A Grammar of Konso
A Grammar of Konso

Proefschrift

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in 1976
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Table of contents

List of structure morphemes................................................................. vii
List of symbols and abbreviations...................................................... ix
Map...................................................................................................... xi
Acknowledgments ............................................................................ xiii
1. Introduction..................................................................................... 1
  1.1. The people ................................................................................. 1
  1.2. The language ............................................................................. 2
  1.3. Previous linguistic works......................................................... 3
  1.4. The present study .................................................................. 5
  1.5. Fieldwork................................................................................... 6
2. Phonology and morphophonology .................................................. 7
  2.1. Consonant phonemes............................................................... 7
    2.1.1. Description of consonant phonemes.................................... 8
    2.1.2. (Near) minimal pairs......................................................... 12
    2.1.3. Gemination.......................................................................... 14
    2.1.4. Distributions of consonant phonemes............................... 15
  2.2. Vowel phonemes...................................................................... 19
    2.2.1. Description of vowels....................................................... 19
    2.2.2. Contrast of short vowels................................................... 20
    2.2.3. Contrast of long vowels.................................................... 21
    2.2.4. Vowel length...................................................................... 22
    2.2.5. Vowel co-occurrences....................................................... 22
  2.3. Phonotactics............................................................................. 23
  2.4. Lexical variations .................................................................... 26
  2.5. Syllable Structure .................................................................. 29
    2.5.1. Syllable patterns in nouns.................................................. 30
    2.5.2. Syllable patterns in verb roots............................................ 32
  2.6. Epenthesis and syllable sequences ............................................ 35
  2.7. Phonological processes......................................................... 36
    2.7.1. Insertion of /ʔ/.................................................................. 36
    2.7.2. Devoicing.......................................................................... 37
    2.7.3. Assimilation....................................................................... 38
    2.7.4. Spirantisation.................................................................... 40
    2.7.5. Labialisation...................................................................... 41
  2.8. Morphophonemic processes.................................................... 42
    2.8.1. Elision of /ʔ/.................................................................... 42
    2.8.2. Metathesis......................................................................... 43
    2.8.3. Assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation.. 44
    2.8.4. Assimilation involving verb root final t.............................. 48
    2.8.5. Assimilation involving n in subject clitics......................... 48
    2.8.6. Assimilation of a glottal stop in encliticisation............... 50
    2.8.7. Vowel coalescence............................................................ 54
    2.8.8. Haplology......................................................................... 55
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.11.6</td>
<td>The locational markers -Vyye and -ʔ</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.11.7</td>
<td>The background marker</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>Compounding</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Pronouns</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>Demonstrative pronouns</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>Possessives</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>Reflexive</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>Reciprocity and ‘each’</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Verbs</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>Verb derivation</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1</td>
<td>Causative</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.2</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.3</td>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.4</td>
<td>Inchoative</td>
<td>149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.5</td>
<td>Pluractionals and punctuals</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>Verb inflection</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1</td>
<td>Aspect</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2</td>
<td>Mood</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>Adjectival root classes</td>
<td>167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>Reduplication in adjectives</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>Intensity</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>Predicative adjectives</td>
<td>170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>Attributive adjectives</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>Deadjectival derivation</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6.1</td>
<td>Nominal derivation and gender marking</td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.6.2</td>
<td>Deadjectival action nominals</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Postpositions, adverbials and conjunctions</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>Postpositions</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.1</td>
<td>Locative adverbs</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.2</td>
<td>Combining locative adverbs and directional adverbs</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2.3</td>
<td>Time adverbs</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>Conjunctions</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Basic syntax</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>Word order</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1.1</td>
<td>Word order in noun phrases</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1.2</td>
<td>Word order in simple sentences</td>
<td>196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>Verbless sentences</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Comparative and equative sentences</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Relative clauses</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.1</td>
<td>Word order in relative clauses</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.2</td>
<td>Subject relative clauses</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4.3</td>
<td>Non-subject relative clauses</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
9.4.4. Headless relative clauses .......................................................... 208
10. Interrogative clauses ........................................................................ 209
10.1. Polar interrogatives ................................................................. 209
10.2. Tag questions ........................................................................... 212
10.3. Content questions ..................................................................... 212
11. Negation......................................................................................... 217
11.1. Negation in declarative sentences ............................................ 217
11.1.1. Negative Perfective .............................................................. 217
11.1.2. Negative future imperfective................................................ 219
11.1.3. Negative present imperfective.............................................. 220
11.1.4. Negative dependent .............................................................. 223
11.1.5. Prohibitives with opa............................................................ 224
11.1.6. Negative imperative ............................................................. 225
11.1.7. Negative optatives ............................................................... 226
11.1.8. Negation in adjectival clauses.............................................. 226
11.2. Negation in nominal clauses .................................................... 227
11.3. Lexical negation ........................................................................ 228
11.4. Movement of subject clitics and emphatic negation.................... 229
12. Complex sentences......................................................................... 231
12.1. Adverbial clauses ...................................................................... 231
12.1.1. Conditional clauses .............................................................. 231
12.1.2. Temporal clauses .................................................................. 237
12.1.3. Reason and result clauses.................................................... 239
12.1.4. Purpose clauses .................................................................... 240
12.2. Complement clauses................................................................... 241
12.3. Other clause linking .................................................................. 242
12.3.1. Conjoined consecutive clauses............................................. 242
12.3.2. Contrast ............................................................................... 243
12.3.3. Alternatives ......................................................................... 244
12.4. Quotative clauses...................................................................... 246
13. Ideophones and interjections .......................................................... 247
13.1. Ideophones............................................................................... 247
13.1.1. Phonological templates......................................................... 247
13.1.2. Reduplication in ideophones .............................................. 250
13.1.3. Verbal derivation in ideophones ........................................... 252
13.1.4. Nominal derivation in ideophones ....................................... 252
13.1.5. Metaphoric use of ideophones ........................................... 253
13.2. Interjections ............................................................................. 254
13.2.1. Expressive interjections....................................................... 254
13.2.2. Conative interjections......................................................... 255
13.2.3. Phatic interjections ............................................................. 256
13.3. Greetings and leave-taking expressions ..................................... 256
13.3.1. Greetings ........................................................................... 256
13.3.2. Leave-taking ...................................................................... 262
14. Texts............................................................................................ 265
14.1.  Text 1: polaa a innaá Teekooli' Teekoole’s Son’s Bag .......... 265
15.  List of nouns ...................................................................................... 319
References ....................................................................................................... 331
Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)................................................................. 335
Curriculum Vitae............................................................................................. 339
## List of structure morphemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Function/name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ʔ</td>
<td>DAT</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ʔ</td>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nominative</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ʔ</td>
<td>LOC</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ʔ</td>
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<td>genitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ʔ</td>
<td>plus</td>
<td>plus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ay</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfective (3SGM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>PF</td>
<td>perfective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-i</td>
<td>IMP.SG</td>
<td>imperative singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>IMP.PL</td>
<td>imperative plural</td>
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<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>IPF.FUT</td>
<td>imperfective future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>IPF.PRES</td>
<td>imperfective present</td>
</tr>
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<td>-ad</td>
<td>MID</td>
<td>benefactive, middle</td>
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<td>-aad</td>
<td>INCH</td>
<td>inchoative</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ʃ</td>
<td>DCAUS</td>
<td>direct causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-acciis</td>
<td>ICAUS</td>
<td>indirect causative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-am</td>
<td>PAS</td>
<td>passive</td>
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<td>-t</td>
<td>3F; 2</td>
<td>third person feminine; second person</td>
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<td>-n</td>
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<td>plural gender marker</td>
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<td>-siʔ</td>
<td>DEF.M/F</td>
<td>definite feminine/masculine (gender)</td>
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<td>-siniʔ</td>
<td>DEF.P</td>
<td>definite plural (gender)</td>
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<td>-asiʔ/-osiʔ</td>
<td>DEM.M/F</td>
<td>demonstrative feminine/masculine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-osiniʔ</td>
<td>DEM.P</td>
<td>demonstrative plural (gender)</td>
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<tr>
<td>in=</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person affirmative subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in=</td>
<td>3NEG</td>
<td>third person negative subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iʔ=</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person affirmative subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i=</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>third person affirmative subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an=</td>
<td>1NEG</td>
<td>first person negative subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an=</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>first person nominal subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔ=</td>
<td>2NEG</td>
<td>second person negative subject clitic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʔ=</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>second person nominal subject clitic</td>
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<td>-n(n)</td>
<td>INST</td>
<td>instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n(n)</td>
<td>PATH</td>
<td>path</td>
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<td>-awu</td>
<td>1SG.POSS.M/F</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ayyu</td>
<td>1SG.POSS.P</td>
<td>1SG possessive plural (gender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aynu</td>
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<tr>
<td>-annu</td>
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<td>1PL possessive plural (gender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ayti</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>-atti</td>
<td>2SG.POSS.P</td>
<td>2SG possessive plural (gender)</td>
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<tr>
<td>-ayʃin</td>
<td>2PL.POSS.M/F</td>
<td>2PL possessive (gender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-assin</td>
<td>2PL.POSS.P</td>
<td>2PL possessive plural (gender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-adi</td>
<td>3SG.POSS.M/F/P</td>
<td>3SG possessive M/F/P (gender)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syllable</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aysuʔ</td>
<td>3PL.POSS.M/F 3PL possessive M/F (gender)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-assuʔ</td>
<td>3PL.POSS.P 3PL possessive plural (gender)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>NEG negative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td>VOC.P vocative plural (gender) addressee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
<td>VOC.M/F vocative (gender) addressee</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aʔ</td>
<td>M/F gender (adjectives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-aaʔ</td>
<td>P plural gender (adjectives)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-e</td>
<td>F/M gender (in relative clauses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eeʔ</td>
<td>P plural gender (in relative clauses)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-(tt)eeta</td>
<td>DIM diminutive</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of symbols and abbreviations

1 first person
2 second person
3 third person
1SG first person singular
1PL first person plural
2SG second person singular
2PL second person plural
3M third person masculine
3F third person feminine
3PL third person plural
´ high tone
* ungrammatical form
. more than one morpheme is involved
  devoiced sound
// phonemic representation
ABST abstract
ACC accusative
AGENT agentive
ASS associative
BKGRD background
C consonant
CEXPEC contrary to expectation
DAT dative
DCAUS direct causative
DEF definite
DEM demonstrative
DIM diminutive
DP dependent
F feminine
FREQ frequentative
GEN genitive
ICAUS indirect causative
IDEO ideophone
IMP imperative
INCH inchoative
INDEF indefinite
INST instrumental
INSIS insistive
INTENS intensive
INTERJ interjection
IPF.FUT imperfective future
IPF.PRES imperfective present
LOC  locative
M    masculine
MID  middle
NEG  negative
NMLZ nominaliser
NOM  nominative
OPT  optative
ORD  ordinal
P    plural (as a value of gender)
PAS  passive
PF   perfective
PL   plural (as a value of number)
POSS possessive
PRO  pronoun
RDP  reduplication
RECIP reciprocal
REL  relative
SG   singular (as a value of number)
sp.  species
V    vowel
VN   verbal nominal
VOC  vocative
Map

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1. Introduction

This work is a grammar of Konso. So far, the language has not been intensively studied. In this chapter, I introduce the people and the language, review previous linguistic works, and outline the nature and organisation of this study.

1.1. The people

The Konso live in the southwest of Ethiopia in the Segen Area Peoples’ Zone in the state of Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples’ Region (SNNPR). They number about 250,000 (Central Statistical Agency 2009), and call themselves χonsitta; they call their land χonso and their language ?afaa ʔa χonsoʔ ‘language of Konso’.

The Konso are organised in nine exogamous clans: Keertiita, Arkaamayta, Sawdatta, Paasanta, Tookmaleeta, Eelayta, Ijalayta, Tikissayta and Mahalayta. I belong to the Keertiita clan. Except for the Keertiita clan, each clan has its own chief. There are two clan chiefs for the Keertiita: ρuufa (in Kenaa) and Kala (in Karatte). Males of the same clan consider themselves as brothers, and the females as their sisters. This prohibits Keertiita men from marrying women from their own clan. A clan chief does not marry from the land he administers. This makes the marriage of clan chiefs different from that of the common people. Konso villages are not clan-based.

The Konso have an age grading system, called Kataa, which is similar to the well-known Gada system of Oromo. The Kataa system has become less important in the past few decades. The Konso are socially divided into two classes, the Etanta and the χawɗaa. The former comprises farmers who hold a high social profile while the latter comprises traders and craftsmen.

The Konso are hard-working people who make a living in the mountainous hills of their land. They are predominantly farmers and are known for their indigenous terracing system, which allows them to make use of even the most precipitous slopes while preventing erosion. With the efforts of many scholars and organisations, UNESCO inscribed the Konso Landscape as a World Heritage in June 2011. The inscription of the Konso Landscape was celebrated in Karatte in April 2012.

The Konso produce maize, wheat, barley, different types of beans and sorghum, and cotton, among other things. Their staple foods are damaa and χarfa. Damaa is prepared from sorghum, maize, wheat and/or barley flour, while χarfa is prepared from beans. ʃaʃaa is a locally brewed drink and has different varieties.
Most Konso villages are established on hilltops and are densely populated. The villages are surrounded by high walls of piled stones for protection against attacks. Each family compound traditionally consists of an upper part, called the oytaa, and a lower part, called the arỹatta. The former is used for living and the latter for storage and keeping animals.

1.2. The language

Konso belongs to the Lowland East Cushitic languages of the Afroasiatic phylum. Within the Lowland East Cushitic family, it belongs to the Oromoid group, and further to the Konsoind group. The language has four dialects: Faaʃe, Karatte, Tuuro and yolme (see also Black 1973). Data for this study come from the Faaʃe dialect, which I speak.

Though attempts have been made to develop an alphabet, there is still no standard alphabet for Konso. Two scripts have been proposed for a standard alphabet: Fidäl script (the script used for writing Amharic and Ge’ez, among others) and the Roman alphabet. The first scholar who made the attempt to establish the alphabet for Konso is Haile Eyesus Engidashet (1986). He proposes the Fidäl script after studying the phonology of the language very briefly. The other script, Latin, was first proposed by the Konso Orthography Committee in 1997. The most recent decision to adopt the Latin script was made in April 2012. On 29 April 2012, the Bureau of Culture, Tourism and Government Communications Affairs organised a one-day Language and Culture symposium in which four papers that dealt with script selection were presented. The first paper was presented by me. In my presentation, I focussed on comparing and contrasting the adoption of Fidäl and Latin scripts. The second paper proposed a modified version of the Fidäl script. The third paper dealt with the report of the 1997 Konso Orthography Committee, and the reasons why the Committee adopted the Latin script. The fourth paper was about an attempt made by a Konso native to invent a new script for writing in Konso. Interestingly, this presenter trained some children from his village on how to use the script and demonstrated that to the participants. After the paper presentations, group discussions were held to make a decision on the adoption of either the Fidäl or Latin script. After the group discussions, group representatives presented the script they proposed and the reasons why they made the choice. Except for one group that could not make a clear decision, the rest adopted Latin script for the language. The adoption was directed to the Konso Wereda Administration Council to officially endorse the adoption of Latin script. The symposium was concluded by setting up Konso Language Promotion Committee.

Although there is no standard alphabet for Konso, some written materials have been produced. The Evangelical Church of Makane Yesus has produced quite a number of materials in Konso using the Fidäl script. These materials include
the translation of both the Old and New Testaments of the Bible, religious short stories, arithmetic booklets and so on. So far, little has been produced in Latin script. Korra Garra published two storybooks at the department of African Languages and Cultures, Leiden University. The arithmetic booklets produced by Mekane Yesus Church are also available in Latin version.

1.3. Previous linguistic works

Though Konso does yet not have a comprehensive grammar, there have been some linguistic works written on the language. As the review below shows, most of the works are unpublished B.A. and M.A. theses.

Paul Black (1973) studies the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language. In the phonology part, he presents the phonemic inventory of the language and identifies twenty-one consonant phonemes and five short vowels, each with a long counterpart. He also discusses the allophonic distribution, the phonemic and phonotactic rules of consonants. In the morphology section, he deals with nominals, including nouns and pronouns, and with adjectives. In the syntax section, he describes predicate and nominal phrases as well as the formation of conditional clauses.

Ronald J. Sim (1977) provides a phonemic sketch of the segmental phonemes; he discusses the phonemic status of gemination and vowel length, and presents suprasegmentals and distinctive features. He also discusses nouns, verbs and adjective categories.

Getahun Amare (1999), in his published article, deals with the structure of the noun phrase. He examines nominal positions, interrogatives, and independent personal pronouns. He also presents complements, modifiers and specifiers of the noun phrase.

In his unpublished BA thesis, Mehamed Ahmed (1999) describes the relativisation of subjects, direct objects and objects of postpositions. He claims that Konso does not have a relative pronoun like English who. His claim is not correct. Konso has a relative pronoun ʔa, which does not appear when the subject head noun is definite.

In his unpublished BA thesis, Beniam Mitiku (2000) presents the noun inflections for number, gender, person and case. He also examines the derivation of nouns from verbs and adjectives, and discusses noun-deriving affixes.

Daniel Damtew’s (2000) thesis presents compounding in nouns, adjectives and postpositions. His examples are based on compounds in Amharic and English, and are not natural compounds in Konso (see 4.12).
Ongaye Oda (2000) writes in his unpublished BA thesis about the structure of simple sentences. He analyses the structure of declaratives, interrogatives (of yes–no questions and wh-questions), and imperatives. He also attempts to show the basic transformational rules operating on simple sentences, such as an insertion rule, optional and obligatory subject deletion rules, substitution transformation, and movement rules of object, verb and the wh-word.

In his unpublished MA thesis, Ongaye Oda (2004) presents an overview of complex sentences and complement clauses in Konso. He presents simple sentences, compound sentences and (compound-)complex sentences. He also treats result clauses, conditional clauses, concessive clauses, purpose clauses, and temporal clauses. He additionally discusses complement clauses, syntactic and semantic analysis of complementisers, the derivation of subject and object complement clauses and syntactic variations in complement clauses. Finally, he deals with higher predicates and complement clause modalities.

In his (2004) article, Maarten Mous describes middle and passive in Konso. Here he identifies the suffixes that mark these two voices. He also discusses the fact that the middle derivation is occasionally used with the passive meaning.

Maarten Mous (2005) analyses conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination and adversative coordination. He identifies lexical and clitic conjunctive and disjunctive coordinations.

Maarten Mous and Ongaye Oda (2009) analyse clause linking in temporal (succession) clauses and conditional clauses. They also analyse (possible) consequences of clause linking.

Daudey, H and A.C. Hellenthal (2004) study some morphosyntactic aspects of the Konso language. They discuss the structural and semantic functions of the suffixes -eeyye, -n(n), and -ʔ. They also present the locational, directional, elevational and distance adverbs.

In his unpublished MA thesis Gallo Aylatte (2008) treats the verbal system, the relationship between tense and aspect and the inflection of the verb in the context of the past, present, and future tenses. He also describes the inflection of the verbs in relative clauses.

In her unpublished BA thesis Tizita Getahun (2003) discusses the inflection of the verb for person, number, gender, aspect, tense, mood and voice. She also deals with the derivation of the verb stem in the passive, causative, intensive, reciprocal, benefactive, gerundive and singulative. Finally, she presents morphophonemic processes such assimilation, consonant insertion (though there is no such thing in the language, as far as I know), vowel length, and epenthesis.
Alemayehu Dereje (2003) discusses the simple and complex constituency of a noun phrase. He further analyses agreement between modifiers and the head noun. He also describes the patterns of noun phrase constituents, and finally the functions of a noun phrase as a subject, object and complement.

Anna Vähäkangas’s (2009) grammatical sketch of Konso (45 pages) is published by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. The booklet presents a description of the consonant as well as vowel phonemes, nouns, noun phrase modifiers, pronouns and possessives, subjects and predicates, verbs, transitive and intransitive verbs, non-final verbs and verb derivation and (some) cases. The booklet has many descriptive problems, as well as some analytical ones. For example, the uvular consonants /ʛ/ and /χ/ are described as velar consonants. The glottal stop that marks the nominative case is missing. The middle derivation is not discussed in the work. Subject clitics are poorly analysed. I have not made any use of the material in the booklet. In other words, my work is an independent research based on my own data.

1.4. The present study

This study has developed out of contact professor Mous made with me in 2000 in Ethiopia. During the summer of 2003, professor Mous invited me to Leiden University where I met scholars (Azeb Amha, Christian Rapold, Anne-Christie Hellenthal and Graziano Savá) working on Ethiopian languages. During this visit, professor Mous and I started working on Konso. I also did library work for my MA research. He again invited me to Leiden University during the summer of 2004. This time, I gave a talk at the Colloquium on African Languages and Cultures and then started writing my PhD proposal (“A Grammar of Konso”). With his and Dr Azeb Amha’s support, I wrote my project proposal and submitted a couple of applications in the subsequent years. It was in 2007 that my project proposal was selected for a fully funded PhD position at Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL). The research project was supervised by both professor Mous and Dr. Azeb Amha.

As there is no standard alphabet for Konso, the transcription employed in this study closely adheres to the IPA; the exceptions include the use of y instead of j for the palatal glide, doubling letters instead of using a colon (:) to represent geminate consonants as well as long vowels.

In the next chapter, I describe phonology and morphophonemics (Chapter 2). In chapter 3, I discuss the basics of simple sentences to orient the reader on the syntactic structure before dealing with morphology in subsequent chapters. In chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7, I analyse nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives, respectively. Postpositions, adverbs and conjunctions are discussed in chapter 8. In chapter 9 I discuss syntax and in chapter ten interrogative clauses. In chapters
11 and 12 I present negation and complex sentences, respectively. Ideophones and interjections are discussed in chapter 13. Chapters 14 and 15 contain list of nouns and stories, respectively.

1.5. Fieldwork

I conducted fieldwork during two trips to Ethiopia. The first field trip took place from end of April to mid August 2008. During this period, I recorded stories and checked my preliminary analyses on phonology with native speakers. I also conducted library research at Addis Ababa University and participated in a conference organised by the Ethiopian Language Research Centre at Addis Ababa University.

I carried out fieldwork on the second trip from September 2009 to January 2010. During this period, I recorded more stories and transcribed some of these. I checked my preliminary analyses on morphology and syntax with several Konso native speakers and developed the chapters on these topics.
2. Phonology and morphophonology

This chapter deals with the inventory of the speech sounds as well as the morphophonology of Konso. After the identification and description of the consonant and vowel phonemes, (near) minimal pairs are provided. Phonotactic constraints, syllable structure, phonological and morphophonemic processes and tone are also treated in this chapter.

2.1. Consonant phonemes

The inventory of consonant phonemes in Konso includes labial, alveolar, (alveo)-palatal, velar, uvular and glottal places of articulation. Along these places of articulation, 21 consonant phonemes are recognised (see also Black 1973; Sim 1977). The consonants at a systematic phonemic level are given in table 1.

![Table 1: Consonant phonemes of Konso](image1)

From table 1, we observe that Konso does not make a phonemic voice distinction in stops. Some voiceless stops are realised voiced in certain conditions (cf. Section 2.7.2). The absence of voice contrast in stops has also been reported for Diraytata (Black 1974; SIL 2002; Wondwosen 2007), Muusiye (SIL 2002:6) and Gawwada (Black 1974, Geberew 2005). Diraytata and Muusiye [Bussa], together with Konso, are Konsoid languages within the Oromoid sub-group, whereas Gawwada is a member of the Dullay group spoken to the west of Konso. Other neighbouring Cushitic languages do make a voice distinction: Oromo (see among others Andrzejewski 1957:25; Black 1974:64, Bender et. al 1976:132; Owens 1985:10; Stroomer 1995:7), Burji (Sasse 1982:15) and Ts’amakko (Savá 2005:9). Thus, the absence of a voice opposition seems to be a Konsoid innovation within the Lowland East Cushitic language family. That Gawwada does not have a voice opposition (Geberew 2005) may be attributed to language contact with the Konsoid languages (see also Sasse 1986). Moreover, all the neighbouring languages have ejectives and, in varying degrees, implosives in their inventories. However, unlike the neighbouring languages,

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1 Labio-dental fricative.
Konso does not have any ejective at all; instead, it has a series of four implosives (shown in table 1).

Ejectives in borrowed words change to implosives (1a), plain stop (1b) or fricative (1c). The systematic correspondence is as follows: the labial ejective /p'/ changes to labial implosive /ɓ/; palatal ejective /c'/ changes to palatal implosive /ʄ/. A velar ejective /k'/ changes to uvular implosive /ʛ/. The alveolar ejectives /t'/ and /s'/ change to an alveolar plain stop /t/ and a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, respectively. The following illustrative lexical items are borrowed from Amharic.

(1a) /p'/ > /ɓ/   t’arəp’p’ezza   tarabbeessa  ‘table’
     lap’p’is    laabbeesaa  ‘eraser, rubber’
 /c'/ > /ʄ/    c’ərk’    fərəktə   ‘textile’
     mac’id    maafireeta  ‘sickle’
 /k'/ > /ʛ/    k’es    ɬəesitta  ‘priest, pastor’
     k’era    ɬəeraa  ‘slaughterhouse’

(1b) /t'/ > /t/   seyt’an   seetana  ‘Satan’
     t’iyyit   tiyyiteeta  ‘bullet’
     fəggut’   fəkkuteeta  ‘pistol’

(1c) /s'/ > /s/   s’əlot    salootita  ‘prayer’

Amharic does not have implosive consonants, but Oromo has the alveolar /ɗ/, and Diraytata has the bilabial and alveolar implosives /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. Oromo and Diraytata lexical items with the alveolar implosive retain the alveolar implosive in Konso pronunciation. For instance, a Konso native would pronounce the Oromo word haaɗa ‘mother’ as it is, although in Konso the word for ‘mother’ is aayyaa. Thus /ɗ/ is not an example of an implosive replacing an ejective in loan words from Oromo, Diraytata or Ts’amakko.

2.1.1. Description of consonant phonemes

Below, I present the description of consonant phonemes and give illustrative examples. Allophonic variants are discussed in Section 2.7. The order of the consonant phonemes is based on the place of articulation.

(2) /p/ is a bilabial voiceless plain stop.
     pijaa   ‘water’
     pora   ‘road, place’
     hapura   ‘spirit’
     torpaa   ‘week’
(3) /ɓ/ is a bilabial implosive. It is very rare in word-initial position.

ɓaɓɓaʃa ‘well-fed (impolite for humans)’
hiɓta ‘lip’
saraɓta ‘calf (of leg)’

(4) /m/ is a bilabial voiced nasal.

mura ‘forest’
makla ‘handle of a pot’
kusumta ‘navel’
kumanta ‘antelope’

(5) /f/ is a labio-dental voiceless fricative.

furaa ‘key, padlock’
foola ‘steam’
kuufa ‘cow dung pile’
kafa ‘clan’

(6) /w/ is a labio-velar voiced glide.

waaʛa ‘God’
kawsa ‘beard’
tawna ‘bell’

(7) /t/ is an alveolar voiceless plain stop.

tika ‘house’
talteeta ‘she-goat’
kuta ‘dog’
harta ‘pond’

(8) /ɗ/ is an alveolar implosive.

dakaa ‘stone’
dikla ‘elbow’
hidana root crop species
 tandaa ‘drink prepared without malt’

(9) /n/ is an alveolar nasal voiced.

nama ‘person, man’
nessa ‘soul’
soonaa ‘nose’
cĩnda ‘side’
(10)  /s/ is an alveolar voiceless fricative.

sinɗaa  ‘urine’
solaa  ‘bird tail’
kusumta  ‘navel’
kawsa  ‘beard’

(11)  /l/ is an alveolar lateral voiced liquid.

lecfaa  ‘loan’
leemmuta  ‘bubble’
paleeta  ‘village’
kolalta  ‘acacia tree’

(12)  /r/ is an alveolar voiced trill.

roopa  ‘rain’
racfaa  type of hut
para  ‘year’
karkaa  ‘beehive’

(13)  /c/ is an alveo-palatal voiceless plain stop. It is the rarest phoneme and but it occurs as a single consonant in the common verb root c- ‘to be, exist’. Underlyingly the verb root is kiy- or kit- as shown in the sentential examples in (14).

(14a)  ɪʃaʔ ʔaye ʔica
          ḫa-ʔ  aye   i=kiy-a
3SGM.PRO-NOM here 3=be-IPF.FUT
‘He is here.’

(14b)  ɪʃeennaʔ ʔaye ikitta
          ḫeenna-ʔ  aye  i=kit-t-a
3SGF.PRO-NOM here 3=be-3F-IPF.FUT
‘She is here.’

The nouns caattaa ‘life’ < c-aaɗ-ta > and acuunna (a woman’s personal name), the interjection (see Chapter 13) hec, which is used to chase away a cow or ox, also contain a single /c/.

The occurrence of /c/ as a geminate consonant is also quite limited in verbs as well as in nouns. There are only two verb roots I know of in which it occurs as geminate:  ḥaccad- ‘to stink, smell bad’ and  ḥoccad- ‘to work, do’. The latter verb root is also pronounced as  ḥoʄʄad- (cf. Oromo ḥoʤʤad- ‘to work’). In nouns, there are certain proper names in which /c/ occurs as a geminate. Except
for the nominals χaccumaa ‘stinking, smelling bad’ and hocca ‘work’ derived from the verb roots χaccaɗ- ‘to stink, smell bad’ and hoccaɗ- ‘to work, do’, respectively, I could not find any other nouns with a geminate /c/. The following is an exhaustive list of the proper names I know of with geminate /c/.

(15) kaccanna a woman’s personal name  
kaccitti a woman’s personal name  
kaccuunu a man’s personal name  
kaccaawwa a woman’s personal name  
paaccaa a male or female person’s name

(16) /f/ is a palatal implosive.

folta ‘blind person’  
facaa ‘local beer’  
kaajaa ‘money’  
marjaa ‘hip flesh (human)’

(17) /ɲ/ is a palatal nasal voiced.

naapja ‘tomato’  
aapa ‘enemy’  
kuupata ‘gnat’

(18) /ʃ/ is a palatal voiceless fricative.

fehta ‘grass snake’  
ʃaaɓɓaa ‘stretcher’  
piʃaa ‘water’  
χarʃa ‘beans’

(19) /y/ is a palatal glide voiced.

yaaya type of bead  
yoooyta ‘jackal’  
taahayta ‘sand’  
torrayta ‘locust’

(20) /k/ is a velar voiceless plain stop.

kerja ‘thief’  
kirra ‘river’  
raaka ‘old woman’  
maakaa ‘snake’
(21) /ç/ is a uvular implosive.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>çayranta</td>
<td>‘leopard’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çapaleeta</td>
<td>‘monkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telçayta</td>
<td>lizard species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fæcëta</td>
<td>tree species</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(22) /χ/ is a uvular voiceless fricative.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χolaa</td>
<td>‘hot drink made mainly from coffee leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χala</td>
<td>‘yesterday’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moχna</td>
<td>‘rocky place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?arχatta</td>
<td>‘lower part of homestead’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(23) /ʔ/ is a glottal stop.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daʔta</td>
<td>‘butter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paʔatta</td>
<td>tree species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iʃuʔ</td>
<td>‘also’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(24) /h/ is a glottal voiceless approximant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>harreeta</td>
<td>‘donkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hotaarta</td>
<td>acacia tree species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laha</td>
<td>‘ram’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oha</td>
<td>‘fodder’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.2. (Near) minimal pairs

Below I show place and manner opposition between plain stops and implosives. I refrain from providing evidence for opposition in manner of articulation between plain stops and fricatives, plain stops and nasals, etc., but such oppositions can be found in the language.

Opposition in place of articulation

Plain voiceless stops /p, t, c, k, ʔ/

From the series of the plain stops, /p, t, k/ are found contrastive in word-initial and medial positions as shown in (25a) and (25b), respectively.

(25a) paka  ‘half’
      taka  ‘small birds that fly together and eat crops’
      kakaa ‘comb (of honey)’
(25b) kapaa ‘near, beside’
kataa ‘age grading system’
kaka ‘comb (of honey)’

Implosives /ɓ, ɗ, ʄ, ʛ/

(26) /ɓ/ and /ɗ/ haabuta a children’s game
     haadita ‘load, burden’
     /ɓ/ and /ʄ/ kaaba man’s name
     kaajaa ‘money’
     /ɓ/ and /ʛ/ lebi ‘kick (many times/things)!’
     leći ‘smear (many times)!’
     /ʄ/ and /ʛ/ đakara ‘old coin token’
     jakara ‘piece of old cloth’
     /ʄ/ and /ʛ/ đarta ‘lie (untruth)’
     çarta ‘firstborn son’
     /ʛ/ and /ʄ/ foraa ‘coin purse’
     çforaa ‘trees’

Nasals /m, n, p/

(27) /m/ and /n/ maalaa ‘cutting crops randomly’
     naalaa ‘spoilt behaviour’
     /m/ and /p/ maraa ‘hillside’
     nøaraa ‘contention, threat’
     irma ‘wheat/barley stalk’
     irña ‘gum’
     /n/ and /p/ napa ‘soot’
     nøapa ‘enemy’

Plain voiceless stops and implosives

(28) /p/ and /ɓ/ kapa ‘near’
     kaɓa ‘canal’
/t/ and /d/  
tanka  sorghum species
danka  ‘pharynx’
tuuta  ‘festival after crop harvest’
tuuda  ‘pillar’

/c/ and /ʃ/  
caattaa  ‘life, living’ < caaɗ-taa>
faatta  ‘thorn’

/k/ and /ɗ/  
lekaa  ‘congested sprouts’
leɗaa  ‘loan (of money)’

2.1.3. Gemination

All consonants may appear geminate. Geminate consonants occur only in word-medial position. In addition to geminate consonants in lexical roots, gemination can arise grammatically. As we shall see shortly, a substitution of a non-geminate consonant for a geminate counterpart may bring about a semantic difference in lexical items. Grammatically, geminate consonants may mark plural number (see 4.2.3.)

Geminate consonants function as ambisyllabic segments, appearing as a coda of a preceding syllable and the onset of the following syllable (see 2.4.2). As mentioned in the introduction, geminate consonants are written by doubling the symbol (e.g. consonant /t/ in apitta ‘fire’).

Below I provide (near) minimal pairs consisting of geminate and non-geminate consonants. Where I lack nominal examples, I provide imperative verbs or simple sentences with intransitive verbs.

(29) /p/ and /pp/  
kapaa  ‘near’
kappaa  ‘wheat’

/t/ and /tt/  
aataa  ‘culture’
aattaa  form of address for an elder sibling

/k/ and /kk/  
hikaa  ‘art of building huts’
ihikkaa  ‘stars’

/ʔ/ and /ʔʔ/  
iʔanti  ‘She went.’
iʔʔanti  ‘You (SG) went.’

/d/ and /dd/  
hidana  root crop species

2 faatta has a variant with glottal stop /ʔ/: faʔatta.
Except for the glottal stop, all consonant phonemes occur in word-initial position underlingly. As we shall see latter, the glottal stop is inserted word initially to avoid onsetless syllables. All consonant phonemes occur in word-medial and intervocalic positions. Only a few lexical items, mainly numerals,
contain consonants in word final position. However, all the consonant pho-
nemes occur in word final position in ideophones (Chapter 13). In what fol-
lows, the distributions of consonants in word-initial, word-medial (i.e., in con-
sonant clusters), in intervocalic and word-final positions are discussed. Exam-
pies of geminate consonants are also provided. C stands for “consonant” and V
for “vowel”.

Plain stops /p, t, k, ?, c/

All the plain stops occur word-initially. /t/ and /c/ occur only as a second
member of a consonant cluster, while /ʔ/ occurs only as a first member in a
consonant cluster. The rest of the plain stops occur in word medial position
preceding or following another consonant. All the plain stops occur as gemi-
nate and intervocally. These distributions are shown in table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>-C</td>
<td>C-</td>
<td>V-V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>poorta</td>
<td>χapnaa</td>
<td>kilpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘barley’</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>tawna</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>farta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘bell’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>karitta</td>
<td>mikta</td>
<td>karkaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘belly’</td>
<td>‘right hand’</td>
<td>‘beehive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʔ/</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>yoʔmatta</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘millstone’</td>
<td>‘sp. of cactus’</td>
<td>‘You (SG) went.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/c/</td>
<td>caattaa</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>incaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘life’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘I exist’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Distribution of plain stops

Implosives /ɓ, ŧ, ʄ, ʛ/

All implosive consonants occur in word initial position. /ɓ/ is the rarest in this
position. Except for /ʄ/, they also occur in word medial position either preceed-
ing or following another consonant. All of them occur intervocally as well
as geminate. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for the distributions of
these phonemes.

3 χapnaa is a forest that belongs to the clan chief’s family, mainly around their
homestead.
Table 3: Distribution of implosives

Nasals /m, n, ŋ/

All the nasal phonemes occur in word initial, word medial and intervocalic positions. In word medial position, /m/ and /n/ can precede or follow other consonants, but /ŋ/ occurs only as a second member. All nasals can appear geminated. /ŋ/ as a non-geminate consonant is very rare. Examples that show these distributions of the nasal phonemes are given in table 4.

Table 4: Distribution of nasals

Of the three nasal phonemes, only /n/ occurs in a word final position in (two) cardinal numbers given in (30).

(30) ken ‘five’
     kudan ‘ten’

Fricatives /f, s, ž, ʃ, h/

All fricative consonants occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. Except /h/, all fricatives may precede or follow other consonants. /h/ occurs only as a first member in a consonant cluster. They all appear geminate,
though geminate /h/ is very rare in lexical items. There is one word containing /h/ in word final position: leh ‘six’. Other fricatives are not attested in word final position.

### Medial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>V-V</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/f/</td>
<td>farta</td>
<td>konfa</td>
<td>kaфа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td>‘bone’</td>
<td>‘shorts’</td>
<td>‘clan’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>sakа</td>
<td>kawsа</td>
<td>piisa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘blessing’</td>
<td>‘partridge’</td>
<td>‘beard’</td>
<td>‘all’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ʃ/</td>
<td>faabbaа</td>
<td>koʃkoʃa</td>
<td>teʃfaа</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stretcher’</td>
<td>‘(chicken’s) comb’</td>
<td>‘elephantiasis’</td>
<td>‘water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/χ/</td>
<td>χolmaа</td>
<td>moχna</td>
<td>maχxa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘neck’</td>
<td>‘rocky area’</td>
<td>‘flood’</td>
<td>‘fence’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>harreeta</td>
<td>pohmayta</td>
<td>-----</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘donkey’</td>
<td>‘chameleon’</td>
<td>‘sand’</td>
<td>‘breath’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Distribution of fricatives

### Liquids /l, r/

Both liquids occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. In a consonant cluster, they can precede or follow other consonants. Rarely, they occur in word final position, and the existing instances are cardinal numbers. These distributions are illustrated in table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sound</th>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>V-V</th>
<th>Geminate</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>laκki</td>
<td>hawla</td>
<td>dila</td>
<td>tolloʔta</td>
<td>sakal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘two’</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
<td>‘grave’</td>
<td>‘farm’</td>
<td>‘hump’</td>
<td>‘nine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>roopa</td>
<td>marrinaa</td>
<td>dayranta</td>
<td>kirra</td>
<td>afur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rain’</td>
<td>‘intestine’</td>
<td>‘leopard’</td>
<td>‘year’</td>
<td>‘river’</td>
<td>‘four’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Distribution of liquids

### Glides /w, y/

Both glides occur in word-initial, medial and intervocalic positions. In consonant clusters, they occur only as a first member; they do not occur in word-final position in lexical items. Both glides may occur as geminate. Illustrative lexical examples are given in the following table.
2.2. Vowel phonemes

Konso has five short vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ and five corresponding long vowels /ii, ee, aa, oo, uu/. For the production of the vowel phonemes, we identify three heights of the tongue (high, mid and low) and three places of articulation or parts of the tongue: front, centre and back. Table 8 presents the vowel phonemes of the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Centre</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>uu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ee</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>aa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8: Konso vowel phonemes

Both the short and long vowels occur in word-medial and final positions. Short vowels are phonetically realised with a whisper in utterance-final position. All vowels occur word initially. Most nouns end in the vowel /a/.

2.2.1. Description of vowels

Vowels approximate cardinal vowels. The following is the description of the vowel phonemes.

(31) /i/ high, front vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Konso word</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ilta</td>
<td>‘eye’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dínata</td>
<td>‘rib’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiraa</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/e/ mid front vowel

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Konso word</th>
<th>English meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekerta</td>
<td>‘olive’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parre</td>
<td>‘tomorrow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kere?ta</td>
<td>‘thieves’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2. Contrast of short vowels

Short vowels may occur in a contrastive distribution as the (near) minimal pairs in (32) show. Contrast in word-final position is limited. Final vowels in verbs have a grammatical function, and nouns end in a.

(32) /i/ and /e/  
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kira</td>
<td>‘daily labour for money’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keraa</td>
<td>‘thief’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiraa</td>
<td>‘liver’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turaa</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hibita</td>
<td>‘lip’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>habta</td>
<td>‘border; foreign country’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xaʔnaa</td>
<td>‘rise, ascension’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xoʔnaa</td>
<td>‘favourite’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ferta</td>
<td>‘small metal tool’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>farta</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>feraa</td>
<td>‘harvesting’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furaa</td>
<td>‘padlock, key’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ekta</td>
<td>‘tail’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oktaa</td>
<td>‘pot’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.3. Contrast of long vowels

Like the short vowels, long vowels occur in a contrastive distribution as the following pairs show.

| /ai/ and /au/ | faroota | ‘omen, fortune, luck’ |
|              | furoota | type of bead          |
| /a/ and /o/  | daʔayta | tree species          |
|              | doʔayta | ‘cattle skin for carrying things’ |
| /u/ and /o/  | utaa    | ‘faeces, droppings (of birds)’ |
|              | otaa    | ‘insult, curse’       |

| /ii/ and /ee/ | miila | ‘runny honey’ |
|               | meela | ‘animal body part (e.g. leg)’ |
| /ii/ and /uu/ | diika | ‘blood’ |
|               | duuka | ‘yoghurt’ |
| /ii/ and /aa/ | piisa | ‘all’ |
|               | paasa | plant species |
| /ii/ and /oo/ | fiʔaa | ‘cursing’ |
|               | foʔaa | ‘roughly ground grain’ |
| /aa/ and /uu/ | ɗiʔaadدا | ‘cow/ox cage, barn’ |
|               | ɗiʔuudدا | type of grain store |
| /aa/ and /ee/ | yaala | ‘labour, toiling’ |
|               | yeela | ‘field along a river bank’ |
| /aa/ and /oo/ | kaʔaat‌a | ‘shade’ |
|               | koʔoot‌a | ‘anus, bottom’ |
| /uu/ and /ee/ | kuur- | ‘to choke’ |
|               | keer- | ‘to run [SG]’ |
| /uu/ and /oo/ | puulluta | ‘dough (fermented flour)’ |
|               | poolluta | ‘hole in the ground’ |
| /ee/ and /oo/ | neeɗɗuta | ‘hatred’ |
|               | nooɗɗuta | ‘bribe’ |
2.2.4. Vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic. Below, I show the phonemic status of vowel length by providing minimal pairs for short vowels and their corresponding long vowels.

(34) /i/ and /ii/  
    pisa  ‘flower’  
    piisa ‘all’
    
    /e/ and /ee/  
    χela  ‘age mate’  
    χeela  ‘border, boundary’
    
    /u/ and /uu/  
    furaa  ‘pad lock, key’  
    fuuraa ‘fear’
    
    /o/ and /oo/  
    foraa  ‘jumping’  
    foora  ‘thin stick to punish children with’
    
    /a/ and /aa/  
    saraa  ‘plunder, looting’  
    saaraa ‘poem’

In word final position, we find vowel length contrast of /a/ and /aa/ as shown in (35).

(35) /a/ and /aa/  
    dila  ‘field, farm’  
    dilaa ‘charcoal’
    
    moora  ‘fat’  
    mooraa  ‘public meeting place’
    
    χoora  ‘gathering’  
    χooraa ‘appointment’

2.2.5. Vowel co-occurrences

In the following table, I present the possible sequences of vowels in lexical items: the vowels on the left-most column occur preceding the vowels on the top row. The vowels may occur short or long.
### Table 9: Possible sequences of vowels in lexical items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>i</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>u</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>nama</td>
<td>‘person’</td>
<td>mayeena</td>
<td>‘barren cow’</td>
<td>karitta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>seyta</td>
<td>‘plant sp.’</td>
<td>sereeruta</td>
<td>‘diarrhoea’</td>
<td>seettita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>mikta</td>
<td>‘right hand’</td>
<td>pileeta</td>
<td>‘insect that feeds on moistened leather’</td>
<td>irrutta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>toma</td>
<td>‘bowl’</td>
<td>pokkeeta</td>
<td>‘type of shorts’</td>
<td>soo kita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>kuma</td>
<td>‘thousand’</td>
<td>kulleeta</td>
<td>‘hat’</td>
<td>cupitta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. **Phonotactics**

We have already seen that consonant clusters do occur, but only in word-medial position. As we will see in 2.5 below, syllable onsets and codas can be filled by one consonant, and therefore consonant clusters can only occur when a closed syllable is followed by another syllable. Onsets and codas can be filled by any consonant but not all consonant sequences are allowed. The restrictions are discussed in this section. Moreover, the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted as part of the general constraint against a sequence of three consonants, including a sequence of a geminate consonant and a non-geminate consonant. In what follows, I will present permissible sequences of consonants.

Plain stops may be followed by nasals, fricatives or the liquid /l/ or another plain stop. In this latter case, the first member is either a glottal stop or a bilabial plain stop and the second member is the alveolar plain stop. Plain stops do not precede implosives, glides, or the liquid /r/. Table 10 contains example words in which a plain stop is a first member of the cluster.
Table 10: Pain stop as a first member of a consonant cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Plain stop</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sataʔta</td>
<td>chæpn̩aa</td>
<td>ɪpsaa</td>
<td>sipla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lung’</td>
<td>‘possession’</td>
<td>‘light’</td>
<td>‘metal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apteenta</td>
<td>ɪap̩naa</td>
<td>ɣepʃi</td>
<td>ɣikla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘snow’</td>
<td>‘possession’</td>
<td>‘Break (it)’</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɣaʔnaa</td>
<td>ɣap̩naa</td>
<td>ɣepʃi</td>
<td>ɣikla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘rising’</td>
<td>‘possession’</td>
<td>‘Break (it)’</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>takma</td>
<td>teʔʃaa</td>
<td>ɣepʃi</td>
<td>ɣikla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘honey’</td>
<td>‘elephantiasis’</td>
<td>‘Break (it)’</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yoʔmaa</td>
<td>kiʔsaa</td>
<td>ɣepʃi</td>
<td>ɣikla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘grindstone’</td>
<td>‘fireplace’</td>
<td>‘Break (it)’</td>
<td>‘elbow’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Implosives may be followed by a plain stop or a liquid or by the fricatives /ʃ/ and /s/. Clusters with fricatives as second members only arise from suffixation: /ʃ/ is a causative suffix (see Section 6.1.1) while /s/ is part of a demonstrative suffix -siʔ (see Section 4.8). Illustrative examples are given in table 11.

Table 11: Implosive as a first member of a consonant cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Implosive</th>
<th>Plain stop</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>saraɓta</td>
<td>počla</td>
<td>ɣiːʃi</td>
<td>‘Hang!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘calf (leg)’</td>
<td>‘chief’</td>
<td>‘Hang!’</td>
<td>‘Hang!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudkahanta</td>
<td>folaːloc̩iʔta</td>
<td>ɣoːc̩iʔta</td>
<td>‘Divert!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plant species</td>
<td>‘claw’</td>
<td>‘Divert!’</td>
<td>‘Divert!’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saraɓsiʔ</td>
<td>loːćiʔ</td>
<td>ɣoːc̩iʔta</td>
<td>‘this calf (of the leg)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘this calf (of the leg)’</td>
<td>‘this leg’</td>
<td>‘this leg’</td>
<td>‘this leg’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nasals may be followed by a plain stop (except for the glottal stop), an implosive (except for the bilabial implosive) or a fricative (only the labio-dental, alveolar and palato-alveolar fricatives). The palatal nasal never occurs as a first member a consonant cluster. Note that the bilabial nasal need not be homorganic with the stop (plain or implosive).
Table 12: Nasal as a first member of a consonant cluster

Fricatives may be followed by a fricative, plain stop, implosive or nasal. A liquid or glide does not follow a fricative. And as can be seen from the following table, not all fricatives, plain stops, implosives or nasals follow a fricative. There are no ŋn or sn clusters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Plain stop</th>
<th>Implosive</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kanta</td>
<td>sindaa</td>
<td>konña</td>
<td>'goat/sheep dropings'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaŋkita</td>
<td>lafta</td>
<td>jalaŋfalleeta</td>
<td>plant species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋampirteeta</td>
<td>faŋʃala</td>
<td>fahfüla</td>
<td>'splinter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taamta</td>
<td>dumfuma</td>
<td>kuprumʃaa</td>
<td>'droppings (of goats, sheep)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13: Fricative as a first member of a consonant cluster

In some Amharic loan words, plain stops preceding /t/ in a cluster become /f/ as in (36).

(36) taftara <Amh. dəbtər ʻexercise book’>
tofloritta <Amh. doktar ʻdoctor’>

A liquid may be followed by a plain stop, implosive, nasal or a fricative as shown in table 14.
Table 14: Liquid as a first member of a consonant cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>Plain stop</th>
<th>Implosive</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kilpa ‘knee’</td>
<td>baalbaala ‘potbelly’</td>
<td>χolmaa ‘neck’</td>
<td>ψolf ‘earring’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tuulta ‘back’</td>
<td>ipaldi ‘It is wide.’</td>
<td>urmalaa ‘market’</td>
<td>olsaa ‘dream’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alkitta ‘sisal’</td>
<td>telcayta ‘lizard’</td>
<td>nirfaa ‘hair’</td>
<td>malga ‘flood’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arpa ‘elephant’</td>
<td>sarbaa ‘leg calves’</td>
<td>marsaa ‘buttocks’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaharta ‘ewe’</td>
<td>pardoota mongoose species</td>
<td>karsatta tree species</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murkuja ‘fish’</td>
<td>tardaa ‘ash’</td>
<td>xaryaraya ‘warthog’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marja ‘hip flesh’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marqinaa ‘intestine’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Glides do not form a second member of a consonant cluster containing implosives or fricatives or liquids. Similarly, liquids do not follow nasals or fricatives in a consonant cluster. These can be seen from the examples in table 15.

Table 15: Glide as a first member of a consonant cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Glide</th>
<th>Plain stop</th>
<th>Implosive</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Fricative</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kawpa ‘beside’</td>
<td>sawdatta ‘clan name’</td>
<td>tawna ‘bell’</td>
<td>yewsi ‘this year’</td>
<td>dawraa ‘prohibition’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawkawa ‘jaw’</td>
<td>haydaa ‘meat fried with butter’</td>
<td>χayna’taa ‘thread’</td>
<td>kawsa ‘beard’</td>
<td>sayleeta ‘mane’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aykitta grass species</td>
<td>deymatta ‘irony’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aylla ‘sowing (seeds)’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.4. Lexical variations

There is a remarkable but ill-understood lexical variation for a limited number of lexemes. Both consonant as well as vowel phonemes occur in lexical variation, but there is no phonological rule for their distribution. The phenomenon is not productive and may involve phonemes that belong to different categories. Probably it is a result of double reflexes of the same original root, a historical accident. Below I present an exhaustive list of lexical items that involve lexical variations of consonants. The variation involves both non-geminate consonants (table 16) and geminate consonants (table 17).
| /ʃ/ and /dʃ/ | fooc̪ʃita  
doooc̪ʃita | ‘mud’ |
| /t/ and /d̪t/ | darta  
darda | ‘lie, untruth’ |
| /t/ and /n/ | taakite  
taakine | ‘otherwise’ |
| /ʃ/ and /l/ | haaruta  
haaluta  
ʔarčuuc̪aa  
ʔalčuuc̪aa | ‘revenge’  
type of bean |
| /ʃ/ and /k/ | furtaa  
kurtta | ‘(woman’s) cotton belt’ |
| /ʃ/ and /h/ | hiparaata | ‘bat (animal)’ |
| /ʃ/ and /m/ | kurruufʃaa  
kurruumʃaa | ‘droppings (of sheep or goats)’ |
| /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ | χorrooɓita  
χorroofita | cockroach species |
| /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ | pawraa  
pawraa | type of farm tool |
| /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ | ?are  
ʔaye | ‘here’ |
| /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ | kompalta  
χompalta | ‘cactus’ |
| /ʃ/ and /ʃ/ | kiwwayta  
ʃiwwayta | ‘calabash with cord’ |

Table 16: Lexical variations involving single consonants

---

4 taakine or taakite also involves vowel variation in the first syllable: tookine or tookite.
Table 17: Lexical variation involving geminate consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geminate Consonants</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ʃʃ/ and /cc/</td>
<td>ʧoraʃʃa</td>
<td>‘medicine’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʧoraacca</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɓɓ/ and /ʔʔ/</td>
<td>leebbuta</td>
<td>type of dance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>leeʔʔuta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dd/ and /nn/</td>
<td>helaadda</td>
<td>‘earlier this day’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>helaananna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tt/ and /nn/</td>
<td>paraatta</td>
<td>‘next year’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paraanna</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tt/ and /ʃʃ/</td>
<td>laaadʃʃtta</td>
<td>‘ram’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>laaadʃʃja</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18: Lexical variations involving gemination

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geminate Consonants</th>
<th>Examples</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/p/ and /pp/</td>
<td>teepaa</td>
<td>‘rope’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>teepaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/χ/ and /χχ/</td>
<td>ɗeeχa</td>
<td>‘lawsuit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ɗeeχχa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/ and /rr/</td>
<td>diiraa</td>
<td>‘men’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>diirraa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuparaa</td>
<td>‘girls’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tuparraa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20 presents the list of lexical items involving variation for short vowels.

---

5 The other form for ‘ram’ is laha. Notice that laha is irregular and that the itta of laaadʃʃtta cannot be considered to be suffix here (but see 4.2.1). The ʃʃ of the form laaadʃʃja is not a suffix at all.
Table 20: Lexical variations involving short vowels

| /i/ and /u/ | /ụɓɓoota/ | ‘sin’ |
| /i/ and /e/ | /inanta/ | ‘girl’ |
| /i/ and /a/ | /jiwwayta/ | ‘calabash with strip to sling on the shoulder’ |
| /i/ and /e/ | /innayya/ | ‘young animal, bird’ |
| /a/ and /a/ | /ʃiwwayta/ | ‘calabash with strip to sling on the shoulder’ |
| /e/ and /a/ | /ɲelʛaa/ | ‘young animals, birds’ |

Table 21: Lexical variation involving long vowels

| /aa/ and /oo/ | /taakite/ | ‘otherwise’ |
| /aa/ and /ee/ | /pottaata/ | ‘pumpkin’ |
| /oo/ and /ii/ | /siinaa/ | ‘nose’ |

2.5. Syllable Structure

Konso has both open and closed syllables. The onset and coda cannot be occupied by more than one consonant phoneme. All syllables begin with a consonant. This means that the onset is always filled. All consonant phonemes may occur in the coda position. Geminate consonants function as ambisyllabic segments, appearing as a coda of a preceding syllable and as an onset of a following syllable. The nucleus position of a syllable may have a short vowel or a long vowel.

We can formulate the following four possible syllable structures.

\[
\text{(37)} \quad \text{CV} \\
\text{CVV} \\
\text{CVC} \\
\text{CVVC}
\]

The object pronoun form of the second person singular ke is the only independent word with a CV syllable structure. Similarly, except for the numerals ken ‘five’ and leh ‘six’ with a CVC structure, an independent word consists minimally of two syllables.
2.5.1. Syllable patterns in nouns

Noun roots always add a suffix or a terminal vowel (a, aa). All noun roots are monosyllabic. Below, I show the syllable patterns of nominal stems, since the addition of a suffix or a terminal vowel alters the canonical shape of the syllable patterns. Nominal stems may have disyllabic (38a), trisyllabic (38b) or four syllabic (38c) canonical patterns.

| (38a) | C₁V.C₂V |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | pora    | 'road' |  |  |
|       | tika    | 'house' |  |  |
| C₁VC₂.C₃V | dahta | 'firefly' |  |  |
|       | harka   | 'hand' |  |  |
|       | tawna   | 'bell' |  |  |
|       | χolfa   | 'earing' |  |  |

| (38b) | C₁V.C₂VV |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | taraa  | 'ash' |  |  |
|       | dfilaa | 'charcoal' |  |  |
|       | kosaa  | 'granary' |  |  |
|       | tiraa  | 'liver' |  |  |

| (38c) | C₁VC₂.C₃VV |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | karmaa | 'lion' |  |  |
|       | kandaa | plant species |  |  |
|       | karkaa | 'beehive' |  |  |
|       | χirfaa | 'hair' |  |  |

| (38b) | C₁VC₂.C₃VV |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | fabbaa | 'weed' |  |  |
|       | kappaa | 'wheat' |  |  |

| (38c) | C₁VV.C₂V |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | miira  | 'anger' |  |  |
|       | kuufa  | 'manure, pile of cow dung' |  |  |
|       | moora  | 'fat' |  |  |

| (38b) | C₁VVC₂.C₃V |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | moonta | 'sky' |  |  |
|       | poorta | 'barley' |  |  |
|       | tooktta | 'profit' |  |  |

| (38c) | C₁VVC₂.C₃V |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | mootta | 'friend' |  |  |
|       | teetta | 'threshing ground' |  |  |

| (38b) | C₁VV.C₂VV |  |  |  |
|-------|---------|  |  |  |
|       | maakaa | 'snake' |  |  |
|       | mooraa | 'public place' |  |  |
|       | tooraa | 'opposition' |  |  |
C$_1$VVC$_2$.C$_{2,3}$VV

aappaa  ‘father’
aakkaa  ‘grandfather’
paanka  ‘machete’
waaaka  ‘wooden grave monument’
aanna  ‘milk’

(38b)  C$_1$.V.C$_2$.VC$_3$.C$_{3,4}$V

çìipitta  ‘finger’
apitta  ‘fire’
ilkitta  ‘tooth’
dakinta  ‘body, skin’
sata?ta  ‘heart’
kollatta  ‘hide’

C$_1$.V.C$_2$.VV.C$_3$.V

mukuuka  ‘wooden tool for weaving’
dukeeta  ‘wood dust produced by wood-boring insects’

C$_1$.VC$_2$.C$_{2,3}$VV.C$_4$.V

silpoota  ‘hoe’
talteeta  ‘she-goat’
pottaata  ‘pumpkin’
kulleeta  ‘cape’

C$_1$.VV.C$_2$.V.C$_3$.V

dìusuta  ‘fart’
mukkuta  ‘frog’
paaìjuta  ‘sideburns’

C$_1$.VVC$_2$.C$_2$.V.C$_3$.V

poolluta  ‘a hole in the ground’
maammata  ‘aunt’
laacìjuta  ‘bread’

C$_1$.VC$_2$.C$_3$.V.C$_5$.C$_4$.V

partupta  ‘September’
parmanta  ‘split between buttocks’


halkeetta  ‘night’

C$_1$.V.C$_2$.VV.C$_3$.C$_3$.VV

pakaannaa  edible tuber species


cìinaìjta  ‘rib’
maraìjta  grass species
χolaìjta  cactus species
2.5.2. Syllable patterns in verb roots

Except a handful of verb roots (see (47) below), verbal roots are closed syllables with monosyllabic (the majority) or disyllabic templates. I could not find an underived trisyllabic verb root. In (39), I provide the canonical shapes of the verb roots arranged in their frequency of occurrence, from most to least frequent.

(39)  
CVC-  
CVVC-  
CVCC-  
CVVCC-  
CVVCV(V)C-  
CVCCV(V)C-  
CVVCCVVC-  
CVC[i]-

Below, I give illustrative examples for the canonical shapes presented in (39). The verb roots in (40a) have the CVC- structure whereas those in (40b) have the CVVC- structure.

(40a)  
C1VC2  
ɗam-  ‘to eat’  
muk-  ‘to sleep’  
ʛal-  ‘to slaughter’  
ʛot-  ‘to dig’

(40b)  
C1VVC2  
ʄiiʄ  ‘to curse’  
ɗaaʃ  ‘to give’  
keer  ‘to run[SG]’  
puuf  ‘to spray’  
pooy-  ‘to cry’

The verb roots in (41) have the CVCC- structure. The CC of the verb root structure can be a geminate consonant (41a) or a cluster of consonants (41b).

(41a)  
C1VC2C2  
mitt-  ‘to sever, pick (a fruit)[SG]’  
kull-  ‘to enter’  
pidɗ-  ‘to buy[SG]’  
ʧʧʧ-  ‘to destroy, demolish’

(41b)  
C1VC2C3  
tarp-  ‘to cross, bypass’  
teym-  ‘to forget’  
kirp-  ‘to sing, dance’  
erk-  ‘to send’  
ɗink-  ‘to kiss’  
hawl-  ‘to bury’
The verb roots in (42) have the CVVCC- syllable pattern. The CC is a geminate consonant. CVVCC verb root structures in which CC is a cluster of consonants have not been attested.

(42) $C_1VVC_2C_2$
  
  - $kaɓɓ$- ‘to be jealous’
  - $neeɗɗ$- ‘to hate’
  - $puul$- ‘to ferment’
  - $paayy$- ‘to start’
  - $tuul$- ‘to cross over’

The verb roots in (43a) have the CVCVC- structure while those in (43b) have the CVCVVC- structure.

(43a) $C_1V.C_2VC_3$
  
  - $opay$- ‘to give light’
  - $dakay$- ‘to hear’
  - $deham$- ‘to advise’
  - $napal$- ‘to spoil’

(43b) $C_1V.C_2VVC_3$
  
  - $oraap$- ‘to fetch water’
  - $malaal$- ‘to be unable to’
  - $aʔaaw$- ‘to roast’
  - $padaaw$- ‘to add, increase’
  - $cαιniin$- ‘to bite’
  - $suraaw$- ‘to hurt’

The verb roots in (44) have the CVCCVC- structure where the CC is a consonant cluster (44a) or a geminate (44b):

(44a) $C_1VC_2.C_3VVC_4$
  
  - $ancal$- ‘to cook’
  - $marmad$- ‘to deny, betray’

(44b) $C_1VC_2.C_2VVC_3$
  
  - $immak$- ‘to fill’
  - $ullup$- ‘to cry for help’
  - $fajcil$- ‘to stick to’
  - $caddaap$- ‘to catch up with’
  - $tugturiir$- ‘to push’
  - $haddiun$- ‘to hold (a child)’
  - $cappaaj$- ‘to swell’

The following verb root has a canonical shape CVV.CVVC.

(45) $C_1VV.C_2VVC_3$
  
  - $tiitaaw$- ‘to return’

The verb roots in (46) have the shape CVVCCVVC-. This canonical shape of verb roots is the longest, and, as we can see from the examples below, it seems
that the verb root is a full reduplication of CVVC. However, the CVVC- does
not occur alone to give the meaning of the whole verbal root.

(46)  C1VVC2.C3VVC4-  ç̓aarc̓aar-  ‘to help, assist’
      ç̓aatʃaat-  ‘to chase closely’
      taaltaal-  ‘to stagger’

So far, all the canonical shapes of the verb roots that we have seen are C final.
However, a small set of verb roots have an optional final V. The optional final
vowel is always [i]. In (47), I give a near-exhaustive list of such verb roots.

(47)  as[i]-  ‘to wait’
      ɗaʔt[i]-  ‘to smear, paint’
      pir[i]-  ‘to finish’
      pal[i]-  ‘to ripen; ready to eat’
      ker[i]-  ‘to grow old’
      par[i]-  ‘to sunrise; day break’
      faʔ[ti]-  ‘to pack a load’
      heer[i]-  ‘to buy[PL]’
      raaʔ[i]-  ‘to hang down’
      sooh[i]-  ‘to twist together (e.g. thread)’
      keeʔ[i]-  ‘to belch’
      kaaʔ[i]-  ‘to tear, split’

The above exceptional set of verb roots acquire the canonical shape CVCV
when an affix which is, or which begins with, a consonant follows the verb
root. For example, in (48), the verb root ker- ‘grow old’ gains a CVCV struc-
ture because it is followed by the third person feminine gender agreement
maker -t in (48a) and the present imperfective suffix -ni in (48b). When the
verb root is followed by an affix that is, or begins with, a vowel, the canonical
shape of the verb root becomes CVC as in (49).

