

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF SOCIAL SCIENCE AND HUMANITIES
LANGUAGE STUDIES, JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS & PHILOLOGY

Documentation and Grammatical Description of Kara

By
Alemgena Belete

A Thesis Submitted to
Department of Linguistics and Philology

Presented in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture

Addis Ababa University
April 2018

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

College of Humanities, Language Study, Journalism and Communication

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Alemgena Belete, entitled ‘*Documentation and Grammatical Description of Kara*’ submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

External examiner _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Internal examiner _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Advisor _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Table of Contents

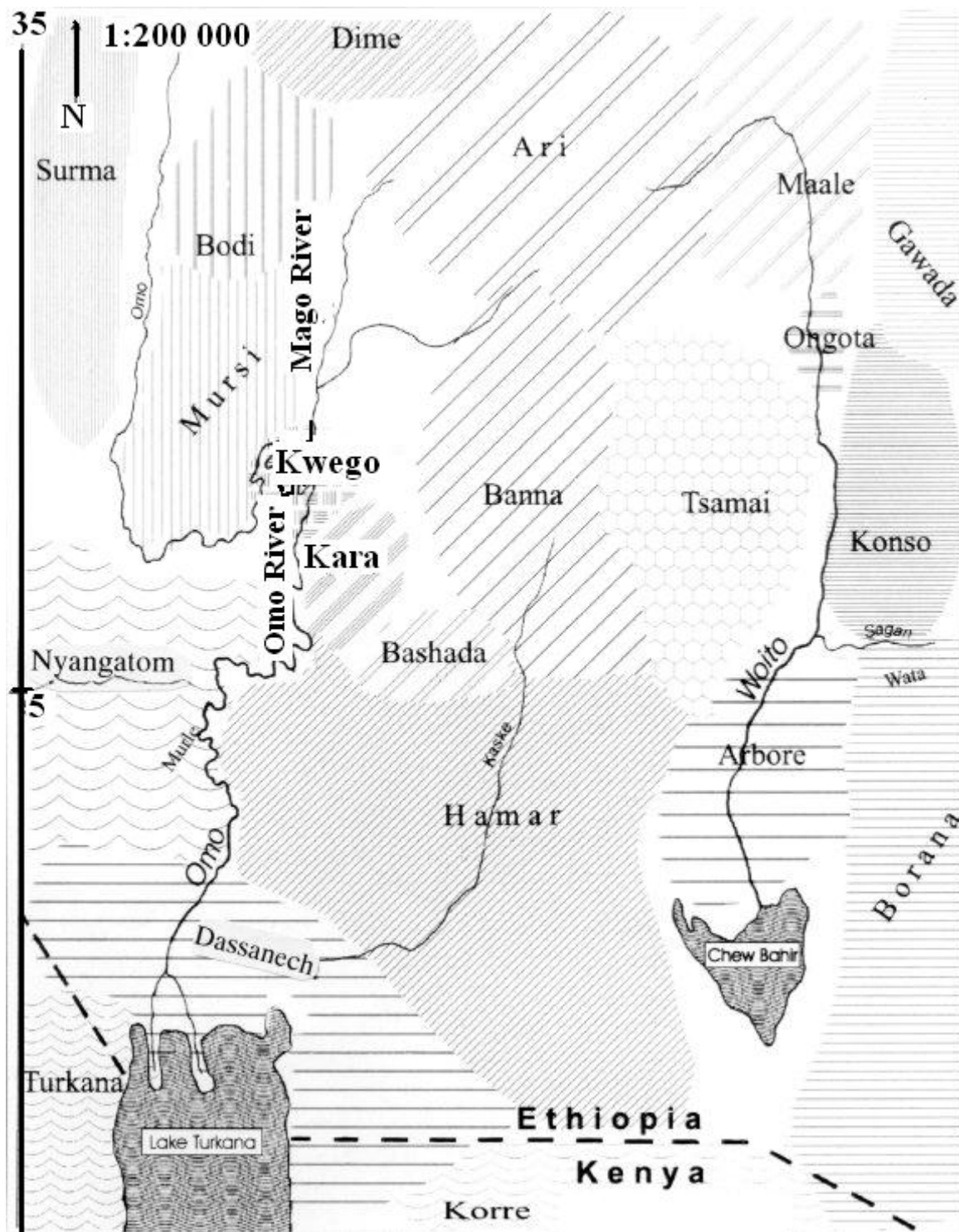
Map1: Ethnographic map of South Omo	viii
List of Morphemes	ix
Abbreviations and symbols.....	xi
List of tables.....	xiii
Acknowledgements	xiv
Abstract.....	xvi
Chapter One: Introduction	17
1.1. The People	17
1.2. The Language	18
1.3. Level of Endangerment	20
1.4. Statement of the Problem	22
1.5. Objectives of the study	22
1.5.1. General objective.....	22
1.5.2. Specific objectives.....	22
1.6. Significance of the study	22
1.7. Previous studies on Kara	23
1.8. Theoretical and methodological considerations.....	25
1.8.1. Theoretical framework.....	26
1.8.1.1. Description	26
1.8.1.2. Documentary linguistics.....	27
1.8.2. Documentation methods	29
Chapter Two: Phonology of Kara	31
2.1. Kara consonants.....	31
2.1.1. Description and distribution of Kara consonants	32
2.1.1.1. Stops	32
2.1.1.2. Fricatives	38
2.1.1.3. Affricates.....	41
2.1.1.4. Nasals.....	43
2.1.1.5. Liquids	45
2.1.1.6. Glides	46
2.1.2. Minimal and near minimal pairs	48

2.1.3.	Consonant phonemes and their variants	52
2.1.4.	Consonant clusters.....	53
2.1.5.	Consonant gemination	56
2.2.	Vowels.....	56
2.2.1.	Description and distribution vowel phonemes	56
2.2.2.	(Near) Minimal Pairs	58
2.2.3.	Vowel length	60
2.3.	Syllable structure	61
2.4.	Tone	63
2.5.	Phonological processes.....	64
2.5.1.	Assimilation	64
2.5.1.1.	Place assimilation	65
2.5.1.2.	Manner assimilation.....	66
2.5.2.	Free variation	66
2.5.3.	Epenthesis	67
2.5.4.	Deletion	68
2.5.5.	Metathesis	69
Chapter three:	Noun Morphology	70
3.1.	Basic nouns.....	70
3.2.	Noun inflection	72
3.2.1.	Gender	72
3.2.2.	Definiteness.....	79
3.2.3.	Number	81
3.2.4.	Case	84
3.2.4.1.	The Nominative and Accusative Case	84
3.2.4.2.	The Genitive.....	90
3.2.4.3.	The Dative	93
3.2.4.4.	Instrumental Case	95
3.2.4.5.	Comitative Case.....	95
3.2.4.6.	The Locative Case	97
3.2.4.7.	The Ablative case	98
3.2.4.8.	The Allative Case	100

3.3.	Noun Derivation.....	101
3.3.1.	Nouns Derived from Verbs	101
3.3.1.1.	Agentive Nominals	102
3.3.1.2.	Instrumental Nominals	103
3.3.1.3.	Action Nominals.....	103
3.3.1.4.	Infinitives	104
3.3.1.5.	Gerundive nominal	105
3.3.2.	Nouns Derived from Adjectives and other Nouns: Abstract Nominals.....	105
3.3.3.	Compounding.....	106
Chapter Four:	Pronouns.....	108
4.1.	Personal Pronouns.....	108
4.1.1.	Subject Pronouns: Nominative Pronouns	108
4.1.2.	Accusative Pronouns	110
4.1.3.	Dative Pronouns	112
4.1.4.	Genitive Pronouns	114
4.1.5.	Reflexive Pronouns	116
4.1.6.	Restrictive Pronouns.....	119
4.2.	Demonstrative pronouns.....	120
4.3.	Interrogative pronouns	124
Chapter Five:	Nominal and verbal modifiers.....	127
5.1.	Adjectives	127
5.2.	Adverbs	134
5.2.1.	Time Adverbs.....	134
5.2.2.	Manner Adverbs.....	137
5.2.3.	Locative and directional adverbs.....	138
5.3.	Numerals	139
5.3.1.	Cardinals	139
5.3.2.	Ordinal numbers.....	143
5.3.3.	Quantifiers	143
5.4.	Ideophones.....	145
Chapter Six:	Verb Morphology	147
6.1.	The verb root.....	147

6.2.	Verb form	149
6.3.	Verbal derivation	150
6.3.1.	Causative.....	151
6.3.2.	Passive	157
6.3.3.	Infinitive	159
6.3.4.	Inchoative.....	161
6.4.	Verb Inflection.....	162
6.4.1.	Person, Number and Gender	162
6.4.2.	Aspect -Tense.....	167
6.4.2.1.	Aspect	167
6.4.2.1.1.	Perfective Aspect	167
6.4.2.1.2.	Imperfective Aspect	169
6.4.2.1.3.	Progressive Aspect.....	171
6.4.2.2.	Tense.....	172
6.4.2.2.1.	Past Tense.....	172
6.4.2.2.2.	Future Tense	173
6.4.3.	Mood.....	174
6.4.3.1.	The Imperative mood.....	174
6.4.3.2.	The Hortative.....	175
Chapter Seven:	Sentence Types	177
7.1.	The Declarative.....	177
7.2.	The Interrogative.....	179
7.2.1.	Polar interrogatives.....	179
7.2.2.	Non-Polar interrogatives	181
7.2.3.	Focus and Non-Polar Interrogatives	185
7.3.	Negation	187
7.3.1.	Negation in Declarative Sentences	187
7.3.1.1.	Negation in Verbal Sentences	187
7.3.1.2.	Negating Non-Verbal Sentences.....	188
7.3.2.	Negative existential	189
7.3.3.	Negation in interrogative sentences.....	191
7.3.4.	Negation and Mood	193

7.3.4.1.	Negative Imperative.....	193
7.3.4.2.	Negative Hortative.....	194
7.3.5.	Negation in Dependent Clauses	195
Chapter Eight: Complex sentences and word-order		198
8.1.	Relative clause	198
8.2.	Converbs.....	201
8.3.	Adverbial clauses	205
8.3.1.	Conditional clauses.....	205
8.3.2.	Concessive clauses	207
8.3.3.	Reason	207
8.3.4.	Purposive clauses	209
8.3.5.	Temporal clauses.....	210
8.4.	Word order.....	211
8.4.1.	Word Order in a Noun Phrase.....	211
8.4.2.	Word order in verbal sentences	214
Chapter Nine: Summary and Recommendation.....		217
9.1.	Summary	217
9.2.	Recommendations for Further Research	220
References.....		222
Appendices.....		228
Appendix 1: Metadata of Kara Documentation.....		228
Appendix 2: Glossed texts		229
Text A: The Lion and the Ostrich.....		229
Text B: How the Kara people move to the lower Omo.....		238
Appendix 3: Word list (Kara-English).....		247



Map1: Ethnographic map of South Omo (Source: Tilahun Teklehaymanot 2006).

List of Morphemes

Morpheme	Gloss	Name/function
-a	CNV3	converb
-a	INF	infinitive marker
-aa	IPF	imperfective marker
-ad	PASS	passive marker
-ad	PF	perfective marker
-áj	IPF	imperfective marker in declarative sentence
-àj	IPF:INT	imperfective interrogative
-ajo	NEG	negative marker
-aka	TEMP3	temporal
-an	TEMP1	temporal
-ana	COND	conditional marker
-ante	CNV2	converb
-ate	CNV1	converb
-bara	ABL	Ablative marker
bee	CONJ	conjunction ‘and’
-ďar	RES	Restrictive
-e	HORT	hortative/jussive marker
-é	INT	interrogative marker
-eka	PURP	purposive clause
ha=	2SG	second person singular pronominal clitic
-i	PST	past tense marker
i=	1SG	first person singular pronominal clitic
-id	PF	perfective marker
-ina	TEMP2	Temporal
-into	GER	gerundive marker

-ka	INST	instrumental marker
-ka	SOU	denote the source of something
ki=	3SGM	third person singular masculine pronominal clitic
kε=	3PL	third person plural pronominal clitic
ko=	3SGF	third person singular feminine pronominal clitic
-m	ACC	accusative case
-má	IMP	imperative singular
-ma	NEG	negative marker
-mala	COM	comitative marker
-mala	REF	reflexive marker
-máté	IMP	imperative plural
-mo	NDCL	negative declarative
-n	F:ACC	accusative marker used with feminine nouns
-na	ADCL	affirmative declarative
-na/ -a	PL	plural marker
-nano	NIMP	negative imperative
-nante	DAT	dative case marker
-nna	GEN:PL	genitive plural marker in pronouns
-nta	GEN	genitive masculine marker in pronouns
-nti/-nno	GEN	genitive feminine marker in pronouns
-o	REL	Relative clause marker/complementizer
-ota	PURP	purposive clause marker
-ro	LOC	locative case marker
-s	CAUS	Causative derivation
-s	M	masculine marker
-sa	ORD	ordinal number marker
-sa	GEN	genitive marker

-ta	LOC	locative marker
-ta	EMPH	emphatic
-(t)a	M	masculine marker
-taxa	REAS	reason clause
-te	PROG	progressive case marker
-(to)no	F	feminine marker
-ú	INT	interrogative marker
-xamo	INCL	inclusive marker
ji=	3	third person neutral pronominal clitic
jε=	2PL	second person plural pronominal clitic
wo=	1PL	first person plural pronominal clitic
-zara	ALL	allative case marker

Abbreviations and symbols

//	phonemic	3SGM	third person singular masculine
[]	phonetic		
*	ungrammatical	ABL	ablative
1PL	first person plural	ACC	accusative
1SG	first person singular	ADCL	affirmative declarative
2PL	second person plural	AGEN	agentive
2SG	second person singular	ALL	allative
3	third person neutral	C	consonant
3PL	third person plural	C1	1 st consonant of a cluster
3SGF	3 rd person singular feminine	C2	2 nd consonant of a cluster
		CAUS	causative

CNJ	conjunction	IPF	imperfective
CNV1	converb 1	LOC	locative
CNV2	converb 2	M	masculine
CNV3	converb 3	NDCL	negative declarative
COM	comitative	NEG	negative
COND	conditional	NIMP	negative imperative
DAT	dative	PASS	passive
DEF	definite	PF	perfective
DEM	demonstrative	PL	plural
DIST	distal	PROG	progressive aspect
EMPH	emphatic	PROX	proximal
F	feminine	PST	past tense
GEN	genitive	PURP	purposive
HORT	hortative	REAS	Reason
IMP	imperative	REF	reflexive
INCH	inchoative	REL	relativizer
INCL	inclusive	RES	restrictive
INF	infinitive	TEMP1	temporal 1
INS	insertion	TEMP2	temporal 2
INST	instrumental	TEMP3	temporal 3
INT	interrogative	V	vowel

List of tables

Table 1: phonemic chart of consonants	16
Table 2: sonorant-obstruent clusters	38
Table 3: Possible consonant clusters in Kara	41
Table 4: Overview of Kara Gender and Number Markers	56
Table 5: Summary of Case Marking Morphemes in Kara	85
Table 6: Gerundive nominals derived from verb roots.....	89
Table 7: Abstract nominals derived from adjectives	89
Table 8: Abstract nominals derived from nouns	89
Table 9: Noun-Noun compounding	90
Table 10: Verb-Noun compounding	91
Table 11: Verb-Noun compounding	91
Table 12: List of Subject and Object pronouns	93
Table 13: List of Accusative Pronouns	95
Table 14: list of Dative Pronouns	96
Table 15: List of Reflexive Pronouns	101
Table 16: Lists of Kaara personal pronouns and suffixes attached to them.....	104
Table 17: Lists of demonstrative pronouns	107
Table 18: Lists of Interrogative Pronouns	108
Table 19: List of Kara Adjectives	116
Table 20: List of Kara Adverbs	118
Table 21: Kara Time Expressions	119
Table 22: List of Kara months	121

Acknowledgements

A number of people have contributed at different levels in one or the other way to the completion of this study. I am grateful to everyone who either directly or indirectly contributed in the realization of this thesis, and I would like to mention some of them as follows.

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my Advisor Moges Yigezu (PhD) for his commitment and guidance throughout the work of this thesis. He tirelessly read all parts of the thesis, and provided me with very constructive comments.

I am very much indebted to Dagne Gebre, the then director of South Omo Research Center, for his hospitality during my stay at Jinka. He is the first person who introduced me to Kara friends, residing at Jinka town, who played key role in my field work later.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dunga Nakuwa for his unreserved assistance whenever I needed help. He assisted me as an informant, a facilitator and a translator during my stay at Dimeka (the town of Hamar woreda) and Kara. Dunga and his wife Sintayehu also deserve special thanks for their hospitality and care while I was at Dimeka. It gives me great pleasure to have Dunga as informant and translator in this research work; you were not only my coworker, but also my best friend and brother.

My deepest gratitude also goes to all Kara people at Korcho, Dus and Labuk for the love and passion they have shown me while I was with them. I am grateful to Kara elders Daniel Ahimed, Dido Dobo (chair man of Dus Kebele), Acha Harte, Noko Gabre, Dawo Lale, Labuko, vice chair of Dus kebele and his wives who happily narrated me the history and culture of Kara people. I also thank Ariyo Dore, his wife and his mother; I lived in their house for weeks very happily sharing everything like any member of a family. Thank you very much! You taught me a good lesson. There is no transportation to move from one village to the other village of Kara. Thanks to Ariyo! He took me to all Kara villages using his Motorbike and helped me in collecting linguistic Data especially at Dus Kebele.

I thank all my Kara informants who helped me at different levels with different ways during the production of this research work. I wish to mention some of them: Masiresha Mero, Gino Furo, Taye, Addis Lale, Bona, Ari, Fayisa Bona, Lale Labuko (founder of Omo Child), Utuna (the then

culture and tourism officer), Lokoya. I would like to say thank you for your persistent help and cherish welcome while I was in Kara. Thank you very much for everything you have done for me. **bariyo yenantē koʔime** in our language Kara.

I thank my friend Melese Gelaneh (Ass.Prof at Bahidar University.) for the relentless professional assistance you provided me on documentation methods, and for investing time and energy discussing ideas, and for sharing resources throughout the course of this study.

My sincerest thanks are extended to my colleagues and friends Abdi Sani, Ashenaaafi Terefe, Gemechis Asfawu, Bikila Ashenafi, Gemechis Terfa, Gobena Hasso, Tegenu Yai and Tesfaye Abera for their moral support and motivation, which drives me to give my best. Jitu Assefa (Abdi's wife) and Falmatu Amana also deserve many thanks. I find myself lucky to have friends like them in my life; I thank God to have you all as friends.

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my parents Belete Abdeta and Sicale Gissa for inculcating in me the dedication and discipline to do whatever I undertake well. You have always been so dedicated and supportive in all stages of my life; without you both I stand nowhere. I express my heart-felt gratitude to my lovely and caring sister Bizunesh Belete and her husband Megersa Geleta who is like a friend and elder brother to me for all their help, advice and encouragement during the course of this thesis in particular and in my life in general. My niece Hawiye Megersa and my nephew Ananisha Megersa you also deserve very special thanks for the love and fun you always offer me. Thank you Firaol Belete, my younger brother; your support and encouragement were worth more than I can express on paper.

Last but not least, I am deeply thankful to Gelane File, my lovely wife. This dissertation would not have been possible without her patience, understanding and unconditional encouragement. She has made countless sacrifices to help me get to this point; thank you so much and God bless you. I am also grateful to her father File Oljira and her mother Gonfe Daba for their support in one way or the other.

Praise to **WAAQA**, the Almighty

Abstract

Documentation and Grammatical Description of Kara

This study focuses on the documentation and grammatical description of Kara. Kara is the name of the people and the language. The Kara language, which belongs to Afro-asiatic phylum and Omotic family, is spoken by approximately 1,000 people. The data for documentation and grammatical description has been collected using communicative events and elicitation with the aim of building the corpus of the language.

The grammar description part of the study examines the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of the Kara language. The phonemic inventories show that Kara has 28 consonant phonemes and ten vowel phonemes with [+ATR] or [-ATR] value.

Kara nouns distinguish gender/definiteness, number and case. Kara has two way gender distinctions: the masculine and the feminine, and it is semantically motivated. One of the fascinating features of the Kara language is that it uses feminine gender to express augmentative value, but it uses masculine gender to express diminutive semantic value. Kara morphologically distinguish singular from plural. The number system of Kara is also fascinating, i.e. the modifiers agree in number with their head. Adjectives, numerals and demonstratives become singular or plural based on the number of the head noun.

The study has also investigated the pronouns and the verbal and nominal modifiers. Furthermore, it describes the structure of the verb roots and the formation of the verb stems. Kara has three verbal forms, and the verb root does not stand alone to form an independent word.

The grammar also offers details about sentence types, complex sentences and word-order. Kara is a verb final language, hence, SOV is the basic word-order employed. The order of the noun and its modifiers is flexible. Adverbial clauses may come preceding or following the main clauses. Objects, time adverbs, and very rarely the subject can occur following the main verb in spontaneous speech.

Lastly, the study presents transcribed, glossed and translated Kara text, exported as interlinear text from ELAN and the metadata for major activities.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. The People

The Kara, a small group of people, are one of the least studied people living on the eastern banks of the Omo River in Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State of Ethiopia, particularly in South Omo Administrative Zone. According to Matsuda (1996:4) the Kara people call themselves ‘Kara’, though the local government officials and the neighboring ethnic groups call them ‘Karo’. Matsuda further explained that Karo includes the Surmic people, Koegu, which are different both culturally and linguistically from the Kara. Therefore, in this research the researcher prefers to use Kara instead of Karo.

The Kara live in three villages: Qorcho, Dus and Labuk villages, and the majority of them live in Dus (Gezahegn Petros, 1994). Dus, which is located between Qorcho and Labuk, is the center of social practices, rituals and festive events. For example, Kara people from the three villages gather at Dus to celebrate bull jumping event, which is a prerequisite for marriage. Lydall (1976:393) estimates the total population of Kara to be around 600. In spite of this, as stated on the official website of Ethnologue, and as the 2007 housing census of Ethiopia depicts the number of Kara speaking community to be about one thousand (1000). Moges (2007) and Gezahegn (1994) also estimate that they are about one thousand. From the figures given above it might be possible to guess that the total population of Kara lies between 500 and 1000.

Hamar, Bana, Bashada to the east of the Omo River, and Mursi, Koegu and Nyangatom to the west of Omo River are some of the ethnic groups neighboring the Kara. The Kara has trade exchange and close friendship with Hamar, Bana and Bashada. They call the Koegu the harmless people. But they do sometimes engage in conflict with Nyangatom and Mursi. According to Gezahegn (1994), some of their neighbors such as Hamar, Bashada and Banna are relatively wealthy and strong in terms of cattle and population size.

The Kara’s economy mainly depends on agriculture. They grow sorghum on the riverbanks and in the flood plains by the Omo River (Matsuda 1996). They cultivate sorghum in large quantity. They do also plant maize in the same field as sorghum, but the quantity is so small that it may not be stored. Though the Kara people are mainly dependent on agriculture for their subsistence,

they believe that herding is more important than agriculture. Regarding this point, Matsuda (1996:7) says: “The Kara describe their economy as ‘domestic animals in the right hand and sorghum on the left hand’. This expression may straightforwardly reflect the Kara perception of the full economic value of sorghum despite the importance of livestock in their ideological realm”. In their concept since the right hand is valuable than the left hand, they consider that cattle rearing is more important than crop cultivation (Hieda 1996:147). Moges (2007) also added that they are psychologically more of pastoralists though their life mainly depends on agriculture. Of course, they do own small domestic animals such as goats and sheep but not cattle at present (Moges 2007, Matsuda 1996).

The Kara are also hunters and gatherers. Matsuda (1996:10) says, “Unlike cultivation and pastoralism, such subsistence activities as hunting, gathering of wild plants, gathering of honey, and fishing play no more than supplementary roles”.

Oral traditions assert that the Kara people were migrated from Sudan and lived for a long period of time on the highland of Hamar. Later they discovered the lower Omo valley where they are living now. They lost their cattle because of tsetse fly and their people because of sleeping sickness in the Lower Omo Valley (Hieda 1996). Since then they have shifted from pastoralism to agriculture.

The Kara are a polygamous society. Their marriage customs do not allow younger member of a family to marry before the elder. The younger member of a family is not allowed to marry unless his/her elder marries according to the custom of the Kara community. Before marriage, it is a prerequisite for boys to jump over a row of bulls. Interethnic marriage is not common in Kara; Kara boys can marry only from ethnic groups that have bull jumping tradition in their culture, for example: Hamar, Banna and Bashada. The Kara man who marries according to the culture of the Kara people cut small part of his left ear, and this helps to easily distinguish married men from non-married ones.

1.2. The Language

Kara is one of the Afro-Asiatic languages spoken in Ethiopia. Kara, together with Hamar-Banna, Ari, and Dime, is genetically classified under the Omotic family of the South Omotic subfamily (Fleming 1976). The South Omotic languages are also called Aroid groups (Tsuge 1996, Moges

2007). Kara is the name of the language, the land and the people. The Kara people call their language **Kara-appo** which means ‘mouth of the Kara’ (Gezehagn 1994).

Kara is closely related to the South Omotic language groups, particularly to the Hamar language. According to Blench (2006), Kara is closely related to the Hamar and Banna. Moreover, Tsuge (1996) has compared the vocabulary of the four south Omotic languages: Aari, Hamar, Kara and Dime. He concluded that there is phonemic correspondence among all four languages, and his data indicates that the highest correspondence is between Hamar and Kara followed by Aari. Moges (2015) has also conducted a lexicostatistics survey on 300 basic lexical items to see how close the Kara and Hamar languages are to each other. Accordingly, based on the lexicostatistics survey he conducted on Hamar-Banna cluster, he concluded that “Hamar and Kara are possibly closely related languages with an average 60% of cognate words from the 300 basic lexical items, which indicates that 60% of the basic vocabulary items appear to have a common origin” (Moges 2015:29).

Some of the Kara people are multilingual; they do speak Hamar, Mursi and Nyangatom. According to my informants, most of the women are monolinguals because of limited mobility. Kara is spoken as a second language by the Koegu. Regarding this Heida says:

The Koegu are a small ethnic group with a total population of 500. Approximately 300 of them speak the Koegu (Nilo-Saharan) language as their primary language, while the remaining 200 people no longer speak Koegu but instead the Kara (Afroasiatic) language as their primary language, as a result of having lived for a long time among the people (Heida 1996:145).

According to Heida, the Kara are superior socially and linguistically. This is why the Koegu men and women acquire Kara as a second language, and the Kara, on the contrary, don’t learn the Koegu language. Heida (1993) cited in Hieda (1996) also says that the Koegu borrowed words from Kara language, but not vice versa. This reflects that the Kara language is dominant and Koegu is subordinate. However, the Kara language is spoken by a small number of people compared to other South Omotic languages in general and the neighboring Nilotic and Surmic languages in particular (Tsuge 1996).

1.3. Level of Endangerment

Many scholars stated that Omotic languages in general and South Omotic languages in particular are among the least studied Ethiopian languages (Gezahegn 1994; Tsuge, 1996). Gezehagn (1994:1) particularly says, “The Kara, a small group of sedentary agriculturalists, are one of the least studied peoples of the lower Omo valley”. Similarly, Moges (2007:245) also states that Kara are little known Omotic speaking peoples.

Kara is spoken in the South Omo Zone which is one of the most diverse and underdeveloped zones in Ethiopia with about sixteen different ethnic groups. In this zone, ethnic groups get into conflict for various reasons such as ecological, economic, socio-cultural and political factors (Yohannes Kassaye and Zerihun 2005). These authors stated that the most frequent conflicts are linked to competition over access to common grazing land and water, and livestock raiding.

Kara had fought with Nyangatom and Mursi. The Kara most of the time fights with the neighboring groups for survival or to get enough food (Strecker 1976). In short, according to Strecker, competition for resources, famine, disease and drought are some of the factors which contribute to the endangerment of the Kara language.

The Kara language is among the critically endangered languages of Ethiopia. As stated on the official website of Ethnologue, and as the 2007 housing census of Ethiopia depicts the number of speakers of Kara are about one thousand (1000). Besides, the Assessment of language endangerment by UNESCO (2003) shows that this language is in the list of critically endangered languages.

According to Crystal (2000), there are multiple factors which contribute to the endangerment of languages: disease, drought which results in migration, natural disaster, and social, cultural, economical and political dominance by other groups are few of them. The Kara were economically strong at the beginning, but since they lost their cattle because of tsetse fly and their people because of sleeping sickness, they lost their political and economic dominance and fell into the hands of the Hamar (Strecker, 1976). The Kara language is spoken by a small number of speakers as compared to other South Omotic languages in general and the neighboring South Omotic and Nilo-Saharan languages in particular. For example, the Hamar language is spoken approximately by more than 46,000 people. The figure clearly shows that the difference

is big; thus, for economic and social advantages, and in need of protection the Kara tends to learn the dominant cultures and languages. This in turn plays a significant role in giving up the Kara language, culture and traditions.

Schooling, though only few students attend school, is one major factor which signifies danger to the cultural and linguistic identity of most of the peoples of the SNNPR, especially, the South Omo Zone People (Herausgegeben von, et.al, n.d). According to Cohen (2000), the government decided Amharic to be used as a school-instruction language and as lingua franca for the South Omo Zone since 1991 due to the diversity of languages. Since then Cohen added that Amharic has become the medium of instruction in primary schools, even if it is not the mother tongue of the children. Though education is the only option for the advancement of the community, it has an adverse impact on the culture and traditions of the Kara in particular. Because of schooling, an intense linguistic and cultural contact follow and this in turn increases the pressure of cultural and linguistic assimilation.

Moreover, missionaries do also have an impact on the culture of the Kara and Hamar. According to Matsuda, the number of missionary Christians (the Swedish Church) is increasing in South Omo zone. Those who have changed their religion may not practice their culture and tradition as they do before. Instead, they alienate themselves from the rest of the community and they do not wear the usual goat-skin skirt, decoration and typical red ochre hair. It has tremendous impact on the cultural element of the people, but as culture is manifested through language it has also an indirect impact on the linguistic identity of the people. Hence, the introduction of Christianity through missionaries may also play a role in the endangerment of the Kara language and culture (Larissa Fuhrmann, et.al. (n.d.)).

Though Kara is critically endangered, no significant work has been done so far on the Kara language and culture. As far as the researcher's knowledge goes, full grammatical description and documentation of the Kara language is not yet produced. Thus, the current project aims to document and describe the grammar of the Kara language to preserve the linguistic and cultural heritages of the people for the future generations.

1.4. Statement of the Problem

From the existing scanty literature on the language, it is evident that the Kara language is yet to have a comprehensive description of its grammar. Moreover, the cultural practices of Kara are not documented so far. Regarding this point Moges (2007:245) says, “Literature on the Kara language and their culture is almost non-existent except for a few ethnographic studies made by Japanese Anthropologists Matsuda (1996) and Heida (1993)”. Moges himself has described the vowel system of the Kara language and attempted to compare it with the South Omotic languages. The work of Moges is the only descriptive study with respect to the grammar of the Kara language.

Kara is currently categorized under a critically endangered language of Ethiopia by the official website of Ethnologue, and the number of speakers also reveals the same thing. In spite of this, no significant work has been done so far on the Kara language and culture.

1.5. Objectives of the study

1.5.1. General objective

The general objective of this study is to document the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Kara people and to produce the first comprehensive grammar of the Kara language.

1.5.2. Specific objectives

As part of its specific objectives, this study:

- (a) Documents primary linguistic and cultural data comprising of audio, video and texts,
- (b) Annotates the audio and video data, using ELAN as an annotation tool,
- (c) Describes the sound pattern, the morphology and the syntactic structure of the language,
- (d) Presents metadata for the documentation data.

1.6. Significance of the study

The aim of language documentation is to record the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community, along with speakers’ meta-linguistic knowledge of those practices and traditions (Austin 2006). Collecting rich and comprehensive primary data and annotating the data by using ELAN are part of the objectives of the study. Thus, the findings of this study play a pivotal role

to preserve and revitalize the Kara language and culture. Moreover, the findings of this study will help to understand, nurture, promote and preserve the historical identities of the Kara language and culture.

As one of the little known and least studied language, its orthography has not been developed. Thus, the result of this study can be used as a resource to develop the orthography of the language, if need arises in the future.

Language documentation and description serve a large variety of different users. Accordingly, the primary data collected in this study may assist linguists in typological, historical and comparative subfields (Himmelmann 1998). For example, for theoretical and descriptive linguists, the primary data collected, and the phonological and morphological description presented will serve as a good resource for any broader analyses without needing any language informant or going to the field.

The outcome of this research will also help researchers who want to work on the major sub-disciplines of linguistics such as sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, discourse analysis, corpus linguistics, applied linguistics, phonetics and phonology as well as other disciplines like anthropology, folklore, oral history, sociology, etc.

Furthermore, the result of this research work will serve as a springboard for researchers who are interested to conduct further study on Kara language and culture.

1.7. Previous studies on Kara

Kara is a critically endangered language spoken by small groups in the lower Omo valley (Matsuda, 1996). Literature about the culture and language of the Kara people is insignificant. Their culture and language is not documented using language technology software. The phonology, morphology and syntax of the Kara language are not described and documented. In spite of this, few anthropologists conducted ethnographic studies, and Moges (2007) investigated the vowel system of the Kara.

Matsuda (1996) is one of the anthropologists who contributed to the Kara Literature. He has discussed about the origin and culture of the Kara people. Matsuda (1996), furthermore, conducted fieldwork on the Kara subsistence activities in the village of Dus from October 1986

through February 1987. He, consequently, found that the Kara people mainly engage in grain cultivation and small animal rearing, and, occasionally, hunting and fishing. He also stated that they regard themselves as pastoralists, though their live mainly depend on farm products obtained through riverbank cultivation on the banks of the Omo. Matsuda, moreover, described about the people of Kara and the natural and social environment in which they live in.

Tsuge (1996) has also compiled the vocabularies of four South Omotic languages (from various sources), i.e., Aari, Hamar, Kara and Dime, and investigated the phonemic correspondences among the languages. From the compiled data he postulated that the four languages are phonemically associated, and close affinity exists between Hamar and Kara followed by Ari.

Heida (1993, 1996) has also examined the interethnic relationships between Koegu and Kara. He described the total population of Koegu as 500 individuals. Of the total population of Koegu only 300 speak Koegu as a primary language, while the rest 200 speak Kara as their primary language. Those who speak Koegu as their primary language live in Kuchur village, located on the western bank of the Omo River, whereas the 200 remaining koegus' who speak Kara as their primary language live in Kara villages. Hieda states that the Koegu occupied the lower Omo River before the arrival of the Kara, and upon the arrival of the Kara a relationship was established between these two ethnic groups. The friendship between Koegu and Kara is called **belmo** 'friend' in Koegu and **bel** 'friend' in Kara (Hieda 1996:149). As a result of this friendship, a Koegu man presents agricultural products like sorghum and honey to the Kara partner and the Kara presents goats, sheep and rifle bullets to their Koegu friends. According to Hieda, the cultivated land is considered to be owned by the Kara, and the Koegu are only given permission to utilize it. There is no intermarriage between the two ethnic groups and the Kara never share food and drink in the same vessel with the Koegu. So, in this partnership, the Koegu are subordinate to the Kara.

According to Hieda (1996), Kara are superior to Koegu in linguistic phenomena too. For instance, the Koegu without exception acquire Kara as a second language, but the Kara seldom learn the Koegu. Heida (1993), also states that the Koegu borrowed words from the Kara but not vice versa.

Gezahegn (1994) also conducted an ethnographic research entitled “The Karo of the Lower Omo Valley: Subsistence, Social Organization and Relationships with neighboring groups”. He has discussed their economic activities, how they were migrated to the lower Omo River, and their relationship with the ethnic groups residing in South Omo Region and their history of migration etc. For example, he described their migration as follows: “ In the oral tradition of Karo, ... the history of their migration from three different routes; one segment came somewhere from South Sudan, another from the direction of the Dassenetch, and some of them from the direction of the present day Arbore,...” Gezahegn (1994:30). He has also described about the people and the language of the Kara. He is among the scholars who view the Kara people as a distinct community in the Lower Omo Valley with different culture and tradition, and language, i.e., **Kara-apo**.

Rebecca (1999) has described the noun morphology of Kara. She has examined the inflectional and derivational morphology of the nouns. Moges (2007) which is very relevant for the current project is a fundamental contribution to the literature on the Kara language. He has examined the vowel systems of the Kara. Accordingly, he described that Kara has ten vowel systems unlike most Omotic languages. Vowel qualities, vowel length and voice quality differences within the Kara system is also discussed in this article. He has also collected 300 basic vocabularies to see the lexical similarities between Hamar and Kara, and found 26% lexical similarity between the two languages.

Lydall (1976), Fleming (1976), Lydall and Strecker (1979), and Blench (2006) are also some of the scholars who contributed to the literature on Kara. Some of them, for example, Fleming and Blench, conducted research on the classification of the language. The rest also tried to collect words, and describe about the people and their relationship with neighboring ethnic groups.

In general, the literature clearly shows that there is a big gap in the documentation and grammatical descriptions of the Kara language. Therefore, in this study, the researcher has attempted to document and describe the language of the Kara people to fill in these crucial gaps.

1.8. Theoretical and methodological considerations

As stated in previous sections, the major goal of this study is to document and describe the Kara language. In order to describe the grammar and document the linguistic heritage, looking into the

theories of language description and language documentation is fundamental. In subsequent sections, theories of language description and language documentation will be presented in brief followed by methodological issues.

1.8.1. Theoretical framework

1.8.1.1. Description

A description of a language is an account of the system underlying the data. Language description typically aims at the production of grammars, dictionaries, and collections of texts, the intended audience of which is usually linguists, and the materials produced are sometimes written in frameworks accessible only to trained linguists (Austin 2008; Woodbury 2003, Himmelmann 1998). The nature of a language description is determined on one hand by the nature of human language and its components, and on the other hand by system (or sub-system) of the individual language in question, as well as by the methodological perspectives taken on it by the researcher/analyst (Akinlabi and Connell (n.d.)).

In order to examine the grammar of a language it is necessary to have a theoretical framework. In line with this, Dryer (2001) stated that “there is really no such thing as a theoretical or theory-neutral description, since one cannot describe anything without making some theoretical assumptions”. For reasons discussed below, an assumption widely discussed in Basic Linguistic theory (BLT) is adopted in this study.

This theory is formalized for the first time by Dixon (1997), and later more developed by Dryer (2001, 2006). According to Dixon (2010), the expression "basic linguistic theory" refers to the theoretical framework that is most widely employed in language description, particularly grammatical descriptions of entire languages. Basic linguistic theory is claimed to be the best theoretical framework, and it differs from traditional grammar most strikingly in its attempt to describe each language in its own terms, rather than trying to force the language into a model based on European languages. Dryer (2006:3) states that “Unlike many theoretical frameworks in linguistics, which are often temporary and pass quickly into obsolescence, basic linguistic theory is a cumulative framework that has slowly developed over the past century as linguists have”. Basic Linguistic theory is known by taking good things from the traditional grammar and avoiding the unnecessary parts, and it supplements traditional grammar with a variety of ideas

from structuralism and generative grammar. Regarding this issue, Dryer states the following points.

BLT has accumulated different early language description frameworks. Basic linguistic theory differs most sharply from other contemporary theoretical frameworks in what might be described as its conservativeness: unlike many theoretical frameworks that assume previous ideas only to a limited extent and freely assume many novel concepts, basic linguistic theory takes as much as possible from earlier traditions and only as much as necessary from new traditions. It can thus be roughly described as traditional grammar, minus its bad features (such as a tendency to describe all languages in terms of concepts motivated for European languages), plus necessary concepts absent from traditional grammar. It has supplemented traditional grammar with a variety of ideas from structuralism, generative grammar (especially pre-1975 generative grammar and relational grammar), and typology (Dryer 2006:3).

In general, BLT is a cumulative effect of various theories, and it attempts to describe a language in its own terms so as to minimize influence from other languages (Binyam 2008:8). BLT is crucial to describe languages like Kara that is endangered and that lacks a comprehensive description of its linguistic structures.

1.8.1.2. Documentary linguistics

Documentary linguistics was introduced recently as an independent field of linguistic inquiry and research in its own right. In relation to this, Austin (2007) and Whalen (2004), cited in Austin (2010), state that documentary linguistics has developed over the past 15 years in response to the need to make a lasting record of the world's endangered languages (estimated to be as many as 90% of the 7,000 languages spoken on earth today), and to support speakers of these languages in their desires to maintain them.

Furthermore, Himmelmann (1998) states that documentary linguistics, which is concerned with collection of primary data, has received very little attention from linguists so far. Besides, the boundary between documentary linguistics and descriptive linguistics was not well defined before, and many linguists consider language documentation work as part of descriptive work.

Regarding this, Himmelmann (1998:2) says; “Conventionally, the documentary activity has been seen as ancillary to the descriptive activity (i.e. primary data are collected in order to make a descriptive statement of the language)”. However, it was later conceived as an independent field with different goal, i.e. the collection, transcription and translation of primary data. Moreover, language documentation and language description were clearly distinguished and this clear separation, according to Himmelmann (1998), ensured that the collection and presentation of primary data to receive the theoretical and practical attention they deserve.

The aim of language documentation, according to Austin (2006) and Himmelmann (1998), is to record the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community, along with speakers’ meta-linguistic knowledge of those practices and traditions. This includes systematic recording, transcription, translation and analysis of a variety of spoken (and written) language samples collected within their appropriate social and cultural contexts. The core of language documentation, then, is constituted by a comprehensive and representative sample of communicative events as natural as possible. However, the documenter will also usually elicit data or discuss language matters independent of a particular communicative event in order to arrive at a better understanding of the language and culture in a given speech community (Himmelmann 1995:13).

The primary data produced by language documentation project is of interest for various disciplines and sub-disciplines including linguistics, sociolinguistics, anthropology, discourse analysis and oral history, etc. Consequently, the contents of language documentation are determined and influenced by a broad variety of language related disciplines and sub disciplines mentioned above. These approaches influence language documentation procedures (the collection process and the recording and presentation of the data) (ibid).

In light of this, Himmelmann (1995:10) states that:

Although the importance of these analytic frameworks to language documentation certainly differs, the important point to note here is that language documentation is not to be conceived of as an ancillary procedure to any of these research frameworks. On the contrary, the documentation itself is the central project, while

the various analytic frameworks help to ensure the quality and usefulness of the documentation.

In general, within the documentary framework, aspects of various approaches are used to provide the record of the linguistic practices and traditions of a speech community and these broad varieties of approaches to language contribute to the basic inventory of analytic concepts and procedures.

1.8.2. Documentation methods

Language documentation mainly incorporates collection, annotation, transcription and translation of primary data. According to Himmelmann(1995:2), “the task of recording a little-known language comprises two activities, the first being the collection, transcription and translation of primary data and the second descriptive analysis of these data”. So, documentary linguistics consists of documentary and descriptive activities.

The general objective of this study is to document and describe the Kara language which is one of the least studied South Omotic languages. Thus, in order to obtain comprehensive primary data observed communicative events and elicitation methods were employed.

Observed communicative events, one of the communicative events, were used to collect primary data from the speech community for the purpose of language documentation. According to the linguistic data they yield, Himmelmann (1995) addressed two types of observed communicative events: monologues and interactive discourse. For this purpose, monologues of the individual participants were recorded, to capture linguistic data, while presenting stories, tales and historical narratives and so on.

Elicitation of data from language consultations is the other method employed to achieve the desired objectives. This method is used here for two purposes. First, since the language lacks a dictionary, it is better to list basic words at the beginning of the field work to help the researcher to have some knowledge about the language. Second, according to Himmelmann (1995), there are some areas of linguistic knowledge which are never fully manifest in any communicative events. Furthermore, Bower (2008:73) states, “Some aspects of a language are only discoverable through elicitation. They will appear in texts so seldom that it will be almost impossible to get

enough information about them”. Accordingly, linguistic phenomena such as morphological paradigms, expressions for numbers and measures, folk taxonomies (for plants, animals, musical instruments and styles, and other artifacts), etc. were elicited in cooperation with native informants (see appendix 1 for detail description).

After the required data are collected using the above methods; transcription, translation and glossing has been carried out. The entire corpus collected through the above methods, from 57 participants, has a length of seven hours and forty seven minutes and two seconds (7:47:02). The data comprise audio (wav.) and/or video (MPEG, MTS, MP4) formats. In the task of documentation, annotation is the most time consuming and challenging task, so we could not provide the transcriptions, translations and glosses for the entire data. As a result, of the total recording, 10% of these data are transcribed, translated and glossed (see part of the texts in appendix 2). ELAN, an annotation tool that facilitates the task of creating, organizing and analyzing transcripts, is used as a main tool to transcribe, translate and gloss the data. ELAN uses synchronized audio-video data for transcription and glossing. Metadata, data about data, is provided for every relevant activity and recordings. Metadata has been organized through Arbil and it incorporates details about cataloguing (title, speakers, time of recording, etc.) and contents of the audio/video data (see appendix 1). An appropriate consent of data usage had been gained from the concerned individuals or groups; all the metadata, video-audio recordings, toolbox wordlist (see appendix 3) and the annotated corpus are prepared for archival fulfilling the ethical and procedural issues including the consensus of consultants.

Chapter Two: Phonology of Kara

Phonology is the study of the description of the systems and patterns of speech sounds in a language. It is all about what a speaker of a language unconsciously knows about the sound patterns of that language. Consequently, one can define phonology as the study of the abstract or mental representation of the sounds in a language rather than the actual physical articulation of speech sounds (Yule 2006: 43).

This chapter provides a brief description of the phonology of Kara. It describes the basic features of the phonological systems such as phonemic inventory and syllable structures of the Kara language. It also describes Kara consonants and vowels and their distributions, and the possible consonant clusters and co-occurrence of the sounds.

The IPA is used for transcriptions; so slash bracket / / and square bracket [] are used to embrace phonemic and phonetic data respectively. Vowel length and consonant gemination are indicated by using double vowels and consonants respectively.

2.1. Kara consonants

There are twenty eight consonant phonemes in Kara on the basis of minimal pair and near minimal pair contrasts. So far, the consonant phonemes of Kara were not identified and described, but the consonant phonemes of Hamar, a closely related language to Kara, is identified by Lydall (1976), Merry (1987), Getahun (1991), Moges and Binyam (2015) and Moges (2016) . Accordingly, Lydall identified 25, Merry identified 27, Getahun identified 26, Moges and Binyam and Moges identified 30 consonant phonemes of Hamar. However, the consonant phonemes of Kara, as Table 1 below shows, are twenty eight. Details about the description and distribution of the consonants phonemes are given in the following sub-sections.

Table 1: phonemic chart of consonants

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal	Uvular
Stops	Voiced	b	d		g		
	Voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ	
	Ejectives				k'		
	Implosives	ɓ	ɗ				
Fricatives	Voiced		z				
	Voiceless		s	ʃ		h	
	Ejectives		s'				
Affricates	Voiced			dʒ			
	Voiceless		ts	tʃ			
	Ejectives		ts'	tʃ'			
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
Flap			r				
Lateral			l				
Glides		w		j			

2.1.1. Description and distribution of Kara consonants

Under this section, the consonants of Kara will be described in some detail. Moreover, the distribution of each consonant will be discussed and sample illustrations will be given to show the environment in which the consonants occur. The consonants are grouped based on their manner of articulation.

2.1.1.1. Stops

Stops are sounds produced by blocking or stopping the air (very briefly) and then letting it go suddenly. Kara has ten sounds produced by this manner: three bilabial stops (/p/, /b/, /ɓ/), three

alveolar stops (/t/, /d/, /d/), three velar stops (k/, /g/, /k'/) and a glottal stop /ʔ/. Description and distribution of each consonant with exemplification is presented as follows.

