic</td>
<td>bít n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>magic</td>
<td>kší v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maize</td>
<td>kábbe n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make</td>
<td>k’ómú v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>make peace</td>
<td>č’álle v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malaria</td>
<td>šúkú n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>man</td>
<td>gošú n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mango fruit</td>
<td>mangú n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other words: jano (red edge clooth) džané n
jackal kulíndu n
jump kó’iri v
jump žotlu n
jaw bángil n
journey říjí n
joyful lέnt’-ub adj
judge fáydi v

keep corpse koom v
keep wudu v
kidney bérú n
kick hard kóirts v
kill deisí v
king-ship zimise n
knee bóx n
knife hálfe n
knock k’ópišu v
knot k’úuxu n
know t’eesí v
known t’esín-bab n

lake tůú n
lamb s’dumpu n
land/earth yilé n
large taskes adj
laugh yinc‘í v
lay down řissí v
paddle wósú n
pain s’aamé n
pain yiš/iši v
palm ťankó-sónke n
paternal grandfather ţík n
paternal grandmother ťak n
paternal uncle báb-kán n
pass kolsí v
pasture gišimi n
pay č’izi v
pea sp. hiriţ n
pea sp. žánk’e n
pea sp. žáňt n
peace saro n
peel ţotsú v
penis šini n
person ţivyř n
pestle wúduníts n
pick šaye v
pick up ţáňke v
pierce ţíki v
pillar tuss n
place of worship Ští n
placenta miší/yiri n
plaited (hair) gáyp’e v
plant kóórú n
plant (sp.) gáre n
plant (sp.) gačib n
plant (sp.) k’anp’á n
plate for food góngu n
play yígi n
please wáde n
pluck dyafe v
pool (big) nára-timmint’ n
pool (small) s’ilint’ n
porcupine gíř n
pork gúdúm n
porridge k’óisú n
pot may n
pot (big) gánčíru nd
potato donú n
pregnant s’ur-ind adj
previous kólúb n
problem maté n
promise madinti v
push géhé / t’émi v
put ťúdú v
put on zawdín v
put off yiši v
put aside kóolu v

q

quarrel kúču v
quick žolóž; adv
quite zindá v
quiver šuskin v

r

rain důbř n
rainbow zúulu n
rain with wind dšági n
rat sp. žurín n
react tákú v
read faide v
recover séyi v
red zúub n
refuse mimir v
rhinoceros wugir n
relapse gíři v
remove forest máčí/búlkú v
repeat biržá v
resign ţáákkó v
rest šúm v
result ţaf v
return wonnú v
revenge táčči n
ribs guufú n
rich důř-báb /sánt-báb n
ripe crop túsí n
right s’lísi n
road gáši n
roasted cereals šósšú n
roasted grain kulú n
rotate zuusu v
rob buugu v
robber gámis n
rock šááže n
roll záák v
roof gör (natint’) n
root č’ič’i n
rope gúntu n
rot č’u č’ufi v
rotate zusu v
rotten č’uč’ufi adv
rotten smell šáuxuů n
round doxšuů n
rub sahi n
run yiži v

S

sack ʔozuru n
saliva táx’il/túfu n
salt džammé n
sand šááyi n
satisfy bínů v
satisfaction gís’im n
satiate gís’i v
saturday k’ere n
say č’éné (bedá) v
scar důđi n
scare on girl bónů n
skirt (of polished wood bark) kóšu n
scratch k’ós’i k’ós’ú v
scream woxu v
screwdriver lífsú v
skirt k’inde n
see yeře v
seed mísít n
seem bezá v
selfish kitim-ub adj
send bits’ī/fusú v
separate fásint’ v
servant tāyíli n
seven túsísm n
seventy tamt’i-tussu n
sexual-intercourse mókí v
sew džíji v
shadow šīf n
shadow of person č’éši n
shake šuuků v