(48a)  alleetasiʔ ?ikeriti
       allecta-siʔ  i = keri-t-i
       hut-DEF.M/F  3 = grow.old-3F-PF
       ‘The hut got old.’

(48b)  ç̓oroosiniʔ dëtto ᵇ ikerini
c̓aara-osiniʔ  dëtto  i = keri-ni
       trees-DEM.P  quickly  3 = be.old-IPF.PRES
       ‘These trees grew old quickly.’

(49a)  namasiʔ  ?ikeray
       nama-siʔ  i = ker-ay
       man-DEF.M/F  3 = be.old-PF[3M]
       ‘The man grew old.’
In the following examples, I show the opposition between the verb roots ker[i]-
\(\text{‘to grow old’}\) and fer- \(\text{‘to harvest’}\). The examples show that the [i] of the verb
root ker[i] cannot be regarded to be an epenthetic vowel (see 2.6).

\[(50a)\]  
\[\text{iʃeenna? } \text{ʔikeriti}\]  
\[\text{Keenna-ʔ } i=\text{keri-t-i}\]  
\[3\text{SGF.PRO-NOM } 3=\text{grow.old-3F-PF}\]  
\[\text{‘She grew old.’}\]

\[(50b)\]  
\[\text{iʃeenna? } \text{ʔunta-si? } \text{ʔiferti}\]  
\[\text{Keenna-ʔ } \text{unta-siʔ } i=\text{fer-t-i}\]  
\[3\text{SGF.PRO-NOM } \text{crop-DEF.M/F } 3=\text{harvest-3F-PF}\]  
\[\text{‘She harvested the crops.’}\]

The verb root c- \(\text{‘to be, exist’}\) seems to be an example of a verb root consisting
of a single consonants. This is the only example I found. However, when I
questioned the phonemic status of /c/ in 2.1.2, I also pointed out that underly-
ingly c- has the CVC verb root kiy- or kit-. Thus, I argue that there are no
verb roots consisting of single consonants in Konso.

2.6. Epenthesis and syllable sequences

An epenthetic vowel \(i\) is inserted as a resolution of a general constraint against
a sequence of three consonants. The insertion of the epenthetic vowel is mainly
observed in verbal roots with CC (geminate or consonant cluster) to which
verbal suffixes are added. In the following examples, the epenthetic vowel is
shown in the phonetic forms (first line) but not in the underlying forms (second
line).

\[(51a)\]  
\[\text{Apittu? } \text{ʔakalasiʔ } \text{ʔikulliʃay}\]  
\[\text{Apittu-ʔ } \text{akala-siʔ } i=\text{kull-f-jay}\]  
\[\text{Apittu-NOM } \text{sack-DEF.M/F } 3=\text{enter-DCAUS-PF[3M]}\]  
\[\text{‘Apittu put the sack in the house.’}\]

\[(51b)\]  
\[\text{inantasik kutasiʔ } \text{ʔiʔakkiti}\]  
\[\text{inanta-siʔ } \text{kuta-siʔ } i=\text{akk-t-i}\]  
\[\text{girl-DEF.M/F } \text{dog-DEF.M/F } 3=\text{see-3F-PF}\]  
\[\text{‘The girl saw the dog.’}\]
The strategy of inserting the epenthetic vowel i to prevent a sequence of three consonants is also attested in other Cushitic languages such as Oromo (Owens 1985:22), Diraytata (Wondwosen 2007:13), Gawwada (Geberew 2005:11), Ts’makko (Savá 2005:36) and Dhaasanac (Tosco 2001:53).

### 2.7. Phonological processes

In this section, I treat the phonological processes of inserting /ʔ/ to prevent onsetless syllables, as well as devoicing, assimilation, spirantisation and labialisation. These processes occur independently of the morphemes involved and independently of morphological structure. Phonological processes that are restricted to certain morphemes are discussed separately as morphophonological processes. The phonological process of inserting the epenthetic vowel i to avoid clusters of three consonants was already discussed in 2.6.

#### 2.7.1. Insertion of /ʔ/

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is inserted to the initial position of words that begin with vowels to avoid syllables with empty onsets. This can be seen from the following examples in (52).

(52a)  
\[
\text{antiʔ } \text{ʔapittu inʔakkay} \\
\text{anti-ʔ } \text{Apittu in = akk-ay} \\
1SG.PRO-NOM Apittor 1 = see-PF[3M] \\
\text{‘I saw Apitto.’}
\]

(52b)  
\[
\text{ifeennaʔ } \text{ifeʔtj} \\
\text{ifeenna-ʔ } \text{i = dey-t-i} \\
3SGF.PRO-NOM 3 = come-3F-PF \\
\text{‘She came.’}
\]
2.7.2. Devoicing

Short vowels as well as implosives can occur devoiced. The devoicing of short vowels occurs when they appear utterance final and have low tone, as shown in (53a-c). High-toned short vowels in utterance final position are not devoiced, as in (53d).

(53a) raakasiʔ imukti
    raaka-siʔ i=muk-t-i
    old.woman-DEF.M/F 3=sleep-3F-PF
    ‘The old woman slept.’

(53b) antik kulin aanq
    antiʔ kuli in aan-a
    1SG.PRO-NOM later = 1 go-IPF.FUT
    ‘I will go later.’

(53c) inɗammi
    in=ɗam-ni
    1 = eat-IPF.PRES
    ‘I eat (it).’

(53d) inɗammi
    in=ɗam-n-í
    3NEG = eat-NEG-PF
    ‘He/she/they did not eat (it).’

The phenomenon of devoicing short vowels in utterance final position has been reported for Oromo (Bender, et al. 1976:132, Stroomer 1995:15).

In Konso, implosives are devoiced when they occur as geminate, as shown in (54a). Remember that consonant clusters and geminate consonants occur only in word medial position. Single implosives do not occur devoiced, as the data in (54b) show.

(54a) /ʄaɓɓaa/ [ʄaɓɓa] ‘weed’
      /haddaa/ [hadda] ‘venom’
      /peeƙƙaa/ [peeƙƙa] ‘quarrel’
      /piʄʄitta/ [pifjitqa] crop species

(54b) ḡoyɾa ‘tree’
      koɗa ‘work’
      hanʄufaa ‘saliva’
      sarɓta ‘calf (of a leg)’
      daɓta ‘butter’
Except in the remainder of this chapter, I will not mark devoiced sounds in the subsequent chapters of this thesis.

2.7.3. Assimilation

As we shall see below, we find both progressive (anticipatory) and regressive assimilation. The sounds that involve phonological assimilation include the alveolar nasal /n/ and the plain stops /k/ and /p/.

The alveolar nasal as part of a lexical root or a grammatical morpheme shows progressive or regressive assimilation in place as well as voice. The assimilation may be partial or complete. Phoneme /n/ assimilates progressively in place of articulation to following plain stops, implosives and fricatives. In (55), I first give the allophones and the phonetic environments that trigger the assimilation of the phoneme /n/ in (55), and then provide illustrative examples in (56).

(55) [ŋ] before /k/
    [n] before uvulars /χ, ˯/ 
    [ŋ] before /θ/ 
    [ɲ] before palatals /c, ʃ, ʄ/ 
    [m] before /p/ and /ɓ/ in verbs

(56a) /ɗankaː/[ɗangaa] ‘throat’
     /paankaː/ [paangaa] ‘sword’
     /ponkora/ [pɔŋgora] ‘young man’

(56b) /ʄunχaa/ [ʄunχaa] ‘dense (e.g. forest)’
     /fanʄala/ [faŋgiːla] ‘splinter’
     /ʄoonʄita/ [ʄʊonʄitə] ‘throat’

(56c) /konfa/ [kɔnfa] ‘pocketless shorts’
     /ʄinfoota/ [ʄɪnfootə] ‘stick with metal end’

(56d) /hanʄufaa/ [hanʄufaa] ‘saliva’

(56e) impanŋ
     \text{in} = \text{pan-}n-\text{I}
     3\text{NEG} = \text{open-NEG-PF}
     ‘He/she/they did not open the door.’

The alveolar nasal /n/ as a morpheme (for example, marking the first person plural) or part of a morpheme (for example, part of the present imperfective morpheme (-ni)) regressively and completely assimilates in place and manner...
of articulation to one of these verb root final sounds m, l, r as can be seen from the following illustrative examples.

(57a)  \( \text{χαρʃasiʔ ?ινdание} \)
\( \chiarʃa-siʔ \quad in=dam-n-i \)
beans-DEF.M/F 1 = eat-1PL-PF
‘We ate the beans.’

(57b)  \( \text{ατtik καpπααsit τυμnи} \)
\( atti-ʔ \quad kappaa-siʔ=ʔiʔ \quad tum-ni \)
2SG.PRO-NOM wheat-DEF.M/F = 2 thresh-IPF.PRES
‘You (SG) are threshing the wheat.’

(58a)  \( \text{τικuπa κάllα} \)
\( tika-opa \quad kal-n-a \)
house-to return.home-1PL-OPT
‘Let’s go home.’

(58b)  \( \text{ʛoyraaςιl luukkαta iʔallи} \)
\( ʛoyra-asiiʔ \quad luukkata \quad i=ʔal-ni \)
tree-DEM.M/F fruit 3 = bear-IPF.PRES
‘This tree bears fruit.’

(59a)  \( \text{ʛoyraaςιm murrα} \)
\( ʛoyra-asiiʔ \quad mur-n-a \)
tree-DEM.M/F cut[SG]-1PL-OPT
‘Let’s cut this tree.’

(59b)  \( \text{iнantαι? iχαrrи} \)
\( inanta-siʔ \quad i=χar-ni \)
girl-DEF.M/F 3 = shiver-IPF.PRES
‘The girl is shivering.’

As can be seen from the above examples, /n/ regressively assimilates completely to a verb root final bilabial nasal as in (57) or liquid as in (58-59).

The plain stops /k/ and /p/ assimilate in voice to preceding voiced obstruents. /k/ has a voiced velar variant [g] when preceded by a voiced consonant as the data in (60a) show. /p/ has a voiced bilabial variant [b] when preceded by nasal consonants as the data in (60b) illustrate. The other plain stops /t/ and /c/ do not show voicing assimilation.
2.7.4. Spirantisation

The phonemes /p/ and /ɓ/ are spirantised and have the voiceless bilabial fricative variant [ɸ] between two vowels as in (61a), preceding or following a resonant consonant as in (61b) or following a vowel in a consonant cluster with t as a second non-sonorant as in (61c). The spirantisation of the phonemes does not take place when they occur word initial or as geminate as in (61d).

(61a)  /k/ > [g] /-
[ilkitta] ilgittâ ‘tooth’
[dankaa] dangaa ‘throat’
[aykitta] ayygittâ grass species
[alkitta] aylgittâ ‘sisal’

(60b)  /p/ > [b] /-
[rumpatta] rumbattâ ‘foam (of saliva)’
[tampoota] tambootâ ‘tobacco’
[dompolta] dombolta ‘chunk of soil’
[haampata] haambatâ ‘calabash to drink from’
[timpa] timbaa ‘drum’

(61b)  /tʃ/ > [tʃ] /-
[ʛolpa] ʛolphâ ‘he-goat’
[kilpa] kîlphâ ‘knee’
[daŋna] daŋphâ ‘side of the face, temple’
[arpa] arphâ ‘elephant’
[silpa] silphâ ‘metal, iron’

(61c)  /s/ > [ʃ] /-
[saalpataa] saalʃataa ‘belt’
[kaypaata] kayʃataa ‘(skin) rash’
[hipta] hipta ‘lip’
[sarɑtta] saratʃa ‘calf (of leg)’
[χoʃta] χoʃta ‘shoe’

(61d)  /paala/ [paala] ‘feather’
[ɓuɓɓaa] [ɓuɓɓaa] ‘egg (Karatte dialect)’
[tappa] tapa ‘seven’
[faaɓɓaa] [faaɓɓaa] ‘stretcher’
### 2.7.5. Labialisation

Labialisation of the initial consonant takes place when the glottal stop /ʔ/ is elided between /o/ and /a(a)/ vowels. The elision of the glottal stop results in the vowel sequence /oa(a)/. Since the language does not have diphthongs, it appears that /o/ is raised, yielding a labialised consonant. Illustrative examples are given in (61).

(61)  
- soʔaayta  [sʰaaytʰa]  ‘witch doctor’
- doʔaayta  [dʰaaytʰa]  ‘hide for carrying things’
- soʔaa    [sʰaa]  ‘meat’
- loʔaa    [lʰaa]  ‘cow’

We also find labialisation when such verb roots as toʔ- ‘die [SG]’, χoʔ- ‘like very much’, doʔ- ‘to jump’ are followed by the [3M] perfect aspect marker -ay or the future imperfective aspect marker -a. For example, in (62a) t and χ are labialised because the verb roots toʔ- ‘to die’ and χoʔ- ‘to like very much’ (62b) are followed by -ay and -a, respectively. On the other hand, in (63), t and χ are not labialised because the verb roots are followed by the third person feminine gender marker -t, which does not result in the context that triggers labialisation.

(62a)  
- cimaytasiʔ  ?itʰay  
  cimayta-siʔ   i=toʔ-ay  
  old.man-DEF.M/F  3=die-PF[3M]  
  ‘The old man died.’

(62b)  
- hamiyasiʔ  luukkata  ?iχʰa  
  hamiyaa-siʔ  luukkata  i=χoʔ-a  
  boy-DEF.M/F  fruit  3=like.very.much-IPF.FUT  
  ‘The boy likes fruit very much.’

(63a)  
- raakasiʔ  ?itoʔtʰi  
  raaka-siʔ   i=toʔ-3F-PF  
  old.woman-DEF.M/F  3=die-3F-PF  
  ‘The old woman died.’

(63b)  
- inantasil  luukkata  iχʔtʰa  
  inanta-siʔ  luukkata  i=χoʔ-t-a  
  girl-DEF.M/F  fruit  3=like.very.much-IPF.FUT  
  ‘The girl likes fruit very much.’
2.8. Morphophonemic processes

In this section, I treat the morphophonemic processes of eliding the glottal stop, and also replacing it with the palatal glide (2.8.1), metathesis (2.8.2), assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation (2.8.3), assimilation involving verb root final t (2.8.4), assimilation involving n in subject clitics (2.8.5), assimilation involving the glottal stop in cliticisation (2.8.6), vowel coalescence (2.8.7) and haplology (2.8.7). I consider processes that are restricted to certain lexemes or morphemes as morphophonemic processes.

2.8.1. Elision of /ʔ/

The glottal stop is optionally elided when it is a first member of a consonant cluster in nominals. After the elision, the vowel preceding it is lengthened. The following are illustrative examples:

(64) /yoʔmatta/ [yoomattå] ‘millstone’
/dàʔta/ [daatå] ‘butter’
/χaʔtiya/ [χaatiya] ‘fly’
/kupaʔtaa/ [kupaataa] ‘tortoise’
/saʔta/ [sataatå] ‘heart’
/toʔta/ [tootå] ‘death’
/kalaʔta/ [kalaataa] ‘spider’
/χaʔnaa/ [χaanåa] ‘waking up; resurrection’

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is optionally replaced by the glide y when it occurs between two vowels, of which the one following the glottal stop is a high front vowel /i/. The available examples have the singulative suffix -itta as in (65a). The plural form of the singulatives, however, occur only with the glottal stop rather than with the palatal glide as shown in (65b); (also see Section 4.2.1).

(65a) čînâʔittå čînayittå ‘rib’
χolaʔittå χolayittå cactus species
maraʔittå marayittå grass species
saʔittå sayittå ‘seed corn for root crops’
riwwaʔittå riwwayittå ‘the Milky Way’

(65b) čînâʔittå čînâʔiyyaa ‘rib’
χolaʔittå χolâʔiyyaa cactus species
maraʔittå marâʔiyyaa grass species
saʔittå saʔiyyaa ‘seed corn for root crops’
riwwaʔittå riwwâʔiyyaa ‘the Milky Way’
2.8.2. Metathesis

The phenomenon of metathesis is limited to certain lexemes and may take place in consonant clusters or across syllables. Lexemes that allow metathesis in consonant clusters require the alveolar lateral liquid /l/ to be either the first or the second member in a consonant cluster. In some cases speakers show preference to one or the other of the forms, but in other cases no such preference is expressed. For instance, the variants listed in the left column in (66a) are preferred to those in the right column, while with the variants in (66b) no such preference is expressed.

(66a) kilpạ ~ kiplạ 'knee'
ilkitta ~ iklipta 'tooth'
dikạ ~ dikạ 'elbow'
podạ ~ podạ 'clan chief'
siklạa ~ silkạa '(poison from) bee or wasp sting'
cọlfạa ~ cọlfạa 'bark (of tree)'

(66b) sipla ~ silpa 'mental'
silpoota ~ silpoota 'hoe'

Consonant clusters containing glides as a first member followed by the alveolar lateral liquid /l/ as a second member do not allow metathesis as shown in (67).

(67) kaylaa ~ *kalyaa 'tassel'
pawlaa ~ *palwaa 'old Ethiopian coin'
hawlạ ~ *halwaa 'grave, tomb'

In the following words, metathesis takes place after vowel deletion in the second syllable.

(68) χosalaa ~ χolsaa 'laughter'
afurattạ ~ arfattạ 'fourth'

There are certain Amharic loan words that exhibit metathesis. The first two also show metathesis in Amharic, but the last one does not undergo metathesis in this language.

(69) kipriteetạ ~ kirpiteetạ 'match' (Amh. kibrit ~ kirbit)
iskipirtootạ ~ iskipirtootạ 'pen' (Amh. iskiripto ~ iskipirto)
taaksitạ ~ taaskitạ 'taxi' (Amh. taksi)

It is difficult to formulate a general rule for metathesis across syllables. Below, I give an exhaustive list of the nouns that show metathesis across syllables.
For the first three nouns, the variants on the left are preferred, while for the last two the variants do not show any preference.

As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of metathesis is limited to certain lexemes. In the following data in (71), we find that the lexemes contain consonant clusters /lp/ or /pl/, but they do not allow metathesis. Notice that in the majority of the instances, the consonant cluster is /lp/.

2.8.3. Assimilation involving the causative and middle derivation

The (direct) causative suffix -ʃ and the middle suffix -aɗ also involve assimilation with certain morphemes. See Section 6.1.1 and 6.1.2 for details of causative derivation and middle derivation, respectively.

The causative suffix is realised as /s/ when followed by other derivations. For example, in (72a), the causative suffix is followed by the middle derivational suffix -aɗ, in (72b) by the passive derivational suffix -am, and in (73) by the voiceless alveolar stop /t/. The voiceless alveolar stop may be a 3F marker (73a), second person marker (73b) or part of the verbal nominal derivational suffix -taa (73c). In fact, the voiceless alveolar stop also becomes a voiceless alveolar fricative /ʃ/. Thus, we may argue that there is double assimilation when we have the sequence /ʃt/ becoming /ss/: voiceless alveopalatal fricative /ʃ/ becomes voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, and a voiceless alveolar stop /t/ also changes to a voiceless alveolar fricative /s/.

Notice that in the word hinkaאaffa ‘ant’, the non-geminate consonant /k/ becomes geminate when it is relocated in the position of the geminate /ʄ/, and the geminate /ʄ/ becomes single when relocated in the position of the non-geminate /k/.
The voiceless palatal fricative ʃ at the end of verb roots may or may not be affected by derivational morphemes, and this calls for further investigation. If we take, for example, the verb root ɗiʃ- ‘to plant’, we do find that the final consonant remains the same despite being followed by a 3F morpheme (74a), a middle derivation (74b) or present imperfective suffix (74c). On the other hand, if we take the verb root ɗiiʃ- ‘to stop, leave’, we find that the verb root’s final ʃ is affected when followed by a 3F morpheme as in (74d) or when followed by a middle derivation as shown in (74e).
(74a) inantasip poc öllootasiʔ ?idištı
       inanta-siʔ? poc ölloota-siʔ? i=diʃ-t-i
girl-DEF.M/F maize-DEF.M/F 3 = plant-3F-PF
‘The girl planted the maize.’

(74b) attip poc öllootasiʔ ?idiʃatta
       attiʔ? poc ölloota-siʔ? 2SG.PRO-NOM maize-DEF.M/F
     i=diʃ-ad-t-a
     3 = plant-MID-2-IPF.FUT
‘You (SG) planted the maize for your benefit.’

(74c) antim muusitan diʃanŋi
       antiʔ? muusita=in diʃ-ni
1SG.PRO-NOM banana = 1 plant-IPF.PRES
‘I plant bananas.’

(74d) inantas? ?anta idיבsi
       inanta-siʔ an-ta i=diʃ-t-i
girl-DEF.M/F go-VN 3 = stop-3F-PF
‘The girl stopped going.’

(74e) innaasink kammaa desa idibamın
       inna-siniʔ kamma-a desa i=diʃ-am-i-n
child-DEF.P after-LOC from.side 3 = stop-PAS-PF-P
‘The child was abandoned.’

A verb root final d does not change its features when followed by vowel-initial (derivational) suffixes as in (75). However, it becomes ? when followed by consonant-initial inflectional suffixes as in (76).

(75a) ʧarʃasiʔ diʃiluppan desa ifid-am-ay
       ʧarʃa-siʔ dila-opa-n desa
beans-DEF.M/F field-DEST-PATH towards
     i=fiʃ-am-ay
     3 = scatter-PASS-PF[3M]
‘The beans were scattered over the field.’

(75b) namasiʔ ʧoraasiniʔ ?ihaadamın
       nama-siʔ ʧora-siniʔ i=haad-ad-ni
person-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = carry.PL-MID-IPF.PRES
‘The person carries the trees for his benefit.’
It is interesting to see that causative and middle behave differently in that they have allomorphs in s and t, respectively, when followed by other derivations.

The causative suffix -ʃ also completely and progressively assimilates to the alveolar nasal that marks the first person plural as in (77a) or is part of the present imperfective marker -ni as in (77b).

Concerning the assimilation of the alveolar implosive of the middle derivation, we find that there is a complete regressive assimilation of the implosive when followed by /n/ of the first person plural marker -n as in (78a) or the one which is part of the present imperfective marker -ni as in (78b).
The alveolar implosive of the middle suffix is also realised as t when it is followed by /t/ that marks second person as in (79a), third person feminine as in (79b) or the /t/ of the verbal nominaliser -taa as in (79c).

(79a)  luukkatasiʔ ʔimmittată

luukkata-siʔ  iʔ=mitt-ad-t-a
fruit-DEF.M/F  2=pick.SG-MID-IPF.FUT
‘You (SG) will pick the fruit for your benefit.’

(79b)  aturaratasic şoyrasiʔ ?icapattiği

aturraata-siʔ  şoyra-si  i=ciap-ad-t-i
cat-DEF.M/F  tree-DEF.M/F  3=catch-MID-3F-PF
‘The cat held the tree for its benefit.’

(79c)  alleeta ciapattaá ipaçaarği

alleeta  ciap-ad-taá  i=paçaar-i
house  build-MID-VN  3=be.good-PF
‘Building a house is good for oneself.’

2.8.4. Assimilation involving verb root final t

The alveolar voiceless stop t in verb final position assimilates completely in manner of articulation to the next n, as the following examples show.

(80a)  okkattasil lekaytan ipanni

okkatta-siʔ  lekaytan  i=pat-ni
cow-DEF.M/F  many.times  3=disappear-IPF.PRES
‘The cow disappears many times.’

(80b)  iʃoonnaχ  χarʃasiʔ ʔinkanní

iʃoonnaʔ  χarʃa-siʔ  in=kat-n-í
3PL.PRO-NOM  beans-DEF.M/F  3NEG=sell-NEG-PF
‘They did not sell the beans.’

2.8.5. Assimilation involving n in subject clitics

The alveolar nasal in subject clitics (in=, an=) assimilates partially or completely in place of articulation to the initial consonant of the verb root or noun to which a subject clitic is encliticised. It has the allomorphs listed in (81). I provide illustrative examples in (82-86).
(81) /n/ [m] before a verb root initial bilabials /p, b/, as in (61)  
[I] before a verb root initial /l/, as in (62)  
[r] before a verb root initial /r/, as in (63)  
[w] before a verb root initial /w/, as in (64a)  
[y] before a verb root initial /y/, as in (64b)  
[n] before a verb root initial /n/, as in (65a)  
[g] before a verb root initial /k/, as in (65b)  
[n] before a verb root initial /ç, ʝ/, as in (65c)

(82a) kodaa-suʔ ʔimpira  
    kodaa-suʔ ʔimpira  
    work-DEF.M/F 1=finish-IPF.FUT  
    ‘I will finish the work.’

(82b) ammuknji  
    an=muk-n-i  
    1NEG=sleep-NEG-PF  
    ‘I did not sleep.’

(83a) illlaʔa  
    in=lel-n-a  
    1=tell-1PL-IPF.FUT  
    ‘We will tell.’

(83b) illaab6iɲi  
    in=laab6-n-i  
    1=cross.over-1PL-PF  
    ‘We crossed over.’

(84a) irroopni  
    in=roop-n-i  
    3NEG-rain-NEG-PF  
    ‘It did not rain.’

(84b) irrakka:y  
    in=rakk-ay  
    1=hung.SG-PF[3M]  
    ‘I hung (it).’

(85a) poçoːloota-suʔ ʔiwwaannji  
    poçoːloota-suʔ ʔiwwaannji  
    maize-DEF.M/F 1=roast-1PL-PF  
    ‘We roasted the maize.’
The glottal stop that marks nominative case assimilates completely to the initial consonant of a following word as shown in (87).

The suffixes that mark definiteness in Konso have a final glottal stop. This glottal stop assimilates completely to the initial consonant of a following constituent as shown in (88). For the details on definite reference, see Section 4.7.
(88a)  atti̥ faʕaasinip pirtj
  atti-ʔ    faʕa-asiniʔ    iʔ=pir-t-i
  2SG.PRO-NOM    local.beer-DEF.P    2 = finish-2-PF
  ‘You (SG) finished (drinking) the local beer.’

(88b)  antit tomasik kutta  iŋfaʕay
  anti-ʔ    toma-siʔ    kutt-a
  1SG.PRO-NOM    bowl-DEF.M/F    be.big-M/F
  in=ʕaʕ-ay
  1 = wash-PF[3M]
  ‘I washed the big bowl.’

The glottal stop that is the final consonant of the plural gender agreement
marker -aaʔ in attributive adjectives also assimilates completely to the initial
consonant of any following constituent. For example, the singular object noun
filaaasiniʔ  ‘the comb’ in (89a) and the plural object noun ʔokkayaasiniʔ  ‘the
cows’ (89b) have a plural gender value marked by -aaʔ. In these examples, we
can see that the glottal stop assimilates completely to the initial consonant /p/
of the word patta  ‘only’ (89a) and /l/ of the word lakki  ‘two’ (89b).

(89a)  filaasinik kuttaap pattan akkay
  filaa-siniʔ    kutt-aaʔ    patta=in    akk-ay
  comb-DEF.P    be.big-P    only = 1    see-PF[3M]
  ‘I saw only the big comb.’

(89b)  okkayaasiniʔ kukuttaal lakkin akkay
  okkayaa-siniʔ    ku-kutt-aaʔ    lakki=in    akk-ay
  cows-DEF.P    PL-be.big-P    two = 1    see-PF[3M]
  ‘I saw the two big cows.’

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the plural gender agreement
marker -eeʔ in relative clauses also assimilates completely to the initial conso-
nant of any following constituent. In example (90a), we have the singular ob-
ject noun inantasit  ‘the girl’ which has a singular gender value; in example
(90b) and (90c) we have the singular object noun innaasiniʔ  ‘the child’ and the
plural object noun kaharraasiniʔ  ‘the sheep’, respectively. These nouns have a
plural gender value marked by suffix -eeʔ. See 4.1 on plural gender agreement
which may include numerically singular nouns.

(90a)  inantasit tikupa deʔti pattan akkay
  inanta-siʔ    tika-opa    dey-t-i    patta=in
  girl-DEF.M/F    house-to    come-3F-PF    only = 1
The glottal stop that is the final consonant of the third person possessive suffixes (-ayʃuʔ and -ssuʔ) also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent as demonstrated in (91). For details see Section 5.3.

(91a) ективɨʔχαλα ɨʔay

evento-aayʃuʔ χαλα ɨʔ=ʔoʔ-ay

cow-3PL.POSS.M/F yesterday 3=die[SG]-PF[3M]
‘Their cow died yesterday.’

(91b) icknameəasiʔ ɨʔaɬin

evento-ssuʔ ɨʔaɬa ɨ=ʔɬeʔ-ɬ-a

cows-3PL.POSS.P yesterday 3=die[PL]-PF-P
‘Their cows died yesterday.’

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the demonstrative suffixes -asiʔ/-oosiʔ/-oosiniʔ also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent as shown in (92).

(92a) icknameəasiʔ ɨʔiʔɬiʔ

evento-asiiʔ ɨʔaɬa-siniʔ ɨ=ʔiʔik-t-ɬ-i

eve-DEM.M/F water-DEF.P 3=drink-3F-PF
‘This ewe drank the water.’
The glottal stop that marks the locative case also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following word as shown in (93).

(93a)  
\[
\text{dakaasik kirra kapa\-\chi ay-i} \\
\text{stone-DEF.M/F river near-LOC put-IMP.SG}
\]
‘(You (SG)) Put the stone near the river!’

(93b)  
\[
\text{antis silpootasi? ?intikad diifay} \\
\text{1SG.PRO-NOM hoe-DEF.M/F leave-PF[3M]}
\]
‘I left the hoe at home.’

The glottal stop that marks the genitive case also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following word (94).

(94)  
\[
\text{antit taamta \chi oyra muriya inheen\-a} \\
\text{1SG.PRO-NOM branch GEN cut-VN}
\]
‘I want to cut a branch of a tree.’

The glottal stop which is the final consonant of the words ifu? ‘and’, ini? ‘this one’, sedi? ‘this’ and seni? ‘these’ also assimilates completely to the initial consonant of any following constituent, as illustrated in (95).

(95a)  
\[
\text{ana ifuk Kappooli inde\-ni} \\
\text{1SG.PRO.ACC and Kappooli 1 = come-1PL-PF}
\]
‘I and Kappoole came.’

(95b)  
\[
\text{init tikaawu} \\
\text{this house-1SG.POSS.M/F}
\]
‘This is my house.’
(95c) sedim maanə
    sediʔ maana
    this what
    ‘What is this?’

(95d) seniɗ dillaayyu
    seniʔ dilla-yyu
    these fields-1SG.POSS.P
    ‘These are my fields.’

2.8.7. Vowel coalescence

There are two instances of vowel coalescence that I have discovered. Neither instance occurs with other morphemes, but both only involve the postpositions opa ‘to’ and oppa ‘in’. The first instance involves the combination of adverbials with a final /e/ (e.g., parre ‘tomorrow’, partaane ‘after tomorrow’) and the postposition opa ‘to, towards’. When the words are combined, the glottal stop of the postposition is elided, resulting in the sequence /eo/. Since diphthongs are not allowed, the sequence /eo/ becomes /i/ as demonstrated in (96). The combination of such adverbials and the postposition opa requires such verbs as muk- ‘to sleep’, χaay- ‘to put, lay’, tuukk- ‘to push.SG’ to indicate a postponement of an appointment.

(96a) kodoosip parripa mukinnə
    koda-oosiʔ parre-opa muk-f-n-a
    work-DEM,M/F tomorrow-to sleep-CAUS-1PL-OPT
    ‘Let’s postpone the work until tomorrow.’

(96b) antoosip partaanipa tuukkinə
    antoosiʔ partaane-opa
    after tomorrow-to
    ‘for the day after tomorrow’

We do not get vowel coalescence when the postposition opa occurs with the adverbs aye ‘here’ and awwi ‘today’. We rather get aypa ‘here (lit. to here)’, and awwipa ‘for today’, respectively.

The second instance involves the postposition oppa ‘in’ or opa ‘to, towards’ when it is attached to singulative nouns that have a final short vowel a. In this case, the sequence /ao/ of the final vowel of the noun and the initial vowel of the postposition produces the vowel /u/. In (97a) the vowel coalescence involves the postposition opa whereas (97b) shows coalescence involving the postposition oppa.
hemitta-asìp paraannupa tuukkìna
hemitta-asiʔ paraanna-opa tuukk-n-a
marriage-DEM.M/F next.year-to push.SG-1PL-OPT
‘Let’s postpone this wedding until next year.’

inuɗ ìlụppan annì
inu-ʔ ìila-oppa=in an-n-i
1PL.PRO-NOM field-in=1 go-1PL-PF
‘We went into the field.’

Furthermore, when the postpositions kapa ‘beside, near’ and opa ‘to’ are com-
bined, we get kapupa ‘to’ as in (98a). The combination of the postpositions also
yields kawpa in fast speech by eliding the first p of kapupa and changing /u/ to
/w/ to avoid the vowel sequence /au/ as in (98b).

(98a)  ana kapupa χooyì
ana kapa-opa χooy-i
1SG.PRO.ACC near-to come-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Come to me!’

(98b)  ana kawpa χooyì
ana kapa-opa χooy-i
1SG.PRO.ACC near-to come-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Come to me!’

2.8.8. Haplology
The suffix -ay, which marks perfective aspect for third person singular mascu-
line, is optionally elided when it is attached to a verb root that has a final ay.
The sequence of ay-ay is reduced to one ay. Verb roots with a final ayy or aay or
aayy do not qualify for haplology. In (99a), I provide illustrative verb roots
with the final ay; in (99b), verb roots which end in aay, ayy and aayy are given
for comparison.

(99a)  kay- ‘to reach, arrive’
tay- ‘to leave, desert’
day- ‘to hit’
dakay- ‘to hear’

(99b)  χaay- ‘to put’
kayy- ‘to jump and touch’
paayy- ‘to start’
The following are illustrative sentential examples. The examples in (100a-b) occur with the reduced -ay while the equivalent examples in (100c-d) occur with the full verb root plus the 3M perfective suffix -ay.

(100a) ifat tikuppa ikay
       ifa-ʔ       tika-oppa       i=kay
3SGM.PRO-NOM    house-in        3 = reach.PF[3M]
‘He arrived at home.’

(100b) antiʔ otootasiʔ inɗakay
       anti-ʔ       otoota-siʔ       in=ɗakay
1SG.PRO-NOM     news-DEF.M/F      1 = hear.PF[3M]
‘I heard the news.’

(100c) ifat tikuppa ikayay
       ifa-ʔ       tika-oppa       i=kay-ay
3SGM.PRO-NOM    house-in        3 = reach-PF[3M]
‘He arrived at home.’

(100d) antiʔ otootasiʔ inɗakayay
       anti-ʔ       otoota-siʔ       in=ɗakay-ay
1SG.PRO-NOM     news-DEF.M/F      1 = hear-PF[3M]
‘I heard the news.’

The sentential example in (101a) has the verb root kayy- ‘to jump and touch’. It ends in ayy and has the third person masculine perfective suffix -ay. And as mentioned above, such verb roots do not allow the reduction of the perfective -ay suffix as shown in (101b).

(101a) Kappoolit taamtasiʔ ?ikayyay i=kayy-ay
       Kappooli-ʔ taamta-siʔ 3 = jump.and.touch-PF[3M]
kappoole-NOM    branch-DEF.M/F
‘Kappoole jumped and touched the branch.’

(101b) *kappoolit taamtasiʔ ?ikayy
       kappooli-ʔ taamta-siʔ i=kayy
kappoole-NOM    branch-DEF.M/F 3 = jump.and.touch
(intended: ‘Kappoole jumped and touched the branch.’)

2.9. Tone

Konso has low and high tone levels which do not have a lexical role, but rather a grammatical role. In this work, only high tone is marked with an acute stroke (’). Despite my countless efforts, and the many efforts I made with colleagues like Constance Kutsch Lojenga and Anne-Christie Hellenthal, the full account
of tone (or maybe pitch-accent) of the language still remains ill understood. The grammatical roles of tone that I am able to identify include making a distinction between the nominative and the accusative (cleft construction) and indicating contrasts in person-marking between some affirmative and negative paradigms.

The tonal distinction between nominative and accusative case is that a noun in the nominative has a low tone as in (102a) while the same noun has a high tone in the accusative case as in (102b). The sentence in (102b) is a cleft construction (details appear in Section 3.5).

(102a)  oraaaytaa kuta ḡaniinay
       oraaṭa=i kuta ḡaniin-ay
       hyena=3 dog bite-PF[3M]
       ‘A hyena bit a dog.’

(102b)  oraaṭaá kuta ḡaniinay
       oraaṭa=i kuta ḡaniin-ay
       hyena=3.ACC dog bite-PF[3M]
       ‘It is a dog that bit a hyena.’

Another grammatical role that tone plays is that it distinguishes first person singular present imperfective (103a) from third person perfective negative, as in (103b). It also distinguishes first person singular in the present imperfective (103a repeated as 104a) from first person plural in the perfective as in (104b). In this case, the final vowel of the sentence with the first person singular carries a low tone whereas the third person or first person plural has a high tone as illustrated in (103). The distinction between the first person plural and the third person negative is made only on the basis of a discourse context.

(103a)  inanni
        ㏌=an-ni
        1=go-IPF.PRES
        ‘I go/I am going.’

(103b)  in=an-n-ǐ
        3NEG=go-NEG-PF
        ‘He/She/They did not go.’

(104a)  inanni
        ㏌=an-ni
        1=go-IPF.PRES
        ‘I go/I am going.’
(104b)  
in = an-n-ì
1 = go-1PL-PF
‘We went.’
3. Simple sentences

This chapter describes the basic structure of simple sentences. It presents simple verbal sentences, adjectival sentences, subject clitics, nominal sentences and cleft sentences.

3.1. Verbal simple sentences

Verbal simple affirmative declarative sentences may contain overt subjects, verb roots with (affirmative or negative) subject clitics and inflectional suffixes. There is no marking to show that a sentence is declarative. They are only characterised by a sentence-final falling intonation (Ongaye 2000). The basic word order in simple sentences is SOV. This is shown in (1):

(1a)  \text{atti} \, \text{ʔarfa} \, \text{idfammi} \\
(\text{atti} = 2\text{SG.PRO-NOM}) \, \text{ʔarfa} \, \text{iʔ=ɗam-ni} \\
\text{beans} \, 2 = \text{eat-IPF.PRES} \\
\text{‘You (SG) eat beans.’}

(1b)  \text{anti} \, \text{kulleeta-siʔ} \, \text{ʔinʛeeɗa} \\
(\text{anti} = 1\text{SG.PRO-NOM}) \, \text{kulleeta-siʔ} \, \text{in=ʛeeɗ-a} \\
\text{hood-DEF.M/F} \, 1 = \text{take-IPF.FUT} \\
\text{‘I will take the hood.’}

As is apparent in the above examples, (1a) contains the overt subject \text{ʔatti} ‘you (SG)’, the overt object \text{ʔarfa} ‘beans’, the second person subject clitic \text{iʔ=}, the verb root \text{ɗam-} ‘eat’, and the aspect marker -ni. Similarly, (1b) contains the overt subject \text{anti} ‘I’, the overt object \text{kulleeta-siʔ} ‘the hood’, the first person subject clitic \text{in=} , the verb root \text{ʛeeɗ-} ‘take’ and the imperfective future aspect marker -a on the verb.

Overt subjects, such as \text{anti} ‘I’ and \text{ʔatti} ‘you (SG)’ in (1) can be optionally left out because they are understood from the type of the subject clitics and the gender agreement markers on the verb. For instance, example (2a) and (2b) are such versions of the example in (1a) and (1b), respectively.

(2a)  \text{ʔarfa} \, \text{idfammi} \\
\text{ʔarfa} \, \text{iʔ=ɗam-ni} \\
\text{beans} \, 2 = \text{eat-IPF.PRES} \\
\text{‘You (SG) eat beans.’}

(2b)  \text{kulleeta-siʔ} \, \text{in=ʛeeɗ-a} \\
\text{hood-DEF.M/F} \, 1 = \text{take-IPF.FUT} \\
\text{‘I will take the hood.’}
A simple verbal sentence with transitive verb roots may also occur with covert subjects and objects. As mentioned earlier, covert subjects are understood from the type of subject clitics and the gender agreement markers on the verb. For covert objects, there are no such clues. They are understood only from an earlier mention in a discourse. For instance, if we omit the subject and object of the examples in (1), we get the sentences in (3):

(3a) iɗɗammi
    ɗ=dam-ai
    2=eat-IPF.PRES
    ‘You (SG) eat (it).’

(3b) in=ʛeeɗ-a
    1=take-IPF.FUT
    ‘I will take (it).’

In the literature on Konso, various terms have been used for subject clitics: preverbals (Black 1973; Ongaye 2000, 2004), person indices (Sim 1977, Daudey & Hellenthal 2004). In this work, I choose the term “subject clitics” because they are clitics and always indicate the person value of the subject.

Most sentences contain one subject clitic. The position of subject clitics in the sentences is mainly with the verb of the sentence. However, they can be procliticised or encliticised to other constituents of a sentence, as we shall see below. The subject clitics do not distinguish gender or number; they only distinguish person. Gender (and person/number) is marked by the inflectional suffix on the verb. Without an overt subject, it is only the subject clitics that distinguish between second person singular and third person singular feminine, which have the same verb form, as shown below.

(4a) iʔʔanti
    iʔ=an-t-i
    2=go-2-PF
    ‘You (SG) went.’

(4b) iʔʔanti
    i=an-t-i
    3=go-3F-PF
    ‘She went.’

We identify different forms of affirmative and negative subject clitics for various persons depending on the sentence/clause type. The following table presents these forms.
Table 1: Forms of subject clitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence/Clause type</th>
<th>Affirmative</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verbal/Adjectival</td>
<td>in=</td>
<td>?=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominal</td>
<td>an=</td>
<td>a?=</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Optative/Imperative</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With explicit subject and object, the subject clitics may occur in any of the following four positions: as a proclitic to the verb as in (5a), as an enclitic to the object as in (5b), as a proclitic to the object as in (5c), or as an enclitic to the subject as in (5d).

(5a) **inuk kuufa inhaʔni**
    
    *inu=ʔ*  *kuufa*  *in=haad-n-i*
    
    1PL.PRO-NOM  cow.dung.pile  1 = carry-1PL-PF
    
    ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’

(5b) **inuk kuufan haaʔni**
    
    *inu=ʔ*  *kuufa=in*  *haad-n-i*
    
    1PL.PRO-NOM  cow.dung.pile = 1  carry-1PL-PF
    
    ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’

(5c) **inuʔ ?inkuufa haaʔni**
    
    *inu=ʔ*  *in=kuufa*  *haad-n-i*
    
    1PL.PRO-NOM  1 = cow.dung.pile  carry-1PL-PF
    
    ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’

(5d) **inun kuufa haaʔni**
    
    *inu=in*  *kuufa*  *haad-n-i*
    
    1PL.PRO=1  cow.dung.pile  carry-1PL-PF
    
    ‘We carried a cow dung pile.’

In the following examples, the subjects are implicit and the subject clitics are negative.

(6a) **akkaltu**
    
    *a?=kal-t-u*
    
    2NEG = return.home-2-NEG.IPF.FUT
    
    ‘You (SG) will not go home.’

(6b) **χarʃasiʔ ?andammi**
    
    *χarʃa-siʔ*  *ʔan=dam-n-i*
    
    beans-DEF.M/F  1NEG = eat-NEG-PF
    
    ‘I did not eat the beans.’
3.2. Adjectival sentences

Adjectives differ from verbs in that both number and gender are marked on the former (see 4.1.4). Adjectives are like verbs with regard to hosting subject clitics. Like the independent verbal sentences, affirmative adjectival sentences occur with the same subject clitics: in= for first person, i?= for second person, and i= for third person. Singular subjects are not marked but plural subjects are marked by reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial C1V(C1). Adjectival sentences, like nominal sentences (see 3.4), have no copula. Both nominal and adjectival sentences have subject clitics, but these differ in form. Moreover, adjectival sentences may occur with overt or covert subjects. For example, the example in (7a) has the overt subject inantasiʔ ‘the girl’ and the one in (7b) has hellaaasiniʔ ‘the children’. The adjectival root in both examples is ɗer- ‘be tall’.

(7a) inantasiʔ ?iɗeri

_manta-siʔ_  
i=ɗer-i

\( \text{girl-DEF.M/F} \) \( 3 = \text{be.tall-PF} \)

‘The girl is tall.’

(7b) hellaaasiniʔ ?iɗeɗɗeri

_hellaa-siniʔ_  
i=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i

\( \text{children-DEF.P} \) \( 3 = \text{PL-be.tall-PF} \)

‘The children are tall.’

First person plural and second person plural take the suffixes -nna and -ttan, respectively, in addition to reduplication on the adjectival roots as shown in (8).

(8a) imuʔ tiɗedderinna

_i=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i-nna_

\( \text{1PL.PRO-NOM} \) \( 1 = \text{PL-be.tall-PF-1PL} \)

‘We are tall.’
Adjectival sentences may occur without an overt subject. We can show this by omitting the overt subjects inantasi? ‘the girl’ and hellasiniʔ ‘the children’ in the above examples. With the absence of an overt subject we only know the number of the implicit subject from reduplication and also from the suffixes -nna and -ttan for first person and second person plural. Examples:

(9a)  \[ i=\text{der-}i \]
\[ 3=\text{be.tall-PF} \]
‘She/He/It is tall.’

(9b)  \[ i=\text{der-}i \]
\[ 3=\text{PL-be.tall-PF} \]
‘They are tall.’

(9c)  \[ i=\text{der-}i-nna \]
\[ 1=\text{PL-be.tall-PF-1PL} \]
‘We are tall.’

Negation in adjectives is marked by negative subject clitics as well as by negative suffixes on the verb ‘be, exist’.

(10a)  \[ \text{andeereen co} \]
\[ an=\text{der-}i=an \quad \text{kit-y-o} \]
\[ 1\text{NEG=be.tall-PF}=1\text{NEG} \quad \text{be-NEG} \]
‘I am not tall.’

(10b)  \[ \text{derin kittu} \]
\[ \text{der-}i=\text{in} \quad \text{kit-t-u} \]
\[ \text{be.tall-PF}=3\text{NEG} \quad \text{be-3F-NEG} \]
‘She is not tall.’

Negative adjectival sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates differ from adjectival affirmative sentences in the following ways:

- They require the existential verb kit- ‘to be, exist’ in addition to the adjectival predicate;
- Except third persons, the other persons do attach negative subject clitics on the adjectival predicates;
- All persons have negative subject clitics on the verb ‘be, exist’;
- Except for second person plural and third person plural, negation is also marked on the verb kit- ‘to be, exist’.
The following are illustrative examples of negative adjectival sentences.

(11a)  
\[ \text{anderi anco} \quad \text{an}=\text{der-i} \quad \text{an}=\text{kiy-o} \]  
\[ 1\text{NEG}=\text{be.tall-PF} \quad 1\text{NEG}=\text{be-NEG} \]  
‘I am not tall.’

(11b)  
\[ \text{addedderi akkittan} \quad \text{aʔ}=\text{der-i} \quad \text{aʔ}=\text{kit-t-a-n} \]  
\[ 2\text{NEG}=\text{PL-be.tall-PF} \quad 2\text{NEG}=\text{be-2-PF-P} \]  
‘You are not tall.’

The negative subject clitics of the verb kit- ‘to be, exist’ mainly occur as enclitics with the adjectival predicate. This leftward movement omits the glottal stop for all persons. This in turn causes vowel coalescence for first and second persons: \(i+a=\text{ee}\). For third persons, the vowel \(i\) is elided, and negation is marked only by the suffix -\(n\). Below I provide some illustrative examples.

(12a)  
\[ \text{andereen co} \quad \text{an}=\text{der-i}=\text{an} \quad \text{kiy-o} \]  
\[ 1\text{NEG}=\text{be.tall-PF}=1\text{NEG} \quad \text{be-NEG} \]  
‘I am not tall.’

(12b)  
\[ \text{addereek kittu} \quad \text{aʔ}=\text{der-i}=\text{aʔ} \quad \text{kit-t-u} \]  
\[ 2\text{NEG}=\text{be.tall-PF}=2\text{NEG} \quad \text{be-2-NEG} \]  
‘You (SG) are not tall.’

(12c)  
\[ \text{dedderin can} \quad \text{der-i}=\text{in} \quad \text{kiy-a-n} \]  
\[ \text{PL-be.tall-PF}=3\text{NEG} \quad \text{be-IPF.FUT-P} \]  
‘They are not tall.’

The position of subject clitics is restricted in content questions and conditional clauses when the conditional conjunctions are not expanded with the suffix -\(n\), for which I could not find the grammatical function or semantic content (but see 12.2.1 for details on conditional conjunctions). In content questions, subject clitics are attached only to the content-question word as shown in (13). The examples in (14) are unacceptable because the subject clitics have moved to the verbs.

(13a)  
\[ \text{maanan ifad daafa} \quad \text{maana}=\text{in} \quad \text{ifa}-? \quad \text{daaʃ-a} \]  
\[ \text{what}=1 \quad \text{him-DAT} \quad \text{give-IPF.FUT} \]  
‘What shall I give him?’
The position of subject clitics is also restricted in conditional clauses that contain conjunctions that are not expanded with suffix -n. For instance, in (15), we have the unexpanded conditional conjunction kande ‘if’. Accordingly, the subject clitic must occur with this conjunction. This is shown in (15a) where the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction kande. The example in (15b) is unacceptable because the first person subject clitic has moved from the conditional conjunction kande to the verb root.

Subject clitics are also restricted in their position of occurrence when the adverb amma ‘now’ follows the discourse marker asu ‘just’. The adverb amma ‘now’ has an inherent emphasis and as a result only hosts subject clitics when followed by asu ‘just’ as in (16a). The example in (16b) is unacceptable because the subject clitic has moved from the adverb to the verb.
So far, I have discussed about the presence of subject clitics in sentences. Now, I return to presenting cases where subject clitics are absent. Subject clitics are absent in affirmative imperatives and optative sentences. They are also absent in cleft sentences. Since various sections are dedicated to each of these sentence types in this work, here, I only provide illustrative examples to show that subject clitics are absent in these sentence/clause types.

The examples in (17) illustrate imperatives (see imperatives in 6.4.1). They, however, differ in the presence or absence of subject clitics. The example in (17a) does not have a subject clitic because it is an affirmative imperative. In contrast, the example in (17b) has a subject clitic because it is a negative imperative. Notice that the form of the negative subject clitic of the negative imperative is identical to that of the first person affirmative subject clitic in affirmative verbal sentences.

(17a) allee sip poota
    allee-siʔ? poot-a
    hut-DEF.M/F demolish-IMP.PL
    ‘(You (PL)) Demolish this hut!’

(17b) allee siʔ ?impootan
    allee-siʔ in=poot-a-n
    hut-DEF.M/F 2NEG=demolish-IMP.PL-NEG
    ‘(You (PL)) Do not demolish this hut!’

Optative sentences are illustrated in (18) (see also Section 6.4.2). The affirmative optative in (18a) does not have subject clitics whereas the negative optative in (18b) has a subject clitic. Again, notice that the form of the negative subject clitic of the negative optative is identical to that of the first person affirmative subject clitic in affirmative verbal sentences.

(18a) a kal-u
    REL return.home-OPT
    ‘Let him return home.’
In non-cleft verbal sentences, the subject pronoun has a nominative suffix, and the verb has the subject clitic, gender suffix and aspect marker as in (19a). On the other hand, in cleft sentences, the subject occurs in the form of an accusative pronoun followed by a cleft sentence marker. Moreover, the verb has no subject clitic and gender/person marker. It only has the verb root and invariable aspect marker as shown in (19b-c).

(19a)  ifeennaʔ ʔikalti
       ifeennaʔ  i=kal-t-i
       3SGF.PRO-NOM return.home-3F-PF
       ‘She returned home.’

(19b)  ifeenna-á kal-ay
       3SGF.PRO[ACC]-CLF return.home-PF[3M]
       ‘It’s her who returned home.’

(19c)  ke-é kal-ay
       2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF return.home-PF
       ‘It’s you (SG) who returned home.’

In the preceding sections, I have presented the forms of affirmative as well as negative subject clitics in various sentence/clause types. In these sentence/clause types, subject clitics are flexible with regard to their placement in most verbal sentences. This flexibility in the placement of the subject clitics renders subtle differences in meaning. Further research should be done in order to understand these differences. It seems that the explanation lies in information structure.

Content question words host subject clitics as in (20a) (see also Section 10.3). The example in (20b) is ungrammatical because the subject clitic has moved from the content question word.

(20a)  antiʔ ?aynu χonsona erka
       antiʔ aynu =in χonso-opa erk-a
       1SG.PRO-NOM who =1 Konso-to send-IPF.FUT
       ‘Whom shall I send to Konso?’

(20b)  *antiʔ ?aynu χonsona inerka
       antiʔ aynu χonso-opa in =erk-a
       1SG.PRO-NOM who Konso-to 1 = send-IPF.FUT
       (intended: ‘Whom shall I send to Konso?’)
Inherent emphasis can be obtained from the adverb amma ‘now’ when followed by asu ‘just’ as in (21).

(21)   antiʔ -ʔamman asu kodaasid dikkifay
       antiʔ = amma = in asu kodaas-siʔ
       1SG.PRO-NOM now = 1 just work-DEF.M/F

       dikkif-ay
       finish-PF[3M]

   ‘I have just finished the work now.’

3.3. Nominal sentences

A citation form of a noun serves as a base for a nominal sentence for third person singular as in (22a). When the first person singular or second person singular is the subject of such nominal sentences, the nouns occur with subject clitics as in (22b-c). The forms of the subject clitics are: an= and aʔ= for first person and second person, respectively. Notice that the forms of the nominal subject clitics for first and second persons are identical to the negative subject clitics of the verbal sentences. For first and second person plurals, however, overt pronouns are mandatory in addition to the subject clitics, as illustrated in (22d-e).

(22a)   χorma
        ‘(a) bull’ or ‘It is a bull.’

(22b)   an=χorma
        1 = bull
        ‘I am a bull (i.e. I am brave.)’

(22c)   aʔ=χorma
        2 = bull
        ‘You (SG) are a bull (i.e. You are brave.)’

(22d)   inuʔ = anχormadaa
        inuʔ = an=χormadaa
        1PL.PRO-NOM 1 = bulls
        ‘We are bulls (i.e. We are brave.)’

(22e)   ifinaʔ = aʔ=χormadaa
        ifinaʔ = aʔ=χormadaa
        2PL.PRO-NOM 2 = bulls
        ‘You (PL) are bulls (i.e. You (PL) are brave).’
Derived nominals such as the agentive also form nominal sentences. Such nominal sentences occur with subject clitics for first and second persons. Examples:

(23a) \text{an} = \text{akim-itta}
\begin{align*}
1 &= \text{treat-AGENT.M} \\
\text{‘I am a physician.’}
\end{align*}

(23b) \text{aʔ} = \text{akim-itteeta}
\begin{align*}
2 &= \text{treat-AGENT.F} \\
\text{‘You (SG.F) are a physician.’}
\end{align*}

(23c) \text{akim-iyyaa}
\begin{align*}
\text{treat-AGENT.PL} \\
\text{‘They are physicians.’}
\end{align*}

Nominal sentences do not have negative subject clitics. Rather they have a negative nominal suffix -n(nin).

(24a) \text{ʃa} \ χ χormannin
\begin{align*}
\text{ʃa} &= \text{bull-NEG} \\
\text{χorma-nnin} \\
\text{‘He is not a bull (i.e. He is not brave).’}
\end{align*}

(24b) \text{ʃina} \ ?aʔ?oraayaannin
\begin{align*}
\text{ʃina} &= \text{hyenas-NEG} \\
\text{aʔ}=\text{oraayaa-nnin} \\
\text{‘You (PL) are not hyenas (i.e. You are not greedy).’}
\end{align*}

3.4. Cleft sentences

As mentioned in the preceding section, cleft sentences do not take subject clitics. Furthermore, they are characterised by not having gender markers on the verb. The forms of the aspect markers do not vary. In cleft sentences, all nouns with short final vowels lengthen the final vowel. When personal pronouns are used, they occur in the object form.

Below, I provide paradigms to show the above characteristics of cleft sentences, using the verb root \text{ɗam-} ‘eat’. Interlinear glossing and translation are given for the first person singular in each of the paradigm.

(25a) \text{anaa ɗammi}
\begin{align*}
\text{ana-a} &= \text{ɗam-ni} \\
\text{1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF} &= \text{eat-IPF.PRES} \\
\text{‘It is me who eats (it).’}
\end{align*}
'It is us who eat (it).'
'It is you (SG) who eat (it).'
'It is you (PL) who eat (it).'
'It is her who eats (it).'
'It is him who eats (it).'
'It is them who eat (it).'

(25b) anaa damay

ana-a
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF eat-PF[3M]
'It is me who ate (it).'

inoo dammay
‘It is us who eat (it).’
kee damay
‘It is you (SG) who ate (it).’
iʃinaa dammay
‘It is you (PL) who ate (it).’
iʃeennaa damay
‘It is her who ate (it).’
iʃaa damay
‘It is him who ate (it).’
iʃoonnaa damay
‘It is them who ate (it).’

(25c) anaa dama

ana-a
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF eat-IPF.FUT
'It is me who will eat (it).'

inoo dama
‘It is us who will eat (it).’
kee dama
‘It is you (SG) who will eat (it).’
iʃinaa dama
‘It is you (PL) who will eat (it).’
iʃeennaa dama
‘It is her who will eat (it).’
iʃaa dama
‘It is him who will eat (it).’
iʃoonnaa dama
‘It is them who will eat (it).’

With transitive verbs, the object is marked with a high tone (see also 4.12.1 for nominative-accusative case distinction).

(26a) ana-a
1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF lion kill[SG]-IPF.FUT
'It is me who will kill a lion.'

(26b) ke-e
2SG.PRO.ACC-CLF thief catch-IPF.FUT
'It is you (SG) who will catch a thief.'

Verbless cleft sentences are marked by the suffix -Vn as shown in the following illustrative examples:
(27a)  ineen šoyraawu
       ini-en šoyra-awu
        this-CLF tree-1SG.POSS.M/F
'It’s this one which is my tree.'

(27b)  iʃeenna-án akimi-tteeta
       3SGF.PRO[ACC]-CLF treat-F
'It’s her who is a physician.'

(27c)  hellosineen kereʔta
       hellaa-oosiniʔ-en kereʔta
        children-DEM.P-CLF thieves
'It’s these children who are thieves.'
4. Nouns

This chapter is about nominal morphology. Here, I describe gender, number, plurality in adjectives, semantic gender distinction, diminutive, indefinite reference and indefinite–specific morphemes and definite reference. I also deal with demonstrative suffixes, numerals, nominal derivation, case and compounding.

4.1. Gender

4.1.1. Gender of nouns

There are three interacting notions with regard to gender in nouns. First, we have the notion of plural gender versus non-plural (masculine and feminine) gender; secondly, we have the notion of semantic plurality; and thirdly, plurative versus singulative. The distinction plural gender versus non-plural masculine and feminine gender is based on the concord between a noun in the subject function and the verb of the same sentence. As will be shown later, the distinction of gender agreement markers on the verb is realised only when nouns serve as non-focused subjects. With regard to semantic plurality, we see that plural gender does imply semantic plurality in some cases but not in all, and that the non-plural genders can have plural interpretations. To avoid the confusion that might arise from the use of terms, I use the term ‘plural’ in the context of agreement on the verb whether the subject is numerically single or multiple. I also use the terms “singulative” and “plurative” for derived forms of nouns, and “base” for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms “single” and (following Hayward (1981)) “multiple” for the number values of nouns, and the terms, “masculine”, “feminine” and “plural” for the values of gender.

Like other Cushitic languages, Konso shows gender, not number, agreement in the subject inflection on the verb. And gender has the values M(asculine), F(eminine) and P(lural), as is not uncommon for Cushitic languages. The third value for gender agreement is P(lural) because that is the ending on the verb. I use the abbreviation M/F in those gender agreement markers that do not distinguish between M and F. The head noun may be either M or F.

Thus, according to gender agreement on the verb, we have nouns that trigger the same agreement as the third person male subject (marked by the suffix -ay), those that trigger the same agreement as the third person female subject (marked by suffix -t) and those that trigger the same agreement as the third person plural subject (marked by the suffix -n).

Most nouns which are semantically specified for sex as female trigger the third person feminine gender agreement marker -t on the verb as shown in (1):
Certain nouns that are semantically female have masculine gender agreement. Here is an example:

(2a) okkattasiʔ ?ipitay
    okkatta-siʔ i=piʔ-ay
    cow-DEF.M/F 3 = fall-PF[3M]
    ‘The cow fell.’

(2b) arpasʔ ?idelay
    arpa-siʔ i= dal-ay
    elephant-DEF.M/F 3 = give.birth-PF[3M]
    ‘The elephant gave birth.’

Nouns that are semantically specified for sex as male trigger third person masculine gender agreement on the verb as in (3).

(3a) χormasiʔ ?ipatay
    χorma-siʔ i=pat-ay
    ox-DEF.M/F 3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
    ‘The ox got lost.’

(3b) hamiyaa? ?iɗeyay
    hamiyaa-siʔ i=ɗe-ay
    boy-DEF.M/F 3 = come-PF[3M]
    ‘The boy came.’

(3c) lahaiʔ ?ipatay
    laha-siʔ i=pat-ay
    ram-DEF.M/F 3 = get.lost-PF[3M]
    ‘The ram got lost.’

All nouns with plural suffixes have the plural gender agreement -n on the verb. For example, the suffix -wwaa in harceewwaa ‘donkeys’ in (4a), -ɗaa in χormadaa ‘oxen’ in (4b) and -ɗɗaa in lahaddaa ‘rams’ in (4c) are plural suffixes and, thus, impose the plural gender agreement marker -n on the verb.
There are certain nouns which are semantically plural but have a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb. For instance, iskatta ‘women’ in (5a) is semantically plural but occurs with a masculine gender marker on the verb. In the same fashion, kuyleeta ‘the Ts’amakko’ in (5b) is semantically plural but occurs with a feminine gender agreement -t on the verb.

Most nouns that are semantically undetermined for sex require masculine gender agreement, feminine gender agreement or plural gender agreement. The gender assignment cannot be predicted by the semantics of the nouns. Here are some examples:

(6a) gøyra-siʔ ʰiçep-pay
gøyra-siʔ ʰiçep-pay
tree-DEF.M/F 3 = break-PF[3M]
‘The tree was broken.’
From our discussion so far, it is apparent that nouns fall into three groups based on their subject agreement on the verb: those with M(asculine), F(emine) and P(ural) gender agreement. The three gender values to some degree follow the semantics of nouns but for quite a number of nouns the gender value cannot be predicted by semantics. Semantically plural nouns may trigger M, F or P agreement, and semantically singular nouns may trigger P agreement. Singular and plural pairs of nouns can have different gender values.

Agreement on the adjective shows that gender and number are separate agreement systems. On the adjective number is marked by reduplication (for plural), see 3.2 above, and P(ural) gender is marked by a suffix, see 4.1.4. Nouns that are plural in number need not be P(ural) in gender and nouns that are P(ural) in gender are not always plural in number. This state of affairs is confusing for those not acquainted with Cushitic languages. Using a different term for the third value of gender would be misleading because the agreement does coincide with that of third person plural ‘they’.

When there are suppletive verb roots for singulative and plurational (see 6.2.5 for pluracitonality), nouns that have a singulative notion occur with singulative verb roots, and those that have a pluraative notion occur with plurational verb roots. Nouns with pluraative notion may differ in their gender agreement on the verb. For example, if we take, as in (7), the nouns kawwaadaa ‘the Gawwada’, kaahuta ‘Kaaho villagers’ and χoyraa ‘the Burji’ and the suppletive verb roots keer- ‘to run[SG]’ and hir- ‘to run[PL]’, we see that all the nouns have a pluraative notion, and hence occur with the suppletive plurational verb root hir- ‘to run[PL]’ rather than the singulative verb root keer- ‘to run[SG]’. However, they differ in gender agreement: kawwaadaa ‘the Gawwada’ in (7a) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person masculine subject, kaahuta ‘Kaaho villagers’ in (7b) triggers the same gender agreement as the third person feminine subject, and χoyraa ‘the Burji’ in (7c) triggers the same gender agreement as plural subject.