1. /p/

/p/ is a voiceless bilabial stop. It occurs in word initial, medial and final positions.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
1a	p^hùsí ‘umbilical cord’	sèèpò ‘vagina’	kóp ‘bend down’	
1b	p^hòòrí ‘(be)proud’	džumpaða ‘stumble’	lúúp ‘cloud’	
1c	p^hòtíínjǒ ‘cough’	dùrpí ‘fat’	típ ‘(be) straight’	

The phoneme /p/, as can be seen in (1a-1c), occurs in all positions, but it occurs frequently at word initial and medial positions. According to Bender (1988), /p/ is pronounced as [p, b, p', f, v, β, φ] at medial position in most Omotic languages. However, as our data reveal, in Kara /p/ is fricativized to [f] at word medial position when it occurs after the liquids /r/ and /l/. This can be clearly seen in words like /dùrpí/ ‘fat’ to [dùrfí] ‘fat’, /hàlpá/ ‘knife’ to [hàlfá] ‘knife’, /gùlpá/ ‘phlegm’ to [gùlfá] ‘phlegm’. It is also changed to [f] when it appears between the central low unrounded vowel /a/ as in /ápàlá/ to [áfàlá] ‘cloth’. Since the environment of [f] is predictable as shown in the above examples, it does not exist as a phoneme distinct from /p/. Likewise, according to Lydall (1976), /p/ is fricativized to [f] in the neighborhood of category II vowels (/i/, /u/, /e/, /o/ and /a/) in Hamar which is closely related to Kara. Though /p/ is fricativized to [f] in both Kara and Hamar, the environment at which /p/ is changed to [f] is quite different. The phoneme /p/ is aspirated at word initial position in Kara, and it lacks the geminate counterpart. It is unreleased in final position. Thus, [f], [p^h] and [p̚] are variants of the phoneme /p/ in Kara.

2. /b/

/b/ is an unaspirated voiced bilabial stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
2a	bààtǰá ‘chicken’	dìbìní ‘ashes’	ǎ̀nódàb ‘domestic animal’	
2b	bòwá ‘despise’	zàrbó ‘bad’	àb ‘other’	
2c	bànzì ‘penis’	gìbàz ‘malaria (fever)’	dzàrk' àb	

In Kara, /b/ occurs at initial, medial and final positions. Its occurrence at word final position is not as frequent as it is in the initial and medial positions. Medially, as in (2a-2c), it occurs intervocally and as a second member of a cluster. Elsewhere it is pronounced as [b]. Similar to [p] it is unreleased in final position and gemination is not attested with /b/.

3. /ɓ/

/ɓ/ is an unaspirated voiced bilabial implosive stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
3a	ɓòòdǰ ‘thin’	kùsúɓó ‘fly’ (n)	gòdòɓ ‘(be) long’	àtáɓbí ‘tongue’
3b	ɓíí ‘vine’	ɗááɓá ‘lick’	tùnsáɓ ‘be finished’	
3c	ɓál ‘outside’	dèmɓí ‘death’	ʔàrsáɓ ‘be dressed’	

Kara has two implosive phonemes, /ɓ/ and /ɗ/. The implosive /ɓ/ in (3) above occurs at word initial, medial and final positions. Word medially, it occurs between vowels and as a second element of a cluster. Its geminated counterpart is observed rarely in the data. It is realized as [ɓ] in all positions. /ɓ/ contrasts with /b/ word initially and medially.

4. /t/

/t/ is a voiceless alveolar stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
4a	tʰòdí ‘buttock’	zòòta ‘to swim’	ɗɛ̀ndát ‘pus’	pùttá ‘cotton’

4b	t^haana ‘heel’	k'àntí ‘testicle’	ìlàt ‘grunt (from effort)’	
4c	t^hòòzáǎǎ ‘to hate’ (v)	dòntòr ‘(be) dizzy’	pút ‘get out’	
4d		jètkó ‘zebra’		

The voiceless alveolar stop /t/ occurs at word initial, medial and final positions. As shown in (4a) column five, the geminated /t/ is attested in only one instance. At word initial positions, as in (4a-4c) column two, it is aspirated. When /t/ occurs at word medial positions as a second element of a cluster followed by a back vowel /o/, as in 4c column three, it is pronounced as dental [t̪], and elsewhere it is pronounced as alveolar [t]. According to our data, it frequently happens as a second constituent of a cluster, and it is attested as a first constituent of a cluster in one instance i.e. [jetko] ‘zebra’ only. /t/ contrasts with /k/ word initially as in /kodi/ ‘chaff’ and /todi/ ‘buttock’.

5. /d/

/d/ is a voiced alveolar stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
5a	dùùrí ‘roof’	ìǎǎá ‘choose’	k'òjíd ‘threshing floor’	
5b	dàrk'á ‘sit’	ìndá ‘mother’		
5c	dàts'isá ‘taste’	ààdmá ‘to hunt’		

The phoneme /d/ occurs frequently at word initial and medial positions, and attested only in one example at word final positions. No gemination is attested with [d]. As can be seen from examples in (5b) column three, it occurs as a second member of a cluster. /d/ is pronounced as a dental [d̪] in [ìǎǎá] ‘choose’. It contrasts with [d] in [dèsidíná] ‘killed’ and [dèsidíná] ‘knew’.

6. /d̥/

/d̥/ is a voiced alveolar implosive stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
6a	ḍḍɛ́fá ‘medicine’	gèékìndá ‘lean against’		
6b	ḍòwó ‘bone marrow’	bàkàrdá ‘be thirst’		
6c	ḍòpó ‘lung’	itsàdá ‘labour, birthpains’		

As shown in the second and third columns in (6), /ḍ/ occurs in initial and medial positions. It does not occur in final position, and no geminated counterpart of /ḍ/ is attested. We do also find /ḍ/ after the consonant sounds like /r/, /l/, /n/ and /m/, and between vowels at medial positions. As stated before it contrasts with /d/ in the word initial position.

7. /k/

/k/ is a voiceless velar stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Germination
7a	k^huwaman ‘perhaps’	ʃokolaa ‘limp’	ḍok ‘promise’ (n)	makkam ‘three’
7b	k^haara ‘fish’	kuskuso ‘squat’	ḍik ‘high’	jekka ‘(be) equal’
7c	k^harna ‘waist’	taxa ‘to cut’	k^hurak ‘crow’	bakki ‘middle’

/k/ is among the frequently occurring sounds in Kara. It occurs in all positions (word initially, medially and word finally) abundantly. As can be seen in the fifth column of example (7), the geminated counterpart of [k] is also very common in Kara. In line with this, Bender (1988) has stated that the velar stops /k/, /k'/ and /g/ are common among the Omotic languages. At initial position /k/ is aspirated. Word medially /k/ is pronounced as [x] when it occurs between central low unrounded short vowel /a/ as in (7c) column three. However, this rule does not work when /k/ is geminated like in the case of (7a) column five. It is pronounced as [k] elsewhere. It contrasts with /g/ at initial and medial positions and with /k'/ word medially.

8. /k'/

/k'/ is a voiceless velar ejective stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Germination
8a	k' àntí 'testicle'	dzòmpòk' ó 'intestine'	dòlák' 'hump'	kòòk' k' í 'fence' (n)
8b	k' ààwá 'muscle'	àànk' òòs 'elbow'	rák' 'place'	
8c	k' òtʃ' á 'to suck mothers breast'	màʔàsí 'blood'		

Kara has four ejective phonemes: /k'/, /tʃ'/, /s'/ and /ts'/. Except /ts'/, an alveolar ejective affricate, the three ejectives occur more frequently in Kara. For instance, /k'/' occurs in initial, medial and final positions. According to our corpus, its geminated counterpart is attested in only one instance. It occurs inter-vocally and as a second element of a consonant cluster in medial position. As the data in (8c) third column reveal, /k'/' is pronounced as [ʔ] when it appears between the central low unrounded vowel /a/. It contrasts with /k/ in medial position.

9. /g/

/g/ is a voiced velar stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
9a	gùfó 'finger nail'	p^húgá 'to blow (with mouth)'		dùggá 'dip'
9b	gàló 'armpit'	wàrgá 'stir'		
9c	gòwá 'hip'	gùngùsí 'navel'		

/g/ commonly occurs in initial and medial positions. As can be seen in (9a) column five and column four, gemination is attested in one case only and final position is not attested at all. The voiced velar stop occurs word medially between vowels and as second member of a cluster. /g/ contrasts with /k/ in the initial and medial positions.

10. /ʔ/

/ʔ/ is a voiceless glottal stop.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
10a	ʔààk' '(be) wet'	gàʔ- 'bite'		
10b	ʔàk' 'unripe'	lèʔé 'river'		
10c	ʔàsá 'to burn'	hàʔàmó '(be) torn'		

The glottal stop occurs very frequently at word initial and medial positions. It is not attested as a member of a cluster, as a geminate, and word finally. Word medially, it occurs between vowels, and sometimes it appears when two non-identical vowels occur consecutively to avoid impermissible sequences. The phonotactics of Kara does not allow two different successive vowels. It contrasts with /h/ word initially.

2.1.1.2. Fricatives

Fricative sounds are produced by partially blocking the air from the lung and having the air push through the narrow opening producing a type of friction (Yule 2006). Kara has five fricative phonemes: /s/, /s'/, /z/, /ʃ/, /h/. The phoneme /s'/ is the only ejective fricative in Kara, and it is missing in the phonemic inventory of a closely related language Hamar (Lydall 1976 and Getahun 1991). The distribution and description of these sounds are presented as follows.

11. /s/

/s/ is a voiceless alveolar fricative.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Germination
11a	sàllá 'to kick'	dàlsó 'widow'	dùs '(be) smooth'	
11b	sìrmá '(be) pregnant'	kuskuso 'squat'	haas 'how'	
11c	sèèpóó 'vagina'	kòsó 'moth'	kàjis 'taboo'	

The sound /s/ occurs at word final, word medial and word initial positions. The word initial one is not as frequently found as compared to medial and final positions. No geminated form is attested. Word medially it occurs between vowels and as a first and second member of a

consonant cluster. /s/ contrasts with /z/ word medially as shown in a minimal pair /ànsá/ ‘lead’ and /ànzá/ ‘girl’.

12. /s'/

/s'/ is a voiceless alveolar ejective fricative.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Germination
12a	s'aali '(be) good'	gùùs'á 'string' (n)	ḥús' 'abundant'	hààs's'ímbá 'broom'
12b	s'àns'á 'mend, repair'	dùùs'á 'close, shut' (tr)		
12c	s'èédí 'short'	sìrs'ì '(be) tight'		

The phoneme /s'/ is very common in Kara language. It occurs frequently at word initial and word medial positions. As shown in (12a) column four and five, it is attested in final position only in one instance, and gemination is also demonstrated only in one case. So, one can say that geminated /s'/ is very rare, and the same is true with its occurrence at word final position. It is not displayed as a first element in a consonant cluster. In Kara, Amharic borrowed words with the ejective /t'/ are most of the time replaced by /s'/. Examples are /mis'imis'i/ 'green paper' and /sas'ini/ 'box', which are borrowed from the Amharic /mit'mit't'a/ and /sat'in/ respectively. The Amharic ejective alveolar stop /t'/ is substituted by the ejective alveolar fricative /s'/ in Kara. This might show that /t'/ is missing in the phonemic inventory of Kara. /s'/ contrasts with /k'/ in medial position.

13. /z/

The phoneme sound /z/ is a voiced alveolar fricative. In other words, it is a voiced counterpart of the alveolar fricative /s/.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
13a	zòlɓ ‘back’	gòbòzí ‘thigh’	gíbàz ‘malaria’	
13b	zàràr ‘feel(passive)’	kàzmó ‘copulate’	jèzèz ‘dusk’	
13c	zònzá ‘old person’	ànzá ‘girl’		

As can be shown in (13), the phoneme /z/ is observed in word initial, medial and final positions. Unlike /s/ the phoneme /z/ is frequent in word initial positions and infrequent in word final positions. Word finally, it is attested only in two cases. It also frequently occurs in word medial positions. Geminated /z/ is not observed in our data. It forms the first and second member of a cluster as in (13b) and (13c) column three.

14. /ʃ/

/ʃ/ is a voiceless palatal fricative. Kara does not have the voiced counterpart of /ʃ/.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
14a	ʃùp- ‘cover’	ɗééʃá ‘medicine’	tʃ'òràṇàʃ ‘gill’	
14b	ʃááɗá ‘to wash oneself’	kèlʃá ‘to help’	màjìʃ ‘open place’	
14c	ʃáánó ‘urine’	hàʃkímó ‘whisper’		

Like most fricatives, the phoneme /ʃ/ often occurs in the word initial and medial positions. In word final position it is attested in two cases. It appears in a consonant cluster as a first and second member as shown in (14c) and (14b) column three respectively. It contrasts with /s/ in medial position.

15. /h/

/h/ is a voiceless glottal fricative.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Germination
15a	hàk'á 'wood'	jerhuta 'abscess'		
15b	hàntʃ'í 'laugh'			
15c	harinto 'diarrhea'			

/h/ is attested in one case in word medial position, and it is not attested at all in word final position. However, it usually occurs word initially. Geminated /h/ is also not attested in Kara. It contrasts with the voiceless glottal stop word initially.

2.1.1.3. Affricates

Kara has five affricates: /ts/, /ts'/, /tʃ/, /tʃ'/ and /dʒ/. The first two affricates are alveolar and both are voiceless, and the rest three are palatals and among them one is voiced and two are voiceless. The alveolar affricates are very rare in Kara and occur in limited positions. The description and distribution of each of the affricate phonemes is discussed as follows.

16. /ts/

/ts/ is a voiceless alveolar affricate.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
16a	tsòbá 'seven'	ìtsá 'toeat'		
16b		àtsí 'tooth'		
16c		itsaro 'food'		

The alveolar affricate [ts] occurs in a few vocabularies as shown in example (16) above. It is attested at word initial position in only one case, whereas it is found at word medial position in four cases. At word medial position it occurs intervocally. It is not observed as a member of a consonant cluster, and it is not attested in final positions. Geminated /ts/ is also not attested.

17. /ts' /

/ts' / is a voiceless alveolar ejective affricate.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
17a		dàts' ísá 'taste'		
17b		pàts' í 'saliva'		

According to Bender (1988), the alveolar affricates /ts/ and /ts' / are widespread or nearly universal in Omotic languages; however, these phonemes are very rare in Kara. The alveolar ejective affricate /ts' / is the only phoneme in Kara that is restricted to medial position, and it is attested in only two instances. It is not attested at word initial and final positions. It occurs intervocalically between the low unrounded vowel /a/ and the front close vowel /i/. It does not form a cluster consonant. Though it occurs very rarely, it is considered as a distinct phoneme in Kara since it contrasts with /s/ word medially.

18. /tʃ/

/tʃ/ is a voiceless palatal affricate.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
18a	tʃàjìdíná 'took'	wòltʃá 'Stem (of maize, millet)'	tʃáwútʃ 'bush'	hátʃtʃá 'rubbish'
18b	tʃòòtʃí 'guest'	mòtʃòró 'calf of leg'	hawutʃ-hawutʃ 'Crunch'	
18c	tʃóó 'down'	hàntʃá 'descend, go down'	pàtʃèpítʃ 'herd (cattle, sheep)' (n)	

Unlike the alveolar affricates which are very rare, the palatal affricates /tʃ/ and /tʃ' / are widespread in Kara. Bender (1988) also states that the palatal affricates are common in the Omotic languages, but they are non initial for many Omotic languages. However, as can be seen from the examples listed in (18), the phoneme /tʃ/ occurs frequently in all positions within a word. It is also geminated in one instance. As shown in (18a and 18c) column three, it occurs as a second member of a cluster and contrasts with palatal ejective affricate word medially.

19. /tʃ' /

/tʃ' / is a voiceless palatal ejective affricate

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
19a	tʃ'ùmá '(be) silent'	hàntʃ'í 'laugh'	mutʃ'utʃ' 'smile'	
19b	tʃ'íjĩ 'bile'	wùtʃ'á 'drink'	wààtʃ' 'quarrel'	
19c	tʃ'àlàk'á 'to turn round'	k'artʃ'átʃ'á 'pimple'		

As stated above, the phoneme /tʃ'/ is common in Kara. It is very frequent in word initial and medial positions. It also occurs word finally, but the geminated form is not attested in our data. It forms a second member of a cluster.

20. /dʒ/

/dʒ/ is a voiced palatal affricate.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
20a	dʒàdá '(be) dead'	hàdʒímé 'wound'		
20b	dʒòmpók'ó 'intestines'	k'àdʒá '(be) tired'		
20c	dʒùmpáďá 'stumble'	k'àdʒí 'cold'		

/dʒ/ is a voiced counterpart of /tʃ/. It frequently occurs at word initial and medial positions. It is not observed word finally, and the geminated counterpart is also not attested. As the Amharic loan word /**aandʒira**/ 'injera' shows, it forms a cluster. It contrasts with /d/ word medially and wit /tʃ/ word initially.

2.1.1.4. Nasals

Nasal sounds are produced when the velum is lowered permitting the air to flow out through the nose. Kara has four nasal sounds: /m/, /n/, /ɲ/ and /ŋ/.

21. /m/

/m/ is a voiced bilabial nasal.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
21a	màdá 'bruise' (n)	ìmbá 'father'	wòjilàm 'heart'	hàmmí 'wisdom'
21b	mòló¹ '(be) bald'	sìrmá '(be) pregnant'	òòm 'hunting bow'	
21c	mùmùlk'í 'kidney'	ɛ̀tìmá 'swelling'	Màkkàm 'three'	

The bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar nasal /n/ occur very frequently in Kara. For example, the phoneme /m/ occurs abundantly in all positions. This phoneme is rarely geminated, and in our lexical data, it is geminated in only one instance. It appears as a member of a consonant cluster.

22. /n/

/n/ is a voiced alveolar nasal phoneme.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
22a	nóó 'fire'	kàrná 'waist'	ààn 'hand'	
22b	náá 'yesterday'	k'anti 'testicle'	kùrtàn 'coward'	
22c	nààsá 'boy'	jàànó 'urine'	ɟàn 'compound'	

The phoneme /n/, like the bilabial nasal /m/, appears frequently in word initial, medial and final positions. As shown in 22 a & b column three, it occurs as a first and second member of a cluster. Geminated /n/ is not attested in our data. This phoneme is assimilated to the velar nasal [ŋ] before non-ejective velar stops and to [m] before bilabial stops.

Examples: a. /lòònkàjì/ to [lɔŋkaji] 'eight'

b. /has's'inba/ to [has's'imba] 'broom'

23. /ɲ/

/ɲ/ is a voiced palatal nasal sound.

¹ Borrowed from Afan Oromo

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
23a	ɲáá 'sticky'	ɲàràɲí ² 'white'	ɲaŋgatup 'type of lion'	
23b	ɲàbálá 'cane, walking'	tʃ'àràɲí '(be) innocent'		
23c	ɲààlí 'mould'(n)			

The palatal nasal and velar nasal phonemes, according to Bender (1988), are rare in Omotic languages. Likewise, in Kara the phoneme /ɲ/ is attested in few words. It frequently occurs in word initial positions. It is very rarely observed in medial position, and it is attested in the text (see appendix 3) only once in final position. Geminated /ɲ/ is not attested; it is not observed in consonant clusters. Though it is rare, it is considered as a distinct phoneme in Kara since it contrasts at word initial position with /n/.

24. /ŋ/

/ŋ/ is a voiced velar nasal sound.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
24a		dùŋrí 'shoe, sandal'	dòŋ 'five'	
24b		lòŋá 'shield'	dʒàŋdʒàŋ 'braid (hair)'	
24c		dòŋàr 'elephant'		

The phoneme /ŋ/ is the only nasal sound that does not appear in word initial position. According to our data, it mostly occurs in word medial position, and it is observed word finally in some instances. Its' geminated counterpart is not attested. It forms a consonant cluster as shown in (24a) column three.

2.1.1.5. Liquids

There are two liquid phonemes in Kara, the lateral /l/ and the flap /ɾ/. They are both voiced, and they are widespread. The liquids are also very common in consonant clusters.

² Borrowed from Amharic, it is the Amharic name for white person.

25. /r/

/r/ is a voiced flap liquid sound.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
25a	ráá ‘leg’	zàrsí ‘people’	gùrgùr ‘crocodile’	wòrrí ‘wide’
25b	rùùrmá ‘step’ (v)	tùrábó ‘liver’	gèmàr ‘mountain’	
25c	rààs’í ‘milk’	zèrmá ‘deny’	rùùr ‘(be) curious’	

As stated above, the phoneme /r/ is widespread, and it occurs in all word positions. It also frequently occurs as a first member of a cluster. It is rarely geminated and only one example is found for geminated /r/. It contrasts with /l/ at word initial and medial positions.

26. /l/

/l/ is a voiced lateral phoneme.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
26a	laala ‘burn’ (n)	dàlsó ‘widow’	gaal ‘enemy’	gùllájá ‘lizard’
26b	làpó ‘bone’	gàló ‘armpit’	sàl ‘nine’	sállá ‘kick’
26c	lòṅá ‘shield’ (n)	kèlfá ‘help’	ḃál ‘outside’	

The lateral /l/ commonly occurs in word initial, medial and final positions. It is one of the consonant phonemes which frequently occur as a first member of a consonant cluster. Geminated /l/ is attested in our data.

2.1.1.6. Glides

Glides are sounds which are typically produced with the tongue in motion (or ‘gliding’) to or from the position of a vowel and are sometimes called semi-vowels or approximants (Yule, 2006). There are two glides: /w/ and /j/, and both are voiced. These glide phonemes are also observed in the phonemic inventory of Kara Language.

27. /w/

/w/ is a bilabial glide.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
27a	waaza 'rejoice'	zawi 'iron'		ɟawwi 'leopard'
27b	wutɟa 'drink'	k'aawa 'muscle'		
27c	wala 'forget'	bowa 'despise'		

Bender (1988), in his article entitled 'Proto-Omoti phonology and lexicon', states that the glide /w/ is initial only in Ari and Dime, and /j/ is initial only for Ari. However, as shown in examples (27) above and (28) below, these phonemes are common in both word initial and medial positions in Kara. /w/ is not attested in final position, and it does not appear in consonant clusters. Geminated /w/ is attested in the data. It contrasts with /j/ word initially.

28. /j/

/j/ is a palatal glide.

	Initial	Medial	Final	Gemination
28a	ɟikɪnso 'proverb'	wojilam 'heart'	jibaj 'paddle'	ɟojji '(be) fierce'
28b	jaʔa 'to go'	hajima 'dream'	maʔasgoj 'vein'	tibijju 'axe'
28c	jerhuta 'abscess'	woja 'stand'		

The phoneme /j/, as stated above, occurs frequently in word initial and medial positions and rarely in word final position. The geminated /j/ is also rare and attested in some instances. It does not form a consonant cluster.

2.1.2. Minimal and near minimal pairs

Two words are described as a minimal pair when they are identical in everything except for one sound that occurs in a similar environment and when there is a meaning contrast between the two words. If we substitute one sound for another in a word and there is a change of meaning, then the two sounds represent different phonemes. Therefore, one can deduce that minimal pairs or near minimal pairs are primary methods for establishing the phonemic inventory of a language. Accordingly, this method is employed to identify the contrastive phonemes of the Kara language. The following minimal and near minimal pairs that have been revealed in Kara show that the two sounds which have contrasting meaning are distinct phonemes.

29. /p/, /b/

/péé/	‘land’
/béé/	‘and’
/pàkìdíná/	‘throw’
/bàkìdíná/	‘cooked’

30. /t/, /d/

/ìntá/	‘self’
/ìndá/	‘mother’
/táá/	‘now’
/dáá/	‘vessel’

31. /z/, /s/

/ànsá/	‘lead’
/ànzá/	‘girl’
/sàgá/	‘to cross’
/zàgá/	‘to find’

32. /g/, /k/

/ďágá/	‘(be) angry’
/ďáká/	‘bundle’ (n)
/gùró/	‘(be) hollow’
/kùró/	‘honey’

33. /g/, /k' /

/gawu/ 'bracelet'

/k'awu/ 'forest'

34. /w/, /j/

/wáá/ 'meat'

/jáá/ 'you'

35. /b/, /m/

/k' àabó/ 'knowledge'

/k' ààmó/ 'ear'

36. /d/, //d̥/

/dáá/ 'pot'

/ḏáá/ 'punish'

/dèsìdíná/ 'killed'

/ḏèsìdíná/ 'knew'

37. /p/, /m/

/dùrpí/ 'fat'

/dùrmí/ 'stump'

38. /k/, /t/

/kòḏí/ 'chaff'

/tòḏí/ 'buttock'

/tàjìsá/ 'appease, pacify'

/kàjìsá/ 'taboo'

39. /l/, /r/

/mòló/ '(be) bald'

/mòró/ 'village'

/ráá/ 'leg'

/láá/ 'six'

40. /t/, /s' /

/rààtí/ 'wakeup'

/rààs'í/ 'milk'

41. /n/, /ɲ/

/náá/ 'yesterday'

/ɲáá/ 'Sticky'

42. /k/, /k' /

/k' ààmá/ 'domesticate, tame'

/kààmá/ 'gather'

/k' ààrà/ 'monkey'

/kààrá/ 'fish'

43. /b/, /b/

/ḏáábìdí/ 'lick'

/ḏáábìdí/ 'wakeup'

/bùlá/ 'jump'

/bùlá/ 'open'

44. /r/, /n/

/ráá/ 'leg'

/náá/ 'yesterday'

45. /r/, /d/

/màrá/ 'forbid'

/màdá/ 'wound'

46. /z/, /d/

/zàrbó/ '(be) wicked'

/dàbó³/ 'bread'

47. /s/, /ʃ/

/ḏèèʃá/ 'medicine'

/ḏèsá/ 'to know'

³ Borrowed from Amharic.

48. /ʔ/, /h/

/hààmí/ ‘farm field’

/ʔàmí/ ‘breast’

/ʔàk’/ ‘unripe’

/hàk’á/ ‘tree’

49. /ts’/, /s/

/pʰàts’í/ ‘saliva’

/pʰìisí/ ‘umbilical cord’

50. /dʒ/, /tʃ/

/tʃàjìdíná/ ‘took’

/dʒàjìdíná/ ‘died’

51. /s/, /s’/

/rààsí/ ‘footprint (human)’

/rààs’í/ ‘milk’

52. /s/, /ts/

/èsàrá/ ‘hear’

/itsaro/ ‘food’

isa ‘my’

itsa ‘to eat’

53. /tʃ/, /tʃ’/

/hàntʃá/ ‘descend, go down’

/hàntʃ’í/ ‘laugh’

54. /f/, /tʃ/

/pààfá/ ‘get well, recover’

/pààtʃá/ ‘late’

/bááfá/ ‘comb’ (n)

/bààtʃá/ chicken

55. /n/, /ŋ/

/waana/	‘(be) different’
/wàŋŋá/	‘cattle’
/gòŋǵ/	‘crust’ (n)
/gùńó/	‘snake’

2.1.3. Consonant phonemes and their variants

Phonemes are abstract units or mental representation of speech sounds. Phonemes are basically used to contrast meaning between utterances, and this contrastive property, as revealed by the list of minimal pairs above, is the basic operational test for determining the phonemes that exist in a language. In actual speech, phonemes are represented by phones, and if one phoneme is realized by two or more different phones, we call them allophones of the same phoneme. In this section, the consonant phonemes and their allophones will be presented in brief.

56. /p/ [p^h]: Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop word initially, e.g.: [p^hòòrí] ‘(be) proud’.

[f]: Voiceless labio-dental fricative

[p̚]: voiceless bilabial unreleased stop word finally

[p]: voiceless bilabial stop elsewhere, e.g.: [komparsa] ‘kneel’

The phoneme /p/ is pronounced as [f] when it is preceded by liquids /r/ and /l/ and when it occurs between central unrounded short vowel /a/. e.g.: [gulfa] ‘phlegm’, [halfa] ‘knife’. In this context it is in free variation with [p]: [gulpa] ‘phlegm’, [halpa] ‘knife’.

57. /t/ [t^h]: voiceless aspirated alveolar stop at initial position, e.g.: [t^hurabo] ‘liver’.

[t̚]: voiceless dental stop at word medial position as a second element of a cluster followed by a back vowel [o], e.g.: [don̚tor] ‘(be) dizzy’.

[t]: voiceless alveolar stop elsewhere, e.g.: [géntado] ‘belch’ [zoota] ‘swim’.

58. /d/ [d̪]: voiced dental stop between vowels, e.g.: [ɪ̯da] ‘choose’.

[d]: voiced alveolar stop elsewhere, e.g.: [mardi] ‘obstruct’.

59. /k/ [k^h]: voiceless aspirated velar stop at initial position, e.g.: [k^harna] ‘waist’.

[x]: voiceless velar fricative between /a/, e.g., [saxa] ‘tomorrow’, e.g.: [taxa] ‘cut’.

[k]: voiceless velar stop elsewhere, e.g.: [dók] ‘promise’ (n).

The phoneme /k/ is in free variation with [x] between central unrounded short vowel [a]; however, this rule does not work when /k/ is geminated.

60. /m/ [n]: voiced alveolar nasal before alveolar stops, e.g., [makkantam] ‘thirty’.

[m]: bilabial nasal elsewhere, e.g.: [mada] ‘bruise’ (n) [sirma] ‘(be) pregnant’.

61. /n/ [ŋ]: voiced nasal velar before velar stops, e.g., [lɔŋkaji] ‘eight’.

[m]: voiced bilabial nasal before bilabial stops, e.g., [haas's'imba] ‘broom’.

[n] voiced alveolar nasal elsewhere, e.g.: [tʰaana] ‘heel’, [kʰarna] ‘waist’.

The velar nasal sound is an independent phoneme in Kara, but it is a variant of /n/ when it occurs before velar stops

The voiceless glottal stop [ʔ] occurs in free variation with [h], and this is attested in Afan Oromo loan word.

62. [ʔasowa] or [hasowa] ‘speech’

It also occurs in free variation with [kʰ], e.g.: [mak'asi] or [maʔasi] ‘blood’. Though it occurs in free variation with these sounds, it is an independent phoneme in Kara since it contrasts with /h/ in other contexts (see example 48 above).

The rest of Kara phonemes, which are not discussed under this section, are represented by a single phone in actual pronunciations.

2.1.4. Consonant clusters

In Kara, a consonant cluster has only two members, and it is restricted to medial position. In most cases, the sonorants are followed by the obstruents. Among the sonorants, /n/, /r/ and /l/ are widely used as a first member of a cluster followed by a wider range of obstruents such as /b/, /p/, /d/, /dʰ/, /t/, /k/, /Kʰ/, /g/, /S/, /sʰ/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/ and /dʒ/. The fricatives /s/ and /ʃ/ frequently occur as a first member of a cluster. /z/ is attested in one example only. /pk/ and /bs/ are also observed in Kara. The following table shows the sonorant-obstruent clusters:

Table 2: sonorant-obstruent clusters

inta ‘I’	woltʃa ‘stem, stalk’	inda ‘mother’
zarbo ‘bad’	k'unda ‘clitoris’	kinka ‘(be) together’
durpi ‘thick’	mardi ‘obstruct’	aank'oos ‘elbow’
bilbilo ‘butterfly’	ɛrgo ‘command’ (n)	zonpe ‘north’
maldimi ‘(be) stupid’	borkoto ‘chair’	gansa ‘smell’ (v)
peldʌ ‘cockroach’	dark'a ‘sit’	k'uns'a ‘break’ (tr)
mumulk'i ‘kidney’	zarsi ‘People’	pʰotinʃa ‘cough’ (v)
dalso ‘widow’	burza ‘snore’	haantʃifa ‘lower’ (tr)
kɛʃa ‘help’	barʃa ‘(be) young’	hantʃ'i ‘laugh’
tultul ‘sing’	kurtan ‘coward’	banzi ‘penis’
gulpa ‘phlegm’	dartʃ'a ‘tumour’	sirs'ɪ ‘(be) tight’

In consonant clusters, a sonorant is followed by another sonorant in some instances. The clusters, as the following examples show, are **lm**, **rn**, and **rm**. The glides are not observed in consonant clusters, both with sonorants and obstruents, at all, and the nasals do not precede the liquids in Kara consonant clusters.

63. **karna** ‘waist’
 kiilma ‘advice’
 sirma ‘(be) pregnant’

Obstruents occur as a first member of a cluster in a very few cases, and in such a case they are always followed by another obstruent. The sibilants /s/ and /ʃ/ appear preceding the velar /k/ in so many words; however, other combinations of obstruents like /**bs**/ and /**tk**/ are also attested only in one example each. /s/ and /k/ are the only obstruents which occur as a second member in obstruent-obstruent consonant cluster of which /k/ occurs frequently.

64. **baski** ‘bastard’
 kuskuso ‘squat’
 maskaso ‘skull’
 haʃka ‘act, do’
 haʃkimo ‘whisper’ (v)

pooŋkifa	‘initiation (male)’
jetko	‘zebra’
gudubsa	‘lengthen’

Obstruent-sonorant consonant cluster is permitted in Kara, and this is attested only in one example that is /**zm**/ in **kazmo** ‘copulate, have sexual intercourse’.

Though consonant clusters in Kara are restricted to medial position, it is also attested in final position in very few words. As far as I see, it seems a result of an omitted word-final vowel. See the examples given below:

65. **gidogalt** ‘midnight’
 jirk ‘(be) low’
 warkawark ‘loosen’

The alveolar affricates /**ts**/ and /**ts'**/, the glottal stop /**ʔ**/, the glides /**w**/ and /**j**/, and the palatal nasal /**ɲ**/ do not form either the first or the second member of a consonant cluster in Kara.

In general, as the lexical data show, the following examples in Table (3) below give a summary of all possible consonant clusters in Kara. The **C1** which are listed in vertical axis represents first member of a cluster, the **C2** which are listed in horizontal axis represents second member of a cluster. The phonemes are sequenced on the table randomly.

Table 3: Possible consonant clusters in Kara

C1	C2	b	ɓ	P	d	d'	t	k	k'	g	s	s'	ʃ	z	h	tʃ	tʃ'	dʒ	l	m	n	r
m		mb	mɓ											mz								mr
n		nb		np	nd	nd'	nt	nk	nk'	ng	ns	ns'	ɲʃ	nz		ntʃ	ntʃ'					
l		lb	lɓ	lp	ld	ld'	Lt		lk'	lg	ls		lʃ			ltʃ			lm			
r		rb		rp	rd	rd'	rt	rk	rk'	rg	rs	rs'	rʃ	rz	rh		rtʃ			rm	rn	
ɲ							ɲt				ɲs							ɲdʒ				
ɓ											ɓs											
s								sk														
t								tk														
ʃ								ʃk														
z																				zm		

2.1.5. Consonant gemination

Geminated consonants are attested in Kara though it is restricted to some consonant phonemes. Among the consonant phonemes, as the lexical data show, /b/, /t/, /k/, /k'/, /g/, /s'/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /m/, /r/, /l/, /w/ and /j/ are those which can be geminated in Kara. Geminated consonants are restricted to word medial position. Below is an example:

66.	àtàbǎí	‘tongue’	dùggá	‘dip’
	gùllàjá	‘lizard’	hààs's'ímbá	‘broom’
	pùttá	‘cotton’	ìjǐmó	‘elder’
	màkkàm	‘three’	kòòk'k'í'	‘fence’ (n)
	wòrrí	‘(be) wide’	ʃòjjíí	‘(be) fierce’
	hàmmí	‘wisdom’	ʃàwwí	‘leopard’

2.2. Vowels

Kara, unlike most Omotic languages, has ten vowel phonemes that can be distinguished by [ATR⁴] feature. Moges (2007:249) has also recorded a ten vowel system for proto-Aroid in general and for Kara in particular and states that “Proto-South Omotic or Proto-Aroid must have had a ten-vowel system, which may be distinguished by the feature [ATR]”. Based on the [ATR] feature, Kara vowels can be divided into two sets: vowels produced with advanced tongue root [+ATR] /i, u, e, o, a/ and vowels produced with no advancement of the tongue root [-ATR] /ɪ, ʊ, ɛ, ʌ, ɔ/. Description and distribution of vowel phonemes, possible (near) minimal pairs and vowel length will be discussed in subsequent sections.

2.2.1. Description and distribution vowel phonemes

Kara vowels occur in all word positions, (initial, medial and final positions), with the exception of /ʌ/ which is limited to the medial position. Moges (2007) also stated that /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ are restricted to a medial position, and he added that this could be because of limited data at hand. Moges’s assertion about /ʌ/ is right, but the half close back rounded vowel /ʊ/, as the lexical data show, occurs in word initial and medial positions but not in final position. Besides, /ʊ/ and /ʌ/

⁴ “[ATR] is a feature used to describe vowel quality difference in some languages where two sets of vowels occur” (Moges and Binyam 2015:2). [+ATR] vowels are produced by moving the base of the tongue forward and often lowering the larynx, whereas [-ATR] vowels are produced by retracting the base of the tongue in the pharynx (Ladefoged 2001).

are not attested before and after the consonant cluster. The description of each vowel phonemes and illustrations which show their distribution are given as follows.

67. /i/: it is a close front unrounded vowel. Below are examples of words that contain the phoneme /i/:

ùfó	‘gift’
p^hùsí	‘umbilical cord’
àtsí	‘tooth’

68. /ɪ/ : this is near close front unrounded vowel. Below are examples of words that contain the phoneme /ɪ/:

ìtsà	‘to eat’
k'ojɪd	‘threshing-floor’
sìrs'í	‘(be) tight’

69. /e/: this phoneme is close-mid front unrounded vowel. Look at the following words that contain /e/:

èrgó	‘command’ (n)
zèrmá	‘deny’
àngé	‘husband’

70. /ɛ/: open-mid front unrounded vowel. The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /ɛ/:

s'èèrí	‘(be) deep’
èèdí	‘person’
mèè	‘woman’

71. /a/: open low central unrounded vowel. The following are examples of words that contain the phoneme /a/:

ààn	‘hand’
wàtàn	‘sister-in-law’
ànzá	‘girl’
wàà	‘meat’

72. /ʌ/: open-mid central unrounded vowel. The following are words that contain the phoneme /ʌ/:

ʃʌn	‘compound’
k'ʌwú	‘forest’
zʌwí	‘iron’

73. /u/: close back rounded vowel. Below are examples of words that contain the phoneme /u/:

pʰùùsó	‘break wind’
ùùsí	‘breath’
tìbìjjú	‘axe’

74. /ʊ/: near-close back rounded vowel. As the following examples illustrate, it occurs in word initial and medial positions only:

òkà	‘stab’
òrò	‘quarrel’
gùró	‘(be) empty’

75. /o/: close-mid back rounded vowel. Look at the following illustrative examples that contain the phoneme /o/:

òskà	‘alter, change (tr)’
ʃòkòlá	‘limp’
boosoo	‘stupid person’

76. /ɔ/: open-mid back rounded vowel. Below are examples of words that contain this phoneme.

òòlɔ́	‘tribe’
gòɣóó	‘crust’ (n)
nòò	‘fire’

2.2.2. (Near) Minimal Pairs

The following (near) minimal pairs clearly reveal that Kara has ten vowel systems.

77. /a/, /o/

bòòtǵá ‘bark’

bààtǵá ‘chicken’

tfòò ‘down’

tfàà ‘take’

78. /e/, /i/

dès'á ‘heavy’

dis'á ‘close’

kím ‘him’

yém ‘you’

79. /a/, /i/

dùkà ‘to bury’

dùkí ‘funeral (at occasion of death)’

k'òòk'á ‘(be) narrow’

kòòk'k'í ‘fence’ (n)

80. /ʊ/, /ɪ/

ǵók ‘promise’ (n)

ǵík ‘high’

81. /ɛ/, /e/

pèè ‘land’

mèè ‘woman’

82. /u/, /o/

gùl ‘living quarter’

gòòl ‘married woman’

ǵùkó ‘small axe’

ǵòk'ó ‘grass’

83. /o/, /ɔ/

òòló ‘hole’

òòló ‘tribe’

84. /a/, /ʌ/

ǵásá ‘to carry’

ǵàsá ‘to kill’

85. /ʊ/, /u/

bòló ‘prostitute’

bùlà ‘open’

86. /a/, /ɛ/

ɛ̀ɛ́pí	‘mourning’
àpí	‘eye’

87. /a/, /ɔ/

gáázá	‘ant’
góózá	‘hem’

Unlike some Omotic languages such as Wolayita (Motomichi 2008) and Dime (Mulugeta 2008) diphthong vowels are not attested in Kara. Hamar which is closely related to Kara has also ten vowel systems (Moges 2007 and Lydall 1976).

2.2.3. Vowel length

Vowel length is phonemic in many Omotic languages. For instance, in Hamar (Lydall 1976), Wolayita (Motomichi, 2008), Dime (Mulugeta, 2008), Haro (Hirut, 2004), and Sheko (Hellenthal 2010) vowel length is used to distinguish meaning. Likewise, Moges (2007) states that Kara has contrastive vowel length, and this is also confirmed in this study. All vowels except /ʊ/ /ɪ/ and /ʌ/ have long counter parts, and long vowels do occur in all word positions, but vowel length often occurs in medial position within a word in Kara. The following pairs clearly depict that vowel length is phonemic in Kara.

88. /a/, /aa/

báákà	‘cooking stone’(n)	bàká	‘cook’ (v)
dáábá	‘rise up’ (intr)	dááábá	‘lick’
kààlá	‘wait’	kàlá	‘one’
ná	‘she’	náá	‘yesterday’

89. /i/, /ii/

dííbá	‘drip’	díííbá	‘rub’
--------------	--------	---------------	-------

90. /ɔ/, /ɔɔ/

nó	‘he’	nóó	‘fire’
-----------	------	------------	--------

91. /e/, /ee/

zéermà	‘argument’	zèrmà	‘deny’
---------------	------------	--------------	--------

2.3. Syllable structure

Basically, a syllable has two elements: the onset, initial consonant (s) of a syllable, and the rhyme. The rhyme is further classified into the nucleus which is usually a vowel and the coda which refers to syllable final consonant(s). The existence of the onset and the coda in a syllable structure is different from language to language; in some languages both or one of them might be optional and in some other languages both or one of them might be obligatory. However, a syllable must include a nucleus (a vowel or vowel like sound). Similarly, the syllable structure of Kara contains an onset, nucleus and coda of which the onset and the coda are optional. As stated in the previous section, sequences of consonants do not occur in word initial and final positions in Kara. So, the syllable structure of Kara does not allow two consonants at the onset and coda positions. The nucleus can be long or short.

Kara has eight syllable types: V, VV, VVC, VC, CV, CVC, CVVC and CVV, and this can be summarized as (C)V(V)(C) in which ‘C’ stands for consonant and ‘V’ stands for vowel. The examples of all possible syllable types are given as follows:

92. V

è-sar-dí-ná ‘hear’
ì-làt ‘grunt (from effort)’

93. VV

ù ‘belly’
ùù-sí ‘breath’

94. VC

ìn-tá ‘I’
òf ‘ripe’

95. VVC

ààn ‘hand’
òòm ‘bow’

96. CV

nó 'he'
ná 'she'

97. CVV

nóó 'fire'
ráá 'leg'

98. CVC

fàn 'compound'
gùl 'living quarter'

99. CVVC

wáátʃ 'quarrel'
bààr-fá '(be) young'

Based on the presence or absence of coda a syllable can be divided as open and closed. The syllables which have a coda as in (94), (95), (98) and (99) are called closed syllables, and those syllables which lack the coda as illustrated in (92), (93), (96) and (97) are called open syllables. Though Kara has both open and closed syllables, open syllables occur more frequently as compared to the closed ones.

When a word contains a geminated consonant or consonant cluster, the first member of the geminated consonant or the first member of the cluster represents the coda, and the second member of the geminate or the cluster represents the onset of another syllable; in other words, complex onsets and codas are not allowed in Kara. As we can see from the illustrative examples given below in (100), **r**, **l**, **k** and **tʃ** signify codas of the first syllable in each word and **n**, **m**, **k** and **tʃ** are onsets of the second syllables respectively.

100. **kàr-na** 'waist' **kùl-má** 'advice'
 jék-ká '(be) equal'

As far as the data reveals, all Kara consonants can occur at the onset position in a syllable. Many consonants except **ɗ**, **ʔ**, **h**, **ts**, **ts'**, **ɗʒ**, and **ɲ** do occur at the coda position in Kara; **ɗ**, **ʔ**, **h**, **ts**, **ts'**, **ɗʒ**, and **ɲ** are limited to onset positions.

2.4. Tone

Kara, like other Omotic languages, exhibits contrastive tone. The tone system of Kara is not treated at all in previous studies; in the present study, we provide only the brief description of tone. Thus, the detailed and comprehensive analysis of the tone pattern of Kara is left open for other scholars for further investigation.

Kara is a register tone language with two tones labeled as high and low. Kenneth (1961:6) says “If a language has two registers, it is convenient to label them ‘high’ and ‘low’”. He also stated that language that has two registers have a tendency to have the contrastive levels. In a similar way, tone makes lexical distinction in Kara as exemplified by examples in (101) below. The tone bearing units are vowels. In our data the high tone is represented by (́) and the low tone is represented by (̀). Each of the following words can be said with one of the two pitch levels, high or low, and has two different meanings:

101.	gòbà	‘to run’	ḡúlá	takeout (from container)
	góbá	‘respect’	ḡulà	tighten
	dáá	‘pot’	tfáá	carve
	dàà	‘to live’	tfàà	to take
	ḡédá	‘try’	dìibá	thief (SGM)
	ḡèdà	‘show’	dìibà	‘steal’
	kòk' à	‘fry’	ḡàzà	‘fair’
	kók' á	fence in (v)	ḡázá	‘ant’

Kara nouns and verbs are mainly disyllabic. The infinitive form is the simplest verb form in Kara. In disyllabic words, all possible combination of tone pattern is attested, but in monosyllabic words either **H** or **L** tone is observed. The following examples demonstrate some possible surface tone patterns of mono syllabic and disyllabic nouns and verbs of Kara:

Nouns				Verbs	
102.	LLH	bààr fá	‘(be) young’	HHL	déésà ‘grind’
		bààtfá	‘chicken’		ḡáásà ‘carry’
	LL	nòò	‘fire’	LL	tàkà ‘cut’
		ààn	‘hand’		sàà ‘sweep’

L	ʃàn	‘compound’	HH	wálá	‘forget’
	gùl	‘living quarter’		gáʔá	‘peck’
H	nó	‘he’	LH	kòk'á	‘fry’
	ná	‘she’		dis'á	‘close’
HH	óóm	‘bow’	LLH	kààlá	‘wait’
	dóŋár	‘elephant’		bòòtʃá	‘bark’
HHH	ḃááʃá	‘comb’	HHH	ḃííḃá	‘rub’
LLL	sòòk'ò	‘salt’			
LH	ànzá	‘girl’			
	àngé	‘boy’			
HHL	póólà	‘sky’			
LHH	òlláá	‘group’			

Our data show that the grammatical function of tone is insignificant. However, it requires further investigation since the analysis of tone in this study is shallow or not done in depth. As a matter of fact, tone is largely left unmarked in the present study.

2.5. Phonological processes

This section aims at giving an overview of the phonological processes in Kara. Phonological processes occur in Kara within a word or across morpheme boundaries. Assimilation, epenthesis, metathesis and deletion are some of the phonological processes occurring in Kara. Each of them is discussed in subsequent sections.

2.5.1. Assimilation

In Kara, assimilation is a common phonological process. It is the situation where a phoneme becomes more alike to another phoneme close to it. The phoneme may be changed completely (complete assimilation) or partially (partial assimilation) to look like its neighbor. Assimilation of place of articulation is a common phenomenon in Kara. Assimilation of manner of articulation and voicing assimilation are also attested in few instances.

2.5.1.1. Place assimilation

Assimilation of place of articulation is a wide spread phenomenon. For instance, the alveolar nasal assimilates in place of articulation to velar stops and bilabials when it appears preceding the velar stops and the bilabial stops respectively as shown in (103) below:

103. /**gondinba**/ → [**gondɪmba**] ‘really, truly’
 /**has's'inba**/ → [**has's'imba**] ‘broom’
 /**inba**/ → [**imba**] ‘father’
 /**ʃerdɔŋko**/ → [**ʃerdɔŋko**] ‘tell’
 /**lonkaji**/ → [**lonkaji**] ‘eight’
 /**alanga**/ → [**alaŋga**]⁵ ‘whip’
- /n/ →[**m**] before bilabials
 →/ɲ/ before palatal stops
 →/ŋ/ before velar stops

The bilabial nasal also agrees in terms of place of articulation with the alveolar stop or alveolar fricative across morpheme breaks by sharing the place feature. Consider the following examples:

104. /**makkam-tam**/ → [**makkantam**] ‘thirty’
 /**makkam-sa**/ → [**makkɪn-sa**] ‘the third’
 /**lama-sa**/ → [**lansa**] ‘the second’
 /**m**/ →[**n**] before alveolar stops or alveolar fricatives

As can be seen from example (104) above, the cardinal number ‘thirty’ in Kara is derived by combining the numeral **makkam** ‘three’ with the numeral **tabi** ‘ten’. In the process of generating this number, the place of articulation of the initial consonant of **tabi** ‘ten’ spreads to the root final consonant of **makkam** ‘three’, in effect changing the root final consonant /**m**/ to agree in place of articulation with the following sound /**t**/. Similar phenomenon occurs when the ordinal number marker **-sa** is suffixed to cardinal number that has bilabial nasal as root final consonant. In such a case, the bilabial nasal agrees in place of articulation with the initial consonant of the suffix **-sa** and changes into the alveolar nasal /**n**/.