shallow bám-ub adj
shape šootú v
share zútú n
sharp s’olum-ub adj
shave s’áfíni v
sheep č’mi n
shield guúf n
shepherd giši n
shirt k’inde n
shoe šíf n
shoot giš’ê v
short s’eid-ub adj
short s’is’e dax v
short grass puč’u n
shoulder kalfé n
shouting ʔozsum n
show ʔayse v
shut zis’i v
sickness gumt’um n
side (body part) džampé n
sink čem’i v
sister (elder) měči n
sister (younger) čákana n
six lax n
sixth lásé n
sixty tamt’í-laxí n
skin biči n
skin disease k’ondiguče n
slaughter tšéê v
sleep náỳte v
slope dümînd n
slowly ʔololóyá adv
small lak’k’-ub adj
carve č’ak’k’-ub adj
smaller sister kánim n
smell (bad) šíhi v
snail mít’i n
snake ʔorku n
snack č’išt’ v
snore kís’ v
soft lay-ub adj
solid soil búkú n
solve bůltu v
soot s’ítu n
sorghum kámáy n
sorrow ?šín n
soul šempé n
soup marak’i n
soup (other type) diini n
speak something unnecessary talktabl v
speak look v
talk k’óót v
spear bígé n
sperm s’imí n
spider kíji n
spite s’eryé n
spite túfu n
spleen mórú n
split p’ále v
spread k’afé v
spring šááte n
sprout búxúlú v
squeeze c’up’ú v
stamp gufu v
stand k’íntí/wúyí v
star béélz. n
start parsten v
start yidim v
state of drunkness gujú v
stature k’arase n
steal díbi v
step back gáátu n
stick (small) kúlú n
stick (big) dááke n
still zór v
stomach ṭákákk n
stone lála n
stool šákót n
stoop duyúú v
stop wuyíu v
storm dýorá n
story ṭésín n
stout person narzinit’ n
straight bitt-ub adj
student támáré n
sufficiently bóônó adv
stump durum v
suck gágádi v
suckle kási v
suddenly lupé adv
sugar cane košan n
summer birgí n
sun ŋeéí n
swallow čéês’í v
sweat looyón v
swell šokšú v
swim ŋúlú v
swirl doxt’ú v
system biláká n

t
tail golán n
take by force bukté v
take off mičí v
tall gúdúm-ub adj
talk kerf v
taste k’uk’u ľés’e v
taste a bit surk’ú v
taboo kéts n
teeth ŋítsí n
teff gičí n
tell kerf/gimá v
ten tammé n
terrace gerí n
termite sp. čémé n
termite sp. šíre n
termite sp. šákre n
testicle p’el’t’le muľú n
that sánú dem.
there kiyó (short form)adv
those sákét dem.
there sakiyó adv.
therefor číndotik cnj
these sikét dem.
they kété pro.
thief diibub adj
think šišinč n
thirty tám’t’-makkim n
this sinú dem.
three makkim n
thread šalé n
threaten ŋírimí v
three hundred s‘eet-makkim n
throat (neck) ʔeśi n
throw dą̀sé v
throw stone fókú v
thunder gunt‘ú n
tight zúúmu n
tire fáçí v
today ŋini n
toddler kóláb n
toe (animal) šuukúmu n
tortoise zayim n
trade záyim n
translate bárží n
tremble dšimzín p v
tribe mátí n
trousers súr n
truth gusá n
try yiŋé v
tube wóízu n
tuber člíž n
twenty woidú n
twins minté n
twist gunt‘i v
two k’óstín n
towards there tsase pron
two hundred s‘eet-k‘astín n

U
udder ŋím yidin n
ugly kurkur-ub adj
unbalance zikim v
under dóóto loc
untie búú v
up zúú -adv
up (higher position) ʔaa adv
urinate šašádé v
urine šáán n
useless fátšká-b adj
uvula lóós‘u n

V

vagina kétsé n
vagina lip bángi n
valley (big) dšiřé n
valley (small) měří v
vein gini n
velum k’ot’ n
very /more gěčó adv
village báfo n
virgin déem b n
violence gis‘im n
vomit s‘ááh v

W

wait káf v
wake up k‘int‘i v
wall dábé n
want k‘ayé v
war dími n
warm šéfí v
wash šží v
wasp šíz-báb n
water pot náx may n
water náxe n
wax sisí n
way dóó-gás n
we wótú pron.
wealth dígúru rúú n
wear k’óbtú v
well ʔahó adv
wet ŋínsé v
what čéy pron
wheat sándí n
white šugúm v
who žáyí pron
why ŋásinká pron
wide šáák adv.
win gámi v
win komob v
wind komú n
window/opening lúmmú n
wing kámme n
wise děk‘-ub adj
wise (be) zélim v
witchcraft  liit n
wizard  s’os-bab n
wood (for fire)  k’úg n
wolf  yáyi n
woman  Yámze n
worm  kátsé n
worm (sp.)  k’oŋjïšu n
wound  ŋëtim n
work  wunt’u n

y

year  báč n/adv
yeast  mùuru n
yellow  č’lilil-ub adj
yesterday  nááse adv
yoghurt  fúfinč n
you  yin pron
you  yáay/yá pron
you (pl)  yesé pron
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Summary