(7a)    kawwaadaasiʔ ʔihiray
       kawwaadaa-siʔ  i=hir-ay
       kawwaada-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-PF[3M]
‘The Gawwada ran.’
There are some nouns with M~F gender values. The alternative use of the M–F does not bring any difference in meaning. For instance, the singulative raaka ‘old woman’ is semantically feminine but it may occur with the indefinite F takka in (8a) or with the M counterpart tokka in (8b), the former is preferred.

(8a) raaka takkaʔ ʔipiʔti
raaka takkaʔ  i=piʔ-t-i
old.woman INDEF.F-NOM 3=fall-3F-PF
‘A certain old woman fell down.’

(8b) raaka tokkan akkay
raaka tokka=in akk-ay
old.woman INDEF.M-1 see-PF[3M]
‘I saw a certain old woman.’

4.1.2. Gender agreement in definiteness marking
The gender of nouns determines the assignment of definite marking on nouns: nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the masculine or feminine subject assign the definite suffix -siʔ as illustrated in (9).

(9a) øimaytasiʔ ʔikutiʔay
øimayta-siʔ  i=kutiʔ-ay
old.man-DEF.M/F 3=sit.down-PF[3M]
‘The old man sat down.’

(9b) orra-siʔ ?ikal-ay
orra-siʔ  i=kal-ay
people-DEF.M/F 3=return.home-PF[3M]
‘The people returned home.’

(9c) alleetasiʔ ?ipiʔti
alleeta-siʔ  i=piʔ-t-i
hut-DEF.M/F 3=fall-3F-PF
‘The hut fell.’
Nouns that trigger the same agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the definite suffix -siniʔ. For example, the nouns innaa ‘child’ in (10a) and filaa ‘comb’ in (10b) are semantically singular. However, they add the plural gender agreement marker -n on the verb just like the noun lahaddaa ‘rams’ in (10c). This clearly shows that -n is a gender agreement marker, not a number marker.

(10a) innaasiniʔ ?imukin

    inna-siniʔ     i=muk-i-n
child-DEF.P 3 = sleep-PF-P
‘The child slept.’

(10b) filaasiniʔ ?içepin

    filaa-siniʔ    i=cçep-i-n
comb-DEF.P 3 = be.broken-PF-P
‘The comb was broken.’

(10c) lahaddaasiniʔ ?ikataman

    lahaddaa-siniʔ  i=kat-am-a-n
rams-DEF.P 3 = sell-PAS-IPF.FUT-P
‘The rams will be sold.’

4.1.3. Gender agreement in demonstratives

The gender of nouns determines the assignment of demonstrative marking on nouns. In other words, nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as masculine or feminine subject assign the demonstrative suffix -asiʔ or -osiʔ as illustrated in (11). For the distribution of the demonstrative suffixes, see Section 4.8.

(11a) kahartaasiʔ ?idalti

    kaharta-asiʔ i=ɗal-t-i
ewe-DEM.M/F 3 = give.birth-3F-PF
‘This ewe gave birth.’

(11b) çoyroosiʔ ?icçepay

    çoyra-osiʔ i=cçep-ay
tree-DEM.M/F 3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
‘This tree was broken.’

(11c) orraasiʔ ?ikalay

    orra-asiʔ i=kal-ay
people-DEM.M/F 3 = return.home-PF[3M]
‘These people returned home.’
Nouns that trigger the same gender agreement as the plural subject on the verb assign the demonstrative suffix -osiniʔ. In the following examples, the semantically singular noun innaa ‘child’ (12a) and the pluralive noun pottaawwa ‘pumpkins’ (12b) add the plural gender agreement suffix -osiniʔ.

(12a) innoosinif fatanaappaa ipiʔin

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{innaa-osiniʔ} & \quad \text{fatanaa-oppaa} & \quad i=\text{piʔ-i-n} \\
\text{child-DEM.P} & \quad \text{exam-in} & \quad 3=\text{fall-PF-P}
\end{align*}
\]

‘This child failed the exam.’

(12b) pottaawwoosiniʔ ?ipapalin

\[
\begin{align*}
pottaawwa-osiniʔ & \quad i=\text{papal-i-n} \\
pumpkins-DEM.P & \quad 3=\text{be.spoiled-PF-P}
\end{align*}
\]

‘These houses were spoiled.’

4.1.4. Gender agreement in adjectives

When adjectives serve as attributes, gender is marked in addition to number. Plural number is expressed by reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial C1V(C1). Gender agreement is marked by suffixes -a for M/F gender and by the suffix -aaʔ for plural gender. For example, in (13a), the modified noun ḥormasiʔ ‘the ox’ is semantically singulative and [M] in gender and it has an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13b), the modified noun filaaśiniʔ ‘the comb’ is semantically singulative but requires a plural gender suffix -aaʔ on the adjectival root. In (13c), the modified noun ḥorrasiʔ ‘the people’ is semantically plural and [M] in gender and requires a plural number agreement marked by reduplication but an M/F gender suffix on the adjectival root. In (13d), the object ḥormadaasiniʔ ‘the oxen’ is semantically plural and [P] in gender and has a plural number agreement marked by reduplication and a plural gender agreement suffix -aaʔ on the adjectival root. Notice that the subject of each sentence in (13) is the first person singular.

(13a) ḥormasik kappa inʔakkay

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥorma-siʔ} & \quad \text{kapp-a} & \quad in=abd-ay \\
\text{ox-DEF.M/F} & \quad \text{be.fat-M/F} & \quad 1=\text{see-PF[3M]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I saw the fat ox.’

(13b) filaaśinip pooraaʔ ?inʔakkay

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{filaa-śiniʔ} & \quad \text{poor-aaʔ} & \quad in=abd-ay \\
\text{comb-DEF.P} & \quad \text{be.black-P} & \quad 1=\text{see-PF[3M]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I saw the black comb.’

(13c) ḥorraskakappa inʔakkay

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{orrasiʔ} & \quad \text{ka-kapp-a} & \quad in=abd-ay \\
\text{people-DEF.M/F} & \quad \text{PL-be.fat-M/F} & \quad 1=\text{see-PF[3M]}
\end{align*}
\]

‘I saw the fat people.’
From the foregoing discussions, it is clear that gender as a morphological category has the M, F and P values in subject agreement marking on the verb, and M/F and P values in the noun phrase agreement, namely in definite nouns, demonstratives and adjectives.

4.2. Number

Number in nouns is derivational rather than inflectional (see Ongaye (in print)). The derivation of number in nouns involves the derivation of pluratives, and, to a much lesser degree, the derivation of singulatives. As I mentioned earlier, I use the terms “singulative” and “plurative” for derived forms of nouns, and “base” for the form on which the derivation (singulative or plurative) is based. Moreover, I use the terms “single” and (following Hayward (1981)) “multiple” for the number values of nouns. “Single” nouns refer to semantically individual entities while “multiple” nouns refer to semantically plural entities. In what follows, I first present the derivation of pluratives and then the derivation of singulatives.

Plurative is marked by the following ways:

A. attaching plurative suffixes
B. reduplicating the base-final consonant
C. geminating the last consonant of the base

Pluratives derived by any one of the above strategies are plural semantically and also trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb. As we shall see later, there are also suppletives in Konso. Singular suppletives express single reference, while plural suppletives express multiple reference.

4.2.1. Number suffixes

There are five number suffixes used to mark plurative in nouns. The number suffixes are arranged from the most to the least frequently occurring suffix with a sample of about 470 nouns (see Chapter 15).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form of number suffix</th>
<th>Base</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. -dääa (27%)</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. -wwaa (22%)</td>
<td>root-ta (F)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C. -dää (16%)</td>
<td>stem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D. -ayaa (7.5%)</td>
<td>root-atta (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. -iyyaa (5.5%)</td>
<td>root-itta (M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the correlation between the number suffixes and their bases, we can see that some plurative suffixes are added to bases while others replace singulative suffixes. Thus, the plurative suffix of each noun has to be learned lexically. Furthermore, a lexeme may occur with more than one plurative suffix. In some cases, nouns with plurative suffixes may serve as bases to further derive pluratives. In fact, sometimes it is only the singulative that is derived. In other words, the system has both singulatives and pluratives, and both can be basic.

Below, I discuss each of the number suffixes. In the illustrative examples, I only indicate the gender values of the bases because plurative suffixes impose a plural gender value.

Plurative suffix -ɗɗaa

The plurative suffix -ɗɗaa is added to a base. Base final aa is shortened when -ɗɗaa is added. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender values. The bases are either underived, or derived singulatives in -ta. The following are illustrative examples:

(14) Base gloss plurative gloss
    ḍaṭa (M) ‘butter’ ḍaṭaḍaɓa ‘butters’
    ḳITṬAYYa (M) ‘bedbug’ ḳITṬAYYaɗɗaa ‘bedbugs’
    ṃAAKAA (M) ‘snake’ ṃAAKAḌAɓa ‘snakes’
    ṃAHAṆṬA (F) ‘grass’ ṃAHANṬAḌAɓa ‘grasses’
    ọYINṬA (F) ‘fence’ ọYINTAḌAɓa ‘fences’
    f̣IJIJ̣A (P) ‘curse’ f̣IJIJAḌAɓa ‘curses’
    ḳAṚIYYa (P) ‘evil spirit’ ḳAṚIYYaɗɗaa ‘evil spirits’
    ḳỌSAA (P) ‘granary’ ḳỌSAḌAɓa ‘granaries’
    ṃAṚ oḷṆA (P) ‘intestine’ ṃAṚ oḷṆAḌAɓa ‘intestines’

Plurative suffix -wwaa

The plurative suffix -wwaa replaces the singulative suffix -ta. Except apuyyaata ‘maternal uncle (M)’ and kawkawa ‘lower jaw (M)’, all such singulative nouns trigger a feminine gender agreement. Examples:

(15) Base gloss plurative gloss
    ḥIṆFÆAKKATA (F) ‘ant’ ḥIṆFÆAKKAWWAɓa ‘ants’
    ḥAAKIA (F) ‘mule’ ḥAAKIAWWAɓa ‘mules’
    j̣ỌỌG̣ OḷṬA (F) ‘mud’ j̣ỌỌG̣ OḷTWWAɓa ‘muds’
    ṇỌỌḌ DUṬA (F) ‘bribe’ ṇỌỌḌ DUWWAɓa ‘bribes’
    ṃỤỤKUTA (F) ‘frog’ ṃỤỤKUWWAɓa ‘frogs’
    f̣ỊḶLAYYAATA (F) ‘flea’ f̣ỊḶLAYYAWWWAɓa ‘fleas’
    ḷẠṆDEEṬA (F) ‘liver’ ḷẠṆDEEEWWWAɓa ‘livers’
Plurative suffix -ɗaa

Like the suffix -ɗɗaa, plurative suffix -ɗaa is added to its bases. The bases have either a consonant cluster or geminate consonants preceding the suffix with the short ɗ. Although degemination in the context of geminate consonants or clusters of consonants has been attested elsewhere in the language, we cannot posit the suffix -ɗaa as an allomorph of the suffix -ɗɗaa because the suffix -ɗɗaa also occurs after clusters of consonants, as in oyntadɗaa ‘fences’ and hawladɗaa ‘graves’. Base final aa is shortened. The bases may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value, but the majority have a masculine gender value. The following are illustrative examples. Notice that the plurative suffixes -ɗɗaa and -ɗaa are not allomorphs of the same plurative suffix.

(16) Base gloss plurative gloss
    arpa (M) ‘elephant’ arpadɗa ‘elephants’
    ipsaa (P) ‘light’ ipsadɗa ‘lights’
    dalta (F) ‘seed’ daltadɗa ‘seeds’
    farta (F) ‘horse’ fartadɗa ‘horses’
    mayx̌a (M) ‘name’ mayx̌adɗa ‘names’
    kirra (M) ‘river’ kirradɗa ‘rivers’
    kappa (M) ‘wheat’ kappadɗa ‘wheat’
    karmaa (M) ‘lion’ karmadɗa ‘lions’
    karkaa (M) ‘beehive’ karmadɗa ‘beehives’
    paŋŋa (P) ‘tomato’ paŋŋadɗa ‘tomatoes’
    paankaa (P) ‘machete’ paankadɗa ‘machetes’

The base noun paŋŋa ‘tomato’ can have plural interpretation in the absence the plurative suffix -ɗaa. Plural or singular interpretation is understood not from the gender agreement on the verb, as both trigger plural gender agreement marking on the verb, but rather from the singulativity or pluractionality of the action: when the verb root is a singulative suppletive or the verb root’s initial C₁V(C₁) is not reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has a singular interpretation. However, when the verb root is a plurative suppletive or the verb root’s initial C₁V(C₁) is reduplicated (for non-suppletives), then it has plural interpretation.

Plurative suffix -ayaa

The plurative suffix -ayaa replaces the singulative suffix -atta as can be seen from the data in (17). The majority of the bases have a masculine gender agreement.

(17) Base gloss plurative gloss
    oypat (M) tree species oypayaa tree species
    arpat (M) grass species arpayaa grass species
There is one instance of a nominal root with a singulative suffix -eetta and a plural suffix -eeyya: kupeetta (M) kupeeyya ‘lower bone of hind leg’.

### Plurative suffix -iyyaa

The plurative suffix -iyyaa is added to roots by replacing the singulative suffix -itta. All the bases trigger a masculine gender agreement. Here are some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>alkitta</td>
<td>‘sisal’</td>
<td>alkiiyyaa</td>
<td>‘sisals’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fiɲɲitta</td>
<td>‘pimple’</td>
<td>fiɲɲiyyaa</td>
<td>‘pimples’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʛupitta</td>
<td>‘finger’</td>
<td>ʛupiyyaa</td>
<td>‘fingers’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ilkitta</td>
<td>‘tooth’</td>
<td>ilkiyyaa</td>
<td>‘teeth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karitta</td>
<td>‘belly’</td>
<td>kariyyaa</td>
<td>‘bellies’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>orritta</td>
<td>‘devil’</td>
<td>orriyyaa</td>
<td>‘devils’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apitta</td>
<td>‘fire’</td>
<td>apiyyaa</td>
<td>‘fires’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.LayoutInflater</td>
<td>‘rib’</td>
<td>.LayoutInflater</td>
<td>‘ribs’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.2.2. Reduplicating the base final consonant

Reduplicating the base final consonant is another strategy that marks plurative. In this number derivation strategy, a base final consonant /l/ or /n/ in a consonant cluster is reduplicated and subsequently geminated/lengthened. The plurative forms have a final long aa. Most often the consonant clusters containing /l/ undergo metathesis (cf. 2.7.6.). The bases may have a short a or a long aa. A base final -aa is shortened in the plurative. The bases trigger either masculine or plural gender agreement, the majority triggering masculine gender agreement. The following is an exhaustive list:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hawla</td>
<td>‘tomb, grave’</td>
<td>hawlallaa</td>
<td>‘tombs, graves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fancala</td>
<td>‘splinter’</td>
<td>fancallaa</td>
<td>‘splinters’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawna</td>
<td>‘bell’</td>
<td>tawnanaya</td>
<td>‘bells’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moŋna</td>
<td>‘rocky place’</td>
<td>moŋnanaa</td>
<td>‘rocky places’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ƈolfaa</td>
<td>‘park, pod’</td>
<td>ƈolfallaa</td>
<td>‘parks (of tree), pods’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The bases in (20a) have the same phonological pattern as those in (19) but they do not reduplicate the final consonant in the plurative. The correct plurative forms are given in (20b).

(20a) Base  
gloss  
plurative  
talpa (M)  
‘lentil’  
*talpallaa  
hupna (M)  
‘strength’  
*hupnannah  
ayna (P)  
‘remains after sucking cane’  
*haynannah

(20b) talpadaa (P)  
‘lentils’  
hupnannah (P)  
‘strengths’  
aynadaa (P)  
‘remains after sucking cane’

4.2.3. Plurative marking by gemination

This plurative marking strategy geminates the onset of the last syllable. The short vowel /a/ of the bases is lengthened in the plurative forms. The majority of the bases trigger masculine gender agreement. The following are illustrative data.

(21) Base  
gloss  
plurative  
gloss  
tika (F)  
‘house’  
tikkaa  
‘houses’  
raaka (F)  
‘old woman’  
raakaa  
‘old women’  
dila (M)  
‘field’  
dillaa  
‘fields’  
kaɓ (M)  
‘canal’  
kafınaa  
‘canals’  
kaɓfa (M)  
‘clan’  
kafaa  
‘clans’  
mura (M)  
‘forest’  
murraa  
‘forests’  
pora (M)  
‘road, route’  
porraa  
‘roads, routes’  
apaàa (M)  
‘disease’  
apaàaa  
‘diseases’  
paala (M)  
‘feather’  
paallaa  
‘feathers’  
kaasa (M)  
‘horn, gun’  
kaassaa  
‘horns, guns’  
tuɗa (M)  
‘pillar’  
tuɗaa  
‘pillars’  
hoofa (M)  
‘hole’  
hooffaa  
‘holes’

The pluratives of the following bases are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable but the singulative is marked by suffix -ta.
4.2.4. Double plurative derivation

Certain plurative forms serve as bases for further derived pluratives. Double pluratives are derived by adding the plurative suffix -ɗaa when the plurative bases are formed by reduplicating the base final consonant as in (23a). They are also derived by adding the plurative suffix -ɗɗaa when the plurative bases are formed by geminating the base final consonant as in (23b).

(23a) Base (plurative)  plurative (double derived)
- tikkaa  tikkaɗaa  ‘houses’
- raakkaa  raakkadaa  ‘old women’
- dilla  dilladaa  ‘fields’
- kaffaa  kaffadaa  ‘canals’
- kaɓɓaa  kaɓɓaɗaa  ‘canals’
- muraa  murradaa  ‘forests’
- porraa  porradaa  ‘roads, routes’
- paacfaa  paacfadaa  ‘diseases’
- paalla  paalladaa  ‘feathers’
- kaassaa  kaassadaa  ‘horns, guns’
- tuudaa  tuudadaa  ‘pillars’
- hooffaa  hooffadaa  ‘holes’

(23b) silpallaa  silpalladdaa  ‘metals’
- diklallaa  diklalladdaa  ‘elbows’
- kilpallaa  kilpalladdaa  ‘knese’
- kulpallaa  kulpalladdaa  ‘big calabashes’
- golpallaa  golpalladdaa  ‘he-goats’
- hawlla  hawlladdaa  ‘tombs, graves’
- fancallaa  fancalladdaa  ‘splinters’
- tawnannaa  tawnannaddaa  ‘bells’
- moχnannaa  moχnannaddaa  ‘rocks, places’
- dapnannaa  dapnannaddaa  ‘temples’
- golfallaa  golfalladdaa  ‘parks (of tree), pods’

4.2.5. Irregular pluratives

Certain pluratives do not fall into the patterns discussed above. For example, the plurative ildaa ‘eyes’, which is derived from the nominal root il- ‘eye’ (singularative ilta (F) ‘eye’), does not conform to the pattern I discussed earlier for the plurative suffix -ɗaa. That is, in my earlier analysis, I showed that -ɗaa is added to bases, not roots. But in ildaa ‘eyes’, it is added to a root. The other...
pluratives that do not fall into our earlier patterns include ꏀora (M) ‘tree’, harkaa ‘hands’ and kereʔta ‘thieves’. The plural ꏀora (M) ‘tree’ has the singulative ꏀoyra (M) ‘tree’. The derivation of the plural ꏀora ‘trees’ involves the deletion of the consonant y in the singulative, and lengthening the final vowel of the singulative. The plural harkaa ‘hands’ is derived from the base by lengthening only the final vowel of the base. With regard to the derivation of the plural kereʔta ‘thieves’ and its singulative keraa (M) ‘thief’, both have a root ker- to which -ʔta and -aa are added to derive the plural and singulative, respectively.

In fact, the pluratives harkaa ‘hands’ and kereʔta ‘thieves’ can alternatively be used as stems to derive the plural harkaɗaa and kereʔewwaa, respectively. Similarly, the singulative ꏀoyra may serve as a stem to derive the plural ꏀoyraɗaa. This derivation fits into our analysis for the derivational pattern of the number suffix -ɗaa.

4.2.6. Suppletive plurals

Certain single-reference nouns have suppletive multiple reference counterparts. An exhaustive list is given in (24). The single-reference forms may trigger masculine, feminine or plural gender agreement; on the other hand, the plurals may trigger masculine or plural gender agreement.

(24) Single gloss multiple gloss
innaa (P) ‘child’ hellaa (P) ‘(human) children’
nama (M) ‘man, person’ orra (M) ‘people’
saallaa (M) ‘cow dung’ kuufa (M) ‘pile of cow dung’
inanta (F) ‘girl’ tupar(r)aa (P) ‘girls’
innya (P) ‘young animal’ neldaa (P) ‘young animals/birds’

4.2.7. Pluratives without corresponding singulative forms

In the preceding sections, we discussed the derivation of pluratives from singulative bases. The roots of the bases carry the semantics of singulative. However, there are instances in which there is only one number form which is plurative and not singulative. Such nouns are listed below.

(25) horeeta (F) ‘livestock’
sawwaa (M) ‘people (formal setting)’
ikkaamaa (P) ‘seed corn’

Our evidence for claiming that the above nouns are plural comes from agreement. For instance, the examples in (26) are acceptable because the nouns horeeta ‘livestock’ and sawwaa ‘people’ occur with the pluractional verb root hir- ‘run[PL]’. On the other hand, the examples in (27) are unacceptable be-
cause the same nouns horeeta and sawwa occur with a singulative verb root keer- ‘run[SG]’.

(26a) horeetasiʔ ?ihiɾti
horeeta-siʔ i=hir-t-i
livestock-DEF.M/F 3=run[PL]-3F-PF
‘The livestock ran.’

(26b) keraasiʛ cąpiyas sawwaasiʔ ?iʰiɾaɨy
keraa-siʔ cąp-yaʔ sawwaa-siʔ
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F
i=hir-ay
3=run[PL]-PF[3M]
‘The people ran in order to catch the thief.’

(27a) *horeetasiʔ ?ikeeɾti
horeeta-siʔ i=keer-t-i
livestock-DEF.M/F 3=run[SG]-3F-PF
(intended: ‘The livestock ran.’)

(27b) *keraasiʛ cąpiyas sawwaasiʔ ?ikeeray
keraa-siʔ cąp-yaʔ sawwaa-siʔ
thief-DEF.M/F catch-INF-DAT people-DEF.M/F
i=keer-ay
3=run[SG]-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The people ran in order to catch the thief.’)

4.2.8. Derivation of singulatives

Singulatives are derived from underived pluratives by deleting final vowels and adding the suffixes -ayta (M) as in (28a), -ta (M/F) as in (28b), -itta (M) as in (28c) or -teeta (F) as in (28d).

(28a) Plurative singulative gloss
dąʔayaa dąʔayta (M) plant species
karayaa karayta (M) ‘gorge’
keltayaa keltayta (M) ‘baboon’
ottayaa ottayta (M) tree species
cɨmayaa cɨmayta (M) ‘old man’

(28b) kumaanaa kumaanta (M) ‘antelope’
maskahanaa maskahanta (M) tree species
pinaanaa pinanta (M) ‘animal’
The singulative okkatta (M) ‘cow’ is derived from the plurative okkaa ‘cows’. The singulative apitta (M) ‘fire’ may also serve as a stem to derive the pluralive apittaddaa.

4.2.9. Associative plural

Associative plural is marked by the particle opa followed by the noun it modifies.\(^{7}\) Associative plural expresses that the noun which the associative particle modifies has an associate(s) whose name(s) is (are) not mentioned. The associative plural may be a subject as in (29a) or an object as in (29b).

(29a) \(\text{opa} \quad \chiampiru\?) \quad \text{?ideyin} \quad \text{opa} \quad \chiampiru\?) \quad i=dey-i-n \quad \text{ASS} \quad \chiampiro-NOM \quad 3 = \text{come-PF-P} \quad \chiampiro and his associates came.’

(29b) \(\text{anti-} \quad \text{?opa} \quad \text{Apittun akkay} \quad \text{anti-} \quad \text{opa} \quad \text{Apitto=in} \quad \text{akk-ay} \quad 1\text{SG.PRO-NOM} \quad \text{ASS} \quad \text{Apitto=1} \quad \text{see-PF[3M]} \quad \text{‘I saw ?apitto and his associate(s).’}

\(^{7}\) The associative particle and the postposition indicating destination (see Section 8.2.1) have the same form opa but occur in different positions with regard to the noun they modify. I consider them to be distinct, homophonous morphemes.
4.3. Plurality in adjectives

Plural number agreement in adjectives is marked by reduplicating the root initial $C_1V$ when there is a geminate consonant in the root as in (30), otherwise, $C_1VC_1$ as in (31). For example, in (30a), the initial $C_1V$ of the adjectival root $qalala$- ‘to be thin, slim’ is not reduplicated because the subject inanta ‘girl’ is singular. In (30b), it is reduplicated because the subject tuparaa ‘girls’ is plural. In the same fashion, in (31a), the initial $C_1VC_1$ of the adjectival root der- ‘to be long’ is not reduplicated because the subject goyraisi ‘the tree’ is singular. In (31b), the initial $C_1VC_1$ of the adjectival root is reduplicated because the subject gorasini ‘the trees’ is plural.

\[(30a)\] inantaasiʔ ?iqalalaʔi
\[\text{inanta-asiʔ} \quad i=qalala?-i\]
\[\text{girl-DEM.M/F} \quad 3=\text{be.slim-PF}\]
\[\text{‘This girl is slim.’}\]

\[(30b)\] tuparoosiniʔ ?iqalalaʔi
\[\text{tuparaa-siniʔ} i=qalala?-i\]
\[\text{girls-DEM.P} \quad 3=\text{PL-be.slim-PF}\]
\[\text{‘These girls are slim.’}\]

\[(31a)\] goyraisiʔ ?ideri
\[\text{goyra-siʔ} i=der-i\]
\[\text{tree-DEF.M/F} \quad 3=\text{be.tall-PF}\]
\[\text{‘The tree is tall.’}\]

\[(31b)\] gorasiniʔ ?idedderi
\[\text{goraa-siniʔ} i=dedder-i\]
\[\text{tree-DEF.P} \quad 3=\text{PL-be.tall-PF}\]
\[\text{‘The trees are tall.’}\]

We should note that reduplicating the adjectival root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$ shows only plural interpretation, and not plural gender agreement.

4.4. Semantic gender distinction

Names referring to certain domestic animals make a lexical semantic distinction between males and females. The lexical items that refer to ‘sheep’ are listed in (32a); those that refer to ‘cow, ox, bull’ are listed in (32b); and those that refer to ‘goat’ are listed in (32c).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(32a) laha (M)</td>
<td>kaharta (F) ‘ewe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘ram’</td>
<td>sukeenta (F) ‘female lamb’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From the data in (32), we see that all the lexical items that are semantically male trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb. But lexical items such as ʔokkatta ‘cow’ and tullatta ‘old cow’, which are semantically female, trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb as shown in (33).

(33a)  okkattasiʔ ʔiɗalay
                   okkatta-siʔ i=ɗal-ay
        cow-DEF.M/F  3=give.birth-PF[3M]
   ‘The cow gave birth.’

(33b)  tullattasiʔ ʔipiʔay
                   tullatta-siʔ i=piʔ-ay
         old.cow-DEF.M/F  3=fall-PF[3M]
   ‘The old cow fell.’

Lexical semantic gender distinction is also made in kinship terms. In the following table, I give the lexical items that refer to males in the first column, and their corresponding female names in the second column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aappaa ‘father’</td>
<td>aayyaa ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aappaa ‘husband’</td>
<td>ahta ‘wife’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>apuyyaata ‘maternal uncle’</td>
<td>maammata ‘aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aakkaa ‘grandfather’</td>
<td>okkooyyita ‘grandmother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oopaa ‘grandson’</td>
<td>oopta ‘granddaughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʃuma ‘nephew’</td>
<td>aʃumta ‘niece’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alawa ‘male sibling’</td>
<td>alawta ‘female sibling’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamiya ‘baby boy’</td>
<td>inanta ‘baby girl’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Semantic gender distinction in kinship terms

Certain proper names also distinguish gender. In most instances, the female names are derived from male names by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the male name. One instance (last example) shows that when the penultimate syllable of a male name has a closed syllable, the coda of that syllable is geminated for the female name rather than the onset of the final syllable (i.e.
Most of the male names end in -o and the female counterparts end in -a.

(34a) Male female source noun meaning of source
proper name proper name
Katano Katanna katana ‘season for sowing’
Roopo Rooppa roopa ‘rain’
χampiro χampirra χampirteeta ‘bird’
Kappino Kappinna kappina ‘bush’
Urmale Urmalla ϖurmalaa ‘market’
Teykane Teykanna teykantaa ‘morning’
χudaado χudaadaa χudaadaa ‘late morning’
Kuywawo Kuywanna kywytaa ‘noon, day’
Kallapo Kallappa kalapta ‘late afternoon’
Halkeeyo Halkeeyya halkeetta ‘midnight’
Orχayto Orχayya orχayta ‘adopted child’

(34b) Male female source noun meaning of source
proper name proper name
Oraapo Oraappa oraap- ‘to fetch water’
Kutano Kutanna kut- ‘to hunt’
Kalʃo Kalisso kalʃ- ‘to make go home’

4.5. Diminutives

Diminutive is marked by the suffix -(tte)eta. The diminutive suffix is added to nouns that show third person masculine gender value. The diminutive suffix renders a third person feminine gender value to the noun it is added to. The diminutive suffix implies that the addresser has a low opinion of the noun in question. For example, in (35a), the addresser has a high opinion of the noun ϖimaytasiʔ ‘the old man’, as it has no diminutive suffix; however, in (35b), it occurs with the diminutive suffix, implying that the addresser has a low opinion of the referent. In the translations of the examples below, I use the adjective ‘little’ to denote diminutive.

(35a) ϖimaytasiʔ ϖoyrasiʔ ?ihaādy
ϖimayta-siʔ ϖoyra-siʔ i=haad-ay
old.man-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry-PF[3M]
‘The old man carried the tree.’

(35b) ϖimayteetasiʔ ϖoyraʔti
ϖimaya-eta-siʔ ϖoyra-siʔ i=haad-t-i
old.man-DIM-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3=carry-3F-PF
‘The little old man carried the tree.’

kalisso is underlyingly kalʃo.
Diminutive does not seem to occur with nouns that trigger plural gender agreement. The only exception that I noted is innaa ‘child’ but even then, the form of the diminutive is different: -innata as shown in (36b).

(36a) innaasiniʔ ʔipiʔin
    \[\text{innaa-siniʔ} \ i=piʔ-i-n\]
    child-DEF.P \ 3 = fall-PF-P
    ‘The child fell.’

(36b) inninnaataziʔ ʔipiʔti
    \[\text{innaa-nnaata-siʔ} \ i=piʔ-t-i\]
    child-DIM-DEF.M/F \ 3 = fall-3F-PF
    ‘The little child fell.’

The female lexical items okkatta ‘cow’ and tullatta ‘old cow’ that trigger masculine gender agreement on the verb acquire third person feminine gender agreement on the verb when the diminutive suffix is added to them. This is shown in (37).

(37a) okkatteetasiʔ ʔitoʔti
    \[\text{okkatta-eeta-siʔ} \ i=toy-t-i\]
    cow-DIM-DEF.M/F \ 3 = die[SG]-3F-PF
    ‘The little cow died.’

(37b) tullatteetasiʔ ʔipiʔti
    \[\text{tullatta-eeta-siʔ} \ i=piʔ-t-i\]
    old.cow-DIM-DEF.M/F \ 3 = fall-3F-PF
    ‘The little old cow fell.’

In the following examples, we have the noun ʛoyra ‘tree’. This noun has third person masculine gender agreement without the diminutive as in (38a). However, with the diminutive suffix, it acquires third person feminine gender agreement on the verb, as illustrated in (38b).

(38a) ʛoyrasiʔ ʔikupady
    \[\text{ʛoyra-siʔ} \ i=kup-aɗ-ay\]
    tree.M-DEF.M/F \ 3 = burn-MID-PF[3M]
    ‘The tree was burnt.’

(38b) ʛoyritteetasiʔ ʔikupatti
    \[\text{ʛoyra-tteeta-siʔ} \ i=kup-aɗ-t-i\]
    tree.F-DIM-DEF.M/F \ 3 = burn-MID-3F-PF
    ‘The little tree was burnt.’
When the performance of a referent in question excels the expectation of the addresser, the diminutive suffix expresses a surprise of the addresser. The following are illustrative examples:

(39a)  
raakitteasitiʔ ?iʃapaatti  
raaka-tteeta-siʔ i=ʃapaad-t-i  
old.woman-DIM-DEF.M/F 3=be.strong-3F-PF  
‘Wow! The old little woman became strong.’

(39b)  
aappitteasitiʔ ɬoyrasiʔ ?ihaʔti  
aappaa-tteeta-siʔ ɬoyra-siʔ i=haɗ-t-i  
father-DIM-DEF.M/F tree/wood-DEF.M/F 3=carry-3F-PF  
‘Wow! The little man carried the log.’

Some nouns seem to have frozen diminutive suffix: talteeta ‘she-goat’, lammit-teeta ‘second wife’.

4.6. Indefinite reference and indefinite-specific morphemes

Indefinite reference is not morphologically marked both in subject and object function. This can be seen from the nouns laha ‘ram’, ʔappitta ‘fire’, ɬimayaa ‘old men’ and χormaɗaa ‘bulls’ with indefinite reference which appear in their citation forms as the following sentences demonstrate.

(40a)  
antil laha ɬimpiɗda  
antilʔ laha in=pidɗ-a  
1SG.PRO-NOM ram 1=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT  
‘I will buy a ram.’

(40b)  
inantasiʔ ʔapitta iʔopassi  
inanta-siʔ apitta i=opay-ʃ-t-i  
girl-DEF.M/F fire 3=build.fire-DCAUS-3F-PF  
‘The girl built fire.’

(40c)  
ɬimayaa dise caa  
ɬimayaa dise kiy-aa  
old.men there be-IPF.PRES  
‘There are old men over there.’

(40d)  
iʃoonna χormaɗaa heerin  
iʃoonnaʔ χormaɗaa=i heer-i-n  
3PL.PRO-NOM bulls =3 buy[PL]-PF-P  
‘They bought bulls.’
Specific-indefinite reference may be marked by tokka ‘one.M’ or takka ‘one.F’ or takkan ~ takka-n ‘one-P’. In the following examples, tokka, takka and takkan specify the nouns hamiya ‘boy’, ṭinanta ‘girl’ and χormaɗaa ‘oxen’, respectively. These nouns have an inherent gender value: masculine, feminine and plural, respectively.

(41a)  hamiya tokkaʔ ʔiɗeyay
       hamiya tokkaʔ ʔi=ɗey-ay
       boy INDEF.M-NOM 3=come-PF
       ‘A certain boy came.’

(41b)  ṭinanta takkaʔ ʔiɗeʔti
       ṭinanta takkaʔ i=ɗeʔ-t-i
       girl INDEF.F-NOM 3=come-3F-PF
       ‘A certain girl came.’

(41c)  χormaɗaa takka-n=in akk-ay
       oxen INDEF-P=1 see-PF
       ‘I saw a certain oxen.’

Sex-unspecific singulative nouns that have a specific-indefinite reference may have a masculine, feminine or plural gender value. For instance, the singulative alleeta ‘house (F)’ requires a feminine gender specific-indefinite reference marker takka in (42a). The singular ʛoyra ‘tree (M)’ requires a masculine gender specific indefinite reference marker tokka in (42b). The singulative filaa ‘comb (P)’ requires a plural gender specific-indefinite reference marker takkan in (42c).

(42a)  alleeta takkan piɗɗaɗay
       alleeta takka=in piɗɗ-aɗ-ay
       house INDEF.F=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
       ‘I bought a certain house for myself.’

(42b)  ʛoyra tokkan piɗɗaɗay
       ʛoyra tokka=in piɗɗ-aɗ-ay
       tree INDEF.M=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
       ‘I bought a certain tree for myself.’

(42c)  filaa takka-n=in piɗɗ-aɗay
       comb INDEF-P=1 buy[SG]-MID-PF[3M]
       ‘I bought a certain comb for myself.’

It should be noted that the specific-indefinite reference takka, but not tokka, is used in the numeral system, meaning ‘one’ (see Numerals in 4.8).
4.7. Definite reference

Definite reference is marked by suffixes -siʔ and -siniʔ on nouns. Inherently
definite entities such as proper names may also appear with the definite suffix
-siʔ.

Nouns which trigger masculine or feminine gender agreement add the definite
suffix -siʔ. For instance, in (43), the singulative nouns čímayta ‘old man’ and
raaka ‘old woman’ and the plurative noun orra ‘people’ occur with the M/F
definite reference -siʔ.

(43a) čímaytasiʔ ?imukay
 čímayta-siʔ
old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-PF[3M]
‘The old man slept.’

(43b) raaka-siʔ ?imukti
 raaka-siʔ
old.woman-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-3F-PF
‘The old woman slept.’

(43c) orra-siʔ ?imukay
 orra-siʔ
people-DEF.M/F 3 = sleep-PF[3M]
‘The people slept.’

Nouns that trigger plural gender agreement add the definite suffix -siniʔ. For
instance, in (44), the singulatives furaa ‘comb’ and aanaa ‘milk’ and the plura-
tive karmaɗaa ‘lions’ occur with the plural definite reference suffix.

(44a) furaasiniʔ ?ipatin
 furaa-siniʔ
key-DEF.P 3 = disappear-PF-P
‘The key disappeared.’

(44b) aanaasiniʔ ?ipapalin
 aanaa-siniʔ
milk-DEF.P 3 = be.spoiled-PF-P
‘The milk went bad.’

(44c) karmaɗaa-siniʔ ?ihirin
karmaɗaa-siniʔ
lions-DEF.P 3 = run[PL]-PF-P
‘The lions ran.’
Nouns derived from verb roots occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ as can be seen from the following examples.

(45)  keeritaasiʔ ʔiʔana kaftiʃay
keer-taa-siʔ i=ʔana
run[SG]-VN-DEF.M/F 3 = 1SG.PRO.ACC

\[ \text{kaʃaʃ-f-ay} \]
tire[MID]-CAUS-PF[3M]

‘The running made me tired.’

Proper names can occur with the M/F definite suffix -siʔ. The definite suffix is added to a proper name when there is shared knowledge between the interlocutors about the person. Examples:

(46a)  Katannasiʔ ʔiʔaakta
Katanna-siʔ i=aak-t-a
Katanna-DEF.M/F 3 = be.well-3F-IPF.FUT
‘The Katanna is well (recovering from illness).’

(46b)  kappoolesiʔ ʔayyee ca
kappoole-siʔ ayye=i kiy-a
Kappoole-DEM.M/F here=3 be-IPF.FUT
‘The Kappoole is here.’

The shared knowledge between the interlocutors in (46a) is about Katanna’s health situation while in (46b), it is about Kappoole’s whereabouts.

When definite suffixes are followed by the dative or instrumental suffix, the definite suffixes have the forms -sit for M/F (47) and -sinit for P as shown in (48).

(47a)  okkattasitip piʃaa ɗaaʃi
okkatta-sit-ʔ piʃaa ɗaaʃ-i
cow-DEF.M/F-DAT water give-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Give water for the cow!’

(47b)  iskatteetasiʔ ʔorrasiʔee faːqaa katti
iskattleeta-siʔ orra-sit-ʔ=i faːqaa
woman-DEF.M/F people-DEF.M/F-DAT=3 local.beer

\[ \text{kat-t-i} \]
sell-3F-PF
‘The woman sold the people local beer.’
Definite reference does not obligatorily require definite marking. In stories and conversations, for instance, it is quite customary to encounter entities that have been mentioned before used without definite suffixes later in the story or conversation. For example, in sentence (49), taken from a story about a lion that lived in a jungle, the noun *karmaa* ‘lion’, which has been mentioned a couple of times earlier in the story, appears without a definite marker.

(49)  
\[
karmaa ka \dashdot \dotcapaleesi \dotcaraa kaassuma \dashdot \dotkaassaday  
karmaa \quad ka \quad \dotcapaleeti \dotcaraa  
\]
\[
\text{lion and monkey-DEM.M/F on}  
\]
\[
\text{kaassuma = i} \quad \text{kaassad-ay}  
\text{question = 3 ask-PF[3M]}  
\]
\[
\text{‘And, [the] lion asked this monkey [the] question.’}  
\]

4.8. Demonstrative suffixes

There are four demonstrative suffixes that express proximity. These are: -ooșiʔ, -asıʔ, -sıʔ and -oosiniʔ. The suffixes -oo sièʔ, -ası siècle and -sı siècle occur with nouns that trigger an M/F gender. The suffix -oosiniʔ occurs with nouns that trigger a plural gender. Among -oo sièʔ, -ası siècle, and -sı siècle, the suffix -oo sièʔ is added to any nominal root. Examples:

(50a)  
\[
kut-ooșiʔ  
dog-DEM.M/F  
\text{‘this dog’}  
\]
The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(51a)  
\[
\text{kutoosis s}^\text{a} \text{ ihatay} \\
\text{kut-oosiʔ soʔaa } \text{i=hat-ay} \\
\text{dog-DEM.M/F meat 3=steal-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘This dog stole meat.’}
\]

(51b)  
\[
\text{ɗakoosiʔ } \text{ʔiʔulsi} \\
\text{ɗak-oosiʔ i=ʔuls-i} \\
\text{stone-DEM.M/F 3=be.heavy-PF} \\
\text{‘This stone is heavy.’}
\]

(51c)  
\[
\text{oorroosiʔ } \text{ʔileki} \\
\text{orr-oosiʔ i=lek-i} \\
\text{people-DEM.M/F 3=be.many-PF} \\
\text{‘These people are numerous.’}
\]

The demonstrative suffix -\text{asiʔ} is added to nominal roots that have the nominaliser -\text{a} (but not -\text{aa}) or the singulative suffix -\text{ta}, as shown in the following illustrative phrases.

(52a)  
\[
\text{kuta-asiʔ} \\
\text{dog-DEM.M/F} \\
\text{‘this dog’}
\]

(52b)  
\[
\text{nama-asiʔ} \\
\text{person-DEM.M/F} \\
\text{‘this person’}
\]

(52c)  
\[
\text{tuuyyata-asiʔ} \\
\text{pig-DEM.M/F} \\
\text{‘this pig’}
\]

(52d)  
\[
\text{tapayta-asiʔ} \\
\text{rat-DEM.M/F} \\
\text{‘this rat’}
\]
The following are illustrative sentential examples in which the nouns kuta ‘dog’, ʛoyra ‘tree’ and tapayta ‘rat’ have the definite suffix -asiʔ.

(53a) kutaasiʔ ?ipoori
    dog-DEM.M/F 3 = be.black-PF
    ‘This dog is black.’

(53b) ʛoyraasiʔ ?ic̲ep̲ay
    tree-DEM.M/F 3 = be.broken-PF[3M]
    ‘This tree was broken.’

(53c) tapaytaasiʔ ?ikappi
    rat-DEM.M/F 3 = be.fat-PF
    ‘This rat is fat.’

Nominal roots that have the nominaliser -aa do not occur with the demonstrative suffix -asiʔ: karmaa ‘lion’, ɗakaa ‘stone’ karkaa ‘beehive’, maakaa ‘snake’. The nominal roots of such nouns occur only with the demonstrative suffix -oosiʔ.

The demonstrative suffix -siʔ occurs with nominal roots that have the nominaliser -a (but not -aa) or the singulative suffix -ta. In such cases -siʔ replaces the nominaliser and the singulative suffix. Note that -siʔ has the same form as the definite M/F reference marker.

(54a) por-siʔ < pora ‘road’
    road-DEM.M/F  ‘this road’

(54b) tik-siʔ < tika ‘house’
    house-DEM.M/F  ‘this house’

(54c) ʛimay-siʔ < ʛimayta ‘old man’
    old.man-DEM.M/F  ‘this old man’

(54d) ɗam-siʔ < ɗamta ‘food’
    food-DEM.M/F  ‘this food’
The following are illustrative sentential examples:

(55a) ćimaysiʔ ʔipaačhi
ćimay-siʔ i=paac-ni
old.man-DEM.M/F 3=sick-IPF.PRES 'This old man is sick.'

(55b) ɗamsiʔ ʔakataa meʔawni
ɗam-siʔ akata=i meʔaw-ni
food-DEM.M/F very=3 be.sweet-IPF.PRES 'This food is quite delicious.'

(55c) harreesiʔ ʔideepooɗti
harree-siʔ i=ɗeep-ooɗ-t-i
donkey-DEM.M/F 3=be.thirsty-MID-3F-PF 'This donkey is thirsty.'

Nominal roots with a final CC (e.g. mooṭṭ- ‘friend’, hark- ‘hand’) do not allow the demonstrative suffix -siʔ.

The demonstrative suffix -oosiniʔ, as mentioned earlier, is added to nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb. For instance, the nouns innaa ‘child’, piʃaa ‘water’, harreewwaa ‘donkeys’ and ɗillaa ‘fields’ in the following examples occur with -oosiniʔ.

(56a) innoosiniʔ ʔipiʔin
inna-oosiniʔ i=piʔ-i-n
child-DEM.P 3=be.thin-PF-P 'This child fell.'

(56b) pijooosiniʔ ?ipooraawin
piʃaa-oosiniʔ i=pooraaw-i-n
water-DEM.P 3=be.impure-PF-P 'This water became impure.'

(56c) harreeww-oosiniʔ ?i=ka-kapp-i
harreewwaa-oosiniʔ i=ka-kapp-i
donkeys-DEM.P 3=PL-be.fat-PF 'These donkeys are fat.'

(56d) dilloosiniʔ ?ipappaldi
dillaa-oosiniʔ i=pap-pald-i
fields-DEM.P 3=PL-be.wide-PF 'These fields are wide.'
Using the nominal root *por*-'road' or the singulative noun *pora*-'road', in (57) we show the occurrence of the demonstrative suffixes and the definite reference suffix:

(57)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>por-siʔ</td>
<td>'this road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>por-oosiʔ</td>
<td>'this road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pora-asiʔ</td>
<td>'this road'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pora-siʔ</td>
<td>'the road'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a noun with a demonstrative suffix. The following are illustrative examples:

(58a)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>namsid disəc co moottaawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nam-siʔ disə=i kiy-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>person-DEM.M/F there=3 be-3M</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

moottaawu  
friend-1SG.POSS.M/F  
'That man is my friend.'

(58b)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaharroosiniʔ ?ire ca ileki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaharr-oosiniʔ irre kiy-a i=lok-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep-DEM.P up.there be-IPF.FUT 3 = be.many-PF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Those sheep up there are numerous.'

4.9. Numerals

4.9.1. Cardinal numbers

The cardinal number system is decimal. The cardinal *kuma* ‘thousand’ is the highest basic unit of the numeral system. The basic cardinal numbers are the following:

(59)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>takka</td>
<td>'one'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakki</td>
<td>'two'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sessaa</td>
<td>'three'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afur</td>
<td>'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ken</td>
<td>'five'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>leh</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tappa</td>
<td>'seven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setteeʔ</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sakal</td>
<td>'nine'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kudan</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dippa</td>
<td>'hundred'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The cardinal numbers **ɗippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ can occur with the basic cardinal units from one to nine as shown in (60a-b). Moreover, **kuma** ‘thousand’ may occur with the basic cardinal unit **kuɗan** ‘ten’ and **ɗippа** ‘hundred’, as demonstrated in (60c-d).

(60a) ɗippa takka
      hundred one
      ‘one hundred’

(60b) kuma lakki
      thousand two
      ‘two thousand’

(60c) kuma kuɗan
      thousand ten
      ‘ten thousand’

(60d) kuma ɗippa
      thousand hundred
      ‘hundred thousand’

The cardinal numbers **kuɗan** ‘ten’, **ɗippa** ‘hundred’ and **kuma** ‘thousand’ may take plural suffixes, as in (61). Note that there is metathesis when **kuɗan** ‘ten’ is plural: kunɗa. The plural suffixes indicate ‘many tens/hundreds/thousands’.

(61a) kunɗadfaa
      ‘tens’

(61b) dippadaa
      ‘hundreds’

(61c) kumadfaa
      ‘thousands’

Cardinals between eleven and nineteen are formed from the base ten (**kuɗan**), the conjunction **ka** ‘and’ and the lower cardinals (one to nine). Literally, the combination means ‘ten and X’, where X stands for a lower cardinal. The combinations are as follows:

(62) kudan ka takka      ‘eleven’      (lit.: ten and one)
    kudan ka lakki      ‘twelve’      (lit.: ten and two)
    kudan ka sessaa     ‘thirteen’     (lit.: ten and three)
    kudan ka afur       ‘fourteen’     (lit.: ten and four)
kuɗan ka ken ‘fifteen’ (lit.: ten and five)
kuɗan ka leh ‘sixteen’ (lit.: ten and six)
kuɗan ka tappa ‘seventeen’ (lit.: ten and seven)
kuɗan ka settee ‘eighteen’ (lit.: ten and eight)
kuɗan ka sakal ‘nineteen’ (lit.: ten and nine)

Multiples of ten, hundred or thousand are formed from base kunda < kuɗan > ‘tens’, dippa ‘hundred’ or kuma ‘thousand’ and the unit cardinals from one to nine. The following are illustrative examples.

(63)  
| kunda afur | ‘forty’ |
| dippa sessaa | ‘three hundred’ |
| dippa ken | ‘five hundred’ |
| kuma leh | ‘six thousand’ |
| kuma sakal | ‘nine thousand’ |

It is possible to say kunda takka ‘ten’ (lit. ‘one ten’).

Addition is expressed by ka after the unit ten, but by ka or ñ otherwise. The ñ appears as a gemination of the initial consonant of the following cardinal. Addition of single digits to the multiples of ten, hundred or thousand requires base ten, hundred or thousand followed by the unit cardinal of the multiple of ten, hundred or thousand. The cardinals occur in descending order from left to right. Here are some examples:

(64a)  
| kunda lakkis sessaa |
| kunda lakki-ʔ sessaa |
| ten two-plus three |
‘twenty-three’

(64b)  
| dippa sessaak kunda ken |
| dippa sessaa-ʔ kunda ken |
|hundred three-plus tens five |
‘three hundred fifty’

(64c)  
| dippa lakkik kunda lakkis sessaa |
| dippa lakki-ʔ kunda lakki-ʔ sessaa |
hundred two ten two-plus three |
‘two hundred twenty-three’

(64d)  
| dippa ken ka kunda afuris sessaa |
| dippa ken ka kunda afur-ʔ sessaa |
hundred five and ten four-plus three |
‘five hundred forty-three’
The addition of digits of hundred expressed by \(?\) in (64c) can be replaced by \(\text{ka} \) ‘and’. Likewise, \(\text{ka} \) ‘and’ in (64d) can be replaced by the suffix \(?\) ‘plus’.

Single digits after the multiples of hundred are expressed by a multiple of hundred followed by conjunction \(\text{ka} \) ‘and’, postposition \(\text{čaraa} \) ‘on’ and the single unit. Similarly, single units or multiples of ten after the multiples of thousand are expressed by multiple of thousand followed by the conjunction \(\text{ka} \) ‘and’, postposition \(\text{čaraa} \) ‘on’ and the single unit or multiple of ten. Examples:

- (65a) \(\text{ɗippa} \ \text{lakki} \ \text{ka} \ \text{čara-a} \ \text{sessa} \)
  
  ‘two hundred and three’

- (65b) \(\text{kuma} \ \text{tappa} \ \text{ka} \ \text{čara-a} \ \text{sakal} \)
  
  ‘seven thousand and nine’

- (65c) \(\text{kuma} \ \text{ken} \ \text{ka} \ \text{čara-a} \ \text{kufan} \ \text{leh} \)
  
  ‘five thousand and sixty’

### 4.9.2. Mathematical operations

Two arithmetic exercise booklets (booklet I (2001) and booklet II (2004)) have been written in Konso by the Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus. With very little adaptation, I use the terminology used for mathematical operations in booklet II. The terminology is derived from verb roots or verb stems: the mathematical operation for addition is derived from the verb root \(\text{paɗaaw-} \) ‘add, increase’, subtraction from \(\text{χaʔʃ} \) ‘to cause to rise, lift’, multiplication from \(\text{lek-} \) ‘to be many’, division from \(\text{ʛoot-} \) ‘to divide’. The expressions are given in (66a). In (66b), I provide the glossed versions of some of the expressions.

- (66a) \(\text{padaawtu} \)
  
  addition \(\ (+) \)

- \(\text{χaʔissu} / \text{χaʔʃtu} \)
  
  subtraction \(\ (-) \)

- \(\text{lekissu} / \text{lekʃtu} \)
  
  multiplication \(\ (×) \)

- \(\text{ʛoottu} \)
  
  division \(\ (÷) \)
minak kittu /minaʔkittu/ equal to (=)
c’ara c’aptu greater than (>)
kelpa χata kittu less than (<)
c’ara c’aptu takkite minak kittu greater than or equal to (≥)
kelpa χata kittu takkite minak kittu less than or equal to (≤)

(66b) c’ara c’ap-t-u
on exceed-3F-DP
‘greater than (>)

kelpa χata kittu
kela-pa χata kit-t-u
under-to down be-3F-DP
‘less than (<)

c’ara c’aptu takkite minak kittu
on exceed-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST be-3F-DP
‘greater than or equal to (≥)

kelpa χata kittu takkite minak kittu
kela-pa χata kit-t-u takkite minaʔ kit-t-u
under-DEST down be-3F-DP otherwise front-DEST

kit-t-u
be-3F-DP
‘less than or equal to (≤)

Note that all the expressions of mathematical operations have the third person feminine gender agreement marker -t.

Expressions of mathematical operations are introduced by conditional conjunctions. In addition, for the operation of addition the conjunction c’ara ‘on’ is required. The suffix -ʔ ‘plus’ is added to the conjunction. The following is an illustrative example.

(67) oo lakki c’aral lakki pafaawan, afure kodfini
oo lakki c’araʔ lakki pafaaw-a-n
if two on-plus two add-IPF.FUT-P

afur=i kodf-ni
four=3 become-IPF.PRES
‘If two is added to two, it becomes four.’ (2 + 2 = 4)
The operation of addition may also be expressed by the conjunction ka ‘and’ as shown below:

(68a)  
lakki ka sassaa kenee koddini  
\textit{lakki} \textit{ka} \textit{sassaa} \textit{kene} = i \textit{kodd-}\textit{ni}  
two and three \textit{five} = 3 become-IPF.PRES  
‘Two and three become five.’

(68b)  
sessa ka afur tappa koddini  
\textit{sessa} \textit{ka} \textit{afur} \textit{tappa} = i \textit{kodd-}\textit{ni}  
three and four \textit{seven} = 3 become-IPF.PRES  
‘Three and four become seven.’

Like that of addition, the operation of subtraction requires the conjunction \textit{c\text{\texta}}\text{\textra} ‘on’ to which the locative suffix \textit{-a} is attached. The following is an illustrative example.

(69)  
oo leh \textit{c\text{\texta}}\text{\textra}a lakki \textit{\textch{\texta}f}\text{\textan}, afure kelaa hasini  
\textit{o} \textit{oo} \textit{leh} \textit{\textc\textra-a} \textit{lakki} \textit{\textch\textf-a-n}  
if six \textit{on-LOC} two \textit{lift-IPF.FUT-P}  
\textit{afur} = i \textit{kela-a} \textit{hasi-ni}  
four = 3 \textit{under-LOC} remain-IPF.PRES  
‘If two is taken away from six, four remains.’ \hskip \textit{(6 – 2 = 4)}

The following is an example of the operation of multiplication:

(70)  
oo sessaan leh ki\textit{\textd}\text{\texta}n, kud\textit{\texta}n ka settee\textit{\texta}e koddini  
\textit{o} \textit{oo} \textit{sessaa-n} \textit{leh} \textit{\textk\textd-a-n}  
if \textit{three-times} six \textit{say-IPF.FUT-P}  
\textit{kud\texta}n \textit{ka} \textit{settee}= i \textit{kodd-}\textit{ni}  
ten \textit{and} eight = 3 become-IPF.PRES  
‘If six is said three times, it becomes eighteen.’ \hskip \textit{(6 \times 3 = 18)}

The following is an example of the operation of the division.

(71)  
oo kud\textit{\texta}n pora lakki\textit{\texts}o\textit{\texta}tan, kene koddini  
\textit{o} \textit{oo} \textit{kud\texta}n \textit{pora} \textit{lakki-?} \textit{\texts\texto-a-n}  
if \textit{ten} \textit{place} two-DAT \textit{divide-IPF.FUT-P}  
\textit{k\texte}n = i \textit{kodd-}\textit{ni}  
four = 3 \textit{become-IPF.PRES}  
‘If ten is divided into two places, it becomes five.’ \hskip \textit{(10 ÷ 2 = 5)
The examples in (72a) and (72b) are illustrative examples for the operations of greater than and less than, respectively.

(72a) \[ \text{tappak ken } \varepsilon \text{araa } \varepsilon \text{apta} \]

\[ \text{tappa-ʔ } \text{ken } \varepsilon \text{ara}=i \text{ } \varepsilon \text{ap-t-a} \]

seven-NOM five on\(^3\) exceed-3F-IPF.FUT

‘Seven is greater than five.’ \((7 > 5)\)

(72b) \[ \text{sakalik kuɗan kelpa } \chi \text{ataa } \text{kitta} \]

\[ \text{sakali-ʔ } \text{kuɗan } \text{kela-opa } \chi \text{ata}=i \]

nine-NOM ten under-to down\(^3\)

\[ \text{kit-t-a} \]

be-3F-IPF.FUT

‘Nine is less than ten.’ \((9 < 10)\)

4.9.3. Ordinals

All ordinal numerals, except for ‘first’, are formed by adding the suffix -atta to the cardinal numerals. The ordinal numeral ‘first’ is formed from the verb root paayy- ‘to start, begin’. The ordinal number ‘second’ is formed from the older Cushitic root lamm- ‘two’ (cf. the cardinal lakki ‘two’) and the suffix -atta. It is also important to point out that the final vowel in sessaa ‘three’ is shortened in the ordinal, that there is metathesis in the ordinal numeral arf-atta ‘fourth’ (cf. afur ‘four’), that there is vowel deletion in saklatta ‘ninth’ (cf. sakal ‘nine’), and that /ʔ/ replaces the glottal stop in the cardinal number setteeʔ ‘eight’.

(73) \[ \text{paayyuta} \text{‘first’} \]

\[ \text{lammatta} \text{‘second’} \]

\[ \text{sessatta} \text{‘third’} \]

\[ \text{arfatta} \text{‘fourth’} \]

\[ \text{kenatta} \text{‘fifth’} \]

\[ \text{lehatta} \text{‘sixth’} \]

\[ \text{tappatta} \text{‘seventh’} \]

\[ \text{setteetatta} \text{‘eighth’} \]

\[ \text{saklatta} \text{‘ninth’} \]

\[ \text{kundatta} \text{‘tenth’} \]

\[ \text{kudan ka takkatta} \text{‘eleventh’} \]

\[ \text{kudan ka sessatta} \text{‘thirteenth’} \]

\[ \text{kund ka kenatta} \text{‘fiftieth’} \]

\[ \text{dippatta} \text{‘hundredth’} \]
4.10. Nominal derivation

4.10.1. Denominal/adjectival abstract nominals

Abstract nominals may be derived from nominal or adjectival roots (not from derived stems) by the suffix -um. The abstract suffix is followed by the suffixes -a or -aa. Abstract nominals derived from nominal roots occur with -a (M) while those derived from adjectival roots occur with -aa (P). For example, the abstract nominal innuma ‘childhood (M)’ in (74a) is derived from innaa ‘child (P)’ while the abstract nominal kappumaa ‘fatness (P)’ in (74b) is derived from the adjectival root kapp- ‘be fat’.

(74a)  innumasiʔ ?iʔiʃa diʃay
       innaa-um-a-siʔ i=ʃa diʃ-ay
       child-ABS-NMZ-DEF.M/F 3=3SGM.PRO[ACC] leave-PF[3M]
‘He does not behave like a child any longer.’
(lit.: The childhood left him.)

(74b)  okkattasik kappumaa ipaayyay
       okkatta-siʔ kapp-um-aa i=paayy-ay
       cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-NMLZ 3=start-PF[3M]
‘The cow started to get fat.’
(lit.: The cow started fatness.)

An abstract noun referring to ‘childhood’ is also derived from the suppletive multiple reference noun hellaa ‘children (P)’: helluma ‘childhood (M)’

4.10.2. Deverbal agentive nominals

Deverbal agentive nominals are derived from verb roots by the suffix -aamp. The agentive suffix is followed by the nominal gender suffixes -ayta for masculine, -ayt-eeta for feminine and -ayaa for plural. The feminine suffix is a serial derivation in that it is built on the masculine agentive. From the verb roots ʛot- ‘dig’, koɗ- ‘work’ and pol- ‘joke’, we derive the masculine agentive nominals (75a), the feminine agentive nominals (75b) and the plural agentive nominals (75c).

(75a)  ʛotaamp-ayta        ‘farmer.3M’
kodaamp-ayta        ‘worker.3M’
polaamp-ayta        ‘joker.3M’

(75b)  ʛotaamp-ayt-eeta    ‘farmer.3F’
kodaamp-ayt-eeta    ‘worker.3F’
polaamp-ayt-eeta    ‘joker.3F’
In the following examples, I show the nominal gender agreement with various subjects. In (76a), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix -ayta for the semantically singular subject nama ‘man’. In (76b), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal masculine gender suffix -ayta for the semantically plural subject χonsitta ‘the Konso’. In (76c), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal feminine gender suffix -ayteeta for the semantically plural subject kuyleeta ‘the Ts’amakko’. Lastly, in (76d), the agentive nominal occurs with the nominal plural gender suffix -ayaa for the semantically singular subject innaa ‘child’.

(76a) namoosiicaidot-aampayta
nama-osiʔ icaidot-aamp-ayta
man-DEM.M/F farm-AGENT-3M
‘This man is a (hard-working) farmer.’

(76b) χonsitta icaidot-aamp-ayta
Konso.PL farm-AGENT-3M
‘The Konso are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76c) kuyleeta icaidot-aamp-ayt-eeta
Ts’amakko.PL farm-AGENT-3M-3F
‘The Ts’amakko are (hard-working) farmers.’

(76d) innoosinicicaidot-aampayta
innaa-osiniʔ icaidot-aamp-ayaa
child-DEM.P farm-AGENT-3P
‘This child is a (hard-working) farmer.’

4.10.3. Denominal ethnic nominals

Nationals or individuals of ethnic groups or place of residence (e.g. village) may be derived from nominal roots by means of gender suffixes: -itta (M) for male, -itteeta (F) for female and -itta (M), -aa (P) or -eeta (F) for plural. The plural form is the one used to refer to the name of the ethnic group or residents of a place. Table 2 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to nationalities or ethnic groups. Table 3 contains illustrative examples for derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages.
Table 2: Examples of derived nominals referring to nationality or ethnic group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Village name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χons-itta</td>
<td>χons-itt-eeta</td>
<td>χons-itta (M)</td>
<td>Konso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konso man</td>
<td>Konso woman</td>
<td>Konso people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χoyr-itta</td>
<td>χoyr-itt-eeta</td>
<td>χoyr-aa (P)</td>
<td>Burji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawwaad-itta</td>
<td>kawwaad-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kawwaad-aa (M)</td>
<td>Gawwada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ﬁraat-itta</td>
<td>ﬁraat-itt-eeta</td>
<td>ﬁraat-aa (M)</td>
<td>Diraaʃe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuyl-itta</td>
<td>kuyl-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kuyl-eeta (F)</td>
<td>Ts’namakko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ƙaww-itta</td>
<td>ƙaww-itt-eeta</td>
<td>ƙaww-eeta (F)</td>
<td>Amhara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Examples of derived nominals referring to residents of particular villages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Plural</th>
<th>Village name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuum-itta (male) person from Kuume</td>
<td>kuum-itt-eeta (female) person from Kuume</td>
<td>kuuma (M) people from Kuume village</td>
<td>Kuume</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>majaʃ-ittta</td>
<td>majaʃ-itt-eeta</td>
<td>majaʃaa (M)</td>
<td>Majaʃ'e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗekatt-itta</td>
<td>ɗekatt-itt-eeta</td>
<td>ɗekattoota (F)</td>
<td>Dekatto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sawkam-itta</td>
<td>sawkam-itt-eeta</td>
<td>sawkamaata (F)</td>
<td>Sawkama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaaʃal-itta</td>
<td>kaaʃal-itt-eeta</td>
<td>kaaʃalaa (M)</td>
<td>Kaaʃale</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.10.4. Denominal nouns with indication of characteristic

Persons with certain characteristic are derived from nouns with the suffix -ool which is followed by the nominal gender marking suffixes -ayta (M), -ayt-eeta (F) and -ayaa for male, female and plural, respectively. The derivation is productive mainly occurring with plural nouns and has a semantic specialisation indicating large quantity of the entities in question. With singulatives, it indicates that the noun in question has a large size. For example, from the singulative matta ‘head’, kessa ‘chest’ and plurative ɗillaa ‘fields’, we may derive the masculine nominals in (77a), feminine nominals in (77b) or plural nominals in (77c).