⁵ Borrowed from Amharic.

In Kara, causative verbs are derived by attaching the suffix *-s-* to the verb root. In the process of deriving the causative verb, the causative suffix *-s-* is changed to *-f-* if a verb root has a palatal obstruent either adjacent to or far from the causative suffix. Both the adjacent and distant assimilation are in place of articulation only, i.e. a causative suffix *-s-* will take the place feature of the palatal obstruent sound in the verb root and become *-f-* as in (105) below:

105.	hantʃ -	‘laugh’	hantʃ-i-f-	‘make laugh’
	aʃk-	‘work’	aʃk-i-f-	‘cause to work’
	tʃub-	‘wash’	tʃub-i-f-	‘cause to wash’
	potinʃ-	‘cough’	p-i-f-	‘cause to cough’

Place assimilation in Kara can be progressive or regressive. The examples in (103) and 104) above show regressive assimilation and illustrative examples in (105) above express progressive assimilation. The vowel *i* before the causative suffix is inserted to avoid impermissible sequence of consonants (See 6.3.1).

2.5.1.2. Manner assimilation

Manner assimilation is also attested in Kara though it is not as frequent as Place assimilation. Examine the following examples.

106.	/inda/ → [inna]	‘mother’
	/hamar-no/ → [hamarro]	‘all Hamar’
	/gob-ma/ → [gomma]	‘go!’

In the first two examples in (106) above, the manner of articulation spreads from left to right changing alveolar stop into alveolar nasal and the alveolar nasal into the alveolar trill resulting in total assimilations **inna** ‘mother’ and **hamarro** ‘all Hamar’ respectively. In **gob-ma** ‘go!’, the root final consonant of the verb **gob-** ‘run’ assimilates in manner of articulation to the initial consonant of the imperative suffix **-ma** resulting in total assimilation **gomma** ‘go!’.

2.5.2. Free variation

In Kara, the velar stop **/k/** and **[x]** occur in free variation at word medial position between central low unrounded short vowel **/a/**. Similarly, the phoneme **/p/** and **[f]** also alternate at word medial

position between central low unrounded short vowel /a/ or when preceded by the liquids /l/ or /r/ and followed by central low unrounded vowel /a/ or front close unrounded vowel /i/. Look at the following examples:

107. **/taka/ → [taxa]** ‘cut’
 /apala/ → [afala] ‘clothes’
 /halpa/ → [halfa] ‘knife’
 /durp i → [durfi] ‘fat’

2.5.3. Epenthesis

Epenthesis refers to the insertion of segments, syllabic or non-syllabic, between consonants or vowels to break up an impermissible sequence of sounds. In Kara, the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted to break three consonant clusters or impermissible clusters to avoid the phonotactic constraint.

- | | | |
|------|-----------------------------|---|
| 108. | k'uns'- ‘(to) break’ | k'uns'-ad-i-ma-mo ‘did not break’
Break-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL |
| | aɟk- ‘(to) work’ | aɟk-i-ma ‘work!’
work-INS-IMP |

As can be seen in (108) above, the epenthetic vowel /i/ is used to avoid impermissible sequence of consonants. In **aɟk-i-ma** ‘work!’, the vowel /i/ is inserted since three consonants are not allowed and in **k'uns'-ad-i-ma-mo** ‘did not break’ it is inserted between the negative marker and the perfective aspect marker since there is no such a cluster as **/-dm-/** in Kara.

The glides /j/ and /w/ can also be used to avoid impermissible sequences of sounds.

- | | | |
|------|--|---|
| 109. | tɟa- ‘take’ | tɟa-j-id-i-na ‘took’
take-INS-PF-PST-ADCL |
| | yaa astamara-w-u ‘Are you a teacher’
you teacher-INS-INT | |

The glide /j/ or /w/ is used when an affix that begins by a vowel is suffixed to a word that ends by a vowel. The palatal glide, in my data, is used before the high front vowel /i/ and the bilabial

glide is used before the back round vowel. These two are used to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels.

2.5.4. Deletion

Deletion is a process of removing or reducing a segment (vowel and/or consonant) when an affix is attached to a root. Deletion is not common in Kara; it occurs when a plural suffix **-na** is added to some nouns. Kara nouns can be grouped into vowel final and consonant final. The terminal vowels are sometimes dropped when we add an inflectional or derivational suffix to nouns (see chapter 3 for detail of nouns). The phonotactics of the language might be sometimes violated when a terminal vowel is dropped during the suffixation process; Kara applies deletion in order to conform to the phonotactic structure of the language. As can be seen in example (110) below, When the plural marker **-na** attaches to the root noun that ends with a liquid, a sequence of **-ln-** or **-rn-** is formed. However, the phonotactic structure of Kara does not allow such clusters. In order to avoid such impermissible sequences of consonants, the plural suffix initial consonant is deleted in Kara. Examine the following examples:

110. **k'uli** 'goat' → **k'ula** 'goats'
 ukuli 'donkey' → **ukula** 'donkeys'
 dɔŋar 'elephant' → **dɔŋara** 'elephants'
 gɔɔl 'married woman' → **gɔɔla** 'married women'

As can be seen from the above first two illustrations in (110), the terminal vowel /i/ is dropped when the plural marker **-na** is attached to root nouns that end in a lateral consonant /l/ generating ***k'ulna** and ***ukulna**, words which are not acceptable in the language. The same is true with the last example in (110). Consequently, the initial consonant of the plural suffix **-na** is deleted for phonotactic reason. Nouns that end by alveolar stops also undergo similar phonological process. The reason for the deletion of the initial consonant of the plural marker **-na** in nouns ending with the phoneme /r/ as in **dɔŋar** 'elephant' remains unclear since **-rn-** cluster is attested in two words in Kara.

2.5.5. Metathesis

In Kara, metathesis takes place when we attach plural suffix to nouns with root final velar stop. Verb roots that end with a velar stop also undergo metathesis in the causative formation. Look at the following examples:

111. **waaki** ‘cow’ **waak-na** → **waanka** > **waan̥ka** > **waŋŋa** ‘cows’
112. **ɔk-** ‘change’ **ɔk-s-** → **ɔsk-** ‘cause to exchange’
bak- ‘cook’ **bak-s-** → **bask-** ‘cause to cook’
zag- ‘find’ **zag-s-** → **zask-** ‘cause to find’

As shown in (112), the verb **bak-** ‘cook’ and **ɔk-** ‘change’ undergo metathesis when the causative suffix **-s-** is added to them to derive a transvized verb stem **bask-** ‘have cooked’ **ɔsk-** ‘make change’ respectively. In **zask-** ‘cause to find’, metathesis is followed by devoicing, changing the voiced velar stop to voiceless velar stop. The terminal vowel is dropped and **-kn-** sequence is created when we add a plural suffix to **waki** ‘cow’; however, the phonotactic structure of Kara never allows this kind of cluster. Consequently, the phonological process metathesis is applied in order to conform to the phonotactic structure of the language, changing the sequence **-kn-** into **-nk-** as in (111) above. This process is followed by place and manner assimilations respectively. The alveolar nasal /**n**/ changes to velar nasal /**ŋ**/ by regressively taking the place feature of the voiceless velar stop /**k**/, and following this the nasality feature spreads from left to right changing the voiceless velar stop /**k**/ to velar nasal /**ŋ**/ resulting in total progressive assimilation /**ŋŋ**/. So, in example (111), metathesis is followed by place and manner assimilations respectively, and the role of metathesis is to avoid non-permittable sequence of consonants.

Chapter three: Noun Morphology

This section presents inflectional morphology of nouns; it gives a brief overview of gender, number, definiteness and case marking morphemes of the Kara nouns. Furthermore, it describes the derivation of nouns from other word classes through the process of affixation and compounding. Before describing the inflectional and derivational morphology of Kara nouns, it is better to give an overview of the basic forms of the nouns.

3.1. Basic nouns

Similar to many South Omotic Languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008), Hamar (Lydall 1976) and Ari (Hayward, 1990), Kara nouns can be grouped into two: vowel final (v-final) and consonant final (C-final) nouns. As the following examples depict, the majority of Kara nouns end in a vowel. The terminal vowels of nouns (vowels that end the noun) in Kara are sometimes dropped after suffixation. The most frequent terminal vowels are /i/, /a/ and /o/, of these terminal vowels /i/ is mostly deleted after suffixation, and the other terminal vowels in most cases remain stable after suffixation. Though the reason for terminal vowel deletion after suffixation is not clear, it is sometimes deleted when some grammatical suffixes such as gender/definiteness and number markers are suffixed to the citation form a noun (See 3.2.1). However, the terminal vowels are not dropped when dative, genitive, locative and comitative suffixes are attached to the nouns that end with terminal vowel (See 3.2.4). C-final nouns are also observed rarely. Terminal vowels /e/, /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ are also attested in Kara.

The majority of Kara basic nouns are disyllabic exhibiting a (C)V(C).CV(C) syllabification pattern. Mono-syllabic and tri-syllabic nouns are also observed, though they are not as frequent as disyllabic nouns, exhibiting a syllabification pattern (C)VVC(C) and (C)V(C).CV(C).CV respectively.

The following are some examples of nouns in their citation form:

1. Citation form 'o'	Citation form 'a'	Citation form 'i'	Citation form 'ɔ'
guno 'snake'	kariya 'bird'	aapi 'eye'	ṅṅ 'fire'
lapo 'bone'	hak'a 'tree'	k'aski 'dog'	ṅṅ 'tribe'
k'aamo 'ear'	apala 'clothe'	atsi 'teeth'	ḡṅḡ 'crust'
hurro 'cat'	anza 'girl'	uutini 'rat'	
zobo 'lion'	k'aara 'ape'	ukuli 'donkey'	
	hariya 'friend'	k'uli 'goat'	

The examples given in 2 below show Kara nouns that end in consonants.

2. aan	'hand'
gemar	'mountain'
ɛɛzm	'star'
luup	'cloud'
bal	'plian land'

The Kara noun has one general form and several particular forms. The particular forms specify gender, size or individuality and number. The general form is non-specific with respect to these characteristics. Below are illustrative examples:

- | | | |
|----|----------------------|------------------|
| 3. | (a) ṅṅo | 'house' |
| | (b) ṅṅo-no | 'big house' |
| | (c) oon-a | 'small house' |
| | (d) ṅṅo-na | 'several houses' |
| 4. | (a) kaara | 'Kaara people' |
| | (b) kaara-na | 'several Kaaras' |
| | (c) kaara-no | 'all Kaara' |
| | (d) kaar-ta | 'Kara man' |
| | (e) kaar-tono | 'Kara woman' |
| 5. | (a) k'uli | 'goat' |
| | (b) k'ul-a | 'goats' |
| | (c) k'ul-tono | 'she goat' |
| | (d) k'ul-ta | 'he goat' |

As can be seen in the above examples, (3a), (4a) and (5a), the generic forms do not specify the gender, number and size features. The generic forms are the citation forms in Kara. The particular forms as stated above specify features such as gender, number and size. For instance, (3d), (4b) and (5b) demonstrate the plural number while (4d) and (5d) indicate the masculine gender and (3e) and (5c) indicate the feminine gender. Examples in (3b) and (3c) also specify large and small size respectively. When gender, size and number marking suffixes are attached to the generic forms of the nouns, the terminate vowels might be dropped in several instances as in (3c), (4 d & e), (5b-d) above. The following section presents the noun inflections of Kara nouns.

3.2. Noun inflection

Kara nouns contain a wide range of inflectional morphemes. The nouns are commonly inflected for number, gender and case. They are also inflected for definiteness though gender and definiteness are inseparable in Kara. This section presents detail description of these points, beginning with the gender.

Gender markers			Examples			
	M	-(t)a	k’uli ‘goat’	k’ul-ta ‘he goat’		
			k’aski ‘dog’	k’aski-no ‘bitch’		
		-s	batja ‘chicken’	batja-s ‘cock’		
			parda ‘horse’	parda-s ‘he horse’		
	F	-(to)no	k’uli ‘goat’	k’ul-tono ‘she goat’		
			k’aski ‘dog’	k’aski-no ‘bitch’		
			parda ‘horse’	parda-no ‘she horse’		
Number markers	SG	citation form	k’aski ‘dog’	‘mεε’ ‘woman/wife’		
	PL	-na (particular PL)	k’aski-na ‘dogs’			
			mεε-na ‘women/wives’			
		-a (particular PL)	k’uli ‘goat’	k’ul-a ‘goats’		
			gemar ‘mountain’	gemar-a ‘mountains’		
			kaara-na ‘many Karas’			
		-no (general PL)	k’uli-no ‘all goats (of some one or the village)’			
			gemar-no ‘all mountains (of the country)’			
			kaara-no ‘all Kara people’			

Table 4: Overview of Kara Gender and Number markers

3.2.1. Gender

In most Omotic languages, gender is generally semantically motivated, i.e. gender is assigned according to the inherent gender of animate entities (Mulugeta 2008, and Hellenthal 2010).

Similarly, gender in Kara often correlates with the biological gender of a person or animal. Hence, Kara has two way gender distinctions: masculine and feminine. All animals that are naturally male are assigned masculine gender and all animals that are naturally female are assigned feminine gender. Inanimate entities can also be classified as feminine and masculine. Some inanimate nouns are feminine by default, and some are masculine by default. However, the inanimate noun that is feminine by default may sometimes take the masculine gender marker to express Smallness, less importance. On the contrary, inanimate noun that is masculine by default may take the feminine gender marker to refer to largeness or more importance.

Unlike many Ethiopian languages, including closely related South Omotic languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Fekede 2011) in which feminine is used for diminutive and pejorative; in Kara, feminine is used to denote big and major things (more important things); whereas masculine is used to denote small and minor things (less important things).

Gender markers are attached either to the citation form of the noun without dropping the TV or to the root of the noun (without terminal vowel) though no regular rule has been found why they are attached in some cases to the root, and in others to the citation form of the noun. As Table (6) demonstrates, masculine is marked by the suffix **-(t)a**, and feminine is designated by the suffix **-(to)no**. look at the examples in (6) for detail:

6.	Stem nouns	Gloss	M and F nouns	Gloss
(a)	gaaja	‘monkey’	gaaji-ta gaaji-tono	‘he monkey’ ‘she monkey’
(b)	waaki	‘cattle’	waak-a waŋ-ŋo	‘ox’ ‘cow’
(c)	k'uli	‘goat’	k'ul-ta k'ul-tono	‘he goat’ ‘she goat’
(d)	k'aski	‘dog’	k'ask-a k'aski-no	‘he dog’ ‘bitch’
(e)	guduri	‘hyena’	gudur-ta gudur-tono	‘he hyena’ ‘she hyena’

(f)	zobo	'lion'	zob-ta	'he lion'
			zob-tono	lioness
(g)	k'aara	'ape'	k'aar-ta	'he ape'
			k'aar-tono	'she ape'
(h)	ooto	'calf'	oot-a	'bull'
			ooto-no	'heifer'
(i)	dogar	'elephant'	dogar-ta	'he elephant'
			dogar-tono	'she elephant'

As the majority of the examples in table (6) show, the terminal vowel of noun stems is deleted before the masculine marker **-ta** and the feminine marker **-tono**. However, when the feminine marker **-no** is used, the terminal vowel is not deleted as in 6 (d) and (h). The terminal vowels may sometimes change their form as in (6a) above, the TV **a** in **gaaja** 'monkey' is changed to **i** after suffixation.

The Terminal vowel is also not dropped before the masculine marker **-s** as exemplified in (7) below. The suffix **-s** is also used as a masculine marker in Kara. The same morpheme is used as a masculine marker in, one of the South Omotic Languages, Ari (Fekede 2011). This morpheme, as far as the data on hand show, is used with nouns that end by the terminal vowel **-a**, but not with all. See the examples in (7):

7.	<u>Stem</u>	<u>Masculine form</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
	kariya	kariya-s	'he bird'
	kaara	kaara-s	'he fish'
	parda	parda-s	'he horse'
	baatfa	baatfa-s	'the cock'

In Kara, demonstratives and adjectives, in their singular form, are marked for gender. Thus, demonstratives and adjectives agree in gender with the head noun as the following examples demonstrate:

8.	(a)	ukul-ta	s'iya-s	geb-a	na?-id-i-na
		donkey-M	black-M	big-M	come-PF-PST-ADCL
		'The big black (he) donkey came'			

- (b) **εεj-a ka-a dzinka-bara naʔ-id-i-na**
 man-M DEM:PROX-M jinka-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man came from Jinka’
9. (a) **ukul-tono s’iya-no gebo-no naʔ-id-i-na**
 donkey-F black-F big-F come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The big black donkey came’
- (b) **naa-no ko-no dzinka-bara naʔ-id-i-na**
 Child-F DEM:PROX-F jinka-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘This girl came from Jinka’

As can be seen in (8a), since the head noun **ukul-ta** ‘he donkey’ is masculine, the adjective which modifies the head noun, following the head noun ‘donkey’ is also inflected for masculine gender. On the contrary, the feminine gender marker is suffixed to the adjective in (9c) as the head noun is feminine in gender. The proximal demonstratives **ko-no** ‘this’ in (9b) and **ka-a** ‘this’ in (8b) are used to refer to nouns with feminine and masculine gender respectively. Similarly, the distal demonstratives **ogo-no** ‘that’ and **aga-a** ‘that’ are also used to refer to feminine and masculine nouns respectively as in (10) below:

10. (a) **aga-a ukul-ta**
 DEM:DIST-M donkey-M
 ‘that he donkey’
- (b) **ogo-no ukul-tono**
 DEM:DIST-F donkey-F
 ‘that she donkey’

From the above examples we can understand that the adjective and demonstrative concord help us to identify the gender of the noun which they modify.

The Kara language does not distinguish gender when the noun is in plural form. Similarly, the demonstratives and the adjectives do not mark gender when the head noun is plural. Look at the examples in (11) :

11. **mɛɛ-na** **lama-na** **gudubi-na**
 woman-PL two-PL tall-PL
 ‘the two tall girls’

Kara also uses different lexical items to denote feminine and masculine gender, and this lexical items or nouns particularly refer to human entities.

12. **Anza** ‘girl’
 Ange ‘boy/male/husband’
 mɛɛ ‘wife/woman/female’
 Imba ‘father’
 Abuyi ‘uncle’
 Indakana ‘aunt’

As stated above, the default gender of the inanimate nouns can be either feminine or masculine, but the majority of Kara nouns are inflected for both feminine and masculine gender and vice-versa. Nouns which are feminine by default can be inflected for masculine gender to designate Diminutiveness. The illustrative examples are presented as follows:

13. (a) **i=nante** **halpa-s-im** **im-ma**
 1SG-DAT knife-M-ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give me the knife (the small one)’
 (b) **i=nante** **halpa-n** **im-ma**
 1SG-DAT knife-F:ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give me the knife (the big one)’
 (c) **i=nante** **sun-a-m** **im-ma**
 1SG-DAT stone-M-ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give the stone to me (the small one)’
 (d) **i=nante** **sun-i-n** **im-ma**
 1SG-DAT stone-F:ACC give-IMP
 ‘Give the stone to me (the big one)’

15. (a) **ko-no** **ɔɔno-no**
 DEM:PROX-F house-F
 ‘this house (the big one)’
- (b) **ka-a** **oon-a**
 DEM:PROX-M house-M
 ‘this house (small one)’

In example (13a) and (14a) above, masculine is the default gender. According to my informants, the masculine gender is used with **halpa** ‘knife’ and **suuni** ‘stone’ unless the sizes of them are identified as ‘big’. When the size is indentified as large or big, these nouns take the feminine marker **-no** as in 13(b) and 14(b). However, the noun **ɔɔno** ‘house’ is feminine by default, but is marked as masculine when the size recognized as small.

On the contrary, some of the inanimate nouns in Kara are inherently feminine and some are inherently masculine. Words such as ‘grass’, ‘sun’, ‘land’, ‘water’, ‘river’ and ‘sky’ are inherently feminine and cannot be inflected for masculine gender. ‘egg’, ‘God’, ‘tree’ and ‘mountain’ are some examples of inherently masculine inanimate nouns, and these nouns do not have a feminine counterpart. Below are some examples:

16. **hak'a-s** **gemar-ta** **zara-na** **ki=do**
 tree-M mountain-M on-ADCL 3SGM-exist
 ‘The tree is on the mountain’
17. (a) **hayo-no** **tf̣oo-bara-na** **ko=ard-aj**
 Sun-F down-ABL-ADCL 3SGF-rise-IPF
 ‘The sun sets in the west’
- (b) **nunk'o-no** **ojida-na** ‘
 water-F hot-ADCL
 ‘The water is hot’

Many nouns also make gender distinction by using the modifiers **ange** ‘boy/male’ or **mɛɛ** ‘women/female’. The former one is used with masculine animate nouns, whereas the later one is used with feminine animate nouns. The word **anza** can also be used with feminine nouns. For example, in Kara, the compound noun **indanana** refers to siblings. So, in order to clarify

whether **indanana** refers to either ‘brothers’ or ‘sisters’, we need to use either **ange** or **mɛɛ** as in (18) below. We also use these modifiers when we portray an indefinite animate noun that is either masculine or feminine as in (19). The examples in (18) and (19) show the gender distinctions made with these modifiers:

18. (a) **inta ange-na indana-na lama-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 I boy-PL sibling-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I saw my two brothers’
- (b) **inta anza-na indana-na lama-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 I girl-PL sibling-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I saw my two sisters’
19. (a) **waaki mɛɛ kala** ‘a cow’
 cattle female one
- (b) **waaki ange kala** ‘an ox’
 cattle male one

The noun **waaki** in (19) is generic and indefinite; in such a case we use **mɛɛ** ‘woman/female’ and **ange** ‘boy/male’ to identify the gender of the cattle.

To sum up, gender is a salient property of nominals in Kara. In Kara, gender is expressed obligatorily when the noun is made definite, but the indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked for gender. However, we can use modifiers along with the generic form of the animate nouns to identify the gender of the noun. From these points one can infer that the gender markers in Kara are also definiteness markers.

In Kara, masculinity is indicated by suffixes: **-ta**, or **-a**, or **-s**. The masculine gender marker **-s** is suffixed to nouns with terminal vowel **a**. In this language, masculinity is used not only to signify male sex, but it is also used to connote infrequently used or found, small, minor, seldom found items in inanimate nouns. The masculine markers also show singularity in animate nouns. Unlike many Ethiopian languages and closely related languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Fekede 2011), masculinity is associated with smallness, less frequently used items and less important things. Femininity, on the other hand, is expressed by suffixes: **-tono** or **-no**. The feminine gender markers, in Kara, designate female sex and singularity in animate nouns, but in

inanimate nouns, these morphemes are used to indicate items which are frequently used or found, large in size or quantity. They also show common place or a group. Furthermore, the feminine marker **-no** is used to specify the item considered as a whole or all cases of an item. In contrast to masculinity, femininity is associated with big size, more frequent and very important things. Thus, the masculine gender marker is used to express diminutiveness whereas feminine gender is used to express augmentative in Kara, and the same holds true in Hamar, a very closely related South Omotic Language (Lydall 1976 and 1986).

3.2.2. Definiteness

As it is stated in the previous section, one cannot speak about definiteness without mentioning gender, since the same morpheme is used as definiteness and gender marker. Thus, gender and definiteness markers are portmanteau in Kara; in other words the gender markers mark both gender and definiteness simultaneously. Indefiniteness, on the other hand is not morphologically marked. Some examples are given below:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 20. | (a) | ɛɛj-a | | ‘the man’ |
| | (b) | ɛɛdi (kala) | | ‘a man’ |
| 21. | (a) | ɛɛsi-no | | ‘the woman’ |
| | (b) | mɛɛ (kala) | | ‘a woman’ |
| 22. | (a) | ʃark’ a-s | zawu-na | ‘The calabash (a small one) is red ’ |
| | | calabash-M | red-ADCL | |
| | (b) | ʃark’ a-no | zawu-na | ‘The calabash (large one) is red’ |
| | | Calabash-F | red-ADCL | |
| | (c) | ʃark’ a | (kala) zawu-na | ‘A calabash is red’ |
| | | Calabash | one red-ADCL | |

The morphemes **-a** and **-s** in (20a) and (22a) respectively indicates masculine gender and definiteness. In (19a) and (20b), the suffix **-no** signifies femininity and Definiteness. Conversely, as can be seen in (20b), (19b) and (22c) no morphological marker is used to indicate indefiniteness.

Definiteness is not marked for nouns which are naturally masculine or feminine as the following examples in (23) depict:

23. **anza** ‘the girl/ a girl’
 ange ‘the boy/ a boy’

Similar to gender, definiteness is not marked when the noun is in plural form. See the examples in (24) below:

24. (a) **hak'a-na** **gebi-na-na** ‘The trees are big’
 tree-PL big-PL-ADCL
 (b) **εε-na** **gebi-na** ‘The tall men’
 man-PL tall-PL
 wan-ŋa **s'ija-na** ‘The black oxen/cows’
 cow/ox-PL black-PL
 (c) **inta** **parda-na** **hap-id-i-na**
 I horse-PL see-PF-PST-ADCL ‘I saw horses’

Indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked in Kara. As stated at the beginning of this chapter, Kara nouns are classified as generic and particular, and only the particular forms are marked for gender, number, definiteness and case. Gender and case are marked when the noun is definite, but when the noun is indefinite, the citation form or generic form is used instead of the particular form. Below are illustrative examples in (25) :

25. (a) **εεdi** ‘man’
 mεε s'eedi ‘short woman’
 εεdi gebi ‘tall man’
 (b) **no** **mεε** **gebi** **hap-id-i-na**
 he woman tall see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw a tall woman’
 (c) **no** **εεdi** **gebi** **hap-id-i-na**
 he man tall see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw a tall man’

As shown in example (26) below, when the noun is indefinite, the generic form of the noun can be used along with the numeral **kala** ‘one’ which is optional.

26. (a) **hurro (kala) nunk'o wutj'-id-i-na**
 cat one water drink-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘A cat drank water’
- (b) **k'aski (kala) kariya (kala) des-id-i-na**
 dog one bird one kill- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘A dog killed a bird’

3.2.3. Number

As presented in section 3.1 above, Kara nouns are classified as general and particular. The particular forms specify gender, number and size, whereas the general forms are non-specific for such features. Accordingly, only the particular forms show the number distinction in Kara. A Two-way number distinction, singular and plural, is attested in Kara. Both animate and inanimate nouns use the suffix **-na** or **-a** to mark plural number; however singular number is not morphologically marked, and this seems common among all South Omotic languages such as Dime (Mulugeta 2008), Ari (Fekede 2011) and Hamar (Lydall 1986 and Andreas 2011).

The plural suffix **-na**, as the following examples in Table (27) depicts, can be directly attached to the generic form or citation of the noun:

27.	kariya	‘bird’	karija-na	‘birds’
	anza	‘girl’	anza-na	‘girls’
	guno	‘snake’	guno-na	‘snakes’
	ɔɔno	‘house’	ɔɔno -na	‘houses’
	ange	‘male’	ange-na	‘males’
	atsi	‘tooth’	atsi-na	‘teeth’
	mɛɛ	‘woman’	mɛɛ-na	‘women’
	aan	‘hand’	aani-na	‘hands’

As can be seen from examples in (27) above, the majority of Kara nouns are pluralized by suffixing the plural marker **-na** to the basic (citation) form of the nouns. In the last example **aani-na** ‘hands’, the high front vowel **i** is inserted as geminated **n** is not attested in Kara.

However; in some instances the plural marker, as shown in Table (28) below, is attached to the root, but no regular rule has been found to account for the fact that suffixes are attached in some cases to the root, and other cases to the citation form of the noun.

28.	naasa	‘boy’	naa-na	‘children’
	naano	‘girl’	naa-na	‘children’
	ijeti	‘sheep’	ije-na	‘sheep’
	uutini	‘rat’	uuti-na	‘rats’

In Kara, when the last consonant of a noun which immediately comes before the terminal vowel is a liquid, the terminal vowel is omitted and the suffix **-a** is used instead of **-na** to change the singular noun to its plural form. Look at the illustrative examples given in (29) below:

29.	(a) k'uli	‘goat’	k'ul-a	‘goats’
	(b) ukuli	‘donkey’	ukul-a	‘donkeys’
	(c) guduri	‘hyena’	gudur-a	‘hyenas’

As can be seen in example (29a-c) the terminal vowels following the liquid consonants, /l/ and /r/ in this case, are omitted. The plural suffix **-a** appears immediately after the liquids.

Kara nouns that end by a liquid consonant /r/ or /l/ also take **-a** instead of **-na** as a plural marker as shown in (30) below:

30.	gemar	‘mountain’	gemar-a	‘mountains’
	dɔŋar	‘elephant’	dɔŋar-a	‘elephants’
	gɔɔl	‘married woman’	gɔɔl-a	‘married women’
	hamar	‘Hamar person’	hamar-a	‘several hamar’

Modifiers of nouns like the numerals and adjectives, which usually come after the head noun, agree in number with their head nouns. Thus, singular head nouns require singular modifiers, and plural head nouns require plural form of the modifiers. Illustrative examples are provided below:

31.	(a)	anza-na	lama-na	gob-te-na	kɛ=do
		grl-PL	two-PL	run-PORG	3PL-exist
		‘The two girls are running’			

- (b) **laale diibi-na lama-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 lale thief-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Lale saw the two thieves’
32. (a) **no waŋ-ŋa s’ija-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 3SGM ox-PL black-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw the black oxen’
- (b) **na ɛɛ-na gudubi-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 3SGF man-PL tall-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She saw the tall men’

The numeral **lama** ‘two’ and the adjectives **s’ija** ‘black’ and **gudubi** ‘tall’ are pluralized in the above cases to make agreement with the heads of the noun phrases: **anzan-na** ‘girls’, **diib-na** ‘thieves’, **waŋ-ŋa** ‘oxen’ and **ɛɛ-na** ‘men’ respectively.

According to Lydall (1986), Hamar has two kinds of plural, particular plural and global or general plural. She states that the particular plural refers to several instances of the particular noun; whereas the global or general plural refers the item considered as whole. A similar pluralization system is observed in Kara. The plural marker **-na** is used to show several cases of the particular nouns, for example, **kaara-na** refers to ‘several Karas’ not all Karas; to refer to the whole Kara people, we need to use the gender marking suffix **-no**. so, **kaara-no** has the meaning ‘all Kaara’. More examples are provided as follows:

33. (a) **mursa-na** ‘Mursis’
 (b) **murso-no** ‘all Mursis’
34. (a) **hamar-a** ‘Hamars’
 (b) **hamar-ro** ‘all Hamars’
35. (a) **haami-na** ‘farm lands’
 (b) **haami-no** ‘all farm lands’
36. (a) **ɛɛ-na** ‘men’
 (b) **ɛɛdi-no** ‘all men’

In (33 a & b) the terminate vowel /i/ is changed to /a/ and /o/ respectively to harmonize with the vowels of the suffixes. In (34b), the alveolar nasal consonant /n/ of **-no** is totally assimilated to /r/ and becomes **-ro**. The meaning of the suffix **-no** is complex in Kara, unless we use context, since it is used to indicate singular feminine gender or general plural.

In general, Kara has two-way distinction of number: singular and plural. The plural number is further classified into two; the particular plural and the general plural. The particular plural refers to several cases of the object or item, whilst the general plural refers to all or the item as a whole. Another interesting point about the number system in Kara is that the modifiers agree in number and gender with the head noun. Adjectives, numerals and demonstratives which might come following or preceding the head of the noun phrase become singular or plural based on the number of the head noun; they become singular if the head noun is in singular form and plural if the head noun is in plural form. Hence, it is the head of the noun phrase that governs the number of the modifiers which modify the head.

3.2.4. Case

Case is a grammatical category used in the analysis of word classes or their associated phrases to identify the syntactic relationship between phrases in a sentence. It shows grammatical relations between concepts such as nominative (subject), accusative (object), dative (indirect object), instrument, location, etc., (Crystal 2003). According to Blake (1994) there are two notions of case: syntactic (core case) and semantic (peripheral case). As one can understand from the words, the core cases are expressed by syntactic positions of nouns or by affixes attached to the nouns occupying subject or object positions; whereas the peripheral cases express semantic relations. Accordingly, nominative, accusative and dative cases are included in core case, whereas instrumental, genitive, locative, and ablative cases are included in peripheral cases.

Kara nouns are marked for accusative, dative, locative, instrumental, genitive, and comitative cases. The detail of each case is presented in subsequent sections.

3.2.4.1. The Nominative and Accusative Case

The nominative and accusative cases mark the subject and the object of a sentence respectively. As mentioned before, they are part of the ‘core’ or syntactic cases. Nominative case is not

morphologically marked in Kara, and it is also not marked in other South Omotic Languages such as: Hamar (Lydall 1976), Banna (Tsegaye 2015), Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Daniel 1993). Fekede (2011), on the other hand, claims that nominative case is morphologically marked in Ari with the suffix **-a**, which Daniel claims as a plural marker, attached to the noun occupying the subject position. In Sheko, a distantly related Omotic language, the nominative case is unmarked (Hellenthal 2010), but some Omoto Languages such as Wolayita (Lamberti and Sottile 1997), Haro (Hirut 2004) and Koorete (Binyam 2008) have a marked nominative system. According to some scholars (Crystal 2003 and Creissels 2000), the subject is often the unmarked form in many languages of the world.

As can be seen in the following examples, the subject of a sentence is marked syntactically by position; not morphologically by a grammatical morpheme. The suffix **-a** in (37b) is a masculine-definiteness marker. Examples of nominative case are provided in (37) below:

37. (a) **k'aski (kala) naas-a-m gaʔ-id-i-na**
 dog one child-M-ACC bite-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘A dog bit the boy’
- (b) **εεj-a zobo (kala) des-id-i-na**
 man-M lion one kill- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man killed a lion’
- (c) **laale zobo (kala) des-id-i-na**
 lale lion one kill- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Lale killed a lion’

The accusative case which denotes the object noun in a sentence is morphologically marked in Kara. It is also morphologically marked by other South Omotic Languages. The accusative case of Ari and Dime, according to Fekede (2011) and Mulugeta (2008) respectively, are marked by a suffix **-im**. As stated by Fekede, Ari also uses **-n** as an accusative marker when the object noun is indefinite. Hamar has different accusative marker, **-dan**, **-an** or **-dam**, **-am**, based on the type of the final vowel of the noun stem to which the suffix is attached (Lydall 1976).

Accusative in Kara is marked by **-m** or **-n**, based on the gender type of the object noun. Animate object nouns which are masculine in gender and inanimate object nouns which are small in size,

short in length, shallow in depth, less common and less important in Karaa take the suffix **-m**. The accusative suffix **-m** occurs following the masculine marker **-ta** or **-a**. This point can be clearly justified by the examples provided in (38) below:

38. (a) **εεj-a zob-ta-m des-id-i-na**
 man-M lion-M-ACC kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man killed the lion’
- b) **k'aski (kala) naas-a-m gaʔ-id-i-na**
 dog one child-M-ACC bite-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘A dog bite the boy’
- c) **k'ask-a εεj-a-m gaʔ-id-i-na**
 dog-M man-M-ACC bite-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The dog bite the man’
- d) **ari sun-a-m pak-id-i-na**
 ari stone-M-ACC throw-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Ari throw a stone (a small one)’

The accusative marker **-m** occurs following the masculine gender marker **-s** as demonstrative examples in (39) below show:

39. (a) **halpa-s-i-m i=nante im-ma**
 knife-M-INS-ACC 1SG-DAT give-IMP
 ‘Give the knife to me’
- (b) **apala-s-i-m i=nante im-ma**
 cloth-M-INS-ACC 1SG-DAT give-IMP
 ‘Give the cloth to me’
- (c) **inta haaza-s-i-m arijo-nante im-id-i-na**
 I arrow-M-INS-ACC ariyo-DAT give-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I gave the arrow to Ariyo’

The phonotactics of Kara does not allow **-sm-** consonant sequences, consequently, the vowel **i** is inserted between the masculine definiteness marker **-s** and the accusative marker **-m** to avoid impermissible sequences of consonants as in (39) above.

Accusative case is not marked when the object noun is indefinite or when the gender of the noun is not specified as shown in (40) below:

40. (a) **laale zobo (kala) des-id-i-na**
 lale lion one kill- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Laale killed a lion’
- (b) **εεj-a ukuli (kala) ʃan-id-i-na**
 man-M:DEF donkey one buy- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man bought a donkey’

The above examples in (40) reveal that accusative case requires definiteness of a noun in Kara. However, in related languages, Dime and Ari, accusative case does not require definiteness of a noun.

The suffix **-n** is used as an accusative maker with definite feminine object nouns. As depicted in examples (38) and (39) above, the accusative case marker **-m** comes following the definite-masculine gender marker, but when the object noun is feminine, accusative marker **-n** is directly suffixed to the stem of the noun. Below are illustrative examples:

41. (a) **wan-ŋo ʃok'o-n ɖed-id-i-na**
 cow-F grass-F:ACC graze-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The cow ate the grass’
- (b) **naa-no mas'afi-n ʃan-d-i-na**
 child-F book-F:ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The girl bought the book’
42. **no naa-n haap-id-i-na**
 he girl-F:ACC see- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw the girl’
43. **na waji-n ʃan-d-i-na**
 she cow-F:ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She bought the cow’

Though the reason is not clear, and require further investigation, examples (41) - (43) show that the feminine marker **-no** is reduced, and it seems that the suffix **-n** marks both accusative and feminine gender simultaneously.

When the **-(to)no** form is used to mark the feminine gender, the accusative marker **-n** occurs following **-to** of the **-(to)no** form. The feminine marker occurs before the Accusative marker in Example (44) below:

44. (a) **inta** **ukul-to-n** **des-id-i-na**
 I donkey-F:DEF:ACC kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I killed the donkey’
- (b) **woti** **ezin-to-n** **haap-id-i-na**
 we star-F:DEF-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘We saw the big star’

The accusative case marker also occurs following a plural marker **-na**. Examine the following Examples in (45) below :

45. (a) **wuti** **waj-ŋa-m** **jan-id-i-na**
 we cow/ox-PL-ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘We bought the cows or oxen’
- (b) **biwa suni-na-m** **puʔuf-id-i-na**
 biwa stone-PL-ACC collect-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Biwa has collected the stones’

When the direct object of a sentence is followed by a modifier, the accusative marker is suffixed to the modifier that comes at the end of a phrase instead of the object noun as in (46a, 47a and 48a). However, when the modifiers occur preceding the noun they modify, the accusative marker gets suffixed to the object noun. Thus, we can infer that the accusative case marker, in Kara, is suffixed to the rightmost constituent of the noun phrase. Below are illustrative examples:

46. (a) **masirefa apala-s getf-a-m tf'ub-id-i-na**
 masiresha cloth-M old-M-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Masiresha washed the old cloth'
- (b) **ari s'ija-s wak-a-m fan-id-i-na**
 ari black-M ox-M-ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Ari bought the black ox'
47. (a) **laale diibi-na lama-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 lale thief-PL two-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Lale saw the two thieves'
- (b) **laale lama-na diibi-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 lale two-PL thief-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I saw the two thieves'
48. (a) **laale daa-s ka-a-m fan-id-i-na**
 lale pot-M DEM:PROX-M-ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Lale bought this pot'
- (b) **laale ka-a daa-s-i-m fan-id-i-na**
 lale DEM:PROX-M pot-M-INS-ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Lale bought this bought'

The examples given in (46), (47) and (48) express that the accusative marker is attached to the right most element of the noun phrase. In (46a), (47a) and (48a), the accusative marker is suffixed to the adjective, numeral and demonstrative respectively, but it is attached to the head of the noun phrase as in (46b), (47b) and (48b) when the modifiers occur preceding the head of the noun phrase. Identical structure is attested in Dime (Mulugeta 2008).

A relative clause can be used as a modifier of a noun in Kara. Like any modifier, it may appear either preceding or following the head noun it modifies. So, similar to the above examples, the accusative marker is attached to the relative clause when it occurs following the object noun it modifies. Examine examples (49) and (50) below:

49. **no ɛɛj-a naa na?-ad-a-m haap-id-i-na**
 he man-M yesterday come-PF-M:REL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He saw the man who came yesterday'

50. **no εεj-a taa ni-te-da-a-m haap-id-i-na**
 he man-M now come-PROG-exist-M:REL see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw the man who is/was coming now’

As shown in the examples above, the relative clause is marked for the gender of the head noun it modifies. The accusative marker **-n** is used with the feminine gender, whereas the accusative morpheme **-m** is used with masculine and plural nouns (See 8.1 for detail).

The conjunction **bee** ‘and’ is sometimes used to combine two and more object nouns. In Kara, this conjunction occurs following each noun it conjoins. Hence, when a sentence has two or more objects joined by a conjunction **bee** ‘and’, the accusative marker is attached to the conjunction which comes following the last object as in (51):

51. **inta naas-a-bee εεj-a-bee naa-no bee-m haap-id-i-na**
 1SG child-M-CONJ man-M-CONJ child-F CONJ-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I saw the boy, the man and the girl’

The accusative case is also marked on proper names and personal pronouns in Kara. Case in personal pronoun will be treated in separate section (See chapter 4). The accusative marker **-m** is used with all proper nouns, whether they refer to masculine or feminine. The following are examples of accusative marker **-m** on proper nouns:

52. **inta duk'a-m keema-na i=keem-aj**
 I duk'a-ACC marry-ADCL 1SG-marry-IPF
 ‘I will marry Duk'a’
53. **duk'a masirefa-m-i-na ko=keem-ad-aj**
 duk'a masiresha-ACC-INS-ADCL 3SGF-marry-PASS-IPF
 ‘Duk'a will marry masiresha’

3.2.4.2. The Genitive

The genitive case is typically used for marking relations between nouns. The morpheme **-sa** is attached to the possessor noun to indicate the relationship between a possessed and a possessor noun. In Kara, the genitive marker is optional when the possessed noun appears immediately

following the possessor noun. In the following examples the genitive marker **-sa** is used to show genitive case:

54. (a) **ɛɛsi-n-sa** **ɔɔno -no**
 woman-F-GEN house-F
 ‘the woman’s house’
- (b) **ɛɛ-na-sa** **k'uli**
 man-PL-GEN goat
 ‘the men’s goat’
- (c) **zobo-sa** **raa** **watf'i-na**
 lion-GEN leg strong-ADCL
 ‘A lion’s leg is strong’
- (d) **nagad-a-sa** **biro-no**
 trade-M-GEN money-F
 ‘money of the trader’
- (e) **nagad-ton-sa** **biro-no**
 trader-F-GEN money- F
 ‘money of the trader’ (F)

In example (54a-e), the genitive marker is morphologically marked by the morpheme **-sa**. As can be observed in (54 a, d & e) above, the genitive case marker appears following the feminine and masculine gender markers. It also occurs following the plural number marker **-na** as in (54b) above. The genitive case as in (54c) is not restricted to definite nouns like the accusative case.

As stated in the first paragraph of this section, the genitive case marker is optional when the possessed noun appear immediately following the possessor noun. Thus, the genitive relationship, as shown in (55) below, is simply designated by means of word order: possessor followed by possessed. Consider the following examples:

55. (a) **ɛɛsi-no** **oon-a**
 woman-F house-M
 ‘The woman’s house’

- (b) **imba ɔno-no**
 father house-F
 ‘father’s house’
- (c) **gabar-a naa-no**
 farmer-M children-F
 ‘The farmer’s daughter’

On the contrary, when the possessed noun occurs preceding the possessor noun, either the genitive marker **-sa** or the lexical item **gan-ta** ‘property’ with masculine nouns or **gaji-no** with feminine nouns is used. Examine the following illustrative example:

56. (a) **ukul-ta dunga gan-ta**
 donkey-M dunga property-M
 ‘Dunga’s he-donkey’
- (b) **oon-a ɛɛsi-n gan-ta**
 house-M:DIM woman-F property-M
 ‘The woman’s house’
57. (a) **borsa-no diib-a gaji-no**
 bag-F thief-M property-F
 ‘Bag of the he-thief’
- (b) **naa-no gabar-a gaji-no**
 child-F farmer-M GEN-F
 ‘Daughter of the he-farmer’

The feminine and masculine gender markers in **gaji-no** and **gan-ta** respectively refers to the gender of the possessed objects. For example in (56b), the masculine marker **-ta** is used since the suffix **-a** attached to the stem **oon-** show masculine and smallness simultaneously. On the other hand, the suffix **-no** in **gaji-no** (57a) agrees with **borsa-no** ‘bag’.

In Addition to possession which is exemplified above, the genitive relationship also shows the source. In this case too, the genitive is indicated by the word order as in (58) or the morpheme **-sa** as in (59 a & b) below:

58. **inta kaara buno ʃanf-id-i-na**
 I Kara coffee sell-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I sold Kara’s coffee’
59. (a) **wan̄gi-sa k'ufumo-no wot̄fi-na**
 Cow-GEN horn-F expensive-ADCL
 ‘Cow’s horn is expensive’
- (b) **waak-a-sa k'ufumo-no wot̄fi-na**
 ox-M-GEN horn-F expensive-ADCL
 ‘Ox’s horn is expensive’

3.2.4.3. The Dative

The dative case typically expresses an indirect object relationship, or it indicates the object receiving something or benefiting from something. In Kara, the morpheme **-nante** is suffixed to nouns or pronouns, and their modifiers, regardless of their gender, to indicate the dative case.

The following examples show the dative case:

60. (a) **inta haza-s-im ariyo-nante im-id-i-na**
 I arrow-M-ACC ariyo-DAT give-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I gave the arrow to Ariyo’
- (b) **ajiko k'uli laale-nante ʃanf-id-i-na**
 ayiko goat lale-DAT buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Ayiko bought a goat to/for Lale’
- (c) **inta nunk'o ɛɛdi-nante im-id-i-na**
 I water man-DAT give-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I gave water to a man’

As can be seen from the examples given in (60a-c) above, the dative marker is attached to nouns receiving or benefiting from something. It is, in most cases, attached to the generic form of the noun without affecting the terminal vowel. Unlike the accusative case, which requires definiteness to be marked, the dative case is marked when the noun is indefinite or when the gender of the noun is not marked as in (60c). As shown in (60a), the dative case comes after the

accusative case though it sometimes occurs before accusative case as in (61 b & c) below when both are marked in a sentence.

Like in the accusative case, the dative marker, as shown in (61 a & b) below, is preceded by the gender marker when the gender of the indirect object is marked. See the following examples:

61. (a) **no ukul-ta-nante ʃok'o ʃan-id-i-na**
 he donkey-M-DAT grass buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He bought grass for the he-donkey’
- (b) **no ɛɛsi-n-nante apala-s-i-m ʃan-id-i-na**
 he woman-F-DAT cloth-M-INS-ACC buy PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He bought the cloth for the woman’
- (c) **inta ko=nante mas'af-a-m im-id-i-na**
 I 3SGF-DAT book-M-ACC give- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I gave the book to her’

Similar to the accusative case, the dative case marker is attached to the modifier when the indirect object occurs preceding modifiers such as: adjectives, numerals and demonstratives as in (62) below. Examine the following examples:

62. **no bire-na-m ɛɛsi-no s'ijo-n-nante im-id-i-na**
 he money-PL-ACC woman-F black-F-DAT give- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He gave the money to the black women’
63. **inta ko=bee ki=bee-nante gaj-id-i-na**
 1SG 3SGF-CONJ 3SGM-CONJ-DAT say- PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I reported to her and to him’

Indirect objects can be represented by two and more nouns combined by the conjunction **bee** ‘and’, as shown in (63) above. Each combined noun or pronoun is followed by **bee** ‘and’. In such a case, the dative case marker is suffixed to the conjunction ‘and’, the rightmost element of the indirect objects.

3.2.4.4. Instrumental Case

The Instrumental case, which denotes an entity or a tool by which or with which an action is done, is expressed with the morpheme **-ka** attached to the noun. Consider the following examples:

64. (a) **na ko=m hak'a-ka dfaj-id-i-na**
she 3SGF-ACC stick-INST hit-PF-PST-ADCL
'She hit her with stick'
- (b) **no mura-ka zob-ta-m des-id-i-na**
he gun-INST lion-M-ACC kill-PF-PST-ADCL
'He killed the lion with gun'
- (c) **ari parda-ka kaara-n-bara na?-id-i-na**
ari horse-INST kaara-F:DEF-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
'Ari came from Kara by horse'
65. (a) **na halpa-n-ka waa tak-id-i-na**
she knife-F:DEF-INST meat cut-PF-PST-ADCL
'She cut meat with the knife'
- (b) **na bafa-s-ka ji-te-na ko=do**
she comb-M:DEF-INST comb-PROG-ADCL 3SGF-exist
'She is combing with the comb'

As can be seen from the above example, (64 a-c), the instrumental case marker is directly suffixed to the generic form of the noun. This happens when the instrumental noun is indefinite. On the other hand, the instrumental case marker **-ka** occurs following the gender/definiteness marker as in (65 a & b). This morpheme has similar function in related languages like Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Fekede 2011).