This dissertation presents a descriptive study of Dime, an endangered south Omotic language of Ethiopia. The number of the speakers is about 5400. The Dime people are settled farmers. Dime has two dialects: the Us’a and the Gerfa dialects. The present study is based on the Us’a dialect. The linguistic description is based on 12 months fieldwork conducted between 2003 and 2005. The thesis is divided into fourteen chapters.

The first chapter provides an introduction about the Dime people, the state of language use and language endangerment and it outlines the scope of the research. Chapter 2 presents a description of the sound system of the language. The inventory of consonant phonemes shows a remarkable series of uvular and velar fricatives. The presence of these segments in the language makes Dime somewhat different from the rest of the Omotic group. A detailed description of the consonant and vowel phonemes is provided. Dime has two basic tones, H and L. A description of the syllable structure and cluster of consonants is made. This is followed by the discussion of phonological process.

In Chapter 3, nouns and nominal categories are discussed. The forms of nouns, definiteness, gender, number and case are described. Nouns in Dime are either vowel-final or consonant-final. In the presence of a modifier element in a noun phrase, the definite marker may be suffixed to the modifier(s). Dime distinguishes two grammatical genders: masculine and feminine. The gender markers are suffixed to various modifying categories such as adjectives and relative verbs. This is in contrast to what is reported for many Omotic languages. In the latter languages gender is not realized in associated words but rather masculine-feminine distinction is marked only on the noun itself. A two-way number distinction is made: singular is morphologically unmarked; plural is marked on nouns by the morpheme -af. There is a special plural-agreement morpheme –(i)nd, which is only affixed to modifiers. The case marking suffixes comprise: accusative -im, dative -in, genitive -ko, locative -se and –o, instrumental -ká and ablative -de. The nominative case is not morphologically marked. In Dime, case affixes are not differential according to the definite-indefinite distinction but this seems to be the case largely in Ethiopian languages. Morphologically marked nominal derivations include agentive, infinitive and abstract nouns. Compounding is not highly productive and some compound forms are difficult to distinguish from juxtaposed possessive noun phrases. These are discussed in the chapter at some length.

Chapter 4 focuses on Dime pronouns. It introduces personal and demonstrative pronouns. Subject, object, dative, genitive and reflexive pronouns are morphologically distinct. Demonstratives indicating nearness and farness as well as deictic expressions pointing out altitude differences (up-ward or down-ward from where the speaker is located) are identified. Some of the affixes in the demonstrative paradigm are prefixes. This is interesting in light of the fact that prefixation is not a common phenomenon in other Omotic languages. Within Dime itself prefixation is attested only with demonstratives.
In Chapter 5 we discuss adjectives and modifying nouns. Adjectives are characterized by suffixing masculine and feminine gender markers or the plural agreement suffix if the modified noun is plural. Moreover, adjectives share some features with nouns in that they may be marked for definiteness and case. When nouns are used as modifiers they are not marked with the adjectival affixes just mentioned.

Dime numerals, conjunctions/coordinators and adverbials which includes manner, time, and directional adverbials and question words are described in Chapter 6. The numeral system in Dime is decimal. Higher numerals must take the noun ãfó ‘mouth’ as a connecting element. The conjunction marker in Dime is also used to mark instrumental and comitative cases. Dime adverbials can be categorized into three semantic groups: manner, time and directional adverbials. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. Directionals are expressed with a bound morpheme. Several content question words are derived from limited base forms.

Chapter 7 provides basic information on noun phrases with noun, adjective, numeral, possessive, demonstrative or relative clause modifiers. Locative noun phrases and measure phrases (quantifier phrase) are also discussed. The chapter demonstrates that noun phrases mainly have flexible word order: both head-modifier and modifier-head orders occur. However, when a noun is used as modifier, the order of the head noun and the modifier noun is not freely exchangeable. The noun modifier always precedes the head noun. There is also a degree of flexibility in marking grammatical morphemes which are part of the head noun. These include number, definiteness and case which may be marked either on the head noun or on the modifier or on both. Interestingly, when a series of adjectives are used as modifiers, the adjectives need not occur together. Some may occur before the noun while the remaining ones follow the head noun.