(77a) matt-ool-ayta ‘one (M) with a big head’
     kess-ool-ayta ‘one (M) with a broad chest’
     ɗill-ool-ayta ‘one (M) with many fields’

(77b) matt-ool-ayt-eeta ‘one (F) with a big head’
     kess-ool-ayt-eeta ‘one (F) with a broad chest’
     ɗill-ool-ayt-eeta ‘one (F) with many fields’

(77c) matt-ool-ayaa ‘ones with big heads’
     kess-ool-ayaa ‘ones with broad chests’
     ɗill-ool-ayaa ‘ones with many fields’
With the noun χολμαά ‘neck (P)’, the derivation χολμ-ool-ayta means ‘a man who uses force to obtain something’; χολμ-ool-ayt-eeta ‘a woman who uses force to get something’ and χολμ-ool-ayaa ‘people who use force to obtain something’. With the noun hoppatta ‘guts (M)’ the derivation indicates greed: hoppatt-oolayta ‘a greedy man’; hoppatt-ool-ayt-eeta ‘a greedy woman’ and hoppatt-ool-ayaa ‘greedy people’.

4.10.5. Deadjectival individual entities

Deadjectival nominals are derived from adjectival roots with the nominal gender suffixes -ayta, -ayteeta and -yaa for third person masculine, feminine and plural, respectively. Plural deadjectival nominals are also characterised by having the adjectival root based on the plural adjective and hence containing initial C1V(C1) reduplication. For instance, from the adjectival roots der- ‘be tall, long’, kapp- ‘be fat’ and callaʔ- ‘be thin’, we can derive the masculine deadjectival nominals (78a), third person feminine deadjectival nominals (78b), singulative deadjectival nominals with plural gender (78c) or plural deadjectival nominals (78d).

(78a) ɗerayta  ‘tall one.3M’
      kappayta  ‘fat one.3M’
      callaʔayta  ‘thin one.3M’

(78b) ɗerayteeta  ‘tall one.3F’
      kappayteeta  ‘fat one.3F’
      callaʔayteeta  ‘thin one.3F’

(78c) ɗerayaa  ‘tall one.P’
      kappayaa  ‘fat one.P’
      callaʔayaa  ‘thin one.P’

(78d) dedɗerayaa  ‘tall ones’
      kakappayaa  ‘fat ones’
      cafallaʔayaa  ‘thin ones’

The nominal gender suffixes added to deadjectival individual entities can be used not only to refer to persons but also to other entities.

4.10.6. Deverbal action nouns

Deverbal action nouns are derived from verb roots by using various suffixes as illustrated below. The list of the suffixes is not exhaustive.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79a)</th>
<th>-anta (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hatanta</td>
<td>'stealing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palanta</td>
<td>'ripening’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keranta</td>
<td>'ageing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>faranta</td>
<td>'crack’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hat-</td>
<td>'to steal’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pal-</td>
<td>'to ripen’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ker-</td>
<td>'to be old’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>far-</td>
<td>'to crack’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79b)</th>
<th>-antaa (M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>χaʔantaa</td>
<td>‘flying’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câʔantaa</td>
<td>‘standing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hirantaa</td>
<td>‘running[PL]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χaʔad-</td>
<td>‘to fly’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câʔad-</td>
<td>‘to stand’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hir-</td>
<td>‘to run[PL]’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79c)</th>
<th>-oota (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daloota</td>
<td>'birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câloota</td>
<td>'slaughtering’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dal-</td>
<td>'to give birth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câl-</td>
<td>'to slaughter’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79d)</th>
<th>-eeta (F)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>câoteeta</td>
<td>'digging’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pidfeeta</td>
<td>'buying[SG]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dipeeta</td>
<td>'washing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cât-</td>
<td>'to dig, farm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pidf-</td>
<td>‘to buy[SG]’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>di-</td>
<td>‘to wash’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79e)</th>
<th>-naa (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>câhnaa</td>
<td>‘fleeing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahnaa</td>
<td>'example’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?upnaa</td>
<td>‘knowledge’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sahnaa</td>
<td>‘capacity’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>câh-</td>
<td>'to flee’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pah-</td>
<td>‘to resemble’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?up-</td>
<td>‘to know’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sah-</td>
<td>‘to be able to’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79f)</th>
<th>-a (M)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>deeyeχa</td>
<td>‘peace making’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diika</td>
<td>'blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χarfa</td>
<td>‘beans’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deeχ-</td>
<td>‘to make peace’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>diik-</td>
<td>‘to bleed’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χarf-</td>
<td>‘to cook beans’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(79g)</th>
<th>-aa (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fataa</td>
<td>‘vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>damaa</td>
<td>‘food’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fat-</td>
<td>‘to vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dam-</td>
<td>‘to eat’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.11. Case

Konso has nominative–accusative case alignment. The core cases nominative and accusative are rarely distinguished, see 4.11.1. Genitive constructions are marked with a genitive particle following its head noun. Dative and Instrumental nouns are marked with a suffix. The dative suffix is homophonous with one of the locative suffixes, both consisting of a glottal stop. The other locative suffix is similar to the background suffix, both ending in -yye. When addressing people, a vocative ending can be used. These phenomena do not form a coherent system within the language but are discussed here under the heading Case.

4.11.1. The nominative and accusative cases

Proper names, pronouns and days of a week are marked for the nominative case with the suffix -ʔ. For example, the proper names Kappoole and Apitto occur in the subject positions as in (80a) and (80b), respectively. Both also occur unmarked in the object position as in (80b) and (80a), respectively. In (80c), the subject pronoun ?inu ‘we’ occurs with the suffix -ʔ, and in (80d), the week day palawwa ‘Saturday’ occurs with the suffix -ʔ.

Nominative marking by glottal stop is limited to the above cases. Common nouns do not distinguish nominative and accusative case (except in cleft constructions, see below). The items that do show nominative marking have in common that they are inherently specific. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that demonstrative and definite suffixes end in a glottal stop while possessive suffixes do not.

(80a)  Kappooleʔ ?apittu ?i=ʛoʄʄ-ay

Kappoole-NOM Apitto 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
‘Kappoole pinched Apitto once.’

(80b)  Apittuk Kappoole i=ʛoʄʄ-ay

Apitto-NOM Kappoole 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
‘Apitto pinched Kappoole once.’

(79h)  -uta (F)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nooɗɗuta</td>
<td>‘bribe’</td>
<td>nooɗ-</td>
<td>‘to push’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>needɗuta</td>
<td>‘hatred’</td>
<td>need-</td>
<td>‘to hate’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paakkuta</td>
<td>‘span’</td>
<td>paak-</td>
<td>‘to measure with span’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puussuta</td>
<td>‘writing, line’</td>
<td>puu-</td>
<td>‘to draw a line’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moossuta</td>
<td>‘piece of bread’</td>
<td>mooss-</td>
<td>‘to break (bread)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
With regard to pronouns, only first person singular and second person singular make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases: anti ‘I’ vs. ana ‘me’ and atti ‘you (SG) and ke ‘you (SG)’ (see Chapter 5 for details of pronouns). All pronouns in the subject position are also marked for nominative by the suffix -ʔ. For example, the pronouns anti ‘I’ and ke ‘you (SG)’ in (81a) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively. Similarly, the pronouns atti ‘you (SG)’ and ana ‘me’ in (81b) occur in the subject and object positions, respectively.

(81a) anti ke inʛoʄʄay
\[\text{anti-ʔ ke in=ʛoʄʄ-ay}\]
1SG.PRO-NOM 2SG.PRO.ACC 1=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
‘I pinched you (SG) once.’

(81b) attiʔ ʔana iʛʄʄiti
\[\text{atti-ʔ ana iʔ=ʛoʄʄ-t-i}\]
2SG.PRO-NOM 1SG.PRO.ACC 2=pinch.SG-2-PF
‘You (SG) pinched me once.’

Pronouns that do not make a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative are still marked by the suffix -ʔ for nominative as shown in (82).

(82a) inuʔ ʔiʃoonna inɗaanni
\[\text{inu-ʔ iʃoonna in=ɗaan-n-i}\]
1PL.PRO-NOM 3PL.PRO[ACC] 1=chase-1PL-PF
‘We chased them.’

(82b) iʃoonnaʔ ʔinu iɗaanni
\[\text{iʃoonna-ʔ inu i=ɗaan-n-i}\]
3PL.PRO-NOM 1PL.PRO[ACC] 3=chase-3PL-PF
‘They chased us.’

Tone is used to make the nominative and accusative case distinction in cleft sentences in such a way that the nominative case is marked by a low tone whereas the accusative case is marked by a high tone. For example, in (83a-b),
we have the nouns harreeta ‘donkey’ and χorma ‘ox, bull’. In both examples, harreeta ‘donkey’ precedes χorma ‘ox, bull’. The lengthened final vowel of the noun harreeta ‘donkey’ in (83a) has a low tone; final vowel lengthening is one of the characteristic features of clefting (as discussed in Section 3.5). In (83b), however, the lengthened final vowel of harreeta ‘donkey’ has a high tone which marks the accusative case.

(83a) harreeta-a χorma diit-ay
donkey-CLF[NOM] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is a donkey that kicked an ox.’

(83b) harreeta-á χorma diit-ay
donkey-CLF[ACC] ox kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is a donkey that an ox kicked.’

Now, when we exchange the positions of the two nouns harreeta ‘donkey’ and χorma ‘ox, bull’ in (84a-b), we find that the final vowel of χorma ‘ox, bull’ is lengthened. Moreover, in (84a), the lengthened final vowel carries a low tone, thus, marking nominative case while in (84b), the lengthened final vowel carries a high tone, thus, marking an accusative case.

(84a) χorma-a harreeta diit-ay
ox-CLF[NOM] donkey kick[SG]-PF[3M]
‘It is an ox that kicked a donkey.’

(84b) χorma-á harreeta diit-t-i
ox-CLF[ACC] donkey kick[SG]-3F-PF
‘It is an ox that a donkey kicked.’

4.11.2. The genitive case

The genitive is expressed with the genitive particle ʔa for human possessors, and ʔa…ʔ for non-human possessors. The final syllable of the possessor has a high tone.

The distribution of the genitive suffixes in accordance with whether the possessor is human or non-human is clear from the example in (85a) the noun loʛta ‘leg’ is possessed by a human possessor Kappoole but by a non-human possessor tulpeeta ‘hippo’ in (85b). Similarly, in the examples in (85c), the noun tika ‘house’ is possessed by the human possessor Anto while the noun naphta ‘ear’ in (85d) is possessed by the non-human possessor arpa ‘elephant’. In (85e), the noun taamta ‘branch’ is possessed by the non-human possessor ʛoyra ‘tree’.
(85a) ločta a kappoolʔ ?akkiti
    ločta   a          kappoolʔ = iʔ    akk-t-i
    leg     GEN         kappoole = 2      see-2-PF
‘You (SG) saw Kappoole’s leg.’

(85b) ločta a tulpeetáʔiʔ ?akkiti
    ločta   a          tulpeetáʔ = iʔ    akk-t-i
    leg     GEN         hippo-GEN = 2     see-2-PF
‘You (SG) saw hippopotamus’s leg.’

(85c) tika a Antú i=pald-i
    house       GEN        Anto 3 = be.wide-PF
‘Anto’s house is wide.’

(85d) naphta a arpaʔ i=pald-i
    ear         GEN        elephant-GEN 3 = wide-PF
‘The ear of an elephant is wide.’

(85e) inantasit taamta a ʛoyraʔ ?iʔupta
    inanta-siʔ   taamta   a          ʛoyraʔ
    girl-DEF.M/F    tree-GEN
    i=mur-t-i
    3=cut[SG]-3F-PF
‘The girl cut a branch of a tree.’

Proper names with a final aa also have ʔ in the genitive construction as in (86).

(86a) okkatta a Oynaáʔ = in akk-ay
    cow       GEN        Oynaa-GEN = 1   see-PF[3M]
‘I saw Oynaa’s cow.’

(86b) ifeennat tika a kaaɓaáʔ ?iʔupta
    ifeennaʔ  tika   a           kaaɓaáʔ
    3SGF.PRO-NOM    house    GEN        kaɓaa-GEN
    i=up-t-a
    3 = know-IPF.FUT
‘She knows Kaaɓaa’s house.’

Nouns possessed by associative plural are expressed with the genitive particle followed by the associative particle opa and the name, as illustrated in (87).
The genitive particle may occur after nouns with possessive suffixes, as illustrated below.

(87a) tika a opa kappoole i=sek-i	house GEN ASS kappoole 3 = be.far-PF
‘Kappoole (and his associate)’s house is far.’

(87b) dila a opa kintilí i=palč-i
field GEN ASS kintile 3 = be.wide-PF
‘Kintile (and his associate)’s field is wide.’

In fast speech, the glottal stop that occurs at the end of the genitive construction is elided, resulting in a complete assimilation to the initial vowel of the possessor noun if the possessor begins with a (glottal stop plus) vowel as in (89a-b). If the possessor begins with another consonant, the affix may be elided as in (89c).

(89a) χorma aantú i=poor-i
ox GEN Anto 3 = be.black-PF
‘Anto’s ox is black.’

(89b) aannookkattáʔ i=in=ik-ay
milk GEN cow-GEN 1 = drink-PF[3M]
‘I drank cow milk.’

(89c) hoofa karrattáʔ i=inakk-n-i
hole GEN squirrel-GEN 1 = see-P-PF
‘We saw a squirrel’s hole.’

4.11.3. The dative case

The dative is marked with the suffix -ʔ. The dative suffix differs from the nominative suffix in that it is not limited to pronouns and names but also occurs on common nouns. The main role of the dative is to denote the beneficiary. The following are examples:

(88) hellaa-nno a χonsú-ʔ i=ɗey-i-n
children-1PL.POSS.P GEN Konso-GEN 3 = come-PF-P
‘Our Konso fellows came.’
(lit.: ‘Children of our Konso came.’)
First and second person beneficiaries are always marked with the dative suffix. However, it is possible for third person beneficiaries not to be marked. In this case, the dative suffix occurs at the end of the verb. This results in the final vowel of the verb having a high tone. For example, in (91a), there is no dative suffix, and as a result the final vowel of the verb occurs with a low tone. In (91b), there is a dative suffix at the end of the verb, and the preceding vowel has a high tone.

(90a)  atic  Ꜣølpasıi? ṭifaʔ ?ippiɗɗiti
        attiʔ  Ꜣølpas-siʔ  ṭifaʔ?
        2SG.PRO-NOM  he-goat-DEF.M/F   3SGM.PRO-DAT
iʔ=piɗɗ-t-i
2 = buy[SG]-2-PF
‘You (SG) bought him a he-goat.’

(90b)  inatasiʔ ṭanap pijaa ɪdaassii
        inata-siʔ anaʔ pijaa ɪ=ɗaaʃ-t-i
        girl-DEF.M/F  1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT water  3 = give-3F-PF
‘The girl gave me water.’

(90c)  antin nama tokkaʔin ṽapaa piɗɗay
        antiʔ  nama tokkaʔ=in ṽapaa
        1SG.PRO-NOM person one.M-DAT=1 shoes
piɗɗ-ay
buy[SG]-PF[3M]
‘I bought shoes for someone.’

(90d)  tuparaasiniʔ ṭokkayaaʔe ṭaha ohin
        tuparaa-siniʔ okkayaaʔ=i ṭaha
        girls-DEF.P cows-DAT=3
oha oh-i-n
fodder cut.fodder-PF-P
‘The girls cut fodder for the cows.’

(91a)  in=ɗaaʃ-a
        1 = give-IPF.FUT
‘I will give (it).’

(91b)  in=ɗaaʃ-áʔ
        1 = give-IPF.FUT-DAT
‘I will give (it) for him/her/them.’
The example in (91b) can also be used to mean ‘I will give (it) on behalf of him/her/them.’

4.11.4. The instrumental case

The instrumental case is marked by the suffix -n(n). The suffix appears single before consonants (92a), and geminate before vowels (92b). It indicates that the noun it is added to is used as an instrument by an agent. For example, the nouns faasita ‘pick axe’ and ulayta ‘stick’ are used as instruments to accomplish the actions of cutting and hitting, respectively.

(92a)  
attif faasitan ćoyrasiʔ ʔimmurti  
att-iʔ faasita-n ćoyra-siʔ  
2SG.PRO-NOM pickaxe-INST tree-DEF.M/F  
iʔ=mur-t-i  
2 = cut-2-PF  
‘You (SG) cut the tree with a pickaxe.’

(92b)  
antiʔ ʔulaytannin pinantasiɗ dayay  
anti-ʔ ulayta-nn=tn pinanta-siʔ  
1SG.PRO-NOM stick-INST=3 animal-DEF.M/F  
\[3M\]  
\(d\)ay-ay  
hit-PF[3M]  
‘I hit the animal with a stick.’

The instrumental suffix also indicates manner as in (93).

(93)  
malannil lukkalittasić ŝaptin  
mala-nn=it? lukkalita-siʔ ŝap-t-i-n  
wisdom-INST=2 chicken-DEF.M/F catch-3F-PF-P  
‘You (PL) caught the chicken skillfully.’

4.11.5. The vocative case

The vocative is marked by the suffixes -u/o and -y. The former occurs with nouns that trigger M/F gender agreement on the verb, as in (94), and the latter with nouns that trigger a plural gender agreement on the verb, as in (95).

(94a)  
namu, maanaʔ ?aye koʔni  
nama-u maana=it? aye ko=t-ni  
man-VOC.M/F what = 2 here do-IPF.PRES  
‘You guy, what are you doing here?’
(94b) karru, okkattaayti ka χormaawu kulee dalay
   karraa-u, okkatta-ayti ka
squirrel-VOC.M/F cow-2SG.POSS.M/F and
χorma-awu kuli=i dal-ay
ox-1SG.POSS.M/F also=3 give.birth-PF[3M]
‘Squirrel, your cow as well as my ox gave birth.’

(95a) tuparraa-y χooy-a
girls-VOC.P come-IMP.PL
‘You girls, come!’

(95b) ?innaa-y χooy-i
boy-VOC.P come-IMP.SG
‘You boy, come!’

In kinship terms, we may find the vocative suffixes -u/o, -i/e and -a. The distribution is lexically determined as can be seen from the following examples.

(96) Vocative form source
aapp-u/o ‘daddy!’ aappaa ‘father’
okkooyu-u/o ‘grandma!’ okkooyita ‘grandmother’
aayy-i/e ‘mamma!’ aayyya ‘mother’
aatt-i/e ‘elder sibling!’ aattaa ‘elder sibling’
aakk-a ‘grandpa!’ aakkaa ‘grandfather’
maamm-a ‘(paternal) aunt!’ maammata ‘aunt’

Proper names with a final -o in the base form attach the vocative suffix -u/o as in (97a); those with a final -e attach the vocative -i/e as in (97b); those with a final -a attach the vocative suffix -a as in (97c).

(97a) Antu/o ‘Anto!’
Katunu/o ‘Katano!’
Paritu/o ‘Parito!’

(97b) Kappoole/i ‘Kappoole!’
Kanaase/i ‘Kanaase!’

(97c) χalaalla ‘χalaalla!’
Orkeeta ‘Orkeeta!’

4.11.6. The locational markers -Vyye and -ʔ

The suffixes -Vyye and -ʔ mark location (see locational adverbs in 8.2.1). The V of -Vyye is the lengthening of the final vowel of the noun. The locational
marker -Vyye occurs mainly with the verb root kiy- 'be, exist' whereas -ʔ occurs with actions verbs such as χaay- 'put', diif- 'leave'. The following are illustrative examples.

(98a)  sakooyaf faaʃeeyyee ca

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{sakooyya-ʔ} & \text{faaʃe-eyye} = i & \text{kiy-a} \\
\text{sakooyya-NOM} & \text{faaʃe-LOC=3} & \text{be-IPF.FUT}
\end{array}
\]

‘sakooyye is at Faaʃe.’

(98b)  inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiyaayti

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{inanta-siʔ} & \text{toma-siʔ} & \text{tikaʔ} & \text{i=χaay-t-i} \\
\text{girl-DEF.M/F} & \text{bowl-DEF.M/F} & \text{house-LOC} & \text{3=put-3F-PF}
\end{array}
\]

‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational markers do not replace each other. This can be seen from the examples in (99), which are modified versions of the examples in (98).

(99a)  *sakooyaf faaʃiʔ ʔica

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{sakooyya-ʔ} & \text{faaʃe-ʔ} & \text{i=kiy-a} \\
\text{sakooyya-NOM} & \text{faaʃe-LOC} & \text{3=be-PF.FUT}
\end{array}
\]

(intended: ‘Sakooyye is at Faaʃe.’)

(99b)  *inantasit tomasit tikaayye iχaayti

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{inanta-siʔ} & \text{toma-siʔ} & \text{tika-ayye} & \text{i=χaay-t-i} \\
\text{girl-DEF.M/F} & \text{bowl-DEF.M/F} & \text{house-LOC} & \text{3=put-3F-PF}
\end{array}
\]

(intended: ‘The girl put the bowl at home.’)

The locational suffixes differ with respect to optionality: It is possible to leave out -Vyye but not -ʔ. For example, in (100a), -Vyye occurs with the noun tika ‘house’ but it does not occur with the same noun in (100b). On the other hand, -ʔ is obligatory. To demonstrate this, example (100b) is repeated with and without the suffix in (100c) and (100d).

(100a)  ρılmaytasit tikaayyee ca

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ρılmayta-siʔ} & \text{tika-ayye} = i & \text{kiy-a} \\
\text{old man-DEF.M/F} & \text{house-LOC=3} & \text{be-IPF.FUT}
\end{array}
\]

‘The old man is at home.’

(100b)  ρılmaytasit tikaa ca

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ρılmayta-siʔ} & \text{tika} = i & \text{kiy-a} \\
\text{old man-DEF.M/F} & \text{house=3} & \text{be-IPF.FUT}
\end{array}
\]

‘The old man is at home.’
(100c) inantasit tomasit tikaʔ ʔiχaayti
\[
\text{inanta-}s\text{i}' \quad \text{toma-}s\text{i}' \quad \text{tika-}i \quad i=\chi aay-t-i
\]
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house-LOC 3=put-3F-PF
‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

(100d) *inantasit tomasit tika ʔiχaayti
\[
\text{inanta-}s\text{i}' \quad \text{toma-}s\text{i}' \quad \text{tika} \quad i=\chi aay-t-i
\]
girl-DEF.M/F bowl-DEF.M/F house 3=put-3F-PF
‘The girl put the bowl at home.’

The locational suffix -Vyye can be used as ablative, as in the following examples:

(101a) inantaasiχ χonsoooyyee deʔti
\[
\text{inanta-}s\text{i}' \quad \text{Konso-}eyye=i \quad \text{come-3F-PF}
\]
girl-DEM.M/F Konso-LOC=3 come-3F-PF
‘This girl came from Konso.’

(101b) urmalaaayyeen laha pikd\text{"ay}
\[
\text{urmalaa-}eyye=in \quad \text{laha} \quad \text{pikd-ay}
\]
market-LOC=1 ram buy[SG]-PF[3M]
‘I bought a ram from the market.’

4.11.7. The background marker

The background is marked by the suffixes -eyye or -yye. The former has an allomorph -e. The distribution is phonologically determined: nouns with a short terminal -a occur with -eyye or -e, and nouns with a terminal vowel -aa occur with -yye. The background marker has the meaning ‘person-wise’ or ‘entity-wise’.

(102a) iʃa? nameeyye ideri
\[
iʃa-ʔ \quad \text{name-eyye} \quad i=\text{der-i}
\]
3SG.PRO-NOM person-BKGRD.M/F 3=be.tall-PF
‘Person-wise, he is tall.’

(102b) cọyraasić cọyre cọyra a kokay
\[
cọyra-asi' \quad cọyra-e \quad cọyra \quad a
\]
tree-DEM.M/F tree-BKGRD.M/F tree REL

cok-ay
\[
dry-PF[3M]
\]
‘Tree-wise, this tree is dry.’
(lit.: ‘Tree-wise, this tree is a tree which is dry.’)
Deadjectival nominals that modify head nouns also occur with the background suffix -eye. For instance, the deadjectival nominal ʛallaʔayta ‘thin one’ in (103a) occurs with the head noun ʛoyra ‘tree’ which, in the example, has the background suffix -eye. However, head nouns that have the definite suffix -siʔ do not allow deajectival nominals to occur with the background suffix, as shown in (103b). Similarly, deadjectival nominals do not occur with subject clitics, as illustrated in (103c).

(103a) ʛoyreeyye ʛallaʔayta
ʛoyra-eyye ʛallaʔ-ayta
Tree-BKGRD.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
‘Tree-wise, it is a thin one.’

(103b) *ʛoyreeyesiʛ ʛallaʔayta
ʛoyra-eyye-siʔ ʛallaʔ-ayta
Tree-BKGRD-DEF.M/F be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: ‘Tree-wise, the tree is thin.’)

(103c) *iʛallaʔayta
i=ʛallaʔ-ayta
3=be.thin-NMLZ.M
(intended: ‘It is thin one.’)

4.12. Compounding

Compounding is not really productive; I disagree with Daniel (2000) on this point. The following are the compound nouns I was able to find. Most of them have the genitive particle a. The words are compounds because, for example, the first two have reduced first parts which do not exist in this form independently. The rest of the compound words have a specialised, non-predictable meaning and thus are lexicalised.

(104a) kurdakkayta
kura + dakkayta
ear + deaf.M
tree species
The above compound words may form their pluratives by replacing the singulative suffix with a pluralive suffix, adding a pluralive suffix in the end or to the initial part. The first compound forms its pluralive by replacing the singulative suffix -ta with -aa. The second three compound words form their pluralives by adding the pluralive suffix -ɗɗaa. The last two compound words form their pluralives based on the pluralives of the first words. Notice that the final genitive marker ʔ in the singulatives appears after the pluralive suffix. Below, I give the pluralive of each of the above compound words to show that these words are one word and a noun.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singulative</th>
<th>Plurative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>105a kurdakkayta</td>
<td>kurdakkayaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurra + dakkayta</td>
<td>kurra + dakkayaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ear + deaf.M</td>
<td>ear + be.deaf.P</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tree species</td>
<td>tree species</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Also ussukkaarayyaa.
| (105b)  | kuttimpira | kuttimpiraɗdaa |
|         | *kuttamaa-pir-a* | *kuttamaa-pir-a-ɗɗaa* |
|         | growth-finish-NMLZ | growth-finish-NMLZ-P |
|         | ‘molar tooth’ | ‘molar teeth’ |
| (105c)  | duusutakaarayyaʔ | duusutakaariyyaɗɗaʔ |
|         | *duusuta-ʔa-kaaraya-ʔ* | *duusuta-a-kaariyya-ɗɗa-ʔ* |
|         | fart-GEN-devil-GEN | fart-GEN-devil-P-GEN |
|         | ‘mushroom (species)’ | ‘mushrooms’ |
| (104d)  | akalaparaffaʔ | akalaparaffaddaʔ |
|         | *akala-a-paraffa-ʔ* | *akala-a-paraffadda-ʔ* |
|         | sack-GEN-cereal.species-GEN | sack-GEN-cereal.species.P-GEN |
|         | ‘centipede’ | ‘centipedes’ |
| (104e)  | χormawaacíʔ | χormadawaacíʔ |
|         | *χorma-a-waací-ʔ* | *χormadaa-a-waací-ʔ* |
|         | ox-GEN-God-GEN | oxen-GEN-God-GEN |
|         | ‘grasshopper (species)’ | ‘grasshoppers’ |
| (104f)  | keraawaacáʔ | kereʔtawaacíʔ |
|         | *keraa-a-waací-ʔ* | *kereʔewwa-a-waací-ʔ* |
|         | thief-GEN-God-GEN | thieves-GEN-God-GEN |
|         | ‘witchdoctor’ | ‘witchdoctors’ |
5. Pronouns

In this chapter I discuss personal pronouns, demonstratives and possessives. I also treat reflexive and reciprocals. Personal pronouns distinguish number for all persons, but gender only for third person singular. With regard to case distinctions, it is only the first person singular and the second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases.

5.1. Personal pronouns

The following table presents the personal pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td>Accusative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>anti</td>
<td>ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>atti</td>
<td>ke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>ifeenna</td>
<td>ifoonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ifeet(t)a</td>
<td>ifoot(t)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ifeeɗ(d)a</td>
<td>ifoon(d)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>iʃa</td>
<td>iʃoonna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>iʃaɗ(d)a</td>
<td>iʃooɗ(d)a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Independent personal pronouns

As can be seen from the table, it is only the first and second person singular pronouns that show a lexical distinction for nominative and accusative cases. In (1a), the personal pronoun ifa ‘he’ and ana ‘me’ are marked for their respective cases morphologically and lexically. However, in (1b), the nominative case distinction with the personal pronouns anti ‘I’ is made morphologically while the accusative case for the personal pronoun ifa ‘him’ is neither morphologically marked nor lexically expressed. It is understood only from the word order.

(1a) ifaʔ ?ana iʔakkay
    ifaʔ ?ana i=akk-ay
    3SGM.PRO-NOM 1SG.PRO.ACC 3 = see-PF
    ‘He saw me.’

(1b) antiʔ ?ifa inʔakkay
    antiʔ ?ifa in=akk-ay
    1SG.PRO-NOM 3SGM.PRO[ACC] 1 = see-PF[3M]
    ‘I saw him.’

Second person plural accusative pronoun form occurs without a final vowel when it occurs as an object of a postposition as in (2a). Otherwise, it occurs with the final vowel as in (2b-c).
The alternants for third person feminine and third person plural pronoun forms differ only in the vowels in the second syllable. Except with the nasal consonant, which is always geminate, the forms of these pronouns can occur in free variant forms: with a single or geminate final consonant.

Personal pronouns can be used not only for humans but also for non-human entities agreeing in gender to the gender of the noun they refer to.

5.2. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns are sediʔ and seniʔ. The former is used with nouns that trigger an M/F gender agreement on the verb, whereas the latter is used with nouns that trigger a P gender agreement on the verb. Like the demonstrative suffixes (see 4.8), the demonstrative pronouns express proximity. No distal distinction is made. Here are some examples:

(3a)  sediʔ  goyra
       this.M/F  tree[M]
‘This is a tree.’

(3b)  sediʔ  tika-ayti
       this.M/F  house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F
‘This is your house.’
The word iniʔ ‘this one’ is used as demonstrative pronoun as well. It is used with nouns that are semantically singular and may trigger a masculine or feminine gender agreement on the verb.

It is interesting to see that some numerically singular nouns which trigger a plural gender agreement occur with iniʔ, and some do not. For example, the nouns filaa ‘comb[P]’ and innaa ‘child[P]’ trigger plural gender agreement in possessives. However, the nouns show a difference in their distribution with regard to the demonstrative pronoun iniʔ: innaa ‘child[P]’ does occur with iniʔ, as in (5a), whereas filaa ‘comb[P]’ does not (5b).

There is also the demonstrative pronoun ossiniʔ ‘this thing’ which is used with reference to (non-)animate entities as illustrated in (6).
The glottal stop of the demonstrative pronouns may be elided in fast utterances. This can be seen from the examples in (7).

(7a)  sedi tikaayti
     sedi  tika-ayti
     this.M/F  house[F]-2SG.POSS.M/F
     ‘This is your house.’

(7b)  ini maakaa
     ini     maakaa
     this.M/F  snake[M]
     ‘This is a snake.’

(7c)  ossinineeʛ-i
     ossini  i=neeʛ-i
     this.thing  3=be.bad-PF
     ‘This thing is bad.’

The glottal stop is not elided from ossiniʔ ‘this thing’ with such question words as meeʛaa ‘how much?’ (8a) and maana ‘what?’ (8b). It is elided with the question word ayʃa ‘where?’, as shown in (8c).

(8a)  *ossini  meeʛaa
      this.thing  how.much
      (intended: ‘How much is this thing?’)

(8b)  *ossini  maana
      this.thing  what
      (intended: ‘What is this thing?’)

(8c)  ossini ayʃaʔiɗ ɗakayti
      ossini  ?ayʃaʔ-i=ʔ  ɗakay-t-i
      this.thing  where-LOC=2  hear-2-PF
      ‘Where did you hear this thing from?’
Distal location is expressed by a locative adverb (see Section 8.2.1), the existential verb and a demonstrative pronoun as can be seen from the following examples:

(9a)  
\[ \text{seɗiɗ } \text{dìse } \text{ campground } \]
\[ \text{seɗiʔ } \text{dìse=i } \text{ be-3M } \text{ campground } \]
\[ \text{’That is my tree.’ } \]
\[ \text{(lit: ‘This tree there is my tree.’)} \]

(9b)  
\[ \text{seniχ } \text{χatee } \text{ down there } \]
\[ \text{seniʔ } \text{χate=i } \text{ be-P } \text{ trees-1SG.POSS.P } \]
\[ \text{’Those are my trees.’ } \]
\[ \text{(lit: ‘These trees down there are my trees.’)} \]

5.3. Possessives

Possessives may be marked by suffixes or independent pronouns. I first present possessive suffixes. Except for the third person singular, all possessive suffixes that occur with nouns not only distinguish the number of the possessor but also the gender of the possessum. The third person singular has the same possessive suffix for all (F/M/P, S/PL) possessums. Table 2 presents the possessive suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Possessum (M/F)</th>
<th>Possessum (P)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>-awu</td>
<td>-yyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
<td>-nnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>-ayti</td>
<td>-tti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>-ayʃin</td>
<td>-ssin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M/F</td>
<td>-aɗi</td>
<td>-aɗi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>-aɗiʔ</td>
<td>-ssuʔ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Possessive suffixes

In the following examples, the nouns *tika* ‘house’, *karkaa* ‘beehive’ and *orra* ‘people’ in (10) occur with M/F possessum suffixes because of the M/F gender agreement on the verb. On the other hand, the nouns *tikkaa* ‘houses’, *filaa* ‘comb’ and * pijaa* ‘water’ in (11) occur with plural possessum suffixes because of the plural gender agreement on the verb.

(10a)  
\[ \text{tika-awu } i=\text{sek-i} \]
\[ \text{house-1SG.POSS.M/F 3=be.far-PF } \]
\[ \text{’My house is far (from here.)’} \]
Kinship terms such as aappaa ‘father’, aayyaa ‘mother’, aakkaa ‘grandfather’, maammata ‘paternal aunt’, okkooyyita ‘grandmother’ and appuyyaata ‘maternal uncle’ are used with plural possessive suffixes even when used by an only child. It indicates a relation that cannot be possessed individually. Table 3 contains the suffixes used with kinship terms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Possessive suffixes added to the noun to indicate person and number distinction of the possessor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aappaa</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aayyaa</td>
<td>-nnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aattaa</td>
<td>-nnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maammata</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aakkaa</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>okkooyyita</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>appuyyaata</td>
<td>-aynu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Possessive suffixes with kinship terms

Kinship terms such as ajuma ‘sister’s/(grand)aunt’s son’, ajunta ‘sister’s/(grand)aunt’s daughter’, oopaa ‘grandson’ and oopta ‘granddaughter’ need not have plural possessive suffixes. Examples:
Interestingly, the term aappaa may mean ‘father’ or ‘husband’ depending on the type of possessive suffix added to it. When it occurs with suffix -aynu it refers to father: aappaaynu ‘our father’. However, with suffix -wu, it means ‘husband’: aappaaawu ‘my husband’.

Independent possessive pronouns are formed from the noun space filler χa and the possessive suffixes. The noun space filler χa does not have any meaning. It just replaces the noun. In my dialect, not all the possessive suffixes I presented above may occur with χa as can be seen from the following table. First person singular, the second persons and the third person plural possessors have variant forms that do not occur with nouns. The pronouns indicate number distinction in the possessor but not in the possessum.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessor</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG</td>
<td>χayyu/χayyu/*χawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1PL</td>
<td>χannu/*χaynu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2SG</td>
<td>χaayti/χatti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2PL</td>
<td>χaayʃin/χassin/χaʃʃin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SG.M/F</td>
<td>χaadəi/χaʃʃu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3PL</td>
<td>χaayfu/χassu/χaʃʃu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Independent possessives

The unacceptable forms in table 4 are acceptable in χolme and in some parts of Faaʃe dialects.

Table 4 shows that independent possessives do not distinguish the gender of the possessum. As the examples in (13) illustrate, independent possessives like χayyu ‘mine’ in (13c) may have a singular possessor interpretation like ‘It is mine’ or a plural possessor interpretation like ‘They are mine’ based on whether the possessum is singular as in (13a) or plural as in (13b).
(13b)  senit tikkaa a aynu
    *seniʔ tikkaa a  aynu
these houses GEN who
   ‘Whose houses are these?’

(13c)  χayyu
    1SG.POSS.SG/PL
   ‘It’s mine/They are mine.’

5.4. Reflexive

Reflexive anaphoric reference is expressed by isi ‘self’. It has the variant ʔissi when followed by dative or instrumental suffixes. Sometimes, the body part harka ‘hand’ may also be used to express reflexive. The reflexive pronoun isi is not inflected for number, gender or person. In a clause, the reflexive pronoun follows the subject as shown in (14).

(14a)  antiʔ ʔisin fačay
    antiʔ isi in=fač-ay
   1SG.PRO-NOM self  1 = wash-PF[3M]
   ‘I washed myself.’

(14b)  raakasiʔ ʔisi imurti
    raaka-siʔ isi i=muɾ-t-i
old.woman-DEF.M/F self  3 = cut[SG]-3F-PF
   ‘The old woman cut herself.’

(14c)  keltaytasim mattuppa isi iχooʃʃay
    keltayta-siʔ matta-oppa isi
baboon-DEF.M/F head-in self
   i=χooʃʃ-ay
   3 = scratch.SG-PF[3M]
   ‘The baboon scratched itself on the head once.’

In the following examples, the reflexive pronoun has the form issi because there is the dative in (15a) and instrumental in (15b).

(15a)  issip piddi
    issiʔ  pidd-i
self-DAT  buy[SG]-IMP.SG
   ‘Buy it for yourself.’

(15b)  issi-n χooy-i
    self-INST  come-IMP.SG
   ‘Come by yourself!’
With the verb roots up- ‘to know’ and ɗakay- ‘to hear’ and the postposition čara ‘on’, the reflexive pronoun ʔisi yields the meaning of ‘self-consciousness’. It is mainly used in negative sentences to express that someone is deeply asleep or seriously sick and unconscious of themselves. The examples in (16) may have either interpretation depending on the discourse setting.

(16a) 互通 isčara inuptu

\[
\text{isi-cčara \quad in=up-t-u}
\]

self:on 3NEG=know-3F-NEG

‘She is unconscious.’

(lit.: ‘She does not know on herself.’)

(16b) 互通 ɗakayin co

\[
\text{isi-cčara \quad ɗakay=in \quad kiy-o}
\]

self:on hear=3NEG be-NEG

‘He is unconscious.’

(lit.: ‘He does not hear on himself.’)

With the verb root ʄaʛ- ‘to wash’, such nouns as piʃaa ‘water’ and ɗakinta ‘body’ may be used instead of the reflexive pronoun ʔisi. The use of these nouns, however, requires the verb to contain the middle suffix as can be observed from the examples in (17).

(17a) 互通 piʃaan ʄaʛanni

\[
\text{piʃaa=in \quad ʄaʛ-aɗ-n-i}
\]

water=1 wash-MID-1PL-PF

‘We washed ourselves.’

(lit.: ‘We washed water (for our benefit).’)

(17b) 互通 attiʔ ɗakintaʄ ʄaʛatti

\[
\text{atti-ʔ \quad ɗakinta=iʔ \quad ʄaʛ-aɗ-t-i}
\]

2SG.PRO-NOM body=2 wash-MID-2-PF

‘You (SG) washed yourself.’

(lit.: ‘You (SG) washed your body.’)

The reflexive pronoun and the middle suffix -aɗ do not co-occur in a sentence as shown in (18).

(18a) 互通 *antiʔ ʔisin ʄaʛaɗay

\[
\text{anti-ʔ \quad isi=in \quad ʄaʛ-aɗ-ay}
\]

1SG.PRO-NOM self=1 wash-MID-PF[3M]

(intended: ‘I washed myself for my benefit.’)
In addition to the reflexive pronoun isi, the body parts matta ‘head’ and harka ‘hand’ may be used to express reflexivity. The body part matta occurs with possessive suffixes and the dative. This is illustrated in (19).

(19) namasim mattaadiʔ òurmaalaapa òʔaanay
    nama-siʔ matta-adiʔ òurmaala-opa
    person-DEF.M/F head-3SG.POSS.M/F-DAT market-to

    i=aan-ay
    3=go-PF[3M]
    ‘The man went to the market for himself.’
    (lit.: ‘The man went to the market for his head.’)

The use of the body part harka ‘hand’ to express reflexive meaning is contextually limited. It is used when someone takes a risk to do something and it yields a negative consequence. The instrumental suffix and the verb kod- ‘to do, work’ are required in using harka to express reflexive. Examples:

(20a) harkanne kodaday
    harka-nn=i kod-ad-ay
    hand-INST=3 do-MID-PF[3M]
    ‘He caused the trouble for himself.’
    (lit.: ‘He made it with his hand for himself.’)

(20b) harkanne kodatti
    harka-nn=i kod-ad-t-i
    hand-INST=3 do-MID-3F-PF
    ‘She caused the trouble for herself.’
    (lit.: ‘She made it with her hand.’)

5.5. Reciprocity and ‘each’

Reciprocity is expressed by the pronoun oli. The following are illustrative examples.

(21a) olin upna
    oli=in up-n-a
    RECP=1 know-P-IPF.FUT
    ‘We know each other.’
The reciprocal pronoun oli has the variant olli when followed by the dative (22a) or instrumental suffix (22b).

(22a) harka lakkee ollip piʃaa ʄaʛin
    hand two=3 RECP-DAT water wash-PF-P
    ‘Two hands wash each other.’
    (lit.: Two hands wash water for each other.)

(22b) inuʔ ʔollinnin ɗiluppupa sookanni
    1PL.PRO-NOM RECP-INST=1 field-into
    go.to field-1P-PF
    ‘We went to the field together.’
    (lit.: We went to the field with each other.)

The example in (22a) is a proverb. It is used to express the situation where someone offers help to someone else who has offered them help before.

The reciprocal is expressed by the pronoun oli and the (locative–directional) compound minaadėsa (minaa ‘in front of’ desa ‘toward (facing)’) when many participants are involved in the reciprocal action and when there is no one-to-one relationship among the actors in the event. The following is an illustrative example.

(23) orrasim minaadėsa oli ʛiɗay
    people-DEF.M/F toward=3 RECP beat-PF[3M]
    ‘The people beat one another.’

Notice the number agreement between the subject and the verb root. Sentences with the reciprocal pronoun require plural subjects and plural verb roots. For example, in sentence (24a) the reciprocal subject harreevwwasiniʔ ‘the donkeys’ occurs with a corresponding plural verb root čom- ‘bite[PL]’. Sentence (24b) is unacceptable because of the incongruence between the plural subject and the singulative verb root čaniin- ‘to bite[SG].
(24a)  harreewwaasiniʔ ʔolee ʔomin
harreeewwa-siniʔ oli=i ʔomin-i-n
donkeys-DEF.P RECP=3 bite[PL]-PF-P
‘The donkeys bit each other.’

(24b)  *harreewwaasiniʔ ʔolee ʔaniinin
harreeewwa-siniʔ oli=i ʔaniin-i-n
donkeys-DEF.P RECP=3 bite[SG]-PF-P

Finally, ‘each (of)’ is expressed by matta matta ‘head head’ followed by the instrumental suffix -n(n). This is demonstrated below.

(25)  hellaasinim matta mattannee χoraɗin
hellaa-siniʔ matta matta-nn=i χoraɗ-i-n
children-DEF.P head head-INST=3 be.fined-PF-P
‘Each of the children was fined.’
6. Verbs

In this chapter verbal derivations such as the causative, middle, passive, inchoative, pluractionals and punctuals are discussed. I also present verb inflections including the perfective and imperfective aspects. The last section treats imperative and optative mood.

As we shall see in detail below, when a verb form contains both derivational and inflectional affixes, they occur in the following order: Verb root-derivational suffix-inflectional suffix

6.1. Verb derivation

6.1.1. Causative

Causative derivation is productive and applies to transitive as well as intransitive verb roots. The forms of the causative are -ʃ, -acciis, and -(n)ayʃ-(n)aʃ. The causative suffix -acciis underlyingly has the frozen middle suffix -aɗ (see also Mous 2004). However, it is not clear whether the part of the suffix after the frozen middle is siis or ciis. In this work, I do not commit myself to accounting for the underlying form and hence use only -acciis.

The causative suffix -ʃ marks direct causative in verbs. The causative forms -(n)ayʃ-(n)aʃ also mark direct causative in certain adjectival roots. The causative form -acciis marks indirect causative. Indirect causative is also occasionally marked by the suffix -siis.

In the direct causatives, we may have only two participants: the subject which can be agentive or non-agentive causes the action, and the object is the affected entity as illustrated below:

(1a) namasiʛ ʛoyrasiʔ ʔiʛepʃay
nam-a-siʔ ʛoyra i=ʛep-ʃ-ay
man-DEF.M/F tree 3=be.broken-DCAUS-PF[3M]
‘The man broke a tree.’

(1b) roopasiʔ ʔunta iɲapalʃay
roopa-siʔ  unittest i=ɲapal-ʃ-ay
rain-DEF.M/F crop 3=be.destroyed-DCAUS-PF[3M]
‘The rain destroyed crops.’

In the above examples, the direct causative suffix -ʃ is added to the verb roots ʛep- ‘to be broken’ and ɲapal- ‘to be destroyed’. In (1a), the subject namasiʔ ‘the man’ is an agent causing the action of breaking to affect the object ʛoyra
A direct causative may have three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity. For example, in (2), the subject **Aptitu** is the causer, the object **hellaasini**? ‘the children’ is the causee and **muusita** ‘banana’ is the affected entity.

(2)  
<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aptitu</strong>h hellaasinium muusita idamʃay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aptitu</strong>-ʔ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apitto-NOM</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ i=dam-f-ay \]

3 = eat-DCAUS-PF[3M]

‘Aptitu fed the children banana.’

As mentioned earlier, causatives may be derived from intransitive verb roots such as **muk**- ‘to sleep’ in (3a) and **kal**- ‘to go home’ in (3b).

(3a)  
<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>inantasiʔ</strong> ʔinnaasiniʔ ʔimukissi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>inantasiʔ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl-DEF.M/F</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The girl made the child sleep.’

(3b)  
<p>| |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>hellaasiniʔ</strong> talaasiniʔ ʔikalʃin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hellaasiniʔ</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children-DEF.P</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The children brought the goats home.’

In the above examples, the intransitive verb roots occur with the direct causative suffix -ʃ.

Mous (2004, 4-5) analyses the form of the causative as -iʃ after the alveolar consonants t, d and s and the palatal consonants ʃ, c and ʃ as in (4a).

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>waaf</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to hurry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pas</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to loose’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

base    | causative
---|---
(4a) | **waaf-** | **waaf-iʃ**
| **pas-** | **pas-iʃ**

10 There are also cases where the t of the verb root becomes ʃ when the causative -ʃ is added to the verb root. The following are examples:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>fat</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pat</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to disappear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dɨt</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to collapse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>faʃʃ</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to cause to vomit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pafʃ</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to destroy; lose’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>dəʃʃ</strong>-</td>
<td>‘to cause to collapse’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
However, not all verb roots with t and š form the causative with -iʃ. Rather, they are formed by the suffix -acciis (4b) or using a syntactic causative construction as in the case of the verb aʃaf- ‘to order’ discussed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɗot-</td>
<td>*ɗot-iʃ-</td>
<td>ɗotacciis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daaʃ-</td>
<td>*daaʃ-iʃ-</td>
<td>daaʃacciis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aʃaf-</td>
<td>*aʃaf-iʃ-</td>
<td>*(syntactic causative)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(4b)

As Mous (2004) showed, with some verb roots that end in h, e.g. sah- ‘sweep’, peeh- ‘to scatter’, mooh- ‘to have more’, poh- ‘to collect’, only the indirect causative form can be used to derive the causative. However, in other verbs ending in h the causative with -ʃ rather than -Vʃ is preferred. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cah-</td>
<td>*cahʃ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nah-</td>
<td>*nahʃ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miih-</td>
<td>*miihʃ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(5)

Some verb stems with frozen middle suffix have t before the causative -ʃ. The i vowel before the causative suffix is an epenthetic vowel. Here are some examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʛap-</td>
<td>*ʛaptiʃ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kam-</td>
<td>*kamtiʃ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗap-</td>
<td>*ɗaptiʃ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6a)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>causative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kafaɗ-</td>
<td>*kaftiʃ-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χoraɗ-</td>
<td>*χortiʃ-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6b)

With the verb root piifaɗ- ‘to have lunch’ the causative marker can be either -ʃ or -tiʃ, i.e. piifʃ- or piiftiʃ- ‘to make eat lunch’.

The form of the direct causative with certain adjectival roots is -ayʃ as in (7a), and -nayʃ with other adjectival roots as in (7b). It is difficult to formulate rules for the distribution of the forms.

(7a)  

| awl-ayʃ- | ‘to make yellow’ |
| der-ayʃ- | ‘to make tall, long’ |
| lek-ayʃ- | ‘to make many’ |
| deh-ayʃ- | ‘to make near’ |
| sek-ayʃ- | ‘to make far’ |
| att-ayʃ- | ‘to make white’ |
| nukkull-ayʃ- | ‘to make weak, soft’ |

(7b)
kummaʔ-ayʃ- ‘to make short’
jollaʔ-ayʃ- ‘to make light’

poor-nayʃ- ‘to make black’
tiip-nayʃ- ‘to make red’
ilaaw-nayʃ- ‘to make green’
ʧaah-nayʃ- ‘to make thin’ <ʧaah- ‘to be thin’>
kokkon-nayʃ- ‘to make strong’ <kokkook- ‘to be strong’>
paʛaar-nayʃ- ‘to make good, beautiful’
neeʛ-nayʃ- ‘to make bad, ugly’

The following are sentential examples:

(8a) namasiχ χalittasiʔ ʔikummaayʃay
   nam-a-siʔ χalit-ta-siʔ i= kummaʔ-ayʃ-ay
   man-DEF.M/F stick.DEF.M/F 3=be.short-DCAUS-PF[3M]
   ‘The man shortened a stick.’

(8b) roopasip piita iʔilaawnayʃay
   roopa-siʔ piita i=ʔilaaw-nayʃ-ay
   rain-DEF.M/F land 3=be.green-DCAUS-PF[3M]
   ‘The rain made the land green.’

(8c) tika-siʔ=iʔ paʛaar-naj-i
    tika-siʔ=iʔ paʛaar-naj-t-i
   house-DEF.M/F=2 be.good-DCAUS-3F-PF
   ‘You (SG) made the house look good.’

(8d) napasiʔ ʔoktaasiʔ ʔipoornani
    nap-a-siʔ ʔok-ta-a-siʔ i=poor-naj-ni
    soot-DEF.M/F pot-DEF.M/F 3=be.black-DCAUS-IPF.PRES
   ‘The soot blackens the pot.’

As already mentioned, the indirect causative is marked by -acciis. In indirect causatives, the subject of the sentence is not directly involved in performing the action, and hence, has no direct control over the action. The subject lets someone/something else do the action (see also Mous 2004). Many transitive verb roots attach the indirect causative form rather than the direct causative form. The following are illustrative sentences:

(9a) antin namasin dilasiciʔ ʧotacciisay
    antiʔ nami-siʔ=in di-la-siʔ
    1SG.PRO-NOM person-DEF.M/F=1 field-DEF.M/F
In example (9a), we find three explicit participants: the indirect causer of the action of working on the field *anti* ‘I’ which is the subject, and the direct agent *namas*?i ‘the person’, which is an object, and the affected entity *ɗila* ‘field’ which is also an object. In (9b), we only find two explicit participants: the indirect causer *Anto* which is the subject, and the affected entity *ʛoyra*siʔ ‘the tree’.

Mous (2004: 9-13) reports the indirect causative marker -siis. However, this morpheme is very rare, used for example in deriving *ʛap*siis ‘to make hold, make catch someone (say, a thief)’ from *ʛap* ‘to hold, catch’. In contrast, the verb root *muk*- ‘to sleep’ in (10) requires only a direct causative form ŋ as in (10b).

Indirect causative is also expressed by the verb *koɗ*- ‘to make’ and a subordinate clause which contains the action done by the direct actor. Mous (2004: 2) calls this a syntactic indirect causative construction. The construction involves three participants: the causer, the causee and the affected entity as shown in (11a). Moreover, the verb *koɗ*- may attach the indirect causative -acciis as in (11b).
Causerless or impersonal causatives exist but they are fixed expressions in that they are based only on the verb stem parpaacciis- ‘make want, need’. The verb stem parpaacciis is derived from the Oromo verb root barbaad- ‘look for’ and the causative suffix -ciis. The verb stem parpaacciis- is a transitive verb stem but it does not add an external causer. In other words, the constructions are without an explicit causer. Moreover, they always occur in the order Patient—Agent and the agent is human. Only the present imperfective aspect is allowed in causerless causatives. The examples in (12a) and (12b) are without overtly stated causers. In these examples, neither kaasa ‘gun’ nor okkatta ‘cow’ is an agent. Both kaasa ‘gun’ and okkatta ‘cow’ are patients and ana ‘me’ and ke ‘you (SG)’ are the causee.

(12a) kaasaa ana parpaacciisni

kaasa-a  ana  parpaacciis-ni

kaasa-CLF 1SG.PRO.ACC make.need-IPF.PRES

‘I need a gun.’

(lit.: ‘It makes me need a gun.’)

(12b) okkattaa ki parpaacciisni

okkattaa-a  ki  parpaacciis-ni

cow-CLF 2SG.PRO.ACC make.need-IPF.PRES

‘You (SG) need a cow.’

(lit.: ‘It makes you (SG) need a cow.’)

The dative suffix may occur in the above constructions as shown in (13).

(13) kaasa anap parpaacciisni

kaasa  ana-ʔ  parpaacciis-ni

gun 1SG.PRO.ACC-DAT make.need-IPF.PRES

‘A gun is needed for me.’

Tolemariam (2009) also reports causerless causatives for Oromo. The following (adapted) illustrative examples are taken from his work (2009:17).

(14a) ibsaa  isa  barbaacc-is-a

light.ABS  him.ABS  look.for -CAUS1-3M.IMPF

‘He needs light.’

(lit.: ‘It makes him look for light.’)

(14b) inni  isaan  ibsaa  barbaacc-is-e

he.NOM  him.INST  light.ABS  look.for-CAUS1-3M.PF

‘He made him look for light.’
6.1.2. Middle

The middle derivation is marked by the suffix -aɗ. The most productive meaning of the middle derivation is to render the verb auto-benefactive, that is, the action is done for one’s own benefit. In (15a), for example, the subject namasiʔ ‘the man’ does the cutting for his own benefit. Likewise, in (15b), the subject parkasiʔ ‘the workteam’ does the slaughtering for the benefit of its members.

The middle has a wider semantic range of functions (see Mous 2004).

(15a) namasiɗ ciyrasiʔ ?imuraday

\[
\text{nama-siʔ} \quad \text{ciyra-siʔ} \\
i = \text{mur-aɗ-ay}
\]

person-DEF.M/F tree-DEF.M/F 3 = cut[SG]-MID-PF[3M]

‘The man cut the tree for himself.’

(15b) parkasiχ čormasiʔ ?iʛalaɗay

\[
parka-siʔ \quad čorma-siʔ \\
i = \text{ʛal-aɗ-ay}
\]

workteam-DEF.M/F ox-DEF.M/F 3 = slaughter-MID-PF[3M]

‘The work team slaughtered the ox for themselves.’

The verb roots mur- ‘cut[SG]’ and čal- ‘to slaughter’ with which the middle derivation suffix occurs in the above examples are transitive.

There are many verb stems with the frozen middle suffix. The following are illustrative examples.

(16) kollaɗ- ‘to learn’
faalaɗ- ‘to choose, love’
ampad- ‘to babysit’
kaassaɗ- ‘to ask’
činsad- ‘to beg’
kaassad- ‘to ask, request’
cullad- ‘to bend down’

With the verb stems kallaɗ- ‘to live’ and akkaaɗ- ‘to be seen’, the frozen form of the middle suffix has a long vowel: -aad.

With the verb roots given in (17), the middle suffix has a passive meaning (see also Mous 2007). But the agent cannot be expressed. As we shall see below, passive derivation is marked by a separate suffix -am. The agent cannot be expressed.

(17) čal- ‘to give birth’
dalaɗ- ‘to be born’
kup- ‘to burn’
kupaɗ- ‘to be burnt’
čor- ‘to fine’
čorad- ‘to be fined’
The following are illustrative sentential examples with the derived verb stems above:

(18a) kallappa parpalee dalatti
    *kallappa parpaliʔ=i dal-ɗ-i
    kallappa last.year = 3 give.birth-MID-3F-PF
    ‘Kallappa was born last year.’

(18b) harka-awu i=kup-ɗ-i
    hand-1SG.POSS.M/F 3 = burn-MID-PF[3M]
    ‘My hand was burnt.’

(18c) ɗimaytasiʔ ʔiχoraɗay
    *ɗimayta-siʔ i=χor-ɗ-i
    old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = fine-MID-PF[3M]
    ‘The old man was fined.’

The substitution of the passive suffix for the middle suffix in the above examples yields unacceptable sentences as shown in (19).

(19a) *harka-awu i=kup-am-ay
    hand-1SG.POSS.M/F 3 = burn-PAS-PF[3M]

(19b) *ɗimaytasiʔ ʔiχoramay
    *ɗimayta-siʔ i=χor-am-ay
    old.man-DEF.M/F 3 = fine-PAS-PF[3M]

6.1.3. Passive

Passive derivation is marked by the suffix -am. Both transitive and intransitive verb roots can be passivized. First, I present passives with transitive verbs. The form of the passive derivation is illustrated in the following transitive verbs.

(20) mur- ‘to cut[SG]’ mur-am- ‘to be cut[SG]’
    ɗid- ‘to beat’ ɗid-am- ‘to be beaten’
    ɗam- ‘to eat’ ɗam-am- ‘to be eaten’
    kat- ‘to sell’ kat-am- ‘to be sold’
    ɗup- ‘to build’ ɗup-am- ‘to be built’
    fur- ‘to untie’ fur-am- ‘to be untied’

A sentence with a transitive verb root without a passive suffix may occur with an agent and patient as in (21a). When such verb roots acquire the passive suffix, the sentence cannot have an expressed agent as shown by the ungram-
matical form in (21b). The passive sentence in (21c) is acceptable because it does not have an overt agent.

(21a) ɨʃaʔ ɨʃoyra-siʔ ʔimuray
       ɨʃaʔ ɨʃoyra-siʔ ɨ=ɨmur-əy
3SGM.PRO-NOM  tree-DEF.M/F  3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘He cut the tree.’

(21b) *ɨʃoyra sɨʔ ʔiʃan ʔimuramay
       ɨʃoyra-siʔ ɨʃa-n ɨ=ɨmur-am-əy
tree-DEF.M/F  3SM.PRO-INST  3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The tree was cut by him.’)

(21c) ɨʃoyra-siʔ ʔimuramay
       ɨʃoyra-siʔ ɨ=ɨmur-am-əy
tree-DEF.M/F  3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘The tree was cut.’

When objects are used as instruments to accomplish certain actions, the instrumental suffix is added to the overtly expressed instrument. The sentence in (22) with a passive verb is acceptable for two reasons. First, there is no overt agent; secondly, faasita ‘axe’ is an instrument used for performing the action of cutting.

(22) ɨʃoyrasif faasita-n imuramay
       ɨʃoyra-siʔ faasita-n ɨ=ɨmur-am-əy
tree-DEF.M/F  axe-INST  3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘The tree was cut with an axe.’

As it is possible with transitive verbs not to have an explicit subject, it is also the case with intransitive verbs that the passive has no explicit subject. However, the implied subject of a passive clause with an intransitive verb, is always the first person singular or plural. The context makes the distinction whether the subject is first person singular or plural. In passives of intransitive verbs the gender agreement on the verb is always the third person feminine. In other parts of the grammar, including passives of transitive verbs, the impersonal verb form is that of third person masculine, which is zero-marked. It seems that the speaker has no subject in mind as referent to the third person feminine inflection. The passive derivation in intransitive verb roots mainly expresses having difficult circumstances. Here are some examples:

(23a) ɨ=ɨmuk-am-t-i
       3 = sleep-PAS-3F-PF
‘We spent the night.’
(23b)  \( i = \text{kal-am-t-i} \)
   \( 3 = \text{return.home-PAS-3F-PF} \)
   ‘We returned home.’

In example (23a), the speaker implies that they had a very difficult night. In the same fashion, in (23b), the speaker implies that they had difficulty when returning home, maybe due to danger, accident, etc. on the way.

With the verb root hem- ‘marry’, there is a lexical passive marking: a masculine subject always occurs in the active as in (24a) but a feminine always occurs in the passive as in (24b). The example in (24c) is unacceptable because the subject is masculine while the verb has a passive derivation.

(24a)  nama-siʔ ?inantasiʔ ?ihemay  
   \( \text{nana-siʔ} \quad \text{inant-siʔ} \quad i = \text{hem-ay} \)  
   \( \text{man-DEF.M/F} \quad \text{girl-DEF.M/F} \quad 3 = \text{marry-PF[3M]} \)  
   ‘The man married the girl.’

(24b)  inantasin namasitiʔ ?ihemamti  
   \( \text{inanta-siʔ} \quad \text{nana-siti-ʔ} \quad i = \text{hem-am-t-i} \)  
   \( \text{girl-DEF.M/F} \quad \text{man-DEF.M/F-DAT} \quad 3 = \text{marry-PAS-3F-PF} \)  
   ‘The girl was married to the man.’

(24c)  *namasiʔ ?inantasitiʔ ?ihemamay  
   \( \text{namasiʔ} \quad \text{inant-siti-ʔ} \quad i = \text{hem-ay} \)  
   \( \text{man-DEF.M/F} \quad \text{girl-DEF.M/F-DAT} \quad 3 = \text{marry-PAS-PF[3M]} \)  
   (intended: ‘The man was married to the girl.’)

In the χolme dialect, two separate verb roots are used: hem- ‘to marry’ when the subject is male and taw- ‘to marry’ when the subject is female. The verb root taw- does not require a passive derivation. The passive reading is entailed in the meaning of the verb root. Examples:

(25a)  namasiʔ ?ihemay  
   \( \text{nana-siʔ} \quad i = \text{hem-ay} \)  
   \( \text{man-DEF.M/F} \quad 3 = \text{marry-PF[3M]} \)  
   ‘The man married.’

(25b)  inanta-siʔ ?itawti  
   \( \text{inanta-siʔ} \quad i = \text{taw-t-i} \)  
   \( \text{girl-DEF.M/F} \quad 3 = \text{be.married-3F.PF} \)  
   ‘The girl was married.’

There are certain verb roots which inherently entail passive reading: the two verb roots that refer to breaking \( \text{ɛep} \)- ‘to be broken [long objects]’ and \( \text{paɛɛ} \)- ‘to
be broken [round objects]’ and the verb root *fa*p- ‘to be infested with weevil; be soaked; be rotten’ are such verb roots. The use of the passive suffix with these verb roots yields unacceptable constructions, as exemplified by the unacceptable forms in (26).