3.2.4.5. Comitative Case

The comitative case that show the notion of 'along with' or 'accompanied by' is often indicated by the morpheme **-mala**. It is sometimes followed by the word **kinka** which has the meaning 'together' as in (66b) below. Look at the following illustrative examples:

66. (a) **inta ari-mala hak'a kam-id-i-na**
 I ari-COM wood collect-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I collected firewood with ari'
- (b) **naa-no ija-ta-mala ɔno-n naʔ-id-i-na**
 child-F sheep-M-COM home-ACC come-PF-PST-ADCL
 'The girl came home with the he-sheep'
- (c) **wuti ki=mala kinka-na wo=aʃk-aj**
 we 3SGM-COM together-ADCL 1PL-work-IPF
 'We work with him'

When 'with' is used with the bound pronouns or pronominal clitics to show the notion of 'companion with', the morpheme **kala** 'one', which literally means 'together', is used to indicate the comitative case in Kara, and it is preceded by the bound pronouns. Attaching **-mala** to the pronominal clitics or bound pronouns result in reflexive pronouns (See 4.1.5 for examples of reflexive pronouns). The following examples show the occurrence of **kala** as comitative case marker:

67. (a) **inta ki=kala-na i=ʔaʃk-aj**
 1SG 3SGM-COM-ADCL 1SG-work-IPF
 'I work with him'
- (b) **arijo ki=kala naʔ-id-i-na**
 ariyo 3SGM-COM come-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Ariyo came with him'
68. **inta ko=kala-bee ki=kala-bee kala-na i=ʔaʃk-aj**
 1SG 3SGF-COM-CONJ 3SGM-COM-CONJ one-ADCL 1SG-WORK-IPF
 'I work with him and with her'
69. **dunga laale-bee aari-bee-mala kinka-na ki=ʔaʃk-aj**
 dunga lale-CONJ ari-CONJ-COM together-ADCL 3SGM-work-IPF
 'Dunga works with Lale and with Ari'

If something is accompanied by two and more objects, we use the conjunction **bee** to coordinate the objects that accompany something. In such a case, the comitative case marker **kala** is

suffixed bound pronoun, as in (69) above. The comitative marker **kala** occurs between the bound pronoun and the conjunction **bee** in each combined constituents.

The word **kinka** ‘together’ can be used along with **-mala** as in (69) above, and it can also be used without **-mala** as in (70) below:

70. (a) **wuti kinka-na wo=ʔaʃk-aj**
 1PL together-ADCL 1PL-work-IPF
 ‘We work together’
- (b) **naa-n-bee naas-a-bee kinka almi-te-na kɛ=do**
 child-F-CONJ child-M-CONJ together play-PROG-ADCL 3PL-exist
 ‘The girl and the boy are playing together’

3.2.4.6. The Locative Case

The Locative case expresses spatial locations of an entity or action. In Kara, the morpheme **-ro** is suffixed to the noun to indicate static location. Some examples are provided below:

71. (a) **ɔno -ro k'aski daji-na**
 house-LOC dog exist-ADCL
 ‘There is a dog in the house’
- (b) **imba timatimi⁶-na-m gaba-ro ʃanf-id-i-na**
 father tomato-PL-ACC market-LOC sell-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘My father sold tomatoes at the market’
- (c) **ɛɛja nunk'o-ro apala-n tʃ'ub-id-i-na**
 man water-LOC cloth-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man washed the cloth in a river’

In C-final nouns, the epenthetic vowel **-i-** is inserted before the locative marker **-ro** as shown in the example (72) below. The vowel **o** of the morpheme **-ro** is changed to **i** for the sake of vowel harmony of an epenthetic vowel.

⁶ The word ‘timatim’ is borrowed from Amharic.

72. **naa** **ɛɛdi** **waani** **duus-i-ri-na** **kɛ=do**
 yesterday person some dus-INS-LOC-ADCL 3PL-exist
 ‘Some people were in Dus yesterday’

Location words such as ‘near’, ‘outside’, ‘behind’, ‘in front’, ‘on’, ‘inside’, ‘over’, etc., are expressed with different lexical items. In Kara, there is a two way distinction in such static location words based on the closeness of the object or person to the speaker. Accordingly, the morpheme **-ro** is suffixed to the above location words to show that the object or person is located closer to the speaker; whereas, **-bara** is suffixed to the same words to show the object or person is located far from the speaker. Some of the two distinct static locations derived by these morphemes are: **iiro** ‘inside’, **iibara** ‘deep inside’, **budoro** ‘just behind’, **budobara** ‘far behind’, **wotiro** ‘just in front’ and **wotibara** ‘far front’. Rebecca (1999), also states that those lexical items with **-ro** show that the entity is closer to the speaker, but those with **-bara** show that the entity is far from the speaker. Below are some examples:

73. (a) **naasa** **ɔɔno** **iiro-na**
 boy house inside-ADCL
 ‘The child is inside a house’
- (b) **ɔɔno-n-sa** **budu-ro**
 house-F-GEN behind-LOC
 ‘near-behind the house’
- (c) **naas-a** **ɛɛsin-sa** **budo-bara** **dark'i-te-na** **ko=do**
 child-M woman-GEN behind-ABL stand-PROG-ADCL 3SGF-exist
 ‘The child stands far behind the woman’

3.2.4.7. The Ablative case

In Kara, the ablative case which is used in the expression of a range of locative or instrumental meanings (Crystal 2008) is indicated by a morpheme **-bara** which is suffixed to the nouns referring to place. Some illustrative examples are provided below:

74. (a) **no** **duus-bara** **naʔ-id-i-na**
 he dus-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He came from Dus’

- (b) **naas-a** **tamarɔɔno-n-bara** **naʔ-id-i-na**
 child-M school-F- ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The boy came from the school’
- (c) **ari** **parda-ka** **kaara-n-bara** **naʔ-id-i-na**
 ari horse-INST kara-F-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Ari came from Kara by horse’

The Ablative case expresses source or from where something come or begin motion (Blake 1994). In Kara, the morpheme **-ka** is suffixed to nouns to denote the source of something, i.e., it has the meaning ‘from where’ or ‘out of where’. As shown in the following examples, the morpheme **-ka** occurs following the locative marker **-ro** to express from where something or someone came or originated.

75. (a) **kɛɛ** **gaba-ro-ka** **ijeti** **ʃan-id-i-na**
 3PL market-LOC-SOU sheep buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘They bought sheep from market’
- (b) **inta** **buno** **s'aal** **kaara-ro-ka** **ʃan-id-i-na**
 1SG coffe good kara-LOC-SOU buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I bought a good coffee from Kara’
- (c) **dunga** **ɔɔno-ro-ka** **wut-id-i-na**⁷
 dunga house-LOC-SOU getout-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Dunga came out from the house’
76. **laale** **dʒinka-bara-ka** **kuro-na** **ki=baʔ-aj**
 lale Jinka-ABL-SOU honey-ADCL 3SGM-bring-IPF
 ‘Lale will bring honey from Jinka’

In example (75 a & b), the morpheme **-ka** is preceded by the locative marker **-ro** and shows the source of the ‘sheep’ and the ‘coffee’ respectively. In (75c), it indicates the beginning point of the motion. The morpheme **-ka** also occurs following the ablative marker **-bara** as in (76) above.

⁷It seems that the root of the verb **wutidiina** is borrowed from Amharic verb **wet'a** ‘come out’

In this example, **-bara** shows that the meaning of motion ‘away’ from Jinka and **-ka** shows that the source of the honey is Jinka.

To sum up, ablative in Kara, is used to express the meaning motion ‘away’ from a particular location, or the source of something or from where something begins a motion. The former one is expressed by **-bara** and the later one is expressed by **-ka**.

3.2.4.8. The Allative Case

The allative case expresses the meaning of motion ‘to’ or ‘towards’ a place (Crystal 2003). In Kara, the noun phrase in the allative case is marked by the morpheme **-zara**. Illustrative examples are provided in (77) below:

77. (a) **kεε ki=zara gob-id-i-na**
 they 3SGM-ALL run-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘They run towards him’
- (b) **addis koosa-m masireʃa-zara ɗaj-id-i-na**
 addis ball-ACC masiresha-ALL kick-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Addis kicked the ball to Masiresha’
- (c) **na i=zara naʔ-id-i-na**
 she 1SG-ALL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She came towards me’

As can be seen in (77) above, the allative case marker **-zara** can be suffixed to nouns and bound pronouns to show that the motion is towards somebody or some place.

The following chart provides lists of all Kara case markers:

Case type	Case marker	Examples	Gloss
Nominative	unmarked	εεja zobtam desidiina	‘The man killed the lion’
Accusative	-m or -n	k'aski (kala) naasa-m gaʔidiina	‘A dog bit the boy’
Dative	-nante	inta hazasim arijo-nante imidiina	‘I gave the arrow to Ariyo’
Genitive	-sa	εεna-sa k'ula	‘The men’s goats’
Instrumental	-ka	εεja k'askam suuni-ka pakidiina	‘The man hit the dog with a stone’
Comitative	-mala	naasa indanaan-mala ɔno n jaʔidiina	‘He went home with his sister’
Locative	-ro	ɔno-ro k'aski dajina	‘There is a dog in the house’
Ablative	-bara	no duus-bara naʔidiina	‘He came from Dus’
	-ka	kεε gaba-ro-ka ijeti ʃan-id-i-na	‘They bought sheep from market’
Allative	-zara	kεε kizara gobidina	‘They run towards me’

Table5:Summary of Case Marking Morphemes in Kara

3.3. Noun Derivation

Derivation of noun refers to the formation of new nouns from an existing word, root or stem through affixation. In Kara, nouns are derived from verbs, adjectives, or noun bases through affixation. This subsection presents how agentive, abstract, result, instrument, and infinitive nominals are derived from existing verbs, adjectives, or nouns in Kara.

3.3.1. Nouns Derived from Verbs

Nouns can be derived from verb roots or stems through the process of Affixation. Agentive nouns, action nouns, instrumental nouns, infinitives and gerundive nouns are some of the nouns generated from verb roots or stems by suffixing different suffixes. The following sections present how nouns are formed from verbs. The discussion begins by Agentive nominals.

3.3.1.1. Agentive Nominals

Agentive nominals which represent the doer or performer of an action are derived by suffixing the masculine, feminine or plural number markers to the imperfective form of the verbs. As can be seen in (78) and (79) below, suffixes **-a**, **-no**, or **-na** which indicate the masculine, feminine and plural respectively occurs following the imperfective marker **-aj** and nominalize the verb. Thus, we can say that agent nouns are marked attaching gender or number markers to verb roots. Examine some of the illustrative examples given below:

78.	Verb root	Gloss	Derived agentive	Gloss
	(a) zag-	find	zag-aj-a	‘he-finder’
			zag-aj-i-no	she-finder
	(b) im-	give	im-aj-i-no	‘she giver’
			im-aj-a	‘he-giver’
	(c) ajk-	work	ajk-aj-i-no	‘she-worker’
			ajk-aj-a	‘he-worker’
79.	tf'ub-	wash	tf'ub-aj-i-na	‘washers’

The epenthetic vowel **i** is inserted between the agentive suffix and the imperfective marker to avoid impermissible consonant clusters.

Though agentive nominals are commonly formed by suffixing gender and number markers to the imperfective verb root, we can also derive them via the process of compounding. These compound words are formed by combining the infinitive verb to the nouns **ɛɛdi** ‘person’, **ɛɛja** ‘man’ and **ɛsino** ‘women’ and their plural form **ɛɛna** ‘men/women’. The following examples show the formation of such nouns:

80.	Verb stem	Gloss	Derived agentive	Gloss
	(a) desa	‘to kill’	desa-eed	‘a person who kills’
	(b) koya	‘to dig’	koya-eed	‘a person who digs’
	(c) wutf'a	‘to drink’	wutf'a-eed	‘a person who drinks’
81.	taka	‘to cut’	taka-ɛsino	‘She-cutter’

82.	afka	‘to work’	afka-εεna	‘workers’
-----	-------------	-----------	------------------	-----------

3.3.1.2. Instrumental Nominals

In a similar fashion, instrumental nouns which refer to things or devices associated with actions can be derived by suffixing the gender morpheme to the imperfective form of a verb. Unlike the agentive nominals which are formed by suffixing masculine, feminine or number marker, the instrumental nominals are formed by suffixing the morpheme **-a**, which seems a masculine marker, as shown in the examples below:

	Verb root	Gloss	Derived Nominal	Gloss
83.	tak-	‘cut’	tak-aj-a	‘something to cut with’
	pals-	‘split’	pals-aj-a	‘something to split with’
	buʔurf-	‘boil’	buʔurf-aj-a	‘something to boil with’
	bula	‘open’	bul-aj-a	‘something to open with’
84.	kʼadʒ-i f-	‘cool’	kʼadʒ-if-aj-a	‘something to cool with’

In (84), a causative verb **kʼadʒ-if-** ‘make cool’ is derived from the Adjective **kʼadʒi** ‘cool’ through causativization. Suffixing the instrumental marker to the causative verb stem generates instrumental nominal as revealed in (84). The detail of causativization is presented under verb morphology (See 6.3.).

3.3.1.3. Action Nominals

Action nominals are nouns that refer to an action associated with a verb. In Kara, action nouns are formed by suffixing the morpheme **-o** to the verb roots. The suffix **-o** is attested as the most productive morpheme to derive action nouns. See some of the following action nominals and result nominals derived from the verb roots via the suffixation of **-o** in (85) and (86) respectively:

85.	Verb root		Derived nominal	
	ɖawus-	‘announce’	ɖawus-o	‘announcement’
	wutʃ-	‘drink’	wutʃ-o	‘drink’
	keem-	‘marry’	keem-o	‘marriage’
	kazm-	‘Copulate’	kazm-o	‘sex’
	burz-	‘Snore’	burz-o	‘snore’

	ojis-	‘request’	ojis-o	‘request’
86.	k'aab-	‘know’	k'aab-o	‘knowledge’
	jaan-	‘urinate’	jaan-o	‘urine’

The morpheme **-mo** and **-i** can also be added to the verb roots to derive action nouns. The former one is attested in two cases, and the later one is attested in one case only. Below are the illustrative examples:

	Verb roots		Derived nominal	
87.	kaf-	‘pay’	kaf-i	‘payment’
88.	ʔaf-	‘curse’	ʔafi-mo	‘curse’
	iir-	‘insult’	iir-mo	‘insult’

A closely related language Ari, uses the morpheme **-mi** to derive verbal nominals (Fekede 2011).

3.3.1.4. Infinitives

An infinitive is a verb form that is used as a noun. Infinitives are formed by suffixing the morpheme **-a** to the verb root. The infinitive can be used as a subject or an object (complement) of a sentence. Look at the examples:

89. (a) **inta naʔ-a-nante zag-aa-na i=zag-aj**
 1SG come-INF-DAT find-IPF-ADCL 1SG-find-IPF
 ‘I want to come’
- (b) **wuti naʔ-a-nante zag-aa-na i=zag-aj**
 1PL come-INF-DAT find-IPF-ADCL 1SG-find-IPF
 ‘We want to come’
90. **gob-a-nante s'aali-na**
 run-INF-DAT good-ADCL
 ‘To run is good’

In examples (89) and (90), the morpheme **-a** is suffixed to the verb root producing infinitives which can be used as a subject of a sentence or object of a sentence.

3.3.1.5. Gerundive nominal

Gerundive nominals are productively derived from the transitive and intransitive verb roots by suffixing the morpheme **-into** (Rebcca 1999). Some examples are demonstrated in Table (6) below:

Verb roots	Gloss	Derived Nominals	Gloss
tak-	‘cut’	tak-into	‘cutting’
εεp-	‘cry’	εεp-into	‘crying’
diib-	‘steal’	diib-into	‘stealing’
kirb-	‘dance’	kirb-into	‘dancing’
s'aj-	‘vomit’	s'aj-into	‘vomiting’
bow-	‘despise’	bow-into	‘despising’
har-	‘excrete’	har-into	‘excreting’

Table 6: Gerundive nominals derived from verb roots

3.3.2. Nouns Derived from Adjectives and other Nouns: Abstract Nominals

According to Rebcca (1999), abstract nouns, nouns which refer to abstract quality, entity, characteristics, etc. are derived from adjective and noun by the morpheme **-into** and **-mo** respectively. However, the present study shows that the morpheme **-mo** is suffixed to both adjective and noun stems to derive an abstract noun. See the following examples in Table (7) and (8) below:

Adjective stem	Gloss	Derived Nouns	Gloss
gebi	‘big’	geba-mo	‘bigness’
bodo	‘thin’	boda-mo	‘thinness’
s'ija	‘black’	s'ija-mo	‘blackness’
kupi	‘Poor’	kupa-mo	‘poorness’

Table 7: Abstract nouns derived from adjectives

Noun stems	Gloss	Derived Nouns	Gloss
diibi	‘thief’	diiba-mo	‘theft’
inda	‘mother’	inda-mo	‘motherhood’
haija	‘friend’	harija-mo	‘friendship’

Table 8: Abstract nouns derived from nouns

The derived nouns in Table (7) and (8) above exemplify how abstract nouns are derived from adjectives and nouns respectively by the same morpheme **-mo**. The terminal vowels of the basic adjective can be dropped during suffixation like the terminal vowels of nouns, but sometimes the terminal vowels change to the vowel **-a** after suffixation, of course what motivates this terminal vowel shift is not clear at this stage.

3.3.3. Compounding

Compounding, the combination of two or more words to form a new word, is one of the most productive type of word formation process in Kara. As the illustrative examples in Table (9) below reveals, noun-noun combination is the most productive type of compounding observed in Kara.

Noun-noun stems	Compound Noun
(a) temari ⁸ ‘student’ + ɔɔno ‘house’	temaarɔɔno ‘school’
	temarɔɔnona ‘schools’
(b) inda ‘mother’ + naasa ‘boy’	indanaasa ‘brother’
(c) inda ‘mother’ + naano ‘girl’	indanaano ‘sister’
	indanaana ‘siblings’
(d) k’awu ‘forest’ + dabi ‘animal’	k’awudab ‘wild animal’
(e) ɔɔno ‘house’ + dabi ‘animal’	ɔɔnodab ‘domestic animal’

Table 9: Noun-Noun compounding

In Table (9a) above, the terminal vowel of the first constituent of the compound noun gets deleted whenever the second constituent of the compound begins by a vowel to avoid impermissible vowel cluster. Most kinship terms in Kara, as shown in Table (9 b & c) are formed via noun-noun compounding.

Most of the compound nouns of Kara are semantically transparent in that the meaning of the whole can be predicted from the meanings of the component parts that form the compound. In (9 a, d and e), the compound nouns formed have almost similar meaning to the meanings of the individual components. For instance, **k’awudab** ‘wild animal’ is the combination of **k’awu** ‘forest’ and **dabi** ‘animal’; hence, **k’awudab** literally means ‘animals living in the forest’.

⁸ Borrowed from Amharic

As far as the data on hand show, almost all of noun-noun compounds of Kara are right-headed, i.e. they have a head and this head is the right member of the compound. The forms in Table 9 all have in common that they are noun-noun compounds and that they denote a subclass of the referents of the head. The plural marker as shown above is also attached to the head noun in compound nouns of Kara, and this also shows that this language is right-headed.

A compound noun is also formed by combining a verb and a noun base. Similar to the noun-noun compounds, the heads of compound nouns formed from verb-noun combination are also right-headed, and their meaning is derived from each components of the compound noun. As can be depicted by the following examples in in Table 10 below, the compound nouns formed through verb-noun combinations show the place where an event occurs. So, the noun **rak** 'place' is the head of the derived compound nouns.

Verb-noun stem	compound noun (locative noun)
wadim- 'work' + rak 'place'	wadima-rak 'work place'
adim- 'hunt' + rak 'place'	adima-rak 'hunting place'
wutj - 'drink' + rak 'place'	wutj - a-rak 'drinking place'
raat- 'sleep' + rak 'place'	raati-rak 'sleeping place'
duk- 'bury' + rak 'place'	dukirak 'cemetery'

Table 10: Verb-Noun compounding

As can be seen from Table (10) above, the compound nouns formed by verb-noun combinations show the place where an event happen or occur. So, we can call them locative nouns.

Agentive nominals such as: **des-a-eed** 'killer', **koy-a-eed** 'digger', **wutj**-**a-eed** 'drunkard' are also formed by combining a verb stem to a noun **ɛɛdi** 'person'. **ɛɛdi** is a head of a compound noun, a person who takes an action.

There are compound nouns with adjective and noun combinations. Unlike noun-noun and verb-noun compound nouns, the head of noun-adjective compound noun is left handed. Below are some illustrative examples.

aan 'hand' + mizak 'right'	aan-mizak	'right hand'
aan 'hand' + warkata 'left'	aan-warakata	'left-hand'
aan 'hand' + guduba 'big'	aan-guduba	'thumb'

Table 11: Noun-Adjective Compounding

Chapter Four: Pronouns

This section is organized into three subsections. The first section presents the different categories of personal pronouns. The second section deals with the demonstrative pronouns, and the last section gives brief description of the interrogative pronouns.

4.1. Personal Pronouns

In Kara, the personal pronouns make a distinctions between first, second and third persons. Singular and plural number distinction is also observed in Kara personal pronoun system. Gender distinction however is made only in third person singular. The same phenomenon is observed in other South Omotic Languages such as: Hamar (Moges 2005), Ari (Hayward 1990; Daniel 1994; Fekede 2011) and Dime (Mulugeta 2008).

Kara has two sets of personal pronouns: the subject and object personal pronouns. The subject personal pronouns are free and can occur independently, conversely, the object pronouns are bound and cannot occur independently. The bound personal pronouns usually occur with case marking suffixes, and they are also sometimes prefixed to the verb as a verbal agreement marker. Thus, the base forms of the accusative, dative and possessive pronouns correspond formally to that of object pronouns. The subject (nominative) and object (accusative, dative and genitive) pronouns will be briefly described in subsequent sections.

4.1.1. Subject Pronouns: Nominative Pronouns

Subject personal pronouns of Kara occur freely (independently) without being attached to other lexical items. The base of some of the subject and object personal pronouns are related but not totally identical. The base of the first plural subject and object personal pronouns is similar. The base for first person singular subject and object pronouns also looks similar. However, the base forms of second person singular, third person singular feminine and third person singular masculine which refer to the subject and object personal pronouns are quite different.

As shown in the following Table, Kara has seven subject personal pronouns and eight object personal pronouns.

person	Subject Pronouns		Base Object pronouns	
1SG	inta	‘I’	i=	‘I’
2SG	jaa	‘you’	ha=	‘you’
3SGM	no	‘he’	ki=	‘he’
3SGF	na	‘she’	ko=	‘she’
1PL	woti	‘we’	wo=	‘we’
2PL	jeti	‘you’	ye-	‘you’
3PL	kεε	‘they’	kε=	‘they’
3			ji=	‘he/she/they’

Table 12: List of Subject and Object pronouns

As can be seen in Table 12, the 3SGM subject pronoun is **no** ‘he’, whereas the corresponding **3SGM** object pronoun is **ki=**. Similarly, 3SGF **na** ‘she’ and 2SG **jaa** ‘you’ are subject pronouns, but their corresponding object pronouns are **ko=** ‘her’ and **ha=** ‘you’ respectively.

A similar phenomenon is observed in Dime (Mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Fekede 2011) **3SGM** and 3SGF subject and object pronouns. The third person singular subject and object pronouns are almost similar with that of Ari. The only difference is that the **3SGM** and **3SGF** subject pronouns **n-o-o** ‘he’ and **n-a-a** ‘she’ have long vowels, where the first vowel marks gender and the last one marks case. There is no difference with the object (accusative) pronouns (Fekede 2011).

The forms of the subject pronouns of Dime (Mulugeta 2008) are also identical to the Kara ones. For example, **3SGM** and **3SGF** subject pronouns are **nu** ‘he’ and **na** ‘she’ respectively and their corresponding object (accusative) pronouns are **kin-im** and **kon-im** ‘she’. However, the forms of Kara personal pronouns are less similar to a closely related South Omotic language, Hamar. Unlike Kara, Hamar subject pronouns are marked for nominative case (Moges 2005). For example, **3SGM** and **3SGF** subject pronouns are **ki-si** ‘he’ and **ko-si** ‘she’ respectively and are completely different from that of Kara. The suffix **-si** is a nominative case marker. Of course, what makes both Kara and Hamar similar in this particular example is that they both distinguish gender.

The forms of some Kara subject pronouns are similar as revealed in Table 11 above. The 1PL **wo=ti** ‘we’ and 2PL **je-ti** ‘you’ have similar form because both are derived by suffixing **-ti** to the basic forms; the 1SG **inta** ‘I’, which is derived by suffixing **-nta** to the basic form, has also somehow a similar form with 1PL and 2PL. On the other hand, the forms of the 3SGM **no** ‘he’, 3SGF **na** ‘she’, 2SG **jaa** ‘you’ and 3PL **kεε** ‘they’ are different from one another and the previous three personal pronouns with the suffix **-ti**. Though the meanings of the suffix **-ti** and **-ta** is not clear and require further investigation, we can deduce from the given data that Kara subject personal pronouns are independent and are not marked for case. As mentioned before, in the nominative forms, gender (masculine and feminine) is distinguished only in the third person singular pronouns. In this case, the masculine gender is marked by the suffix **-o** and the feminine gender is marked by **-a**. The masculine and feminine gender markers used in the third person singular pronouns look the reverse of the masculine and feminine markers, **-(t)a** and **-(to)no** respectively, used with the nouns.

The following examples illustrate the subject pronouns of Kara in a sentence:

91. (a) **inta** **nagada-na**
 I merchant-ADCL
 ‘I am a merchant’
- (b) **kεε** **nagada-na**
 they merchant-ADCL
 ‘They are merchants’
- (c) **no** **parda kala** **jan-id-i-na**
 he horse one buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He bought a horse’
- (d) **jεti** **parda kala** **jan-id-i-na**
 you horse one buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘You bought a horse’

4.1.2. Accusative Pronouns

Kara has eight object pronouns formed by suffixing the accusative marker **-m** to the bound forms. The accusative marker used with object nouns and object pronouns is the same. The personal pronouns used as a direct object are listed in the following Table:

Person	Accusative Pronouns	
1SG	i=m	‘me’
2SG	ha=m	‘you’
3SGM	ki=m	‘him’
3SGF	ko=m	‘her’
1PL	wo=m	‘us’
2PL	je-m	‘you’
3PL	kε=m	‘them’
3	ji=m	him/herself/themselves

Table 13: List of Accusative Pronouns

As can be seen in Table 13 above, the morpheme **-m** is suffixed to the bound object personal pronouns to mark accusative case. The bound pronoun **ji=** is used only in object position. Unlike the nominative case, the accusative case makes a three-way distinction of gender: masculine, feminine and neutral. **ki=** and **ko=** are the third person singular masculine and feminine object pronouns respectively, and **ji=** is a third person gender neutral pronoun. This pronoun does not distinguish singular from plural as the same form is used with the third person plural. The third person neutral bound pronoun is found throughout the entire set of personal pronouns except in the nominative form.

Hamar, a genetically very close language, has also a third person gender neutral singular personal pronoun **ji-na** ‘him/her’. Both languages have the same bound pronoun **ji=**, but they have different accusative markers: **-m** in Karaa and **-na** in Hamar (moges 2005). Ari, another South Omotic language, has also third person singular gender neutral bound pronoun **ji=**, but it is attested only in the ‘reflexive direct object pronouns’ (Hayward 1990:451).

The following examples in (92) below illustrate the summary of the eight accusative pronouns of Kara:

92. (a) **kεε i=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘They hit me’
they 1SG-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
- (b) **no ha=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘He hit you (SG)’
he 2SG-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL

- (c) **jeti ki=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘You hit him’
you (PL) 3SGM-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
- (d) **woti ko=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘We hit her’
we 3SGF-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
- (e) **jaa wo=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘You hit us’
you (SG) 1PL-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
- (f) **no jε=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘he hit you (PL)’
he 2PL-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
- (g) **inta kε=m ɖaj-id-i-na** ‘I hit them’
I 3PL-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
- (h) **na ji=m ɖaj-id-i-na**
she 3-ACC hit-PF-PST-ADCL
‘She hit her/him/them’

4.1.3. Dative Pronouns

Unlike the accusative pronouns, the dative pronouns which are used as the indirect object of a clause are eight in Kara. The morpheme **-nante** is suffixed to the bound personal pronouns to indicate a dative case. As presented in section 3.2.4 above (noun inflection for case) the same morpheme is used with the noun used as the indirect object of a clause. The examples in the following Table show the list of dative pronouns:

1SG	i=nante	‘to me’
3SGM	ki=nante	‘to him’
3SGF	ko=nante	‘to her’
2SG	ha=nante	‘to you’
1PL	wo=nante	‘to us’
3PL	kε=nante	‘to them’
2PL	jε=nante	‘to you’
3	ji=nante	‘to her/himself/themselves’

Table14: List of Dative Pronouns

Below are more examples on dative pronouns in a sentence:

93. (a) **nunk'o-n i=nante im-ma**
 water-ACC 1SG-DAT give-IMP
 'Give the water to me'
- (b) **nunk'o-n wo=nante im-ma**
 water-ACC 1PL-DAT give-IMP
 'Give the water for us'
- (c) **jaa kε=nante mas'af-a-m fan-id-i-na**
 you 3PL-DAT book-M-ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 'You bought the book for them'
- (d) **na bir-a-m ki=nante im-id-i-na**
 she money-M-ACC 3SGM-DAT give-PF-PST-ADCL
 'She gave the money to him'
- (e) **no ji=nante k'uli fan-id-i-na**
 he 3-DAT goat buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He bought a goat for himself'

In example (93e) above the dative marker **-nante** is attached to the third person pronoun **ji=** to express co-reference between the subject the sentence and dative pronoun of the same sentence, and it conveys the message 'for one's own benefit'. Example (93) demonstrates that the indirect object pronoun usually occurs following the direct object, but it may also sometimes occur preceding the direct object. See the illustrative examples in (94) and (95) below:

94. **no wo=nante nunk'o-n im-id-i-na**
 he 1PL-DAT water-ACC give-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He gave the water for us'
95. **jaa kε=nante mas'af-a-m fan-id-i-na**
 you (SG) 3PL-DAT book-M-ACC buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 'You bought the book for/to them'

4.1.4. Genitive Pronouns

Kara has eight genitive pronouns including the third person bound pronoun **ji=**. The morpheme **-nti** or **-nno** is suffixed to the basic object pronouns to derive the genitive pronouns. The sentences below in (96) show the paradigms of possessive pronouns with a noun **ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ** ‘house’:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| 96. | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | ki=nti-na | ‘The house (F) is his’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | ko=nti-na | ‘The house (F) is hers’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | i=nti-na | ‘The house (F) is mine’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | ha=nti-na | ‘The house (F) is yours (SG)’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | wo=nti-na | ‘The house (F) is ours’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | jε=ntio-na | ‘The house (F) is yours (PL)’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-no | kε=nti-na | ‘The house (F) is theirs’ |
| 97. | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-a | ki=nta-na | ‘The house (M) is his’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-a | ko=nta-na | ‘The house (M) is hers’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-a | wo=nta-na | ‘The house (M) is ours’ |
| 98. | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-na | ki=nna-na | ‘The houses are his’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-na | ko=nna-na | ‘The houses are hers’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-na | i=nna-na | ‘The houses are mine’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-na | jε=nna-na | ‘The houses are yours (PL)’ |
| | ᵛᵛᵛᵛᵛ-na | kε=nna-na | ‘The houses are theirs’ |

The suffix **-nti** or **-nno** are alternatively used to indicate a genitive case; these two morphemes are used when the possessed noun is singular and feminine as in (96) above. Furthermore, they are also used when the possessed noun is supposed to be big or feminine. Incontrast, the morpheme **-nta** is suffixed to the basic pronominals to show that the possessed noun is small (diminutive) or masculine in gender as in (97) above. The genitive marker is changed to **-nna** when the possessed noun is plural as shown in (98) above.

The following are examples also illustrate the context in which the genitive marker **-nna** and **-nta** are used:

99. (a) **ki-na** **naa-na** **i=nna-na**
 DEM:PROX-PL child-PL 1SG-GEN:PL-ADCL
 ‘These are my children’
- (b) **ki-na** **k'ul-a** **i=nna-na**
 DEM:PROX-PL goat-PL 1SG-GEN:PL-ADCL
 ‘These are my goats’
100. (a) **kaa** **oon-a** **i=nta-na**
 DEM:PROX-M house-M:DIM 1SG-GEN:SGM-ADCL
 ‘This is my room’
- (b) **ka-a** **k'ul-ta** **i=nta-na**
 DEM:PROX-M goat-M 1SGJ-GEN:SGM-ADCL
 ‘This is my (he) goat’
- (c) **ka-a** **naas-a** **i=nta-na**
 DEM:PROX-M child-M 1SG:OBJ-GEN:SG-ADCL
 ‘This is my son’

In (100a), the morpheme **-nta** primarily indicates a genitive case, but it also shows that the possessed noun is singular masculine diminutive. In (100 b & c), it shows singular masculine gender in addition to a genitive case.

The genitive case marker **-sa**, which is used with nouns to show possession, is also suffixed with the bound pronominals to form a genitive pronoun. Consider the examples in (101) below:

101. **i=sa ɰɰnono** ‘my house’
ki=sa ɰɰnono ‘his house’
ko=sa ɰɰnono ‘her house’
wo=sa ɰɰnono ‘our house’
ha=sa ɰɰnono ‘your house’
jɛ=sa ɰɰnono ‘your house’
kɛ=sa ɰɰnono ‘their house’

Similar to the nouns, Kara genitive pronouns may occur following or preceding the possessed noun. For instance, in a phrase **ɔɔnono kɛ=sa** ‘their house’, the genitive pronoun occurs following the possessed noun, whereas, in (100) above, it occurs preceding the possessed noun.

In genitive construction, the genitive marker **-sa** can be attached to the third person gender and number neutral pronoun to show the co-reference between a subject and a genitive pronoun as shown in (102) below:

102. (a) **no** **ji=sa** **apala-n** **tʃ'ub-id-i-na**
 he 3-GEN cloth-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He washed his cloth (Lit: He washed his own cloth)’
- (c) **na** **ji=sa** **apala-n** **tʃ'ub-id-i-na**
 she 3-GEN cloth-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She washed her cloth (Lit: She washed her own cloth)’
- (b) **kɛɛ** **ji=sa** **apala-na-m** **tʃ'ub-id-i-na**
 3PL:SUBJ 3-GEN cloth-PL-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘They washed their clothes (Lit: They washed their own clothes)’

Kara genitive pronoun is more related to the Hamar language than Dime (mulugeta 2008) and Ari (Daniel 1993). In both Kara and Hamar, the genitive case is marked by **-nno/-nti**, and they become **-nna** when the possessed noun is plural. According to Moges (2005), the genitive case marker **-nti** is used when the possessed noun is singular and the same holds true in Kara. They are different in that Kara uses the genitive case marker **-sa** that is used in nouns to form a genitive in pronoun, and this is not observed in Hamar (Moges 2005).

4.1.5. Reflexive Pronouns

The reflexive pronouns in Kara are formed by suffixing **-mala**, a morpheme which is used as a comitative case marker in nouns, to the bound object pronoun forms. Hamar reflexive pronouns are also formed by attaching identical morpheme **-mal** to the basic pronominal stems (Moges 2005). Unlike other third person pronouns, the third person reflexive pronoun shows

neutralization of gender and number features. Consequently, the third person masculine, feminine and plural reflexive pronouns have the same form as illustrated in Table (15) below:

na	ji=mala	‘she herself’
no	ji=mala	‘he himself’
kεε	ji=mala	‘they themselves’
ja	ha=mala	‘you yourself’
jeti	je=mala	‘you yourselves’
inta	i=mala	‘I myself’
woti	wo=mala	‘we ourselves’

Table 15: List of Reflexive Pronouns

As the examples in Table (15) above reveal, the morpheme **-mala** is suffixed to the object pronouns to form five reflexive pronouns. Interestingly, the third person reflexive pronoun is formed by attaching the suffix **-mala** to the third person neutral pronoun **ji=**; the 3SGF, 3SGM and 3PL forms are not used in deriving reflexive pronouns. As stated before, the impersonal distinction in third person pronoun is found throughout the entire set of third person pronouns except in the nominative case and the same is true in Hamar (Moges 2005). The reflexive pronouns are co-referential with the subject of the clauses in which they occur.

The reflexive pronouns occur along with the accusative forms in expressing reflexive action and/or in expressing emphasis as there is no morpheme marking the reflexive action in the verb form. Examine the following illustrative examples:

103. (a) **no** **ji=mala** **ji=m** **des-id-i-na** ‘He killed himself’
 he 3-REF 3-ACC kill-PF-PST-ADCL
- (b) **jaa** **ha=mala** **ha=m** **des-id-i-na**
 you 2SG-REF 2SG-ACC kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘You killed yourself’
- (c) **jeti** **je=mala** **je=m** **des-id-i-na**
 you (PL) 2PL-REF 2PL-ACC kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘You killed yourselves’

104. (a) **wuti** **wo=m** **wo=mala** **des-id-i-na**
 we 1PL-ACC 1PL-REF kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘We killed ourselves’
- (b) **inta** **i=m** **i=mala** **des-id-i-na**
 I 1SG-ACC 1SG-REF kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I killed myself’

From the above examples, we observe that the reflexive pronouns are not case marked, but they co-occur with accusative pronouns to show emphasis. Order of the reflexive pronoun and accusative pronoun is freely interchangeable; the accusative pronoun can occur following the reflexive pronoun as shown in (103 a-c), and they can also appear preceding the reflexive pronoun as in (104 a & b) above.

To avoid ambiguity of the third person reflexive pronouns in a sentence, we need to necessarily use the nominative pronouns; otherwise it is difficult to identify the gender and number of the third person pronoun.

According to Hirut (2004), Haro, one of the Ometo languages that is distantly related to Kara, has a gender and number neutral third person pronoun in Reflexive pronouns as in Kara. Reflexive in Haro and other Ometo languages such as Male (Azeb 2001) and Zayse (Hayward 1990) is limited to third person (Hirut 2004: 114). The reflexive in Ometo languages like Haro and Male are similar with Kara only in third person gender and number neutralization since the reflexive marker is limited to third person, in these Ometo languages. In Kara, first and second person bound pronouns also take the reflexive marker as shown in Table 14 above.

The function of the third person neutral bound pronoun **ji-** is complex. It occurs with the dative marker **-nante** (See example 93e above) and the genitive marker **-sa** (See example 102 above) to express co-reference between the dative pronoun and the subject and the genitive pronoun respectively. It is also used as a base to derive the third person reflexive pronoun. The third person bound pronoun **ji-** is also used as a base to form the third person restrictive pronoun (See 4.1.6 below). When we look at the above points, it seems that, functionally, the third person neutral pronoun **ji-** may appear as a third person reflexive pronoun. However, this pronoun, **ji-**, can occur with the accusative marker **-m**, and in this case the subject of the sentence and the

accusative pronoun (object pronoun) of the same sentence may refer to different referents (See example 92h above). Thus, it is a problem to consider **ji-** as a third person reflexive pronoun.

The third person neutral pronoun **ji-** occurs before a verb only while reporting someone's speech (in reported speech) or while narrating stories. It occurs before the quotative verb **gej-** in reported speech to refer to the subject of the quotative verb (See Appendix 2 (Text A) A05, A06, A08 & A14), and it marks any third person constituent within a sentence that is coreferential with the subject of that sentence especially when somebody narrates tales or stories (See Appendix 2 (Text B) B025, B028-B31). When we look at the feature of **ji-** in reported speech and in narration, it seems a logophoric pronoun. Thus, it requires further research to decide on the status of the bound pronoun **ji-**, so we leave it to future research to investigate what kind pronoun it is and the distribution difference between **ji-** and the third person singular and plural object pronouns.

At this stage, because of the above controversial features of the bound pronoun **ji-**, the researchers analyzed it as third person neutral pronoun since number and gender features are neutralized in this case.

4.1.6. Restrictive Pronouns

The restrictive pronouns that show an action done by oneself or somebody alone are formed by suffixing the morpheme **-dar** to the basic (bound) object pronominals. The restrictive pronouns are not marked for case, and they are not followed or preceded by the accusative pronouns like in the reflexive pronouns. The demonstrative examples are given in (104) and (105) below:

- 105.
- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------|
| (a) | inta
I | i=dar
1SG-RES | its-id-i-na
eat-PF-PST-ADCL | 'I ate alone' |
| (b) | woti
we | wo=dar
1PL-RES | its-id-i-na
eat-PF-PST-ADCL | 'We ate alone' |
| (c) | jaa
you | ha=dar
2SG-RES | its-id-i-na
eat-PF-PST-ADCL | 'You ate alone' |
| (d) | jɛti
you (PL) | jɛ=dar
2PL-RES | its-id-i-na
eat-PF-PST-ADCL | 'You ate alone' |

106.	no/na/ kɛɛ	ji=ɗar	its-id-i-na
	(s)he/they	3-RES	eat-PF-PST-ADCL
	‘(S)he/they ate alone’		

As the examples in (105 a-d) and (106) above demonstrate, the morpheme **-ɗar** is suffixed to the basic forms of the pronoun to form restrictive pronouns. As can be seen in 106 above, the third person restrictive pronoun is gender and number neutral like in other object pronouns such as accusative, genitive and reflexive pronouns. Unlike other object pronouns which are eight including the third person gender and number neutral pronoun, restrictive and reflexive pronouns are limited to five. The 3SGM **ki=**, 3SGF **ko=** and 3PL **kɛ=** are replaced by third person neutral bound pronoun **ji=** in both restrictive and reflexive pronouns. Suffixing the reflexive and restrictive markers to the third person singular feminine and masculine basic object pronouns, and the third person plural basic object pronoun result in ungrammatical construction. Thus, the third person reflexive and restrictive pronouns are formed by attaching **-mala** and **-ɗar** to third person neutral pronoun **ji=** respectively.

The following Table summarizes the personal pronouns of Kara and suffixes attached to them.

Person	NOM. Pronoun	ACC. Pronoun	DAT. Pronoun	GEN. Pronoun	REF. Pronoun	RES. Pronoun
1SG	inta	i=m	i=nante	i=nno	i=mala	i=ɗar
2SG	jaa	ha=m	ha=nante	ha=nno	ha=mala	ha=ɗar
3SGM	no	ki=m	ki=nante	ki=nno	ji=mala	ji=ɗar
3SGF	na	ko=m	ko=nante	ko=nno	ji=mala	ji=ɗar
1PL	woti	wo=m	wo=nante	wo=nno	wo=mala	wo=ɗar
2PL	jɛti	jɛ=m	jɛ=nante	jɛ=nno	jɛ=mala	jɛ=ɗar
3PL	kɛɛ	kɛ=m	kɛɛ-nante	kɛɛ-nno	ji=mala	ji=ɗar
3		ji=m	ji=nante	ji=nno	ji=mala	ji=ɗar

Table 16: Lists of Kara personal pronouns and suffixes attached to them

4.2. Demonstrative pronouns

Demonstratives are words which are used to point to an entity in the situation or a sentence. Demonstratives may occur within noun phrases (demonstrative adjectives), or can themselves

be heads of noun phrases (demonstrative pronouns). In Kara, demonstratives express distance, nearness or farness of a noun, with respect to the speaker. The demonstrative system of Kara has two degrees of distance, proximal and distal, that are marked for gender and number. Gender is marked for singular demonstratives as can be seen in the following examples:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 107. | ko-no | duuk'aa-na | ‘This is Duuk'a’ |
| | DEM:PROX-F | duuk'aa-ADCL | |
| 108. | ka-a | laale-na | ‘This is Laale’ |
| | DEM:PROX-M | laale-ADCL | |
| 109. | aga-a | laale-na | ‘That is Laale’ |
| | DEM:DIST-M | laale-ADCL | |
| 110. | ogo-no | duuk'aa-na | ‘That is Duuk'a’ |
| | DEM:DIST-F | duuk'aa-ADCL | |

In examples (107) and (110), the demonstrative pronouns **ko-no** ‘this’ and **ogo-no** ‘that’ are used to refer to near and far feminine nouns respectively. The feminine marker **-no** is suffixed to the bases of both close and far demonstrative pronouns. On the other hand, **ka-a** ‘this’ and **aga-a** ‘that’ in (108) and (109) are used with close and far objects that have masculine gender respectively. The morpheme **-a** in **ka-a** ‘this’ and in **aga-a** ‘that’ is a masculine gender marker. Thus, we can say that Kara has different singular demonstrative pronouns for masculine (**kaa** ‘this’ and **agaa** ‘that’) and for feminine (**kono** ‘this’ and **ogono** ‘that’) genders.

Demonstrative pronouns are also marked for number. The morpheme **-na**, the morpheme used with nouns (See 3.2.3), is also used as a plural marker in demonstrative pronouns. The form for plural near demonstrative is **ki-na** ‘these’ and the form for plural far demonstratives is **igi-na** ‘those’. Unlike the singular demonstrative pronouns, gender is not marked for plural demonstrative pronouns in Kara. Below are some examples:

- | | | | | |
|------|-----|--------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 111. | (a) | ki-na | zobo-na-na | ‘These are lions’ |
| | | DEM:PROX-PL | lion-PL-ADCL | |
| | (b) | ki-na | εε-na-na | ‘These are men’ |
| | | DEM:PROX-PL | man-PL-ADCL | |

112. (a) **igi-na** **ukul-a-na** ‘Those are donkeys’
 DEM:DIST-PL donkey-PL- ADCL
- (b) **igi-na** **mɛɛ-na-na** ‘Those are women’
 DEM:DIST-PL woman-PL-ADCL

The examples in (111) and (112) indicate that demonstrative pronouns are marked for number. The suffix **-na** is observed in three cases in each example above. In all examples, the first morpheme **-na** in the predicate is used as a plural number marker, and the second **-na** which occurs following the other **-na** is a copula or sentence type marker.

The locative adverbprefixes **oo-** and **sa-** can be added to the distal demonstrative pronouns to express that an object is further away and furthest away from the speaker respectively. The distal demonstrative without these prefixes show that an entity is far away from the speaker. The singular masculine demonstrative pronoun **aga-a** ‘that’ or the feminine demonstrative pronoun **ogo-no** ‘that’ and their plural form **igi-na** ‘those’ are distal demonstrative pronouns. These types of demonstratives are used to refer to things or objects a bit far from the speaker. On the other hand, to refer to objects that are very far from the speaker, we prefix the adverbial demonstrative **oo-** ‘over-there’ to the singular and plural distal demonstrative pronouns. So, the further away is used to refer to things somewhat located at a very far distance from the speaker, and this is done by prefixing the affix **oo-** to the distal demonstrative pronouns. Consider the following examples:

113. **oo-aga-a** **laale-na**
 over there-DEM:DIST-M laale-ADCL
 ‘That over there is Laale’
114. **oo-ogo-no** **i=sa** **ɔno-na**
 over there-DEM:DIST-F 1SG-GEN house-ADCL
 ‘That over there is my house’
115. **mɛɛ-na** **oo-igi-na** **s'ija-na-na**
 woman-PL over there-DEM:DIST-PL black-PL-ADCL
 ‘Those women over there are black’

To express that an object or an entity is furthest away or is extremely far from the speaker, Kara prefixes the morpheme **sa-** to the singular and plural distal demonstrative pronouns. The prefix **sa-** is reduplicated three or four times to intensify the distance or if the object is extremely faraway and almost out of sight.

116. **sa-aga-a** (M) ‘that, furthest away’
 sa-ogo-no (F) ‘that, furthest away’
 sa-igi-na (PL) ‘that, furthest away’

Demonstrative pronouns can also be used as a modifier of a noun. When they are used as a modifier, they usually occur following the noun they modify as in (118), but they do also sometimes occur preceding the noun they modify as in (117).

117. **aga-a zob-ta** ‘that he lion’
 ko-no εεsi-no ‘this woman’
 118. **εεsi-no ko-no** ‘this woman’
 zob-ta ag-a ‘that he lion’

The following Table summarizes the demonstrative pronouns of Kara.