Chapter 8 and Chapter 9 are concerned with verbal and nominal inflections respectively, while Chapter 10 is devoted to verbal derivations. The chapter on verbal inflection contains a discussion of the verb root, subject-agreement, tense-aspect marking and negation. All verb inflections in Dime involve suffixation. Present (or tense-less) nominal clauses as well as past and future copula clauses which obligatorily take copula verbs are discussed. Chapter eight also discusses nominal clauses in negative and interrogative constructions. The copula may or may not be overt depending on tense and polarity. Suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Thus, the formation of derivational stems such as causative, passive, reciprocal and inchoative is formed by suffixation of their respective morphemes to the verb roots, as Chapter 10 demonstrates. Reduplication is also a means of derivation. Dime mainly uses reduplication to derive inchoative verbs. There are morphological elements that additionally signal an inchoative verb.

Verbs and their arguments are treated in Chapter 11. Dime verbs can be categorized into one place verbs (intransitive) and two or three-place verbs (i.e. transitive). There are however, some verbs that function as both one and two place verbs. Two place verbs in Dime are classified as semi-transitive and mono-transitive.
Semi-transitive verbs have a subject and an optional cognate object noun. In Dime cognate object nouns mainly denote names of the events of a corresponding verb or the affected entity. Mono-transitive verbs are simple transitive verbs with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object.

Chapter 12 deals with simple declarative clauses, relative clauses and complex clauses. A simple declarative clause is made up of one independent clause with only one main predicate. Thus, the simple clause includes sentences with main verbs, copula verbs, and adjectival predicates. The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun in Dime. The relative verb is marked by the morphemes –ub, –ind or -id (plural agreement) which are identified as gender markers in modifiers of nouns. The relative verb thus in agreement with the gender of the head noun. The sections on complex clauses include discussion on the converb construction, conditional clauses, reason clauses, and temporal clauses. Polar interrogatives that involve “yes” or “no” answer and non-polar interrogatives, which involve content question words are discussed in sections 12.4.1 and 12.4.2. The interrogative is characterized by a high tone in clause final position and the deletion of person markers. SOV word order is frequent but other word orders are also attested.

The final chapters 13 and 14 incorporate texts and basic word lists respectively. The texts include greetings and stories. The word-list includes both Dime-English and English-Dime entries.
Samenvatting


Het proefschrift beslaat veertien hoofdstukken. Hoofdstuk 1 geeft een inleiding over het Dime volk, de taalsituatie en de reikwijdte van deze studie. Hoofdstuk 2 behandelt de klankstructuur. In de inventaris van medeklinkers valt de aanwezigheid van velare en uvulare wrijfklanken op; deze klanken zijn ongewoon voor de Omotische taal familie. Het hoofdstuk bevat een gedetailleerde beschrijving van de segmenten, klinkers en medeklinkers. Dime is een toontaal met Hoog en Laag als basistonen. Het hoofdstuk omvat ook de beschrijving van mogelijke lettergreepstructuren en van acceptabele medeklinkercusters. Daarnaast worden de fonologische processen behandeld.


Hoofdstuk 4 behandelt de persoonlijke en aanwijzende voornaamwoorden. Er zijn verschillende voornaamwoorden voor subject, object, datief en genitieve naamval. Er is ook een apart wederkerig voornaamwoord. Aanwijzende voornaamwoorden kennen niet alleen een onderscheid tussen ver weg en dichtbij maar ook tussen hoger of lager. Een interessant detail is dat de aanwijzende voornaamwoorden voorvoegsels kennen terwijl achtervoegsels de norm zijn in Dime en andere Omotische talen.

Hoofdstuk 5 behandelt bijvoeglijke naamwoorden en andere naamwoorden die als modificerende dienen. Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden kunnen als woordsoor worden gedefinieerd op grond van de overeenkomst die zij vertonen in getal en geslacht (modificerende naamwoorden doen dat niet). Bijvoeglijke naamwoorden
zijn naamwoordelijk in de eigenschap dat definietheid en naamval erop aangegeven kan worden.