(26a) *cọyra-siʔ ʔicọpamay
cọyra-siʔ ʔi=ɕep-am-ay
tree-DEF.M/F 3=be.broken-PAS-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The tree was broken.’)

(26b) *unta-siʔ ʔifapamti
unta-siʔ ʔi=fa*p-t-i
grain-DEF.M/F 3=be.infested.with.weevils-PAS-3F-PF
(intended: ‘The grain was infested with weevils.’)

The correct versions are given in (27):

(27a) cọyra-siʔ ʔicọp-ay
cọyra-siʔ ʔi=ɕep-ay
tree-DEF.M/F 3=be.broken-PF[3M]
‘The tree was broken.’

(27b) unta-siʔ ʔifapti
unta-siʔ ʔi=fa*p-t-i
grain-DEF.M/F 3=be.infested.with.weevils-3F-PF
‘The grain was infested with weevils.’

6.1.4. Inchoative

The inchoative is marked with derivational affixes. Inchoative suffixes may be derived from adjectival or nominal roots. In adjective roots, the suffixes -aɗ, -aaɗ or -naaɗ are used to derive inchoative. Notice that the first of the inchoative suffixes is identical to the middle derivation marker.

The distribution of the inchoative suffixes in adjectival roots is as follows: adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a consonant cluster add -aɗ as in (28a); those that have the CVC- template add -aaɗ as in (28b); those with a long vowel in the root add -naaɗ as in (28c). It is difficult to formulate rules on the basis of phonological shapes or semantic categories to capture the distribution of these suffixes. For this reason, below, we provide the adjectival roots with the type of inchoative form that they require.

(28a) kapp- ‘to be fat’ kapp-aɗ- ‘to become fat’
kutt- ‘to be big’ kutt-aɗ- ‘to become big’
palɗ- ‘to be wide’ palɗ-aɗ- ‘to become wide’
apɗ- ‘to be skinny’  
apɗ-ɗ- ‘to become skinny’

fakk- ‘to be small’  
fakk-ɗ- ‘to become small’

cöyy- ‘to be wet’  
cöyy-ɗ- ‘to become wet’

kummaʔ- ‘to be short’  
kummaʔ-ɗ- ‘to become short’

follaʔ- ‘to be light’  
follaʔ-ɗ- ‘to become light’

korf- ‘to be thick’  
korf-ɗ- ‘to become thick’

palɗ- ‘to be wide’  
palɗ-ɗ- ‘to become wide’

(28b)  
der- ‘to be tall, long’  
der-ɗ- ‘to become tall, long’

deh- ‘to be near’  
deh-ɗ- ‘to become near’

sek- ‘to be far’  
sek-ɗ- ‘to become far’

at- ‘to be white’  
at-t-ɗ- ‘to become white’

awl- ‘to be yellow’  
awl-ɗ- ‘to become yellow’

lek- ‘to be many’  
lek-ɗ- ‘to become many’

nukkull- ‘to be weak’  
nukkull-ɗ- ‘to become weak’

(28c)  
ilaaw ‘to be green’  
ilaaw-ɗ- ‘to become green’

paʛaar- ‘to be good’  
paʛaar-ɗ- ‘to become good’

poor- ‘to be black’  
poor-ɗ- ‘to become black’

neeʛ- ‘to be bad, ugly’  
neeʛ-ɗ- ‘to become bad, ugly’

tiim- ‘to be red’  
tiip-ɗ- ‘to become red’

cfaah- ‘to be thin’  
cfaah-ɗ- ‘to become thin’

kokkook- ‘to be strong’  
kokkon-ɗ- ‘to become strong’

It seems that adjectival roots that have a geminate consonant or a cluster of consonants tend to occur with the inchoative suffix -ɗ. Note that when the inchoative suffix is added to the adjectival roots cfaah- ‘to be thin’ and kokkook- ‘to be strong’, the long vowels are shortened.

From the distributions of the inchoative and causative suffixes in adjectival roots, we can draw the following distributional parallels:

- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -ɗ occur with the causative suffix -ʃ;
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -aad occur with the causative suffix -ayʃ; and,
- those adjectival roots that occur with the inchoative suffix -naad occur with the causative suffix -nayʃ;

Exceptionally, the following adjectival roots require the inchoative suffix -aad.

(29)  
uls- ‘to be heavy’  
uls-ɗ- ‘to become heavy’
nukkull- ‘to be weak’  
nukkull-ɗ- ‘to become weak’
Inchoative of nominal roots is derived by suffixes -ooɗ and -um. The inchoative suffix -ooɗ is added to nominal roots to express physical or mental state of becoming (30a). The suffix -um is added to nominal roots to express social status, such as becoming a father (30b).

(30a)  
χas-ooɗ ‘become happy’  
χasa ‘happiness’  
maaʃʃ-ooɗ ‘to become drunk’  
maaʃʃaa ‘drunkenness’  
deep-ooɗ ‘to become thirsty’  
deeputa ‘thirst’  
miri-ooɗ ‘to become angry’  
mira ‘anger’  
teʔʃ-ooɗ ‘to have elephantiasis’  
teʔʃaa ‘elephantiasis’

(30b)  
aapp-um- ‘to become a father’  
aappaa ‘father’  
moott-um- ‘to become a friend’  
mootta ‘friend’  
aakk-um- ‘to become a grandfather’  
aakkaa ‘grandfather’

6.1.5. Pluractionals and punctuals

Pluractionals and punctuals can be expressed by pairs of (lexical) suppletive verb roots or by means of derivational marking. Below, I first present the suppletive verb roots for pluractional and punctual. The pluractional and punctual suppletive verb roots can be either transitive (31a) or intransitive (31b). Lexical punctuals may express single events or single actions.

(31a)  
iff- ‘to kill[SG]’  
leif- ‘to kill[PL]’  
piɗɗ- ‘to buy[SG]’  
heer- ‘to buy[PL]’  
put- ‘to uproot[SG]’  
uhuɓ- ‘to uproot[PL]’  
mur- ‘to cut[SG]’  
ʛuur- ‘to cut[PL]’  
χapt- ‘to throw[SG]’  
ʣakk- ‘to throw[PL]’  
day- ‘to hit[SG]’  
ʛid- ‘to hit[PL]’  
camenti- ‘to bite[SG]’  
cọm- ‘to bite[PL]’

(31b)  
keer ‘to run[SG]’  
hir- ‘to run[PL]’  
toy- ‘to die[SG]’  
leey- ‘to die[PL]’  
piʔ- ‘to fall[SG]’  
seh- ‘to fall[PL]’  
χaʔad- ‘to fly[SG]’  
paʔaɗ- ‘to run/fly[PL]’

In intransitive suppletive verbs, the choice of pluractional or punctual suppletive verb is determined by the number of the subject. For example, in (32a), the subject inantasiʔ ‘the girl’ is singular and hence keer- ‘to run[SG]’. In (32b), the subject hellaasiniʔ ‘the children’ is plural and hence hir- ‘to run[PL]’. The examples in (33) are unacceptable because of the mismatch between the number of the subject and the suppletive verb: in (33a) the subject is singular but the verb root is pluractional; in (33b), the subject is plural but the verb root is punctual.
In transitive suppletive verbs, the choice of the pluractional or punctual is determined by the number of the object rather than the subject. This is illustrated in the examples in (34), where we have the same singular subject but a singular object and punctual suppletive verb in (34a), and a plural subject and pluractional suppletive verb in (34b).

(34a) namasik karmaa iʔiʃʃay  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nama-si?} & \text{karmaa} \\
\text{man-DEF.M/F} & \text{lion} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3 = \text{kill}[SG]-\text{PF}[3M] \\
\end{array}
\]
‘The man killed a lion.’

(34b) namasik karmadaa ileyʃay  
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{nama-si?} & \text{karmadaa} \\
\text{man-DEF.M/F} & \text{lions} \\
\end{array}
\]
\[
\begin{array}{ll}
3 = \text{kill}[PL]-\text{PF}[3M] \\
\end{array}
\]
‘The man (has) killed lions.’

As stated earlier, pluractionality and punctual are also marked by means of derivation apart from the lexical suppletives. From underived (punctual) verb roots we derive pluractional verb stems, and from underived pluractional verb roots we derive punctual verb stems. From derived punctual stems we may also derive pluractionality. In what follows, I first discuss the derivation of pluractionals from singulative verb roots, then discuss the derivation of punctuals from pluractional verb roots. Then I return to the derivation of pluractionals, but this time, to their derivation from punctual verb stems. Since the marking of pluractionality is obligatory, the unmarked verb is interpreted to be punctual.
Pluractional derivation is marked by reduplicating the singulative verb root’s initial \(C_1V\) when there is a geminate consonant in the verb root as in (35a), otherwise \(C_1VC_1\) as in (35b). Notice that long vowels following the verb root’s initial consonant appear short in the reduplicated \(C_1V(C_1)\).

(35a)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tuc\texttt{\textae}uur} & \quad \text{‘to push[SG]’} & \quad \text{tu-tuc\texttt{\textae}uur} & \quad \text{‘to push.PL’} \\
\text{fa\texttt{\textae}al} & \quad \text{‘to stick to[SG]’} & \quad \text{fa-fa\texttt{\textae}al} & \quad \text{‘to stick to.PL’} \\
\text{mo\texttt{\textam}oor} & \quad \text{‘to twist[SG]’} & \quad \text{mo-mo\texttt{\textam}oor} & \quad \text{‘to twist.PL’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

(35b)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d\texttt{\textam}ot} & \quad \text{‘to stab[SG]’} & \quad \text{d\texttt{\textam}od-d\texttt{\textam}ot} & \quad \text{‘to stab.PL’} \\
\text{toom} & \quad \text{‘to hit with fist[SG]’} & \quad \text{to-t\texttt{\textam}oom} & \quad \text{‘to hit with fist.PL’} \\
\text{torp} & \quad \text{‘to shoot with spear[SG]’} & \quad \text{to-torp} & \quad \text{‘shoot with spear.PL’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Some pluractionals are derived by repeating the verb root. The following are illustrative:

(36)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d\texttt{\textam}am} & \quad \text{‘to eat’} & \quad \text{dam\texttt{\textam}am} & \quad \text{‘to chew a bit’} \\
\text{pul} & \quad \text{‘to scatter’} & \quad \text{pulpul} & \quad \text{‘to dismantle’} \\
\text{sar} & \quad \text{‘to loot, plunder’} & \quad \text{sarsar} & \quad \text{‘to loot quickly’} \\
\text{fap} & \quad \text{‘to decay’} & \quad \text{fapfap} & \quad \text{‘to rot completely’} \\
\text{fur} & \quad \text{‘to untie’} & \quad \text{furfur} & \quad \text{‘to untie quickly’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Punctual derivation is different from pluractional derivation in that in punctual derivation, it is the verb root’s final part that is involved. Precisely, punctual is derived by geminating the final consonant of verb roots (see also Ongaye 2010). The derivation is quite productive and expresses that the action is done once. Here are some examples:

(37)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{c\texttt{\textam}af} & \quad \text{‘to pinch[PL]’} & \quad \text{c\texttt{\textam}af} & \quad \text{‘to pinch.SG’} \\
\text{rak} & \quad \text{‘to hung[PL]’} & \quad \text{rakk} & \quad \text{‘to hung.SG’} \\
\text{le\texttt{\textam}f} & \quad \text{‘to kick[PL]’} & \quad \text{le\texttt{\textam}f} & \quad \text{‘to kick.SG’} \\
\text{c\texttt{\textam}uaf} & \quad \text{‘to pierce[PL]’} & \quad \text{c\texttt{\textam}uaf} & \quad \text{‘to pierce.SG’} \\
\text{tuuk} & \quad \text{‘to push[PL]’} & \quad \text{tuukk} & \quad \text{‘to push.SG’} \\
\text{moof} & \quad \text{‘to break[PL]’} & \quad \text{moof} & \quad \text{‘to break.SG’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

From the above examples, we can notice that the pluractional verb roots from which punctual stems are derived may have a CVC- or CVVC- template. It is not possible to have a pluractional root ending in \(CC\).

In Ts’amakko, Savá (2005:186) reports the derivation of punctual from the CVCVC verb root by geminating the second consonant of the verb root. Evidence of comparable material in Konso would probably be the verb root \(\text{\texttt{\textam}osal}\) ‘to laugh’ which optionally derives the verb stem \(\text{\texttt{\textam}osal}\). It may also be argued that possibly the verb roots tuc\texttt{\textae}uur ‘to push[SG]’, fa\texttt{\textae}al ‘to stick
to[SG]’ and moddfoo- ‘to twist[SG]’ in (35a) are examples of frozen punctuals. The adjectival roots ilaaaw- ‘to be green’ and paçaar- ‘to be good, beautiful’ have free variant forms: ilaaf- ‘to be green’ and paçuar- ‘to be good, beautiful’. The intensive form of paçaar/-paçuar is formed by geminating the middle consonant: paçхаar/-paçчаar ‘to be very good, beautiful’. No punctual form is derived from the verb roots with CVC[i] structure.

The object of punctual verb stems has to be singular. Unless the object requires the efforts of many people who act as a team, the subject of punctual verb stems has to also be singular. For instance, in (38a), both the subject namasiʔ ‘the man’ and the object inantasiʔ ‘the girl’ are singular. In (38b), the subject orrasiʔ ‘the people’ is plural but the object dakaasiʔ ‘the stone’ is singular, implying that the single pushing required the effort of more than one person. The example in (38c) is unacceptable because the subject is singular but the object is plural. Likewise, the example in (38d) is unacceptable because the subject is plural and the object singular, implying that the action of pinching once does not require the effort of more than one person.

(38a) namasiʔ ?inantasiʔ ?i=ćоffay
nama-siʔ inanta-siʔ 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
The person pinched the child once.’

(38b) orrasiʔ dakaasiʔ ?ituukkay
orra-siʔ daaka-siʔ 3=push.SG-PF[3M]
The people pushed the stone once.’

(38c) *namasiʔ hellaaasiniʔ ?i=ćоffay
nama-siʔ hellaa-siniʔ 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The person pinched the children once.’)

(38d) *orrasiʔ ?innaasiniʔ ?i=ćоffay
orra-siʔ innaa-siniʔ 3=pinch.SG-PF[3M]
(intended: ‘The people pinched the child once.’)

Apart from signalling the performance of an action being just once, some punctual verb stems also imply the use of extra force/energy compared to their underived verb roots. For instance, the punctual verb stems ćоff-‘to pinch.SG’ and leɓ- ‘to kick.SG’ imply the use of more force than their corresponding underived pluractional verb roots ćоf- ‘to pinch[PL]’ and leɓ- ‘to kick[PL]’. 
For the pairs, faɗ - faɗɗ- ‘to look for[SG/PL]’ and ik- ~ ikk- ‘drink[SG/PL]’, they have the same meaning and both are used as equal alternatives for punctual and pluractional.

The verb root χooɓɓ- ‘to take a sip’ is also a suppletive form for ik(k)-‘to drink’.

The verb root muk- ‘to sleep’ is an instance of intransitive verb root with a punctual derivation: mukk- ‘to take a nap; lie on something’.

The derivation of pluractionals from derived punctual verb stems are characterised by having a $C_V$ reduplication of the punctual verb stem’s initial because the last consonant of all derived punctual verb stems is geminate. Pluractionals derived from punctual verb stems express the performance of an action more than once but less than many times. Examples:

(39a) raakasiʔ inantasiʔ iƙoƙoƙi-t-i
raaka-siʔ inanta-siʔ i=ƙo-ƙoƙi-t-i
old.woman-DEF.M/F girlDEF.M/F 3=PL-pinch.SG-3F-PF
‘The old woman pinched the girl a few times.’

(39b) Kappoolik k*aasitasiʔ ?ileleɓɓay
Kappoo-ʔ k*aasita-siʔ i=le-leɓɓ-ay
Kappoole-NOM ball-DEF.M/F 3=PL-kick.SG-PF[3M]
‘Kappoole kicked the ball a few times.’

The derivation of pluractional is also possible from the underived pluractional verb root. Since underived pluractional verb roots do not have geminate consonants, the derivation of pluractionals from the underived pluractional verb roots involves the reduplication of the verb root’s initial $C_V$. With an individual entity, it expresses event plurality. That is, it indicates the performance of the action in question many times during more than one event. With plural entities, it expresses either event plurality (performing the action during each event on one individual many times) or the plurality of both the action and entities during an event.

(40) cimaytasih hellaasiniʔ iƙoƙoƙi-fay
čimayta-siʔ hellaasiniʔ i=ƙo-ƙoƙi-fay
old.man-DEF.M/F children-DEF.P
3=PL-pinch[PL]-PF[3M]
‘The old man pinched the children many times.’
6.2. Verb inflection

6.2.1. Aspect

Konso makes a morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The imperfective aspect is further distinguished in present imperfective and future imperfective. I use the term “perfective” because the distinction is primarily aspectual, but in fact all perfective marked verbs refer to the past. The imperfective present -ni is used for general truth statements. It is primarily imperfective and it can in fact be used for past reference, (54). The Imperfective Future is again primarily imperfective and is used for present tense with certain verbs, (47-48). Below I discuss the perfective and imperfective aspects in detail.

6.2.1.1. The Perfective

Except for first person singular and third person masculine, the perfective aspect is marked by suffix -i. Perfective aspect for the first person singular and third person masculine singular is marked by -ay. In Karatte dialect, perfective aspect is marked by suffix -e for all persons (Black (1973), Bliese and Sokka (1986)). Third person feminine and second person singular and first person plural have person marking before the perfective marker. For second person plural and third person plural, the perfective aspect marker occurs before the plurality marker on the verb.

The perfective aspect expresses actions/events completed before or at the moment of speaking. The actual time difference between the completion of an action/event and the speech time does not affect the form of the perfective aspect suffix. However, adverbs such as amma ‘now’ and χala ‘yesterday’ locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking. The word asu ‘just’ is used with the adverb amma ‘now’ to give more emphasis to the completion of the action/event at the moment of speaking. Here are some examples:

(41a)  antix χarʃasiʔ ?indamay
       anti-{i} χarʃa-siʔ in=ɗam-ay
       1SG.PRO-NOM beans-DEF.M/F 1=eat-PF[3M]
       ‘I ate the beans.’

(41b) inantasiχ χarʃasiʔ ?idamtiri
       inanta-siʔ χarʃa-siʔ i=ɗam-t-i
       girl-DEF.M/F beans-DEF.M/F 3=eat-3F-PF
       ‘The girl ate the beans.’

(41c)  ammaa asu kodaasid dikkass̩
       amma=i asu kodaa-siʔ dikkif-t-i
       now=3 just work-DEF.M/F finish-3F-PF
       ‘She has just finished the work.’
In cleft constructions, the perfective aspect is invariably marked by the suffix -ay for all persons since the verb has the default 3M form in the cleft construction (see also 3.5). The examples in (42a-b) are non-cleft sentences but those in (42c-d) are equivalent clefts.

(42a) inanta-siʔ ʔiɗamti
inanta-siʔ ʔiɗam-ti
‘The girl ate the beans.’

(42b) iʃinaχ χala ɗiluppupa antin
iʃina-ʔ χala =ʔ ɗila-oppupa an-t-i-n
‘You (PL) went to the field yesterday.’

(42c) inantaʔeé χarʃasiʔ ʔiɗamay
‘It is the girl who ate the beans.’

(42d) iʃiná χala diluppupa aanay
iʃina-á χala ɗila-oppupa aan-ay
‘It is you (PL) who went to the field yesterday.’

6.2.1.2. The Imperfective

The imperfective aspect is further distinguished into the present imperfective and the future imperfective. Below, I treat each of them in turn.

The present imperfective is marked by suffix -ni for all persons. Except for first person plural and second person plural, there is no person marking on the verb. The present imperfective may be used to refer to situations taking place the same time the speech event takes place, as in (43a); it may also refer to habitual actions, as in (43b), or to general truth (43c).
(43a) amman tikupa anni
    `I am going home now.'

(43b) toolaasiʔ ?awtapiisa díluppupa isookanni
    `This family goes to the field every day.'

(43c) karamadáaa sʷaa pattaa ðàmmi
    `Lions only eat meat.'

The first person plural and second person plural also add -nna and -ttan, respectively, to -ni. This is shown in (44):

(44a) inuʔ ?úrmalaapan anninna
    `We are going to the market.'

(44b) ifinat tikupa iɗɗeʔnittan
    `You (PL) are coming home.'

The present progressive suffix -nna for the first person plural is added to the perfective form of the first person plural as illustrated in (45a).

(45a) inuʔ ?úrmalaapan anninna
    `We are going to the market.'

(45b) inuʔ ?úrmalaapan anni
    `We went to the market.'
In the imperfective aspect, third persons may also occur with the additional suffixes -tta, -ya and -yan for feminine subject (46a), masculine subject (46b) and plural subject (46c), respectively. These suffixes are optional and are used to add meaning such as contrary to expectation (see Section 12.4).

(46a) inantasiʔ ?ikallitta
    inanta-siʔ     i = kal-ni-tta
        girl.DEF.M/F   3 = return.home-IPF.PRES-3F.CEXPEC
    ‘Hey! The girl is going home!’

(46b) hamiyasịsilpootasị ?ićëenniya
    hamiya-siʔ     silpoota-siʔ     i = ćëed-ni-ya
        boy.DEF.M/F    hoe.DEF.M/F     3 = take-IPF.PRES-3M.CEXPEC
    ‘Hey! The boy is taking the hoe!’

(46c) hellaasiniʔ ?ihirriyan
    hellaa-siniʔ     i = hir-ni-yan
        children.DEF.P     3 = run[PL]-IPF.PRES-3PL.CEXPEC
    ‘Hey! The children are running!’

In the above examples, the addresser reports that in (46a) the addresser reports that the girl is going home but she is not expected to go home and in (46b), the boy is taking the hoe but he is not expected to take it. In (45c), the addresser reports that the children are running but they are not expected to run.

There are certain verb roots (listed in (47)) that require suffix -a rather than -ni to mark the present imperfective. The suffix -a marks the future imperfective to be discussed shortly. Thus, in the glossing, I maintain the use of IPF.FUT despite the present imperfective reference.

(47) up-  ‘to know’
    pah-  ‘to look like, resemble’
    heen-  ‘to want’
    sah-  ‘to be able to’
    şap-  ‘to have’
    χoʔ-  ‘to like something very much’

The following are sentential examples.

(48a) ifan namoosiʔ ?iʔupa
    ifa-?    nama-osiʔ     i = up-a
        3SGM.PRO-NOM    person-DEM.M/F     3 = know-IPF.FUT
    ‘He knows this person.’
The formation of the future imperfective from the above verb roots requires the inchoative suffix -naaɗ. The examples in (49a) and (49b) are the future imperfective versions of the examples in (48a) and (48b), respectively.

(49a)  iวางแผนฝ 가져มา i=upnaaɗ-a

3=know.INCH-IPF.FUT

‘He will know this person.’

(49b)  เด็กผู้หญิง}_ผู้เป็นพ่อ 3=resemble.INCH-3F-IPF.FUT

‘This girl will resemble her father.’

The verb roots do not occur with the present imperfective suffix -ni except when the verb is marked with inchoative suffix -naaɗ as shown in (50). But this later use is not frequent.

(50)  ดินเป็นทุกราย i=cαpnaaɗni

3=have.INCH-IPF.PRES

‘This field always has weeds.’
Now, I return to the future imperfective of the imperfective aspect. As mentioned above, the future imperfective is marked by the suffix -a for all persons. It expresses actions that have not started yet at the moment of speaking. Positionally, the future imperfective suffix occurs after the subject marker on the verb. For second person plural and third person plural, it is followed by the plural person marker -n on the verb. The following are illustrative examples.

(51a) antik konfa parre impida

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ant-?</th>
<th>konfa</th>
<th>parre</th>
<th>in=pidd-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1SG.PRO-NOM</td>
<td>shorts</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
<td>1 = buy[SG]-IPF.FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘I will buy shorts tomorrow.’

(51b) hekere ɗoyroosiʔ ʔideraad

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>hekere</th>
<th>ɗoyra-oosiʔ</th>
<th>i=der-aad-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>future</td>
<td>tree-DEM.M/F</td>
<td>3 = be.long-INCHOA-IPF.FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘This tree will become long in the future.’

(51c) inantasip pijaaʔ ʔiʔanta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inanta-siʔ</th>
<th>pijaaʔ</th>
<th>i=an-t-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>girl-DEF.M/F</td>
<td>water/DAT</td>
<td>3 = go-3F-IPF.FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The girl will go to fetch water.’
(lit.: ‘The girl will go for water.’)

(51d) attiχ χonsupa iʔʔanta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>atti-ʔ</th>
<th>χonso-opa</th>
<th>iʔ=an-t-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2SG.PRO-NOM</td>
<td>Konso-to</td>
<td>2 = go-2-IPF.FUT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘You (SG) will go to Konso.’

6.2.1.3. Continuative constructions

In this section, I discuss bounded and unbounded continuative constructions. I begin with the unbounded continuative constructions. Unbounded continuative constructions that express ongoing actions/events at the time of speaking without reference to the time of start are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root kit- ‘to be, exist’ and the postposition ɗaraa ‘on (top of)’. Here are some examples:

(52a) inuk kirpa dawiya ɗaraa kinna

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>inu-ʔ</th>
<th>kirpa</th>
<th>daw-iya</th>
<th>ɗaraa=in</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1PL.PRO-NOM</td>
<td>song</td>
<td>sing-VN</td>
<td>on = 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

kit-n-a

be-P-IPF.FUT
‘We are singing a song.’
(lit.: ‘We are on (top of) singing a song.’)
Bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events that started before the moment of speaking but still in progress at the time of speaking are expressed by verbal nominals, the verb root kit- ‘to be, exist’ and the postposition çuda ‘on (side)’ as demonstrated in (53).

Similarly, bounded continuative constructions that express actions/events done over a certain period of time before the time of speaking are expressed by the present imperfective suffix -ni and the adverb ħatta ‘in the past, long time ago’. The word pora ‘road, place’ is also commonly used in this context but most often it implies that the action is not approved by the speaker. In the following illustrative examples, I use the label IPF.PRES for the suffix -ni despite its past reference.

(53a) inuk kirma dawiy cudiya kinna
inuʔ kirma daw-iya cudiya=in
1PL.PRO-NOM song sing-INF on=1

kit-na
be-P-IPF.FUT
‘We have been singing a song.’
(lit.: ‘We are on (the side of) singing a song.’)

(53b) inuh hiranta çuda kinna
inuʔ hir-anta çuda=in
1PL.PRO-NOM run[PL]-VN on=1

kit-na
be-P-IPF.FUT
‘We have been running.’
(lit.: ‘We are on (the side of) running.’)

(54a) namsi xatta horeetaa dawwini
nama-asiʔ xatta horeeta=i
man-DEM.M/F long.ago cattle = 3
\textit{dawwi-ni} \\
tend-IPF.PRES \\
‘A long time ago this man used to tend cattle.’ \\

(54b) iʃaχ χatta dillaa pora ikatanni \\
ifaʔ χatta dillaa pora \\
3SGM.PRO-NOM long.ago fields road \\
\textit{i = kat-ad-ni} \\
3 = sell-MID-IPF.PRES \\
‘A long time ago he used to sell fields for his benefit.’

6.2.2. Mood 

6.2.2.1. Imperative 

The affirmative imperative is marked by suffixes -i and -a for singular and plural addressee, respectively. (See Section 11.1.6 on negative imperatives.) This can be seen in (55a) and (55b). The second person plural may also be used with first person plural, as shown in (55c).

(55a) tika kara sah-i \\
house in sweep-IMP.SG \\
‘(You (SG)) Sweep the house!’

(55b) tika kara sah-a \\
house in sweep-IMP.PL \\
‘(You (PL)) Sweep the house!’

(55c) tika kara sah-n-a \\
house in sweep-1PL-IMP.PL \\
‘Let us sweep the house!’

The form of the imperative for singular addressee is -u when verb stems end in the (frozen) middle or inchoative suffixes. Here are some examples:

(56a) pidd-ad-u \\
buy[SG]-MID-IMP.SG \\
‘(You (SG)), Buy for yourself!’

(56b) kutt-ad-u \\
be.big-INCH-IMP.SG \\
‘(You (SG)) Become big!’

Polite insistive expression is constructed on the basis of the imperative. It is formed by using the word \textit{ata} and by attaching the suffix -n after the imperative
morpheme. The word *ata*, which is obligatory and has the meaning ‘please’ in this context, may occur initially as in (57a-b) or finally as in (57c-d).

(57a)  \[ \text{ata dam-i-n} \]  
\[ \text{please eat-IMP.SG-INSIST} \]  
\[ \text{‘(You (SG)) Eat, please!’} \]

(57b)  \[ \text{ata dam-a-n} \]  
\[ \text{please eat-IMP.PL-INSIST} \]  
\[ \text{‘(You (PL)) Eat, please!’} \]

(57c)  \[ \text{dam-i-n ata} \]  
\[ \text{eat-IMP.SG-INSIST please} \]  
\[ \text{‘(You (SG)) Eat, please!’} \]

(57d)  \[ \text{dam-a-n ata} \]  
\[ \text{eat-IMP.PL-INSIST please} \]  
\[ \text{‘(You (PL)) Eat, please!’} \]

There is some level of overlap between imperative and optative.

6.2.2. Optative

Optative is marked on the verb by suffix -\(u\) for first persons and third person singular, and by -i for third person plural. In addition to the verbal suffixes, first person independent personal pronouns and the morpheme -a are used. As might be expected, there is no optative form for second persons. For third persons, the optative expresses an indirect order or wish. Note that there is some level of overlap between optative and imperative.

(58a)  \[ \text{ana-a tika sah-u} \]  
\[ \text{1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-OPT} \]  
\[ \text{‘Let me sweep the house.’} \]

(58b)  \[ \text{ino tika sah-n-u} \]  
\[ \text{1PL.PRO.ACC-OPT house sweep-1PL-OPT} \]  
\[ \text{‘May we sweep the house.’} \]

(58c)  \[ \text{a-tika sah-t-u} \]  
\[ \text{OPT-house sweep-3F-OPT} \]  
\[ \text{‘Let her sweep the house.’} \]

(58d)  \[ \text{a-tika sah-i-n} \]  
\[ \text{OPT-house sweep-OPT-P} \]  
\[ \text{‘Let them sweep the house.’} \]
Negative optative for first and third persons is expressed using the verb root ḏiif- ‘to stop’ and a predicate nominal as in (59).

(59a)  ana-a keer-intaa ḏiif-u
       1SG.PRO.ACC-OPT run[SG]-VN stop-OPT
       ‘Let me not run.’
       (lit.: ‘Let me stop running.’)

(59b)  keerintaa adiissu
       keer-intaa a = ḏiif-t-u
       run[SG]-VN OPT = stop-3F-OPT
       ‘Let her not run.’
       (lit.: ‘Let her stop running.’)

For third persons, the optative negative can be formed by affixing negative subject clitics directly to the verb root rather than using ḏiif- ‘stop’. Here are some examples:

(60a)  ifaʔ ?inkeerin
       ifaʔ in = kee-er-in
       3SGM.PRO-NOM 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
       ‘Let him not run.’

(60b)  ifeennaʔ ?inkeerin
       ifeennaʔ in = kee-er-in
       3SGF.PRO-NOM 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
       ‘Let her not run.’

(60c)  ifoonnaʔ ?inkeerin
       ifoonnaʔ in = kee-er-in
       3PL.PRO-NOM 3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
       ‘Let them not run.’

Without the overt subjects, it is impossible to identify the number of the subject in the above sentences. This can be seen from the translation of the following example:

(61)  in = kee-er-in
      3NEG = run[SG]-NEG
      ‘Let him/her/them not run.’

Verbal negative conjugations are discussed in chapter 11.
7. Adjectives

7.1. Adjectival root classes

Konso has a limited number of adjectival roots (Black 1973; Mous and Ongaye 2009). Below I give an exhaustive list of the adjectival roots by grouping them into certain semantic categories: those in (1a) are colour adjectives, those in (1b) are height/size adjectives, those in (1c) are quality adjectives and those in (1d) are distance/location adjectives.

(1a)  
- **at-** ‘to be red’
- **awl-** ‘to be brown (+non-human)’
- **room-** ‘to be brown (+human)’
- **poor-** ‘to be black’
- **tiim-** ‘to be red’
- **ilaaw-** ‘to be green’
- **makaal-** ‘to be brown’
- **puɗɗayyays-** ‘to be yellow’
- **puʄaʄʄars-** ‘to be multi-coloured’
- **purpurrays-** ‘to be spotted’

(1b)  
- **ɗer-** ‘to be tall, long’
- **kummaʔ-** ‘to be short’
- **kapp-** ‘to be fat’
- **ʧallaʔ-** ‘to be thin (length)’
- **claah-** ‘to be thin (width)’
- **kord-** ‘to be thick’
- **kutt-** ‘to be big’
- **lek-** ‘to be many’
- **killaʔ-** ‘to be narrow’
- **palɗ-** ‘to be wide’
- **ʃakk-** ‘to be small’
- **apɗ-** ‘to be skinny’

(1c)  
- **kokkook-** ‘to be strong, hard’
- **nukkull-** ‘to be weak, soft’
- **paɗaar-** ‘to be good, beautiful’
- **neeʧ-** ‘to be bad, ugly’
- **ʧoyy-** ‘to be wet’
- **uls-** ‘to be heavy’
- **ʃollaʔ-** ‘to be light’
- **woyy-** ‘to be better’

---

11 The adjectival root **woyy-** ‘to be better’ does not form a plural number agreement by reduplication, possibly because of the notion of comparative degree (as opposed to simple degree of comparison).
Adjectival roots behave like verbs in the sense that they occur with subject clitics as well as aspect markers except when they are used as attributives. Gender agreement markers occur after the adjectival root, see below (7.4).

### 7.2. Reduplication in adjectives

As is the case with verbs, adjectival roots also show two types of reduplication: full reduplication and partial reduplication. The reduplication of an adjectival root has a distributive connotation (i.e. the meaning of the adjectival root in question applies to every single member of the group).

Not all adjectival roots show full reduplication of the root. The adjectival roots that reduplicate the full root are listed below.

(2)  
\[
\begin{align*}
tiimtiim & \quad \text{‘to be red.PL’ from } \text{tiim} \quad \text{‘to be red’} \\
poorpoor & \quad \text{‘to be black.PL’ from } \text{poor} \quad \text{‘to be black’} \\
atʔat^{12} & \quad \text{‘to be white.PL’ from } \text{at} \quad \text{‘to be white’}
\end{align*}
\]

The above adjectival roots also have partial reduplication of the root as discussed below.

Partial reduplication in adjective roots may be either $C_1V$ or $C_1VC_1$. The $C_1V$ reduplication is a variant of the $C_1VC_1$ reduplication with subsequent degemination conditioned by a geminate consonant in the following syllable. That is, $C_1V$ applies only to adjectival roots with geminate consonants. The following are illustrative examples.

(3)  
\[
\begin{align*}
ka-kapp & \quad \text{‘to be fat.PL’ from } \text{kapp} \quad \text{‘to be fat’} \\
ku-kutt & \quad \text{‘to be big.PL’ from } \text{kutt} \quad \text{‘to be big’} \\
fə-fakk & \quad \text{‘to be small.PL’ from } \text{fakk} \quad \text{‘to be small’} \\
cə-ʃoyy & \quad \text{‘to be wet.PL’ from } \text{ʃoyy} \quad \text{‘to be wet’} \\
kə-killaʔ & \quad \text{‘to be narrow.PL’ from } \text{killaʔ} \quad \text{‘to be narrow’}
\end{align*}
\]

The $C_1VC_1$ reduplication applies to adjectival roots that do not have geminate consonants. Interestingly, long vowels in the adjectival roots appear short in the reduplicated part. Below are illustrative examples.

(4)  
\[
\begin{align*}
dəf-der & \quad \text{‘to be tall, long.PL’ from } \text{der} \quad \text{‘to be tall, long’} \\
pap-pald & \quad \text{‘to be wide.PL’ from } \text{pald} \quad \text{‘to be wide’} \\
uʔ-ʔuls & \quad \text{‘to be heavy.PL’ from } \text{uls} \quad \text{‘to be heavy’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[^{12}\text{atʔat- ‘to be white.PL’ is also pronounced with a geminate glottal stop: aʔʔat- ‘to be white.PL’}\]
kok-kord- ‘to be thick.PL’ from kord- ‘to be thick’
neen-neec- ‘to be bad, ugly.PL’ from neec- ‘be bad, ugly’
tit-tiim- ‘to be red.PL’ from tiim- ‘to be red’
pop-poor- ‘to be black.PL’ from poor- ‘to be black’

Banti (1986) reports that the plurals of adjectives in Konso are ‘like [in] Oromo but always without consonant doubling’. However, from the above examples we note that adjectival plurality in Konso also involves consonant doubling, (i.e. the C1VC1 reduplication (see also below for more examples).

The following are instances that do not follow the above mentioned patterns of reduplication:

(5)  
kur-kutt/-kut-kut- ‘to be big.PL’ from kutt- ‘to be big’
cal-callaʔ- ‘be thin.PL’ from callaʔ- ‘to be thin’
kap-kapp- ‘to be fat.PL’ from kapp- ‘to be fat’
ʃak-ʃakk- ‘to be small.PL’ from ʃakk- ‘to be small’

7.3. Intensity

Intensity in some adjectives is expressed by alternating adjectival roots. For some adjectival roots the variation may involve gemination of the middle consonant if there is one in the root, as in the case of paʛaar- in example (6).

(6)  
tiʄʄiim- ‘to be very red’ from tiim- ‘to be red’
pucckaʔur- ‘to be very black’ from poor- ‘to be black’
paʛaar- ‘to be very good’ from paʛaar- ‘be good’

The other way of expressing intensity in adjectives is reduplicating the whole phrase. Intensity of a situation can be expressed in relation to an individual entity or a group of entities. For instance, the example in (7a) expresses intensity of der ‘be tall’ of the individual entity ʛoyra ‘tree’, whereas the example in (7b) expresses the same in relation to a group of entities ʔorra ‘people’. Note that the subject clitics occur only once.

(7a)  
ʛoyrasiʔ iɗeri ɗeri ʛoyra-siʔ i=ɗer-i ɗer-i
‘The tree is very very tall.’

(7b)  
orrasiʔ idedferi dediʔer ʔorra-siʔ i=ded-der-i ded-der-i
‘The people are very very tall.’
7.4. Predicative adjectives

The adjectival verb roots may occur in affirmative or negative sentences as predicates that describe a state of being or becoming. When used to describe a state of being, they require subject clitics and aspect marking. For the plurals of all persons, the adjectival root initial \( C_1V \) or \( C_1VC \) is reduplicated. First person plural and second person plural also have the suffixes -\( \text{mma} \) and -\( \text{ttan} \), respectively, on the adjective. The following are illustrative examples:

(8a)  
\[
\text{antiʔ inɗeri} \\
\text{anti-ʔ in=ɗer-i} \\
1\text{SG.PRO-NOM 1=be.tall.PF} \\
\text{‘I am tall.’}
\]

(8b)  
\[
\text{iʃinaʔ ʔiɗɗeɗɗerittan} \\
\text{iʃina-ʔ iʔ=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i-t-tan} \\
2\text{PL.PRO-NOM 2=PL-be.tall-PF-2-2PL} \\
\text{‘You (PL) are tall.’}
\]

In the following paradigm, the adjectival root \( \text{der} \) ‘be tall, long’ is used to show the use of adjectival predicates with the various persons to describe the state of being.

(9)  
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{antiʔ ʔinɗeri} & & \text{‘I am tall.’} \\
\text{inuʔ ʔinɗeɗɗerinna} & & \text{‘We are tall.’} \\
\text{attiʔ ʔiɗɗeri} & & \text{‘You (SG) are tall.’} \\
\text{iʃinaʔ ʔiɗɗeɗɗerittan} & & \text{‘You (PL) are tall.’} \\
\text{iʃaʔ ʔiɗeri} & & \text{‘He is tall.’} \\
\text{iʃeennaʔ ʔiɗeri} & & \text{‘She is tall.’} \\
\text{iʃoonnaʔ ʔiɗeɗɗeri} & & \text{‘They are tall.’}
\end{align*}
\]

Adjectival roots form verb forms by adding derivational suffixes such as the inchoative and the causative. The inchoative forms are -\( \text{aɗ} \), -\( \text{aad} \) and -\( \text{naaɗ} \) (see 6.1.4). The following are sentential examples.

(10a)  
\[
\text{ideraatti} \\
\text{i=der-aad-t-i} \\
3=\text{be.tall-INCH-3F-PF} \\
\text{‘She became tall.’}
\]

(10b)  
\[
\text{i=ka-kapp-ad-a-n} \\
3=\text{PL-be.fat-INCH-IPF.FUT-PL} \\
\text{‘They will become fat.’}
\]
(10c) ikkappatti
   $i?^l=kapp$-ad-t-i
   2=be.fat-INCH-2-PF
   ‘You (SG) became fat.’

(10d) indeederaanna
   $i^n=ded$-der-aad-n-a
   1=PL-be.tall-INCH-PL-IPF.FUT
   ‘We will become tall.’

The causative derivation that renders adjectival roots verbs has three forms: -ʃ, -ayʃ and -nayʃ (see 6.1.1). Examples:

(11a) χormasiʔ ?ikkappissan
   χorma-siʔ $i?^l=kapp$-ʃ-t-a-n
   ox-DEF.M/F 2=be.fat-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT-P
   ‘You (PL) will fatten the ox.’

(11b) kokaasiʔ ?innukkullayʃay
   kokaa-siʔ $i^n$=nukkull-ayʃ-ay
   skin-DEF.M/F 1=be.soft-DCAUS-PF[3M]
   ‘I softened the skin.’

(11c) oktoowwaasiniʔ ?inenneeʛnayʃin
   oktoowwaa-siniʔ $i^n$=nen-neeʛ-nayʃ-i-n
   pots-DEF.P 3=PL-be.bad-DCAUS-PF-P
   ‘They made the pots bad.’

So far, we have considered affirmative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates. Next, we examine negative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates.

Negative sentences in which adjectival roots serve as predicates differ from their counterpart affirmative sentences in the following ways:

- They require the existential verb kit- in addition to the adjectival predicate;
- Except for third persons, the other persons do attach negative subject clitics on the adjectival predicates;
- All persons have negative subject clitics on the existential verb;
- Except for second and third person plurals, all persons attach a negation marker on the existential verb.

The above features of negative sentences in which adjectival roots are predicates can be observed from the following examples.
The examples in (12) are obtained only in careful speech. In fast speech, however, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb kit- occur as enclitics to the adjectival predicate. This leftward cliticisation suppresses the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn causes vowel coalescence for first and second persons: i + a = ee. For third persons, the vowel i is deleted and negation is marked only by -n. The following are illustrative examples.

(13a) andereen co
\[
an = \text{der-i} = an \quad an = \text{kiy-o}
\]
1NEG = be-tall-PF = 1NEG 1NEG = be-NEG
‘I am not tall.’

(13b) addereek kittu
\[
aʔ = \text{der-i} = aʔ \quad \text{kit-t-u}
\]
2NEG = be-tall-PF = 2NEG 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT
‘You (SG) are not tall.’

(13c) dederein can
\[
def = \text{der-i} = in \quad \text{kiy-a-n}
\]
PL-be-tall-PF = 3NEG be-PF-P
‘They are not tall.’

For a complete structure, I provide the following paradigm with the same adjectival root der- ‘be tall, long’ as a predicate.

(14) andereenco
\[
\]
‘I am not tall.’

andedereenkinnu
\[
‘We are not tall.’

addereekkittu
\[
‘You (SG) are not tall.’

adderezeeekkittan
\[
‘You (PL) are not tall.’

derinco
\[
‘He is not tall.’

derinkittu
\[
‘She is not tall.’

dederincan
\[
‘They are not tall.’

In the following table, I present both the affirmative and negative subject clitics that occur with adjectival predicates.
Person | Affirmative subject clitics with adjectival root | Negative subject clitics realized with adjectival roots or with the cooccurring verb kit- ‘be’
---|---|---
1SG | in= | an= | an=
1PL | in= | an= | an=
2SG | iʔ= | aʔ= | aʔ=
2PL | iʔ= | aʔ= | aʔ=
3SGM | i= | in= | in=
3SGF | i= | in= | in=
3PL | i= | in= | in=

Table 1: Subject clitics that occur with adjective predicates

Approximation of the prototype meaning of the adjective can be expressed by using the instrumental suffix on the subject as illustrated in (15).

(15a) ifanne poori  
*ifā-nn=i  poor-i*  
he-INST=3  be.black-PF  
‘It’s blackish.’

(15b) ifanne tiimi  
*ifā-nn=i  tiim-i*  
he-INST=3  be.red-PF  
‘It’s reddish.’

(15c) ifannik kappi  
*ifā-nn=iʔ  kapp-i*  
he-INST=2  be.fat-PF  
“You (SG) are a bit overweight.’

(15d) ifā-nn=in  callaʔ-i  
he-INST=1  be.thin-PF  
‘I’m a bit thin.’

7.5. Attributive adjectives

Adjectival roots that serve as attributives do occur neither with subject clitics nor with aspect markers. Rather, they occur with terminal vowels a and aaʔ. These terminal vowels are gender agreement markers in that those head nouns that show the third masculine or third feminine gender agreement require a, while those head nouns that trigger the third person plural gender agreement require aaʔ. Number agreement is shown by reduplication. Indefinite head nouns also require a genitive particle a, which has not been recognised in the
earlier works on the language. The genitive particle occurs between the head noun and the adjective. Definite head nouns do not require the genitive particle.

The following examples contain the adjectival roots *kut- 'to be big'. The distribution of number-gender agreement with this adjectival root can be seen in the examples in (16). In (16a), we have the semantically singular noun *díoyra 'tree[M]' for which the adjectival root has only the singular gender agreement marker on the adjective. In (16b), we have the semantically singular noun *ínnaa 'child[P]' for which the adjectival root has only the plural gender agreement marker on the adjective. In (16c), we have the semantically plural noun *órra 'people[M]' for which the adjectival root has a plural number agreement and a singular gender agreement on the adjective. In (16d), we have the semantically plural noun *dílla 'fields[P]' for which the adjective has plural number and gender agreement markers.

(16a) namasi-? *díoyra a kuta imuray

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{nama-}\text{sí}\text{-}?
 & \text{díoyra}
 & ?
 & \text{kut}-\text{a}
\\
\text{person-DEF.M/F}
 & \text{tree}
 & \text{GEN}
 & \text{be.big-3M/F}
\end{array}
\]

\[i=mur-\text{ay}\]

3 = cut[SG]-PF[3M]

‘The person cut a big tree.’

(lit.: ‘The person cut a tree which is big.’)

(16b) iskattetasi-? *ínnaa a kutta-\text{a} ?icáp-\text{t}-\text{a}

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{iskatteetasi-}\text{si}\text{-}?
 & \text{ínnaa}
 & a
 & \text{kut}-\text{a}\text{-}\text{á}?
\\
\text{woman-DEF.M/F}
 & \text{child}
 & \text{GEN}
 & \text{be.big-P}
\end{array}
\]

\[i=cáp-\text{t}-\text{a}\]

3 = have-3F-IPF.FUT

‘The woman has a grown up child.’

(lit.: ‘The woman has a child who is big.’)

(16c) anti-? *órra a kukuttta-\text{an akk}-\text{ay}

\[
\begin{array}{cccc}
\text{anti-}\text{-}?
 & \text{órra}
 & a
 & \text{ku-kut}-\text{ta}=\text{i}\text{n}
\\
\text{1SG.PRO-NOM}
 & \text{people}
 & \text{GEN}
 & \text{PL-be.big-3M/F}=1
\end{array}
\]

\[akk-\text{ay}\]

see-PF[3M]

‘I saw big people.’

(lit.: ‘I saw people who are big.’)
Banti (1986:242) reports that Konso is the only language within Oromoid with adjectival words preceding the nouns they modify. His claim holds true only when agentive suffixes are added to adjectival roots (see 7.6 below). Otherwise, the opposite order [N Adj] is the case in Konso, as can be seen from the preceding examples. We can further look at the examples in (17a) and (17b), in which the head noun *kutasii* ‘the dog[M]’ and *hellaa* ‘children[P]’ are modified by the adjectival roots *kutt-* ‘to be big’ and *ʃakk-* ‘be small’, respectively.

(17a)  
\[
\text{kutasik} \quad \text{kutta} \quad \text{it\textsuperscript{a}ay}  \\
\text{kuta-siʔ} \quad \text{kutt-a} \quad i=\text{toy-ay}  \\
\text{dog-DEF.M/F} \quad \text{be.big-3M/F} \quad \text{3=die-PF}  \\
\text{‘The big dog died.’}  \\
\text{(lit.: ‘The dog which was big died.’)}
\]

(17b)  
\[
\text{hellaa a ʃaʃakk \text{ʔiɗeyin}}  \\
\text{hellaa a ʃa-ʃakk-aaʔ i=ɗey-i-n}  \\
\text{children GEN PL-be.small-P} \quad \text{3=come-PF-P}  \\
\text{‘Small children came.’}  \\
\text{(lit.: ‘Children that are small came.’)}
\]

### 7.6. Deadjectival derivation

#### 7.6.1. Nominal derivation and gender marking

Adjectival roots may combine with agentive suffixes which trigger gender marking: -\text{ayta}, -\text{ayteeta} and -\text{ayaa} for masculine, feminine and plural gender respectively. They give the reading ‘X one’ where X contains the semantics of the adjective. In the following examples, we observe that the adjectival root *dər-* ‘be tall’ has the agentive suffix -\text{ayta} in (18a), -\text{ayteeta} in (18b) and -\text{ayaa} in (18c). In (18c) we also observe that in addition to the plural gender agreement, the adjectival root is reduplicated for number marking. The same suffixes are used for deverbal agentives, see 4.10.2.

(18a)  
\[
\text{dər-ayta}  \\
\text{be.tall-AGENT.M}  \\
\text{‘tall one’}
\]
Adjectival roots that have agentive suffixes occur in relativised or non-relativised phrases. When they occur in relativised phrases, the head noun occurs phrase final as in (19a). On the other hand, in non-relativised phrases, the head noun occurs phrase-initially, as in (19b). The examples in (20) are unacceptable because in (20a) the genitive particle is missing between the agentivised adjective and the head noun; (20b) is unacceptable because a genitive particle is inserted between the head noun and the agentivised adjective.

(19a)  kutt-ayteeta  a  tika
       be.big-AGENT.F  GEN  house
       ‘a house which is big’

(19b)  tika  kutt-ayteeta
       house  be.big-AGENT.F
       ‘a big house’

(20a)  *kutt-ayteeta  tika
       be.big-AGENT.F  house

(20b)  *tika  a  kutt-ayteeta
       house  GEN  be.big-AGENT.F

Earlier we saw the gender agreement when the adjectives are used attributively. We have seen that plural nouns such as orra ‘people’ and iskatta ‘women’ trigger the same gender agreement as the third person singular masculine or feminine subject. However, with the background suffix -eyye added to nominal roots, all nouns that are semantically plural occur with the plural agentive suffix -ayaa. Singular nouns that trigger plural gender agreement also occur with the agentive plural suffix -ayaa. The following are illustrative examples.

(21a)  tikeeyye kuttayteeta
       tika-eyye  kutt-ayteeta
       house-BKGRD  be.big-AGENT.F
       ‘House-wise, it is a wide one.’
7.6.2. Deadjectival action nominals

Deadjectival action nominals are derived from adjectival stems by adding the suffix -taá. The inchoative suffix is required before attaching -taá as shown in (23).

(23a) paldfattaá
daldf-ad-taá
be.wide-INCH-NML
‘widening’

(23b) kappattaá
kapp-ad-taá
be.fat-INCH-NML
‘getting fat’
Below are sentential examples:

(24a) sukeentasik kuttattaá ipaayyiti
    sukeenta-siʔ kutt-ad-taá i=paayyi-t-i
lamb.F-DEF.M/F be.big-INCH-NMLZ 3=strat-3F-PF
    ‘The lamb has started to grow.’
    (lit.: ‘The lamb started to become big.’)

(24b) okkattasik kappattaá ipaayyay
    okkatta-siʔ kapp-ad-taá i=paayy-ay
cow-DEF.M/F be.fat-INCH-NMLZ 3=start-PF[3M]
    ‘The cow has started to get fat.’
8. Postpositions, adverbials and conjunctions

8.1. Postpositions

Postpositions occur either with a final -a or -aa. When they occur with a short final -a, they indicate the reference object (e.g. a container). When they occur with a final long -aa, they indicate the located object (e.g. a contained object). Earlier works (e.g. Black 1973; Bliese and Sokka 1986; Getahun 1999; Daudey and Hellenthal 2004) did not recognise both the difference in the quantity of the final vowel and the semantic distinction between the reference and located object. In table 1, I give the list of the postpositions in the language.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>final -a</th>
<th>final -aa</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḗara</td>
<td>ḗaraa</td>
<td>‘on’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapaa</td>
<td>kapaa</td>
<td>‘near’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḗuɗaa</td>
<td>ḗuɗaa</td>
<td>‘on (non-horizontal plane)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tupaa</td>
<td>tupaa</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turaa</td>
<td>turaa</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kela</td>
<td>kela</td>
<td>‘under’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karaa</td>
<td>karaa</td>
<td>‘in(side)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minaa</td>
<td>minaa</td>
<td>‘in front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oppaa</td>
<td>oppaa</td>
<td>‘in (centre)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḗuta</td>
<td>ḗuta</td>
<td>‘behind (a bit far)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tulaa</td>
<td>tulaa</td>
<td>‘in front of (a bit far)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kammaaa</td>
<td>kammaaa</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Konso postpositions

The following sentences illustrate how the short and long final vowels on the postposition indicate reference object (ground) or the located object:

(1a) tika kara sah-i
    house in.REF sweep-IMP.SG
    ‘(You (SG)) Sweep the (inside of the) house!’

(1b) tika kara-a sah-i
    house in-LOC sweep-IMP.SG
    ‘(You (SG)) Sweep it out of the house!’

(2a) kannootasic ḗuɗan facay
    kannoota=si? ḗuɗa=in fac=ay
    calabash-DEF.M/F on.REF=1 wash-PF[3M]
    ‘I washed (the exterior of) the calabash.’
In examples (1a) and (2a) above, the postpositions end in -a while those in (1b) and (2b) end in -aa. It is this difference in the quantity of the final vowel that accounts for the difference in the interpretation of the sentences: sentences (1a) and (2a) with postpositions ending with -a indicate that the sweeping and washing affects a specific part of the house and the calabash, respectively; the sentences in (1b) and (2b) with postpositions ending with -aa indicate that the nouns 'house' and 'calabash' are used as ground or reference points for something else that is swept and washed, respectively.

The postpositions also occur with the locative suffix -ʔ. The final -aa and the locational suffix make a semantic distinction with such verb roots as ɠeeɗ- ‘to take’, piɗɗ- ‘to buy’ and kat- ‘to sell’. The semantic distinction is that postpositions ending with the long vowel have the meaning of ‘taking something away from something else’ while the locative suffix renders the meaning of ‘adding something to something else’. The following are illustrative examples.

(3a) ɠoroosiŋ ɠudaa ɠeeɗi
  ɠoraa-osinʔ ɠudaa ɠeeɗ-i
trees-DEM.P on-LOC take-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Take (some trees) from these trees!’

(3b) ɠoroosiŋ ɠudaa .�eɗi
  ɠoraa-osinʔ ɠudaa ɠeeɗ-i
trees-DEM.P on-LOC take-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Add (some trees) to these trees!’

(3c) puniittaaŋ ɠudaa piɗɗi
  punitta-asinʔ ɠudaa-a piɗɗ-i
coffee-DEM.M/F on-LOC buy[SG]-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Buy (some coffee) from this coffee!’

(3d) puniittaaŋ ɠudap piɗɗi
  punitta-asinʔ ɠud-a piɗɗ-i
coffee-DEM.M/F on-LOC buy[SG]-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Buy (some coffee) in addition to this coffee!’

The postposition equivalent to the English preposition ‘until, up to’ is expressed by the locational head noun ƙaka and the genitive particle ƙa, and the object noun of the postposition occurs with the specifier suffix -tiʔ as shown in
Mous suggested to me that the locational head noun haka could be a loan word from Swahili through some intermediate languages, as it is a word for ‘border’ which is used as a preposition for ‘until’.

(4)  haka a χarratit tikaasis sahi  
\[haka \quad a \quad χarra-ti\? \quad tika-asi\?\]  
until \quad GEN \quad gate-SPEC \quad house-DEM.M/F

sah-i  
sweep-IMP.SG  
‘(You SG) Sweep this house up to the gate!’

Similarly, the postposition equivalent to the English preposition ‘about’ is expressed by the noun coota ‘concerning’, the genitive particle ?a and the specifier suffix -te and the directional adverb desa (see 8.2.2 below). The following is an illustrative example:

(5b)  attiʄ coota-awo desa maanaʔ ?upta  
\[atti-ʔ \quad coota-awo \quad desa \]  
2SG.PRO-NOM \quad concerning-1SG.POSS.M/F \quad towards

maana=iʔ up-t-a  
what=2 \quad know-2-IPF.FUT  
‘What do you know about me?’

Note that the postposition turaa ‘in front of’ is used to express detrimental action as in (6a-b). Moreover, with the same detrimental meaning, turaa ‘in front of’ may occur with the background suffix -yye as in (6c).

(6a)  kaaʄaan inantasit turaa cœeday  
\[kaaʄaa=in \quad inanta-siʔ \quad turaa \quad cœed-ay\]  
money=1 \quad girl-DEF.M/F \quad in.front.of \quad take-PF[3M]  
‘I took money away from the girl.’

(6b)  iʃat namasit turaa cœraa ʔimuray  
\[iʃa-ʔ \quad nama-siʔ \quad turaa \]  
3SGM.PRO-NOM \quad man-DEF.M/F \quad in.front.of

cœraa i=mur-ay  
trees \quad 3 \quad cut-PF[3M]  
‘He cut the trees away from the man.’

(6c)  cœyra-si=in ifa turaa-yye  
\[cœyra-si=in \quad ifa \quad turaa-yye\]  
tree-DEF.M/F=1 \quad 3SGM[ACC] \quad in.front.of-BKGRD
mur-ay
cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘I cut the tree to his detriment.’
(lit.: ‘I cut the tree in front of him.’)

8.2. Adverbs

In this section, I discuss locative adverbs (8.2.1) and directionals (8.2.2), combination of locative adverbs and directionals (8.2.3), time adverbs (8.2.4) and conjunctions (8.3).

8.2.1. Locative adverbs

Both underived and derived locative adverbs exist. There are four underived locatives in Karatte dialect (7a), but three in my dialect. In my dialect the underived locative ile ‘up there’ is not used. Instead, the derived locative irre ‘further up there’ is used. Derived locatives are derived by geminating the onset of the last syllable of the underived locative (7b). Derived locatives show location further away from the deictic centre.

(7a) ile ‘up there’
aye ~are ‘here’
disse ‘there (horizontal plane, sideways)’
χate ‘down there’

(7b) ile/irre ‘further up there’
disse ‘further there (sideways)’
χatte ‘further down there’

In the following diagramme, I attempt to show the parallel between the horizontal and vertical planes for the underived and derived locatives. The arrows show the direction of the location. The deictic centre is the locative aye ‘here’.
Consider the following illustrative examples:

(8a) χormasiʔ ?ɪrree ca
χorma-siʔ irre=i kiy-a
ox-DEF.M/F up.there = 3 be-IPF.PRES
‘The ox is up there.’

(8b) iʃeennaɗ dissipa iʔanti
iʃeenna-ʔ disse-opa i=aan-t-i
3SGF.PRO-NOM there.further-DEST 3 = go-3F-PF
‘She went further there.’

(8c) orsiχ χate maanaa koʔni
orra-siʔ χate maana=í kɔd-ni
people-DEF.M/F down what=3 do-IPF.PRES
‘What are the people down there doing?’

The locative adverb ḏiṣe and its derived form ḏisse mostly involve finger pointing (by the addressee) in the direction of the located object to make it clear for the addressee that the located object is placed in the direction being pointed in. The object could be located on the right or left side.

When individuals are positioned on a higher elevation (say, in a tree) and on a lower elevation (say, on the ground), the words moonta ‘sky’ and piita ‘earth, ground’ also serve as locatives meaning ‘up’ and ‘down’, respectively, as demonstrated in (9).

(9) antim moonteen cama ifap piitee ca
anti-ʔ moonta = in kiy-a ma
1SG.PRO-NOM sky = 1 be-IPF.FUT-but
iʃa-ʔ piite=i kiy-a
3SGM.PRO-NOM earth = 3 be-IPF.FUT
‘I am up here but he is down there (on the ground).’

The adverb opa is used to indicate destination as in (10).

(10a) kunteχ χonsupaa tay
kunte-ʔ χonso-opa = i tay-ay
kunte-NOM Konso-DEST = 3 leave-PF[3M]
‘Kunte went to Konso.’

(10b) inantasit tikupa ifəʔti
inanta-siʔ tika-opa i=ɗey-t-i
girl-DEF.M/F house-DEST 3 = come-3F-PF
‘The girl came home.’
8.2.2. Directional adverbs

There are three directional adverbs. These are given in (11).

\[(11)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\chiata & \quad \text{‘downwards—from a higher altitude to a lower altitude’} \\
\deltaela & \quad \text{‘upwards—from a lower altitude to a higher altitude’} \\
\deltaesa & \quad \text{‘sideways—on a horizontal plane’}
\end{align*}
\]

The deictic centre is the locative aye ‘here’, as shown in the following diagramme.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\chiata \\
\deltaela
\end{array}
\quad aye
\quad \deltaesa
\quad \deltaesa
\]

8.2.2. Combining locative adverbs and directional adverbs

The locative adverbs and the directional adverbs can combine. When we combine the locative adverb irre ‘up there’ with the directional adverbs, we obtain the combinations in (12a). When we combine the locational aye ‘here’ with the directionals, we get the combinations in (12b).

\[(12a)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{irre}\chiata & \quad \text{‘from up there towards the speaker’} \\
\text{irre}\deltaesa & \quad \text{‘from up there horizontally’} \\
\text{irre}\deltaela & \quad \text{‘from up there downwards’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(12b)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aye}\chiata & \quad \text{‘from up there to here/from here downwards’} \\
\text{aye}\deltaesa & \quad \text{‘from here to somewhere on a horizontal plane’} \\
\text{aye}\deltaela & \quad \text{‘from down up to here/from here downwards’}
\end{align*}
\]

Below are illustrative examples:

\[(13a)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{keraasi}\,?\text{irre}\chiata\text{a lekkaday} \\
\text{keraa-si}\,?\text{irre}\chiata=i\text{ lekkad}-\text{ay}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{thief-DEF.M/F up.there.downwards=3 climb.down-PF[3M]}
\]
\[
\text{‘The thief climbed down from up there downwards.’}
\]

\[(13b)\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mottoo}\chiasa\,?\text{aye}\deltaesa\text{ itarpay}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\text{mottoo}\chiasi\,?\text{aye}
\]
\[
\text{car-DEF.M/F here}
\]
The word *asse* used with the locative *aye* combines with the directionals generating a meaning like ‘straight, along this’ along the direction mentioned.