	PROX	DIST	LOC-DIST1	LOC-DIST2
M	ka-a ‘this’	aga-a ‘that’	oo-aga-a ‘that, further away’	sa-aga-a ‘that, furthest away’
F	ko-no ‘this’	ogo-no ‘that’	oo-ogo-no ‘that, further away’	sa-ogo-no ‘that, furthest way’
PL	ki-na ‘these’	igi-na ‘those’	oo-igi-na ‘those, further away’	sa-igi-na ‘those, furthest away’

Table 17: Lists of demonstrative pronouns

4.3. Interrogative pronouns

The following table demonstrates the lists of interrogative pronouns in Kara.

hawu	‘who?’
hawum	‘whom?’
har	‘what?’
ham	‘which?’
hanta	‘where?’
haa	‘when?’
harnante	‘why?’
haas	‘how?’
mɛɛm?	‘how many?’

Table 18: Lists of Interrogative Pronouns

As can be seen in Table (18) above, all interrogative pronouns except **mɛɛm** ‘how many’ begin with the same syllable **ha-**. The interrogative pronoun **haas** ‘how’ is used in greetings. Examine the following sentential examples:

119. **haas hi=t-e** ‘How are you?’
How 2SG-be:exist-INT
120. **haas jɛ=d-e** ‘How are you?’
How 2PL-be:exist-INT

The accusative and dative case markers can be suffixed to interrogative pronouns in Kara. The interrogative pronoun **hawu-m** ‘whom’ is derived by suffixing the accusative case marker **-m** to **hawu** ‘who’. Suffixing the dative morpheme **-nante** to the subject interrogative pronoun **hawu** ‘who’ also produces the object interrogative pronoun **hawu-nante** ‘to whom’. So, **hawu** ‘who’ is the base for the object interrogative pronouns **hawu-m** ‘whom’ and **hawu-nante** ‘to whom?’. Examine the following examples:

121. **jaa hawu-te**
 2SG who-be:INT
 ‘Who are you?’
122. **hawu-nante jaa apala-s-i-m ha=?im-ad-e**
 who-DAT 2SG cloth-M-INS-ACC 2SG-give-PF-INT
 ‘To whom did you give the cloth? (Lit: You gave the cloth to whom?)’
123. **jaa hawu-m ha=naf-ad-e**
 2SG who-ACC 2SG-love-PF-INT
 ‘Whom do you love? (Lit: You love whom?)’

The interrogative pronoun **hawu** ‘who’ also takes the instrumental and comutative case markers as shown in (124) and (125) below:

124. **hawu-ka** ‘by whom’
 125. **hawu-mala** ‘with whom’

Since forms such as **ham-bara** ‘from where’ and **hamo-zara** ‘to where’ are possible, the root for interrogative pronoun **hanta** ‘where’ seems to be **han-**. Consider the following examples:

126. **jaa ham-bara ha=na?-ad-e**
 2SG where-ABL 2SG-come-PF-INT
 ‘Where are you from? (Lit: You came from where)’
127. **εεja hamo-zara ki=ja?-ad-e**
 man where-ALL 3SGM-go-PF-INT
 ‘Where did he go? (Lit: Hw went to where?)’

The interrogative pronoun **ham** ‘which’ is inflected for number, gender and case. Below are illustrative examples:

128. (a) **ham-a** ‘which one’ (M)
 (b) **hamo-no** ‘which one’ (F)
 (c) **hami-na** ‘which ones’ (PL)
 (d) **ham-a-m** ‘which one’ (in direct object position)

As can be seen in Table (18) above, the interrogative pronoun **har-nante** ‘why’ is formed by suffixing the dative case marker to **har-** ‘what’. This interrogative pronoun also takes the instrumental case marker **-ka** as in **har-ka** ‘by what’.

Chapter Five: Nominal and verbal modifiers

Under this section nominal modifiers like adjectives and numerals, and verbal modifiers like adverbials will be discussed.

5.1. Adjectives

In Kara adjectives constitute a separate word class. The majority of Kara adjectives end by the vowel /i/, and some adjectives end by the vowel /a/ or /o/. An adjective that end by the ejective alveolar consonant /s'/ is also attested in one instance, and adjectives that end by the lateral alveolar consonant /l/ is attested in two cases. Examine the following examples:

1.	-i	-a	-o	-l	-s
	guduḅ-i 'tall'	kook'-a 'narrow'	getj-o 'old'	k'odo-l 'thick'	ḅu-s' 'full'
	fool-i 'small'	barf-a 'young'	naas-o 'baby'	tʃank'a-l 'clean'	
	geb-i 'big'	ojid-a 'hot'	zarb-o 'ugly'		
	s'eed-i 'short'	hark'-a 'soft'	dʒal-o 'blue'		
	durp-i 'fat'				
	zaw-i 'red'				

Like in the case of nouns, the terminal vowels of adjectives may be dropped when a suffix is added to them. Similar nominal terminal vowel deletion is found in Haro (Hirut 2004) and Ari (Hayward 1990). The terminal vowel of adjectives gets deleted when a suffix that begins by a vowel is suffixed to it; when suffixes with consonant initial are added to adjectives with different terminal vowels, the terminal vowel may be dropped or replaced by another terminal vowel, mostly by the terminal vowel **a** (See examples in Table 7 & 8 in 3.3.2.). The terminal vowels of the adjectives may also not be dropped or replaced by other terminal vowels as in example (4) below when the feminine gender marker **-no** is suffixed to them.

Adjectives in Kara occur preceding or following the head noun of the noun phrase they modify. Adjectives modifying the definite nouns are inflected for gender. As has been discussed in the previous section (See chapter three), the adjectives and the head nouns these adjectives modify use similar gender and number markers. So, the suffix **-a** or **-s** is attached to the adjectives to denote masculine gender, and **-no** is suffixed to the adjectives to denote feminine gender. Unlike the case marker which is suffixed to the last element of a noun phrase, the gender markers are

suffixed to both the head noun and the adjective modifying the head of the noun phrase. See the illustrative examples below:

- | | | | | | |
|----|-----|-----------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| 2. | | k'aski | s'ija | | 'black dog' |
| | | dog | black | | |
| 3. | (a) | k'ul-ta | geb-a | tj'awul-a | 'The white big he goat' |
| | | goat-M | big-M | white-M | |
| | (b) | εεj-a | baf-a | | 'the handsome man' |
| | | man-M | handsome-M | | |
| | (c) | εεj-a | geb-a | baf-a | 'the big handsome man' |
| | | man-M | tall-M | handsome-M | |
| | (d) | naas-a | s'ija-s | na?-id-i-na | |
| | | child-M | black-M | come-PF-PST-ADCL | |
| | | 'The black boy came' | | | |
| 4. | (a) | naa-no | s'ija-no | na?-id-i-na | |
| | | child-F | black-F | come- PF-PST-ADCL | |
| | | 'The black girl came' | | | |
| | (b) | k'aski-no | s'ija-no | getfo-no | 'the old black dog' |
| | | dog-F | black-F | old-F | |
| | (c) | εεsi-no | bafi-no | | 'the beautiful woman' |
| | | woman-F | beautiful-F | | |
| | (d) | εεsi-no | gebi-no | bafi-no | 'the big beautiful woman' |
| | | woman-F | tall-F | beautiful-F | |

As can be seen from example (2) above, the adjective is not inflected for gender whenever the noun it modifies is indefinite. However, in examples (3a-d) and (4a-d) both the head nouns and the adjectives modifying them are marked for masculine and feminine genders respectively. In Kara, we may find two and more adjectives in a single noun phrase modifying the head noun. In such a case too, all the adjectives that are modifying the head noun are inflected for gender. For instance, in examples (3a) above **geb-a** 'big' and **tj'awul-a** 'white' are modifiers of the head noun **k'ul-ta** 'he goat'. As the head noun is masculine in gender, the masculine gender morpheme **-a** is suffixed to both adjectives so that they agree in gender with the head noun. The

same phenomenon is observed in (3c), (4b) and (4d) above. In (3c) the masculine gender marker is suffixed to both adjectives since the head noun is masculine, but in (4b) and (4d) the feminine gender marker is suffixed to the adjectives to agree with the head nouns in gender.

The terminal vowels of the adjectives, as illustrated in (3a-c) above, are dropped when the masculine gender marker **-a** is suffixed to them, but in (4) above the terminal vowels are not dropped or replaced by other terminal vowel when the feminine gender marker is added to them.

Like nouns, adjectives which end by the vowel **a** as in (3d) **s'iya-s** 'black', take the suffix **-s** as a masculine marker instead of the suffix **-a**.

In Kara, the accusative case and the dative case markers are suffixed to the last constituent of the noun phrase. So, if the head noun comes following the adjective, the accusative or dative marker will be suffixed to the head noun; however, if it comes preceding the adjective, the accusative or dative marker will be attached to the adjective. Examine the following examples:

5. **no** **bire-na-m** **ɛɛsi-n** **s'ijo-nante** **im-id-i-na**
 he money-PL-ACC woman-F black-DAT give-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He gave money to the black women'
6. **masirefa** **apala-s** **getf-a-m** **tʃ'ub-id-i-na**
 masiresha cloth-M old-M-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Masiresha washed the old cloth'
7. **masirefa** **getf-a** **apala-s-i-m** **tʃ'ub-i-di-na**
 masiresha old-M cloth-M-ACC wash-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Masiresha washed the old cloth'

In examples (5) and (6) above, the dative marker **-nante** and the accusative marker **-m** are suffixed to the adjectives respectively. However, in (7) the accusative marker is attached to the head noun since it is the last element of the noun phrase.

The adjectives of Kara are inflected for number. The plural number is marked by adding the suffix **-na**, plural marker used in nouns, to the adjectives. Similar to gender agreement discussed above, the adjectives also make agreement in number with the head of the noun phrase. This means that in a noun phrase both the noun and the adjective should have the same number. When the head noun is plural, gender is not marked. So, in such a case, the accusative and dative case

markers come following the plural number marker. The following examples show number agreement between the head noun and the modifying adjectives:

8. (a) **i=sa hak'a-na gebi-na daj-id-i-na**
 1SG-GEN stick-PL big-PL break-PF-PST-ADCL
 'My big sticks are broken'
- (b) **εε-na bafi-na**
 man-PL handsome-PL
 'the handsome men'
- (c) **mεε-na bafi-na**
 woman-PL beautiful-PL
 'the beautiful women'
9. **inta εε-na bafi-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 I woman-PL beautiful-PL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I saw the beautiful women'

In examples (8) and (9) above, the plural morpheme **-na** is suffixed to the adjectives to exhibit agreement in number with their head nouns. The accusative marker is suffixed to the last element of the noun phrase following the plural marker. From the above examples (1-9), we can deduce that the adjective morphology of Kara depends on the gender and number information of the head noun.

The adjectives may be totally reduplicated to express plurality. Sometimes the plural marker can be used alongwith total reduplication to pluralize the adjectives.

10. (a) **kina ɔɔno gebi-gebi-na**
 these house RDP-big-ADCL
 'These are big houses'
- (b) **igina parda gebi-gebi-na**
 those horse RDP-big-ADCL
 'Those are big horses'
11. **kina i=sa ɔɔno-na gebi-gebi-na-na**
 these 1SG-GEN house-PL RDP-big-PL-A:ADCL
 'These are my big houses'

In (10a) and (10b), only total reduplication of the adjective is used to express plurality. The plural marker **-na** is suffixed neither to the head noun nor to the adjective modifying the head noun. Total reduplication of the adjective along with the plural marker **-na** can also be used to express plurality. As can be seen in (11), the adjective **gebi** ‘big’ is fully reduplicated and the plural marker **-na** is suffixed to it. The plural morpheme is suffixed to the head noun too in this case. Such morphological feature is attested when a noun in a nominal predicate is modified by an adjective.

As stated above, adjectives can be used as a modifier of a noun. They can also function as predicate complements in non-verbal clauses. When an adjective is used as a predicate, gender markers are not suffixed to the adjectives; however, number agreement with the subject still exists. The sentence type marker **-na**, which is used with predicate nouns, is also suffixed to the predicative adjective. See illustrative examples:

- | | | | | |
|---------|-----------------------------|--|----------------------------|---------------------------|
| 12. (a) | nunk'o-no
water-F | ojida-na
hot-ADCL | | ‘The water is hot’ |
| (b) | ɔno-no
house-3SGF | ko-no
DEM-F | gebi-na
big-ADCL | ‘This house is big’ |
| (c) | wak-a
cattle-M | zawi-na
red-ADCL | | ‘The ox is red’ |
| (d) | woŋ-ŋo
cattle-F | s'ija-na
black-ADCL | | ‘The cow is black’ |
| 13. (a) | ɛɛ-na
man-PL | bafi-na-na
handsome-PL-ADCL | | ‘The men are handsome’ |
| (b) | mɛɛ-na
man-PL | bafi-na-na
beautiful-PL-ADCL | | ‘The women are beautiful’ |

As illustrative examples in (12a-c) demonstrate, no gender marker is observed on adjectives when they are used as predicates. So, gender agreement with the subject does not exist in predicative adjectives. On the contrary, number agreement with the subject is mandatory in

predicative adjective too. In (13a and 13b), the first **-na** is a plural marker, and the second **-na** is a sentence type marker.

According to Dixon (1977), adjectives are categorized according to their semantic classes; in view of that, the classes of adjectives include words denoting dimensions, colour, age, physical property, human propensity and value. The adjectives of Kara are listed below based on the above semantic classes.

Table 19: List of Kara Adjectives

<u>Adjectives of Dimension</u>			
bus'	‘full’	gudubi	‘tall or long’
s'eedi	‘short or near’	gebi	‘big’
fooli	‘small’	worri	‘wide’
kook'a	‘narrow’	k'odol	‘thick(for thing)’
hark'a	‘thin (for thing)’	boodo	‘thin’
durfi	‘fat’	guro	‘empty’
s'εeri	‘deep’		
duli	‘shallow’		
pεεε	‘far’		
<u>Adjectives of Physical Property</u>			
ojida	‘hot’	k'adzi	‘cold’
tuni	‘blunt’	tj'ari	‘sharp’
bafi	‘beautiful’	zarbo	‘ugly’
s'εεdi	‘dry’	tj'afi	‘wet’
tjank'al	‘clean’	wotji	‘hard or strong’
hark'a	‘soft’	jiita	‘weak’
folbi	‘light’	des'a	‘heavy’
daas'a	‘sweet’	s'ak'ima	‘sour’
k'ofafa	‘dirty’ (borrowed from Amharic)		
<u>Adjectives of Human Propensity</u>			
imaa	‘generous’	k'oka	selfish

fojji	‘fierce’	bokindo	‘shy’
pakala	‘courageous’	ruur	‘curious’
wotji	‘difficult’	tipa	‘honest’
zarbo	‘wicked’		
dembi	‘foolish’		
<u>Colour</u>			
tj'awuli	‘white’	s'ija	‘black’
zawi	‘red’	tj'aagi	‘green’
dzalo	‘blue’	makale	‘yellow’
<u>Age</u>			
haali	‘new’	getfo	‘old’
naaso	‘baby’	barja	‘young’
<u>Value</u>			
s'aali	good	zarbo	bad
wodima	rich	gonde	truth
seeso	wrong	kupi	poor
likki	correct (borrowed from Amharic)		

As can be seen from the examples in Table (19) above, a single adjective can be used to refer to different semantic classes. For example, the Adjective **wotji** can refer to ‘hard or strong’, adjective of physical property, and ‘difficult’, adjective of human propensity. The adjective **zarbo** which refers to ‘wicked’ or ‘ugly’ is also another example. So, the semantic classes of such adjectives are determined contextually.

The adjectives given above are in their generic form. The generic forms of the adjectives are used when the head nouns they modify are indefinite. On the contrary, the particular forms are used when the head noun is definite.

The number of adjectives referring to Dimensions, Physical properties and Human propensity are by far more than those adjectives referring to Colour, Age and Value. As can be noted from Table (19) above, adjectives denoting age are very few in Kara even when compared with adjectives of Colour and Value. According to Dixon (1982:46) cited in Azeb (2001:133), the

adjectives referring to Colour, Age and Value semantic classes are very restricted, whereas adjectives of Dimension, Physical property and Human propensity are very large. Dixon (1982) also states that the numbers of adjectives referring to Human propensity are larger in size than those adjectives referring to Dimension and Physical property. The Kara adjectives listed above almost goes with the generalization given by Dixon (1982), but the last idea of Dixon does not work for Kara as the number of words referring to Human propensity is less than those words referring to Dimension and Physical property.

5.2. Adverbs

Kara adverbs can be classified as time, manner, and place adverbs. The details of these adverbs are presented in the following subsections.

5.2.1. Time Adverbs

Adverbs of time that are commonly used in Kara seem to have less regular forms as can be seen from the following examples:

haji-tala	‘today’
Saka	‘tomorrow’
ofɪ-gala	‘the day after tomorrow’
otsom-bara	‘the fourth day’
roora doŋ wod-a-nante	‘the fifth day’
roora la wod-a-nante	‘the sixth day’
roora tsoɓa wod-a-nante	‘the seventh day’
naa	yesterday’
an-galala	‘the day before yesterday’

Table 20: List of Kara Adverbs

As can be seen from Table (20) above, Kara lacks fixed week-day references like Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, etc. It seems that the majority of the time adverbials in Table (20), except ‘tomorrow’ and ‘yesterday’, are phrases formed through compounding, but the meanings of the elements of the compound words referring to time adverbials such as: ‘today’, ‘the day after tomorrow’, ‘the fourth day’ and ‘the day before yesterday’ are not clear for the time being. Time

adverbials referring to ‘the fifth’, ‘the sixth’ and ‘the seventh day’, depending on the day of utterance or counting from the day of conversation, are formed by combining three words: **roora** ‘day’, the cardinal numbers **doŋ** ‘five’, **la** ‘six’, **tsofa** ‘seven’ and **wod-a-nante** ‘to sleep’ or with the literal meaning ‘to spend five, six or seven night’ respectively.

The following time expressions are also commonly used in Kara:

burun	‘morning’
ibani	‘evening’
tipa	‘noon’
gidogalt	‘midnight’
rooro	‘day’
jezez	‘dusk’
ana	‘long ago’ or ‘in the past’
arpi	‘month’
bon	‘year’
taki	‘now’

Table 21: Kara Time Expressions

The majority of the examples in Table (21) above are referring to the time of day. Instead of **bon**, we can use **le?e** to refer to ‘year’; both words can be interchangeably used in all contexts. Nominal expressions referring to time have generic and particular forms like the nouns. For example, **bon/ le?e** ‘year’ and **rooro** ‘day’ are generic forms used for a non-specific day or period of time without a particular duration. On the contrary, **bona/le?a** ‘year’ (see example 14 below) and **roora** ‘day’ (see Table 20 above) are particular forms used for a specific day or time.

As can be seen from the illustrative examples given in (14) below, some time expressions of Kara are formed through compounding:

14.	samint-a ⁹ week-M	naʔ-aj-a come-IPF-M:NMZ	‘next week’
	angalala last	samint-a week-M	‘last week’
	leʔ-a /bon-a year-M	ka-a DEM-M	‘this year’
	angalala last	bon-a/ leʔ-a year-M	‘last year’
	bon-a year-M	naʔ-aj-a come-IPF-M:NMZ	‘next year’

Some time adverbials are totally reduplicated to show actions that occur frequently or habitually. Consider the following examples:

15.	ibani-ibani	‘every evening’
	saŋo saŋo ¹⁰	‘every monday’
	burun-burun	‘every morning’
	ihudi ihudi ¹¹	‘every sunday’
	rooro-wul	‘always’
	takamo takamo	‘now and then’

The frequentative time adverb is also formed by combining **rooro** ‘day’ and **wul** ‘all’.

The Kara people have their own calendar. Their calendar consists of twelve months. According to the elders of Kara, the first month of the year is June. As I understood from the explanations of the elders, all months do not have the same number of days; some of them are long and some of them are short. The reason behind this requires further investigation and left open for other researchers. The Following Table shows lists of Kara months:

⁹**Saminta** is borrowed from Amharic **samint** ‘week’.

¹⁰**saŋo** ‘Monday’ is borrowed from Amharic Language.

¹¹**ihudi** ‘Sunday’ is borrowed from Amharic Language.

1.	labaŋa	‘June’
2.	Mura	‘July’
3.	meek'o	‘August’
4.	Silda	‘September’
5.	Karkaro	‘October’
6.	tadzo	‘November’
7.	Kilkila	‘December’
8.	bare	‘January’
9.	sər	‘February’
10.	Dukaa	‘March’
11.	Putā	‘April’
12)	haʔilate	‘may’

Table 22: List of Kara months

5.2.2. Manner Adverbs

According to Payne (2006), manner adverbs usually constitute the largest subclass of adverbs in any language. However, Kara has few manner adverbs even when compared to adverbs referring to time. Kara Manner adverbs are often formed from adjectives by the addition of the instrumental suffix **-ka** as exemplified in (16) below:

16.	riri	‘quick’	ririka	‘quickly’
	s'aali	‘good’	s'aalika	‘well’
	zarbo	‘bad’	zarboka	‘badly’
	leemi	‘slow’	leemika	‘slowly’
	azabomo	‘careful’	azabomoka	‘Carefully’

The following are sentential examples:

17. (a) **no** **leemi-ka** **gob-id-i-na** ‘He run slowly’
 he slow-INST run-PF-PST-ADCL
- (b) **riri-ka** **gom-ma** ‘Run quickly’
 quick-INST run-IMP

- (c) **no** **ri-ri-ka** **gob-te-na** **ki=do**
 he quick-INST run-PROG-ADCL 3SGM-exist
 ‘He is running quickly’

Moreover, manner adverbs may also be formed by reduplication of adjectives: for example; **jiriri riri** ‘quickly’ from (**ri-ri riri** ‘quick’), **lemi lemi** ‘slowly’ from (**lemi** ‘slow’), etc. As can be seen in (18 a & b) below, manner adverbs might be reduplicated to express intensity of the action:

18. (a) **no** **ri-ri-ri-ri** **its-id-i-na** ‘He ate very quickly’
 he quick-quick eat-PF-PST-ADCL
 (b) **no** **lemi-lemi** **its-id-i-na** ‘He ate very slowly’
 he slow-slow eat-PF-PST-ADCL
19. **no** **lemi-lemi** **gom-ma** ‘Run slowly!’
 he slow-slow run-IMP

The word **imba** ‘very’ is used in combination with quantifiers to express degree as shown in the following examples:

20. (a) **ɔno** **bus' -imba** ‘very many houses’
 house many-very
 (b) **nunk'o** **k'ɛta-imba** ‘very little water’
 water little-very

5.2.3. Locative and directional adverbs

Adverbs that express location include the following:

21. **ko-ta** ‘here’
 ogo-ta ‘there’
 tfo/ mitʃ'a ‘down’
 ba ‘up’
 i-ro ‘inside’
 bal outside
 mizak' ‘right’
 warkata ‘left’
 woti-ro ‘in front’

As can be seen in (21) above, some locative adverbs are formed by suffixing the locative markers to the demonstratives. For example, the place adverbs **ko-ta** ‘here’ and **ogo-ta** ‘there’ are formed by attaching the suffix **-ta** to the base of proximal and distal demonstratives respectively. The morpheme **-ta** in these examples is a locative marker. The locative adverbs may also be derived by attaching the locative marker **-ro** to the nouns. For example, ‘infront’ is formed by adding the locative morpheme **-ro** to the noun **woti** ‘forehead’. Locative adverbs like: ‘left’, right, up, down, etc., are non-derived.

Direction towards the speaker and away from the speaker are expressed by directional adverbs **oora** and **is** respectively. Examine the following the illustrative examples below:

22. (a) **oora** **ni-ma** ‘Come towards here!’
 toward come-IMP
- (b) **is** **ji-ma** ‘Go towards there!’
 away go-IMP

The literal meaning of example (22b) is ‘Go away from here’.

5.3. Numerals

Different languages employ different number systems. Almost all natural number systems are either base five (quintenary) or base ten (decimal); and a few are reported to be base twenty (vigesimal) (Payne1997:66). Kara is among the languages which use a decimal or base ten number system. Kara has two types of numerals: the cardinal numbers and Ordinal numbers. The two types are presented as follows.

5.3.1. Cardinals

Similar to the Omotic languages like Hamar (Andreas 2011); Dime (Mulugeta 2008); Ari (Fikade 2011); Maale (Azeb 2001); Sheko (Hellenthal 2010), Kara has a decimal numeral system. The cardinal numbers 1-10 are used as a base to derive the majority of (almost all) the numerals in Kara. Examples in (23) below represent the Kara cardinal numbers 1-10:

23.	Kala	‘one’
	Lama	‘two’
	makkam	‘three’
	Ojidi	‘four’
	Doŋ	‘five’
	La	‘six’
	tsoba	‘seven’
	Loŋkaji	‘eight’
	Sal	‘nine’
	tabi	‘ten’

The numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ are derived by combining the numeral **tabi** ‘ten’ with the lower numerals (‘one’ to ‘nine’). In this compounding, which derives numerals from 11-19, the numeral **tabi** ‘ten’ is the first element, and the lower numeral is the second element of the compound word. The other point to be noted in this construction is that the final vowel of the numeral **tabi** ‘ten’ is dropped, as in adjectives and nouns during affixation or compounding, as can be seen in (24) below. To show this slight modification of **tabi** ‘ten’ the hyphen is used between the constituents of the compound words. Actually few informants do not drop /i/ when they pronounce slowly, but during natural speech they drop it.

24.	tab-kala	‘eleven’
	tab-lama	‘twelve’
	tab-makkam	‘thirteen’
	tab-ojidi	‘fourteen’
	tab-doŋ	‘fifteen’
	tab-la	‘sixteen’
	tab-tsoba	‘seventeen’
	tab-loŋkaji	‘eighteen’
	tab-sal	‘nineteen’

The cardinal numbers referring to multiples of ‘ten’ from twenty up to ninety are formed from the lower numerals ‘one’ to ‘nine’ followed by **tam** ‘ten’. In this construction the numeral **tabi** ‘ten’ occurs as **tam**. Look at the illustrative example in (25) below:

25.	lama-tam	‘twenty’
	makkan-tam	‘thirty’
	ojidi-tam	‘forty’
	dɔŋ-tam	‘fifty’
	la-tam	‘sixty’
	tsofa-tam	‘seventy’
	loŋkaji-tam	‘eighty’
	sal-tam	‘ninety’

The cardinal numbers that come after each multiples of ‘ten’ from twenty up to ninety are formed by combining multiples of ten with the single digit numerals. In this construction, the numerals ‘one’ to ‘nine’ are placed after multiples of ten. Some examples are provided in (26) using **kala** ‘one’ and **lama** ‘two’:

26.	lama-tam kala	‘twenty one’	lamatam lama	‘twenty two’
	makkan-tam kala	‘thirty one’	makkan-tam lama	‘thirty two’
	ojidi-tam kala	‘forty one’	ojidi-tam lama	‘forty two’
	dɔŋ-tam kala	‘fifty one’	dɔŋ-tam lama	‘fifty two’
	la-tam kala	‘sixty one’	la-tam lama	‘sixty two’
	tsofa-tam kala	‘seventy one’	tsofa-tam lama	‘seventy two’
	loŋkaji-tam kala	‘eighty one’	loŋkaji-tam lama	‘eighty two’
	sal-tam kala	‘ninety one’	sal-tam lama	‘ninety two’

The cardinal number ‘hundred’ in Kara is expressed with **dib**. This number is represented by one word, and it is one of the basic cardinal numerals in Kara. It seems that **dib** ‘hundred’ is borrowed from Afan Oromo **dibba** even though there is slight difference between the two. Multiples of ‘hundred’ (from 200 up to 900) are formed by combining **dib** with the lower numerals 1-9. Examine the following example:

27.	dib lama	‘two hundred’	dib la	six hundred’
	dib makkam	‘three hundred’	dib tsofa	‘seven hundred’
	dib ojidi	‘four hundred’	dib loŋkaji	‘eight hundred’
	dib dɔŋ	‘five hundred’	dib sal	‘nine hundred’
	dib tabi	‘thousand’		

These multiples of ‘hundred’ in (27) are formed by combining **ḏib** ‘hundred’ with the lower numerals and it expresses multiplication; for example, **ḏib lama** ‘two hundred’ is formed by multiplying hundred with two. As can be seen above, the elders use native term **ḏib tabi** for ‘thousand’; however, the youngsters, especially those who are currently attending schools or graduated from colleges use the Amharic borrowed term **ji**¹².

The cardinal numbers that come after each multiples of ‘hundred’ are formed by combining multiples of ‘hundred’, which are formed through compounding as shown in (27), with lower numerals or multiples of ten or numerals 11-19. The compounded multiples of hundred (multiplied numerals) can then be added to other numerals (which may be basic (1-10) or derived by compounding (11-99) to achieve greater numerals, through the addition of the coordinating conjunction **bee** ‘and’ after each member of the compound words, and by putting **aporo** which indicates ‘addition’ before the second element of the derived compound numeral. For instance, the numeral **ḏib lama** which refers to ‘two hundred’ is followed by the conjunction **bee** ‘and’, and **aporo** which indicates ‘addition’, and the lower numerals or numerals 11-99 followed by the conjunction **bee** ‘and’, as illustrated below:

28.	ḏib lamabee aporo donbee	‘two hundred five’
	ḏib lamabee aporo tab-ojidibee	‘two hundred fourteen’
	ḏib lamabee aporo lama-tambee	‘two hundred twenty’
	ḏib lamabee aporo tsoḃa-tam lama bee	‘two hundred seventy two’
	ḏib lamabee aporo sal-tam lama bee	‘two hundred ninety two’

Numbers from 101-199, 301-399, etc. are formed in the same way.

In Kara, cardinal numbers are mostly found in modifying function, following the head noun, but they are also attested in predicate position. As presented under noun morphology, the numerals like the adjectives make agreement in number with the head noun. The numerals use the plural marking suffix **-na** which is commonly used with nouns. The accusative marker can be suffixed

¹²The borrowed term **ji** is not used in most everyday situations, but because of the effect of Amharic as a medium of instruction and as working language of SNNP the youngsters use **ji** instead of **ḏib tabi**. The local communities rarely use **ji**.

to the numerals if it occurs as the right most modifier of the head noun. Look at the following example:

29. **Ajiko** **k'ul-a** **lama-na-m** **ʃan-id-i-na**
 ayiko goat-PL two-PL-ACC sell-PF-PST-ADCL
 Ayiko bought two goats

5.3.2. Ordinal numbers

Kara derives ordinal numerals by morphological means. Accordingly, the Ordinal numerals are formed by attaching the suffix **-sa** to the cardinal ones with the exception of the ‘first’ which is derived by suffixing **-s** to ‘before’ instead of the cardinal number ‘one’. The examples in (32) below show the derivation process:

30. **bira-s** ‘first’
 lan-sa ‘second’
 makkin-sa ‘third’
 dɔŋ-sa ‘fifth’
 tabi-sa ‘tenth’
 lama-tam-sa ‘twentieth’
 diba-sa ‘hundredth’

As can be seen in (30) above, the ordinal marking morpheme is not suffixed to the cardinal number **kala** ‘one’ to derive the ordinal number ‘first’; but it is formed by attaching the morpheme **-s** to **bira** ‘before’ with the literal meaning ‘someone’ or ‘something which comes before all’. In the derivation of ordinal numbers ‘second’ and ‘third’ a sort of assimilation is observed; in both cases the final consonant (**m**) of the cardinal numbers **lama** ‘two’ and **makkam** ‘three’ takes the alveolar property of /s/ and become /n/. Moreover, the final vowel of ‘two’ is dropped in the derivation process.

5.3.3. Quantifiers

Quantifiers include such terms as much, many, few, some, a lot of, a great deal of, etc. Kara has the following quantifiers:

31.	bus'	‘many, much, a lot’
	ɖepi	‘many, much, a lot’
	Toka	‘few, a little’
	k'eeta	‘few, a little’
	waani	‘some’
	pajila	‘all’

Some quantifiers express the same meaning, and no restriction could be made in their distribution. Consequently, these quantifiers which express the same meaning can be used interchangeably without any meaning change. For example, both **bus'** and **ɖepi** express the same meaning, and both can be used to quantify countable and uncountable nouns. Look at the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------------|
| 32. (a) | nunk'o | bus' | ‘much water | |
| | water | much | | |
| (b) | nunk'o | ɖepi | ‘much water | |
| | water | much | | |
| (c) | ɔɔno | bus' | ‘many houses’ | |
| | house | many | | |
| (d) | ɔɔno | ɖepi | ‘many houses’ | |
| | house | many | | |
| (e) | naa | ɛɛdi | bus' | duusi-ri-da |
| | yesterday | man | many | dus-LOC-be:exist |
| | ‘Many people were in Dus yesterday’ | | | |
| (f) | naa | ɛɛdi | ɖepi | duusi-ri-da |
| | yesterday | man | many | dus-LOC-be:exist |
| | ‘Many people were in Dus yesterday’ | | | |

In the same way, the quantifiers **toka** ‘few, little’ and **k'eeta** ‘few, little’ are also interchangeably used with countable and uncountable nouns, as illustrated in the following examples:

33. (a) **naa** **ɛɛdi** **toka** **duusi-ri-da**
 yesterday man few dus-LOC-be:exist
 ‘Few people were in Dus yesterday’
- (b) **naa** **ɛɛdi** **k'eeta** **duusi-ri-d-a**
 yesterday man few dus-LOC-be:exist
 ‘Few people were in Dus yesterday’
- (c) **i=nante** **nunk'o** **toka** **im-ma**
 1SG-DAT water little give-IMP
 ‘Give a little water to me’
- (d) **i=nante** **nunk'o** **k'eeta** **im-ma**
 1SG-DAT water little give-IMP
 ‘Give a little water to me’

5.4. Ideophones

According to Dingemanse (2012) ideophones are defined as marked words that depict sensory imagery. In Kara, ideophones form a distinctive class of words, and they are common in discourses, particularly narrative discourse of various types. They make the narratives vivid and entertaining. Mono syllabic and disyllabic ideophones are widely attested in our corpus.

Kara ideophones are used to evoke sound or motion images. They are also used as intensifiers. Ideophones contain lexical or syllable reduplication to add intensity or repeated action. The following are some examples of Kara ideophones.

34. Ideophones that reduplicate the whole lexeme or last syllable for repeated action or intensity
- a. **laji** ‘going a short time/distance’
 laji laji laji ‘going on and on’
- b. **put** ‘up/out’
 put put put ‘getting up/out again and again’
- c. **jiri** ‘quickly’
 jiririri ‘very quickly’

35. vowel or consonant lengthening for extension

lajiiiiii... ‘going a long time/distance’

The above examples are simply to give an overview of Kara ideophones. The phonological, morphological and semantic features of Kara ideophones, and the overall description of Kara ideophones are not analyzed in detail in this study and are left open for further study.

Chapter Six: Verb Morphology

This section discusses the morphological characteristics of the verb, and it describes the structure of the verb roots and the formation of the verb stems. It also discusses derivational processes, like causative, passive, infinitive and inchoative, which are used to derive verbs in Kara. Finally, this chapter examines inflections of Kara verbs.

6.1. The verb root

Verb roots in Kara may end in a consonant(s) or a vowel. In the majority of cases the verb roots end with a consonant (a single consonant or consonant cluster); the verb roots that end in vowel are very rare in Kara. Furthermore, verb roots may begin with either a short or long vowel or a consonant. Like nouns, the verbs do not allow two consonants at word initial position; word-medially, only two consonants are allowed as clusters.

The verb root in this language does not stand on its own to form an independent word, and it is always followed by suffixes. The following examples show the possible patterns of Kara verb roots:

1. (V)VC-

im-	‘give’
its-	‘eat’
aatf-	‘hide’

2. VC1C2-

ard-	‘enter’
afk-	‘work’
alm-	‘play’

3. (V)VCVC-

uufim-	‘flower’
εsar-	‘hear’
izak’-	‘swallow’

4. CV-

tfa-	‘take’
da-	‘exist’
s’a-	‘milk’

- | | |
|-------------|---------|
| ɗa- | ‘hit’ |
| sa- | ‘sweep’ |
| dʒa- | ‘die’ |
5. CVC-
- | | |
|--------------|---------|
| bul- | ‘jump’ |
| des- | ‘kill’ |
| ʃan- | ‘buy’ |
| gob- | ‘run’ |
| zag- | ‘find’ |
| tak- | ‘cut’ |
| wutʃ- | ‘drink’ |
6. CVVC-
- | | |
|---------------|-----------|
| ʃaan- | ‘urinate’ |
| keem- | ‘marry’ |
| zoot- | ‘swim’ |
| raat- | ‘sleep’ |
| maam- | ‘spit’ |
| tʃaar- | ‘cut’ |
7. CVC1C2-
- | | |
|----------------|-----------|
| kars- | ‘begin’ |
| ʃanʃ- | ‘sell’ |
| kʼuns’- | ‘break’ |
| gans- | ‘smell’ |
| kʼolɓ- | ‘pour’ |
| dark’- | ‘sit’ |
| kʼosk- | ‘scratch’ |
8. CVCVC-
- | | |
|----------------|---------|
| maʔas- | ‘bleed’ |
| ɗelak’- | ‘talk’ |
| pajid- | ‘count’ |
9. CVCVC1C2-
- | | |
|----------------|---------|
| potinʃ- | ‘cough’ |
| buʔurf- | ‘boil’ |

As can be seen from the above verb root structures in (1), (2), (4), (5), (6) & (7), the vast majority of verbs in Kara are monosyllabic. Disyllabic verb roots are also attested, but they are not common when compared with monosyllabic verb root patterns. Trisyllabic verb roots are not

attested at all. A similar phenomenon is observed in a closely related language Hamar (Moges 2017) and distantly related Ometo languages such as Maale (Azeb 2001), Haro (Hirut 2004), and Koorete (Binyam 2008); in these languages too, the vast majority of verb roots are monosyllabic and trisyllabic verb roots are not attested at all.

In the CV structure of Kara verb roots presented above, the examples in (2), (7) and (9) demonstrate that verb roots can end in sequences of two consonants. The verb root of Kara is incomplete, and it must be followed by inflectional morphemes in order to form a phonological word. So, when an affix is suffixed to a verb root that ends in sequences of two consonants, the last consonant of the verb root (C2) is inevitably syllabified differently. In fact, the majority of the above verb root structures might be syllabified differently after affixation, and one can examine this in the following sections.

6.2. Verb form

The verbal forms of Kara can be classified into three forms: ‘simple’, ‘compound’ and ‘complex’¹³. The ‘simple’ verbal forms are those in which the verb stem or lexical verb is followed by different suffixes. In this type, the verb root or stem requires only derivational or inflectional affixes to be attached to it. In main clauses, the ‘simple’ patterns are observed in many inflectional and derivational clauses like causative, passive, infinitive, imperative and hortative (jussive) clauses.

The ‘compound’ verbal paradigm is formed by combining the same verb stem, i.e., by reduplicating the verb stem. The affirmative declarative marker and the bound pronoun are sandwiched between the verbal stems in this verbal type. This type of verbal paradigm is demonstrated when the main verb is in future tense to express habitual actions and general truth.

The ‘complex’ paradigm is composed of a verbal stem followed by an auxiliary ‘be, exist’. As will be shown in the following sections, the reduced form of the pronoun or bound pronoun may occur in between the main verb and the auxiliary which produce the complex verbal pattern.

The following examples demonstrate the three verbal paradigms:

¹³The verbal patterns of the distantly related Ometo languages such as Zayse (Hayward 1990) and Koorete (Binyam 2008) are also classified into simple, compound and complex.

Simple verb pattern

10. **jaa** **hak'a-s-i-m** **k'uns'u-ma**
 you (SG) tree-M-INS-ACC break-IMP
 'Break the stick'
11. **ki=wutj' -e**
 3SGM-HORT
 'Let him drink'

The simple verb pattern in example (10) consists of the verb root and the imperative second person singular suffix -ma, and in example (11) it consists of the verb root and the jussive or hortative suffix -e. In the later case, the bound pronoun is prefixed to verb root to indicate person of the subject.

Compound verb pattern

12. **na?-aa-na** **kε=na?-aj**
 come-IPF-ADCL 3PL-come-IPF
 'They will come'

The compound verb pattern has two identical verb forms inflected for aspect and person. The bound pronoun which shows person and the sentence type marker are sandwiched between identical verb forms.

Complex verb pattern

13. **(no) its-ite-na** **ki=do**
 he eat-PROG-ADCL 3SGM-be:exist
 'He is eating'

The complex verbal pattern, as we can see in example (13), is formed by combining the verb forms with the auxiliary verb 'be, exist' and is inflected for person and progressive aspect.

6.3. Verbal derivation

This section deals with the derivation of verb stems. In Kara, verb stems are productively formed from verb roots and verb stems. They can also be formed from adjectives. The causative and passive verb derivations are more common than infinitive and inchoative. Verbal derivations

also include causative-passive, infinitive, and inchoative verbs. All derived verbs are formed by suffixing different derivational morphemes to the verb root or to the verb stem. Some of the derived verb stems in Kara do not form an independent word without the addition of inflectional morphemes or an infinitive marker. The description of the derived verb stem is presented as follows.

6.3.1. Causative

Payne (1997:175) states that “Causative constructions (or **causatives**) are the linguistic instantiations of the conceptual notion of causation”. In Kara, a very productive morphological¹⁴ causative suffix **-s-** could be suffixed to the verb roots to derive causative verb stems. The causative morpheme is a suffix. The majority of the Omotic languages use the morpheme **-s-** to derive causative verb stems¹⁵. Kara has also periphrastic causatives, and this is usually used when the **causer** and the **causee** are not identical though it is not as productive as morphological causatives.

The following are some of the causative stems formed by suffixing the causative morpheme **-s-** to the verbal root:

14. Verb root		Causative stem	
its-	‘eat’	its-i-s-	‘feed’
geb-	‘grow’	geb-i-s-	‘make grow’
izak’-	‘swallow’	izak’-i-s-	‘make swallow’
na?-	‘come’	ni?-i-s-	‘cause to come’
tak-	‘cut’	tak-i-s-	‘have cut’
zag-	‘find’	zag-i-s-	‘cause to find’
des-	‘kill’	des-is-	‘cause to kill’

As can be seen from the above examples in (14), the causative verb stem is derived by suffixing the morpheme **-s-** to the verb root; this suffix can be added to intransitive and transitive verbs to form the causative of that verb. Morphological causative derivation is productive in Kara. In the

¹⁴ Payne (1997) has classified causatives into three types: lexical, morphological, and periphrastic/analytic. A morphological causative is one kind of “valence increasing” operation.

¹⁵ For details see Dime (Mulugeta 2008), Koorete (Biniyam 2008), Yemsa (Silvia 2010), Maale (Azeb 2001) and Sheko (Hellenthal 2010)

causative verb stem **niʔ-i-s-** ‘cause to come’ the vowel of the root verb is raised and fronted to harmonize with the vowel /i/ which is inserted to avoid impermissible sequence of consonants.

The causative suffix **s-** is changed to **-f-** if a verb root has a palatal sibilant such as /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /tʃʰ/ and /dʒ/ that occurs either adjacent to or distant from the causative suffix which triggers assimilation of place of articulation. In both the adjacent and distant assimilations the causative suffix **-s-** takes the place feature of the palatal obstruent in the verb root and become **-f-**. Consider the following examples in (15) below:

15. Verb stem		Causative stem	
hantʃ-	‘laugh’	hantʃ-i-f-	‘make laugh’
aʃk-	‘work’	aʃk-i-f-	‘cause to work’
ʃan-	‘buy’	ʃan-f-	‘cause to buy’ or ‘sell’
Potinʃ-	‘cough’	Potinʃ-i-f-	‘cause to cough’
wutʃ-	‘drink’	wutʃ-i-f-	‘cause to drink’
ʃab-	‘add’	ʃab-i-f-	‘cause to add’
tʃʰub-	‘wash’	tʃʰub-i-f-	‘cause to wash’
dʒog-	??	dʒog-i-f-	‘decrease’

Citing Hayward (1998), Azeb (2001:94) noted that “In some Omotic languages, including Aari, Zayse and Bench, co-occurrence of alveolar and palatal sibilants is strictly avoided”. Hayward (1990:469) also states that the palato-alveolar sibilants (**ʃ**, **tʃ**, **tʃʰ**, **ʒ**, **dʒ**), any where in the verb root, can trigger palatalization of any sibilant in the suffix. As can be seen from the examples listed in (15), the causative suffix **-s-**, the alveolar sibilant, is changed to the voiceless palatal sibilant /ʃ/ taking the feature of palatalization from the palatal consonant in the verb root to be identical in palatalization. Thus, the co-occurrence restrictions of alveolar and palatal sibilants or sibilant harmony also seem to be obligatory in Kara.

As shown above, the causative suffix **-s-** is used to derive causative verb stems. The vowel /i/ is inserted between the verb root and the causative suffix, as can be seen from the above examples, to avoid impermissible sequences of consonants. However, the causative suffix is directly attached to the verb root, without inserting the vowel /i/ between the verb root and the causative

suffix, when the verb root ends with one of the sonorant sounds (**n**, **l**, and **r**) as illustrated in (16) below:

	Verb root		causative verb stem
16.	temar- ‘learn’	temar-s-	‘teach’
	jan- ‘buy’	jan-f-	‘cause to buy’ or ‘sell’
	kor- ‘plant’	kor-s-	‘make to plant’
	bul- ‘open’	bul-s-	‘cause to open’
	ɛsar- ‘hear’	ɛsar-s-	‘cause to hear’

Examples in (14-16) demonstrate that the causative morpheme is **-s-**, and the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted in some cases between the verb root and the causative suffix **-s-** in order to conform to the phonotactic structure of the language. The alveolar /s/ occurs as a second member of a cluster only with /n/, /l/ and /r/ sounds (see Table 3 for possible consonant clusters in Kara), so when the verb root ends with one of these consonants the epenthetic vowel is not required. The verb **jan-f-** ‘sell’ is derived by suffixing the causative suffix to the verb root of **jan-** ‘buy’ so, ‘cause to buy’ and ‘sell’ has the same verbal stem in Kara. The verb root of ‘learn’¹⁶ is borrowed from Amharic, and a causative stem **temar-s-** ‘teach’ has a literal meaning ‘make to learn’.

The causative suffix forms causatives of both intransitive and transitive clauses. As can be seen from illustrative examples in (14-16) above, the causative morpheme is suffixed to the verb roots of intransitive or transitive verbs to derive a causative verb stem. However, in very rare cases, a separate lexeme is used in causative constructions. For example, Kara has two different verb roots for ‘die’ and ‘kill’: **dʒa-** and **des-** respectively. The verb ‘break’ in Kara has three different forms, **pal-**, **k'uns'-** and **ʔa-**. The first one can take the causative suffix to derive a transitive verb or a causative stem, but the last one cannot take the causative suffix, and it is used only when something is broken by itself without a causer or unknown causer. On the contrary, the second verb root **k'uns'-** ‘break’ occurs in an extended form, i.e. with causative suffix and lacks the base from. Examine the following examples:

¹⁶The word **tamar-** ‘learn’ is borrowed from Amharic, and ‘**teach**’ is derived by suffixing the causative suffix **-s** to ‘learn’

17. **burtʃ'uk'-a** **ʔaj-id-i-na/** **pal-d-i-na**
 glass-DEF break-PF-PST-ADCL/ break-PF-PST- ADCL
 ‘The glass is broken’
18. **na burtʃ'uk'-a** **k'uns'-id-i-na/** **pal-s-id-i-na**
 she glass-DEF break:CAUS-PF-PST-ADCL/break-CAUS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She broke the glass’

From the above examples, we can see that different lexical items can be used to designate transitive and intransitive verbs. The verb form **k'uns'-** in (18), is used as a transitive verb, whereas **ʔaj-** in (17) is used as an intransitive verb. However, **pal-** is an intransitive verb and can be transvized when causative suffix is added to it.