Hoofdstuk 7 behandelt de structuur van de naamwoordelijke constitueit met hoofdnamwoorden en verschillende modificieerders zoals bijvoeglijke naamwoorden, getallen, bezittelijke voornaamwoorden, aanwijzende voornaamwoorden en bijzinnen. Locatieve naamwoordelijke constituen en die die graad uitdrukken worden apart besproken. Een opmerkelijk feit is dat de woordvolgorde in de naamwoordelijke groep vrij is en modificieerders zowel vóór als achter hun hoofd kunnen staan. Alleen naamwoorden die als modificieerder optreden zijn beperkt in plaatsing en moeten vóór hun hoofd staan. Ook grammaticale morfemen zoals die voor naamval, getal en definietheid vertonen plaatsingsvrijheid en kunnen op het hoofd, op de modificieerder of op beide voorkomen. Wanneer een naamwoord door verschillende bijvoeglijke naamwoorden wordt bepaald kunnen deze zowel vóór als achter het naamwoord staan.

Hoofdstuk 8 gaat over werkwoordsvervoeging en 9 over naamwoordvergoeging, terwijl hoofdstuk 10 werkwoordsverbuiging behandelt. Hoofdstuk 8 omvat de vorm van de werkwoordswortel, de uitdrukking van onderwerp op het werkwoord, de markering van tijd-aspect en van negatie. Al deze grammaticale markering is in de vorm van achtervoegsels. Ook de tijdmarkering, negatie en vraagvorming in nominale zinnen komt onder de loep. De noodzaak tot gebruik van een koppelwerkwoord hangt af van uitdrukking van tijd of negatie. In hoofdstuk 10 komen de werkwoordsafleidingen voor causatief, passief, reciproque en inchoatief aan de orde. Dit zijn allemaal achtervoegsels maar de inchoatief kan ook door verdubbeling aangeduid worden.

Hoofdstuk 11 behandelt de argumentstructuur van werkwoorden. Er zijn werkwoorden met één, twee of drie verplichte argumenten. Sommige werkwoorden functioneren zowel als éénplaatsig (intransitief) als als tweeplaatsig (transitief). Semittransitieve werkwoorden hebben optioneel een cognaat object bestaande uit een nominalisatie van hetzelfde werkwoord in de zin en wijken daarin af van tweeplaatsige transitieve werkwoorden.

Hoofdstuk 12 behandelt de syntaxis van enkelvoudige hoofdzinnen, bijzinnen en van complexe zinnen. Enkelvoudige hoofdzinnen bevatten één predicaat: een hoofdwerkwoord, een koppelwerkwoord of een bijvoeglijk naamwoord. De betrekkelijke bijzin wordt niet geïntroduceerd door een betrekkelijk voornaamwoord. Het werkwoord in de betrekkelijke bijzin bevat de één van de morfemen -ub (manlijk), -ind (vrouwelijk) of -id (meervoud) om de overeenkomst met het hoofd van de betrekkelijke bijzin uit te drukken. Deze concordantie morfemen treden ook op in bijvoeglijke naamwoorden. De paragrafen over de
complexe zin behandelen constructies met een afhankelijke werkwoord (converb), conditionele zinnen, en bijzinnen van rede en van tijd. Er zijn aparte paragrafen over de verschillende soorten vraagzinnen. Vraagzinnen worden gekenmerkt door een bepaalde zinsfinale intonatie en het wegvallen van de persoonaanwijzing. De meest voorkomende volgorde van constituanten is SOV maar andere volgordes komen ook voor.

Curriculum Vitae

Mulugeta Seyoum was born 4 February 1967 in Asella, Ethiopia. In June 1984 he completed his high school education at Asella Comprehensive Secondary School. Between September 1984 and July 1988 he completed a study for the B.A degree in linguistics at the Linguistics Department of Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia. From 1988 to 1997 he was an employee of the Ethiopian Language Academy and worked in different regions in the country. In September 1998 he joined the Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU) in Trondheim and completed the advanced Masters Programme (MPhil) in linguistics in 2001. Between February 2001 and November 2002 he was lecturer at Addis Ababa University. From November 2002 to November 2006 he was employed as a Ph.D. researcher at Leiden University, Department of African Languages and Cultures. Currently he is working in Ethiopia at Addis Ababa University, in the Ethiopian Languages Research Centre. He is married with three sons, and a priest in the Ethiopian Orthodox Tewahido Church.