The locatives and directionals may combine with the destination adverb *opa*. The placement of the destination adverb with locatives differs from its placement with directionals: with locatives it is suffixed to the locatives (14a), but with directionals it occurs before the directional (14b).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>irre</em></td>
<td><em>γata</em></td>
<td><em>irreeγaa</em> &lt;/<em>irreeta</em>&gt; ‘from there down here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>irre</em></td>
<td><em>δela</em></td>
<td><em>irreesa</em> ‘from there on the horizontal plane’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aye</em></td>
<td><em>γata</em></td>
<td><em>ayeγaa</em> &lt;/<em>ayeeta</em>&gt; ‘from here downwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aye</em></td>
<td><em>δela</em></td>
<td><em>a yeela</em> ‘from here upwards; from down up here’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aye</em></td>
<td><em>δesa</em></td>
<td><em>ayeesa</em> ‘xxx’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dise</em></td>
<td><em>γata</em></td>
<td><em>disseeγaa</em> &lt;/<em>disseeta</em>&gt; ‘from there on the horizontal plane downwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dise</em></td>
<td><em>δela</em></td>
<td><em>disseela</em> ‘from there on the horizontal plane upwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dise</em></td>
<td><em>δesa</em></td>
<td><em>disseesa</em> ‘from there on the horizontal plane onwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dise</em></td>
<td><em>γata</em></td>
<td><em>dissseeγaa</em> &lt;/<em>disseeta</em>&gt; ‘from further there downwards’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>dise</em></td>
<td><em>δela</em></td>
<td><em>dissseela</em> ‘from further there upwards’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Locative Directional Combination
ɗisse ɗesa ɗisseesa 'from further there horizontally'
χate χata χateεχαa <?xateeta> 'from down there downwards'
χate dela χateela 'from down there upwards'
χate desa χateesaa 'from down there on the horizontal plane'
χatte χata χatteεχαa <?χatteeta> 'from further down there downwards'
χatte dela χatteela 'from further down there upwards'
χatte desa χatteesa 'from further down there on horizontal plane'

Table 3: Directionals cliticising to locatives

The following table contains the (im)permissible combinations of locatives, the destination adverb and directionals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Directional</th>
<th>Combination</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>disse</td>
<td>desa</td>
<td>disseesa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χate</td>
<td>χata</td>
<td>χateεχαa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χate</td>
<td>dela</td>
<td>χateela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χate</td>
<td>desa</td>
<td>χateesaa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χatte</td>
<td>χata</td>
<td>χatteεχαa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χatte</td>
<td>dela</td>
<td>χatteela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>χatte</td>
<td>desa</td>
<td>χatteesa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Combining locatives, destination adverb and directionals

8.2.3. Time adverbs

In this subsection I present time adverbs. I begin with the discussion of parts of a day. A day can be decomposed into various adverbal time frames given in (15).
The following time adverbs refer to time frames within the day of conversation. The reference is the moment of conversation *amma* ‘now’.

Using the time adverb *awwi* ‘today’, the day of conversation, as a reference point we have the following time adverbs.

The time adverbs in (18) refer to nights. Except the night of the day of conversation, the rest refer to past nights. In Konso, one cannot use the night of the day of conversation *raawwa* ‘tonight’ after sundown. The day ends at sundown and the preceding night is considered to be part of the 24-hour cycle: night + day, not day + night.

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13 *helaanna* has a variant form *helaadda*. 
A week is **tappaa** or **torpaa** from **tappa** ‘seven’ or **torbaa** ‘seven’.

A recent past or a near future is expressed by the adverb **yensi** ‘these days’. The reading of past or future depends on the aspect of the sentence. In (19), for example, we have the time adverb **yensi** and the verb root **roop**- ‘to rain’. (19a) is different from (19b) in that it contains a perfective aspect, which, together with the time adverb, shows that the event of raining is a completed event. (19b) contains a future imperfective, which, together with the time adverb, indicates that the event of raining is not a completed event but an event expected to happen soon. With the present imperfective, the adverb **yensi** expresses an event that has been going on for some time, as in (19c).

(19a) \[ \text{yensi i=roop-t-i} \]
\[ \text{these.days 3=rain-3F-PF} \]
\[ \text{‘It rained recently.’} \]

(19b) \[ \text{yensi i=roop-t-a} \]
\[ \text{these.days 3=rain-3F-IPF.FUT} \]
\[ \text{‘It will rain sometime.’} \]

(19c) \[ \text{yensi i=roop-ni} \]
\[ \text{these.days 3=rain-IPF.PRES} \]
\[ \text{‘It is raining these days.’} \]

We also have time adverbs that refer to a year. These are given in (20). The reference is the year of conversation.

(20) \[ \text{yeswi} \] ‘this year’
\[ \text{parpaliʔ} \] ‘last year’
\[ \text{parturaʔ} \] ‘the year before last year’
\[ \text{partussa} \] ‘the third year before the year of conversation’
\[ \text{paraanna} \] ‘next year’
\[ \text{parkeettu} \] ‘the years to come (after next year)’

Adverbs referring to a day following the day of an event are marked by the dative suffix as in (21a). When reference is made to a day preceding the day of an event, the postposition **tura** ‘in front of’ is used with the time adverbs as in (21b).

(21a) \[ \text{faasika parraytaʔe deʔti} \]
\[ \text{faasika parreaytaʔ=i dey-t-i} \]
\[ \text{Easter next.day-DAT=3 come-3F-PF} \]
\[ \text{‘She came the day after Easter.’} \]
The division of the year into months is closely associated with agricultural cycle. The year is divided into twelve months. The first month of the year is January (see, also Yohannes and Gemechu 1996:9). A month is broadly classified into two weeks of moonshine and two weeks of dark nights. The twelve months of the year are the following:

(22)

- **oypa** ‘January’
- **sakaanukama** ‘February’
- **murano** ‘March’
- **peelalta** ‘April’
- **harta** ‘May’
- **tela** ‘June’
- **oɬolaʃa** ‘July’
- **sessayʃa** ‘August’
- **partupta** ‘September’
- **kiʃa** ‘October’
- **ollindala** ‘November’
- **poorinka** ‘December’

A week has seven days, most of which are named after the different places where market is held. Thus, the names of the days of the week differ from place to place. Below I give the days of the week as they are called in my area.

(23)

- **ompakku** ‘Monday’
- **lankayya** ‘Tuesday’
- **oypattaali** ‘Wednesday’
- **paʛawli** ‘Thursday’
- **paʛawli parrayta** ‘Friday’
- **palawwa** ‘Saturday’
- **saampata** ‘Sunday’

Some people, particularly old people, use the name ɬommoossa instead of lankayya for Tuesday, suggesting that in the past markets were held in ɬommoossa. Alternatively, lankayya is called palawwa a ʃakkaʔ ‘the small palawwa’ as a small number of people hold market in the same place where a very large number of people hold market on palawwa ‘Saturday’. The reason why the small market is held on Tuesday in palawwa is because lankayya is far from my area. Another remark is that if market is not held on the day following a market day, then the name of the previous market day and the time adverb parrayta ‘the following day’ are used, as in paʛawli parrayta ‘Friday’.
8.3. Conjunctions

The following is the list of the conjunctions:

(24) oo/oootoo/kand[e \ ‘if’ conditional
    awta/etee ‘when’ temporal
    akka ‘that’ complement
    kusu/kuli ‘also, even’ inclusive
    ka/ifu? ‘and’ coordination/consecutive
    maa/umma ‘but’ contrast
    taakine ‘or/otherwise’ alternative

The conjunctions listed above are discussed in the chapter on Complex sentences in this study. See also Mous and Ongaye (2009). Below, I give brief remarks and illustrative examples.

Conditional conjunctions mark support clauses in conditional sentences as can be seen from the example in (25). For details of conditionals, see 12.1.1.

(25) ifa? ooɗeyo, konfasiʔ ?iteyyaɗa
    ifa-ʔ oo dey-o,
    shorts-DEF.M/F 3=receive-IPF.FUT
    ‘If he comes, he will receive the shorts.’

The temporal conjunctions awta and etee ‘when’ mark temporal clauses as shown in (26). The conjunction awta also serves as a conditional conjunction (see details in 12.1.2).

(26) awtak konfasit teyto, ḥan leli
    awta=iʔ konfa-siʔ tey-t-o,
    when=2 shorts-DEF.M/F 3=receive-IPF.FUT
    ‘When you find the shorts, let me know.’

The conjunction ka marks not only coordinated nouns as in (27a) but also conjoined consecutive clauses as in (27b).

(27a) silpoota ka aakaafa
    hoe and spade
    ‘hoe and spade’
The conjunction iʃuʔ conjoins only nouns as in (28a). The example in (28b) is unacceptable because the conjunction iʃuʔ is used to conjoin consecutive events.

(28a)  kappooli iʃuy yoonaaasin akkay
       kappooli iʃuʔ yoonaaasi=in akk-ay
Kappole and Yoonasi = 1 see-PF[3M]
‘I saw Kappoole and Yoonase.’

(28b)  *χooya iʃuʔ ɗakaɗoosinih haaɗa
       χooy-a iʃuʔ ɗakaɗaa-osiniʔ haaɗ-a
come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL
(intended: ‘Come and carry these stones!’)

The conjunctions maa and umma express counter-expectation or contrast, as shown in (29):

(29a)  urmalaaapa ʔanti maa kappaasi? ʔidapti
       urmalaa-opa i=an-t-i maa kappa-a-si?
market-to 3 = go-3F-PF but wheat-DEF.M/F

\( i=ɗap-t-i \)
3 = not.find-3F-PF
‘She went to market but could not find the wheat (to buy).’

(29b)  kodaasin koʔni umma dikkaninco
       koda-a-siʔ=in koda-k ni umma
work-DEF.M/F = 1 work-IPF.PRES but

dikka-dni=in-kiy-o
finish-IPF.PRES = 3NEG-be-NEG
‘I do the work but it does not get finished.’
Alternatives are expressed by the conjunction taakine ‘or, otherwise’. Example:

(30) diluppupa sookadu taakine urnalaaapa aani
dila-oppupa sookad-u taakine
field-into go.to.field-IMP.SG or
urnalaa-opa aan-i
market-to go-IMP.SG
‘(You (SG)) Go to the field or market!’

The suffix -m is also used to mark an alternative, as shown in (31).

(31) tikaa-siʔ in=sah-a-m
house-DEF.M/F 1= sweep-IPF.FUT-or

in = diif-a
1 = leave-IPF.FUT
‘Shall I sweep the house or leave it?’
9. Basic syntax

This chapter presents word order in noun phrases and simple sentences. It also treats verbless sentences and contains information on both comparatives and equative sentences. The comparative sentences are first discussed, followed by the discussion about equatives. Finally, we examine relative clauses.

9.1. Word order

9.1.1. Word order in noun phrases

A noun phrase may consist of just a noun. The following are illustrative examples:

(1a) kumayta
    stick
    ‘a stick’

(1b) tapayta
    rat
    ‘a rat’

(1c) iskatta
    women
    ‘women’

(1d) ḗʃimayaa
    old.men
    ‘old men’

A noun phrase may consist of a head noun and a definite suffix as shown in (2).

(2a) kuta-siʔ
    dog-DEF.M/F
    ‘the dog’

(2b) orra-siʔ
    people-DEF.M/F
    ‘the people’

(2c) kaharrawa-siniʔ
    sheep-DEF.P
    ‘the sheep’
A noun phrase can also be formed from a noun and a demonstrative suffix. For instance, the demonstrative suffix -osiʔ occurs with the noun tika ‘house’ in (3a), and the demonstrative suffix -osiniʔ occurs with the noun dillaa ‘fields’ in (3b).

(3a) tikoosiʔ
tika-osiʔ
house-DEM.M/F
‘this house’

(3b) dilloosiniʔ
dillaa-osiniʔ
fields-DEM.P
‘these fields’

A noun phrase may contain a head noun with possessive suffixes, as shown in (4).

(4a) tika-awu
house-1SG.POSS.M/F
‘my house’

(4b) fillaa-ssu
comb-3PL.POSS.P
‘their comb’

(4c) χormadaassinn
oxen-2PL.POSS.P
‘your oxen’

Indefinite head nouns modified by attributive adjectives contain a relative particle a, as in (5a-b). Such noun phrases may be followed by a quantifier, as in (5c-d).

(5a) nama a der-a
person REL be.tall-SG
‘a tall person’
(lit.: ‘a person who is tall’)

(5b) olun a suliʔ
animal REL be.large-SG
‘a large animal’
(lit.: ‘an animal who is large’)
In noun phrases composed of a head noun and a quantifier, the word order is head noun followed by quantifiers. When numerals higher than one are used as quantifiers, singulative nouns are used in the noun phrases, as in (6a-b). In noun phrases, plurative nouns may occur with numerals higher than one as in (6c-d).

(6a) tika lakki
house two
‘two houses’

(6b) nama ken
person five
‘five people’

(6c) χorma-daa leh
ox-PL six
‘six oxen’

(6d) kahar-raa afur
sheep-PL four
‘four sheep’

The use of the singulative noun nama ‘person’ in the context of noun phrases quantified with numerals higher than one is special in that its suppletive plural form orra ‘persons, people’ is never used with numeral quantifiers, as the ungrammaticality of (7b) illustrates.
Interestingly, both nama ‘person’ and orra ‘persons, people’ may occur with such quantifiers as lamayta ‘some.M’ as shown in (8).

(8a)  nama lamaytaa aytulaa ca  
      nama lamayta=i ayetulaa kiy-a  
      person some.M=3 out.there be-IPF.FUT  
      ‘There are some people out there.’

(8b)  orra lamaytaa aytulaa ca  
      orra lamayta=i aye-tulaa kiy-a  
      persons some.M=3 out.there be-IPF.FUT  
      ‘There are some people out there.’

The quantifier piisa ‘all’ may occur together with numerals in noun phrases. The order is that the numeral precedes the quantifier. Here is an example:

(9)  antih hellaasinik ken piisan akkay  
      antiʔ hellaasiniʔ ken  
      1SG.PRO-NOM children-DEF.P five  

      piisa=in akk-ay  
      all=1 see-PF[3M]  
      ‘I saw all five children.’

9.1.2. Word order in simple sentences

In simple sentences with intransitive verbs and overt subjects, the word order is that the subject precedes the verb as in (10a-b). In simple sentences with overt subject and overt object, the word order is subject—object—verb as in (10c-d).

(10a)  ifeennay χala idɛʔti  
      ifeennaʔ χala i=dey-t-i  
      3SGF.PRO-NOM yesterday 3 = come-3F-PF  
      ‘She came yesterday.’
The above simple sentences may occur without the overt subjects, in which case the subjects are understood from the type of the subject clitic and the gender agreement marker on the verb. The sentences in (10a) and (10c) are repeated below as (11a) and (11b) without the subject noun.

(11a) χala iɗeʔti
χala             i=ɗey-t-i
yesterday        3=come-3F-PF
‘She came yesterday.’

(11b) ʛoyrasiʔ ʔimuray
ʛoyra-siʔ i=mur-ay
tree-DEF.M/F      3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘He cut the tree.’

Below, I show different word orders that are possible, without discussing the meaning differences. For example, the SV word order in (10a), repeated here as (12a), has the VS order in (12b). The examples in (12c-f) have the same constituents but differ in the order of those constituents: (12c) has SOV word order, (12d) has SVO word order, (12e) has VSO word order, and (12f) has OVS word order. VOS and OSV word orders are also possible, though I do not show them here. Further research is needed to determine the functional differences of these word order variants.

(12a) ʛoyrasiʔ ʔimuray
ʛoyra-siʔ i=mur-ay
tree-DEF.M/F      3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘He cut the tree.’

(12b) ʛoyrasiʔ ʔimuray
ʛoyra-siʔ i=mur-ay
tree-DEF.M/F      3=cut[SG]-PF[3M]
‘He cut the tree.’
Simple sentences may occur with temporal adverbs such as χala ‘yesterday’ and parre ‘tomorrow’. Such temporal adverbs are not restricted in their position. They may occur sentence initially as in (13a), between the subject and object as in (13b), between the object and the verb as in (13c) or sentence final as in (13d).

(13a) χala cɪmayaṭasik karmaa iʔiʃʃay
    χala  cɪmaya-siʔ  karmaa  i=iʃʃ-ay
    yesterday  old.man-DEF.M/F  lion  3=kill-PF[3M]
    ‘Yesterday the old man killed a lion.’

(13b) cɪmayaṭasɪχ  χala  karmaa  iʔiʃʃay
    cɪmaya-siʔ  χala  karmaa  i=iʃʃ-ay
    old.man-DEF.M/F  yesterday  lion  3=kill-PF[3M]
    ‘Yesterday the old man killed a lion.’

(13c) cɪmayaṭasɪχ  karmaa  χala  iʔiʃʃay
    cɪmaya-siʔ  karmaa  χala  i=iʃʃ-ay
    old.man-DEF.M/F  lion  yesterday  3=kill-PF[3M]
    ‘The old man killed a lion yesterday.’
9.2. Verbless sentences

The predicate of a sentence can be a verb, noun, adjective or adverb. Verbless sentences may contain nouns that express a profession as in (14a) or a place of origin as in (14b-c).

(14a)  
\[ \text{antiʔ anʔakimitta} \]
\[ \text{anti-ʔ an=akim-itta} \]
1SG.PRO-NOM 1=treat.patient-3SGM
‘I am a physician.’

(14b)  
\[ \text{namasiʄ ʄiraatitta} \]
\[ \text{nama-siʔ ʄiraat-itta} \]
man-DEF.M/F Dirashe-3SGM
‘The man is a Dirafsitta.’

(14c)  
\[ \text{iʃeenaʔ ʔakimtteeta} \]
\[ \text{iʃeena-ʔ akim-tteeta} \]
3SGF.PRO-NOM treat.patient-3SGF
‘She is a physician.’

(14d)  
\[ \text{iʃinaʔ ʔaʔʔakimiyyaa} \]
\[ \text{iʃina-ʔ aʔ=akim-iyyaa} \]
2PL.PRO-NOM 2=treat.patient-P
‘(You (SG)) are physicians.’

(14e)  
\[ \text{orroosik kawwaadaa} \]
\[ \text{orra-osiʔ kawwaadaa} \]
people-DEM.M/F Gawwada
‘These people are Gawwada.’

Verbless sentences may also be formed from temporal adverbs. The nominative suffix -ʔ is added to names of the days of the week. Here are some examples:

(15a)  
\[ \text{awwi palawwa} \]
today Saturday
‘Today is Saturday.’

(15b)  
\[ \text{χala lankayya} \]
yesterday Tuesday
‘Yesterday was Tuesday.’
(15c) palawwa? ?awwi
    palawwa-ʔ awwi
Saturday-NOM today
‘Today is Saturday.’

Temporal adverbs and question words such as ayʃa ‘where?’ and aytamu ‘when?’ also form verbless sentences, as shown in (16).

(16a) awwi  ayʃa
today  where
‘What is the day today?’
(lit.: Where is today?)

(16b) palawwa? ?aytamu
    palawwa-ʔ aytamu
Saturday-NOM when
‘When is Saturday?’

Verbless sentences can also be formed from numerals with possessor nouns, as shown below.

(17a) hellaa-ssu  lakki
    children-3PL.POSS.P two
‘They have two children.’
(lit.: ‘Their children are two.’)

(17b) dfilla-yyu  sessa
    fields-1SG.POSS.P three
‘I have three fields.’
(lit.: ‘My fields are three.’)

Furthermore, verbless sentences may be formed from demonstrative pronouns and other nominals, as illustrated in (18).

(18a) sedi  tika-awu
    this house-1SG.POSS.M/F
‘This is my house.’

(18b) seni  pinaanaa
    these wild.animals
‘These are wild animals.’
9.3. Comparative and equative sentences

A comparative construction is expressed by the postposition čara ‘on’ and the verb root čap- ‘to have’. čara čap- is a phrase used for ‘to exceed’. The following are illustrative examples.

(19a) Apittu derumaak Kappooli čara icapa

Apittu-ʔ der-umaa-ʔ Kappooli  
Apittu-NOM be.tall-ABS-DAT Kappooli

 čara i=čap-a  
on 3 = exceed-IPF.FUT

‘Apittu is taller than Kappoole.’  
(lit.: ‘Apitto exceeds Kappoole for tallness.’)

(19b) lahasik kappumaac čolpasic čara icapa

laha-sik kapp-umaa-ʔ čolpa-siʔ  
ram-DEF.M/F be.fat-ABS-DAT he-goat-DEF.M/F

 čara i=čap-a  
on 3 = exceed-IPF.FUT

‘The ram is fatter than the he-goat.’  
(lit.: The ram exceeds the he-goat for fatness.)

Equative sentences are expressed by a construction in which the equated element is the subject, the entity to which it is equated receives the postposition minaʔ ‘in front of (facing)’ and the value of comparison is expressed in a predicative adjective or a (derived) abstract noun plus the dative and a verb ‘to be’. The equated element may be a pronoun (20a), an independent possessive pronoun (20b) or a noun preceded by a genitive (20c).

(20a) inantasịʔ ?ifaj minaʔe derumaak kita  
inanta-siʔ ?ifaj minaʔ=i der-umaa-ʔ  
girl-DEF.M/F he in.front.of=3 be.tall-ABS-DAT

kiy-t-a  
be-3F-IPF.FUT

‘The girl is as tall as he is.’

(20b) inantasịχ χayya minaʔe deri  
inanta-siʔ χayya minaʔ=i der-i  
girl-DEF.M/F mine in.front.of=3 be.tall-PF

‘The girl is as tall as I am.’
A noun may precede the genitive particle which, in turn, is followed by a possessive pronoun as in (21).

(21)  inantaasiʔ ?a χayya minaʔe deri

inanta-asiʔ  a χayya minaʔ=i  der-i

girl-DEM.SG  GEN  mine  in.front.of=3  be.tall-PF

‘The girl is as tall as I am.’

9.4. Relative clauses

Relative clauses follow their head noun. Except for a definite head noun in subject relative clauses, the head noun is marked by the relative particle ?a. In subject relative clauses in which the head noun is definite, there are no subject clitics. The head noun is never represented in the relative clause by a pronoun. Moreover, there is no marking of the end of the relative clause. Special verb forms are used in relative clauses. These special forms mark gender and/or number and vary with respect to aspect. For example, in the present imperfective, first person singular and third person singular masculine add -yo; plurals of all persons and single nouns with plural gender value add -yaaʔ; second person singular, third person singular feminine and nouns that show third feminine gender agreement marker on the verb add -ttu. These forms are added after the present imperfective suffix -ni. The special forms are followed by the cleft construction marker (see also Section 3.5). The following are illustrative examples:

(22a)  ana a urmalaapa anniyoó iʃa akkay

ana  a  urmalaa-opa
1SG.PRO.ACC  REL  market-to

an-ni-yo-ó  iʃa
go-IPF.PRES-1SG/3SGM-CLF  3SGM.PRO.ACC

akk-ay
see-PF[3M]

‘It’s me who was going to the market who saw him.’
It is also common for first person singular to add -ttu in the present imperfective.

In the future imperfective, except second person plural and third person plural, the remaining persons replace the future imperfective marker -a with -u. The second person plural, the third person plural and single reference nouns with plural gender value add -aʔ to the future imperfective suffix. Here are some examples:

(23a) antiʔ ?inantaʔiʔ ?urmalaaapa antun upa
antiʔ ?inanta-siʔ urmalaa-opa
1SG.PRO-NOM girl-DEF.M/F market-to

an-t-u=in up-a
go-3F-1SG/1PL/2SG/3SGM/3SGF=1 know-IPF.FUT
‘I know the girl who will go to the market.’

(23b) antit tuparraasiniʔ ?urmalaaapa anaaʔ ?inupa
antiʔ tuparraa-siniʔ urmalaa-opa
1SG.PRO-NOM girl-DEF.M/F market-to

an-aaʔ in=up-a
go-P 1 = know-IPF.FUT
‘I know the girls who will go to the market.’
In the perfective, except the second person singular and third person singular feminine, the remaining persons have the third person masculine perfective suffix -ay. All plural persons add -eeʔ after -ay. The second person singular and third person singular feminine have the perfective marker -i. The following are demonstrative examples.

(24a)  
\[
\text{hellaasiniχ χala hirayeeʔin akkay} \\
\text{\textit{hellaasiniʔ χala hir-ay-eeʔ=in}} \\
\text{children-DEF.P yesterday run[PL]-PF[3M]-P = 1} \\
\text{akk-ay} \\
\text{see-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘I saw the children who ran yesterday.’}
\]

(24b)  
\[
\text{innaasiniχ χala deyayeeʔin akkay} \\
\text{\textit{innaa-siniʔ χala dey-ay-eeʔ=in}} \\
\text{children-DEF.P yesterday come-PF[3M]-P = 1} \\
\text{akk-ay} \\
\text{see-PF[3M]} \\
\text{‘I saw the child who came yesterday.’}
\]

(24c)  
\[
\text{inanta a deʔti iɗeri} \\
\text{\textit{inanta a dey-t-i i=ɗer-i}} \\
\text{girl REL come-3F-PF 3=be.tall-PF} \\
\text{‘The girl who came is tall.’}
\]

In the subsequent subsections, I discuss word order in relative clauses, subject relative clauses, non-subject relative clauses and headless relative clauses.

9.4.1. Word order in relative clauses

In relative clauses with indefinite antecedent, the word order is that the head noun is followed by the relative particle ?a. The relative particle is followed by the object, which, in turn, is followed by the verb as in (25a). With definite subjects, the head noun is followed by the object, which is, in turn, followed by the verb as in (25b). Note that despite the English translation in (25a), the head noun is indefinite.

(25a)  
\[
\text{nama a sawwi ʛaarʛaar-ay i=dey-ay} \\
\text{\textit{nama-siʔ sawwi ʛaarʛaar-ay}} \\
\text{person REL Sawwe help-PF[3M] 3 = come-PF[3F]} \\
\text{‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’}
\]

(25b)  
\[
\text{nama-siʔ sawwi ʛaarʛaar-ay} \\
\text{\textit{nama-siʔ sawwi ʛaarʛaar-ay}} \\
\text{person-DEF.M/F Sawwe help-PF[3M]}
\]
In subject relative clauses, the word order is strict. For example, any reordering of the constituents of the example in (25a) yields unacceptable sentences, as in (26): (26a) is unacceptable because the relative particle occurs clause-initially. Similarly, sentence (26b) is unacceptable because the relative particle comes after the object noun sawwe (proper name); (26c) is unacceptable since the verb is moved from its clause-final position; (26d) is unacceptable because the object of the relative clause precedes the definite head noun.

(26a) *a nama sawwe ʛaarʛaar-ay i=ɗey-ay
    REL person Sawwe help-PF[3M] 3=come-PF[3M]
    (intended: ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’)

(26b) *nama sawwe a ʛaarʛaar-ay i=ɗey-ay
    person Sawwe REL help-PF[3M] 3=come-PF[3M]
    (intended: ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’)

(26c) *a ʛaarʛaar-ay nama sawwe i=ɗey-ay
    REL help-PF[3M] person Sawwe 3=come-PF[3M]
    (intended: ‘The person who helped Sawwe came.’)

(26d) *sawwe namasiʛ ʛaarʛaaray iɗeyay
    *sawwe nama-siʔ ʛaarʛaar-ay
    sawwe person-DEF.M/F help-PF[3M]
    i=ɗey-ay
    3=come-PF[3M]
    (intended: ‘The person who helped sawwe came.’)

In object relative clauses, the reordering of the subject and object is needed. In (27a), we have a subject relative clause but an object relative clause in (27b).

(27a) hellaaasinic ʛolpa-siʔ ?iʛaʛ-ʛap-am-i-n
    children-DEF.P he-goat-DEF.M/F kill-PF[3M]-P

(27b) ?iʛaʛ-ʛap-am-i-n  i=ɗey-ay
    kill-PF[3M]-P 3=PL-catch-PAS-PF-P
    ‘The children who killed the he-goat were caught.’
(27b) _GUolpaytasee a hellaaasiniʔ ?ifin ?alalamay 
GUolpayta-si=i ʔa hellaa-siniʔ ?if-i-n 
he-goat-DEF.M/F=3 REL children-DEF.P kill-PF-P

i=čh-am-ay
3=slaughter-PAS-PF[3M]
‘The he-goat that the children killed was slaughtered.’

9.4.2. Subject relative clauses

In subject relative clauses, the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. Subject relative clauses can be headed by a definite head noun (28a-b) or an indefinite head noun (28c-d).

(28a) .filaa-siniʔ pat-ay-ee? 
filaa-siniʔ pat-ay-ee? 
comb-DEF.P be.lost-PF[3M]-P

i=teyaɗ-i-n
3=find.MID-PF-P
‘The comb that went missing was found.’

(28b) orra-siʔ göraa čuur-ay ideyay 
göraa čuur-ay
people-DEF.M/F trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]

i=dey-ay
3=come-PF[3M]
‘The people who cut trees came.’

(28c)  tika a palɗ-aʔ i=paɗlaar-i 
house REL be.wide-M/F 3=be.good-PF
‘A house that is wide is good.’

(28d) orra a göraa čuur-ay i=dey-ay 
göraa čuur-ay
people REL trees cut[PL]-PF[3M] 3=come-PF[3M]
‘People who cut trees came.’

9.4.3. Non-subject relative clauses

In non-subject relative clauses, the head noun is not the subject of the clause. In such relative clauses, the object of the verb can be relativised. In (29) the object ?okkatta ‘cow’ is relativised as a definite object head noun (29a) and as an indefinite head noun in (29b).
In non-subject relative clauses, the object of the dative can also be relativised. In (30a), object noun in the dative phrase konfa ‘shorts’ is relativised. In (30b), (irrespective of the English translation) the indefinite dative object ohta ‘blanket’ is relativised.

(30a) konfaseen kappoolip piɗɗay ikeray
    konfa-siʔ a=in kappooleʔ
  shorts-DEF.M/F REL = 1 kappoole-DAT
  piɗɗ-ay i=ker-ay
  buy[SG]-PF[3M] 3 = be.old-PF[3M]
  ‘The shorts that I bought for Kappoole got worn out.’

(30b) ohta ak kantoolid daassi ?baldi
    ohta a=iʔ kantooleʔ daaʃ-t-i i=bal-d-i
  blanket REL = 2 kantoole-DAT give-2-PF 3 = be.wide-PF
  ‘The blanket that you (SG) gave to Kantoole was wide.’

In non-subject clauses, the object of the postposition can be relativised, as in (31).

(31) ʛoyraseen ʛaraa luukkata pohay imuramay
    ʛoyra-siʔ=in ʛaraa luukkata
  tree-DEF.M/F = 1 on fruit
    poh-ay i=mur-am-ay
  ‘The tree that I picked the fruits from was cut.’
9.4.4. Headless relative clauses

Headless relative clauses are characterised by not having overt head nouns. This is shown in the following examples:

(32a) an iʃa akkinu male anɗeynu
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{REL} = 1 & \quad \text{3SGM.PRO[ACC]} \quad \text{see-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT} \\
\text{male} & \quad \text{an=ɗey-n-u} \\
\text{without} & \quad \text{1NEG=come-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’

(32b) aa inun akkin male inɗeyan
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{REL} = 3 & \quad \text{1PL.PRO[ACC]=3NEG} \quad \text{see-P} \\
\text{male} & \quad \text{in=ɗey-a-n} \\
\text{without} & \quad \text{3NEG=come-IPF.FUT-P} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘Unless they see us, they will not come (back).’
10. Interrogative clauses

In this chapter I analyse the morphological, syntactic and lexical properties of polar interrogatives. I also describe tag questions and content questions.

10.1. Polar interrogatives

Polar questions which elicit ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answers are marked by lengthening a final o or a of the questioned word or by adding the suffix -e when a final constituent in a sentence has a final -i or a consonant. They are also characterised by having a rising intonation. When a sentence final nominal ends in a long vowel, polar interrogatives are marked only by the rising intonation (Black 1973; Ongaye 2000). The polar interrogatives in (1) are formed from single nouns, those in (2) are formed from proper names, and those in (3) are formed from cardinal numerals.

(1a)  tikaa
      tika-a
      house-Q
      ‘Is it a house?’

(1b)  pifaa
      pifaa-a
      water-Q
      ‘Is it water?’

(2a)  Orχaytoo
      Orχayto-o
      Orχayto-Q
      ‘Is it Orχayto?’

(2b)  γasootee
      γasoo-tee-e
      γasoo-tee-Q
      ‘Is it γasoo?’

(2c)  Okittaa
      Okitta-a
      Okitta-Q
      ‘Is it Okitta?’

(3a)  ken-e
      five-Q
      ‘Is it five?’
The following are sentential examples. The examples in (4) are affirmative declarative sentences while those in (5) are their polar interrogative counterparts.

(4a)  Antut tikupa ideya
      $\text{Antu-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{tika-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{opa} \quad i=\text{dey-}\,^{\text{a}}$
      Anto-NOM house-to 3 = come-IPF.FUT
      ‘Anto will come home.’

(4b)  χormasiʔ ?ikatamay
      $\chiorma-siʔ \quad i=\text{kat-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{am-}\,^{\text{a}}$
      ox-DEF.M/F 3 = sell-PAS-PF[3M]
      ‘The ox was sold.’

(5a)  Antut tikupa ?ideya
      $\text{Antu-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{tika-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{opa} \quad i=\text{dey-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{a}$
      Anto-NOM house-to 3 = come-IPF.FUT-Q
      ‘Will Anto come home?’

(5b)  χormasiʔ ?ikatame
      $\chiorma-siʔ \quad i=\text{kat-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{am-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{e}$
      ox-DEF.M/F 3 = sell-PAS-PF[3M]-Q
      ‘Was the ox sold?’

As can be seen from the examples in (4) and (5), polar interrogatives are formed from declaratives either by lengthening the final vowel (in this case, vowel a) of the declarative as in (5a) or by adding the suffix -e when the declarative has a final consonant as in (5b). The following are additional sentential interrogative examples with the suffix -e:

(6a)  hellaasiniʔ ?ideʔnee
      $\text{hellaasiniʔ} \quad i=\text{dey-}\,^{\text{a}}\, \text{ni-}\,^{\text{e}}$
      children-DEF.P 3 = come-IPF.PRES-Q
      ‘Are the children coming?’ or
      ‘Do the children come?’

(6b)  namasiʔ ?iderēe
      $\text{nama-siʔ} \quad i=\text{der-}\,^{\text{e}}$
      person-DEF.M/F 3 = be.tall-PF-Q
      ‘Is the person tall?’
Responses to polar interrogative may be aa ‘yes’ or innaʔ(a) ‘no’, as illustrated respectively in (7b) and (7c), which are responses to (7a). The ‘yes’ or ‘no’ responses may be followed by explanatory sentences.

(7a)  antut tikupa iɗeyaa  
    antu-ʔ  tika-opa  i=ɗey-a-a  
ʔanto-NOM  house-to  3=come-IPF.FUT-Q  
‘Will ʔanto come home?’

(7b)  aa  (i=ɗey-a)  
yes  (3=come-IPF.FUT)  
‘Yes. (He will come.)’

(7c)  innaʔ(a)  (in=ɗey-u)  
no  (3NEG=come-NEG.IPF.FUT)  
‘No. (He will not come.)’

Polar interrogatives are also very common in conversational discourse and are mostly found in greetings (see also Section 13.3). The following are illustrative examples.

(8a)  nakaytaa  
nakayta-a  
health-Q  
‘How are you?’

(8b)  iffapaaannee  
iʔ=ʃapaad-ni-e  
2=be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q  
‘Are you getting strong?’

Note that confirmation or echo-questions are also formed by lengthening the final vowel o or a of the declarative or by adding suffix -e when the final constituent of a sentence has a final -i or a consonant. The following are illustrative examples.

(9a)  aynoo  
ayno-o  
who-Q  
‘Who(, did you say)?’

(9b)  anaa  
an-a  
1SG.PRO.OBJ-Q  
‘(Did you mean) me?’
Tag questions

Tag questions are marked by suffix -n(n). This suffix appears single when a consonant follows it as in (10a) or as a geminate when followed by a vowel as in (10b). Sometimes, tag questions appear with the verb root kid- ‘say’.

(10a) inantasiiʔ ?iɗeʔtin kid-a
    manta-siʔ  i=dey-t-i-n  kid-a
    girl-DEF.M/F  3=come-3F-PF-TAG  say-IPF.FUT
    ‘The girl came, didn’t she?’

(10b) ikalayinne
    i=kal-ay-nn-e
    3=return.home-PF-TAG-Q
    ‘He returned home, didn’t he?’

The suffixes that mark tag question and the instrumental (see Section 3.2.4) are homophonous. The rules that apply to add single (-n) or geminate (-nn) are also identical in these two cases.

Content questions

In (11), I list the content question words.

(11) maana  ‘what?’
    aytam(u)  ‘when?’
    aynu  ‘who?’
    ayfæa  ‘where?’
    meeææaa  ‘how many?’
    atta  ‘how?’
    maanaʔi  ‘why?’
    maana malla  ‘why?/for what reason?’
    aʔaynu  ‘whose?’
    aʔæamæ  ‘which one?’
    aʔæamæneʔ  ‘which ones?’

In the above list, the content question word maanaʔi ‘why?’ is formed from maana ‘what?’ and the dative suffix -ʔ. In fast utterances, maanaʔi ‘why?’ is
also pronounced as maaniʔ ‘why?’. The content question word a aynu ‘whose?’ is formed from the genitive particle a and aynu ‘who?’. It seems that the content question words ayamãmu and ayamãmeʔ are formed by the same strategy, but χaamu and χaamaneʔ do not exist on their own.

The following are examples containing content questions.

(12a) aytamuɗ deʔti
      aytamu = iʔ   dey-t-i
      when = 2     come-2-PF
‘When did you (SG) come?’

(12b) Apittuʔ ayʃaa ca
      Apittu-ʔ ayʃaa = i   kiy-a
      Apitto-NOM where = 3    be-IPF-FUT
‘Where is Apitto?’

(12c) orraiʔ ataa karmasiʔ iʃʃay
      orra-siʔ   atta = i   karmaa-siʔ   iʃʃ-ay
      people-DEF.M/F  how = 3    lion-DEF.M/F  kill[SG]-PF[3M]
‘How did the people kill the lion?’

(12d) maanaʔ= iʔ dey-a
      why = 1     come-IPF.FUT
‘Why should I come?’

The associative particle opa occurs with the content question word aynu ‘who?’ to mark a plural subject. This is demonstrated in (13).

(13) opa aynoo deyay
      opa aynu-o dey-ay
      ASS who-Q come-PF[3M]
‘Who (and their associates) came?’

The content question word for ‘how much?’ is formed from the particle a, the content question word atta ‘how’ and the verb root kit ‘to be’. Gender is marked on the verb root. The following are illustrative examples.

(14a) aannaa a atta kiy-aaʔ= iʔ heent-a
      aannaa   a   atta kiy-aaʔ= iʔ   heent-a
      milk  GEN  how  be-P = 2    want-IPF.FUT
‘How much milk do you (SG) want?’
(14b) ɗaammoa a atta coo pidditi
\[
\text{ɗaammoa} \quad a \quad \text{atta} \quad \text{kiy-}o=i \quad \text{pidd-t-i}
\]
flour REL how be-3M=3 buy[SG]-3F-PF
‘How much flour did she buy?’

(14c) alleetaasiɗ doocɗita a atta kitto pirta
\[
\text{alleeta-asi}ʔ \quad \text{doocɗita} \quad a \quad \text{atta} \quad \text{kit-t-o}
\]
\[
\text{pir-t-a}
\]
hut-DEM.M/F mud which how be-3F-IPF.FUT
‘How much mud will this hut consume (to build it)?’

The dative suffix is attached to aynu ‘who?’ to express an indirect object. With meecaa ‘how many?’, the dative suffix shows a specific amount/number. With aytamu(u) ‘when’, it marks a specific temporal adverb. The following are illustrative examples.

(15a) aynu-ʔ=i in daaʃ-a
\[
\text{aynu-}ʔ=in \quad \text{daaʃ-a}
\]
who-DAT=1 give-IPF.FUT
‘Who shall I give (it) to?’

(15b) meecaaʔi in χormasik kanna
\[
\text{meecaa-}ʔ=in \quad \text{χorma-siʔ} \quad \text{kat-n-a}
\]
how.many-DAT=1 ox-DEF.M/F sell-1PL-IPF.FUT
‘For how much (money) shall we sell the ox?’

(15c) aytamuʔe χooraa çapti
\[
\text{aytam-u}ʔ=e \quad \text{χooraa} \quad \text{çap-t-i}
\]
when-DAT=3 appointment hold-3F-PF
‘For when did she arrange an appointment?’

From the question word ayʃaa ‘where?’, it is possible to form questions that elicit a person’s place of birth/residence or nationality. Such questions are derived by the singulative suffixes -itta for masculine (16a), -itteeta for feminine (16b) and -ta for plural (16c).

(16a) ayʃaa
\[
\text{ayʃaa-itta}
\]
where-M
‘Where is he from?’

(16b) ayʃiteeta
\[
\text{ayʃaa-itta}
\]
where-F
‘Where is she from?’
In the following examples, the subjects are first person (17) and second person (18). In these cases subject clitics an= for first person and aʔ= for second person are required.

(17a)  anʔayʃitta  
      an=ʔayʃaa-itta  
      1 = where-M  
      ‘Where am I from?’

(17b)  anʔayʃitteeta  
      an=ʔayʃaa-itteeta  
      1 = where-F  
      ‘Where am I from?’

(18a)  aʔʔayʃitta  
      aʔ=ʔayʃaa-itta  
      2 = where-M  
      ‘Where are you (SGM) from?’

(18b)  aʔʔayʃitteeta  
      aʔ=ʔayʃaa-itteeta  
      2 = where-F  
      ‘Where are you (SGF) from?’

First and second person plurals require independent personal pronouns, (19).

(19a)  inon ayʃaata  
       inu-ʔ=ʔan ayʃaa-ta  
       1PL.PRO-NOM=1 where-P  
       ‘Where are we from?’

(19b)  iʃinnaʔ ?ayʃaata  
       iʃinna-ʔ=aʔ ayʃaa-ta  
       2PL.PRO-NOM=2 where-P  
       ‘Where are you (PL) from?’

The ordinal suffix -atta is added to the content question word meectaa ‘how many?’ to elicit information about the rank of someone in a group. This can be seen from the example in (20).
(20) meeçťatta sookti
meeçťaa-atta = i sook-t-i
how.many-ORD = 3 exit-3F-PF
‘What did she rank?’

The genitive particle a occurs with question words and assigns various meanings: with meeçťaa ‘how many?’, it yields a specific quantity (21).

(21) façťaa a meeçťaʔin piddă
façťa a meeçťaʔ-in pidd-a
local.beer GEN how.many-GEN = 1 buy[SG]-IPF.FUT
‘How many birrs worth of local beer should I buy?’

In the examples that we have seen so far, there is only one question word per sentence. However, it is possible to have two or more question words in the same sentence when the speaker misses the information provided by other speech participants. For instance, each of the following sentences has two question words.

(22a) ayno-o maana pidd-ay
who-CLF what buy-PF[3M]
‘Who bought what?’

(22b) ayno-o aynu cίf-ay
who-CLF who.OBJ beat-PF[3M]
‘Who beat whom?’

(22c) aynoo aynu cίfay
ayno-ő aynu-ʔ cίf-ay
who-CLF.OBJ who-NOM beat-PF[3M]
‘Who beat whom?’
(lit., ‘Who is it that who beat?’)

Each of the following examples contains three question words.

(23a) ayoo aynum maana dáfay
ayo-o aynu-ʔ maana dáf-ay
who-CLF who-DAT what give-PF[3M]
‘Who gave what to whom?’

(23b) ayoo ayfam maana akiay
ayo-o ayf-a maana aki-ay
who-CLF where-LOC what see-PF
‘Who saw what where?’
11. Negation

In this chapter, I analyse negation. The chapter has three sections. Section 11.1 treats verbal negation in declarative clauses. Section 11.2 deals with negation in nominal sentences. Section 11.3 presents lexical negation.

11.1. Negation in declarative sentences

Negation in declarative sentences is marked by subject clitics and/or negative suffixes on the verb. The forms of negative subject clitics are an= for first persons, aʔ= for second persons and in= for third persons. Note that the form of the negative subject clitic for third persons and the form of the affirmative subject clitic for first persons are homophonous. The forms of the negative suffixes on the verb vary according to aspect as discussed below.

11.1.1. Negative Perfective

The negative marker in the perfective is the suffix -n. This morpheme precedes the perfective aspect marker -i. Except for the first person plural and second person plural, subject personal pronouns are optional. In other words, first person plural and second person plural require subject personal pronouns. Number and gender is not marked on the negative perfective verb.

(1a)  an= iʔ ʛoyra-siʔ ʔammurri  
     1NEG = 1SG.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F 1NEG = cut[SG]-NEG-PF  
     ‘I did not cut the tree.’

(1b)  aʔ= ɗey-n-i  
     2NEG = 2PL.PRO-NOM 2NEG = come-NEG-PF  
     ‘You (PL) did not come home.’

(1c)  in= ʔoraap-n-i  
     3NEG = 3SG.PRO-NOM water-P 3NEG = fetch-NEG-PF  
     ‘The girl did not fetch the water.’

Without overt subjects, the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular is segmentally identical to that of the perfective negative for third persons. The affirmative and negative distinction for these persons is made by tone: a low tone marks the present imperfective affirmative for first person singular as in (2a), while a high tone marks perfective negative for third persons as in (2b).
(2a) immukni
    \textit{in = muk-ni}  \\
    1\text{NEG}-\text{sleep-IPF.PRES}  \\
    ‘I sleep.’

(2b) immukni
    \textit{in = muk-n-i}  \\
    3\text{NEG} = \text{sleep-NEG-PF}  \\
    ‘He/She/They did not sleep.’

The paradigm in (3) is an additional example. The optional subject pronouns are left out in the paradigm. The verb root used in the paradigm is \textit{muk-}\text{’sleep’}. Note that the alveolar nasal of the first person and third person subject clitics, and the glottal stop of the second person subject clitic are realised as \textit{m} due to assimilation.

(3) ammukni \quad \textit{an = muk-n-i}  \\
    ‘I did not sleep.’

inom mukni \quad \textit{ino = an muk-n-i}  \\
    ‘We did not sleep.’

ammukni \quad \textit{aʔ = muk-n-i}  \\
    ‘You (SG) did not sleep.’

iʃinam mukni \quad \textit{iʃin = aʔ muk-n-i}  \\
    ‘You (PL) did not sleep.’

immukni \quad \textit{in = muk-n-i}  \\
    ‘He/she/they did not sleep.’

Sometimes, the lexeme \textit{nama} ‘person’ is used instead of the first person plural subject pronoun in negative verbs in all aspects. For example, in (4a) we have an interrogative sentence for which a negative answer is given with the first person subject pronoun in (4b), and with the lexeme \textit{nama} ‘person, man’ in (4c). The latter renders the sentence impersonal.

(4a) χormasip patay itteytinee
    χorma-siʔ pat-ay iʔ=tey-t-i-n-e  \\
    ox-DEF.M/F lose-PF 2=find-2-PF-P-Q  \\
    ‘Did you (PL) find the lost ox?’

(4b) inon teyni
    \textit{ino = an} \quad \textit{tey-n-i}  \\
    1PL.PRO.NOM = 1\text{NEG} find-1PL-PF  \\
    ‘We did not find it.’

(4c) naman teyni
    \textit{nama = in} \quad \textit{tey-n-i}  \\
    person = 3\text{NEG} find-NEG-PF  \\
    ‘We did not find it.’  \\
    (lit.: ‘A person did not find it.’)
Bliese and Sokka (1986:22) provide an example (adapted here) from the Karatte dialect in which the negative for first person plural occurs without either an overt personal subject pronoun or the lexeme nama ‘person’. In my dialect, the example must have the first person singular as the subject and example (5) would be ungrammatical.

(5) *andámmi
   an = dám - n - i
   1NEG = eat - NEG - PF
   ‘I/We did not eat.’

11.1.2. Negative future imperfective

In the future imperfective, negation is marked by the subject clitic for all persons, and, except for second person plural and third person plural, also by the negative suffix -u on the verb. The second person plural and third person plural do not have the negative suffix -u on the verb. All subject personal pronouns can be left out. The following are illustrative examples.

(6a) dêttron an = χaʔ - u
    early 1NEG = wake up - IPF. FUT. NEG
    ‘I will not wake up so early.’

(6b) gøyrașiʔ ?ammurtu
    gøyra - sìʔ  aʔ = mur - t - u
    tree - DEF. M/F 2NEG = cut[SG] - 2 - IPF. FUT. NEG
    ‘You (SG) will not cut the tree.’

(6c) inantasif fatanaappa impiʔtu
    inanta - sìʔ fatanaa - oppa
    girl - DEF. M/F exam - in
    in = piʔ - t - u
    3NEG = fail - 3F - IPF. FUT. NEG
    ‘The girl will not fail in the exam.’

The sentences in (7) are equivalent affirmative forms of the examples in (6):

(7a) dêttron  in = χaʔ - a
    early 1 = wake up - IPF. FUT
    ‘I will wake up so early.’

(7b) gøyrașiʔ ?immurta
    gøyra - sìʔ iʔ = mur - t - a
    tree - DEF. M/F 2 = cut[SG] - 2 - IPF. FUT
    ‘You (SG) will cut the tree.’
Consider the paradigms in (8) as well.

\[(8a)\]

\begin{align*}
ammuku & < \text{in}=\text{muk-}u & \text{‘I will not sleep.’} \\
ammuknu & < \text{an}=\text{muk-n-}u & \text{‘We will not sleep.’} \\
ammuktu & < \text{aʔ}=\text{muk-t-}u & \text{‘You (SG) will not sleep.’} \\
ammuktan & < \text{aʔ}=\text{muk-t-a-n} & \text{‘You (PL) will not sleep.’} \\
immuku & < \text{in}=\text{muk-}u & \text{‘He will not sleep.’} \\
immuktu & < \text{in}=\text{muk-t-}u & \text{‘She will not sleep.’} \\
immukan & < \text{in}=\text{muk-a-n} & \text{‘They will not sleep.’}
\end{align*}

\[(8b)\]

\begin{align*}
immuka & < \text{in}=\text{muk-}a & \text{‘I will sleep.’} \\
immukna & < \text{in}=\text{muk-n-}a & \text{‘We will sleep.’} \\
immukta & < \text{iʔ}=\text{muk-t-}a & \text{‘You (SG) will sleep.’} \\
immuktan & < \text{iʔ}=\text{muk-t-a-n} & \text{‘You (PL) will sleep.’} \\
imuka & < \text{i}=\text{muk-}a & \text{‘He will sleep.’} \\
imuktta & < \text{i}=\text{muk-t-}a & \text{‘She will sleep.’} \\
imukan & < \text{i}=\text{muk-a-n} & \text{‘They will sleep.’}
\end{align*}

From the examples in (6) and (7), as well as the paradigms in (8), we can see that negation in the future imperfective is marked by the suffix -\text{u} while affirmative future imperfective is marked by the suffix -\text{a}.

### 11.1.3. Negative present imperfective

Generally, the negative present imperfective is characterised by a main and auxiliary verb construction plus a set of (negative) subject clitics and, depending on the person/number of the subject, an additional negation marker -\text{u/o}. In the negative present imperfective of the verbs \text{up-} ‘know’, \text{sah-} ‘be able to’, \text{pah-} ‘resemble, look like’ and \text{heen-} ‘want’, the auxiliary verb is not used (see below in the present section). When the subject is first or second person, the subject clitics are attached to both the main and auxiliary verb (9a-d). When the subject is third person, the subject clitics are attached only to the existential verb (9e-g). In addition, when the subject is singular or first person plural, a negation marker -\text{u/o} is affixed at the final slot of the existential verb, but when the subject is second person plural or third person plural, the negation marker -\text{u/o} is not affixed to the existential verb (compare example (9d) and (9g) to the other examples in (9)). The negative suffix is realised as -\text{o} when the form of the existential verb has a final palatal consonant. It occurs as -\text{u} when the existential verb has a final alveolar consonant. The following are illustrative examples:
(9a) ankeerri anco
   \[ an=\text{keer-}nI \] \[ an=\text{kiy-}o \]
   1NEG = run[SG]-IPF.PRES 1NEG = be-NEG
   ‘I do not run.’

(9b) anhirri ankinnu
   \[ an=\text{hir-}nI \] \[ an=\text{kit-}n-u \]
   1NEG = run[PL]-IPF.PRES 1NEG = be-1PL-NEG
   ‘We do not run.’

(9c) akkeerri akkittu
   \[ aʔ=\text{keer-}nI \] \[ aʔ=\text{kit-t-}u \]
   2NEG = run[SG]-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-NEG
   ‘You (SG) do not run.’

(9d) ahhirri akkittan
   \[ aʔ=\text{hir-}nI \] \[ aʔ=\text{kit-t-a-n} \]
   2NEG = run[PL]-IPF.PRES 2NEG = be-2-IPF.FUT-P
   ‘You (PL) do not run.’

(9e) keerri inco
   \[ keer-nI \] \[ in=\text{kiy-}o \]
   run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-NEG
   ‘He does not run.’

(9f) keerri inkittu
   \[ keer-nI \] \[ in=\text{kit-t-}u \]
   run[SG]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-3F-NEG
   ‘She does not run.’

(9g) hirri incan
   \[ hiʔ-ntI \] \[ in=\text{kiy-a-}n \]
   run[PL]-IPF.PRES 3NEG = be-IPF.FUT-P
   ‘They do not run.’

In fast speech, the negative subject clitics of the existential verb are often encliticised to the main verb. This encliticisation deletes the glottal stop of the subject clitics. This in turn results in vowel coalescence for first and second persons: \( i+a=\text{ee} \) as shown in (10a). For third persons, the final vowel of the present imperfective suffix and the initial vowel of the negative subject clitic become a short vowel \( i+i=i \) as illustrated in (10b).

(10a) kawwattasiʔ ?addawneek kittu
   \[ kawwatta-siʔ \] \[ aʔ=\text{daw-}nI=aʔ \] \[ k\text{-}t-u \]
   terrace-DEF.M/F 2.NEG-build-IPF.PRES = 2NEG be-2-NEG
   ‘You (SG) are not building the terrace.’
With overt objects, it is possible to have three negative subject clitics for first and second person: one occurs with the object as a prefix, the second one with the main verb and the third one with the existential verb. Compare (11a-b) with (11c-d).

(11a)  aʛʛoyrasiʔ ʔammurru
    aʔ=ʛoyra-siʔ aʔ=lmur-n-i
    2NEG=tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG=cut[SG]-NEG-PF
    ‘You (SG) did not cut the tree.’

(11b)  anχormoosiʔ ʔanpiɗɗu
    an=χorma-osiʔ an=piɗɗ-u
    1NEG=ox-DEM.M/F 1NEG=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG
    ‘I will not buy this ox.’

(11c)  anχarʃa anɗamni anco
    an=χarʃa an=ɗam-ni an=kiy-o
    1NEG=beans 1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES 1NEG-be-NEG
    ‘I do not eat beans.’

(11d)  aɗɗillaa ʔaʛʛonni akkittu
    aʔ=ɗillaa aʔ=ʛot-ni aʔ=kit-t-u
    2NEG=fields 2NEG-dig-IPF.PRES 2NEG=be-2-NEG
    ‘You (SG) do not work on fields.’

The negative subject clitics that occur with overt objects are optional, (12).

(12a)  ʛoyra-siʔ ʔammurru
    ʛoyra-siʔ aʔ=lmur-n-i
    tree-DEF.M/F 2NEG=cut[SG]-NEG-PF
    ‘You (SG) did not cut the tree.’

(12b)  χorma-osiʔ ʔanpiɗɗu
    χorma-osiʔ an=piɗɗ-u
    ox-DEM.M/F 1NEG=buy[SG]-IPF.FUT.NEG
    ‘I will not buy this ox.’

(12c)  χarʃa anɗamni anco
    χarʃa an=ɗam-ni an=kiy-o
    beans 1NEG-eat-IPF.PRES 1NEG-be-NEG
    ‘I do not eat beans.’
The verb roots in (13a) do not require the existential verb for negation in the present imperfective as shown in (13b-d). In 6.2.1.2, we also saw that these verb roots differ from other verb roots in that they do not attach the present imperfective aspect marker -ni.

(13a)  
up- ‘know’
sah- ‘be able to’
pah- ‘resemble, look like’
heen- ‘want’

(13b)  
χopoosiniʔʔanheenu
χopaa-osiniʔ an=heen-u
shoes-DEM.P 1NEG=want-NEG
‘I do not want these shoes.’

(13c)  
ifak kawwatta dawiya insahu
ifaʔ kawwatta daw-iya
3SGM.PRO-NOM terrace build-VN

in=sah-u
3NEG-be.able.to-NEG
‘He is not able to build a terrace.’

(13d)  
ifinaʔ ʔoli aʔʔuptan
ifinaʔ ʔoli
2PL.PRO-NOM each.other

ʔaʔ=ʔup-t-a-n
2NEG=know-2-IPF.FUT-P
‘You (PL) do not know each other.’

11.1.4. Negative dependent

Negative dependent in conditional clauses and temporal clauses is marked by negative subject clitics, as well as negative suffixes. Here are some examples:

(14a)  
oon ankalin kikawpan deya
oo-n an=kal-in ke
if-N 1NEG=return.home-NEG 2SG.PRO.ACC

kapa-apa=in dey-a
near-to=1 come-IPF.FUT
‘If I do not return home, I will come to you.’
(14b) kandê urmalaapa anaanin kodåasiʔ? ʔinkiʔ? ʔìyyaʔa
\[ \text{kan} = \text{n} \quad \text{urmalaa} - \text{opa} \quad \text{an} = \text{aan} - \text{in} \]
\[ \text{if-N} \quad \text{market-to} \quad \text{1NEG} = \text{go-NEG} \]
\[ \text{kodåa} - \text{siiʔ} \quad \text{in} = \text{ki} - \text{ʔ} \quad \text{ìyyaʔa} \]
\[ \text{work-DEF.M/F} \quad \text{1 = 2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT} \quad \text{help-IPF.FUT} \]
‘If I did not go to the market, I will help you with the work.’

(14c) an ʔìʃa akkinu male andeʔnu
\[ a = \text{in} \quad ifa \quad akki-n-u \]
\[ \text{REL} = 1 \quad \text{3SGM.PRO[OBJ]} \quad \text{see-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT} \]
\[ male \quad an = \text{dey-n-u} \]
\[ \text{without} \quad \text{1NEG} = \text{come-PL-NEG.IPF.FUT} \]
‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’

(14d) kandée punu deʔta ohtaisiʔ? ʔìʃeɛnnaʔ? ʔandaaʃo
\[ \text{kan} = \text{d} \quad \text{pun} = \text{t} - \text{a} \quad \text{ohta} - \text{siʔ?} \]
\[ \text{if} = 3 \quad \text{even} \quad \text{come-3F-IPF.FUT} \quad \text{cloth-DEF.M/F} \]
\[ ʔìʃeɛnna - \text{ʔ} \quad an = \text{daaʃ-o} \]
\[ 3\text{SGF.PRO[ACC]-DAT} \quad 1.\text{NEG} = \text{give-NEG.IPF.FUT} \]
‘Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.’

(14e) awtan ankeerin, ʔìʃa ançaaaʃaapu
\[ awta-n \quad an = \text{keer-in} \quad ifa \]
\[ \text{when} = N \quad \text{1NEG} = \text{run-PF} \quad 3\text{SGM.PRO[ACC]} \]
\[ an = \text{çaaʃaap-u} \]
\[ \text{1NEG} = \text{catch.up.with-NEG} \]
‘When I do not run, I don’t catch up with him.’

For additional examples and details, see conditional clauses in Section 12.1.1 and temporal clauses in Section 12.1.2.

11.1.5. Prohibitives with opa

Prohibition is expressed by opa (or its short form o) and negative subject clitics on the existential verb. The sentences in (15a and 16a) are interrogatives and those in (15b and 16b) are responses expressing prohibition. The responses may occur with innaʔ ‘no’ as in (16c).
11.1.6. Negative imperative

As discussed in Section 6.4.1, the affirmative imperative verb is marked by -i when the addressee is singular and by -a when it is plural, but it is not marked with subject clitics. Negative imperatives, on the other hand, have negative subject clitics. In addition, the negative imperative verb is marked by the suffix -an, for both singular and plural addressee. Consider the following examples:

(17a)  in=aan-an
2NEG = go-NEG.IMP.SG/PL
‘(You (SG/PL)) Do not go!’

(17b)  cøyraasiʔ ʔimmuran
  cøyra-asiʔ ʔiʔ=mur-an
  tree-DEM.M/F 2NEG = cut[SG]-NEG.IMP
‘(You (SG/PL)) Do not cut the tree!’
11.1.7. Negative optatives

Negative optative is marked on the verb by the negative subject clitic in= and the negative suffix -in on the verb. These morphemes do not distinguish number; both third person singular and plural are marked by these morphemes, as illustrated in (18a and 18b). Number is sometimes expressed in the lexical root if the root is inherently plural, as is the case in (18b).

(18a)  in=ʔaan-in  
  3NEG=go-NEG.OPT  
  ‘Let him/her/them not go.’

(18b)  in=hir-in  
  3NEG=run[PL]-NEG.OPT  
  ‘Let them not run.’

11.1.8. Negation in adjectival clauses

Negation in adjectival clauses requires an adjectival root and the existential verb. Negative subject clitics occur with the adjectival root for first and second persons but not for third person subject. Likewise, negative suffixes do not occur with the adjectival root for all persons. The existential verb in adjectival clauses contains negative subject clitics for all persons. Moreover, except for second person plural and third person plural, the remaining persons occur with negative suffixes on the existential verb. (See Section 11.1.3, where similar restrictions are observed in non-adjectival lexical verbs). The negative suffixes are -u/o. Plural subjects require the reduplication of the adjectival root’s initial $C_1V(C_1)$ for number agreement. Subject personal pronouns are optional. The following are illustrative examples:

(19a)  anderi anco  
  an=ɗer-i an=kiy-o  
  1NEG=be.tall-PF 1NEG=be-NEG  
  ‘I am not tall.’

(19b)  adderferi akkittan  
  aʔ=ɗeɗ-ɗer-i aʔ=kit-t-a-n  
  2NEG=PL-be.tall-PF 2NEG=be-2-IPF.FUT-P  
  ‘You (PL) are not tall.’

(19c)  der-i in=kit-t-u  
  be.tall-PF 3NEG=be-3F-NEG  
  ‘She is not tall.’

Inchoative adjectival clauses contain the suffix -aad. Furthermore, all persons have negative subject clitics. Except for second person plural and third person
plural, the remaining persons occur with a negative suffix on the adjectival root. In (20a-b) are sentential examples with the adjectival root der- ‘be tall, long’. In (20c), I give the surface form of the complete paradigm.

(20a) anderaadu  
\[an=\text{der-aaɗ-u}\]  
1NEG = be.tall-INCH-NEG.IPF.FUT  
‘I will not become tall.’

(20b) addedderaattan  
\[aʔ=\text{ded-der-aaɗ-t-a-n}\]  
2NEG = PL-be.tall-INCH-2-IPF.FUT-P  
‘You (PL) will become tall.’

(20c) anderaadu  
‘I will not become tall.’  
andedderaannu  
‘We will not become tall.’  
adderaaat  
‘You (SG) will not become tall.’  
addedderaattan  
‘You (PL) will become tall.’  
inderaaadu  
‘He will become tall.’  
inderaaatu  
‘She will not become tall.’  
indedderaadad  
‘They will not become tall.’

11.2. Negation in nominal clauses

Negation in nominal clauses is marked by the clause final clitic -nnin. The following are illustrative examples:

(21a) senit tuuyywawaannyimmma χarχarayaa  
\[seniʔ tuuyywwaan-nnin-ma χarχarayaa\]  
DEM.PL pigs-NEG-but warthogs  
‘These are not pigs, but warthogs.’

(21b) an=akim-itta-nnin  
\[<\text{hakim} 'physician' Amh.>\]  
1=physician-AGENT.SGM-NEG  
‘I am not a physician.’

In the future imperfective, nominal clauses require the verb root koɗɗ- ‘become’ to which negative subject clitics and a negative suffix are added. Here are some examples:

(22a) akim-itta  
\[an=\text{koɗɗ-u}\]  
physician-AGENT.SGM 1NEG = become-IPF.FUT.NEG  
‘I will not become a physician.’
(22b) akim-itteeta in=kod intéressant-AGENT.SGM 1NEG become-IPF.FUT.NEG
    'He will not become a physician.'

(22c) akim-iyyaa in=kod intéressant-AGENT.PL 3NEG become-IPF.FUT-P
    'They will not become physicians.'

Possessive nominal clauses also add the clitic -nnin to express negation. The following are illustrative examples:

(23a) init tikaawunnin
    iniʔ tika-aawu-nnin
    DEM.M/F house-1SG.POSS.M/F-NEG
    'This is not my house.'

(23b) dila-adininnin
    field-3SG.POSS-NEG
    'It is not his/her field.'

The verb root kid- ‘say’ is sometimes used with object form of pronouns in negative clauses. Negative subject clitics as well as the negative suffix -n occur with this verb root. In the following examples, (24a) is a context for the reply in (24b).

(24a) kee doyrasim muraye
    ke-é doyra-sii? mur-ay-e
    2PRO.ACC-CLF tree-DEF.M/F cut[Sg]-PF[3M]-Q
    'Is it you (SG) who cut the tree?'