Double causative is also attested in Kara. As described above, the causative morpheme **-s-** or **-f-** can be added to virtually any intransitive verb to derive a transitive or a causative of that verb. A causative suffix can also be attached to transitive verbs that are derived from the intransitive verbs through causativization. In such a case, the causative suffix may be realized twice, i.e. double causatives are allowed. Kara uses the same causative suffix for both intransitive and transitive stems. As can be seen in (19) below, the transitive and intransitive stems consistently use the causative suffix **-s-** or **-f-** :

19. Transvized verb stems		Causativized verb stems
jiʔ-i-s-	‘make go/send’	jiʔ-i-s-i-s- ‘cause someone to go’
sunk'-i-s-	‘have kissed’	sunk'-i-s-i-s- ‘cause to kiss’
buʔurf- (TV)	‘boil’	buʔurf-i-f- ‘cause to boil’
s'ɛɛd-i-s-	‘make short’	s'ɛɛd-i-s-i-s- ‘cause to make short’
bask-	‘have cooked’	bask-i-s- ‘cause someone to cook’
des- (TV)	‘kill’	des-i-s- ‘cause kill’
durp-is-	‘make fat’	durp-i-s-i-s- cause to make fat’

Examples in (19) reveal that double causation is expressed by consistently adding the causative morpheme **-s-** or **-f-** to the transvized verb stems. A verb root that ends with a velar stop undergoes metathesis when the causative morpheme **-s-** is added to it to derive a transvized verb stem. For example, when we add the causative morpheme **-s-** to the verb root **bak-** ‘cook’,

the transvized verb stem ***baks-** ‘cause to cook’ will be formed. However, the **-ks-** sequence is not allowed in Kara; as a result metathesis is applied for phonotactic reason switching the sequence **-ks-** to **-sk-**, a permissible sequence, as in **bask-** ‘have cooked’. Such phonological process is also attested when we add a causative suffix **-s-** to the verb root **ɔɔk-** ‘change’ to derive the causative stem **ɔɔsk- ks > sk** ‘make change’.

In the causative construction, the causative morpheme always adds one more argument (causer) to the verb. In double causative, for example, there are two causer noun phrases; one which is directly and physically involved in the action and the other which is indirectly involved in the action, but not directly responsible for the effect. Consequently, when the causative verb stem is derived from transvized verb stems as in (20), the indirectly involved causer occurs in nominative case, and the directly involved causer occurs in the accusative case. The following sentential causative constructions can show the distinction between direct and indirect causation:

20. (a) **laale hak'a-s-i-m k'uns'-id-i-na**
 lale tree-DEF:M-INS-ACC break-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Lale broke the tree (Lit: Lale made the tree break down)’
 (b) **laale dunga-m hak'a-s-i-m k'uns'-i-s-id-i-na**
 lale dunga-ACC tree-DEF:M-INS-ACC break-INS-CAUS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Lale caused Dunga break the tree’
21. **no dunga-m naas-a-m sunk'-i-s-i-s-id-i-na**
 he dunga-ACC child-M-ACC kiss-INS-CAUS-INS-CAUS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He caused Dunga kiss the boy’
22. **ɛɛj-a naas-a-m mas'af-a-m**
 man-DEF child-M-ACC book-DEF:M-ACC
ni?-i-s-i-s-id-i-na
 come-INS-CAUS-INS-CAUS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man made the boy bring the book’

The causative construction in (20a) shows direct causation, and (20b, 21 and 22) show indirect causation or double causative. In Kara, the causative of intransitive verb stem allows one accusative case as in (20a), whereas the causative of a transitive verb allows two accusatives as in (20b, 21 & 22). The causative suffix in Kara can be followed by inflectional morphemes as

shown in examples (20-22) and derivational morphemes like the passive and infinitive markers (See the details in section 6.3.2. & 6.3.3.).

In Kara, as noted at the beginning of this section, it is also possible to use a periphrastic causative construction when the **causer** and the **causee** are not identical or to express indirect causation. However, Kara very rarely use periphrastic causative construction to express direct causation. Speakers prefer periphrastic causative than morphological causative to express indirect causation. On the contrary, morphological causative is very commonly and very productively used to express direct causation than the periphrastic causative. Some illustrative examples given below show the fact that periphrastic causative construction can be used to express indirect causation:

23. **inta** **ki=m** **ki=neʔ-eka** **haj-id-i-na**
 I 3SGM-ACC 3SGM-come-PURP make-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘I made him come’
24. **warijo** **i=m** **zobt-a-m** **i=dis-eka** **haj-id-i-na**
 wariyo 1SG-ACC lion-M-ACC 1SG-kill-PURP make-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Wariyo made me kill the lion’
25. **no ko=m** **apala-s-i-m** **ko=ʃan-eka** **haj-id-i-na**
 he 3SGF-ACC cloth-DEF:M-INS-ACC 3SGF-buy-PURP make-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He made her buy the cloth’

As can be seen from the above examples (23-25), in the periphrastic causative constructions a separate causative verb root **haj-** ‘make/cause/force to do’ is used; the causative suffix never appears in such causative constructions. The causative verb root **haj-** occurs in the main clause, and the caused event is expressed by the verb in the dependent clause. The causer occurs in the nominative case, but the causee occurs in the accusative case, and accusative case marker appears twice. The verb in the dependent clause is preceded by a bound pronominal which refers to the causee and is followed by purposive markers.

The causative suffixes are also used to derive verb stems from nouns and adjectival inchoative verbs. The following are some examples:

26.	Noun		Derived verb	
	bubuni	‘dust’	bubun-s-	‘winnow, throw in air (grain)’
	gibaro	‘wind’	gibar-s-	‘blow (of wind)’
	tʃotʃi	‘guest’	tʃotʃin-f-	‘invite’
27.	Inchoative verb		Derived verb	
	s'ɛɛd-	‘become short’	s'ɛɛd-i-s-	‘shorten’
	s'ɛɛr-	‘become deep’	s'ɛɛr-s-	‘deepen’
	tʃ'ar-	‘become sharp’	tʃ'ar-f-	‘sharpen’
	durp-	‘become fat’	durp-i-s-	‘fatten’

Kara drops terminal vowels in nouns after suffixation, but terminal vowels remain in position when the phonotactics is violated (See chapter three about TV). In view of that, the terminal vowels of nouns in example (26) above are dropped when the causative morpheme **-s-** is added to them since the phonotactics of Kara permit **-ns-** and **-rs-** clusters.

6.3.2. Passive

In Kara, the passive is formed by adding the suffix **-d-** or **-ad-** to the verb root or verb stem. The passive suffix must be followed by inflectional or derivational suffixes to derive an independent verb. The following are some examples:

28.	Verb root		Passive stem	
	its-	‘eat’	its-ad-	‘be eaten’
	diis'-	‘close’	diis'-ad-	‘be closed’
	des-	‘kill’	des-ad-	‘be killed’
	aʃk-	‘work’	aʃk-ad-	‘be worked’
	tak-	‘cut’	tak-ad-	‘be cut’

As can be seen from the above examples, the passive suffix **-ad-** is added to roots ending with consonants other than the liquids (/l/ & /r/) and the nasal /n/. The passive suffix with the initial vowel /a/ is used when there are impermissible consonant sequences. The corpus shows that the implosive /d/ forms a cluster only with the liquids (l & r) and the nasal (n) in Kara (See Table 3). The alternant **-d-** is used when the verb root ends with one of the liquids or the nasal /n/ since the

language permits **-ld-**, **-rd-** and **-nd-** consonant sequences. Examine the following examples in (29) below:

	Verb root		Passive stem	
29.	jan-	‘buy’	jan-d-	‘be bought’
	bul-	‘open’	bul-d-	‘be opened’
	esar-	‘hear’	esar-d-	‘be heard’

In active voice construction, the subject of the clause is an agent and the object is a patient. However, in a passive construction a different argument structure will be created; accordingly, the object of the active construction becomes the subject, and the subject of the active construction appears in an oblique role. See the following examples:

30. **no** **daʔan-no** **its-id-i-na**
 he food-DEF:F eat-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He ate the food’
31. **daʔan-no** **its-ad-id-i-na**
 food-DEF:F eat-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The food is/was eaten’
32. **daʔan-no** **ki=n-ka** **its-ad-id-i-na**
 food-DEF 3SGM-INST eat-PASS-PF- PST-ADCL
 ‘The food is/was eaten by him’
33. **apala-s** **jan-d-ad-a** **zawi-na**
 cloth-DEF:M buy-PASS-PF- M:REL red-ADCL
 ‘The cloth which is/was bought is/was red’

Example (30) is an active construction; consequently, an agent is the subject of the clause and a patient is the object. Examples (31-33) are passive constructions, and the passive is marked by **-ad-** which is suffixed to the verb roots. In Kara passive construction, the subject, someone who is responsible for the action, is deleted altogether; the object takes the place of the subject. As illustrated in (33), it is not necessary to mention the agent, unless identifying the doer is required. If the agent is expressed at all, it may be mentioned in an oblique phrase and is introduced by

instrumental case marker **-ka**. The passive marker can be followed by perfective marker as shown in (31-33) and imperfective marker as in (34) below:

34. **ɔno-no masiresha-ka-na aʃk-ad-aj**
 House-DEF masireshe-INST-ADCL work-PASS-IPF
 ‘The house will be built by masiresha’

In Kara, the passive stem can also be formed by suffixing the passive suffix **-ad-** to the causative stem, but not a causative from a passive stem. The causative-passive combination is attested only in few instances. Consider the following examples:

35. (a) **waŋ-in ʃan-ʃ-ad-id-i-na**
 cattle-F:ACC buy-CAUS-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The cow is/was sold (LIT: Somebody caused the cow to be bought)’
 (b) **wak-a-m ʃan-ʃ-ad-id-i-na**
 cattle-M-ACC buy-CAUS-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The ox is/was sold (LIT: Somebody caused the ox to be bought)’
36. (a) **ap-a-m jiʔ-is-ad-id-i-na**
 letter-DEF-ACC go-CAUS-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The letter is/was sent (LIT: Somebody caused the letter to be go)’
 (b) **ap-a-m jiʔ-i-s-ad-u**
 cattle-DEF-ACC buy-CAUS-PASS-INT
 ‘Is/was the letter sent?’
37. **hawu-ka ɖaj-i-s-ad-u**
 who-INST hit-CAUS-PASS-INT
 ‘By whom is/was he beaten?’

6.3.3. Infinitive

As discussed in section 3.2.1.4 under the heading of ‘derived nominals’, the infinitive is a verb form that is used as a noun. The infinitive form is derived by suffixing the morpheme **-a** to the verb root or verb stem. Below are some examples:

38.	Verb root	Infinitive	
	koj-	koj-a	‘to dig’
	ʃan-	ʃan-a	‘to buy’
	tak-	tak-a	‘to cut’
	wutʃ	wutʃ-a	‘to drink’
	im-	im-a	‘to give’
	its-	its-a	‘to eat’
39.	Passive stem	Infinitive	
	its-ad-	its-ad-a	‘to be eaten’
	ɖa-ɖ-	ɖa-ɖ-a	‘to be hit’
40.	Causative stem	Infinitive	
	its-i-s-	its-i-s-a	‘to cause to eat’
	tʃʷub-i-ʃ-	tʃʷub-i-ʃ-a	‘to cause to wash’

As can be seen from the above examples, the infinitive marker **-a** can be added to verb roots (38) and to verb stems (39 & 40). The passive and causative stems never form an independent form unless followed by inflectional or derivational morphemes. Thus, in (39 & 40) above, the passive and causative markers are followed by the infinitive marker producing independent forms, i.e. infinitives.

The infinitival form is inflected for dative case, but it is not inflected for other cases. The infinitivals also do not take the gender and number markers. Examine the following examples:

41. (a) **gob-a-nante** **s'aali-na**
 Run-INF-DAT good-ADLC
 ‘To run is good’
42. (b) **(inta) naʔ-a-nante** **zag-aa-na** **i=zag-aj**
 I come-INF-DAT want-IPF-ADCL 1SG-want-IPF
 ‘I want to come’

6.3.4. Inchoative

In Kara, most adjectives have a verbal counterpart. In this language the inchoative verb is formed by dropping the terminal vowel of the adjectives and by directly suffixing the verbal inflectional markers to the verb roots as shown in the following examples:

	Adjective		Inchoative stem	
43.	wurri	‘wide’	wurr-id-i	‘become wide’
	s'εɛdi	‘near’	s'εɛd-id-i	‘become near’
	zawi	‘red’	zaw-id-i	‘become red’
	s'εɛdi	‘dry’	s'εɛd-id-i	‘become dry’
	getfo	‘old’	getf-id-i	‘become old’
	durpi	‘fat’	durp-id-i	‘become fat’

As shown in example (43) above, the inchoative stems are formed by dropping the terminal vowel of the adjectives, and by directly attaching the verbal inflectional suffixes **-id-i** that show aspect and tense respectively.

The following examples show the occurrence of the inchoative verbs in the sentence:

44. (a) **hak'a-s wotf-id-i-na**
tree-DEF:M dry-PF-PST-ADCL
‘The wood became dry’
45. (b) **εεsin-sa aapi-no zaw-ud-i-na**
woman-GEN eye-DEF:F red-PF-PST-ADCL
‘The eye of the woman became red’

Inchoative verbs can also be formed by suffixing **-ɗ-** or **-aɗ-**, a suffix similar to the passive marker, to the adjectives. In this case, the verbal inflectional markers cannot be directly suffixed to the adjectives, but they occur following the suffix **-ɗ-** or **-aɗ-**. Thus, such adjectives should be passivized before they take verbal inflections. The terminal vowel of the adjective gets dropped during the process as revealed in demonstrative examples below:

	Adjective		Inchoative stem
46. (a)	wodimo ‘rich’		wodin-d- ‘become rich’
	bakar ‘thirsty’		bakar-d- ‘become thirsty’
(b)	daak'o ‘hungry’		daak'-ad- ‘become hungry’
	kupi ‘poor’		kup-ad- ‘become poor’
	gebi ‘big’		geb-ad- ‘become big’

Examples (46a) and (46b) show that the passive morpheme **-d-** and its variant **-ad-** could be used as verbalizers of adjectives. Like in passive and causative constructions, the alternant with initial vowel is most of the time used when the phonotactics of the language is violated as in (46b) above. The root final consonant of the adjective **wodimo** ‘rich’ assimilates to the suffix **-d-** in place of articulation resulting in alveolar nasal /n/ as in **wodin-d-** ‘become thirsty’ in (46a) above. The terminal vowels in adjectives, like terminal vowels in nouns, sometimes get deleted during the process of suffixation.

6.4. Verb Inflection

Under this section, the inflection of Kara verbs for person, gender, number, tense-aspect and mood will be discussed. The inflection of verbs for person, gender and number will be presented in subsequent section under one sub-topic.

6.4.1. Person, Number and Gender

Kara verbs are not always inflected for grammatical features such as person, gender and number. However, in some clauses these grammatical features are marked on the verb using pronominal clitics that occur before the verb, and in some other clauses such grammatical relationship is absent. Kara verbs do not use affixes, except in relative clause, to mark person, gender and number features. Genetically related languages like Hamar and the rest of South Omotic languages as well do not mark person, gender and number in all clauses (Fleming 1976; Bender 2000; Moges 2005). Binyam (2016) also states that in Hamar subject agreement markers are not morphologically marked on the verb in affirmative sentences; however, they are morphologically marked on the verb in negative constructions. The following examples demonstrate that Kara, both in the affirmative and negative constructions, lacks verb inflections for person, number and gender on the main verb:

47. (a) **naas-a naʔ-id-i-na**
 child-M come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The child came’
- (b) **naa-na naʔ-id-i-na**
 child-PL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The children came’
- (c) **ɛɛj-a dʒaj-id-i-na**
 man-DEF:M die-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man died’
- (d) **ɛɛ-na dʒaj-id-i-na**
 man-PL die-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The men died’
- (e) **dunga kaara-n-bara naʔ-id-i-na**
 dunga kara-F-ABL come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Dunga came from Kara’
48. **no naʔ-id-ú**
 he come-PF-INT
 ‘Did he come?’
49. **no naʔ-ad-i-ma-mo**
 he come-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL
 ‘he did not come’

The data in (47-49) above illustrate that Kara verbs are not morphologically marked for person, gender and number in some clauses. The affirmative and negative declaratives and the interrogative declarative markers occur at the end of the sentence when the main verb is in past tense and when the action is in focus. In such cases, the occurrence of the subject noun phrase or the nominative pronoun is compulsory since the main verb is not inflected for person, gender and number.

Kara lacks subject-verb agreement markers in non-verbal sentences too. Below are some examples:

50. (a) **na bafi-na** 'She is beautiful'
 she beautiful-ADCL
- (b) **na diibi-na** 'She is a thief'
 she thief-ADCL
51. **jaa anza-w-ú** 'Are you a girl?'
 you (SG) girl-INS-INT
52. **na diibi ti-ma-mo** 'She is not a thief'
 she thief be-NEG-NDCL

The illustrative examples in (50-52) reveal that in non-verbal sentences person, gender and number markers are also completely absent. Consequently, all the semantic freight is carried by the basic independent pronouns, and this makes the occurrence of subject pronouns or nouns mandatory.

However, in some cases, a verb in Kara exhibits agreement with the subject of a sentence via a reduced form of independent pronoun or a basic bound pronoun attached pre-verbal root. The basic bound pronouns are attached to the verbs to indicate person, gender and number agreement with the subject noun phrase or pronoun. The bound pronouns or pronominal clitics are mandatory in jussive and non-past constructions. Examine the following examples:

53. **(arijo) tamari-na ki=naʃ-aj** 'Ariyo likes education'
 ariyo student-ADCL 3SGM-like-IPF
54. (a) **(wuti) naʔ-aa-na wo=naʔ-aj** 'We will come'
 we come-IPF-ADCL 1PL-come-IPF
- (b) **(no) naʔ-aa-na ki=naʔ-aj** 'He will come'
 he come-IPF-ADCL 3SGM-come-IPF
55. (a) **ki=k'uns'-e** 'Let him break'
 3SGM-break-HORT
- (b) **ko=k'uns'-e** 'Let her break'
 3SGF-break-HORT

- (c) **kε=k' uns' -e** 'Let them break'
3PL-break-HORT
- (d) **i=k' uns' -e** 'Let me break'
1SG-break-HORT
- (e) **wo=k' uns' -e** 'Let us break'
1PL-break-HORT
56. (a) **inta zoti-te-na i=do** 'I was swimming'
I swim-PROG-ADCL 1SG-exist
57. **εεsi-no jaano jaan-ite-na ko=do**
woman-DEF urine urine-PROG-ADCL 3SGF-exist
'The woman is urinating urine'

The examples given above (53-57) demonstrate the use of the pronominal clitics in a sentence as person marker. The pronominal clitics are observed in simple (55 a-e), compound (54 a & b) and complex (56 & 57) verbal constructions. In such verbal structures, the subject noun phrase or pronoun are optional; the pronominal clitic can be used along with the subject noun phrase or pronoun, or the pronoun clitic alone can be used without mentioning the subject noun phrase or pronoun.

The pronominal clitic is also used in cleft constructions; clefting is employed to emphasize different parts of a sentence such as the subject, direct object, and adverbial expressions of time and place. The sentence type marker **-na**, which appears on the main verb following the past tense morpheme in affirmative declarative sentence, is suffixed to part of a cleft sentence that is in focus, and the pronominal clitic is attached to the verb in a relative clause that comes following the clefted element to express person. Compare the following examples in (58) and (59) below:

58. (a) **no naa na?-id-i-na**
he yesterday come-IPF-PST-ADCL
'He came yesterday'

- (b) **tʃotʃi-no ana naʔ-id-i-na**
 guest-F long ago come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The guest (F) came long ago’

59. (a) **(tʃotʃi-no) ana-na ko=naʔ-ad-o**
 guest-F long ago-ADCL come-PF-REL
 ‘The guest (F) came long time ago (Lit: It was long time ago that the guest came)’

- (b) **(no) naa-na ki=naʔ-ad-o**
 he yesterday-ADCL 3SGM-come-PF-REL
 ‘He came yesterday 9Lit: It was yesterday that he came’

In example (58), the main verbs are in past tense form and the sentence type marker **-na** gets suffixed to the main verb following the past tense marker. In such construction the pronominal clitics are absent. However, in (59), the suffix **-na** is suffixed to time adverbials **ana** ‘long ago’ and **naa** ‘yesterday’ to express that they are focused constituents. Such cleft constructions are formed while answering non-polar interrogatives; the pronominal clitics are attached to the relative clause verb which comes following the clefted elements as in (59) above. The relative clause verb root, in cleft construction, is marked for gender or number of the personal subject that is focused (see 7.2.3.), but when emphasis is put on, non-personal subjects, time adverbials as in (59) above and place adverbials as in (73) below, number or gender feature is not marked on the relative clause verb root. In the later case, the relative verb root is preceded by pronominal clitic that refers to the person of the animate noun or pronoun embedded in the relative clause and followed by the suffix **-o** ‘that’ which just relates the two clauses of the cleft construction, the nominal predicate that comes at the beginning, and the relative clause that comes at the end.

Interrogative sentences which are formed using the interrogative words majorly use the pronominal clitics to mark person. Below are some examples:

60. (a) **(jaa) bire-na-m hawu-nante ha=ʔim-ad-e**
 you (SG) money-PL-ACC who-DAT 2SG-give-PF-INT
 ‘To whom did you give the money’

- (b) **(jɛti) haa je-nɛʔ-ɛ**
 You (PL) when 2PL-come-IPF:INT
 ‘When do you come?’

- (c) (εεj-a) hanta ki=jεʔ-ε
 man-DEF where 3SGM-IPF:INT
 ‘Where does/will the man go?’

In general, the use of pronominal clitics as person marker is common in Kara and in other South Omotic languages like Hamar (Moges 2005; Fleming 1976) and Ari (Daniel 1993); it has been also observed in other distantly related Omotic languages such as Sheko (Hellenthal 2010), Koorete (Binyam 2008), Haro (Hirut 2004), Zargulla (Baye 1994) and Zayse (Hayward 1990).

6.4.2. Aspect -Tense

Kara has both tense and aspect systems; however, aspect plays a larger role. Kara morphologically marks the perfective and imperfective aspects on the verb, and they are suffixed to the root or stem of the main verb or the dependent verb as in relative clauses. Two perfective markers **-id-** and **-ad-**, and two imperfective markers **-e** and **-aa/-aj** are attested in Kara. Progressive aspect is also attested in this language. Kara makes a two-way tense distinctions, i.e., either past or future. There is no present tense in Kara; something that is happening at the time of speaking or at the moment is expressed by the progressive aspect.

The detailed discussion on the aspect and tense systems of Kara will be presented in the following subsections.

6.4.2.1. Aspect

Aspect refers to the internal temporal "structure" of a situation (Payne 1997:234). It is concerned with completion of actions or events and their dynamicity in relation to a point or interval in time. Kara has three types of aspect namely the perfective, imperfective and progressive aspects.

6.4.2.1.1. Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect indicates a completed action or event. Comrie (1976:18) states that the situation is viewed in its entirety in perfective aspect. In Kara, the perfective aspect is marked by two different suffixes, **-id-** or **-ad-**. The former one is mainly used in simple affirmative declarative sentences, and the latter one is used in negative sentences and in non-polar interrogative sentences. The perfective morpheme **-ad-** is also attested in dependent clauses. Consider the following examples:

61. **no** **naa** **naʔ-id-i-na**
 he yesterday come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He came yesterday’
62. (a) **no** **naa-na** **ki=naʔ-ad-o**
 he yesterday-ADCL 3SGM-come-PF-REL
 ‘He came yesterday (Lit: It is yesterday that he came)’
- (b) **jaa** **bire-na-m** **hawu-nante** **ha=ʔim-ad-e**
 you (SG) money-PL-ACC who-DAT 2SG-give-PF-INT
 ‘To whom did you give the money? (Lit: ‘you gave the money to whom?’)
- (c) **apala-s** **jan-d-ad-a** **zawi-na**
 cloth-DEF buy-PASS-PF-M:REL red-A:DCL
 ‘The cloth which is/was bought is red
- (d) **no** **k'uns'-ad-i-ma-mo** ‘He didn’t break’
 he break-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL

As can be seen from the above examples, in (61 and 62a-d), the perfective aspect is marked by the suffix **-id** or **-ad** in Kara. The perfective markers can be suffixed to the verb root or verb stem. The perfective marker **-id-** is always followed by the simple past tense marker **-i** which is in turn usually followed by the affirmative declarative marker **-na** as in (61) above. When this perfective marker is used, the form of the verb never changes in line with the person of the subject. Accordingly, a subject noun-phrase or a personal pronoun needs to be present to provide clarity about the subject. The suffix **-id-** is not attested in negative constructions at all.

The perfective aspect marker **-ad**, as stated above, occurs in non-polar interrogative sentences (62b), in negative sentences (62d), in dependent clauses (62c) and in cleft-constructions (62a). In (62b) the perfective form consists of the main verb which is preceded by bound basic pronominal that shows subject verb agreement and followed by the perfective morpheme **-ad**. In the cleft construction (62a), the perfective marker is followed by the suffix **-o**, i.e., the relative marker that is used when time and place adverbials are emphasized. In non-polar interrogative, this perfective marker occurs preceding the interrogative marker as in (62b) above. However, in negative construction (62d), the verb form does not take pronominal clitic that shows person

agreement with the verb as in some declarative sentences. In such a case, the perfective morpheme **-ad** is suffixed to the root or stem of the main verb and it is followed by a negative marker and sentence type marker respectively. Similarly, pronominal clitics do not usually occur with the verb in the relative clause as in (62c); instead, a portmanteau morpheme that shows both gender or number and dependent clause marker follows the perfective aspect marker.

6.4.2.1.2. Imperfective Asepect

According to Comrie (1976), the situation in the imperfective aspect is viewed from inside or from within, as an ongoing process. The imperfective aspect refers to actions or events which are not completed or in progress. Kara morphologically marks the imperfective aspect. Three imperfective markers, **-aa/-aj** and **-e**, are observed in Kara. The imperfective markers, as shown in the following examples, mainly occur following the verb root.

63. (a) **εεsi-no** **naʔ-aj-i-no** **ḡoodo-na**
 woman-DEF come-IPF-INS-F:REL thin-ADCL
 ‘The woman who is coming is thin’
- (b) **hawu-te** **iirm-aj-a**
 who-be:INT insult-IPF-M:REL
 ‘Which one (m) is insulting?’
64. (a) **na** **hawu-m** **ko=zag-é**
 she who-ACC 3SGF-find-IPF:INT
 ‘Whom does she want?’
- (b) **εεj-a** **hanta ki=jeʔ-é**
 man-DEF where 3SGM-IPF:INT
 ‘Where will the man go?’
65. **ko=wutʃ" -e**
 3SGF-drink-IPF:HOR
 ‘Let her drink’

66. **addis k'ul-ta-m naf-aa-na ki=naf-aj**
 addis goat-M-ACC buy-IPF-ADCL 3SGM-buy-IPF
 ‘Addis will buy the goat(m)’

Examples in (63-66) above illustrate the imperfective aspect. The imperfective marker **-aj** occurs in simple verb forms as in (63 a & b) and in compound verb forms as indicated in (66) above. In compound verb forms, imperfective aspect occurs following each of the verb roots, which form the compound verbal construction. In such verbal forms, both the **-aa** and **-aj** suffixes co-occur, where the former one is suffixed to the first stem of the compound verb (base form of the reduplication) and the later one is suffixed to the second constituent of the compound verb (reduplicant).

The imperfective aspect markers **-aa** and **-aj** have different distributions. The former one is suffixed to the base form of the reduplication, whereas the later one is suffixed to the element that is repeated. While **-aa** is suffixed only to verbs in the main clause, the imperfective suffix **-aj** can be suffixed to verbs in the dependent clause (See chapter 8). The suffix **-aj** many cases co-occur with the bound pronoun prefixed to the verb root to express person.

The imperfective aspect marker **-aa/-aj** also indicates the habitual action.

67. **kεε rooro-wul tamar-ɔno-n-zara jaʔ-aa-na kε=jaʔ-aj**
 they day-always student-house-F-ALL go-IPF-ADCL 3PL-go-IPF
 ‘They always go to school’

On the other hand, the imperfective marker **-e**, as shown in (64) above, is attested only in simple verb forms. This imperfective suffix is used in hortative mood (See 6.4.3.) and in non-polar interrogatives (See 7.2.2.) expressing imperfectivity and mood, and imperfectivity and sentence type respectively at a time. This suffix is a portmanteau morpheme; it indicates the imperfective aspect and the sentence type or mood simultaneously.

The imperfective aspect in Kara is not overtly marked in negative constructions. Examine the following examples in (68) :

68. (a) **jeti ni-ma-mo**
 you (PL) come-NEG-NDCL
 ‘You will not come’
- (b) **no ni-ma-mo**
 he come-NEG-NDCL
 ‘He will not come’
- (c) **kεε ni-ma-mo**
 they come-NEG-NDCL
 ‘They will not come’

6.4.2.1.3. Progressive Aspect

Payne (1997:240) states that “progressive aspect implies an ongoing, dynamic process”. It refers to an action running over an extended time. In Kara, the progressive aspect is indicated by the suffix **-te** which occurs following the verb root. The progressive aspect marker occurs only in complex verbal form which is composed of a main verb and an existential auxiliary. This morpheme is mainly followed by the sentence type marker **-na** which is in turn followed by the existential auxiliary verb that is preceded by the bound pronoun. Illustrative examples are presented in (69) below:

69. (a) **wuti zoot-i-te-na wo=do**
 we swim-INS-PROG-ADCL 1PL-exist
 ‘We are/were swimming’
- (b) **no aʃk-i-te-na ki=do**
 he work-INS-PROG-ADCL 3SGM-exist
 ‘He is/was swimming’
- (c) **jaa gob-te-w-u ha=do** ,
 you (SG) run-PROG-INS-INT 2SG-exist
 ‘Are you running?’
- (d) **hawu-te taa ni-te-da-a**
 who-be:INT now come-PROG-exist-M:REL
 ‘Who was coming now? (Lit: who is the one that is coming?)’

From the examples given in (69) above, we can see that progressive aspect appears always in a complex verb. The progressive morpheme occurs following the verb root, and it is followed by the sentence type marker as in (69a-c), but it is sometimes followed directly by the existential auxiliary verb as in (69d) above.

The form of the existential auxiliary verb in Kara seems **da-**, and this form is used when it occurs immediately after the progressive marker as in (69d). However, the vowel /a/ changes to /o/ and the existential verb form become **do**, though what motivates the vowel change is not clear for the time being, when the progressive morpheme is followed by the morpheme that shows the sentence type and focus simultaneously. In such a case, the existential auxiliary is preceded by the bound pronominal clitic which refers to the subject of the sentence.

6.4.2.2. Tense

As indicated above, Kara makes a two-way tense distinction, i.e., past and future. There is no present tense in Kara; something that is happening at the time of speaking or at the moment is expressed by the progressive aspect. According to Payne (1997:236) many languages of the world exhibit a two-way tense distinction: past or future. The past tense is morphologically marked on the verb and occurs following the perfective aspect marker; however, the future tense is not morphologically marked on the verb in Kara as shown below.

6.4.2.2.1. Past Tense

The past tense is marked by the suffix **-i** in Kara. The past tense morpheme is noted only in simple verb form and on the main verb. Compound and complex verbal forms are not marked for Past tense. Most of the time, it occurs following the perfective marker **-id-** and preceding the sentence type marker **-na**. Both recent and remote past are expressed by this morpheme; we need to use time adverbials to specify whether an event carried out is in recent (70) or remote past (71). When past tense is morphologically marked by the suffix **-i**, the form of the verb does not change in agreement with the different persons. Therefore, a subject noun-phrase or a subject pronoun needs to be present to provide clarity about the subject. Consider the following examples:

70. **tfotf-a taa naʔ-id-i-na**
 Guest-3GM now come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The guest came now’
71. **tfotf-a ana naʔ-id-i-na**
 Guest-3GM long ago come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The guest came yesterday’
72. **tfotf-a naʔ-id-i-na**
 guest-M come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The guest came’
73. **no dus-bara-na ki=naʔ-ad-o**
 he dus-ABL-ADCL 3SGM-come-PF-REL
 ‘He came from Dus (Lit: it is from Dus that he came)’

Past tense is not marked in dependent clauses as in (73) (see chapter 8 for detail) and nominal predicates or non-verbal sentences (see 7.1.). It is attested only in affirmative declarative verbal sentence as in (70-72) above.

6.4.2.2.2. Future Tense

In Kara, future tense is expressed by reduplicating the whole verb stem or by using adverbials that indicate a future time. According to Fekede (2011), Ari, a closely-related language, also reduplicates either the first syllable of the verb or the whole stem to indicate that the action shall take place in the future. Examine the examples provided in (74) below:

74. (a) **wuti saxa naʔ-aa-na wo=naʔ-aj**
 we tomorrow come-IPF-ADCL 1PL-come-IPF
 ‘We will come tomorrow’
- (b) **dunga-bee laale-bee naʔ-aa-na kɛ=naʔ-aj**
 Dunga-and Lale-and come-IPF-ADCL 3PL-come-IPF
 ‘Dunga and Lale will come’
- (c) **inta nunk'o-ro zot-aa-na i=zot-aj**
 I water-LOC swim-IPF-ADC 1SG-swim-IPF
 ‘I will swim in the river’

As can be seen from the examples in (74) above, the future tense in Kara is not morphologically marked. It is characterized by verb stem reduplication. The two verb stems, the base form of the reduplication and the reduplicant, are distinguished from each other by affixes they take. The base form of the reduplication carries the imperfective aspect marker **-aa-** and the sentence type marker **-na** respectively. The imperfective suffix of this verb form is not always followed by sentence type marker **-na**; for instance, it is absent in imperfective polar interrogatives (See 7.2.1.). It is the absence of this suffix that distinguishes the polar imperfective interrogative from its affirmative declarative statement counterpart. The reduplicant or repeating element occurs following the base form or the main verb stem and takes the imperfective suffix **-aj**, which is suffixed to the verb root. The bound pronoun which demonstrates person is also prefixed to the reduplicant or repeated verb form.

6.4.3. Mood

Fasold and Connoor-Linton (2006:88) states that “Mood is a grammatical category that expresses the speaker’s belief, opinion, or attitude about the content of an utterance”. Mood is often morphologically marked on the verb, but it normally applies to the entire clause. Kara distinguishes between declarative, interrogative, imperative and hortative mood on the verb. In this section we discuss only the the imperative and hortative moods. The declarative and interrogative moods will be discussed in the next section, chapter seven.

6.4.3.1. The Imperative mood

An imperative refers to verb forms or clauses that are used for commands involving second person subjects. In Kara, the imperative mood is morphologically marked on the verb, and it distinguishes number. The imperative mood for second person singular is expressed by suffixing the morpheme **-ma** to the verb root, but for second person plural, it is indicated by suffixing the morpheme **-mate** to the verb root. The imperative markers are pronounced with high tone as shown in the examples given below:

75.	Imperative Singular	Imperative plural	
	im-má	im-máté	‘give!’
	wutʃ"-u-má	wutʃ"-u-máté	‘drink!’
	ɖab-i-má	ɖab-i-máté	‘stand up!’
	zag-i-má	zag-i-máté	‘find!’
	its-i-má	its-i-máté	‘eat!’
	bul-má	bul-máté	‘jump!’

As shown in (75), the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted before the imperative marker whenever the verb root ends in the consonant to avoid impermissible sequence of sounds (See 2.5.3.); in **wutʃ"-u-má** the epenthetic vowel /i/ is changed to /u/ to be in harmony with the vowel in the verb root though vowel harmony is sporadic in Kara. The second person plural imperative is formed by suffixing the morpheme **-te** to the singular imperative marker **-ma**.

Kara distinguish second person singular and plural in negative imperative. The singular-plural distinctions are made by attaching the basic bound pronouns or pronominal clitics as shown in (76) below:

76.	Negative Imperative	Negative Imperative: PL	
	ha=its-i-nano	jɛ=its-i-nano	‘don’t eat!’
	ha=gob-nano	jɛ=gob-nano	‘don’t run!’
	ha=bul-nano	jɛ=bul-nano	‘don’t jump!’

The suffix **-nano** is a negative imperative marker in Kara. The negative imperative never changes based on the number of the subject as examples in (76) show. To distinguish second person singular and plural, the bound pronouns **ha=** and **jɛ=** are affixed to the main verb respectively. Detailed discussion of the negation will be given in separate section (See 7.3.).

6.4.3.2. The Hortative

The Hortative mood, which is used for indirect command, wish, prayer and blessings, is marked by the suffix **-e** for the first and third persons in Kara. Unlike affirmative imperative mood, a hortative mood is always preceded by a bound pronoun which refers to the subject. The hortative paradigm with the verb **wutʃ"** ‘drink’ has the following structure:

77. **ko=wutʃ** -e ‘let her drink’
 ki= wutʃ -e ‘let him drink’
 kε=wutʃ -e ‘let them drink’
 i=wutʃ -e ‘let me drink’
 wo=wutʃ -e ‘let us drink’

In the hortative mood, the negative is not morphologically marked on the verb as in the imperative. To express negation in the hortative mood, the verb **gar-** ‘stop/leave’ is used in its imperfective form. Examine the following examples:

78. (a) **aʃk-a-n** **ki=gar-e**
 Work-INF-DEF 3SGM-stop-HORT
 ‘Let him not work’
 (b). **aʃk-a-n** **kε=gar-e**
 Work-INF-DEF 3PL-stop-HORT
 ‘Let them not work’
 (c). **aʃk-a-n** **i=gar-e**
 Work-INF-DEF 1SG-stop-HORT
 ‘Let me not work’
 (d) **aʃk-a-n** **wo=gar-e**
 Work-INF-DEF 1PL-stop-HORT
 ‘Let us not work’

Chapter Seven: Sentence Types

Kara, like many Omotic languages, is an SOV language. Though the verb appears at the end of a sentence in the majority of cases, the word order in Kara is not rigid; it is flexible and can be changed.

The sentences in Kara can be categorized into five: declarative, interrogative, negative, imperative and hortative based on their purpose. The imperative and the hortative forms are discussed in chapter six. Therefore, in this section, the remaining three sentence types: the declarative, the interrogative and the negative sentence types will be discussed in detail.

7.1. The Declarative

The verbal and non-verbal affirmative simple declarative sentences in Kara are marked by attaching the suffix **-na** to the verb or to the copula complement respectively. Look at the following verbal declarative affirmative sentences:

1. (a) **ɔno-no** **ʃanf-ad-id-i-na**
house-F sell-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL
‘The house is/was sold’
- (b) **wuti** **zoot-i-te-na** **wo=do**
we swim-INS-PROG-ADCL 1PL-exist
‘We are/were swimming’
- (c) **addis** **k'ul-ta-m** **ʃan-áá-na** **ki=naf-aj**
Addis goat-3SGM-ACC buy-IPF-ADCL 3SGM-buy-IPF
‘Addis will buy the he goat’

The declarative marker occurs at final position, as in (1a), when the verb is in simple and perfective form. In complex and compound verbal forms as in (1b) and (1c) respectively, the declarative marker **-na** occurs following the main verbs, but not at final position.

As stated above the declarative sentence type marker **-na** can also be used in non-verbal affirmative sentences. The examples below show this fact:

2. (a) **ɔno -no gebi-na**
house-F big-ADCL
‘The house is big’
- (b) **na bafi-na**
she beautiful-ADCL
‘She is/was beautiful’
- (c) **inta tamari-na**
I student-ADCL
‘I am/was a student’
- (d) **na i=sa inda-na**
she 1SG-GEN mother-ADCL
‘She is my mother’

In examples (2a-d), it is the copula complement that carries the declarative sentence marker **-na**. The copula complement is the same for all persons and it never marks tense-aspect as the verbal sentences.

On the other hand, the negative simple declarative verbal and non verbal sentences are expressed by the suffix **-mo**, which mainly occurs following the negative marker, as shown in the following examples:

3. (a) **kεε jaʔ-ad-i-ma-mo**
the go-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL
‘They didn’t go’
- (b) **na bafi ti-ma-mo**
she beautiful be-NEG-NDCL
‘She is/was beautiful’
- (c) **na ni-ma-mo**
she come-NEG-NDCL
‘She will not come’

The affirmative declarative and negative declarative markers, **-na** and **-mo** respectively, never co-occur with the imperative, hortative and interrogative morphemes. They never occur in dependent clauses as well.

7.2. The Interrogative

Kara distinguishes two types of interrogative: the polar (yes/no) interrogatives and the non-polar (content) interrogatives. Thus, in the following subsections these two types of interrogative clauses will be discussed.

7.2.1. Polar interrogatives

The polar interrogatives refer to verb forms or sentence/clause types used in the expression of questions that require either ‘yes’ or ‘no’ answer. Yes-no questions are morphologically marked by suffixing the morpheme **-u** to the root or stem of the main verb in the perfective aspect. The interrogative marker **-u** is also suffixed to copula complement or nominal in affirmative interrogative non-verbal or copular constructions as in the examples below:

- | | | | | |
|----|-----|---------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| 4. | (a) | laale | its-id-ú | ‘Did Lale eat?’ |
| | | lale | eat-PF-INT | |
| | (b) | naa-na | naʔ-id-ú | ‘Did the children come?’ |
| | | child-PL | come-PF-INT | |
| 5. | | jaa | anza-w-ú | ‘Are you a girl?’ |
| | | you (SG) | girl-INS-INT | |
| 6. | | jaa | gob-te-w-u | ha=do ‘Are you running’ |
| | | you (SG) | run-PROG-INS-INT | 2SG-exist |

Examples (4 a & b) reveal that in the perfective aspect the polar interrogative is expressed by suffixing the morpheme **-u** to the verb plus rising intonation of the last syllable of the clause. The past tense marker which occurs following the perfective aspect in affirmative declarative is dropped in the polar interrogative sentences. The same morpheme is used to mark the interrogative in non-verbal clauses (5) and in progressive aspect (6). As can be observed in (5) & (6), the glide /w/ will be inserted before the interrogative marker **-u** whenever the word ends in a vowel so as to avoid impermissible sequence of sounds.

Polar interrogative in the imperfective aspect is not marked by the suffix **-u**. It uses the imperfective marker **-aj** with rising intonation. The rising intonation plays an important role in the formation of Kara polar imperfective interrogatives. The polar interrogative in the imperfective aspect differs from its affirmative declarative statement counterpart in that the declarative marker **-na** never happens in the polar interrogatives. Compare the examples in (7) and (8) below:

7. (a) **(kεε) naʔ-aa-na kε=naʔ-àj** ‘They will come’
 they come-IPF-ADCL 3PL-come-IPF
- (b) **naʔ-aa kε=naʔ-áy** ‘Will they come’
 come-IPF 3PL-come-IPF:INT
8. (a) **(no) naʔ-aa-na ki=naʔ-àj** ‘He will come’
 he come-IPF-ADCL 3SGM-come-IPF
- (b) **naʔ-aa ki=naʔ-áy** ‘Will he come’
 come-IPF 3SGM-come-IPF:INT

The declarative clause marker **-na** which is observed in (7a) and (8a) is missing in the polar interrogatives as in (7b) and (8b) above. The bound pronoun prefixed to the verb expresses the subject of the sentence; thus, the subject noun phrase is optional in both imperfective affirmative declarative and the imperfective polar interrogatives.

Look at the following additional examples of polar interrogatives in imperfective aspect:

9. (a) **kaara-n jaʔ-áá ko=yaʔ-áj**
 Kara-DAT go-IPF 3SGF-go-IPF:INT
 ‘Will she go to Kara?’
- (b) **naʔ-áá naʔ-áj**
 come-IPF come-IPF:INT
 ‘Will you come?’
- (c) **dʒinka-r da-a-nante naf- áá ha=naf-áj**
 Jinka-LOC live/exist-INF-DAT like-IPF 2SG-like-IPF:INT
 ‘Do you like living in Jinka?’

The polar interrogative sentences can be formed without the subject pronoun and/or the pronominal clitics when the question is directly forwarded for second person or listener as in (9b). However, including the subject pronoun and the pronominal clitics does not make the statement ungrammatical.

Either **ɛyi ɛyi** ‘no’ or **yiini** ‘yes’ followed by full declarative statement is used to respond to polar interrogatives. For example, one can respond to (10a) in one of the following two ways:

10. (a) **laale nas-a ɖaj-id-ú**
 Lale child-F hit-PF-INT
 ‘Did Lale hit the boy?’
- (b) **jiini laale nas-a ɖaj-id-i-na**
 yes, Lale child-3SGM hit-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Yes, Lale hit the boy’
- (c) **ɛji ɛji dunga nas-a ɖaj-id-i-na**
 no Dunga child-M hit-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘No, Dunga hit the boy’

In general, polar interrogatives are morphologically marked by the morpheme **-u** in perfective and progressive aspects, and in non-verbal copular constructions. However, in imperfective verbal forms, the rising intonation and the absence of the declarative sentence type marker express the polar interrogative. Structurally, the polar interrogatives and the declarative statements are quite similar. In both cases the same word order is employed. The negative polar interrogative, in perfective and imperfective aspects, is also expressed using the interrogative marker **-u** (see examples 29 and 30 in 7.3.3).

7.2.2. Non-Polar interrogatives

Non-polar interrogatives refer to questions which require a more elaborate response than simply an affirmation or disaffirmation as in the case of ‘yes’ or ‘no’ questions. These kinds of interrogatives are formed by employing content question words. In Kara, nine content question words are observed. All the question words begin by **ha-** except the question word **mɛɛm** ‘how many’. The following are Kara question words:

11.	hawu	‘Who?’
	hawum	‘Whom?’
	har	‘What?’
	ham	‘Which?’
	hanta	‘Where?’
	haa	‘When?’
	harnante	‘Why?’
	haas	‘How?’
	mɛɛm	‘How many?’

Some of the question words above are derived by suffixing different morphemes. For example, **hawu-m** ‘whom’ and **har-nante** ‘why’ are derived by suffixing the accusative marker **-m** and the dative marker **-nante** to **hawu** ‘who’ and **har** ‘what’ respectively.

The non-polar interrogatives in the perfective aspect are characterized by having the morpheme **-e** on the verb, and this morpheme occurs immediately following the perfective marker. The pronoun clitics that show the person are also mandatory in perfective non-polar interrogatives unlike its polar counterpart. The interrogative clause is marked for perfective aspect as well. See the examples below:

12. (a) **jɛti** **har** **jɛ=its-ad-é**
you (PL) What 2Pl-eat-PF-INT
‘What did you eat?’
- (b) **na** **har** **ko=its-ad-é**
she what 3SGF-eat-PF-INT
‘What did she eat?’
- (c) **ɛɛj-a** **han-ta** **ki=ya?-ad-é**
man-DEF where-LOC 3SGM-go-PF-INT
‘Where did the man go?’
- (d) **ɛɛsi-no** **ham-bara** **ko=na?-ad-é**
woman-DEF which-ABL 3SGF-come-PF-INT
‘where was the woman from?’

- (e) **mεε-na har-nante kε=naʔ-ad-é**
 woman-PL what-DAT 3PL-come-INT
 ‘Why did the women come?’

The imperfective non-polar interrogatives employ question words and the morpheme **-e** with rising intonation pattern to indicate that a clause is a question. The imperfective aspect is not overtly marked in non-polar imperfective interrogatives. The bound pronoun is attached to the main verb in perfective polar interrogative clauses, and the same phenomenon occurs in imperfective non-polar interrogatives as the following illustrative examples demonstrate:

13. (a) **nas-a haa kε=neʔ-é**
 child-M when 3PL-come-INT
 ‘When does the boy come (PL)?’
- (b) **jaa haa ha=neʔ-é**
 you(SG) when 2SG-come-INT
 ‘When do you come?’
- (c) **dunga han-ta ki=jeʔ-é**
 Dunga where-LOC 3SGM-go-INT
 ‘Where will Dunga go?’

In the structure of Kara non-polar interrogatives, the question word often remains in the "normal" position (*in situ*), rather than "moving" to the front. According to (Payne 1997), this is common in SOV languages. Example (14) below illustrates this fact:

14. (a) **na hawu-m ko=zag-é**
 she who-ACC 3SGF-find-INT
 ‘Whom does she want?’
- (b) **jaa bire-na-m hawu-nante ha=?im-ad-é**
 you (PL) birr-PL-ACC who-DAT 2SG-come-PF-INT
 ‘To whom did you give the money’
- (c) **hawu ji=naʔ-ad-é**
 who 3-come-PF-INT
 ‘Who came?’

Though question words usually occur following the subject, their order can be sometimes exchanged. Examine the following examples:

15. (a) **hawu-nante jaa apala-s-im ha=im-ad-é**
 who-DAT you cloth-DEF-ACC 2SG-give-PF-INT
 ‘To whom did you give the cloth’
- (b) **jaa apala-s-i-m hawu-nante ha=im-ad-é**
 you cloth-M-INS-ACC who-DAT 2SG-give-PF-INT
 ‘To whom did you give the cloth’

In non-polar interrogatives, the question words never occur following the verb; however the order of content question words is flexible before the verb, i.e. they may occur following or preceding the subject as shown in (15) above.

Content question words of Kara can be marked for accusative, dative, instrumental, ablative and commutative cases. The case markers employed in content question words are similar to those used in nouns and in personal pronouns. For example, the question word **hawu** ‘who’ is marked for accusative case as in (14a) and dative case as shown in (14b) and (15 a & b) above. Below are additional examples:

16. (a) **no har-ka dfa-ad-ad-é**
 he what-INST beat-PASS-PF-INT
 ‘By what was he beaten?’
- (b) **hawu-mala kε=na?-ad-é**
 you-COM 3PL-come-PF-INT
 ‘With whom they come’
- (c) **jaa ham-bara ha=na?-ad-é**
 2SG which-ABL 2SG-come-PF-INT
 ‘Where were you from?’

Furthermore, the question word **ham** ‘which’ can be inflected for number and gender as we can see in (17) below:

17. **ham-a** ‘which one (M)’
 ham-ono ‘which one (F)’
 hami-na ‘which ones (PL)’

Content question words are also employed in nonverbal interrogatives when someone asks about identity of a person. In such a case, the morpheme **-te** is suffixed to the question word to express that the clause is interrogative. The noun whose identity is interrogated occurs before the question word. Look at the examples below:

18. (a) **no** **hawu-te**
 he who-be:INT
 ‘Who is/was he?’
- (b) **kεε** **hawu-te**
 they who-be:INT
 ‘Who are/were they?’

7.2.3. Focus and Non-Polar Interrogatives

In Verbal sentences, the interrogative markers are suffixed to the verb in both polar and non-polar interrogatives. However, the interrogative marker may be, for instance, added to the object of the interrogative clause as in (19) below to show part of a sentence that is focused.

19. **yaa** **nunk'o-w-u** **ha=wutʃ'-ad-o**
 You Water-INS-INT:FOC 2SG-drink-PF-REL
 ‘Did you drink water? (LIT: was it water that you drink?)’

In non-polar interrogatives, the ‘be’ verb **-te**, which functions as a copula and which also marks the interrogative, is suffixed to the content question word to indicate that it is in focus. In such a case, a cleft construction, a construction which consists a clefted constituent and a relative clause, is used. Let us consider the following examples:

20. (a) **hawu-te** **iirm-aj-a**
 who-be:INT insult-IPF-M:REL
 ‘Who is the one that is insulting?’

- (b) **hawu-te iirm-aj-ino**
 who-be-INT insult-IPF-F:REL
 ‘Who is the one that is insulting?’
- (c) **hawu-te naʔ-aj-a**
 who-be:INT come-IPF-M:REL
 ‘Who is the one that is coming’
- (d) **hawu-te its-ad-ana**
 who-be:INT eat-PF-PL:REL
 ‘Who are/were the ones that ate?’

In the above examples (20 a-d), the main verbs are relativized using gender and number affixes, and cleft constructions are used to show that content question words are in focus.

In fact, similar structure is used to show focus in other cases. For example, a cleft construction is used whenever we respond to non-polar interrogatives. A cleft construction can also be used to answer non-polar interrogative clauses that use cleft construction to focus the content question words. In such kind of clauses, the declarative marker **-na** occurs following the element in cleft. Examine the following examples:

21. (a) **no haa ki=naʔ-ad-é**
 he when 3SGM-come-PF-INT
 ‘When did he come?’
- (b) **naa-na ki=naʔ-ad-o**
 yesterday-ADCL 3SGM-come-PF-REL
 ‘It was yesterday that he came’
22. (a) **hawu-te ko=m naf-ad-a**
 who-be:INT 3SGF-ACC like-PF-M:REL
 ‘Who was the one that liked her?’
- (b) **no-na ko=m naf-ad-a**
 he-ADCL 3SGF-ACC like-PF-M:REL
 ‘He was the one who liked her’

- (c) **hawu-te** **ko=m** **naʃ-ad-ana**
 who-be:INT 3SGF-ACC like-PF-PL:REL
 ‘Who were the ones that liked her?’
- (d) **kɛɛ-na** **ko=m** **naʃ-ad-ana**
 they-ADCL 3SGF-ACC like-PF-PL:REL
 ‘They were the ones who liked her’

In general, as the above examples demonstrate, the clefted element is found to the left of the rest of the clause and it is always followed by sentence type markers or copula.

7.3. Negation

Kara employs different morphemes to negate various clauses or sentence types. In this language, negation is morphologically marked, and morphemes that express clausal negation are associated with the verb. The negative marker does not vary depending on aspect, but it varies depending on the mode. For example, Kara employs different morphemes to mark negation in declarative sentences and in interrogative sentences. A lexical verb is also used to mark negation in Kara. Thus, in the following sub-sections we will describe the way negation is expressed in Kara verbs in different clauses.

7.3.1. Negation in Declarative Sentences

7.3.1.1. Negation in Verbal Sentences

In Kara, negation is morphologically marked on the verb. In declarative sentences, it is marked by suffixing **-ma-** to the verb. The same negative suffix **-ma-** is employed in the three types of aspects, perfective, imperfective and progressive aspects, attested in Kara. The perfective and progressive markers are overtly marked in negative constructions; in the former case, the negative marker occurs following the perfective marker, and in the later case, it occurs following the progressive aspect marker. On the other hand, the imperfective aspect is not overtly marked in negative clauses. Consequently, the negative marker is directly suffixed to the verb root. Compare the affirmative and negative declarative paradigm of the verb **aʃk-** ‘work’ below:

23. (a) **naa-na aʃk-id-i-na**
 child-PL work-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The children worked’
- (b) **naa-na aʃk-ad-i-ma-mo**
 child-PL work-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL
 ‘The children didn’t work’
- (c) **naa-na aʃk-i-ma-mo**
 child-PL work-INS-NEG-NDCL
 ‘The children will not work’
- (d) **naa-na aʃk-i-te ti-ma-mo kɛ=do**
 child-PL work-INS-PROG be-NEG-NDCL 3PL-exist
 ‘The children are/were not working’

The above examples (23 b-c) reveal that the suffix **-ma-** is employed to mark negation in perfective, imperfective and progressive verbs. The negative marker is suffixed to the main verb as in (23b-d). The suffix **-mo-** that occurs following the negative marker is a negative declarative sentence type marker. Some affirmative declarative sentences in Kara, as stated in the previous sections, mark person by using pronominal clitics, but in negative declarative clauses, person is not marked in perfective and imperfective verb forms. But, in progressive aspect, the pronominal clitic is attached to the existential auxiliary to mark person. No word-order change is observed between affirmative and negative declarative sentences. Hamar, a closely related South Omotic language, also employ one invariant negative suffix in perfective, imperfective and progressive verbs (Binyam 2016)¹⁷.

7.3.1.2. Negating Non-Verbal Sentences

Positive non-verbal sentences expressing a property or identity of the subject noun phrase are formed by attaching the suffix **-na** to the noun, adjective or numeral predicates. Such sentences lack a predicative verb. The suffix **-na** which is suffixed to the predicate remains the same for

¹⁷ According to Binyam (2016), the negative marker **-t-** occurs between the aspect and person marker. Unlike the affirmative declarative, subject agreement markers are morphologically marked in negative declarative constructions. The same declarative marker (**-ne**) is employed in both affirmative and negative declarative clause, but this doesnot work in Kara

different grammatical persons. It is not inflected for tense and aspect. Therefore, it is must for the subject noun phrase to occur in non-verbal the sentence.

However, to negate the non-verbal sentences, the verb **-ti-** ‘be’ is employed in Kara. The negative morpheme which is used in verbal declarative clause is suffixed to **-ti-** when we negate the non-verbal constructions. In negative counter part of the affirmative non-verbal sentences, the predicative verb **-ti-** is not inflected for person, aspect or tense. Compare non-verbal sentences and their negative counter parts in the following examples:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|--------------------|---|------------------------|
| 24. | (a) | no
he | wotfi-na
strong-ADCL | ‘He is strong |
| | (b) | no
he | wotfi ti-ma-mo
strong be-NEG-NDCL | ‘He is not strong’ |
| 25. | (a) | kεε
they | diibi-na
thief-ADCL | ‘They are thieves’ |
| | (b) | kεε
they | diibi ti-ma-mo
thief be-NEG-NDCL | ‘They are not thieves’ |

Examples (24a) and (25a) above illustrate the non-verbal affirmative sentences. Examples (24b) and (25b) show the negative counter part of the non-verbal construction in (24a) and (25a) respectively. The negative counter part of the non-verbal construction is no more non-verbal since the predicative verb **-ti-** is employed. As can be seen from the above examples and the examples in different section of this paper, the sentence type marker **-na** is not followed by other morphemes in both non-verbal and verbal constructions. However, the predicative verb **-ti-** in examples (24) and (25b) above is followed by the negative marker and the negative declarative sentence type marker respectively.

7.3.2. Negative existential

Kara has two existential verbs. The first one is the affirmative existential verb **da-** ‘exist, live’, and the other one is the negative existential verb **k'ol-** ‘not-exist’. Interestingly, the negative existential verb **k'ol-** takes the regular negative marker **-ma** and the negative declarative marker **-mo** respectively. It is not inflected for person and tense/aspect. The affirmative existential verb

da- is also not inflected for person and other subject-verb agreement markers, but it is inflected for tense/aspect. Look at the following examples:

26. (a) **k'aski k'ol-ma-mo**
 dog exist_not-NEG-NDCL
 'There is/was no dog'
- (b) **inta k'ol-ma-mo**
 I exist_not-NEG-NDCL
 'I don't exist' (lit: I am not present')
- (c) **nas-a k'ol-ma-mo**
 boy-M exist_not-NEG-NDCL
 'The boy doesn't exist'
27. (a) **k'aski daj-i-na**
 dog exist-PST-ADCL
 'There is/was a dog'
- (b) **inta daj-i-na**
 I exist-PST-ADCL
 'I exist (I am/was here)'
- (c) **naas-a daj-i-na**
 child-M exist-PST-ADCL
 'There is/was a son'

The examples in (26) and (27) illustrate the negative and positive existential verbs in a clause respectively. The affirmative existential verb carries the past tense and sentence type markers. The palatal glide before the past tense marker in affirmative existential verb is inserted to avoid impermissible sequence of vowels.

Kara has two tenses: past and future; the negative existential verb is used only in past tense clausal constructions. The negative form of the future existential clause is formed by suffixing the negative marker that is commonly used in negative verbal declarative clauses to the affirmative existential verb **da-**. The negative existential verb cannot be used in such cases. Look at the following examples in (28) below:

28. (a) **k'aski** **da-ma-mo**
 dog exist-NEG-NDCL
 ‘There will be no dog’
- (b) **nas-a** **da-ma-mo**
 child-M exist-NEG-NDCL
 ‘There will be no boy’

The affirmative existential auxiliary verb is also used in complex verbal form, i.e., when the main verb is in progressive aspect. In such a case, it is encliticized to the pronominal clitics that show the person of the subject noun phrase of the clause (See 6.4.2.1.3 for example).

To sum up, the existential verb **k'ol-** is used only in negative existential constructions, and it always occurs with the negative marker. However, the existential verb **da-** is majorly used in affirmative clauses, but to address that something will not exist or happen in the future we attach the negative marker to the affirmative existential verb.

7.3.3. Negation in interrogative sentences

Kara employs different negative marker in polar and non-polar interrogative clauses. The negative polar interrogative sentences are formed by attaching the morpheme **-ajo-** to the main verb. As stated at the beginning of this section, negative markers do not vary depending on aspect, so the negative morpheme **-ajo-** is used in both perfective and imperfective aspects. However, in progressive aspect the suffix **-ma** is employed to mark negation.

Similar to the negative declarative clauses, the negative interrogative statement overtly marks the perfective and progressive aspects, but it does not overtly mark the imperfective aspect. The following examples demonstrate the negative polar interrogatives in perfective, imperfective and progressive aspects:

29. (a) **kεε** **naʔ-ad-ajo-w-ú**
 they come-PF-NEG-INS-INT
 ‘Didn’t they come?’
- (b) **kεε** **its-ad-ajo-w-ú**
 they eat-PF-NEG-INS-INT
 ‘Didn’t they eat?’

30. (a) **kεε naʔ-ajo-w-ú**
they come-NEG-INS-INT
‘Will not they come?’
- (b) **kεε its-ajo-w-ú**
they eat-NEG-INS-INT
‘Didn’t they eat?’
31. (a) **kεε its-i-te-mo kε=do-no**
they eat-INS-PROG-NEG 3PL-exist-NEG
‘Are not they eating?’
- (b) **kεε wod-i-te-mo kε=do-no**
they sleep-INS-PROG-NEG 3PL-exist-NEG
‘Are not they sleeping?’

Examples in (29&30) above show that the morpheme **-ajo-** is suffixed to the verb to mark negation in perfective and imperfective negative polar interrogatives. The negative morpheme occurs following the perfective marker and preceding the sentence type marker as shown in (29 a&b) above. In (30 a&b), the negative suffix occurs immediately following the verb since the imperfective marker is not overtly marked. The suffix **-u**, which is used in affirmative polar interrogatives to mark sentence type, is also used in perfective and imperfective negative interrogatives for the same purpose.

In perfective and imperfective negative polar interrogatives the subject noun phrase is mandatory since person is not marked on the verb.

As illustrative examples in (31a&b) above show, the negative suffix **-mo** is used in progressive aspect. The negative in progressive interrogative is marked twice; it is suffixed to both the main verb and the existential auxiliary verb. The negative morphemes **-mo** and **-no** are suffixed to the main verb and the auxiliary verb respectively. In progressive aspect, it is double occurrence of the negative suffix that shows interrogation.

The negative suffix **-ma** is also used in non-polar negative interrogatives as shown in the following sentences:

32. (a) **har-te** **jε=its-i-mo-no**
 what-be:INT 2PL-eat-INS-NEG-F:REL
 ‘Why don’t you eat?’ Lit: ‘What is it that you do not eat?’
- (b) **har-te** **jε=its-i-mo-no**
 what-be:INT 2PL-eat-INS-NEG-F:REL
 ‘Why don’t we eat?’ Lit: ‘What is it that we do not eat?’
- (c) **har-te** **ha=its-ad-i-mo-no**
 what-be:INT 2S-eat-PF-INS-NEG-F:REL
 ‘Why didn’t you eat?’ Lit: ‘What was it that you did not ate?’
33. **hawu-te** **da?ano** **its-i-ma-a**
 who-be:INT food eat-INS-NEG-M:REL
 ‘Who will not eat?’ Lit: ‘Who is the one that will not eat?’

In the above negative non-polar interrogative clauses, a cleft construction is used and the main verb is relativized like in the case of non-polar affirmative interrogatives presented earlier. In examples (32 a-c) the vowel of the negative suffix is harmonized with the vowel of the suffix **-no** which is used as a relative clause marker. The relative clause marker is also used to refer to the subject of the relative clause. In Example (33), the suffix **-a** is used as a relative clause marker, and it is also used to show subject-verb agreement in gender.

7.3.4. Negation and Mood

7.3.4.1. Negative Imperative

Kara employs different suffix for second person singular and plural in imperative mood (See 6.4.3). The bound pronouns are also absent in positive imperative. However, in negative imperative, the singular-plural distinctions are made by attaching the basic bound pronouns or pronominal clitics to the main verb. Compare the following examples in (34) below:

- | | |
|---|---|
| 34. Negative Imperative (SG)
ha=its-i-nano
2SG-eat-INS-NIMP
‘don’t eat!’ | Negative Imperative (PL)
jε=its-i-nano
2PL-eat-INS-NIMP
‘don’t eat!’ |
|---|---|

ha=gob-nano

2SG-run-NIMP

‘don’t run!’

ha=bul-nano

2SG-jump-NIMP

‘don’t jump!’

jε=gob-nano

2PL-run-NIMP

‘don’t run!’

jε=bul-nano

2PL-jump-NIMP

‘don’t jump!’

The morpheme **-nano** is suffixed to the verb root as shown in (34) above to express negation in imperative mood. The negative imperative never changes based on the number of the subject as examples in (34) above show. To distinguish second person singular and plural, the bound pronouns **ha=** and **jε=** are attached to the main verb respectively.

7.3.4.2. Negative Hortative

In the hortative mood, the negative is not morphologically marked on the verb as in imperative. To express negation in the hortative mood, the lexical verb **gar-** ‘stop/leave’ in its imperfective form is used. Examine the following examples:

35. (a) **aʃk-a-n** **ki=gar-e**
work-INF-DEF 3SGM-stop-HORT
‘Let him not work (Lit: let him stop to work/the work)’
- (b) **aʃk-a-n** **kε=gar-e**
work-INF-DEF 3PL-stop-HORT
‘Let them not work (Lit: let them stop to work/the work)’
- (c) **aʃk-a-n** **i=gar-e**
work-INF-DEF 1SG-stop-HORT
‘Let me not work’ (lit: let me stop to work/the work)
- (d) **aʃk-a-n** **wo=gar-e**
work-INF-DEF 1PL-stop-HORT
‘Let us not work’ (lit: let us stop to work/the work)

The word **gar-** in its imperfective form is used so as to negate the hortative clause. In negative hortative, as examples (35a-d) show, the main verb **aʃk-** ‘work’ is nominalized. The bound pronoun is prefixed to the verb **gar-** ‘stop/leave’, and this bound pronoun is used to show the

subject of the sentence. In view of this, the subject noun phrase in both negative imperative and negative hortative sentences is usually absent in Kara.

7.3.5. Negation in Dependent Clauses

In Kara, negative dependent clauses and negative main clauses are marked by using the same negative morpheme **-ma**. The negative declarative marker **-mo** is absent in negative dependent clause, so this is one feature that distinguishes it from the negative main clause. In negative relative clause, a portmanteau morpheme that shows clause type and gender or number marker occurs following the negative marker. Consider the following negative relative clauses:

36. (a) **εεj-a dεfa-n izak'i-ma-a naa dɔaj-id-i-na**
 man-M medicine-DEF swallow-NEG-M:REL yesterday die-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man who didn’t take medicine died yesterday’
- (b) **εεsi-no wutɕ'o-n wutɕ'-i-mo-no naaso tɕ'ank'al**
 woman-F drink-DEF drink-INS-NEG-F:REL child clean
ham-a ʔad-id-i-na
 which-M:REL born-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The woman who doesn’t drink born a healthy child’

The negative existential verb **k'ol-** can be relativized to show possessive negative, and it also takes the morphological negative suffix **-ma**. Unlike the relative clauses illustrated in (36), no clause-type marking element occurs following the negative morpheme.

- 37 (a) **inta naaso waaki k'ol-ma kεεm-ad-i-ma-mo**
 I child cattle has-NEG marry-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL
 ‘I do not marry a boy who has no cattle’
- (b) **inta anza waaki k'ol-ma kεεm-i-ma-mo**
 I girl cattle not_exist-NEG marry-INS-PF-NEG-NDCL
 ‘I will not marry a girl who has no cattle’

Negation in converbs and adverbial clauses is also marked by using a negative marker **-ma** that is employed in the main clause. In converbs, the negative marker is not followed by clause-type

marking suffixes, but in adverbial clauses it is followed by suffixes marking the clausal type. Examine the illustrative examples in (38) and (39) below:

- 38 (a) **no parfo¹⁸ wutf'-i-ma ja?-id-i-na**
 he beer drink-INS-NEG go-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He went without drinking beer'
- (b) **no wodima wodim-ma ja?-id-i-na**
 he work work-NEG go-PF-PST-ADCL
 'He went without working'
39. **wuti na?-aa-na wo=na?-aj ang-a ha=sa kota**
 we come-IPF-ADCL 1PL-come-IPF male-DEF 2SG-GEN here
ki=k'ol-mi-na
 3SGM- not_exist-NEG-TEMP2
 'We will come, when your husband is not around'

Examples (38) and (39) above demonstrate negative in converbs and in adverbial clauses respectively. In (39), the temporal marker is carried by the negative existential verb, and it occurs following the negative marker. The bound pronoun is also attached to the negative existential verb to express the person of the subject of the adverbial clause. The temporal marker **-ina** is reduced to **-na** in (39) above. The negative marker **-ma**, which occurs preceding the temporal marker **-na** in (39) changes to **-mi** because of assimilation; the central low vowel /a/ is changed to front high vowel /i/ to be identical in position of tongue with the nasal alveolar consonant in temporal marker.

Look at a negative conditional clause in (19) below:

40. **naas-a ki=na?-ad-i-mi-na inda-no ki=sa**
 child-M 3SGM-come-PF-INS-NEG-COND mother-DEF 3SGM-GEN
ji=ma-mo
 come-NEG-NDCL
 'If the boy doesn't come, his mother will not come'

¹⁸**Parfo** is borrowed from Oromo language **farso** and it refers to local beer.

Similar to the negation of the subordinate clauses presented (38) and (39) above, negation in conditional clause, as shown in (40), is marked by using the negative marker that is employed in the main verb. The initial vowels of the conditional marker **-ana** and the temporal marker **-ina** are dropped in (39) and (40) above. Consequently, the same suffix **-na** is used to mark both temporal and conditional clauses.

Chapter Eight: Complex sentences and word-order

This chapter will present different complex clauses such as: relative clause, converb and adverbial clauses. The word order in different clause types will also be discussed under this section.

8.1. Relative clause

In Kara, a relative clause is employed as a modifier of a noun. Similar to other noun modifiers such as adjectives and numerals, the relative clause commonly occurs after the head noun. However, since the order of noun and its modifier is flexible, the relative clause may also occur before the head noun.

The verb in a relative clause is inflected for aspect. In relative clause, gender and number are morphologically marked on the relative verb, and they occur following the aspect markers. If the head noun is masculine or diminutive (for inanimate) the masculine gender marker **-a** will be suffixed to the relative clause verb, but if the head of a relative clause is feminine or augmentative (for inanimate), the feminine gender marker **-no** will be suffixed to the relative verb. The relative verb is also inflected number. This is the only place where such morphological features are marked on the verb by a suffix in Kara. Look at the following examples:

1. (a) **no naa εεj-a-m hap-id-i-na**
he yesterday man-DEF-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
'He saw the man yesterday'
- (b) **no εεj-a naa naʔ-ad-a-m hap-id-i-na**
he man-DEF yesterday come-PF-M:REL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
'He saw the man who came yesterday'
2. **won-ŋo nunk'o-n wutf'-aj-ino i=nti-na**
cattle-F water-ACC drink-IPF-F:REL 1SG-GEN-ADCL
'The cow that will drink water is mine'

3. **no ɛɛj-a taa ni-te-d-a-m hap-id-i-na**
 he man-DEF now come-PROG-exist-M:REL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He sees the man who is coming now’

As is evident from the above examples, the verb in the relative clause and the verb in the main clause are inflected for aspect. As we can see from example (1b), suffixes **-ad-** and **-id-** are attached to relative verb root and main verb root respectively to designate the perfective aspect. The relative verb in a relative clause may also be inflected for imperfective and progressive aspects as shown in (2) and (3) above. The perfective aspect marker **-ad-** and the imperfective aspect marker **-aj-** are basically followed by an affix that reveal the gender or number of the head of the relative clause. The relative clause in (3) is in progressive aspect, and like in the case of the main verbs, the relative verb in progressive aspect is in complex verbal form. Consequently, the morpheme **-te-** which shows progressive aspect is suffixed to the relative verb root, but morphemes which mark gender and number are carried by the existential auxiliary.

Example (1a) illustrates a plain transitive clause. Examples (1b), (2) and (3) illustrate relative clauses; these relative clauses modify the nominals **ɛɛj-a** ‘man’, **won-ŋo** ‘cow’ and **ɛɛj-a** ‘man’ respectively. These examples reveal that the heads of the relative clauses commonly occur before the relativized verb.

The verb in a relative clause also carries the accusative case marker, and this suffix occurs following gender or number marker. Consider the following examples:

4. (a) **no ɛɛj-a taa ni-te-d-a-m hap-id-i-na**
 he man-DEF now come-PROG-exist-M:REL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw the man who is coming now’
- (b) **no ɛɛ-na taa ni-te-da-na-m hap-id-i-na**
 he man-PL now come-PROG-exist-PL:REL-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He saw the men who are coming now’

In the above examples, the relative clause is marked for gender, number and accusative case. The accusative case marker, as shown in (4a&b) above, occurs following the gender or number marker.

Negative relative clauses are not marked for aspect. In such cases the negative marker is directly suffixed to the relative verb root preceding the gender and number markers. The following examples illustrate perfective and imperfective relative clauses:

- 5 (a) **εεj-a dɛfa-n ɪzak'i-ma-a naa dʒaj-id-i-na**
 man-DEF medicine-ACC swallow-NEG-M:REL yesterday die-PF-PST-ADCL
 'The man who didn't take medicine died yesterday'
- (b) **εεj-a dɛfa-n ɪzak'i-ma-a taa naʔ-aa-na naʔ-aj**
 man-DEF medicine -ACC swallow-NEG-M:REL now come-IPF-ADCL come-IPF
 'The man who does not swallow medicine will come now'

The negative marker suffix employed in the relative clauses, as we can see from (5a&b), is the same as the one used in the main clause. The negative relative verb is also inflected for accusative case as shown in (6a) and (6b) below:

6. (a) **inta anza-n naa kota k'oli-mo-n hap-id-i-na**
 I girl-ACC yesterday here exist_not-NEG-F:ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I saw the girl who was not here yesterday'
- (b) **inta naasa-m naa kota k'oli-ma-a-m hap-id-i-na**
 I child-ACC yesterday here exist_not-NEG-M-ACC see-PF-PST-ADCL
 'I saw the boy who was not here yesterday'

In Kara, subject and object nouns can be relativized. Examples (7b) and (7c) show subject and object relativization respectively.

7. (a) **εɛdi k'uli ʃanf-id-i-na**
 man goat sell-PF-PST-ADCL
 'A man sold a goat yesterday'
- (b) **εεja k'ul-ta-m naa ʃanf-ad-a dʒaj-id-i-na**
 man-DEF goat-M-ACC yesterday sell-PF-M:REL die-PF-PST-ADCL
 'The man who sold the goat yesterday died.'
- (c) **naa k'ul-ta εεj-a ʃanf-ad-a dʒaj-id-i-na**
 yesterday goat-M man-DEF sell-PF-M:REL die-PF-PST-ADCL
 'The goat that the man sold yesterday died'

The relative clause may also occur before the head noun. The following are some illustrative examples:

8. (a) **daʔano-n** **its-ad-ana** **mɛɛ-na** **s'eedi-na**
 food-ACC eat-PF-PL woman-PL short-ADCL
 ‘The women who ate the food are short’
- (b) **nunk'o-n** **wutʃ'-aj-i-no** **won-ŋo** **i=nti-na**
 water-ACC drink-IPF-INS-F:REL cattle-3SGF 1SG-GEN-ADCL
 ‘The cow that drinks water is mine’

To sum up, the relative clause in Kara, as can be seen from the above examples, is predominantly post-nominal, i.e., the relative clause occurs after the head noun. The SOV word order, which is used in main clause, is frequently employed in the relative clause (see examples 5a&b, 6b above) too. The order of the constituents can be altered in both main clauses and relative clauses. The relative verb is inflected for gender or number, accusative case and aspects (perfective, imperfective and progressive aspects). However, aspect is neutralized in negative relative clauses. The relative verb is not inflected for tense, and it never carries declarative and negative sentence type markers too.

8.2. Converbs

Converb refers to a dependent verb form which cannot constitute a sentence on its own. converbs are common in verb final languages cross-linguistically (Haspelmath and König 1995). According to these authors, converb clauses are distinct morphologically from the main verb as well as dependent verb forms occurring in conditional, purposive, or reason clauses. Moreover, converb clauses are distinct from other dependent clauses from the semantic point of view. For example, converb clauses can be used as adverbial modifiers of other clauses, and they may also be used in chaining or conjoining series of events which may be temporally simultaneous or anterior with respect to other clauses in the sequence (cf. Haspelmath and König 1995, Azeb and Dimmendaal 2006).

Kara is one of the verb final languages. Accordingly, converb clauses are commonly employed in Kara and other Omotic Languages like Ari (Hayward 1990), Malee (Azeb 2001), and Wolayitta (Lamberti and Sottile 1997). Kara converbs are mainly used to chain or conjoin series

of events anterior to or simultaneous with the event expressed by the main verb. It is also used as manner adverbial modifier of the main verb. So, converbs in Kara are used to express meanings such as simultaneity or anteriority or manner in relation to the main verb.

Converbs in Kara, like many other Omotic Languages¹⁹, is not inflected for tense, aspect, gender and number, but such grammatical properties are carried by the main verb of the clause. Unlike the main verb, the coversbs never carry the sentence type markers.

Kara has three converb markers: **-ante**, **-ate**, and **-a**, hereafter these converb markers are represented by CNV1, CNV2 and CNV3 respectively. All the converb markers in Kara are directly suffixed to the verb root.

The converb marker **-ante** is widely observed in Kara discourses. This type of converb marker is mainly used to express anteriority and clause-chaining. It is used to express that an action of the converb occurs before the event expressed in the main verb. As can be seen from the following examples in (9), the converb marker **-ante** can be used when the subjects of the converb and the main verb are same or different.

9. (a) **goji-n sag-ante no imba-mala dfelak'-id-i-na**
road-ACC cross-CNV1 he father-COM talk-PF-PST-ADCL
‘Having crossed the road, he talked with his father’
- (b) **mulɗapo-n bul-ante no diibi haap-id-i-na**
door-ACC open- CNV1 he thief see-PF-PST-ADCL
‘After opening the door, he saw a thief’
- (c) **na its-ante inta wutɗ'-ante wuti naʔ-id-i-na**
she eat- CNV1 I drink- CNV1 we come- PF-PST-ADCL
‘She ate, I drank and we came

¹⁹In many omotic languages like Male (Azeb, 2001), Wolayitta (Lamberti and Sottile 1997, Motomichi (2008), and Azeb and Dimmendaal 2006)) and tens/aspect, person, number/gender distinction in converbs are reduced, but Ari is unique within Omotic since converbs in this language are inflected for person and number (Hayward 1990).

- (d) **εεj-a its-ante jaʔ-id-i-na**
 man-DEF eat- CNV1 go-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘The man ate and went away’
- (e) **no ɔɔno-n saj-ante daʔano-n its-ante jaʔ-id-i-na**
 he house-ACC clean-CNV1 food-ACC eat-CNV1 go-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He cleaned the house, ate the food and went’

As can be seen from the above examples, the converb with the suffix **-ante** is used to express anteriority; the actions in the converb clauses occur prior to the event in the main clause in examples (9 a-e) above. The converb with the suffix **-ante** as in (9 d & e) can also be used to express sequential events or chain of actions in relation to that expressed by the verb in the main clause. The converb marker **-ante** can be used in different-subject or same-subject constructions. In same-subject construction, the subject occurs only once; either at the beginning of the converb clause as in (9 d & e) or at the beginning of the main clause as in (9 a & b) above. However, in different-subject constructions, the subjects of the clauses should be indicated both in the converb clauses and the main clauses as can be seen in (9c) above.

The converb marker **-ate** is suffixed to the root of the converb to express simultaneity and manner as we can see from the following examples:

10. (a) **waŋ-ŋa-m gif-ate kεε almi bus'i-na kε=alm-aj**
 cattle-PL-ACC watch-CNV2 they game many-ADCL 3PL-game-IPF
 ‘While watching the oxen, they play many games’
- (b) **no zob-ta-m mura-ka kats' -ate des-id-i-na**
 he lion-M-ACC gun-INST use-CNV2 kill-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He killed the lion by using gun’
- (c) **goji-n sag-ate no imba-mala ɖelak' -id-i-na**
 road-ACC cross-CNV2 he father-COM talk-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘While crossing the road, he talked with his father’

- (d) **kε=naʔ-ina** **tʃ'ar-aj-a** **tʃ'ar-ate** **pakim-aj-a**
 3PL-come-TEMP1 cut-IPF-M:REL cut-CNV2 plough-PF-M:REL
pakim-ate **k'ormofo** **pat-aj-a** **pat-ate** **kaa**
 plough-CNV2 maize harvest-IPF-M:REL harvest-CNV2 this
has **kε=afk-e**
 how 3PL-work-IPF
 ‘When they have come; the cutter cuts, the digger digs, the maize harvester
 harvests and this is how they work’

In examples (10a, c&d), the converb marker **-ate** expresses temporal relationships; it expresses that the action of the converb and that of the main verb occurs simultaneously. In (10b), it is used to express manner. The converb marker **-ate**, like **-ante**, can be used in different-subject constructions as in (10d) and in same-subject constructions as in (10a&c) above.

The converb marker **-a**, together with the repetition of the verb form with **-a**, is used to express repeated or durational actions. So, we can say that Kara uses repetition the converbs, verb forms to which the converb marker **-a** is suffixed, to express repetitive or durational actions as illustrative examples in (11a-c) below reveal:

11. (a) **no** **gaal-a-m** **des-a** **des-a** **dɜaj-id-i-na**
 he enemy-PL-ACC kill-CNV3 kill-CNV3 die-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Killing his enemies he passed away’
- (b) **no** **goji-n** **sag-a** **sag-a** **imba-mala** **delak'-id-i-na**
 he road-ACC cross-CNV3 cross-CNV3 father-COM speak-PF-PST-ADCL
 crossing the road, he talked with his father
- (c) **kεε** **oolo-n** **koj-a** **koj-a** **koj-a** **ʃok'o-n**
 they hole-F:ACC dig-CNV3 dig-CNV3 dig-CNV3 hut-F:ACC
woj-i-s-áá
 stop-INS-CAUS-IPF
 ‘Digging the hole, they build the hut’

In general, Kara employs three converb markers: **-ante**, **-ate** and **-a**; and these converb markers are used for different purposes. The converb marker **-ante**, compared to the two converb

markers, is widely attested in the discourses of the Kara people, and it is used to express anteriority, manner and sequential actions in the clause. Converbs with the suffix **-ate** are mainly used to express simultaneity of converb and main verb actions. The converb marker **-a**, on the other hand, is suffixed to repeated verb forms to express repetitive or durational actions.

8.3. Adverbial clauses

According to Longacre and Thompson (1985) cited in Payne (1997), adverbial clauses add "adverbial" information, such as purpose, conditional, reason, etc., to the main clause or main verb. Kara has five Adverbial clauses: conditional, temporal, reason, purpose and concessive. These adverbial clauses are different morphologically, and semantically, i.e., they are different on the basis of information type to the main clause. The details of each adverbial clause will be presented in subsequent sections.

8.3.1. Conditional clauses

In Kara, conditional clause is expressed by attaching the suffix **-ana** directly to the verb root or it may occur following the perfective aspect marker. The state of affairs in the conditional clause is a prerequisite for the action that is expressed by the main verb in the main clause to happen. The state of affairs in the main clause never happens unless the situation in the conditional clause happens. Consider the following examples:

12. (a) **doobo-no ko=dfa-ad-ana inta ni-ma-mo**
rain-F 3SGF-rain-PF-COND I come-NEG-NDCL
‘if it rains, I will not come’
- (b) **jaa nunk'o ka-m ha=wutɸ'-ina dʒa-a-na**
you(SG) water DEM:PROX-ACC 2SG-drink-COND die-IPF-ADCL
ha=dʒa-aj
2SG-die-IPF
‘If you drink this water, you will die’

- (c) **i=nante goji-n ha=daw-una inta ha=nante bire**
 1SG-DAT road-F:ACC 2SG-show-COND I 2SG-DAT money
im-aa-na i=j-im-aj
 give-IPF-ADCL 1SG-INS-give-IPF
 If you show me the road, I will give you money

In examples (12b&c), the first vowel of the conditional marker is raised to /i/ and /u/ to become identical with the tongue position of the neighboring consonant sounds /tʃ/ and /w/ respectively. As can be seen from example (12a), the verb in the conditional clause is inflected for perfective aspect only when the verb in the main clause is negative. But if the main clause is positive, the verb in the conditional clause does not inflect for aspect; consequently, the conditional marker occurs immediately following the verb root.

Below are more examples of conditional clauses:

13. (a) **na ko=ni-ina inta gaba-n jaʔ-aa-na i=jaʔ-aj**
 she 3SGF-come-COND I market-F:ACC go-IPF-ADCL 1SG-go-IPF
 ‘If she comes, I will go to the market’
- (b) **inta gaba-n jaʔ-aa-na i=jaʔ-aj na ko=ni-ina**
 I market-F:ACC go-IPF-ADCL 1SG-go-IPF she 3SGF-come-COND
 ‘I will go to the market, if she comes’
14. (a) **na ko=naʔ-ad-ana inta gaba-n ji-ma-mo**
 she 3SGF-come-PF-COND I market-F:ACC go-NEG-NDCL
 ‘If she comes, I will not go to the market’
- (b) **inta gaba-n ji-ma-mo na ko=naʔ-ad-ana**
 I market-F:ACC go-NEG-NDCL she 3SGF-come-PF-COND
 ‘I will not go to the market, if she comes’

As can be seen from the above examples in (13&14) above, conditional clauses of Kara commonly occur preceding the main verb, but the speakers do sometimes use the conditional clause after the main clause. So, shifting the positions of these clauses does not affect the meaning of the complex clause.

8.3.2. Concessive clauses

According to Sandra A. et al., (1985:286), “Concessive is a general term for a clause which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted”. In Kara, the concessive clause is expressed by using the conditional marker **-ana** and the inclusive marker **-xamo**. The conditional marker is suffixed to the dependent verb preceding the inclusive marker. Examine the following examples:

15. (a) **no bire-na-m anza-nante ki=im-ad-ana-xamo na**
he money-PL-ACC girl-DAT 3SGM-give-PF-COND-INCL she
ki=m keem-i-ma-mo
3SGM-ACC marry-INS-NEG-NDCL
‘Even if he gives money to the girl, she will not marry him’
- (b) **na bafi ji=da-ad-i-m-na-xamo ta-s'ædi**
she beautiful 3-be:exist-PF-INS-NEG-COND-INCL now-short
keem-ad-aa-na ko=keem-ad-aj
marry-PASS-IPFADCL-3SGF marry-PASS-IPF
‘Even though she is not beautiful, she will marry soon’

8.3.3. Reason

The reason clauses of Kara contain the relative subordinator. Reason clause is inflected for aspect, and the aspect marker is the same as that which appears in relative clauses. The relative clause verb is inflected for gender (masculine or feminine) or number; the gender or number marker is also used as a relative clause marker. In reason clause, only the suffix **-ono** which is used as feminine gender marker and as relative subordinator simultaneously is attested.

The reason clause of Kara is mainly marked by adding the suffix **-taxa** to the relativized verb. But, it may also be formed, in very rare cases, by using the lexical **hartaxa** ‘because’. It seems that the suffix **-taxa** is reduced from the lexical **hartaxa** ‘because’. Consider the following examples:

16. (a) **no gebi ji=gob-ad-on-taxa k'adz-id-i-na**
 he long 3-run-PF-F:REL-REAS tire-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Since he ran long, he was tired'
- (b) **no daʔano zarbo ji=its-ad-on-taxa hadʒ-ad-id-i-na**
 he food bad 3-eat-PF-F:REL-REAS sick-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL
 'Because he ate a spoiled food, he was sick'
- (c) **no ji=hadʒ-ad-on-taxa tamarɔɔno-no naʔ-ad-i-ma-mo**
 he 3-sick-PASS-F:REL-REAS school-F come-PF-INS-NEG-NDCL
 'Because he was sick, he didn't come to school'

As can be seen from the above examples in (16), the reason clause marker is suffixed to the relativized verb. In relative clauses, the head noun of the relative clause is overtly observed, and the relative clause verb agrees with the head noun in gender (feminine or masculine) or number. But, when the relative clause marker is followed by the reason clause marker **-taxa** as in (16), the head noun of the relative clause is not overtly stated. Consequently, only the portmanteau morpheme **-ono**, which is used as feminine²⁰ and relative clause marker simultaneously, is suffixed to the subordinate clause verb following the aspect marker that is usually employed in relative clause. The reason clause marker **-taxa** occurs following the relative clause marker.

The following examples in (17) demonstrate the use of the morpheme **hartaxa** 'because' as a reason clause marker:

17. (a) **no wodimo-na hartaxa watʃ-ad-ante ki=afk-ad-on-taxa**
 he rich-ADCL because hard-INCH-CONV 3SGM-work-PF-F:REL-REAS
 'He is rich because he works hard'
- (b) **no gom-ma-mo hartaxa no getfo-na**
 he run-NEG-NDCL because he old-ADCL
 'He can't run because he is old'

²⁰ In Kara, the feminine gender marker **-ono** is used as default gender marker for –animate nouns, and this suffix is also used to express global (whole) number.

In (17a), the two reason clause morphemes, **hartaxa** and **-taxa**, are used. In (17b), the reason clause is marked only by **hartaxa** ‘because’. Reason clauses may occur preceding the main clause as in (16) above or following the main clause as in (17) above.

8.3.4. Purposive clauses

Kara has distinct syntax for purpose clauses that have same subject as the main clauses and for purpose clauses whose subject is different from the subject of the main clauses. The subordinating morpheme **-ota** is used when the purposive clause and the main clause have the same subject as the following examples demonstrate:

- 18 (a) **εεj-a kaara εεm-ota mitʃ'a jaʔ-id-i-na**
 man-DEF fish catch-PURP down go-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He went down to catch fish’
- (b) **na ki=m fed-ota naʔ-id-i-na**
 she 3SGM-ACC see-PURP come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She came to watch him’

Same-subject purposive clauses are also marked with the infinitive morpheme **-a**, which occurs preceding the dative marker **-nante**. The two purposive clause structures, with purposive clause marker **-ota** or with infinitive marker **-a** plus the dative case marker **-nante**, can be alternatively used in same-subject purposive clause constructions. Examine the following example:

19. **εεsi-no daʔano-n its-a-nante bak-id-i-na**
 woman-DEF food-F:ACC eat-INF-DAT cook-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘She cooked the food to eat’

In different-subject purposive clauses, the morpheme **-eka** is used as a purposive marker. See the following examples:

20. **no ko=m buno ko=ʃan-eka gaba-n**
 he 3SGF-ACC coffee 3SGM-buy-PURP market-F:ACC
jiʔ-i-s-id-i-na
 go-INS-CAUS-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He sent her to the market to buy coffee’

In general, the verb in purposive clause is not inflected for gender, number, tense and aspect. The bound pronoun is prefixed to the dependent verb in different- subject purposive clauses, but the bound pronoun is not observed in same-subject purposive clauses.

8.3.5. Temporal clauses

Kara uses suffixes such as: **-aka** ‘while’, and **-ina/-an** ‘when’ to mark temporal clauses. The temporal clause marker ‘when’ is represented by two suffixes: **-ina** and **-an**, and these morphemes are used in different contexts. The suffix **-ina** is used to express sequential events that will happen in the future, where as the suffix **-an** is used to express sequential events already happened. The verb in the temporal clause is not inflected for tense and aspect, but the bound pronoun that shows the person of the subject of the temporal clause gets prefixed to the dependent verb.

21. (a) **εε-na kiim kε=k'as-an ajiko jaʔ-id-i-na**
 man-PL RECP 3PL-fight-TEMP1 Ayiko go-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘When the men started the war, Ayiko went away’
- (b) **inta woldapo-n i=bul-an laale i=m hantf'-id-i-na**
 I door-F:ACC 1SG-open-TEMP1 Lale 1SG-ACC laugh-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘When I opened the door, Lale laughed at me’
22. (a) **no ki=ni-ina na jaʔ-aa-na i=jaʔ-aj**
 he 3SGM-come-TEMP2 she go-IPF-ADCL 1SG-go-IPF
 ‘When he comes, she will go’
- (b) **no gaba-n ji-ina sok'o jan-aa-na ki=jan-aj**
 he market-F:ACC go-TEMP2 salt buy-IPF-ADCL 3SGM-buy-IPF
 ‘When he goes to the market, he will buy salt’
23. **na ko=gob-aka no naʔ-id-i-na**
 she 3SGF-run-TEMP3 he come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘While she is running, he came’

The morpheme **-aka** in example (23) is employed when the subject of the main clause and the dependent clause are different to express simultaneity of actions in the main and dependent

clauses. As can be seen from examples (21-22), temporal clauses are not marked for tense-aspect, so it depends on the main clause for such grammatical properties.

Temporal clauses of Kara can also be marked by the term **biraro** ‘in front or before’. This temporal marker is used to express sequences of events; it is particularly used when the action in the main clause happens a head of the action in the dependent clause. In such temporal construction, the temporal marker **biraro** ‘in front or before’ occurs following the nominalized dependent verb. Consider the following examples:

- 24 (a) **duk'a nunk'o-n k'olb-a-n-sa bira-ro da?ano-n**
 duka water-F:ACC fetch-INF-F-GEN before-LOC food-ACC
bak-id-i-na
 cook-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Duka had cooked the food before she fetched the water’
- (b) **ki=sa na?-a-n-sa birar inta nana-nante**
 3SGM-GEN come-INF-F-ACC-GEN before I children-DAT
kε=sa da?a-na-m im-aa-na i=j-im-aj
 3PL-GEN food-PL-ACC give-IPF-ADCL 1PL-INS-give-IPF
 ‘I will give the children their food before he arrives’

Examples (24 a&b) reveal that the nominalized verb is used as a temporal clause modifier when it is marked for genitive case and when it is followed by a spatial term **biraro** ‘in front or before’. Temporal clauses in general, like the rest of adverbial clauses occur preceding the main clauses.

8.4. Word order

This section investigates the structure of noun phrases specially the order of various modifiers with respect to the head noun, and the possible combinations of different modifiers in the noun phrases. Word-order in different verbal clauses will also be analyzed in this section.

8.4.1. Word Order in a Noun Phrase

In Kara noun phrases, modifiers commonly occur following the noun they modify, but they do also occur preceding the noun they modify. So, we can say that the word order of noun and noun

modifiers is flexible in Kara. Compare the word order of the noun phrases with modifiers like numerals, adjectives and demonstratives in the following examples:

25. (a) **ajiko k'ul-a lama-na-m fan-id-i-na**
 Ayiko goat-PL two-PL-ACC sell-PF-PST-A:DCL
 'Ayiko bought two (he) goats'
- (b) **ajiko lama-na k'ul-a-m fan-id-i-na**
 Ayiko two-PL goat-PL-ACC sell-PF-PST-A:DCL
 'Ayiko bought two (he) goats'
26. (a) **masirefa getf-a apala-s-i-m tf'ub-i-di-na**
 Masiresha old-M cloth-M-INS-ACC wash- PF-PST-ADCL
 'Masiresha washed the old cloth'
- (b) **masirefa apala-s getf-a-m tf'ub-i-di-na**
 Masiresha cloth-M-ACC old-M-ACC wash- PF-PST-ADCL
 'Masiresha washed the old cloth'
27. (a) **aga zob-ta**
 this:M lion-M
 'this lion'
- (b) **zob-ta aga**
 lion-M this:M
 'this lion'

Numerals, adjectives and demonstratives may occur preceding or following the head noun of the noun phrase. Accusative and dative case markers are suffixed to the right most element of the noun phrase, so these case markers can be carried either by the noun or the noun modifiers.

Noun modifiers like demonstrative, numeral and adjective can co-occur in a noun phrase. In such a case, the order of these modifiers with respect to each other is fixed, but, flexible with respect to the noun. The fixed order of modifiers is represented as: **demonstrative-numeral- adjective**. As can be seen in the following examples, the noun can occur preceding or following this fixed order of modifiers, and it may also occur between the demonstrative and the numeral modifiers:

- 28 (a) **naa-na** **lama-na** **gudubi-na**
 child-PL two-PL tall-PL
 ‘the two tall boys’
- (b) **naa-na** **kina** **gudubi-na**
 child-PL DEM:PL tall-PL
 ‘these tall boys’
- (c) **naa-na** **kina** **lama-na** **gudubi-na**
 child-PL DEM:PL two-PL tall-PL
 ‘these two tall boys’
- (e) **kina** **naa-na** **lama-na** **gudubi-na**
 DEM:PL Child-PL two-PL tall-PL
 ‘these two tall boys’
- (f) **kina** **lama-na** **gudubi-na** **naa-na**
 DEM:PL two-PL tall-PL child-PL
 ‘these two tall boys’

Genitive case in Kara can be expressed either morphologically or syntactically by word-order (see section 5.2.4.2). The word order of the possessor and the possessed noun is flexible when genitive case is morphologically marked, but when word-order is used to show genitive relationships in NN genitive construction the possessor noun appears before the possessed noun. Changing the word order in the later case may change the meaning or form ungrammatical noun phrase. Below are some examples:

29. (a) **waaka-sa** **k'ufumo-no** **wotji-na**
 ox-GEN horn-F expensive-ADCL
 ‘Ox’s horn is expensive’
- (b) **k'ufumo-no** **waaka-sa** **wotji-na**
 horn-F ox-GEN expensive-ADCL
 ‘Ox’s horn is expensive’

30. (a) **gabar-a naa-no**
 farmer-M child-F
 ‘the farmer’s daughter’
 (b) * **naano gabar-a**

Example (30a) illustrates that possessor -possessed relationship is expressed by word-order; changing the order form ungrammatical noun phrase as in (30b) above.