(24b) anan kii
    ana=in kid-n-i
    1SG.PRO.ACC=3NEG say-NEG-PF
    'Not me.'
    (lit.: 'He/she/they did not say me.')

11.3. Lexical negation

There are certain verb roots that inherently have a negative meaning. For instance, the verb root dufa- ‘stop’ carries a negative reading in relative clauses, as shown in (25)
The other lexical item with a negative meaning is **male** ‘without’, which stands in lexical contrast with the word **olle** ‘with’. This is shown below.

(26a)  
\[
\text{i̱a olleen aana} \\
\text{ i̱a} \quad \text{olle=} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{an-a} \\
\text{3SGM.PRO[ACC]} \quad \text{with=} \quad \text{1} \quad \text{go-IPF.FUT} \\
\text{‘I will go with him.’} 
\]

(26b)  
\[
\text{i̱a maleen aana} \\
\text{ i̱a} \quad \text{male=} \quad \text{in} \quad \text{an-a} \\
\text{3SGM.PRO[ACC]} \quad \text{without=} \quad \text{1} \quad \text{go-IPF.FUT} \\
\text{‘I will go without him.’} 
\]

Each of the above clauses may occur with negative markers rendering the opposite meaning.

(27a)  
\[
\text{i̱a olle anaanu} \\
\text{ i̱a} \quad \text{olle} \quad \text{an=aan-u} \\
\text{3SGM.PRO[ACC]} \quad \text{with} \quad \text{1NEG=go-NEG.IPF.FUT} \\
\text{‘I will not go with him.’} 
\]

(27b)  
\[
\text{i̱a male anaanu} \\
\text{ i̱a} \quad \text{male} \quad \text{an=aan-u} \\
\text{3SGM.PRO[ACC]} \quad \text{without} \quad \text{1NEG=go-NEG.IPF.FUT} \\
\text{‘I will not go without him.’} 
\]

Still another lexical item with a negative meaning is **malaal**- ‘be unable to’. The following is an illustrative example:

(28)  
\[
\text{i̱ak keerinta imalaalay} \\
\text{ i̱ak} \quad \text{keer-inta} \quad \text{i=malaal-ay} \\
\text{3SGM.PRO-NOM} \quad \text{run[SG]-VN} \quad \text{3=be.unable.to-PF} \\
\text{‘He was unable to run.’} 
\]

11.4. **Movement of subject clitics and emphatic negation**

Unlike their affirmative counterparts, negative subject clitics cannot be separated from the verb and do not occur with overt subjects. This is illustrated by the ungrammatical forms in (29).
Negation is emphasised by using the lexeme apare ‘somewhere’. It renders a meaning equivalent to the English adverb ‘never’. Here are some examples:

(30a) kussituʔ ?apare toyøpɑ inanți
    kussitto-NOM somewhere Toxya-to 3NEG=go-NEG-PF
    ‘Kussitto has never been to Toxya.’

(30b) antiʔ ?apare koɔmmytʃɑ pɑ inanți
    1SG.PRO-NOM somewhere koɔmmyite-to 1NEG=go-NEG-PF
    ‘I have never been to Koɔmmyite.’

(30c) iʃaʔ ?apare dila inkan治理体系
    3SGM.PRO-NOM somewhere field 3NEG=sell-NEG-PF
    ‘He never sold a field.’

(30d) iʃoɔnnaʔ ?apare incán
    3PL.PRO-NOM somewhere 3NEG=be-IPF.FUT-NEG
    ‘They are nowhere.’
12. Complex sentences

This chapter deals with complex sentences and has five sections. The first section, 12.1, deals with adverbial clauses. Section 12.2 discusses purpose clauses. Section 12.3 treats complement clauses. Section 12.4 presents other clause linking. Section 12.5 is concerned with quotative clauses.

12.1. Adverbial clauses

Various strategies are used to mark adverbial support clauses. They are:

1. conjunction plus clause
2. head noun plus relative clause plus postposition
3. headless relative clause plus postposition
4. clause marked with conjunction plus postposition
5. head noun plus relative clause
6. headless relative clause

12.1.1. Conditional clauses

In the normal order of conditional clauses the supporting clause precedes the focus clause. The term “focus clause” is used for the clause that denotes the crucial and resulting state or activity; the term is taken from Dixon and Aikhenvald (2009) (see also Mous and Ongaye Oda (2009)). Affirmative supporting conditional clauses appear with various conjunctions. These conjunctions are oo/ootoo, ka/kande and awta. All these conjunctions occur with suffix -n, whose semantic value is not yet known to me (see also Ongaye (in press)). What is clear to me about this suffix, however, is that its occurrence with conjunctions makes subject clitics flexible. Furthermore, it does not allow the occurrence of the dependent clause marker -o. In the glossing, I use N to represent suffix -n. Negative conditionals are marked with the relative pronoun a and the conjunction male ‘without’ while concessive conditionals are marked with the conjunction kande ‘if’ and the adverb punu or nefu ‘even’.

Focus (main) clauses do not have conjunctions or any particular suffixes that set them apart from supporting conditional clauses. However, a pause is required after the supporting clause when it precedes the focus clause, and when the subject clitic of the focus clause does not move to the supporting clause.

In the subsequent discussions, I present conditional sentences that express events that are likely to happen, events that are likely but not certain to happen, and events that are unlikely to happen. Furthermore, concessive conditionals are treated.
I begin with the discussion of conditional sentences which show the likelihood of the events in the focus clauses. Let us look at the examples in (1). In (1a), the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction oo. In both (1b) and (1c), the conjunction oo occurs with suffix -n. As a result of this suffix, the dependent clause marker -o disappears. The distinction between (1b) and (1c) is that in (1b) the first person subject clitic occurs with the conjunction whereas in (1c) it occurs with the verb. In all the examples, the dependent/support clauses precede the focus clauses. The example in (1d) is unacceptable because the subject clitic in= can only move to the verb if the conjunction contains the suffix -n in the support clause.

(1a)  oon deyo, piifaasiʔ ?indama
     oo = in  dey-o           piifaas-siʔ
     if= 1     come-DP.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

     in = dam-a
     1 = eat-IPF.FUT
     ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’

(1b)  oonin deya, piifaasiʔ ?indama
     oo-n = in  dey-a           piifaas-siʔ
     if-N = 1     come.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

     in = dam-a
     1 = eat-IPF.FUT
     ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’

(1c)  oon indeya, piifaasiʔ ?indama
     oo-n   in = dey-a           piifaas-siʔ
     if-N     1 = come.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

     in = dam-a
     1 = eat-IPF.FUT
     ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’

(1d)  *oo indeyo, piifaasiʔ ?indama
     oo   in = dey-o           piifaas-siʔ
     if   1 = come-DP.IPF.FUT lunch-DEF.M/F

     in = dam-a
     1 = eat-IPF.FUT
     (intended: ‘If I come, I will eat the lunch.’)

Conditional sentences in which the speaker expresses that the event is likely but not certain to happen require the conditional conjunctions, except kande(n),
to occur with the suffix -n. The aspect in the support clause may be present imperfective (2a) or perfective (2b).

(2a)  
onin tiku’pa anni, inkil lela
    oo-n=in  tika-opa  ?an-ni,
    if-N = 1  house-to  go-IPF.PRES

    in=ki=犹  lel-a
    1 = you-DAT  tell-IPF.FUT

    ‘It is not yet certain to me whether I will go home, but if I
decide to do so, I will let you know.’

(2b)  
onin urmalaapa aanay, sookittasin pidda
    oo-n=in  urmala-opa  an-ay ,
    if-N = 1  market-to  go-PF[3M]

    sookitta-siʔ=in  pidd-a
    salt-DEF.M/F = 1  buy-IPF.FUT

    ‘I’m not yet sure whether to go to market, but if I do go,
I will buy the salt.’

Conditional clauses that express unlikely events occur with the conjunction kande(n) and perfective aspect in the support clause. Here are some examples:

(3a)  
    kande=nama piisa deyay, kodaasiʔ ?iɗikkaɗa
    kande==in  nama  piisa  dey-ay,  kodaa-siʔ
    if=3  person  all  come-PF  work-DEF.M/F

    i=ɗikkaɗ-a
    3 = finish.MID-IPF.FUT

    ‘If everybody came, the work would get finished.’

(3b)  
    kande gormasin katay, kuuraaytin oorʃa
    kande-n  gorma-si=in  kat-ay,
    if-N  ox-DEF.M/F = 1  sell-PF

    kuura-ayti=in  oor-f-a
    debt-2.SG.POSS.SG = 1  return-CAUS-IPF.FUT

    ‘If I sold the ox, I would pay your debt.’

Conditional clauses that express unlikely events may also occur with a present imperfective aspect in the if-clause. In this case, only the conjunction kandên is used, as in (4).
Nominal conditionals that express unlikely events (contrary to facts) are marked with the conjunction kanɗen and the nominal subject clitics an= for first persons, aʔ= second persons and ø for third persons, as in any other nominal clause. First and second person plurals require personal object pronouns in addition to the subject clitics. Some examples:

(5a) kanɗen akkarmaa, keltaytasiʛ cápta
    kanɗe-n ʔaʔ=karmaa,  keltayta-siʔ=iʔ
    if-N 2=lion  baboon-DEF.M/F =2

cápt-a
    catch-2-IPF.FUT
    ‘If you (SG) were a lion, you (SG) would catch the baboon.’

(5b) kanɗen karmaa, keltaytasiʔ ?icapá
    kanɗe-n  keltayta-siʔ  i=icap-a
    if-N  baboon-DEF.M/F 3 =catch-IPF.FUT
    ‘If he were a lion, he would catch the baboon.’

(5c) kanɗen inoon χampiraa, moontannin hirra
    kanɗe-n ʔino=in χampiraa,
    if-N  we=-1 birds

    moonta-nn=in  hir-n-a
    sky-INST=1  fly[PL]-PL-IPF.FUT
    ‘If we were birds, we would fly in the sky.’
So far I have discussed affirmative conditionals. Below I discuss negative conditionals. Negative conditionals occur with the same conjunctions as the affirmative conditionals. A negative conditional with the meaning ‘unless’ has a different form, shown below. Negative conditionals require negative subject clitics, as in (6).

(6a)  oon urmalaapa ananneen kodaasin kiʔ ?iyyada
  oo-n urmalaa-opa an=an-ni=an kit-in
  if-N market-to 1NEG= go-IPF-NEG be-NEG

  koda-siʔ=in  keʔ?  iyyad-a
  work-DEF.M/F =1  2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT

  ‘I am not yet certain whether I go to market or not but if I
do not go, I will help you with the work.’

(6b)  kanden urmalaapa anaanin kodaasii? ?inkiʔ ?iyyada
  kande-n urmalaa-opa an=aan-in
  if-N market-to 1NEG= go-NEG

  kodaas-siʔ  in=kiʔ?  iyyad-a
  work-DEF.M/F  1=2SG.PRO.ACC-DAT help-IPF.FUT

  ‘If I do not go to the market, I will help you with the work.’

A negative conditional with the meaning ‘unless’ has the relative pronoun a and the postposition male ‘without’. The relative pronoun introduces headless relative clauses. Here are some examples:

(7a)  an ifa akkinu male andeʔnu
  a=in ifa  akk-n-u
  REL=1 3SGM.PRO[ACC] see-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

  male an=dey-n-u
  without 1NEG = come-1PL-NEG.IPF.FUT

  ‘Unless we see him, we shall not come (back).’

(7b)  aa inun akkin male indeyan
  a=i inu=in  akk-n
  REL=3 1PL.PRO[ACC] =3NEG see-P

  male in=dey-a-n
  without 3NEG = come-IPF.FUT-P

  ‘Unless they see us, they will not come (back).’

Concessive conditionals are marked with the conjunction kande ‘if’ and the adverb punu or nefo ‘even’. Subject clitics are attached to kande. The conces-
sive conditional conjunction *kande* punu may appear as discontinuous. This same conjunction and adverbs are also used to mark concessive clauses. The following are illustrative examples.

(8a)  
\[ \text{kande punu deʔta ohtaisiʔ \ ?iʃeenna? \ ?andaʃaʃo} \]
\[ kande=i \ punu \ dey-t-a \ ohta-siʔ \]
\[ \text{if}=3 \ \text{even} \ \text{come-3F-IPF.FUT} \ \text{cloth-DEF.M/F} \]
\[ \text{iʃeenna-ʔ} \ \text{an}=ɗaaʃ-o \]
\[ 3\text{SGF.PRO}[\text{ACC}]-\text{DAT} \ \text{1NEG}=\text{give-NEG.IPF.FUT} \]
‘Even if she comes, I will not give her the cloth.’

(8b)  
\[ \text{kandeep punu deʔtan anaaʔ \ ?akkitan} \]
\[ kande=iʔ \ punu \ dey-t-a-n \ ana=aʔ \ akk-t-a-n \]
\[ \text{if}=2 \ \text{even} \ \text{come-IPF} \ 1\text{SG.PRO.ACC}=2\text{NEG} \ \text{see-IPF.FUT-P} \]
‘Even if you (PL) come, you (PL) will not see me.’

(8c)  
\[ \text{kandeem punu amma inɗeyin kuliʔ \ ?iχoratta} \]
\[ kande=i \ punu \ ?amma \ in=ɗey-i-n \]
\[ \text{if}=3 \ \text{even} \ \text{now} \ \text{3NEG}=\text{come-PF-NEG} \]
\[ kuliʔ \ \text{i}=χoraɗ-t-a \]
\[ \text{latter} \ \text{3}=\text{be.fined-3F-IPF.FUT} \]
‘Even if she has not come now, she will be fined latter.’

A concessive clause is marked by the conjunction *kande* ‘if’ and the adverbs *nefu/punu* ‘even’. Subject clitics occur with *kande* part of the conjunction. Here are some examples:

(9a)  
\[ \text{kandeem nefu kaʃaasiniʛ c̥apa iʃoonnaʔ \ ?andaʃu} \]
\[ kande=in \ nefu \ kaʃaas-siniʔ \ c̥ap-a \]
\[ \text{if}=1 \ \text{even} \ \text{money-DEF.P} \ \text{have-IPF.FUT} \]
\[ iʃoonna-ʔ \ \text{an}=ɗaaʃ-u \]
\[ 3\text{PL.PRO}[\text{ACC}]-\text{DAT} \ \text{1NEG}=\text{give-NEG} \]
‘Even if I have the money, I will not give it to them.’

(9b)  
\[ \text{namasik kandeem punu deyay χawwaʄee aana} \]
\[ nama-siʔ \ \text{if}=3 \ \text{even} \ \text{come-IPF[3M]} \]
\[ \text{χawwaʄee}=\text{in} \ \text{an-a} \]
\[ \text{alone}=1 \ \text{go-IPF.FUT} \]
‘Even if the person came, I would go alone.’
The concessive adverb nefu is different from punu in that the former may occur clause-finally. For example, in (10a), kande and nefu occur contiguously while in (10b) nefu occurs clause-finally. This positional shift does not alter the semantics of the sentence. kande and nefu do not exchange their positions, as doing so yields an ungrammatical sentence, as illustrated in (10c).

(10a) kande in nefu kaafaa-siniʔ ciapa ifoonnaʔ ?andaafu
    kande=in nefu kaafaa-siniʔ although=1 although money-DEF.P
    ciap-a ifoonnaʔ an=daaf-u
    have-IPF.PRES they-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
    ‘Although I have the money, I will not give it to them.’

(10b) kande in kaafaa-siniʔ ciapa nefu ifoonnaʔ ?andaafu
    kande=in kaafaa-siniʔ ciap-a
    if=1 money-DEF.P have-IPF.PRES
    nefu ifoonnaʔ an=daaf-u
    even 3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
    ‘Even if I have the money, I will not give it to them.’

(10c) *
    punu in kande kaafaa-siniʔ ciapa ifoonnaʔ ?andaafu
    punu=in kande kaafaa-siniʔ ciap-a
    if=1 if money-DEF.P have-IPF.FUT
    ifoonnaʔ an=daaf-u
    3PL.PRO[ACC]-DAT 1NEG=give-NEG
    (intended: ‘Even if I have the money, I will not give it for
    them.’)

12.1.2. Temporal clauses

Temporal adverbial clauses are introduced by awta ‘when’, oo ‘when, if’, ee/etee ‘when’, or a.

The temporal adverbial conjunction awta ‘when’ may occur in the perfective as in (11a) or the imperfective as in (11b).

(11a) awta in keer ay, inifaa caddfaapay
    awta=in keer-ay in=iifaa caddfaap-ay
    when=1 run-PF I=3SGM.PRO.ACC catch.up.with-PF
    ‘When I ran, I caught up with him.’
In temporal clauses, the conjunction  oo  may occur in the imperfective as in (12). Remember that this conjunction is basically a conditional conjunction, as discussed earlier.

(12a)  oon kaafasini teyun kiɗ daaʃa  
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{oon} = \text{1SG.PRO.AC-DAT} \\
& \text{kaafasini} = \text{money.DEF.P} \\
& \text{teyun} = \text{obtain-IPF.PF} \\
& \text{ki-ɗ} = \text{give-IPF.PF} \\
& \text{daaʃ-a} = \text{2SG.PRO.AC-DAT} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘When/if I will obtain the money, I will give it to you (SG).’

(12b)  oo atoota feyyaʔ ʔawɗitee dehootaasiʔ ?ikokti  
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{oo} = \text{3SG.PRO.AC-DAT} \\
& \text{atoota} = \text{sun-DEF.M/F} \\
& \text{feyyaʔ} = \text{very.well-DAT} \\
& \text{ʔawɗitee} = \text{shine-3F-PF} \\
& \text{dehootaasiʔ} = \text{malt-DEM.M/F} \\
& \text{ʔikokt-i} = \text{3=dry-3F-PF} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘This malt dried when the sun shone very well.’

In the following examples, the conjunction ee/etee is used. It occurs only in the perfective as shown in (13).

(13a)  een aanay χormasin akkay  
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{een} = \text{1SG.PRO.AC-DAT} \\
& \text{aanay} = \text{go-PF} \\
& \text{χormas-in} = \text{ox-DEF.M/F=1} \\
& \text{akk-ay} = \text{see-PF} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘When I went there, I saw the ox.’

(13b)  etee deʔti maanaa koʔti  
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{etee} = \text{3SG.PRO.AC-DAT} \\
& \text{deʔ-t-i} = \text{what=3 do-3F-PF} \\
& \text{maanaa} = \text{3=dry-3F-PF} \\
& \text{koɗ-t-i} = \text{see-PF} \\
\end{align*}
\]
‘What did she do when she came?’

The relative pronoun  a  also serves as a temporal clause marker. The following are illustrative examples.

(14a)  a cọyra murriyon ifa akkay  
\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{a} = \text{3REL} \\
& \text{cọyra} = \text{tree-DEF.M/F} \\
& \text{murriy-o-n=im} = \text{cut[SG]-IPF.PRES.3SGM=1} \\
\end{align*}
\]
Temporal adverbial clauses may also occur with the relative pronouns a and the postposition kammaa as in (15a) or the conditional conjunction oo and the postposition kammaa as in (15b).

(15a) an tika kayni kammaa roopa ipaayti

a = in tika kay-n-i kammaa
REL = 1 house reach-PL-PF after
roopa i=paay-t-i
rain 3 =start-3F-PF
‘It started to rain after we arrived home.’

(15b) oon heeriya dikkiʃu kammaan ʄaʛaa ika

oo=in heer-iya dikkiʃ-u
if = 1 buy[PL]-NML finish-DP.IPF.FUT
kammaa=in ʄaʛaa ik-a
after = 1 local.beer drink-IPF.FUT
‘I will drink ʄaʛaa after I finish buying.’

12.1.3. Reason and result clauses

In this section, I discuss reason and result clauses together because of semantic relationships. Reason and result clauses are semantically related in that result (effect) is the outcome of reason (cause). Both reason and result clauses occur with the (possessive) noun coota ‘concerning/about’ and malla ‘because (of)’ or the relative pronoun a. The morpheme malla occurs in the final position of the support clause. Here are some examples:

(16a) atiʃ cootaap paacɓi malla antaa immalaalti

atti-ʔ coota=iʔ paacɓ-i
2SG.PRO-NOM concerning =2 be.sick-2-PF
‘You (SG) could not go because you (SG) were sick.’

‘The hut collapsed because there is no pillar under it.’

‘The children were flogged because they were late.’

‘He broke his hand because he fell (down).’

Purpose is expressed by the conjunction akkaa and the postposition malla as in (18a) or the relative pronoun a and the postposition malla as in (18b).

‘I am saving money in order to buy an ox.’
(18b) antiʔ an χorma piɗɗu mallan kaaʄaa kattanni
    antiʔ an χorma
    1SG.PRO-NOM = in χorma
    buy[SG]-DP.IPF.FUT because = 1 money
    katt-aɗ-ni
    collect-MID-IPF.PRES
    ‘I am saving money in order to buy an ox.’

Purpose can also be expressed by using an infinitive or verbal noun with or
without the dative case marker instead of a support clause. The following are
illustrative examples.

(19a) ʛimaytasiʔ ʔalleeta ʛupiya mallaa ʛoraa ʛuuray
    ʛimayta-siʔ alleeta ʛup-iya malla=i
    old.man-DEF.M/F hut build-NMLZ because = 3
    kกกaa ʛoraa ʛuur-ay
    trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]
    ‘The old man cut trees in order to build a hut.’

(19b) ʛimaytasiʔ ʔalleeta ʛupiyaʔe ʛoraa ʛuuray
    ʛimayta-siʔ alleeta ʛup-iyaʔe=i
    old.man-DEF.M/F hut build-VN-DAT=3
    kกกaa ʛoraa ʛuur-ay
    trees cut[PL]-PF[3M]
    ‘The old man cut trees in order to build a hut.’
(lit.: The old man cut trees for building a hut.)

12.2. Complement clauses

Complement clauses occur with the complementisers ine, sede and akkaa. The
complementisers ine and sede occur in the position after an overt subject, while
the complementiser akkaa occurs in the object position. Details of higher predicates
and their modality interpretations are examined in Ongaye (2004). The
following are illustrative examples.

(20a)  Kussittus sedeʔ χorma pidɗaye ana χasayʃay
    Kussittuʔ sede=i χorma
    Kussitto-NOM that = 3 ox
242

\[ \text{pidɓ-ay} = i \quad \text{ana} \quad \text{χas-ayf-ay} \]
\[ \text{buy}[SG]\text{-PF} = 3 \quad \text{1SG.PRO.ACC} \quad \text{please-CAUS-PF} \]

'The fact that Kusitto bought an ox pleased me.'

(20b) akkaan antiʔ ʔurmalaapa aanay iʃeennaʔ ?idakayti
\[ \text{akka} = \text{in} \quad \text{anti-ʔ} \quad \text{urmalaa-opa} \]
\[ \text{that} = 1 \quad \text{1SG.PRO-NOM} \quad \text{market-to} \]

\[ \text{an-ay} \quad \text{iʃeenna-ʔ} \quad i = \text{dakay-3F-PF} \]
\[ \text{go-PF}[3M] \quad \text{3SGF.PRO-NOM} \quad 3 = \text{hear-3F-PF} \]

'She heard that I went to the market.'

(20c) akkaʔ ?antin inupa
\[ \text{akka} = \text{iʔ} \quad \text{aan-t-i-n} \quad \text{in} = \text{up-a} \]
\[ \text{that} = 2 \quad \text{go-2-PF-P} \quad 1 = \text{know-IPF.FUT} \]

'I know that you (PL) went.'

12.3. Other clause linking

12.3.1. Conjoined consecutive clauses

Conjoined consecutive clauses are marked by the conjunction \( \text{ka} \), which is followed by an intonation break. This is shown below.

(21a) inuʔ coyrasim murri ka ifan kalli
\[ \text{inu-ʔ} \quad \text{cøyra-siʔ} = \text{in} \quad \text{mur-n-i} \]
\[ \text{1PL.PRO-NOM} \quad \text{tree-DEF.M/F} = 1 \quad \text{cut}[SG]\text{-1PL-PF} \]

\[ \text{ka} \quad \text{ifa-n} \quad \text{kal-n-i} \]
\[ \text{and} \quad \text{3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST} \quad \text{come.home-1PL-PF} \]

'We cut down the tree and brought it home.'

(21b) ifad dîluppupaa anay ka ?unta pohay
\[ \text{ifa-ʔ} \quad \text{dîla-oppupa} = \text{i} \quad \text{an-ay} \quad \text{ka} \]
\[ \text{3SGM.PRO-NOM} \quad \text{field-into} = 3 \quad \text{go-PF}[3M] \quad \text{and} \]

\[ \text{unta} \quad \text{poh-ay} \]
\[ \text{crops} \quad \text{harvest-PF}[3M] \]

'He went to the field and harvested crops.'

Conjoined consecutive clauses that involve imperatives are also joined by the conjunction \( \text{ka} \). Examples:
In chapter 4, I discussed that coordinated nouns can be combined with the conjunction ka or iʃuʔ. However, the use of the conjunction iʃuʔ instead of ka in consecutive clauses is not allowed, as demonstrated in (23).

(23a) *inuʛ ʛoyrasim murri iʃuʔ ʔiʃan kalli

inuʔ ʛoyra-siʔ=in mur-n-i

1PL.PRO-NOM tree-DEF.M/F=1 cut[SG]-PL-PF

iʃuʔ iʃa-n kal-n-i

and 3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST return.home-1PL-PF

‘We cut down the tree and brought it home.’

(23b) *χooya iʃuɗ ɗakaɗoosinih haaɗa

χooy-a iʃuʔ ɗakaɗaa-osiniʔ haaɗ-a

come-IMP.PL and stones-DEM.P carry-IMP.PL

(intended: ‘Come and carry these stones!’)

12.3.2. Contrast

Contrast is expressed by maa or umma. The conjunction maa is most often adversative. The following are illustrative examples.

(24a) iʔanti maa ɗapti

i=an-t-i maa i=ɗap-t-i

3=go-3F-PF but 3=not.find-3F-PF

‘She went (there) but could not find it.’

(24b) ipiʔay maa inmiiddammi

i=piʔ-ay maa in=miidd-am-n-i

3=fall-PF but 3NEG=hurt.SG-PAS-NEG-PF

‘He fell but he is not hurt.’

(24c) kahartannim maa lahaa patay

kaharta-nnin maa laha-a pat-ay

ewe-NEG but ram-CLF disappear-PF[3M]

‘It is not a ewe but a ram that went missing.’
In the following example, the conjunction umma is used.

(25) \[
\text{ifan asni umma } \text{de?ninco} \\
\text{ifa= in as-ni umma} \\
him = 1 \text{ wait-IPF.PRES but} \\
\text{dey-ni-in=kiy-o} \\
\text{come-IPF.PRES-3NEG=be-NEG [3M]} \\
'\text{I am waiting for him but he does not come.}'
\]

In the following proverb, the coordinating conjunction ka expresses contrast rather than addition. The proverb is used when someone who is afraid of a stronger person (likened here with acacia species kolalta) threatens another less strong person (likened here with a thin plant species seyta).

(26) \[
\text{kolal fuurja ka seytan puta} \\
kolalta fuur-f-aa ka seyta-n \\
acacia.species fear-DCAUS-VN and plant.species-INST \\
put-a \\
win-VN \\
'\text{Fearful of kolalta but victorious over seyta.'}
\]

12.3.3. Alternatives

Alternatives are expressed by -m (27a) or the conjunction taakine ‘or, otherwise’ (27b).

(27a) \[
\text{pilliyasii? indeedam ayi} \\
\text{pilliyaa-siʔ in=diʔeʔ-a-m ?} \\
\text{knife-DEF.M/F 1=take-IPF.FUT-or here} \\
in = diʔ-a \\
1 = leave-IPF.FUT \\
'\text{Shall I take the knife or leave it here?'}
\]

(27b) \[
\text{urmalaapa? ?anta taakine diluppapan ollin sookanna} \\
\text{urmala-opa=iʔ an-t-a taakine} \\
\text{market-to = 2 go-2-IPF.FUT otherwise} \\
dil-oppupa=in ollin sookad-n-a \\
\text{field-into = 1 together go.to.field-1PL-IPF.FUT} \\
'\text{You (SG) will go to market. Otherwise we will go to the field together.'}
A rejection type of alternative expression ‘instead of/rather than’ is marked by forms a...kapaa or an infinitive with kapaa or a verbal nominal with kapaa. With the conjunction a...kapaa, the subject clitic must occur with the a. The morpheme kapaa occurs in the final position of a dependent clause. There is a pause after the dependent clause. Here are some examples:

(28a)  an piʃaaʔ ?aanu kapaa, ohaʔin aana  
      a=in  piʃaa-ʔ  ?an-u  kapaa,  
    instead.of=1     water-DAT     go-DP.IPF     instead.of  
  oha-ʔ=in  an-a  
    fodder-DAT=1     go-IPF.FUT  
  ‘Instead of going to fetch water, I will go collect fodder.’

(28b)  aʔ ?essi ?antu kapaa, aye muki ka parree paraan kedi  
      a=iʔ  essi  an-t-u  kapaa,  aye  
    instead.of=2     this.time     go-2-DP.IPF     instead.of     here  
  muk-i  ka  parree  paraa-n  
    sleep-IMP.SG  and  tomorrow  morning-INST  
  kedi  
    go.in.the.morning-IMP.SG  
  ‘Instead of going home at this time (of the day), spend the night here and go (there) tomorrow early in the morning.’

The alternative clause which is expressed by the use of the infinitive/verbal noun and kapaa requires the word wooy- ‘be preferable’ in the main clause. The verb root in the illustrative example in (29a) occurs with the infinitive suffix -iya, while the one in (29b) occurs with a verbal nominal suffix -taa.

(29a)  urmalaapa aaniya kapaa diluppupa aaniyaa wooyyi  
      urmala-a-opa  an-iya  kapaa  dila-oppupa  
    market-to  go-VN  instead.of  field-into  
  an-iya=i  wooy-y-i  
    go-INF=3     be.good-PF  
  ‘It is better to go to the field than to go to the market.’

(29b)  urmalaapa antaa kapaa diluppupa ʔaantaa wooyyi  
      urmala-a-opa  an-taa  kapaa  dila-oppupa  
    market-to  go-VN  instead.of  field-into  
  an-taa=i  wooy-y-i  
    go-VN=3     be.good-PF  
  ‘Going to the field is better than going to the market.’
It is possible for an infinitive and a verbal nominal to interchangeably occur in either clause. For example, in (30a), the first clause has an infinitive form while the second clause has a verbal nominal form. In (30b), the verbal nominal form occurs in the first clause while the infinitive form occurs in the second clause.

(30a)  urmalaapa aaniya kapaa dîluppupa aantaa woyyi
urmala-opa an-iy a kapaa dila-oppupa
market-to go-INF instead.of field-into

\[ an-taa = i \quad \text{woyy-i} \]
go-VN = 3 be.good-PF
‘To go to the field is better than going to the market.’

(30b)  urmalaapa aantaa kapaa dîluppupa aaniyaa woyyi
urmala-opa an-taa kapaa dila-oppupa
market-to go-VN instead.of field-into

\[ an-iy a = i \quad \text{woyy-i} \]
go-INF = 3 be.good-PF
‘Going to the field is better than to go to the market.’

12.4. Quotative clauses

Quoted clauses occur within the focus clause. They are headed by the verb \textit{kiɗ}-‘say’. The example in (31a) uses direct reporting whereas the one in (31b) has an indirect report.

(31a)  inataśiʔ ?inkalaye kiʔti
inata-siʔ  in=kal-ay=i  kiɗ-t-i
girl-DEF.M/F 1=return.home-PF[3M]=3 say-3F-PF
‘The girl said, “I came home.”’

(31b)  iʃeennaʔ ?iʃaʔ ?ikanlayee kiʔti
iʃeennaʔ  iʃaʔ  i=kal-ay=i
3SGF.PRO-NOM 3SGM.PRO-NOM 3=return.home-P = 3

\[ kiɗ-t-i = i \]
say-3F-PF = 3
‘She said that he had come home.’
13. Ideophones and interjections

This chapter describes the phonological and morphological characteristics as well as the metaphoric use of ideophones. It also presents the description and classification of interjections. Finally, it presents a brief description of greetings and leave-taking expressions.

13.1. Ideophones

All ideophones have closed syllables. Only short vowels occur in ideophones. Moreover, except for one instance (čumaf), all disyllabic ideophones have the same vowel in both syllables. In utterances, ideophones require the verb root kiɗ- ‘say’ to which inflectional as well as derivational suffixes are attached. For example, some ideophones occur only with the verb stem kiɗ-ʃ- ‘cause to say’ < kidʃ- say-DCAUS-> (see sentential examples in (5)). Ideophones denote a verbal action as well as the manner in which the action is done. In the following sub-sections, I present the phonological templates of ideophones, reduplication in ideophones, verbal and nominal derivations in ideophones and the metaphoric use of ideophones.

13.1.1. Phonological templates

Konso ideophones fall into CVC or CVCVC templates. The ideophones in (1) have a CVC template. Note that the lexical meanings of some ideophones appear similar but that in use there is subtle differences that distinguish their meanings.

(1) pas  ‘to detach, break away; scatter’
    pos  ‘to break into two pieces; emit light suddenly’
    poʃ  ‘to break (e.g. head, calabash with water)’
    pap  ‘to hit with a flat thing’
    piw  ‘to disappear’
    pup  ‘to blow’
    padf ‘to hit slightly’
    paf  ‘to crash’
    paʃ  ‘to break (e.g. calabash); bite into fatty meat’
    pedf ‘to hit slightly’
    pec  ‘to explode’
    paw  ‘to fire a gun’
    niɓ  ‘to hit heavily’
    nic  ‘to choke’
    maʃ  ‘to bite or smash a fatty thing’
    moʃ  ‘to bite or smash a fatty thing’
    maʄ  ‘to step heavily on something’
    moχ  ‘to give a knock on the head’
miʃ ‘to urinate little due to fear, etc.’
moc ‘to knock on the head with the hand’
faʃ ‘to splash’
ful ‘to run away suddenly from a hideout’
ful ‘to swell lightly’
faɓ ‘to kiss’
fim ‘to stand firmly’
ʃir ‘to get out, shoot fast (e.g. snake, spear)’
ʃir ‘to slide’
ful ‘to give sharp smoke; have a sharp cough’
kir ‘to shock; shiver’
kaʃ ‘to have a feeling of sudden fear’
koʃ ‘to drop or step into dry fallen leaves’
kaʃ ‘to bite little; cut little’
kiw ‘to be stunned’
hin ‘to buzz’
lus ‘to insert easily; enter quickly’
las ‘to insert easily’
liɓ ‘to extinguish’
ɓaɓ ‘to kick’
ɓir ‘to become erect (e.g. penis); protrude from overeating (of the belly)’
ɓar ‘to break a piece of cloth at once’
tul ‘to fire a gun’
tiŋ ‘to hit with a fist’
tiŋ ‘to hit with a fist; fire a gun’
toŋ ‘to drip’
tuŋ ‘to pour fluid’
tiŋ ‘to gunshot; drop something heavy’
caw ‘to hit with something hard’
cɛŋ ‘to be naughty’
waŋ ‘to hit something dry with a stick or piece of stone’
wad ‘to hit something’
wac ‘to hit with stone or a small stick’
waŋ ‘to slap’
war ‘to slap’
waf ‘to hit with a thin stick’
waŋ ‘to open wide (e.g. legs)’
was ‘to open eyes widely and suddenly’
das ‘to cut/break into two pieces’
dub ‘to lash’
duf ‘to shrink slowly’
dif ‘to give a mild but quick pain’
daŋ ‘to give a mild but quick pain’
daŋ ‘to shoot with a stone; hit with stick’
The following ideophones have the CVCVC template.

(2)  kalaw ‘to roll over’
     kaʃar ‘to bite little’
     kiliw ‘to roll over’
     koʃor ‘to clink’
     kosobuf ‘to hop’
     makal ‘to slip through hand’
     micor ‘to be difficult to catch’
     mucutur ‘to be difficult to crush with the teeth’
     medek ‘to become weak after being stiff’
     moxoɓ ‘to become lame’
     ʃicir ‘to change position swiftly’
     ʃipir ‘to twist; wind quickly’
     ʃakar ‘to jump/run lightly’
     pifiw ‘to clink’
     pilif ‘to flash light’
     pikir ‘to faint and drop on the ground’
     ʃalaw ‘to become pale’
     ʃumaɓ ‘to become crooked’
     ʃapaf ‘to splash’
     ʃopof ‘to dip into water’
     ʃocor ‘to kick on the buttocks’
     ʃucur ‘to pull out tooth, piece of rock’
     futaf ‘to overflow’
     futuk ‘to suddenly run out in an ambush’
     ɲakar ‘to scratch with claws; shallow bite by animals’
     tukur ‘to snatch; take with force’
     hapar ‘to jump into a conversation’

A prolonged act of the ideophones with the CVC template is expressed by prolonging the articulation of the final consonant of the ideophone. The final consonants are continuants. Examples:

(3)  hurrr ‘to make a continuous sound (e.g. by a thrown stone)’
     ʃorr ‘to flow (pour) uninterruptedly’
     ʃuʃʃ ‘to shrink slowly’
     lusss ‘to get inserted steadily’
     ʃulll ‘to blow sharp smoke continuously’
     himn ‘to buzz around’

There are also ideophones with CV₁C₂C₂V₁C₂C₂V₁C₂,… template. These ideophones show motion of many people or things. Also, sometimes the flow of floods is expressed with these ideophones.
13.1.2. Reduplication in ideophones

The ideophones we have seen in (1) and (2) show two types of reduplication: full and partial. Reduplication in ideophones expresses the intensity or repetition of the action expressed.

Both the CVC (5a-b) and CVCVC (5c-d) templates may show full reduplication.

(5a)  
\[ \text{moχ moχ kiʔʃi} \]
\[ \text{moχ moχ kid-f-i} \]
\[ \text{IDEO IDEO say-DACUS-IMP.SG} \]
\[ \text{‘Knock on it a couple of times!’} \]

(5b)  
\[ \text{timpaasinit tiw tiwee kiʔni} \]
\[ \text{timpaa-siniʔ tiw tiw=i kid-ni} \]
\[ \text{drum-DEF.P IDEO IDEO=3 say-IPF.PRES} \]
\[ \text{‘The drum is being beaten.’} \]

(5c)  
\[ \text{ʃalootaasik kalaw kalaw kiʔʃi} \]
\[ \text{ʃaloota-asiʔ kalaw kalaw kid-f-i} \]
\[ \text{thread-DEM.M/F IDEO IDEO say-DCAUS-IMP.SG} \]
\[ \text{‘Roll this thread!’} \]

The following ideophone occurs only in the reduplicated form:

(6)  
\[ \text{kuʃ kuʃ} \]
\[ \text{‘to murmur’} \]

Partial reduplication is found only in disyllabic ideophones. There are two interesting aspects of partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones: first, the part of the ideophone that is reduplicated and, second, the direction of reduplication. In disyllabic ideophones, it is the CVC syllable of the CVCVC that is reduplicated, and the direction of reduplication is rightwards. This rightward reduplication is in opposition to the reduplication pattern in verbs (6.1.5) and adjectives (7.2). Below are demonstrative examples:
(7)  
kalawlaw from kalaw ‘to roll over’  
miciricir from micir ‘to be difficult to catch’  
medekdek from medek ‘to become weak after being stiff’  
pfiwpiw from pfiw ‘to clink’  
cufumafaf from cufuma ‘to become crooked’

Dhoorre and Tosco (1998:127) have also reported the rightward reduplication of the CV part of the second syllable in Somali ideophones.

Disyllabic ideophones make semantic distinctions when they are derived or underived. These are shown below:

- Simple (underived) disyllabic ideophones indicate a single (punctual) action (8a);
- Full reduplication of disyllabic ideophones indicates that the action is done randomly or at a longer duration due to the size (big) or weight (heavy) of an object (8b);
- Partial reduplication in disyllabic ideophones indicates that the action is done very quickly. It shows a sense of urgency or small size or light weight (8c).

(8a)  
kalaw  
IDEO  
‘Roll over’

(8b)  
kalaw kalaw  
IDEO  IDEO  
‘roll over and over’

(8c)  
kalaw-law  
IDEO-RDP  
‘roll over and over very quickly’

The following ideophone makes four semantic distinctions on the basis of reduplication and gemination.

(9)  
piliif ‘a spark of light (e.g. lightning, gunfire)’  
piliif piliif ‘a few sparks of light or at some intervals’  
piliifpiliif ‘sparks of light at a fast rate’  
pilliif ‘a spark of light for a brief duration’
13.1.3. Verbal derivation in ideophones

Some ideophones can be transitivised by adding the causative suffix -ʃ. The addition of the causative suffix geminates the final consonant of the ideophone. The following are illustrative examples:

(10)  
tiwiʃ  ‘to drop something heavy; fire a gun’
niɓɓiʃ  ‘to hit drop something heavy’
niʛʛiʃ  ‘to hit very hard’
wahhiʃ  ‘to slap’
waʄʄiʃ  ‘to hit with a small stick’
ɓaɓɓiʃ  ‘to hit heavily’
fulliʃ  ‘to make leave a hideout’

Ideophones can also be transitivised by adding the causative suffix to the accompanying verb kɗ- ‘say’. This is exemplified in (11).

(11a) tiw kɗʃi
    tiw     kɗ-f-i
    IDEO    say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
    ‘Drop it (on the group)!’
    ‘(You (SG)) Shoot it!’
    tiw ‘to drop something heavy; gunshot’

(11b) kalaw kɗʃi
    kalaw   kɗ-f-i
    IDEO    say-DCAUS-IMP.SG
    ‘(You (SG)) Make it roll!’
    kalaw ‘to roll over’

The verb root kɗ- ‘to say’ may occur with more than one derivational suffix. For instance, in the following example, it occurs with the causative and the middle suffixes.

(12a) tul kɗsadu
    tul     kɗ-f-ɗ-u
    IDEO    say-DCAUS-MID-IMP.SG
    ‘(You (SG)) Smoke it for yourself!’
    tul ‘to fire a gun’

13.1.4. Nominal derivation in ideophones

Nominals may be derived from ideophones. For disyllabic ideophones, the nominal derivation involves the reduplication of the CVC before adding a nominal suffix. The nominal suffixes are -a (M/F) and -aa(P). The following are illustrative examples.
13.1.5. Metaphoric use of ideophones

Some ideophones are also used metaphorically in Konso. Below, I give some illustrative examples:

(14a) inantaasiw waa a ʃakkaaʄ chúmAf kiʔni
     inanta-asIployment waa a ʃakk-aaʔ chúmwaʄ kiɗ-ni
     girl-DEM.M/F thing REL be.small-P on=3
     chúmAf  kid-ni
     IDEO say-IPF.PRES
     ‘The girl gets angry with anything small.’
     chúmAf ‘to crook’

(14b) ʃimaytasik kalawee kiďay
     ʃimayta-siʔ kalaw=i kid-ay
     old.man-DEF.M/F IDEO=3 say-PF
     ‘The old man died suddenly.’
     kalaw ‘to roll over’

(14c) ʃimaytasit torraasinee a feyyaaʔe ʃipir kiʔʃay
     ʃimayta-siʔ torraa-sine a
     old.man-DEF.M/F discussion-DEF.P REL
     feyyaaʔ=i ʃipir kiɗ-ʃ-ay
     well-DAT=3 IDEO say-DCAUS-PF
     ‘The old man spoiled a healthy discussion.’
     ʃipir ‘to twist quickly’

(14d) waasiniʔ ʔipoʃ kiʔʃay
     waa-siniʔ i=poʃ kiď-ay
     thing-DEF.P 3=IDEO say-DCAUS-PF
     ‘He disclosed the secret.’
     poʃ ‘to break’

(14e) sereerutaam f̌ir kiʔni
     sereeruta-a kamma-n f̌ir kid-ni
     diarrhoea behind-PATH IDEO say-IPF.PRES
     ‘He is having explosive diarrhoea.’
     f̌ir ‘to get out fast’
"Their familyhood collapsed.

13.2. Interjections

Following Ameka (1992), I classify Konso interjections into three: expressive interjections, conative interjections and phatic interjections.

13.2.1. Expressive interjections

Expressive interjections express the speaker’s emotions or sensations at the time of utterance. Below, I provide translations and, where possible, the contexts in which they are used. However, I do not claim that the contexts of use mentioned here are complete.

(15) haa(?ee)/hinee(yyee) ‘What happened was that…..’
‘What I want to say is that…..’
‘The case is that…..’

weʔe ‘Oh, my goodness!’
‘Oh, really!?’

ay(χay) ‘I am disgusted by that.’
‘I am serious/Come what may.’

iɸɸ ‘It stinks (of a fart or bad smell).’

uh ‘It’s painful/hurting.’
‘It’s heavy.’
‘I feel tired.’

aayyi ‘Ouch!’ (< aayyaa ‘mother’ >)

huu ‘Wow!’
‘It’s incredible!’

atum ‘I disapprove it (used by women).’
‘Shut up (used by women)!

waappu ‘I do not believe you.’
‘It’s surprising!’

uu(h) ‘It is very great.’
‘It is very difficult.’
The following are illustrative examples:

(16a)  uu inansiʔ ?ikokkooki
           inanta-asiʔ  i=kokkook-i
    INTERJ girl-DEM.M/F   3 = be.strong-PF
     ‘Wow, this girl is strong!’

(16b)  uu aappoosiʔ ?ineeʛi
           aappaa-osiʔ  i=neeʛ-i
    INTERJ father-DEM.M/F 3 = be.bad-PF
     ‘Oh, this man is dangerous!’

The following is a phrasal expressive interjection:

(17)  awwee deʔta (ha)
        awwi=i   dey-t-a (ha)
    today=3  come-3F-IPF.FUT (INTERJ)
     ‘I’m telling you that I did not do it.’
     ‘It’s unbelievable.’
      (lit.: It will come today.)

13.2.2. Conative interjections

The conative interjection used as a response to calls is ee ‘yes!’. It is used equally by all people irrespective of age, gender and social status.

Conative interjections that demand an action from the hearer are expressed by the verb root diji- ‘to stop’. They are like imperatives, distinguishing singular hearer and plural hearer.

(18)  diji   ‘You (SG) stop what you are doing!’
     dija   ‘You (PL) stop what you are doing!’

The following interjections are used to present something to someone:

(19)  hindo  ‘You (SG), here you are!’
     hinda  ‘You (PL), here you are!’

The verb root cip- ‘hold, catch’ is also used as a presentational expression as shown below:

(20)  aya desa cip-i
        aye-opa    desa    cip-i
    here-to    there    hold-IMP.SG
     ‘You (SG), here you are!’
The other type of conative interjection is that used to summon or disperse animals. The following are used to summon animals:

(21)  
- **heeʃ** call to a dog  
- **tuktuktuk** call to chicken  
- **meʔeʔeʔ** call to a goat  
- **maʔaʔaʔ** call to a sheep  
- **aturr** call to a cat < aturraata ‘cat’>  
- **ump”aaa** call to a cow/ox/bull

The following conative interjections, in contrast, are used to disperse or chase animals:

(22)  
- **saay** to disperse birds  
- **enacʃ** to chase away a sheep  
- **lacʃ** to chase away a ram  
- **usuk** to chase away a goat  
- **ussʃ** to chase away goats/sheep  
- **heecc** to chase away cows/oxen  
- **ʃok** to chase away (a) donkey(s)  
- **luk** to disperse chickens < lukkalitta ‘chicken’>  
- **tapay** to chase away (a) rat(s) < tapayta ‘rat’>  
- **kut** to chase away a dog < kuta ‘dog’

13.2.3. Phatic interjections

The following expression is used to welcome someone who arrives from the field, a market or a trip.

(23) **okaadu** ‘welcome!’

The following phatic interjection is used to reject what someone has said and indicate that the addressee is expected to stop talking about the subject.

(24) **ef** ‘I am disgusted by what you said and I want you to stop talking about this’

13.3. Greetings and leave-taking expressions

13.3.1. Greetings

In this section, general greetings and leave-taking expressions are discussed. General greetings, greetings used in the morning, during the daytime, in the evening and greetings used upon entering someone’s compound/house are presented.
The interrogative word atta ‘how?’ is used in most greetings.

General greetings are expressed with the words nakaytaa ‘health, peace’ and atta ‘how?’. These words may be used separately or in combination. The verb root japaad- ‘be strong’ is also used in general greetings. Interrogative suffixes are added to nakaytaa or to japaad-. Moreover, rising intonation is used. There are two words that are used as a polite form of greeting between men: innayti and sakni. These words are used only with nakaytaa ‘health, peace’ or atta ‘how?’.

The following are the most common/general greetings in Konso:

(25a)  nakaytaa
       health.Q
       ‘How are you?’
       (lit.: Is it peace/health?)

(25b)  nakaytaa-wwee
       health-only.Q
       ‘How are you?’
       (lit.: Is it only peace/health?)

(25c)  atta  nakaytaa
       how    health.Q
       ‘How are you?’

(25d)  atta  nakaytaa-wwee
       how    health-only.Q
       ‘How are you?’
       (lit.: Is it only peace/health?)

(25e)  iffapaannee
       $i?=japaad-ni=e$
       2=be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
       ‘How are you?’
       (lit.: Are you (SG) strong?)

(25f)  atta  iffapaannee
       atta    $i?=japaad-ni=e$
       how     2=be.strong-IPF.PRES-Q
       ‘How are you?’

(25g)  nakaytaa  sakni
       health   my.friend.M
       ‘How are you doing, my friend?’
Proper names may also occur in greetings. They may occur sentence-initially as in (26) or finally as in (27).

(26a) kappooli atta
    kappoole how
    ‘Kappoole, how are you?’

(26b) kappooli nakaytaa-wwee
    kappoole health-only.Q
    ‘Kappoole, how are you doing?’

(26c) kappooli atta nakaytaa-wwee
    kappoole how health-only.Q
    ‘Kappoole, how are you doing?’

(27a) atta Kappooli
    how Kappoole
    ‘How are you, Kappoole?’

(27b) nakaytaa-wwee Kappooli
    health-only.Q Kappoole
    ‘How are you doing, Kappoole?’

(27c) atta nakaytaa-wwee Kappooli
    how health-only.Q Kappoole
    ‘How are you doing, Kappoole?’

Greetings used when entering someone’s compound/house are expressed using the noun hallaa ‘children’. The plural gender vocative suffix -y is added to hellaa. The word hellaa may be used alone as in (28a) or with the greeting forms of the time of the day of conversation, as in (28b-d).

(28a) hellaa-y
    children-VOC.P
    ‘Hi everyone!’ (i.e. Is there anybody there?)

(28b) hellaa-y iχχaʔtinee
      hellaa-y 2=χaʔ-t-i-n-ee
      children-VOC.P 2=stand.up-2-PF-P-Q
      ‘Hi everyone! Good morning.’
In the above examples, *hellaay* occurs initially. However, it is equally possible to have it finally, as in (29).

(29a)  

\[ iʔʔaʔtinee \ hellaay \]
\[ iʔ=ʔaʔ-t-i-n-ee \ hella-y \]
\[ 2=\text{stand.up-2-PF-PL-Q} \ \text{children-VOC.P} \]
\[ \text{‘Good morning everyone.’} \]

(29b)  

\[ iʔʔooltinee \ hellaay \]
\[ iʔ=ʔool-t-i-n-ee \ hella-y \]
\[ 2=\text{spend.day-2-PF-PL-Q} \ \text{children-VOC.P} \]
\[ \text{‘Good afternoon/evening everyone.’} \]

The following greeting expression is also used when entering someone’s compound/house. It usually implies that the person entering the compound/house has not visited the addressee(s) for some time.

(30)  

\[ \text{hella-y} \ maanak \ koʔnittan \]
\[ maana=iʔ \ koɗ-ti-ttan \]
\[ \text{children-VOC.P} \ \text{what=2} \ \text{do-IPF.PRES-PL} \]
\[ \text{‘Hello! What are you doing?’} \]
\[ \text{(lit.: Hi, children! What are you in?)} \]

Greetings in the morning involve the verb root *χaʔ*- ‘rise’. The following are illustrative examples.

(31a)  

\[ iʔʔaʔtinee \]
\[ iʔ=ʔaʔ-t-i-n-ee \]
\[ 2=\text{rise-2-PF-PL-Q} \]
\[ \text{‘Good morning.’} \]
\[ \text{(lit.: Did you (PL) rise?)} \]
Greetings require knowledge of social relationships for addressing people. These terms appear in their vocative form and may occur sentence-initially or finally.

The following are illustrative examples:

(33a) aappu atta nakaytaa father.VOC.M/F how health ‘How are you doing, daddy?’

(33b) atta nakaytaa-wee aappu how health-only.Q father.VOC ‘How are you, daddy?’

(33c) aappu atta nakaytaa-w-ee father.VOC how health-only-Q ‘Daddy, how are you?’
Both *inanta* ‘girl’ and *tuparaa/tuparra* ‘girls’ may be used as vocatives when addressing a girl that someone does not know by name. However, the use of *inanta* ‘girl’ implies impoliteness or contempt, as in (34a), whereas *tuparaa/tuparra* ‘girls’ carries with it politeness, as in (34b). When the addressee is plural (girls), then, the plural vocative marker -y is added to *tuparaa/tuparra* ‘girls’, as shown in (34c).

(34a) **inanta, tika a Ongayi aχaamu**  
girl  house  POSS  Ongaye  which  
‘Hey, girl! Which house is Ongaye’s?’

(34b) **tuparaa, tika a Ongayi aχaamu**  
girls  house  POSS  Ongaye  which  
‘Hey, girl! Which house is Ongaye’s?’

(34c) **tuparraa-y tika a Ongayi aχaamu**  
girls-VOC.PL  house  POSS  Ongaye  which  
‘Hey, girls! Which house is Ongaye’s?’

The plural *tuparradɗaa < tuparraa* ‘girls’ > is used to praise a girl who has done a good job. Similarly, *hamiyadɗaa < hamiya* ‘male child’, *hamiyyaa* ‘male children’ > is used to praise a boy who has done something very well. In both cases, the plural morpheme -ɗɗaa does not express plurality in these uses. In the following example, after hearing the report of the daughter that she fetched water twice (35a) the mother praises her daughter as in (35b).

(35a) **aayyee! pijaaasinil lakkin ooray**  
aayyee!  pijaa-sinlt  lakki=in  oor-ay  
mammy!  water-DEF.P  two=1  return-PF[3M]  
‘Hi Mammy! I fetched the water twice.’

(35b) **tuparradɗaa**  
girls  
‘Well done!’

When entering into somebody’s house, the use of the plural vocative suffix -y is added to *hellaa* ‘children’ < *hellaa-y* ‘children-VOC.PL’ > ‘Hey! Anybody there?’ is the most common form to ask if there is anybody there in the house or to let a family member(s) know that you are coming in. The word *toola* ‘family’ is also common in this context but it does not occur with the vocative suffix.
13.3.2. Leave-taking

We distinguish a short and long/indefinite time leave-taking. The short time leave-taking is for the day of conversation or a few days after that. Such leave-taking can further be divided into a daytime and an evening/night time of the day of conversation. The verb root ool- ‘spend day(s)’ is used in leave-taking. The word nakaytaa ‘health, peace’ is used with the instrumental case suffix -n(n) accompanying the verb root ool.

The following are examples of leave-taking during the daytime:

(36a)  
oolə
ool-n-a
spend.day-1PL-OPT
‘Have a good day.’
(lit.: ‘May we have a good day.’)

(36b)  
nakaytaa ooolə
nakayta-n ool-n-a
health-INST spend.day-1PL-OPT
‘Have a good day!’
(lit.: ‘May we spend the day with health/peace!’)

The following are examples of leave-taking in the evening/night:

(37a)  
muk-n-a
sleep-1PL-OPT
‘May we sleep.’

(37b)  
nakaytaa muk-n-a
health-INST sleep-1PL-OPT
‘May we sleep in peace!’
(lit.: ‘May we sleep with health!’)

The following are leave-taking for a longer period:

(38a)  
oppa ooolə
oppa ool-n-a
in spend.day-1PL-OPT
‘May you have a good day.’

(38b)  
oppa ɗaaʔi-n-a
in sit.down-1PL-OPT
‘May you stay in peace.’
Enquiring the well-being of somebody else is expressed by mentioning the name of the person whose well-being is requested, followed by the postpositional phrase maanaappaa <maana-oppaa what-in> and the existential verb root kiy-. Examples:

(39a)  kappoolim maanaappaa ca
       kappooli-ʔ maana-oppaa=i kiy-a
kappoole-NOM what-in=3 be-IPF.PRES
‘How is kappoole doing?’
(lit.: What is kappoole in?)

(39b)  hellaatti maanaappaa can
       hellaa-tti maana-oppaa=i
children-2SG.POSS.P what-in=3
kiy-a-n
be-IPF.FUT-P
‘How are your children?’
(lit.: What are your children in?)
14. Texts

In this chapter, I provide two transcribed and glossed stories. The first text is the story Teekoole’s son’s bag, and the second is a story about a second wife. In both texts I use a four-line transliteration: in the first line I represent the Konso sentence as it is recorded, in the second line I indicate morpheme boundaries, in the third line I give translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes, in the fourth line I give a free translation of the whole sentence. Both stories were told by my grandmother.

14.1. Text 1: polaa a innaá Teekoolí¹⁴

Teekoole’s Son’s Bag

001 χattaa kiʔni ka innaa Teentooli ifuʔ ?innaa Teekooli ka ollin okkaá dawwini.
   χatta=i   kid-ni   ka   innaá
   long.time.ago=3   say-IPF.PRES   and   child.GEN

   a   Teentooli   ifuʔ   innaa   a   Teekooli
   GEN   Teentoole   and   child.GEN   GEN   Teekoole

   ka   okkaá=i   olli-n   daww-ni.
   and   cattle.ACC=3   together-INST   herd-IPF.PRES

‘It is said that long time ago, a child of a rich family and a child of a poor family herded cattle together.’

002 innaá Teekoole polaá çapanne kiini.
   innaá   a   Teekooli   polaá=3
   child.GEN   GEN   Teekoole   bag.ACC=3

   çap-a-n=i   kid-ni.
   have-IPF.FUT-P=3   say-IPF.PRES

‘It is said that the poor family’s child had a bag.’

003 oo kayti kuyyaʔta takkaaayye, innaá Teentooli ka innaá Teekoolik kidaye, ‘aani ka okkayaa oorf!’
   oo   kay-t-i   kuyyaʔta   takka-ayye,
   when   reach-3F-PF   day   one.F-BKGRD

   innaá   Teentooli   ka   innaá
   child.GEN   Teentoole   and   child.GEN

¹⁴ The major characters in this story are Teekoole’s son and Teentoole’s son. The word teekoole is derived from the verb root teek- ‘to be poor’ whereas the word teentoole is derived from the noun teenta/teyanta ‘wealth’.
‘One day, Teentoole’s boy ordered Teekoole’s boy, saying, “Go and drive the cattle back!”’

‘Then Teekoole’s son said to Teentoole’s son, “I will drive the cattle back but hold my bag and let me go and drive [them] back.”’

‘When Teekoole’s boy returned, he said to the rich family’s child, “Give my bag back!”’
ikiine innaá Teentooli ka kinee ‘ayen can.’
\[i = \text{ki-}d-ni-e\]
innaá a Teentooli
\[3 = \text{say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD child.GEN GEN Teentoole}\]
ka kid-ni-e ‘aye=in
and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD here = 3NEG
kiy-a-n.’
be-IPF.FUT-P
‘It is said that Teentoole’s boy said, ‘It is not here.’’

And [Teekoole’s son] said, “Where has it gone?”

Then, Teekoole’s son got angry and ran to Orrota’s house.’

‘Orrota! Orrota!’
[And he said,] Orrota! Orrota!’

‘And [the Orrota] said “Yes!”’
ikka kinee ‘χoooyee talaá Teentooli poki poki.’

*ikkakid-ni-e ‘χoooy-i-e*

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD come-IMP.SG-BKGRD

talaá a Teentooli pok-i

goats.GEN GEN Teentoole shoot.PL-IMP.SG

*pok-i.*

shoot.PL-IMP.SG

‘And he said, “Come and shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats!”’

014

Orrotak kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kodín?’

*Orrotan’ikkakid-ni-e ‘opa Teentooli*

Orrotan-NOM say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole

maanaa kod-i-n?’

what do-PF-P

‘Orrotan said, “What have Orrotan and his mates done?”’

015

ikka kiinee ‘ɲolaa innaá Teekoolee paʃín.’

*ikka ‘ɲolaa a innaá*

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD child.GEN

Teekooli=i paʃ-i-n.’

Teekoole=3 lose-PF-P

‘And he said, “He has lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

016

ikka kiinee ‘intitay.’

*ikkaki=di-ni-e ‘in=tiit-ay.*

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1=refuse-PF[3M]

‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

017

ikiinee ikka a Apittaʔ ʔopa keeray ka ‘Apitta! Apitta!’ kiday

*i=ikkakid-ni-e ikka a Apitta-ʔ*

3=say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD and.3 GEN fire-LOC

opa keer-ay ka ‘Apitta! Apitta!’ kid-ay

to run[SG]-PF[3M] and Fire! Fire say-PF[3M]

‘And he ran to Fire’s house and said, “Fire! Fire!”’

018

ikka kiinee ‘Ooy. Ooy.’

*ikkaki-di-ni-e ‘Ooy. Ooy.*

and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Yes! Yes!

‘And [the fire] said, “Yes! Yes!”’
And he said, “Come and burn Orroota’s house!”

And he said, “What has Orroota done?”

And he said, “They refused to shoot Teentoole’s goats.”

And he said, “What have Tentool and his mates done?”

And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”
And again, he ran to Water.

‘Water! Water!’

And the water said “Yes!”

And Teekoole’s son said, ‘Come and extinguish Fire!’

And the water said, “What has the fire done?”

And the water said, “What has the fire done?”

And Teekoole’s son said, ‘Come and extinguish Fire!’

‘And again, he ran to Water.’
‘And he said, “He refused to burn Orroota’s house.”’

031 ikka kinee ‘Orroota maanaa koʔti?’

And.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what = 3

koɗ-t-i?’
do-3F-PF
‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’

032 ikka kinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’

And.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN
talaá a Teentooli shoot-INF refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “He refused to shoot Teentooli’s son’s goats.”’

033 ikka kinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa koɗin?’

And.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS rich

maana = i koɗ-i-n?’
what = 3 do-PF-P
‘And he said, ‘What have Teentole and his mates done?’’

034 ikka kinee ‘polinnaá Teekoolee paffin.’

And.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innáá Teekoole = i loss-PF-P
‘And he said, “They have lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

035 ikka kinee ‘intiitay.’

And.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1 refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

036 ikka keerew.

And.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
‘And he ran again.’
'Arpa! Arpa!'  
Elephant! Elephant!

And he said, "Yes!"

Come and sip up Water at once!

What has Water done?

It has refused to extinguish Fire.

He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.

What has Fire done?
kof-t-i?'
do-3F-PF
‘And he said, “What has Orroota done?”’

045 ikka kiinee ‘talaá Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’
    ikka     kid-ni-e     ‘talaá
and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN

GEN Teentoolo shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “He has refused to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.”’

046 ikka kiinee ‘opa Teentooli maanaa kofin?’
    ikka     kid-ni-e     ‘opa Teentooli
and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoolo

maana =i     kof-i-n?’
what =3 do-PF-P
‘And he said, “What have Teentoole and his mates done?”’

047 ikka kiinee ‘ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paʃʃin.’
    ikka     kid-ni-e     ‘ɲolaaʔ a
and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN

innáá     Teekooli=i     paʃʃ-i-n.’
child.GEN Teekoole =3 loss-PF-P
‘And he said, “They lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

048 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.’
    ikka     kid-ni-e     ‘in=tiit-ay.’
and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1 = refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

049 ikka a Kolaltaʔ ?opa keerayew ka kiinee ‘Kolalta! Kolalta!’
    ikka     a Koлатa-ʔ     opa keer-ay-ew
and.3 GEN Acacia-LOC to run[SG]-PF[3M]-again

    ka     kid-ni-e     ‘Kolalta! Koлатa!’
and   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Acacia! Acacia!
‘And he ran to Acacia’s’ house, and said, “Acacia! Acacia!”’

050 ikka kiinee ‘eel’
    ikka     kid-ni-e     ‘eel’
and.3   say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD yes
‘And he said “Yes!”’
‘χοού γα Άρπα χαράπ πιʔι πιʔι.’
Come-IMP.SG and Elephant on-LOC

‘ςιή έ-γα Άρπα χαρά.’
fall-IMP.SG fall-IMP.SG
‘Come and fall on Elephant!’

052 ikka kiínee ‘Άρπα μαναα κοδάε?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant what = 3

koɗ-ay?’
do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Elephant done?”’

053 ikka kiínee ‘ςίρκαν πιʔαά ςιιββιιάα ςιιτ-αύ.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD trunk-INST

‘ςιή άν-γα ςιιββ-γα = 3 ςιιτ-αύ.’
water.ACC sip-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He said, “He refused to sip up Water.”’

054 ikka kiínee ‘Πιʔάα μαναα κοδίν?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Water what = 3 do-PF-P

‘What has Water done?’

055 ikka kiínee ‘Απίττα λιιββίισσαα ςιιτ-ιν.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire

‘λιιββ-ν-τα = 3 ςιιτ-ιν-γα.’
extinguish-DCAUS-VN=3 refuse-PF-P
‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’

056 ikka kiínee ‘Απίττα μαναα κοδάε?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Fire what = 3

koɗ-ay?’
do-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “What has Fire done?”’
‘manoorrootak kupiyaa tiitay.’
‘mana a Orroota-ʔ kup-iya = i tiit-ay.’
house GEN Orroota-GEN burn-VN=3 refuse-PF[3M]
‘He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.’

058 ikka kiinee ‘Orroota maanaa koʔti?’
 ikka kid-ni-e ‘Orroota maana = i kod-t-i?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Orroota what=3 do-3F-PF
‘And he said, “What have the Orroota done?”’

059 ikka kiinee ‘talaā Teentooli pokiyaa tiitti.’
 ikka kid-ni-e ‘talaā
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD goats.GEN
a Teentooli pok-iyaa tiit-t-i.’
gen. Tentoolo shoot-VN refuse-3F-PF
‘And he said, “He refused to shoot Teekoole’s son’s goats.”’

060 ikka kiinee ‘opa teentooli maanaa kodîn?’
 ikka kid-ni-e ‘opa Teentooli
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ASS Teentoole
maana = i kod-i-n?’
what=3 do-PF-P
‘And he said, “What have Teentoole and his mates done?”’

061 ikka kiinee ‘ɲolinnaá Teekoolee paffîn.’
 ikka kid-ni-e ‘ɲolaa a
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD bag GEN
innaá Teekooli = i paff-i-n.’
child.GEN Teekoole=3 loss-PF-P
‘And he said, “They lost Teekoole’s son’s bag.”’

062 ikka kiinee ‘intiitay.
 ikka kid-ni-e ‘in = tiit-ay.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD 1 = refuse-PF[3M]
‘And he said, “[Sorry] I am not coming.”’

067 ikka keerayew.
 ikka keer-ay-ew.
and.3 run[SG]-PF[3M]-again
‘And he ran again.’
‘Kurʃa! ‘Kurʃa!’
Rat! Rat!’

ikka kiinee ‘ee’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD ‘yes!’
‘And the rat said, “Yes!”’

‘χooyi ka Kolalta kelaa hittinnaa čtuuri čtuuri!’
‘χooy-i ka Kolalta kela-a hittinnaa čtuur-i čtuur-il’
come-IMP.SG and Acacia under-LOC roots cut[PL]-IMP.SG cut[PL]-IMP.SG ‘Come and cut roots from Acacia!’

ikka kiinee ‘Kolalta maanaa koday?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Acacia what = 3 ‘And he said, “What has Acacia done?”’

ikka kiinee ‘Arpa čarap piʔiyaa tiitay.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant on-LOC ‘And he said, “He has refused to fall on Elephant.”’

ikka kiinee ‘Arpa maanaa koday?’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD Elephant what = 3 ‘And he said, “What has Elephant done?”’

ikka kiinee ‘sirkan Piʃaá siiɓɓiyaa tiitay.’
and.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD trunk-INST
‘He said, “He refused to sip Water.”’

‘What has Water done?’

‘It has refused to extinguish Fire.’

‘What has Fire done?’

‘He has refused to burn Orroota’s house.’

‘[And he said,] “What has Orroota done?”’

‘He refused to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.’

‘He refused to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.’
And he said, “What have Teentoole and his mates done?”

And he said, “They lost the Teekole’s son’s bag.”

[And he said,] “I refuse to come.”

‘He ran again.’

Then, without asking what happened, the Vulture flew to hit Rat.’

‘Then, without asking what happened, the Vulture flew to hit Rat.’

And he said, “I refuse to come.”

‘They lost the Teekole’s son’s bag.”’

‘And he said, “We have asked Rat what happened.”’

‘Then, without asking what happened, the Vulture flew to hit Rat.’
paayy-ay.
start-PF[3M]
‘[Then] the rat ran and started cutting the Acacia’s roots.’

089 Kolalta tammacay ka Arpa tarpu.
Kolalta tammac-ay ka Arpa
Acacia be.afraid-PF[3M] and Elephant
tarpu-opa.
on-to
‘Acacia was afraid and began falling on Elephant’

090 ikiinee Arpa ka Pi'aa siiɓɓiyaapa.
i=kiɗ-ni-e Arpa ka Pi'aa
3=say-IPF.PRES Elephant and Water
siiɓɓ-iyaa-opa.
sip-VN-to
‘It is said that Elephant began going to sip Water.’

091 Pi'aa ka Apitta liɓɓissaapa.
Pi’aa ka Apitta liɓɓ-f-taa-opa
Water and fire extinguish-DCAUS-to
‘And Water [ran] to extinguish Fire.’

092 Apitta ka manoorrootak kupiyaapa.
Apitta ka mana a Orroota-ʔ kup-iyaa-opa
Fire and house GEN Orrota-GEN burn-VN-to
‘And Fire [ran] to burn Orrota’s house.’

093 Orroota ka tallaá Teentooli pokiyaapa.
Orroota-ʔ ka tallaá Teentooli
Orroota-NOM and goats.GEN Teentoole
pok-iyaa-opa
shoo[PL]-VN-to
‘[Then] Orroota [ran] to shoot Teentoole’s son’s goats.’

094 maanaa hasay oore?
maana=i has-ay oore?
what=3 remain-PF[3M] then
‘What is left, then?’

095 ɲolaá innaá Teekooli.
ɲola a innaá Teekooli
bag GEN child.GEN Teekoole
‘Teekoole’s son’s bag.’
Then, Teentoole’s son gave back Teekoole’s son’s bag.

‘Then Teekoole’s son took back his bag.’

‘It is here that this story ends.’
14.2. Text 2: Ahta a Lammootáʔ A Second Wife

001 χatta=ɪ kiɪnɪ ka, aappaa tokkakka ahawwaa lakkii faɗay.
χatta=ɪ kiɗ-ni ka, aappaa
long.time.ago = 3 say-IPF.PRES and husband
tokka-ɪkka ahawwaa lakkii faɗ-ay.
one.M-and.3 wives two = 3 marry-PF[3M]
‘A long time ago, there was a man who took two wives.’

002 oo ahawwaa lakkii fad-ay, ahta paayyutaa itoʔti.
oo ahawwaa lakkii fad-ay, ahta
when wives two marry-PF[3M] wife
a paayyuta i=toy-t-i.
GEN first 3 = die-3F-PF
‘Of the two wives, the first wife died.’

003 oo toʔti ooreeyye, ahta lammattak kuyyaʔta takkaayye
oo toy-t-i oore-eeyye ahta a
when die-3F-PF then-BKGRD wife GEN
lammattaʔ kuyyaʔta takka-eyye luʛʛisa=ɪ
second-GEN day one-BKGRD leather.skirt = 3
pidḍ-t-i.
buy-3F-PF
‘When she [the first wife] died, one day the second wife bought a leather skirt.’

004 luƈṟisa kideeta uwwaa parraa χattaayyee a χattaateeyyee akata kok-
kookkaa.
luƈṟisa kid-eeta uwwaa parraa
leather.skirt say-INF skirt years
a χatta-ayye akata kokkook-aaʔ.
GEN long.time.ago-BKGRD very strong-P
‘Many years ago leather skirt meant an expensive skirt.’

005 ee luƈṟisaɕip pidḍiti oorineeyye, maanaa koʔti, tupparaa maanaa koʔti,
tupparaa lakkii piŋaʔ ?erkiti.
When she bought the leather skirt, “what did she do?” She sent two girls to fetch water.

One was her daughter.

[And] one was a daughter of the deceased mother.
oppa ɕuɗ-t-i.
into pierce.PL-3F-PF
‘When they [the girls] were to go to fetch water, what she [the second wife] did was give her daughter a calabash without holes but she pierced holes in calabash of the daughter of the deceased mother.’

oo kulضاasiniɕ ɕuʔti kammaayyee, enantase a lammitteetak kirrup-pupa iʔanti iʔanti ka pijiaasin? ?oraapni ka oo immaktu ka ela ɕeetto, kammannee allit tutturɔmənni.

oo kulضاaa-siniʔ ɕuɗ-t-i kammaa-yyee,
when calabashes-DEF.P pierce-3F-PF after-BKGRD

enanta-si a lammitteetaʔ kirra-oppupa
girl-DEF.M/F GEN second.wife-GEN reiver-into

i=an-t-i ka pijia-sini oraap-ni
3=go-3F-PF and water-DEF.P fetch-IPF.PRES

ka oo immak-t-u ka dela ɕeet-t-o,
and when fill-3F-DP and up take-3F-DP

kamma-n=ɨ alliʔ tut-tucanad-ni.
behind-PATH=3 away PL-spill-IPF.PRES
‘The girl fetched the water and when she filled the calabashes and took them up, the calabashes leaked water from underneath.’

inansiχ ɕaadəi ooreeye kulضاaaɗi iʔimmakatti ka χaʔatti ka tayti.

inanta-siʔ ɕaadəi oore-eeyye
girl-DEF.M/F 3SG.POSS.M/F then-BKG

kulضاaa-adi ɨ=immak-af-t-i ka
calabashes-3SG.POSS.M/F 3=fill-MID-3F-PF and

ɕaad=t-i ka tay-t-i
run[SG]-3F-PF and go.away-3F-PF
‘Her daughter [however] filled her calabashes and ran and went away.’

ataakkaʔ ?iƙiitee ‘attan assi patta kala ka luƈƙẹsoosiɗ dapa?’

ataakkaʔ ɨ=kiʔ-t-i ‘atta = in assi
the.other.one-NOM 3=say-3F-PF how = 1 like.this
And the other said: “How can I go home without [fetching] water like this and lose the skin skirt?”

‘And the girl filled the calabashes again and again until it was dawn.’

‘When it was dawn, what did she do?’

‘There was an acacia tree near the river.’

‘In the acacia tree there were beehives.’

‘In the acacia tree there were beehives.’
'And then, she climbed the tree up and pulled the cover of one of the beehives up.'

'And then, she lay between the beehive and beehive cover.'

'A lion saw her when she was climbing up the tree.'

'A lion saw her when she was climbing up the tree.'
‘When she was asleep, the lion came and said, “Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you climb down?”

[And] the girl does not respond.’
'And the lion repeated saying, “Underneath is a beehive, above is a beehive cover. What is black in the middle? Shall I come up there or you come down?”

022

inanasiʔ ?umma oppa oorinnin kittu.
inan-ta-siʔ  umma  oppa
girl-DEF.M/F  at.all  into

oor-n-ni=in  kî-t-u.
return-DCAUS-IPF.PRES=3NEG  be-3F-NEG
'The girl does not respond at all.'

023

oore karmaasiʔ ?iʔela feyyaniya inantasîc âeedîya ka damtaʔi
oore  karmaa-siʔ  i=delâ
then  lion-DEF.M/F  3 = upward

feyyad-ni-kî-y-a  inanta-siʔ  âeed-iya
climb.up-IPF.PRES-be-IPF.FUT  girl-DEF.M/F  take-INF

ka  dam-taʔ?
and  eat-VN-DAT
'Then, the lion started climbing up in order to catch the girl and eat her.'

024

inanasiʔ ?oorine ikiine ‘anaa χata deʔni.’
inanta-siʔ  oorine  i=kiɗ-ni
girl-DEF.M/F  then  3 = say-IPF.PRES

‘ana-a  χata  deʔ-ni.’
‘1SG.PRO.ACC-CLF  down  come-IPF.PRES
‘Then the girl said, “It’s me who is coming down.”’

025

ee lekkatti oore karmaasiʔ ?iʔiine ‘kin ðamam anaʔ âeetta ka aʔlektaawu piitan akkayin male irroota sakal ana haʔta ka a kundattatiʔ? âana lekkissaʔ?’

ee  lekkad-t-i  oore  karmaa-siʔ
when  climb.down-3F-PF  then  lion-DEF.M/F

i=kiɗ-ni  ‘ket=in  dam-a-m
3 = say-IPF.PRES  2SG.PRO.ACC = 1  eat-IPF.FUT-or
When she climbed down, the lion said to the girl, “Shall I eat you (SG) or will you (SG) carry me over nine mountains without letting my tail touch the ground, and set me down on the tenth?”

And then she said, “Instead of you (SG) eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and set you (SG) down on the tenth mountain.”
Then, the girl carried and carried the lion over nine mountains and on the tenth one near a rock, the lion said, “Let me down as my house is here.”

When she let him down, the lion started saying, “O rock opf ours be opened!”

And the rock opened at once.
031 ikka kullin.

ikka kull-i-n

and.3 enter-PF-P

‘And they went in.’


oo kull-i-n kammaa ikka iʃeenna ɗehammi ka kiɗ-ni ‘oo=in advise-IPF.PRES and say-IPF.PRES when=1

kut-u kal-ni-kiy-o,

hunt-DP and enter-IPF.PRES-be-DP

iʔ=kiɗ-t-a-ʔ ‘χuutti χuutte χuutte χuutte.

2=say-2-IPF.FUT-DAT χuutti χuutte χuutte χuutte.

ildaa χurpannaa χuutte χuutte.

eys logs χuutte χuutte.

Matta-n χutt-ayt-oo χuutte, χuutte.

head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC χuutte χuutte

Kuyyanta ωuɗa=i rop-a, rop-a.’

day on.side=3 rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT

‘After entering, the lion advised her and said to her, “When I go hunting and come home, you should say [sing] ‘χuutti χuutte χuutte χuutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.”’

033 antiʔ an=ka kid-a ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fancallaa faayo, faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaaanaa faayo faayo. Soysa faʃʃaa faayo faayo.’

antiʔ an=ka kid-a ‘Faayu

1SG.PRO-NOM 1 = and say-IPF.FUT ‘Faayu

faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fancallaa
faayo, faayo, faayo. eyes splinters

faayo, faayo. Kasaraa faʃʃaaanaa faayo faayo
faayo, faayo. braids handful faayo
faayo. Soysa faflush-aa faayo faayo.’

faayo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ faayo, faayo

‘And I will say, “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo.”’

034 ka assi ollik kidin ka ollik kalin.

ka assi olli-ʔ kid-i-n

and like.this e ach.other-DAT say-PF-P

ka olli-ʔ kal-i-n

and each.other-DAT agree-PF-P

‘They said this to each other, and agreed with each other.’

035 oo ollik kalin kammaayye, karmaasik kutaymaasiniti?ee aanay.

oo olli-ʔ kal-i-n

when each.other-DAT agree-PF-P

kamma-a-yye, karmaa-siʔ

after-LOC-BKGDRD lion-DEF.M/F

kut-anaa-sinitiʔ= i ?aan-ay

hunt-NMLZ-DEF.PL = 3 go-PF[3M]

‘After making the agreement, the lion went hunting.’

036 Ka oo kutanaasinik kela kalliyo karmaasik ka tika kapa kayay, ipaayyay ka kiinee ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo. ildaa fancallaa faayo, faayo. Soysa faflush faayo faayo. Kasaraa faflush faayo faayo.’

ka ?oo kut-anaa-sinʔ kela

and when.3 hunt-NMLZ-DEF.P under

kal-ni-kiy-o karmaa-siʔ ka

return.home-IPF.PRES-be-DP lion-DEF.M/F and

tika kapa kay-ay, i=paayy-ay ka

house near reach-PF[3M] 3=start-PF[3M] and

kid-ni ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo, faayo.

say-IPF.PRES ‘Faayu faayo, faayo, faayo.

ildaa fancallaa faayo, faayo. Kasaraa faflush faayo faayo.

eyes splinters faayo, faayo. braids handful
faayo faayo. Soysa faflaf-aa faayo faayo.’
‘And when the lion was coming from hunting, and reached near the house, he started saying, “Faayu, faayo, faayo, faayo. Eyes like splinters faayo, faayo, clinking skirt faayo, faayo.”’

037 kammaʔ inantasik ka tika karaa ɗesa paayyitew ka kiine χuutti χuutte χuutte. Mattan χuttaytoo χuutte, χuutte. Kuyyanta ɗadaa ropa, ropa.’

038 Kammak karmaasif ‘filaaynu passannaa pasee’ kiday.
‘And after that from inside the house, the girl started saying, “χuutti χuutte χuutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.”’

039 filasikka panamay ikka kullay.
‘And the door opened and then he went in.’
oo kullay kammaa 'tikidaye 'filaaynu lubbanna luɓ!'
when enter-PF[3M] after-LOC 3=say-PF[3M]-BKGRD
'fila-aynu lubb-anna luɓ!' rock-1PL.POSS.M/F IDEO-NMLZ IDEO
‘After entering, he said, ‘O rock or ours be closed!’’

Oore filasikka dufamay
then rock-DEF.M/F and.3 shut-PAS-PF[3M]
‘Then the rock closed.’

ka oore waasinee kutaye ka leyfaye ka ifan kalaye seni laatak koʔni ka dammi.
and then thing REL hunt-PF[3M]-BKGRD
ka leyf-ay-e ka kill[PL]-PF[3M]-BKGRD and

3SGM.PRO[ACC]-INST return.home-PF[3M]-BKGRD

seni laata-ʔ kod-ni ka dam-ni.
these food-DAT do-IPF.PRES and eat-IPF.PRES
‘And then, she prepares the things he hunted and brought home for food and they eat.’

kuyyaʔta takkaayye, oo ifak kutaymaaʔ aanayeeyye, innaasuk
ka ?irroosiʛarpaka horeeta dawwin.
day one.M-BKGRD when.3

3SGM.PRO-NOM hunt-NMLZ-DAT go-PF[3M]-BKGRD

child-3POSS.P and mountain-DEF.M/F onto

horeeta daww-i-n
‘One day, after he [the lion] went hunting, her [girl’s] brother herded cattle onto the mountain.’
innaasinik ka oorine filasiχ χaayʃuʛ χaraayxaa χeeiday ka sindaa sindaaway.

`innaa-siniʔ? ka oorine fila-siʔ? χaayʃuʛ?`
child-DEF.P and then rock-DEF.M/F their

čaraayxɑ = i sindaa sindaaw-i-n.
from.top.donwards=3 urine urinate-PF-P

‘And then, the boy urinated on top of the rock [and the urine flowed down].’

045 oore inantasíʔ ʔipaayyitee kiini ka kiine ‘Maanaa sindaa innaannoʔ? ιinnaannoʔ? ιalaawni alaawniʔ?’

`oore inanta-siʔ? i = paayyat-i-e kid-ni`
then girl-DEF.M/F 3 = start-3F-PF-BKGRD say-IPF.PRES

ka kid-ni ‘Maana = i sindaa a
and say-IPF.PRES what = 3 urine GEN

innaa-nnóʔ? a innaa-nnóʔ? child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN
alaaw-niʔ?’
smell-IPF.PRES
‘And then the girl started saying, “What is it that smells like my brother’s urine?”’

046 inatasik ka oppaʔ ?oorri ka kiinee ‘Maanaa sindaa innaannoʔ? innaannoʔ? ιalaawni, alaawni, alaawniʔ?’

`inata-siʔ? ka oppa-ʔ oo-ni ka`
girl-DEF.M/F and into-LOC return-IPF.PRES and

kid-ni-e ‘Maana = i sindaa ?a
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD what = 3 urine GEN

innaa-nnóʔ? a innaa-nnóʔ? child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN GEN child-1PL.POSS.P-GEN
alaaw-niʔ, alaaw-niʔ, alaawniʔ?’
smell-IPF.PRES smell-IPF.PRES smell-IPF.PRES
‘And the girl repeats saying, “What is it that smells like my brother’s urine?”’
‘He [the boy] was listening carefully from the rock downwards and then said “What is it that sounds like our caráoote’s voice?”’

‘Then, he slowly climbed down the rock and listened to the voice.’

‘While he was listening, it was just like caráoote’s voice.’
And then, he started saying “ʛarootte! Is it you inside here?”

And then, she said, “O rock of ours be opened!”

‘And then, the she came out.’

‘And then, he said “What are you doing here?”’

‘Ha awsee aayyaarç cëetti ka luçifisa pidàteeeyye anka piʃaa? annimooyye, ifeennna? rìcëetti ka kulpawupph hooffaa çu?ti ka inantaadi? a feyyaa’d daassi.'
And she said, “You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition.”

‘And she said, “You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition.”’

‘And she said, “You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition.”’

‘And she said, “You know, when that day mother bought the skin skirt and we were going to fetch water, she gave me a calabash with holes, and gave her daughter one in a good condition.”’
And I said to myself "But why should I go home without the water and lose the skin skirt?"

And I was pouring water into my calabashes but they would not fill up.

Then, the sun went down.

And the I climbed up acacia tree.

Ka kaysaa ela dupay ka karkaa iʃuk kaysaasiniʔ ?otanta karam mukay.
muk-ay
sleep-PF[3M]
‘And I pulled a beehive cover up and was lying between a beehive and the cover.’

063 iʃeeɗɗaa oorine karmaa ana akkay ka dəyay ka kiine ‘Kin damam ir-roota sakaliʔ? ānan anta ka a kundattatiiʔ? āna lekkissaʔ?’

iʃeeɗɗaa oorine karmaa ana
then then lion 1SG.PRO.ACC

akk-ay ka dəy-ay ka
see-PF[3M] and come-PF[3M] and

kid- ni-e ‘Ke = in
say-IPF.PRES-BKG 2SG.PRO.ACC = 1

dam-a-m irroota sakaliʔ = iʔ
eat-IPF.FUT-or mountain nine = 2

ana-n aan-t-a ka a
1SG.PRO.ACC-INST go-2-IPF.FUT and GEN

kudan- tattiʔ ana
ten-ORD-GEN 1SG.PRO.ACC

lekkif-t-aʔ’
step.down-DCAUS-2-IPF.FUT
‘And then a lion saw me and came and said: “Shall I climb up or you come down and carry me over nine mountains and let me down on the tenth?”’

064 anka kidée ‘aʔ? āna āmattu kapaa irroota sakalin ki ānan ka a kundattatik ki lekkifja.’

an = ka kid- ay-e ‘aʔ ana
1 = and say-PF[3M]-BKG that.2 1SG.PRO.ACC

dam-t-u kapa-a irroota sakaliʔ = in
eat-2-DP near-LOC mountain nine = 1

ke = in aan-a ka a
2SG.PRO.ACC = 1 go-IPF.FUT and GEN

kundatattitʔ ki lekkif-a.’
ten-ORD.-LOC 2SG.PRO.ACC put.down-IPF.FUT
‘And then, I said, “Instead of you eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and put you (SG) down on the tenth.”’

‘It was then from that day onwards that they began living together here.’

‘And he said, “So, sister, when will you come home and visit us?”’

‘So they made an appointment, and then she him a pumpkin and then he went home with it.’

‘And then, I said, “Instead of you eating me, I will carry you (SG) over nine mountains and put you (SG) down on the tenth.”’
‘When her brother arrived home, he said to his family, “You know, today, I saw our ʛaroote.”’

‘His father said, “Keep quiet! ʛaroote passed away a long time, [and] where is she that you are talking about?”’

‘And he said, “I am saying that I saw her today.”’

‘And they said “Where?”’

‘And he asked “Where?”’
And then he said, “I was urinating on a certain rock. And then someone said “What smells like my brother’s urine?”"

And I listened to the voice and it sounded like that of our ċarooti, so I climbed down and got close to the rock.’

‘And then, I said, “Who is it that has the voice like our ċarooti’s?”’

‘And then she said “It is me inside here, brother.”’
“And ‘O rock of ours be opened!’ she said.”

‘And the rock got opened and she came out of hiding and told me how she ended up there. And then we set an appointment for her to come over and visit us here.’

‘And the rock got opened and she came out of hiding and told me how she ended up there. And then we set an appointment for her to come over and visit us here.’
'carooti's husband was not at home and when she was about to start going to her parent's house, she said “How can I leave the house without anybody inside?”'

'And then she went out and found an old woman who was collecting firewood near their rock, and and she went over and advised her.'
"Faayo, faayo, faayo.

Eyes splinters faayo, faayo. Kasaraa

Handful faayo faayo. Soysa faflaf-a

faayo faayo, I? = kid-t-a-?

'χuutti χuutte χutte χuutte ilɗaa

χuutti χuutte χutte χuutte. Matta-n

χurpannaa χuutte χuutte. head-INST

χutt-ayt-o χuutte χuutte.

Kuyyanta ciudà = i rop-a, rop-a.’

day on.side = 3 rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT


082 oo annittooyye, icëetti ka hinkiikkataa pohatti ka pohatti ka poruppan
dela luukiyaa hakka tikasee χatta oppaa dalatti kaynittuʔe cõoffallaa is-
kamman dákkiti.

oo aan-ni-tto-oyye, i = cõeed-t-i

when.3 go-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGRD 3 = take-3F-PF

ka hinkiikkata poh-ad-f-t-i ka

and hinkiikkata pick-MID-3F-PF and

poh-ad-f-t-i ka pora-oppa-n dela

pick-MID-3F-PF and road-into-INST upwards

luuk-yya-n haka tika-se a

eat.fruit-VN-PATH until house-DEF.M/F REL
While she was going to her parents’ place, she picked lots of hinkiik-kta fruits and until she reached the place where she was born, she ate the fruits and dropped the skins behind her.

When she arrived, her parents had her enter into the hut and called the neighbours for food.

Karmaasiʔ oorine ikalay ka kiɗ-ni χutti and say-IPF.PRES χutti
χutte χutte χutte χutte χutte. eyes logs
χutte χutte. Matta-n head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC
χutte, χutte. Kuyyanta χuda = i
day on.side = 3
rop-a, rop-a.
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT
‘And then, the lion came home from hunting and said, “χuutti χuutte χuutte χuutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.’

Kammaa-ayye raaka-si? ka
after-BKGRD old.woman-DEF.M/F and
paayy-t-i-ew ka kid-ni ‘χuutti
start-3F-PF-again and say-IPF.PRES χuutti
χuutte χuutte χuutte ildaa χurpannaa
χuutte χuutte χuutte eyes logs
χuutte χuutte. Matta-n χutt-at-o
χuutte χuutte. head-INST be.big-AGENT-VOC
χuutte χuutte. Kuyyanta cǔda=i
χuutte χuutte day on.side=3
rop-a, rop-a.
rub-IPF.FUT rub-IPF.FUT
‘And after that the old woman started saying [with a coarse voice], “χuutti χuutte χuutte χuutte. Big-eyed χuutte χuutte. Big-headed χuutte χuutte. You (SG) rub [kill] in the daytime.”’

ikka paayyay ka kiine ‘ee! awwi maanaa ki paayyay ka nessayti ka assi paha?’
ikka paayy-ay ka kid-ni-e
and.then.3 start-PF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD
‘ee! awwi maanaa ki paayy-ay
Wow! today what 2SG.PRO.ACC start-PF[3M]
ka nessayti ka assi
and voice-2SG.POSS.M/F and like.this

pah-a
resemble-IPF.FUT
‘And then, he started saying, “Wow! What has happened to you (SG) today that your voice is like that?”’

$c\text{ee}\text{di} \text{ ka } c\text{o}\text{?t}\text{aayti kara harmi}\text{saduf}’$

$c\text{ee}\text{di} \text{ k}\text{a } c\text{o}\text{?t}\text{a}\text{-ayti } k\text{ara harm}\text{ʃ}\text{-ad-uf}’$

take-IMP.SG and throat-2SG.POSS.M/F in prepare-MID-OPT

‘And clear you throat!’

ikka harmisatti.

$ik\text{ka} \text{ harm}\text{ʃ}\text{-ad-t-i}$

and.then.3 prepare-MID-3F-PF

‘And then she prepared herself.’

ikka paayyayew ka ki\text{ii}ne ‘Faayu faayyo, faayyo, faayyo. i\text{ld}aa f\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}\text{l}aa faayyo, faayyo. Soysa fa\text{f}\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}\text{l}aa faayyo faayyo. Kasaraa fa\text{f}\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}\text{a}naa faayyo faayyo.’

$ik\text{ka} \text{ paayy-ay-ew } k\text{a}$

and.the.3 start-PF[3M]-again and

$ki\text{ɗ-ni-e} \text{ ‘Faayu faayyo, faayyo, faayyo,}$

say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD faayyu faayyo faayyo faayyo

$i\text{ld}aa \text{ f\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}\text{l}aa faayyo, faayyo. Kasaraa}$

eyes splinters faayyo, faayyo. braids

$fa\text{f}\text{a}\text{a}naa faayyo faayyo. Soysa fa\text{f}\text{a}\text{f}\text{a}\text{f}-aa$

handful faayyo faayyo. skirt IDEO-NMLZ

$fa\text{y}yo \text{ faayyo’}$

faayyo, faayyo

‘And again he said, “Faayu, faayyo, faayyo, faayyo. Eyes like splinters faayyo, faayyo, clinking skirt faayyo, faayyo.”’

Raakasik ka nessasee paayyutatinnew ki\text{ii}.

$Raaka-s\text{ii}? \text{ ka } nessa-se a$

old.woman-DEF.F and voice-DEF.M/F GEN

$paayy-uta-tinn-ew ki\text{ɗ-t-i}$

start-ORD-INST-again say-3F-PF

‘And the old woman welcomed the lion with the same voice as before.’

ikka miirooday ka ‘f\text{i}la\text{aynu passannaa pas’ kid\text{ay} ka ela kullay.$

$ik\text{ka} \text{ miirood-ay } k\text{a } ‘f\text{i}la\text{-aynu}$

and.then.3 be.angry-PF[3M] and rock-IPL.POSS.M/F
And then he got angry and said, “O rock of ours be opened. And went into the rock house.”

When he entered, he found a skinny old woman.

And then he threw the old woman into the fire, [and after a while] took her out of the fire and put her in his mouth and then swallowed her.

And he went out and started to look for his wife.

And then he threw the old woman into the fire, [and after a while] took her out of the fire and put her in his mouth and then swallowed her.
While he was looking for her, he saw hinkiikata peels which were lying in a long row and he followed them.

And then he followed the hinkiikkata peels and reached the house into which his wife had entered.

And he went in.

After he entered, he saw many people and said, “(You (PL)) Give me my wife!”

And they said, “Your wife is not here.”

“Give me my wife!”
And then he repeated and said ‘(You (PL)) Give my wife back!’”

‘And they said, “Your wife is not here.”’

‘And then they said, “Since you (SG) are a guest, sit down and have some food, and we shall discuss later!”’

‘And then he said, “I do not want [to sit down]. (You (PL)) just give my wife back!”’
χaaɗi  ʛuɗa-ʔ  palatteewwaa
3POSS.M/F on-LOC pieces.of.cloth.for.holding.pot

hid-i-n  ka  napa-n  ifeenna
tie-PF-P and soot-INST 3SGF.PRO[ACC]

ɗaʔt-i-n.
paint-PF-P
‘And then, they put rags on his wife and also painted her with soot.’

106  oore ikka ɗeedi n ka tuparraa alleeta kelaa ca takka takkaa sookinni ka kiine ‘iniʔe?’
oore ikka ɗeedi n-ka  tuparraa alleeta then and.then.3 take-PF-P and girls hut

kela=i  kiy-a  takka  takka
under=3 be-IPF.FUT one one

sook-ʃ-ni  ka  kiɗ-ni-e
exit-DCAUS-PF.PRES and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD this.one-Q
‘And then, they started bringing the grils inside the hut out one by one
and for each girl they said, “Is this one her?”’

107  ikka kiine ‘inninnn.’

ikka  kid-ni-e  ‘inninnn.’
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD not.this.one
‘And then he said, “Not this one.”’

108  opan ka amma apliyaas sookin ka kiine ‘iniʔee?’

opan  ka  amma  apliyaa?
and now another

sook-ʃ-i-n  ka  kid-ni-e
exit-DCAUS-PF-P and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘iniʔ-e?’
this.one-Q
‘And they made another [girl] come out and asked him “Is this one her?”’

109  ikka kiine ‘inninnn.’

ikka  kid-ni-e  ‘ini-iinnnn.’
and.then.3 say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD this.one-not
‘And then he said, “Not this one.”’
After the other women came out of the hut, they had made his wife come out of the hut and asked him, “Is this one her?”

‘And he said, “Yes!”’

And then they asked him and said, “(You (SG) Sit down as a guest!”’

‘And then he sat down.’

‘After that then fattened ox slaughter take and pot into white rock cook beans’
After that they brought a fattened ox and slaughtered it but instead of the meat, they knowingly put a piece of white rock in the pot.

Ka paltittasiʔ c̠eeديث ka kiine 'apuyya apuyya kee kokkookeey χ̠ooοy̠i ka ć̠arə na ć̠arə!'

Ka paltit-taʔ-siʔ  c̠eeديث-i-n  ka
and white.rock-DEF.M/F take-PF-P and

kid-ni-e 'apuyya apuyya
say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD uncle uncle

ke-e kokkook-i-ey
2SG.PRO[ACC]-CLF be.strong-PF-BKGRD

χ̠ooοy̠i ka ć̠arə-a ć̠arə-ic̠i
come-IMP.SG and 3SGM.PRO[ACC] on-LOCdish.out-IMP.SG

‘And then, they said [to the lion] “Uncle, uncle, come and dish out the stuff from the pot as it is you who is strong enough to do so!”’

And then he agreed.

And then he was very badly scalded.

When he was dishing out, the pot broke, and then the [hot] water spilled all over him

And then he was very badly scalded.’
piʔ-ay-ew.
fall-PF[3M]-again
‘And again, the white rock fell on him.’

Karmaasiʔ ʔoo toʔniyooyye sakaa sakay ka kiine ‘oo kokaawu issaltan ?ikka kokoooyye çarooti pattaa issalmæa ?oppaayye huũũa dijeeyye nama a piliya inhuũu.’

Karmaa-siʔ oo toy-ni-yo-ooyye
lion-DEF.M when.3 die-IPF.PRES-3SGM-BKGRD

saka = i sak-ay ka kid-ni-e
will = 3 will-IPF[3M] and say-IPF.PRES-BKGRD

‘oo = iʔ koka-auw issal-t-a-n
when = 2 skin-1SG.POSS.M/F peg-2-IPF.FUT-P

ikka kok-o-ooyye çarooti patta = i
and.then.3 be.dry-DP-BKGRD çaroote only = 3

issalmaa oppa-a-a-yee huũũ-a
pegs in-LOC-LOC pull.PL-IPF.FUT

dije-eyye nama ?a piliya
otherwise-BKGRD person REL other

in = huũũ-u.’
3NEG = pull.PL-NEG.
‘While the lion was dying, he pronounced his last wishes and said,
“After you (P) spread my skin to dry, nobody except çaroote must pull the pegs.”

oo karmaasic çalin ka kokaasix χaadi issalin ikka kallaptaawntootiyye roopia ayee deʔni.

oo karmaa-siʔ çal-i-n ka
when.3 lion-DEF.M/F slaughter-PF-P and

kokaas-siʔ χaadi issal-i-n ikka
skin-DEF.M 3SG.POSS.M/F peg-PF-P and.then.3

a kallapta-aw-ni-tto-ooyye roopia
when late.evening-VL-IPF.PRES-3SGF-BKGRD rain

ka aye = i dey-ni.
and here = 3 come-IPF.PRES
‘When they slaughtered the lion and spread its skin to dry and when it was becoming a late afternoon, rain was coming.’

‘And they said, “(You (PL)) Go and pull the hide of ʛaroote’s husband!”’

‘And then they went and [started] pulling the pegs from the skin but one peg refused to be pulled out.’

‘And then they tried and tried but were unable to pull it.’
And they said, “Men! Go and call upon his wife and let her come and pull it [the peg] out”.

Then ʛaroote came and pulled the peg at once.

The peg took her straight away and together with the skin they departed to the sky.

That time from start-MID-3F-PF this one

Thunder-IPF.PRES-1PL that.1 thunder

Say-IPF.PRES-3SGM that.1 thunder

say-IPF.PRES-1PL skin-DEF.M GEN husband-DEF.M

GEN ʛaroote
‘From that day onwards this thing that thunders and that we call it thunder is the skin of čaroote’s husband.’

129 akkamsim minaʔew, awsitee désa paayyatte hankaadoosip ‘pilliiʄ’ ki-iniyo ka hankaʔniyo, inič čarčaroote see čaroote.

akkama-siʔ  minaʔ-ew,  awsite  désa
like.that-DEF.M/F  like.that-again  that.time  from

paayy-ad-t-i  hankaada-osiʔ  ‘pilliiʄ’
start-MID-3F-PF  lightning-DEM.M/F  IDEO

kid‘ni-yo  ka  hankaad-ni-yo,
say-IPF.PRES-3SGM  and  lighten-IPF.PRES-3SGM

iniʔ  čarčaroote-se  a  čarooteʔ.
this.one hair.pin-DEF.F  GEN  čaroote-GEN

‘Similarly, since that day, the lightning that flashes [in the storm] is čaroote’s hairpin.’
## 15. List of nouns

In this chapter, I provide a wordlist of nouns. I give the gender values for the single nouns because the gender value for nouns with plurative suffixes or P gender impose a plural gender value. For matters of space, I provide glosses only for single references.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Single</th>
<th>Multiple and (P)</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
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<td>addaa</td>
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<td>ilmaamadda</td>
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<td>ipsadaa</td>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td>'cloth (worn in the night)'</td>
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<td>oytaa (P)</td>
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<td>furfaqâdâa</td>
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<td>haaruwâwa</td>
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hankoolayta (M) hankoolayaa weed species
hancaraara (M) hancaraarraa ‘caterpillar’
harka (M) harkaa ‘hand’
harpoorissa (M) harpoorissadдаa tree species
harraabatta (M) harraabattaddаa ‘cobweb’
harreeta (F) harreewwaa ‘donkey’
haajjullaa (P) haajjulladdаa ‘leaf’
hawla (M) hawlallaa ‘grave, tomb’
herkiya (M) herkadaa ‘axe’
hibta (F) hiббaa, ~даа ‘lip’
hidana (M) hidannaa root crop species
hiifa (M) hiфбaa ‘meat soup’
hiippaa (P) hiipпаддаa ‘riddle’
hikkitta (M) hikkiyyaа ‘star’
hilteeta (F) hilteewwaa ‘sycamore tree’
hinkaafata (F) hinkaafawwaa ‘ant’
hinkiikkata (F) hinkiikkawwaa plant species
hiparaata (F) hiparaawwaa ‘bat (animal)’
hirriibаа (P) hirriibаaddаа ‘eyelash’
hirta (M) hirтаа ‘man’s special knife’
hittina (M) hittинaa ‘root’
hoofa (M) hoofаа ‘hole’
hoollata (F) hoollawwaa ‘sheep skin’
hoppatta (M) hoppayaa ‘guts (for food)’
hоjja (M) hojjaа ‘cliff’
hotarta (M) hotаaа tree species
kaаfуuta (F) kaаfuувваа ‘farm tool’
kaаfаа (P) kaафаддаа ‘money’
kaаfыta (F) kaафывваа ‘teff’
kaaрайyooota (F) kaaрайываувваа ‘concubine’
kaaриyyаа (P) kaариyyаддаа ‘devil’
kaassa (M) kaassaa ‘horn, gun’
kaаwwаata (F) kaаwwавваа ‘mirror, glass’
kaaбаа (M) kaабаддаа ‘canal for irrigation’
kaаfaа (M) kaафаа ‘clan’
kaхarta (F) kaхарра ‘ewe’
kahitta (M) kahиyyаа tree species
kaлаита (F) kalaиawваа ‘spider’
kαнаита (F) kαнаиawваа ‘palm’
kαndаа (P) kαндаддаа grass species
kaαнкита (F) kaαнкиваа ‘mule’
kαннуота (F) kαннuvваа ‘calabash to drink from’
kαnta (M) kαntаддаа ‘sub-village’
kaӈпата (M) kaӈпатаддааa, ~yаа ‘mud from/around well’
kappaa (M) kappadaa ‘wheat’
karayta (M) karaya ‘tributary’
karissa (M) karissaddaa ‘guts’
karitta (M) karyyaa ‘belly’
karakaa (M) karkadaa ‘beehive’
karmaa (M) karmadaa ‘lion’
karratta (M) karrayaa ‘squirrel’
kasaraa (P) kasaraa ‘dreadlocks’
kasirayta (M) kasirayaa ‘tick (parasite)’
katipayta (M) katipayya ‘plant species’
kawkawa (M) kawkawwaa ‘jaw’
kawlaa (P) kawllaa ‘metal tool for ginning’
kawsa (M) kawsadaa ‘chin; beard’
kawwatta (F) kawwayaa ‘terrace’
Kaylaa (F) kyladaa ‘tassel’
kayyaha (M) kayyahaa ‘lawn (chief’s compound)’
keeʔuta (F) keeʔuwwaa ‘belching’
kehaytaa (M) kehaya ‘kind of musical instrument’
kela (M) kella ‘vagina’
keltaya (M) keltayaa ‘baboon’
kerra (M) kereʔta ‘thief’
kessa (M) kessadaa ‘bosom, chest’
kiʔsaa (P) kiʔsaddaa ‘fireplace; cricket (insect)’
killoota (F) killoowwaa ‘ritual’
kilpa (M) kilpallaa ‘knee’
kirra (M) kirradaa ‘river’
kittayya (M) kittayyaddaa ‘bedbug’
koda (M) kodadda ‘work’
koka (M) kokaddaa ‘skin, hide’
kolalta (M) kolalaa ‘acacia’
kolkaa (P) kolkadaa ‘food without cabbage’
kollatta (M) kollaya ‘animal skin’
konfa (M) konfadaa ‘short’
kooɓta (F) kooolta ‘tree species’
koofina (P) koofinadda ‘lung’
koorita (F) kooriwwaa ‘type of cloth’
kootaara (M) kootaar ‘(small) granary’
koromta (F) koroomaa ‘heifer’
kosaa (P) kosaddaa ‘big granary’
kofkofa (M) kofkoffa ‘comb (of chicken, bird)’
koskorta (F) koskor ‘partridge’
koylaata (F) koylaawwaa ‘bird species’
kulilta (M) kullah ‘guinea fowl’
kulleeta (F) kulleew ‘hood; cap’
kupaʔtaa (P) kupaʔtaddaa ‘tortoise’
kuppoota (F)  kuppoowwa ‘cotton thread’
kurra (M)  kurraddaa ‘ear’
kurruufja (M)  kurruufjadwa ‘droppings (sheep or goats)’
kusa (M)  kussaa ‘penis’
kufila (M).  kufilla ‘maggot (as parasite)’
kussitta (M)  kussiyyaa ‘second-born son’
kusumta (F)  kusumtaddaa ‘navel’
kuta (M)  kuttaa ‘dog’
kuffa (M)  kuuffaa ‘pile of cow dung’
kuyyaalayta (M)  kuyyaalayaa ‘dust’
kuwnata (F)  kuwnawwa ‘gnat’

laakaanta (M)  laakaanaa plant species
laallata (F)  laallawwa plant species
lafta (F)  lafaa ‘bone’
laaha (M)  laahaddaa ‘ram’
landeeta (F)  landeewwa ‘spleen’
lawajeeta (F)  lawajeewwa ‘mouse’
leemmuta (F).  leemmuwwaa ‘bubble’
lecfaa (P)  lecfaadaa ‘loan’
leya (M)  leyaddaa ‘month’
locta (F)  locta ‘leg, foot’
lukkalitta (M)  lukkaliiyaa, ~aa ‘hen, chicken’

maakaa (M)  maakadda ‘snake’
maancfaa (M)  maancfadaa ‘fresh edible grain seeds’
maanciirayaya (F)  maanciirayyaawwa plant species
maacifya (M)  maacifyaa plant species
mahanta (F)  mahanaa, ~dafa grass species
makkaa (P)  makkaddaa ‘sickness’
mala (M)  maladdaa ‘system, wisdom, strategy’
malyaa (M)  malyadaa ‘flood’
marfaa (P)  marfaadaa ‘hip’
marciina (P)  marciinaddaa ‘intestine’
masarta (F)  marsaa ‘buttock’
masaanaa (P)  masaanaddaa ‘autumn’
majananta (F)  majanawwa ‘roof top made from clay’
maskahanta (M)  maskahanaa tree species
massatta (M)  massayaa ‘crocodile’
mateita (F)  mateitaddaa, ~ewwa ‘upper millstone’
matta (M)  mudda ‘head’
meelaala (M)  meelaalaa ‘mould (of snake)’
mehadfaa (P)  mehadaddaa ‘belongings’
mifaa (P)  mifaddaa ‘cabbage leaves’
miira (M)  miirraa ‘anger’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
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<tr>
<td>misinta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘clitoris’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moohaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘family spirit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mookkaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘cassava’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mooluta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘bald’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moona</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘mound of soil’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moonta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘sky’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moorsaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘public square’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moossuta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘piece of bread’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mootta</td>
<td>(m/f)</td>
<td>‘friend’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mooyyileeta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘chigger, sand flea’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moɔɔrɔɔrissaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>grass species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mottooɔɔɔaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘car, vehicle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moynaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘rocky place’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mudkahanta</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>tree species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mura</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘forest’</td>
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<td>murkuuaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘fish’</td>
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<td>muukuta</td>
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<td>‘frog’</td>
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<td>muucɔɔa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘ladle’</td>
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<td>muutiiya</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘worm’</td>
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<td>naalaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘spoiled behaviour’</td>
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<td>nahtitta</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘centre of the head’</td>
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<td>napaalayta</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>bird species</td>
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<td>napaha</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
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<tr>
<td>naplatta</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>bird species</td>
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<tr>
<td>nessaa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘soul, breath’</td>
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<tr>
<td>nooɗɗuta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘bribe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲaaɲɲaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘tomato’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲirfaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘hair’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɲupuraa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘component of loom’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paaʃuta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘sideburns’</td>
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<tr>
<td>paakkuta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘span (measurement)’</td>
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<td>paala</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘feather’</td>
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<tr>
<td>paallata</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘clay plate to fetch fire with’</td>
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<tr>
<td>paankaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘machete’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paacɔɔa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>‘disease, sickness’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paarkaalaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘enemy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paasa</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>plant species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pafta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘house made from stones’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pahnuaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘example’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakaannaa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>root crop species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakafeeta</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>‘mumps’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakataa</td>
<td>P</td>
<td>‘wide shield’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
palla (M) pallaɗaa 'v-shaped thing'
palta (M) paltadaa 'white basalt'
para (M) parraa 'year'
parajja (M) parajjadaa 'finger millet'
parappacca (P) parappaccaɗɗaa 'heartburn'
parjuma (M) parjummaa 'stool (to sit on)'
parka (M) parkadaa 'work team'
payraa (P) payradaa 'type of farm tool'
peecjja (M) peecjjadaa 'metal or clay dish for baking'
peecjja (P) peecjjaa 'quarrel, dispute'
pijjitta (M) pijjijyaaa grain species
piirtuta (F) piirtuwwaa 'sun'
pinanta (M) pinaanaa 'animal'
pirpira (M) pirpiraa 'juniper tree'
pijaa (P) pijjadaa 'water'
pofa (M) pofadjaa 'serpent'
pohaa (P) pohadjaa 'contribution, tribune'
pohmaya (M) pohmayaa 'chameleon'
pokkeeta (F) pokkeewaa 'shorts (with pockets)'
pondodohhaa (F) pondodohhaawwaa 'plant species'
poolluta (F) poolluwwa 'hole in the ground'
pourta (M) pourtadaa 'barley'
pooyta (F) pooytadaa 'mourning, crying'
pocajja (M) pocajjadaa 'back door'
pocallaa (M) pocalladaf 'clan chief'
pochtta (F) pochtawwa 'lower jaw'
porda (M) porradaa 'road'
poryzaya (F) poryzayawwa 'component of payraa'
poytata (F) poyttawwa 'pumpkin'
punyta (M) puniyaa 'coffee'
punsukkaya (M) punsukkayaa 'owl'
purkaayya (F) purkaayawwa 'bird species'
pussayya (F) pussayyawwa 'lizard species'
pukkka (M) puukkadaa 'corpse'
puulluta (F) puulluwwa 'fermented dough'
putteena (M) putteenna 'enjera'
cawa (M) cawwaa 'hole'
cawuta (F) cawuwaa 'coughing'
camatta (M) canayaa 'lizard species'
capaleeta (F) capaleewwa 'monkey'
capoota (F) capoowwa 'local beer'
carraya (M) carrayaa 'cheese'
carta (M) cartadaa 'firstborn son'
cawrewta (F) cawrewewwa tree species
c'ayranta (M)  c'ayranaa  ‘leopard’
c'ayya (M)  c'ayyadaa  ‘smoke’
c'imayta (M)  c'imayaa  ‘old man’
c'inu?itita (M)  c'inu?itaa, ~iyyaa  ‘rib; spring (of car)’
c'innda (M)  c'inndaddaa  ‘side’
c'iti[j]oota (F)  c'iti[j]ooowwaa  ‘sneezing’
c'olfaa (P)  c'olfallaa, ~daa  ‘pod, bark (of tree)’
c'olpa (M)  c'olpalalaa, ~yaa  ‘he-goat’
c'oola (M)  c'oollaa  ‘cow/ox hide for sleeping on’
c'ooncita (M)  c'oonciwwaa  ‘throat’
c'ooja (M)  c'oolja, ~daa  ‘skin disease’
c'oyra (M)  c'oraa  ‘tree’
c'upitta (M)  c'upiyyaa  ‘finger’
c'urrupayta (M)  c'urrupayaa  ‘crow’
c'ussa (M)  c'ussadaa  ‘wall’
raaka (F)  raakkaa  ‘old woman’
rafayta (M)  rafayaa  ‘fallow land’
raci'a (M)  raci'addaa  ‘type of hut’
riifa (M)  riifaddaa  ‘pubic hair’
rikaa (M)  rikaddaa  ‘toothbrush’
ritta (F)  rittaddaa  ‘young she-goat’
riwa?itita (M)  riwa?iyyaa  ‘milky way’
roopa (M)  rooppaa, ~daa  ‘rain’
rukkatta (M)  rukkayaa  tree species
ruufiata (F)  ruuffawwaa  ‘big intestine (of animals)’
saallaa (M)  saallaadaa  ‘cow dung’
saalpuuca (M)  saalpuucaddaa  ‘skunk’
saaraa (P)  saaradada  ‘poem’
sayyaddaa  ‘rectum’
saalilikoota (F)  saalilikoowwaa  ‘rumen, first stomach of ruminant’
saalpatataa (M)  saalpataddaa  ‘belt’
sankaylitta (M)  sankayliyyaa  ‘component of payraa’
sanpeeta (F)  sanpeewwaa  ‘species, type’
sapanta (F)  sapanaa  acacia species
saratita (M)  sarbaa  ‘calf (of leg)’
sata?ita (M)  sata?awwaa  ‘heart’
saylita (F)  sayleeewwaa  ‘mane’
settitataa (F)  settiyyaa  ‘upper foot’
seyyittita (M)  seyyittaddaa  ‘hawk’
sindaa (P)  sindaddaa  ‘urine’
sipla (M)  siplllaa  ‘metal, iron’
sitaa (P)  sitaddaa  ‘tail (of an animal)’
solaa (P)  soladdaa  ‘tail (of a bird)’
sookitta (M) sookiyyaa  ‘salt’
soroora (M) sorooraa  ‘rainy season’
sukeenta (F) sukeenaa  ‘female lamb’
surraa (M) surradaa  ‘waist’
suuma (M) suummaa  ‘witch doctor’s revelation’
s‘aa (P) s‘aaddaa  ‘meat’
ʃaaɓɓaa (P) ʃaaɓɓaaddaa  ‘stretcher’
ʃahaa (P) ʃahaɗɗaa  ‘honeycomb’
ʃaʛʛaa (M) ʃaʛʛaɗaa  ‘calabash cup’
ʃaloota (F) ʃaloowwaa  ‘cotton thread’
ʃehta (F) ʃahtaɗɗaa  ‘grass snake’
ʃenʛera (M) ʃenʛerraa  ‘long stick with hook’
ʃila (M) ʃilallaa  ‘rock’
ʃpiritta (M) ʃpiririyyaa  ‘hedgehog’
ʃoloocʃiʃiʃiʃa (M) ʃoloocʃiʃiʃiʃya  ‘claw’
ʃonka (M) ʃonkaɗaa  type of hut
ʃoora (M) ʃooraɗɗaa  ‘thin stick to flog with’
ʃuulayta (M) ʃuulaytaddaa  type of sorghum
taahaa (M) ʃaaɓbadaa  ‘sand’
taatllaata (F) taatllaawwa  ‘giraffe’
taamtaa (F) taamtaawwa  ‘desert bee’
taʃa (M) taʃʃaa  ‘plant species’
taata (M) taatdaa  ‘residue’
tafa (M) taʃʃa  ‘thigh’
takala (M) takallaa  ‘valley’
talteeta (F) talaa  ‘she-goat’
tampooqa (F) tampooowwa  ‘tobacco’
taamtaa (F) taammaa, ɗdaa  ‘branch’
tankaʃʃata (F) tankaʃʃawwa  ‘hedgehog’
tawa (M) tawnaawmaa, ɗdaa  ‘bell’
teʃʃa (P) teʃʃaddaa  ‘elephantiasis’
teeqa (M) teeqkaa, ɗdaa  ‘preying mantis’
teeqa (P) teeqkdaa  ‘rope’
teetaa (M) teetaaɗɗaa  ‘threshing field’
telkayta (M) telkayaa  ‘lizard’
tiiruta (F) tiiruowwa  ‘circular object’
tika (F) tikkaa  ‘house’
timpiiliʃiʃa (M) timpiiliʃiʃaddaa  tree species
tinnayta (M) tinnayaa  tree species
tirmaama (M) tirmaammaa  ‘bruise’
tiraa (P) tiraddaa  ‘liver’
tiʃi (P) tiʃyaɗaa  ‘dispute’
tojaa (P) tojaɗɗaa  ‘water droplet’
tokkayta (M) tokkayaa ‘porcupine’
tollo'ita (F) tollo'lówwaa ‘hump’
toma (M) tomaddryaa ‘bowl’
tooraa (P) tooraddya ‘opposition’
torraa (P) torradya ‘speech, talk’
tokuɗoota (F) tukudoowwa ‘nap’
tullatta (M) tullayaa, ~d ngàn ‘old cow’
tulluppaasta (F) tulluppaawwaa ‘wood-boring beetle’
tulpeeta (F) tulpeewwaa ‘hippopotamus’
tuubuta (F) tuubuuwwaa ‘false banana bread’
tuuda (M) tuuddya ‘pillar’
tuuma (M) tuumaddya ‘onion, garlic’
tuuyyata (F) tuuyyawwaa ‘pig’
tuuyuurraa (M) tuuyuurraa ‘airplane’
waakkaa (P) waakkadya ‘wooden statue’
wataroota (F) watarooowwa ‘rope made from sisal fibre’
χaʔtiya (M) χaʔtiyaddya ‘fly’
χaaliitaa (F) χaaliwwaawaa ‘bird species’
χaaddya (P) χaaʃaddya ‘reed’
χaayyata (F) χaayyawwaa ‘nightmare’
χalitaa (M) χaliyyaa ‘stick’
χalla (P) χalladdya ‘kidney’
χallaʃʃa (M) χallaʃʃaddya ‘rhinoceros horn’
χammayta (M) χammayaawwa ‘fallow land’
χampirteeta (F) χampiradda ‘bird’
χapnaa (P) χapnaddya ‘forest (of clan chief)’
χarinta (F) χarinaawwa ‘horizontal fence bar’
χarra (M) χarraddya ‘door, gate’
χarʃʃarayta (M) χarʃʃarayaddya ‘warthog’
χajʃʃiitaa (M) χajʃʃiyyaa ‘shoulder’
χawloʔta (F) χawloʔowwaa ‘molar’
χaylaa (P) χayladya ‘plant species’
χaynaʔta (M) χaynaʔtaaddya ‘strongly cotton thread’
χeela (M) χeelladdya ‘boundary’
χoffa (P) χoffaddya ‘groin’
χolaʔitta (M) χolaʔaa, ~yaa ‘caactus species’
χolaa (P) χoladdya ‘hot drink made from coffee leaves’
χolmaa (M) χolmadya ‘neck’
χommaata (F) χommaawwaawwa ‘vengeance’
χompalta (F) χompaladdya ‘caactus’
χopta (F) χopaa (P); ~d ngàn ‘shoe’
χora (P) χooraddya ‘fine, punishment’
χorma (M) χormadya ‘ox, bull’
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
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<tr>
<td>yaakata (F)</td>
<td>bead</td>
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<td>yaaya (M)</td>
<td>type of bead</td>
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<td>yeela (M)</td>
<td>field along the river bank</td>
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<td>yoʔmatta (M)</td>
<td>grindstone</td>
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<tr>
<td>yooytta (M)</td>
<td>jackal</td>
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tionary. FRP Technical Pamphlet No. 10.
Samenvatting (Summary in Dutch)

Het proefschrift *A grammar of Konso* is een beschrijvende grammatica van het Konso, gebaseerd op veldwerk en introspectie van de auteur.

In de inleiding (hoofdstuk één) wordt kort ingegaan op de cultuur en sociale structuur van de Konso die in zuidwest Ethiopië wonen. Het hoofdstuk beschrijft hun intensieve landbouw en hun traditionele methodes om erosie tegen te gaan. Het hoofdstuk bevat ook de belangrijkste algemene informatie over de Konso taal: de klassificatie, de situatie rond erkenning van een orthografie en keuze voor een schrift en de beperkte omvang van geschreven literatuur in het Konso. Alle voorgaande taalkundige werken die betrekking hebben op het Konso worden genoemd en kort besproken en de dataverzameling wordt uitgelegd.

Hoofdstuk twee behelst de fonologie van het Konso met analyse van fonemen, klinkers en medeklinkers, en uitleg over hun fonetische realisatie in context. De implosieven verliezen hun stemhebbendheid als ze lang (geminaat) zijn. Alle consonanten kunnen als geminaat optreden. Voor de bewijsvoering voor fonemische status wordt gebruikt gemaakt van (bijna-)minimale paren. De vijf klinkers kunnen lang en kort voorkomen. Ik behandel de distributie en beperkingen daarop van klinkers en medeklinkers. Toon kan contrastief zijn in het Konso (Lage tegenover Hoge toon) maar de functie van dit onderscheid is uiterst beperkt. Het hoofdstuk bevat een overzicht van de kenmerken van de lettergreep. Ik presenteer ook een aantal gevallen van opmerkelijke lexicale variatie die niet fonologisch van aard lijken te zijn. De fonologische regels van het Konso komen aan bod, inclusief die die beperkt zijn tot specifieke morfemen, de morfofonologie.

Hoofdstuk drie geeft een kort en bondig overzicht van de basisstructuur van de zin. Dit hoofdstuk is op deze plaats nodig om de voorbeeldzinnen in de volgende hoofdstukken te begrijpen. De meeste Konso zinnen hebben een elitisch element dat naar het subject verwijst maar los van het werkwoord en vóór het werkwoord op verschillende plaatsen in de zin kan staan, zich hechtend aan het woord ervoor of erachter. Deze subjectclitica worden hier behandeld. De basisstructuur van verbale zinnen, nominale zinnen, adjectivale zinnen en cleft zinnen komen aan bod.

Hoofdstuk vier gaat over het naamwoord. Het naamwoord in het Konso onderscheidt onder andere geslacht en getal. De beide dimensies geslacht en getal zijn zeer interessant en in het bijzonder hun interactie, zoals ook het geval is in verscheidene andere Koesjitische talen. Het hoofdstuk begint met een uiteenetting over geslacht en laat zien dat deze categorie zijn bestaansrecht ontleeft aan de concordantie op het werkwoord (subject) en op de modificerers van
het naamwoord. Het geslacht van naamwoorden is een lexicaal gegeven en alleen in een beperkt aantal gevallen te relateren aan de sexe van de bezielde referent. Na de introductie van geslacht komt getal aan de orde. Het Konso kent een aantal verschillende meervoudsvormingen waarvan de distributie in het lexicon aangegeven dient te worden. Naast meervoudsvorming kent het Konso ook enkelvoudsvorming van naamwoorden. Allerlei combinaties van afleiding voor getal voor dezelfde nominale wortel zijn geattesteerd: singulatief, of pluratief, of beide, of geen van beide. De categorie van getal vereist ook concordantie en wel op het adjectief, waar zij onafhankelijk is van de concordantie naar geslacht die ook op het adjectief gemakerkt is. Interessant en op het eerste gezicht onverwacht voor de lezer die niet vertrouwd is met Koesjitsche talen is het feit dat één van waardes van geslacht “meervoud” is, maar los staat van “meervoud” als waarde voor getal. Naast deze onderwerpen komen in dit hoofdstuk ook aan bod: markering van definitieheid, van (specifieke) indefinitieheid, en van demonstrativa. Ik leg in dit hoofdstuk uit hoe er geteld wordt, en hoe de basale rekenkundige operaties worden uitgedrukt. Het hoofdstuk bevat een inventaris van de verschillende mogelijkheden van afleiding naar en vanuit de categorie van naamwoord. Ook casus komt aan bod. Ik sluit het hoofdstuk af met enkele woorden over samenstellingen.

Hoofdstuk vijf gaat over voornaamwoorden: persoonlijke, aanwijzende en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden. Ik behandel hier ook de uitdrukking van wederkerigheid (reflexieven en reciproken).

Hoofdstuk zes is gewijd aan het werkwoord. Allereerst behandel ik de werkwoordsafleidingen causatief, mediaal, passief, inchoatief, pluractioneel en punctueel. De laatste twee zijn buitengemeen interessant omdat ze in feite een werkwoordelijk getalsysteem (getal van de gebeurtenis) vormen met inflectionele eigenschappen, zoals de verplichtheid tot uitdrukking, maar ook met derivatieve eigenschappen zoals lexicaal bepaaldheid voor welke vormen, pluractioneel en/of punctueel, er zijn. Punctueel behelst dat de actie één keer of ten dele of intensief plaats vindt. Het tweede onderdeel van hoofdstuk zes gaat over de werkwoordsinfectie. Het basisonderscheid is tussen perfectief en imperfectief aspect maar binnen het imperfectieve aspect is er een speciale vorm die ik continuative noem. Op het modale vlak worden ook de optatief uitgedrukt en de gebiedende wijs. De negatieve vormen komen aan bod in hoofdstuk elf.

Adjectieven zijn het onderwerp van hoofdstuk 7. Reduplicatie van adjectieven kan meervoudigheid aanduiden maar ook intensiteit. De verschillende nominalisaties van adjectieven komen ter sprake.

Hoofdstuk acht behandelt de resterende lexicale categoriën zoals postposities, bijwoorden en conjuncties. Dit laatste morfológische hoofdstuk heeft een inventariserend karakter.
Vanaf hoofdstuk negen komt de syntaxis aan de orde, hoewel ook in de voorafgaande hoofdstukken al syntactische zaken zijn aangekaart. Ik behandel woordvolgorde binnen de naamwoordgroep en de volgorde van woordgroepen binnen de zin, inclusief de nominale zin. Ik duid aan hoe vergelijking in Konso uitgedrukt wordt en ik besteed aandacht aan de syntactische eigenschappen van bijzinnen.


Hoofdstuk dertien gaat over ideofonen, waarin de klank intrinsiek betekenis uitdrukt, en over interjecties. Het hoofdstuk eindigt met de vaste uitdrukkingen die gehanteerd worden bij begroeting en het nemen van afscheid. Met deze paragraaf nemen we afscheid van de grammatica en zijn we in staat de twee teksten van hoofdstuk veertien te doorgronden. Deze teksten zijn tot in detail gegloss. Hoofdstuk vijftien tenslotte is een lijst van naamwoorden met hun getal en geslachtsvormen. Deze lijst vormde de basis voor hoofdstuk vier.
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