8.4.2. Word order in verbal sentences

In Kara, the basic word order is SOV. In both transitive and intransitive clauses, the main verb is restricted to the final position. The adverbial time expressions are very rarely attested following the main verb in the discourse of Kara. In other cases, it is not attested in initial and medial positions.

31. (a) **na saxa gob-aa-na ko=gob-aj**
 she tomorrow run-IPF-ADCL 3SGF-run-IPF
 ‘She will run tomorrow’
 (b) **na gob-aana ko=gob-aj saxa**
 she run-IPF-ADCL 3SGF-run-IPF tomorrow
 ‘She will run tomorrow’
32. (a) **no naa naʔ-id-i-na**
 he yesterday come-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He came yesterday’
 (b) **no naʔ-id-i-na naa**
 he come-PF-PST-ADCL yesterday
 ‘He came yesterday’

The subject commonly occurs at the beginning of a sentence, but sometimes, the object can be placed before the subject. The adverbial time expressions as shown in (33) below may also occur preceding or following the subject noun:

33. (a) **na saxa gob-aa-na ko=gob-aj**
 she tomorrow run-IPF-ADCL 3SGF-run-IPF
 ‘Tomorrow she will run’
- (b) **saxa na gob-aa-na ko=gob-aj**
 tomorrow she run-IPF-ADCL 3SGF-run-IPF
 ‘Tomorrow she will run’

In transitive clauses, the order of the direct object and the indirect object is flexible. In Examples (34) below the object that is inflected for dative case can be placed preceding or following the direct object:

34. (a) **ariyo ji=sa mɛɛ-nante apala tʃ'awuli ʃan-id-i-na**
 Ariyo 3-GEN wife-DAT cloth white buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Ariyo bought white cloth for his wife’
- (b) **ariyo apala ji=sa mɛɛ-nante tʃ'awuli ʃan-id-i-na**
 Ariyo cloth 3-GEN wife-DAT white buy-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘Ariyo bought white cloth for his wife’
34. (a) **no k'ul-ta-m ari-nante matf-id-i-na**
 he goat-M-ACC Ari-DAT slaughter-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He slaughtered a (he) goat for/to Ari’
- (b) **no ari-nante k'ul-ta-m matf-id-i-na**
 he Ari-DAT goat-M-ACC slaughter-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He slaughtered a (he) goat for/to Ari’

In Kara, a relative clause is employed as a modifier of a noun. Similar to other noun modifiers such as adjectives and numerals, the relative clause commonly occurs after the head noun. However, the order of noun and its modifier is flexible. So, in a similar way, the relative clause can occur preceding the head noun too. Examine the following examples:

35. (a) **mɛɛ-na daʔano-n its-ad-ana s'eedi-na**
 woman-PL food-F:ACC eat-PF-PL short-ADCL
 ‘The women who ate the food are short’

- (b) **daʔano-n** **its-ad-ana** **mɛɛ-na** **s'eedi-na**
 food-F:ACC eat-PF-PL woman-PL short-ADCL
 ‘The women who ate the food are short’

The subordinate (dependent) clauses of Kara largely occur before the main clause, but they may also occur following the main clause (See sections 8.1-8.3 above for examples).

Chapter Nine: Summary and Recommendation

9.1. Summary

The present study focuses on the documentation and grammatical description of Kara, a least studied South Omotic language spoken by approximately 1,000 people living in three villages: Korcho, Dus and Labuk. Dus is geographically center (located between the two villages), and it is the center of ritual activities. No variety is attested, the Kara people in different villages speak in one and same way. The grammar part is organized in eight chapters followed by a gloss and translated Kara text, exported as interlinear text from ELAN; an annotation tool specifically used with video and/or video data for the purposes of annotation and documentation.

The first chapter is concerned with the introduction. Under this section introductory information about the language and its speaker, and level of endangerment and reasons that play major role for the endangerment of the Kara language are briefly presented. Statement of the problem, objectives and significance of the study, previous studies, and theoretical framework and methods employed by the researcher are also illustrated in this chapter.

In chapter two, the detail description of the phonology of Kara is presented. The consonant and vowel phonemes of Kara are described in detail, and the phonemic inventories show that Kara has 28 consonant phonemes and ten vowel phonemes. The syllable structure and possible consonant of Kara are also discussed in this chapter and the result of the study show that the syllable structure of Kara does not allow two consonants both in onset and coda positions. Consonant clusters are allowed only in medial position. Phonological process like assimilation (which is very common), deletion and insertion are also presented in this chapter.

Chapter three presents inflectional and derivational morphology of nouns. Kara noun has one general form and several particular forms. The particular forms specify gender, size and number, but the general form does not distinguish such morphological features. The general form is used as a citation form in Kara. Kara basic nouns may end with either a vowel or a consonant. Kara nouns are inflected for gender, definiteness, number and case. Kara has two way gender distinctions: the masculine and the feminine. Gender in Kara is partly inherent and partly not. All animals that are naturally male are assigned masculine gender, and all animals that are naturally female are assigned feminine gender. On the contrary, nouns referring to inanimate entities, with

some exceptions, can be inflected for both masculine and feminine gender. Unlike many Ethiopian languages, in Kara, masculine gender is used to express diminutive semantic value whereas feminine gender is used to express augmentative value. The gender markers also used as definiteness marker in Kara. Noun modifiers like adjectives and demonstrative pronouns are inflected for gender; the modifiers take the gender of their head noun. A three way number distinction is made in Kara: singular, plural and paucal or collective. Singular is not morphologically marked, but plural which shows several cases particular nouns is marked by the morpheme **-na**, and the gender marking morpheme **-no** is used to express the group as a whole or as a set. Another interesting point about the number system in Kara is that the modifiers agree in number with their head. Adjectives, numerals and demonstratives become singular or plural based on the number of the head noun. Kara NPs inflect for accusative, dative, locative, genitive, instrumental and commutative cases. The nominative case is not morphologically marked in Kara. The accusative is marked for definite nouns only. When the direct and indirect objects occur along with the modifiers, the accusative and dative markers are suffixed to the right most element of the phrase. The genitive case can be marked morphologically by attaching the morpheme **-sa** to the possessor noun, and it can also be indicated by word order: possessor noun followed by possessed noun. Noun derivation is also discussed in this section. Kara nouns can be morphologically derived from verbal roots: agentive nouns, action nouns, instrumental nouns and infinitives; adjective and noun roots: abstract nouns; and via compounding.

In chapter four, personal pronouns, demonstrative pronouns and interrogative pronouns of Kara are discussed in detail. Kara has two sets of personal pronouns: the subject and object personal pronouns. The subject personal pronouns are free and can occur independently, conversely, the object pronouns are bound and cannot occur independently. The bound pronoun is inflected for accusative, dative and genitive cases. The restrictive and reflexive pronouns are also morphologically distinct. The demonstrative pronouns are also presented in this section. The demonstratives of Kara show two degrees of distance: proximal and distal, and are inflected for gender and number. The distal demonstratives are classified into three: faraway, further away and furthest away. Demonstratives can be used as noun modifiers. This chapter also provides overview of the interrogative pronouns.

Chapter five describes the nominal and verbal modifiers such as adjectives, adverbs and numerals. The adjectives in Kara make agreement with the head noun in gender and number; they take the feminine or masculine gender marker or the plural number marker based on the gender and number of the head noun. The accusative and dative case markers are suffixed to modifiers of the noun whenever they occur following the head noun. Adjectives are sometimes reduplicated to show plural number. The Adverbs of Kara (time, manner, locative and directional adverbs) are also illustrated in this chapter. Adverbs of time that are commonly used in Kara seem to have less regular forms. Kara has few manner adverbs. Some of the locative adverbs of Kara are derived by suffixing locative morphemes to the demonstratives. Kara uses a decimal or base-ten numeral system, and the numerals in Kara are grouped into two: cardinal and Ordinal.

Chapter six presents the verb morphology of Kara; it describes the structure of the verb roots and the formation of the verb stems. The verb root of Kara does not stand alone to form an independent word. Verbal derivations such as causative, passive, infinitive and inchoative are as well discussed in chapter six. The chapter also discusses the verb inflections of Kara. Kara verbs do morphologically mark Person, gender and number features. In some sentence constructions, the bound pronouns are prefixed to the verb to show the person of the subject; in such a case the subject can be optional. Two tenses, past and future, are observed in Kara. Past tense is morphologically marked, but the future tense is expressed by reduplication of the main verb. Aspect (perfective, imperfective and progressive) and mood (imperative and hortative) are morphologically marked in Kara.

Chapter seven is concerned with different sentence types. The affirmative and negative declarative sentences are marked by the morpheme **-na** and **-mo** respectively, and they usually occur at the end of a verb following the verb root or stem. The interrogative in Kara is classified as polar and non-polar. The polar interrogative is expressed by suffixing the morpheme **-u** when the main verb is in perfective aspect, and the polar imperfective interrogative aspect is expressed by the imperfective morpheme **-aj**, a portmanteau morpheme. In Kara, negation is morphologically marked, and morphemes that express clausal negation are associated with the verb. The negative marker does not vary depending on aspect, but they do vary depending on the mode. In hortative mood the lexical verb **gar-** ‘stop, leave’ is used instead of the common

negative marker **-ma**. In negative clauses, the imperfective marker is not overtly marked, but the perfective and progressive aspect markers do.

The last chapter, chapter eight, deals with complex sentences and Word-Order. The relative clause which is inflected for gender or number and accusative case, the converbs which are mainly used to conjoin series of events anterior to or simultaneous with the event expressed by the main verb, and the adverbial clauses (conditional, reason, purposive, concessive and temporal) are described in chapter eight. The converb is not marked for gender, number and tense-aspect; it depends on the main verb for these grammatical features. Kara is verb final language, hence, SOV is the basic word-order employed. The order of the noun and its modifiers is flexible. Adverbial clauses may come preceding or following the main clauses. Objects, time adverbs, and very rarely the subject can occur following the main verb.

9.2. Recommendations fo Further Research

In this Dissertation, the Grammar of Kara, the least studied and an endangered South Omotic language of Ethiopia, has been thoroughly discussed. However, few parts of the grammar still require exhaustive description. Parts which are left open for further study are presented as follows.

Tone is one of the topics that requires further investigation. Tone is one of the most interesting and complex features of Omotic languages. In Kara, tone has lexical and grammatical functions. However, tone is superficially described in this study. Thus, the detailed and comprehensive analysis of the tone pattern of Kara requires further investigation.

Kara discourses are full of ideophones which are frequently accompanied by mimetic movement, hand gesture or facial expression, as well as whistles, finger snaps etc. Kara ideophones are useful to make discourses more vivid, persuasive, and more entertaining. However, because of time and financial constraints, the phonological, syntactic and semantic features of ideophones are not presented in detail in this thesis. So, this part is also left open for scholars for further investigation.

The majority of Kara nominals end with the terminal vowel. The terminal vowels are sometimes dropped when some grammatical suffixes such as gender/definiteness and number markers are suffixed to the citation form a nominal, but the terminal vowels are not dropped when dative,

genitive, locative and comitative suffixes are attached to the nominals that end with terminal vowel. The reason why the terminal vowels are dropped with some grammatical morphemes and not dropped with some grammatical morpheme is not clear at this stage. Therefore, the researcher recommends further study on the reason behind the deletion of the terminal vowels of nouns after suffixation.

This study does not discuss the focus marking system and the copular constructions in Kara. thus, scholars can fill the gap by conducting further research on these topics.

References

- Akinlabi, A., & Connell, B. (2008). The interaction of linguistic theory, linguistic description and linguistic documentation. *Critical Issues in the Study of Linguistics, Languages and Literatures in Nigeria*. Eds Ozo-mekuri Ndimele, Imelda Icheji Lawrence Udoh and Ogbonna Anyanwu. Port Harcourt: M & J Grand Orbit Communications, 571- 589.
- Andreas Joswig (2011). A Brief Grammar of the Hamar Language. Dilla University, Institute of Indigenous Studies and SIL Ethiopia, Addis Ababa.
- Austin, Peter K. (2006). Data and language documentation. In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus Himmelmann and Ulrike Mosel (eds.) *Fundamentals of Language Documentation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 87-112.
- Austin, Peter K. (2007). Survival of Languages. In Emily F. Shuckburgh (ed.) *Survival: Darwin College Lectures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Austin, Peter K. (2008). Training for language documentation: Experiences at the School of Oriental and African Studies. In Margaret Florey & Victoria Rau (eds.) *Documenting and Revitalising Austronesian Languages*, 25-41. Language Documentation & Conservation Special Publication No. 1. Hawaii: University of Hawaii Press.
- Austin, Peter K. (2010). Communities, ethics and rights in language documentation. In Peter K. Austin (ed.) *Language Documentation and Description, Volume 7*, 34-54. London:SOAS.
- Azeb Amha (2001). *The Maale Language*. Publications of Research School of Asian, African, and Amerindian Studies (CNWS), Vol. 99. Leiden: University of Leiden.
- Azeb Amha and Gerrit J. Dimmendaal (2006). Converbs in an African perspective. *Catching language: The standing challenge of grammar writing*, ed. by Azeb Amha, Gerrit J. Dimmendaal, Felix K. Ameka, Alan Dench and Nicolas Evans, 393-440. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Baye Yimam (1994). Some Aspects of Zergulla Morphology. In Bahru et al., eds. *Proceedings of the Eleventh International Conference of Ethiopian Studies*, 419-28. Addis Ababa: IES.
- Bender, M. L. (1988). Proto-Omotiic phonology and lexicon. In: Bechhaus-Gerst, M. and F. Serzisko (eds.), Cushitic-Omotiic. *Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotiic Languages*, Cologne, January 6-9, 1986, pp. 121-159. Hamburg: Helmut Buske.

- Bender, M.L. (2000). *Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages*. Studies in African Linguistics 19. München: LINCOM Europa.
- Binyam Sisay (2008). *Aspects of Koorete verb morphology*. PhD dissertation. Oslo: Department of Linguistics and Scandinavian Studies, University of Oslo. Blackwell.
- Binyam Sisay (2016). Negation in Hamar. In Binyam Sisay Mendisu & Janne Bondi Johannessen (eds.) *Multilingual Ethiopia: Linguistic Challenges and Capacity Building Efforts*, Oslo Studies in Language 8(1), 2016. 83–108. (ISSN 1890- 9639). <http://www.journals.uio.no/osla> (accessed 17/4/17).
- Blake, Barry J. (1994). *Case*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blench, R. (2006). The Afro Asiatic languages: Classification and Reference list. <http://rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm> (accessed 10/01/13).
- Bowern, Claire. (2008). *Linguistic fieldwork: A practical guide*. Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cohen, Gideon P. E. (2000). Language and Ethnic Boundaries. Perceptions of Identity Expressed through Attitudes towards the Use of Language Education in Southern Ethiopia. *Northeast African Studies* 7 (3): 189-206.
- Comrie, Bernard (1976). *Aspect. An Introduction to the Study of Verbal Aspect and Related Problems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Creissels, Denis (2000). Typology. In *African Languages: an Introduction*, Bernd Heine and Derek Nurse (eds.), pp. 231-258. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David (2000). *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crystal, David (2003). *A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*. Fifth Edition. Oxford:
- Daniel Abera (1993). Verb complements of Aari. MA Thesis, Addis Ababa University.
- Daniel Abera (1994). Pronouns in Aari. Paper read at the Sixth Annual Seminar of Institute of Language Studies. Addis Ababa University.
- David Odden (2005). *Introducing Phonology: Representations, Analysis, Feature and Patterns*. Cambridge University Press, New York. www.cambridge.org. (accessed 8/7/16).
- Dingemanse, Mark (2009). *Advance in the Cross-Linguistic study of Ideophones*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Konderak.eu>Dingemanse2012 (accessed 11/2/2018).
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1977). *A grammar of Yidiny*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1982). *Where Have All the Adjective Gone? and Other Essays*. Semantics

- and Syntax. Berlin: Mouton.
- Dixon, R.M.W. (1997). *The Rise and Fall of Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dixon, R.M.W. 2010. *Basic Linguistic Theory: Volume 1 Methodology*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2001). What is basic linguistic theory? Discussion note. <http://wings.buffalo.edu/linguistics/people/faculty/dryer/dryer/blt> (accessed 21/4/14).
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2006). Descriptive theories, explanatory theories and Basic Linguistic Theory. In Ameka, F. et al. (eds.), *Catching language: the standing challenge of grammar writing*, pp. 207-234. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fasold R. and Connors-Linton J. (2006). *An introduction to Language and Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. www.cambridge.org/9780521847681 (accessed 15/5/2016).
- Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Population Census Commission (2008). Summary and Statistical Report of the 2007 Population and Housing Census.
- Fekede Menuta (2011). *The Description of Ari Language*. Bole Printing Enterprise.
- Fleming, H. (1976). Omotic Overview. In M.L. Bender (ed.), *The Non-semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, pp.299-323, East Lansing: African Studies Center, Michigan State University. Michigan.
- George Yule (2006). *The Study of Language*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.
- Getahun Amare. (1991). *The Structure of Noun Phrase in Hamar*. M.A thesis. Addis Ababa University.
- Gezahegn, P. (1994). The Karo of the Lower Omo Valley: Subsistence, Social Organization and Relations with Neighboring Groups. Addis Ababa University: Unpublished MA thesis.
- Halliday, M.A.K (1994). *An introduction to functional grammar*. 2nd ed. London: Arnold.
- Haspelmath, Martin, and Ekkehard König (eds.) (1995). *Converbs in Cross-Linguistic Perspective: Structure and of Adverbial Verb Forms, Adverbial Participles, Gerunds*. Berlin /New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hayward, R. J. (1988). Remarks on the Omotic Sibilants. In: Bechhaus-Gerst, M. and F. Serzisko(eds.), *Cushitic and Omotic. Papers from the International Symposium on*

- Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Cologne, January 6-9, 1986, 263-299. Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Hayward, Richard J. (1990). Notes on the Aari language. In R.J. Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, pp. 425-493. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Hayward, Richard J. (1990). Notes on the Zayse language. In R.J. Hayward (ed.), *Omotic Language Studies*, pp. 210-355. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Hellenthal, Anne-Christie. (2010). *A grammar of Sheko*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Hieda, Osamu (1993). Language and Culture in Borrowing: Kara (Afroasiatic) elements in Koegu (Nilo-Saharan). In *Nilo-Ethiopian Studies*, Vol. 1, PP. 15-26.
- Hieda, Osamu (1996). Multilingualism in Koegu: Inter-ethnic Relationships and Language. In: Shun Sato and Eisei Kurimoto (eds.). *Essay in North East African Studies, Senri Ethnological Studies* No 43, PP. 163-188.
- Himmelman, P. (1995). Documentary and Descriptive Linguistics. <http://www.hrelp.org/events/workshops/eldp2005/reading/himmelman.pdf>.
- Himmelman, P. (1998). Documentary and descriptive linguistics. *Linguistics* 36. 161–195.
- Hirut Wolde-Mariam (2004). *A grammar of Haro*. PhD dissertation. Institute of African Studies, University of Cologne.
- Kenneth L. Pike (1961). *Tone Languages: A Technique for Determining the Number and Type of Pitch Contrasts in a Language, with Studies in Tonemic Substitution and Fusion* (5th ed.). Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Ladefoged, P. (2001). *Vowels and Consonants: An introduction to the sounds of language*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Lamberti, Marcello, and Roberto Sottile (1997). *The Wolaytta Language*. Cologne: Rüdiger Köppe.
- Longacre, Robert and Sandra A. Thompson (1985). Adverbial clauses. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description*, vol. II: *Complex Constructions*, ed. by Timothy Shopen, 171-234. Cambridge University Press.
- Larissa Fuhrmann, et.al. (n.d.). Schooling in Hamar in the South Omo Zone. Maria Niebling, Universität Leipzig. <http://www.docjax.com/document/view.shtml?id=2127054&title=Schooling%20in%20Hamar%20in%20the%20South%20Omo%20Zone%20%20Universit%C3%A4t%20zu%20K%C3%B6ln>.

- Lydall, J. & Strecker, I, (1979). *The Hamar of southern Ethiopia Vol. II: Baldambe Explains*. Hohenschäftlarn: Renner.
- Lydall, J. (1976). Hamar. In: Bender, L.M. (ed.). *The Non-Semitic Languages of Ethiopia*, pp. 393-438. East Lansing, MI: African Studies Center, Michigan State University.
- Lydall, J. 1986. Gender, number and size in Hamar. In: M. Bechhaus-Gerst and F.Serzisko (eds.), *Cushitic and Omotic. Papers from the International Symposium on Cushitic and Omotic Languages*, Cologne, January 6-9, 1986, pp. 77-90.Ham-burg: Helmut Buske Verlag.
- Mary Yohannes (1987). Hamar Phonology. B.A thesis in Linguistics. Addis Ababa University.
- Matsuda, H. (1996). Riverbank Cultivation in the Lower Omo Valley: the intensive Farming of the Kara, South Western Ethiopia. In Shun Sato and Eisei Kurimoto (eds.). *Essay in North East African Studies, Senri Ethnological Studies*, No 43, PP. 163-188.
- Moges Yigezu & Binyam Sisay (2015). The orthography of Hamar. *Studies in Ethiopian Languages*,vol. 4 (2015), pp. 1-16.
- Moges Yigezu (2005). Some observations in the pronouns of Hamar: A comparative perspective. In *Cushitic-Omotic Studies* 2004, edited by Yoichi Tsuge, pp. 113-132. Kanazawa University.
- Moges Yigezu (2007). The vowel system of Kara from a historical-comparative perspective.“*From Beyond the Mediterranean*”:Aktendes7, *Intertionalen Semito hamitisen* (VII. ISHaK), Berlin 13-15 September 2004, Rainer Voigt(ed.), pp. 245-252. Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- Moges Yigezu (2015). The Hamar-Benna Cluster: a Lexicostatistics survey. *Journal of Ethiopian Studies*(JES), vol. 38, pp. 1-32. Published by: Institute of Ethiopian Studies.
- Moges Yigezu (2016). Aspects of the Morphophonology of Hamar. In Binyam Sisay Mendisu & Janne Bondi Johannessen (eds.) *Multilingual Ethiopia: Linguistic Chal-lenges and Capacity Building Efforts*, Oslo Studies in Language 8(1), 2016. 83–108. (ISSN 1890-9639). <http://www.journals.uio.no/osla> (accessed 08/02/2017).
- Motomichi Wakasa (2008). A Descriptive Study of the Modern Wolaytta Language. Doctoral Dissertation:The University of Tokyo.
- Mulugeta Seyoum (2008). *A Grammar of Dime*: University of Leiden, PhD dissertation. Urecht:LOT

- Payne, Thomas E. (1997). *Describing Morphosyntax: A Guide for Field Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Thomas E. (2006). *Exploring Language Structure: A Student's Guide*. Cambridge University Press, New York. www.cambridge.org/9780521855426 (accessed 10/30/2014)
- Rebecca Yohannes (1999). The noun morphology of Kara. BA thesis: Addis Ababa University.
- Sandra A. et al., (1985). A Typology of Adverbial clauses. In *Language Typology and Syntactic Description* Vol II: Complex constructions, Timothy Shopen (ed), Cambridge: CUP, pp 237-300.
- Silvia Zaugg-Corett (2010). The verbal system of Yemsa: Omotic language of Ethiopia. Thesis presented to the Faculty of Arts for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
- Strecker, I. (1976). Traditional life and prospects for Socio-economic development in the Hamar Administrative District of Southern Gamugofa.
- Tsegaye Lema (2015). Documentation and Description of Bena. MA thesis: Addis Ababa University.
- Tsuge, Y. (1996). On the consonant correspondences of South Omotic languages. In Shun Sato and Eisei Kurimoto (eds.), *Essays in Northeast African Studies, Senri Ethnological Studies* 43, pp. 163-188, National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka.
- UNESCO. (2003). Language Vitality and Endangerment. Document adopted by the International Expert Meeting on UNESCO Programme Safeguarding of Endangered Languages Paris, 10–12 March 2003.
- Whalen, D.H. (2004). How the study of endangered languages will revolutionize linguistics. In *Linguistics today: Facing a greater challenge*, ed. by Piet van Sterkenburg, 312-42. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Woodbury, T. (2003). Defining documentary linguistics. In Peter K. Austin (ed.), *Language Documentation and Description* 1. 35–51. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Yohannes, G. M., Kassaye, H., & Zerihun, A. (2005). Addressing pastoralist conflict in Ethiopia: The case of the Kuraz and Hamar sub-districts of South Omo zone. Africa Peace Forum, Ethiopian Pastoralist Research and Development Association, Interafrica Group, Saferworld.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Metadata of Kara Documentation

Corpus	No. Sessions	Format	duration	No Participants		
				M	F	Total
Farming	1	WAV/MTS	00:03:15	3	-	3
number	1	WAV/MTS	00:08:30	1	-	1
calendar	1	WAV/MTS	00:15:10	1	-	1
how to build a house	1	WAV/MTS	00:10:23	3	-	3
Birds	1	WAV/MTS	00:05:07	1	-	1
folktales	3	WAV/MTS	02:10:13	5	2	7
Games	1	WAV/MTS	00:40:30	1	-	1
marriage	1	WAV/MTS	00:15:11	3	1	4
history	1	WAV/MTS	00:17:30	3	-	3
ethnic relationship	2	WAV/MTS	00:18:50	2	-	2
food and drinks	2	WAV/MTS	00:20:26	-	2	2
musical instruments	1	WAV/MTS	00:05:21	2	-	2
personal narratives	1	WAV/MTS	00:30:10	2	-	2
rites of passage	2	WAV/MTS	00:35:27	4	-	4
Performance	3	WAV/MTS	00:40:39	5	3	8
Trees	1	WAV/MTS	00:05:25	1	-	1
colour terms	1	WAV/MTS	00:03:35	1	-	1
women's social role	1	WAV/MTS	00:13:25	2	2	4
neighbouring ethnicities	1	WAV/MTS	00:20:09	3	-	3
the king of Kara	1	WAV/MTS	00:15:35	1	-	1
culture of wearing	1	WAV/MTS	00:12:11	2	1	3
total	28		07:47:02	46	11	57

Appendix 2: Glosed texts

Text A: The Lion and the Ostrich

A01

zobta bee kubinta bee waatʃimada
zob-ta bee kubin-ta bee waatʃim-ad-a
lion-M:DEF CNJ rabbit-M:DEF CNJ quarrel-PF-REL
‘Once upon a time the lion and the rabbit (it should be Ostrich) quarreled’

A02

kɛɛ watʃimoko zobta naana boodó

kɛɛ watʃim-oko zob-ta naa-na boodó
3PL:SUBJ quarrel-? lion-M:DEF child-PL thin
‘The children of the lion are thin’

A03

kubinta (lobeltoon) naana durpi

kubin-ta (lobeltoo-n) naa-na durpi
rabbit-M:DEF ostrich-F:DEF child-PL fat
‘The children of the ostrich are fat’

A04

lobeltoon naana boodo (durpi)

lobeltoo-n naa-na boodo (durpi)
ostrich-F:DEF child-PL thin (fat)
‘The children of the ostrich are fat’

A05 boodote zobta jigeyina inta naana kinam ta tʃaa

boodo-te zob-ta ji=gej-ina inta naa-na kina-m
thin-be lion-M 3-tell-TEMP2 1SG:SUBJ child-PL DEM:PROX:PL-ACC
taa tʃa-áá
now take- IPF

‘The lion said, “I will take these children now”’

A06

lobetoon jigeyina kinam

lobetoo-n ji=gej-ina kina-m

ostrich-F 3-tell-TEMP2 DEM:PROX:PL-ACC fat-PL DEM:PROX:PL-ACC

‘The ostrich said that “these are mine”’

A07

durpina kinam

durpi-na kina-m

”These fat ones are mine”

A08

handab lobeltono jigeyina

han-d-a6 lobeltoo-no ji=gej-ina

say-PASS-?NAR ostrich-F:DEF 3-tell-TEMP2

‘Then after, the ostrich said,’

A09

ina naana mugurota itsaa

i=nna naa-na muguro-ta its-á

1SG-GEN child-PL muguro-M eat-IPF

”My children eats Muguro”

A10

mæerota itsa

mæero-ta its-áá

mero-M eat-IPF

“eats Mero”

A11

farb farb jisa apokata zagante itsaa

farb farb ji=sa apo-ka-ta zag-ante its-áá

strip (mimicking) strip 3-GEN mouth -INST-EMPH find-CNV1 eat-IPF

"They eat by searching by their mouth."

A12

hano waan zaganteta jaa ima

ha=nno waa-n zag-ante-ta yaa im-á

2sg-GEN meat-ACC find-CNV1-EMPH 2SG:SUBJ give-IPF

"You search a meat and give your children"

A13**handina pijo hasa jintata tʃok'a**

han-d-ina pijo ha=sa jintata tʃok'-áá

say-PASS-TEMP2 faeces 2SG-GEN similar to-EMPH stink-IPF

‘Then after the lion said, your speech stinks like your feces.’

A14**handoko nii zobta jigejina putʃumáté**

handoko nii zob-ta ji=gej-ina putʃu-máté

then after time lion-M 3-tell-TEMP2 come_together-IMP:2PL

‘Then after, the lion said "come together! "'

A15**mirjaka arkaka saalaka harka gaajaka putʃumáté**

mirdza-ka ʔarka-ka saala-ka gaaja-ka putʃu-máté

mirja-too arka-too saala-too baboon-too come_together-IMP:2PL

‘He ordered the ‘Mirja’, ‘Arka’, ‘Sala’ and the baboon to come together’

A16**k'urbamáté balinko bazagan koro**

k'urba-máté bali-n ko-ro baza-ga-n ko-ro

come_together-IMP:2PL field-DEF this-LOC baza-INST-DEF this-LOC

‘Come together at Baza field’

A17**jɛhamoko woʃɛdɛ**

jɛ-ham-ɔko wo=ʃɛd-ɛ

2PL-say-? 1PL-see-IPF

‘Then after, we will see’

A18**bitonina takadáj**

bitoni-na tak-ad-áj

judge-PL decide-PASS-IPF

‘It will be decided by the judges’

A19**bitonina takadáj**

bitoni-na tak-ad-áj

judge-PL decide-PASS-IPF

A20**zobta jisa rak'ir wodab**

zob-ta ji=sa rak'i-r wod-aɓ

lion-M 3-GEN place-LOC sleep-NARR?

‘It will be decided by the judges ‘The lion took his place/seat’

A21

mæ̃kita jisa rak'ir wod̥aʔ

mæ̃ki-ta ji=sa rak'i-r wod̥-aʔ
buffalo-M 3-GEN place-LOC sleep-NARR?
‘The buffalo took his place/seat’

A22

ʃidawa jisa rak'ir wod̥aʔ

ʃidaw-a ji=sa rak'i-r wod̥-aʔ
Shidawa-M 3-GEN place-LOC sleep-NARR?
‘The ‘Shidawa’ took his place/seat’

A23

pútʃ̃ bijana
pútʃ̃ biya-na
come_together man-PL
‘The people gathered’

A24

burin burin tultula kaam ta ooʃaʔaʔo

burin burin tultul-a kaa-m taa ooʃ-aʔ-aʔ-o
morning morning singe-DEF DEM:PROX:M-ACC now discuss-PASS-PF-REL
‘They discussed from early morning up to this time, pointing to the sky’

A25

hawu gantité

hawu ganti-té

who owner-be:INT

‘Who is the owner?’

A26

handina zobton gantina

han-d̥-in zobto-n ganti-na

say-PASS-TEMP2 lion-F:DEF owner-ADCL

‘When asked, they replied the owner is the lion’

A27

hawu gantité

hawu gantité

who owner-be:INT

Who is the owner?

A28

zobton gantina

zobto-n ganti-na

lion-F:DEF owner-ADCL

The owner is the lion

A29

aga jinta gejaa mirdzata

aga jinta gey-á mirdza-ta

DEM:DIST:M like tell-IPF Mirja-M

‘Who says like that is the ‘Mirja’

A30

aga jinta gejaa hawute jawuta

aga jinta gej-á hawu-te jawu-ta

DEM:DIST:M like tell-IPF who-be:INT leopard-M

‘Who says like that is the leopard’

A31

aga jinta gejaa hawute mæekita

aga jinta gej-á hawu-te mæeki-ta

DEM:DIST:M like tell-IPF who-be:INT buffalo-M

‘Who says like that is the buffalo’

A32

aga jinta gejaa arkita

aga jinta gej-á arki-ta

DEM:DIST:M like tell-IPF arka-M

‘Who says like that is the ‘Arka’

A33

aga jinta gejaa laalita

aga jinta gej-á laali-ta

DEM:DIST:M like tell-IPF antelope

‘Who says like that is the antelope’

A34

hajidoko kaa kiwutado pakupuk

hajidoko kaa

then after DEM:PROX:M

Then after, it came out’

ki=wut-ad-o

3SGM-come out-PF-PST

A35

ɲakupuk nabi kisa ɲakupukina

ɲakupuk nabi ki=sa ɲakupuki-na

N. name 3SGM-GEN N-ADCL

‘His name is N.’

A36

ɲakupuka pút wutante εsr-má ɲaŋgatun

ɲakupuka pút wut-ante εsr-má ɲaŋgatun

N. get up cameout-CNV1 hear-IMP N.

‘N. came up and said "listen to me N.!"’

A37

nabi kisa ɲaŋgatun

nabi kisa ɲaŋgatun

name 3SG-GEN N.

‘His name is N.’

A38

ɲaŋgatun εsarmá

ɲaŋgatun εsar-má

N. hear-IMP

"Listen to me Ngagatun!"

A39

habultakes ɲakakales hurro gojinu ɲaŋgatun hanɗadana igina zobo naana boodona

habultakes ɲakakales hurrogojinu ɲaŋgatun han-ɗ-ad-ana igi-na zobo naa-na

Habultakes Ngakales Hurogoyinu N. say-PASS-PF-PL that:PL lion child-PL

boodô-na

thin-ADCL

‘Habultakes, Ngakales, hurogoyinu, Ngagatun: those who are called children of the lion are thin’

A40**jintana ana wogɛban handado**

jinta-na ana wo=gɛb-an han-d-ad-o
 like this-ADCL old time 1PL-grow-TEMP1 say-PASS-PF-REL
 "we were said like this when we grew up"

A41**jaa ɛsaradaj**

jaa ɛsar-ad-aj
 2SG:SUBJ hear-PF-NEG:INT
 "Didn't you hear me?"

A42.

zobtonsa naasa desidina nansi
 zob-ton-sa naas-a desidina nansi
 lion-3F-GEN child-M ? then after
 'The lion's child runaway'

A43**zobta kijamnaani**

sound of the lion zob-ta ki=jam-na nii
 S.of lion lion-M 3SGM-say-TEMP2
 'When the lion roars,'

A44**luus pulaka gajidí inta**

luus pula-ka gaj-id-í inta
 enter hole-INST tell-PF-PST 1SG:SUBJ
 by entering the hole, Ngakagnuk said "I told you"

A45**inta gajidí**

inta gaj-id-í
 1SG:SUBJ tell-PF-PST
 "I told you"

A46**gajidína intá**

gaj-id-í-na intá
 tell-PF-PST-ADCL 1SG:SUBJ
 "I told you"

A47**im haitsadanakamo itsimá**

i=m ha=its-ad-ana-kamo itsi-má
 1SG-ACC 2SG-eat-PF-COND-INCL eat-IMP
 'Even if you are going to eat me, eat me !'

A48**tʃ'ok'ana kotʃ'ok'aj jintana hasa pijo gija kotʃ'ok'aj**

tʃ'ok'-aa-na ko=tʃ'ok'-aj jintana ha=sa pijo gija kotʃ'ok'-aj
 stink-IPF-ADCL 3SGF-stink-IPF like this 2SG-GEN faeces like this 3SGF-stink-IPF
 "you stink like your faces"

A50

hajidoko kok'alte kijam naani luus pút ɔno r narkudinba janiro

hajidoko ko=k'al-te ki=jam-na nii luus pút ɔno-ro narkud-inba
 thenafter 3SGF-go-CNV 3SGM-say-TEMP2 ? enter come out house-LOC Nakurdi-father
 ‘Then after, when the lion roars, Ngakugnuk entered into the hole and came out through the
 compound of Nakurd's father’

A51

wutante gejidina intá

jan-ro wut-ante geji-idi-na intá
 compound-LOC cameout-CNV1 tell-PF-PST 1SG:SUBJ
 ‘She came out and said "I told you"’

A52

inta gejidí

inta geji-id-í
 1SG:SUBJ tell-PF-PST
 ‘I told you’

A53

im haʔitsadanakamo itsimá

i=m ha=ʔits-ad-ana-kamo itsi-má
 1SG-ACC 2SG-eat-PF-COND-INC eat-IMP
 ‘Even if you are going to eat me, eat me !’

A54

soota kaa inta hasa aanir mak'aana imak'aj

soota kaa inta ha=sa aani-r mak'-aa-na i=mak'-aj
 tonight this:PROX"M 1SG:SUBJ 2SG-GEN hand-LOC finis-IPF-ADCL 1SG-finish-IPF
 ‘Tonight, I will die in your hand’

A55

iii kijamina

iiii (sound of L) ki=jam-ina
 sound of L 3SGM-say-TEMP2
 ‘when the lion roars’,

A56

pút oo leefoka iiro

pút oo leefoka iiro
 cameout over-there Lesho inside
 ‘Ngakunguk came out through the compound of Lesho’

A57**wutante jigejina inta gejidina**

wut-ante ji=gey-ina inta gej-id-i-na
 cameout-CNV1 3-tell-TEMP2 1SG:SUBJ tell-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘He came out and said "I told you"’

A58**handan lobelton gija no ini jigejina kota ijalak'ina jii jaa gomma manazara**

han-d-a-n lobelt-on gija no ini ji-gej-ina kota i=jalak'-ina jii
 say-PASS-?-? ostrich-F say he time 3-tell-TEMP2 here 1SG-talk-TEMP2 ?
 jaa gom-ma mana-zara
 2SG:SUBJ run-IMP mana-towards
 ‘He said like this to the ostrich before “When I argue with him here, you run away with you
 children to Mana”’

A59**hajidoko jirk naanaka pakales**

haj-id-oko jirk naana-ka pakales
 say-PASS-? low children-COM Ngakales
 ‘Then after, the lion had been won’

A60**mak'idú**

mak'-id-ú
 finish-INT
 ‘Finished?’

A61**mak'idina**

mak'-id-i-na
 finish-PF-PST-ADCL
 ‘It is finished’

Text B: How the Kara people move to the lower Omo

B001

gemarroda kaarana ba anaa atula handanbara na?ada

gemar-ro-da kaara-na ba ana atula han-dā-n-bara na?-ad-a

mountain-LOC-exist kara-PL up long_ago Atula say-PASS-?-ABL come-PF-REL

‘Long time ago the Kara people had lived in the mountain area and came from a place that is called Atula’

B002

ni?isadono dawadono waaki

ni?-is-ad-ono daw-ad-ono waaki

come-CAUS-PF-F:REL show-PF-F:REL cattle

‘It is cattle that brought and had shown the place’

B003

ana gemarro waŋŋa ɔɔra buldina waaka zawas handaja waaka jini?ina kotare wutʃʼá kiske kota

ana gemar-ro waŋ-ŋa ɔɔra bul-d-ina waak-a

long ago mountain-LOC cattle-PL towards open-PASS-TEMP2 cattle-SGM

zawa-s han-d-aj-a waak-a ji-ni?-ina kota-ra

red-DEF:M call/say-PASS-IPF-M cattle-SGM 3-come-TEMP2 here-LOC

wutʃʼ-á kiske kota

drink-IPF Kiske here

‘Long time ago, when the cattle moved from the mountainous area towards here, the bull that was called the red and the big ox drinks here at Kiske’

B004

waŋŋa gidor kaja rooro wadante ba na?á

waŋ-ŋa gido-r kaj-a rooro wad-ante ba na?-áá

cattle-PL mid-LOC disappear-CNV3 day sleep-CNV1 up come-IPF

‘Disappearing from the herds and staying a day it comes back to the highland’

B005

waŋŋa gidor kaya waaka taa hamonta kija?ade waaka hamonte kija?ade na?áá

waŋ-ŋa gido-r kaj-a waak-a taa hamon-te ki-ja?-ad-e

cattle-PL mid-LOC disappear cattle-M now where-be:INT 3SGM-go-PF-INT

‘Disappearing from the herds where does the bull go now? Where does the bull go?

Then it comes’

B006

waak-a hamon-ta ki-ja?-ad-e na?-áá

cattle-M where-LOC 3SGM-go-PF-INT come-IPF

‘Where does the bull go? Then it comes’

B007

hajitala roorina waɗante ɔgɔnta kijemɔxɔ waaka kaa hambari na?a mitʃa tʃ agadidina

hajitala roori-na waɗ-ante ɔgɔn-ta ki-jem-ɔxɔ waak-a kaa

today day-PL sleep-CNV1 that:F-EMPH 3SGM-go-? cattle-SGM this:SGM

ham-bar na?-a mitʃa tʃ ag-ɗ-id-i-na

where-ABL come-CNV3 down follow-PASS-PF-PST-ADCL

‘Disappearing and staying for days when it just arrived today, they questioned from where this ox is coming and followed him’

B007

lajiii na?-id-i-na roora kina?ada sabara ɛɛdi dajidi

lajiii na?-id-i-na roor-a ki-na?-ad-a

going a long time/distance come-PF-PST-ADCL day-DEF:SGM 3SGM-come-PF-M:REL

sa-bara ɛɛdi daj-id-i

DIST-from man exist-PF-PST

‘Going a long time and distance a Kara arrived. The day that the Kara came following the ox, there were a people from the other side of the river’

B008**mujina handajina**

muji-na han-ɗ-aj-ina

Koegu-PL call-PASS-IPF-PL:REL

‘who are called Koegus’

B009**sabara dante kinante ɔɔɓ kojɗɗado kiardá**

sa-bara da-ante ki-nante ɔɔɓ koj-ɗ-ɗ-ad-o ki-ard-á

DIST-from exist-CNV1 3SGM-DAT hole dig-PASS-PF-REL 3SGM-enter-IPF

‘Being on the other side of the river, they decided to dig the pit for the ox, so it gets trapped’

B010**kassa dabi dabi harte zawa kaa**

ka-sa dabi dabi har-te zawa ka-a

DEM-other side animal animal what-be:INT red DEM-SGM

‘What kind of animal is this red animal on the other side of the river?’

B011**kaa dabta kanante sa sagante ɔɔɓn koyimate**

ka-a dab-ta ka-nante sa sag-ante ɔɔɓ-n koji-mate

DEM:PROX-M animal-M this-DAT other side cross-CNV1 hole-ACC dig-IMP:PL

‘Crossing the river, dig the pit for this animal on the other side’

B012**naʔa gidir kiʔɛrdoko kim wodise**

naʔ-a gidi-r ki-ʔɛrd-oko ki-m wo-dis-e

come-CNV3 mid-LOC 3SGM-enter-TEMP3 3SGM-ACC 1PL-kill-IPF

‘After it came and entered into the hole we will kill him’

B013**handada roora kota hasododa ɛɛna imbana tʃ' agidi**

han-ɗ-ad-a roor-a kota hasow-ɗ-ad-a ɛɛ-na imba-na tʃ' ag-id-i

say-PASS-PF-REL day-DEF here speech-PASS-PF-REL man-PL father-PL follow-PF-PST

‘The day this was said and the day this discussion was made, the owners of the bull followed it up to here’

B014

εεna tʃʹagate lajii kota κεnaʔina sabara εεna dajidi

εε-na tʃʹag-ate lajii kota κε-naʔ-ina sa-bara εε-na daj-id-i
man-PL follow-CNV1 going here 3PL-come-TEMP2 other side-from man-PL exist-PF-PST
‘When the men arrived here, after going long time following the bull, there were men on the other side of the river’

B015

waakasa tuduro εεna naʔada κεnaʔina wutʃʹ ante wutáá

waak-a-sa tudu-ro εε-na naʔ-ad-a κε-naʔ-ina wutʃʹ-ante
cattle-M-GEN back-LOC man-PL come-PF-REL 3PL-come-TEMP2 drink-CNV1 wut-á
wut-áá
get out-IPF
‘When the men who came at the back of the bull arrived, it drank and gets out’

B016

κεkala ojisafada

κε-kala ojis-ad-ad-a
3PL-one question-PASS-PF-M:REL
‘The ones on the other side of the river had been asked,’

A017

κεti εεdi kina εεdi haamino kono hawu gantite

κε-ti εεdi kina εεdi haami-no ko-no hawu ganti-te
3PL-be man DEM:PROX:PL man field-F DEM:PROX-F who owner-be:INT
‘They are human beings and we are human beings. Who is the owner of these fields?’

A018

handada wuti haami dɛsimamo

han-dʹ-ad-a wuti haami dɛsi-ma-mo
say/call-PASS-PF-REL 1PL field know-NEG-NDCL
‘What they said is that “We do not know a land”’

B019

jer zawusa samasa zawu tʃ'ultʃ'ula hamajana wodɛsado

jer zawu-sa sama-sa zawu tʃ'ultʃ'ula ham-aj-ana wo-dɛs-ad-o
 thing red-GEN tail-GEN red swish say-IPF-PL:REL 1PL-knwo-PF-REL
 ‘We know red things with the red fins which rustles’

B020

wuti dɛsimamo haami

wuti dɛsi-ma-mo haami
 1PL:SUBJ know-NEG-NDCL field
 ‘We do not know a field’

A021

hajidoko ɛɛna nansi pɛɛnam kafimante haaminam kafimante waaxaka kaa jaʔada maatate

haji-d-oko ɛɛ-na nansi pee-na-m kafim-ante haami-na-m kafim-ante
 say-PASS-? man-PL then land-PL-ACC divide-CNV1 field-PL-ACC divide-CNV1
 waax-a-ka kaa jaʔ-ad-a maat-ate
 cattle-M-COM DEM:PROX:M go-PF-SGM:REL return-CNV2
 ‘Then after, the Kara men divided the land amongst themselves; then, went away with this ox and returned,’

B022

ba k'alte ɛɛnanante hasowadfo

ba k'al-te ɛɛ-na-nante hasow-ad-d-o
 up (highland) go-CNV2 man-PL-DAT speech-PASS-PF-REL
 ‘After they went back to the high land, they told their people about the land they saw’

A022

waaka ana tʃoo ogontana kiyaʔaj

waak-a ana tʃoo ogon-ta-na ki-yaʔ-aj
 cattle-SGM long ago down DEM:DIST:F-EMPH-ADCL 3SGM-go-IPF
 ‘It is down there that the ox goes’

B023

rak' s'aalina rak' baʃina kiyaʔaj

rak' s'aali-na rak' baʃi-na ki-jaʔ-aj
 place good-ADCL place good-ADCL 3SGM-go-IPF
 'The place where it goes is wonderful/good'

B024

nunk'o gidor jida haamikamo wuti kaʃimdina

nunk'o gido-r yi-da haami-kamo wuti kaʃim-id-i-na
 water mid-LOC 3-exist field-too 1PL:SUBJ divide-PF-PST-ADCL
 There is water in the middle of the land, and we have divided the land too'

B025

ɛɛdi sabara dajidina

ɛɛdi sa-bara daj-id-i-na
 man other side-from exist-PF-PST-ADCL
 'There are/were people on the other side of the river'

B026

woʔojisina jigejina wuti haami dɛsimamo kɛhamado

wo-ʔojis-ina ji-gej-ina wuti haami dɛsi-ma-mo kɛ-ham-ad-o
 1PL-question-TEMP2 3-tell-TEMP2 we field/farm know-NEG-NDCL 3PL-say-PF-REL
 'When we ask them about the field/farm land, what was they said is that "we do not know the farm land"'

B027

nansi ɛɛna pir ʃidɪn bulɪɪdi ɛɛnam

nansi ɛɛ-na pir ʃidɪ-n bul-ɪɪd-i ɛɛ-na-m
 then man-PL again see-? accompany-PASS-PF-PST man-PL-ACC
 'Then, the people sent the men to see again'

B028**εεna hajitala dεεpɪ naʔ-ad-a**

εε-na hajitala dεεpɪ naʔ-ad-a
 man-PL today many come-PF-REL
 ‘The people who came today are many’

A029**ʃeda ʃeda hajante jimatana bark'idi**

ʃed-a ʃed-a haj-ante ji-mat-ana bark'-id-i
 see-CNV3 see-CNV3 say-CNV1 3-come back-TEMP1 leave-PF-PST
 ‘Observing the area when the group back and told the people, they left the high land’

B030**bark'ate pεεjas kaaran pεεja jinkandada**

bark'-ate pεεj-a kaara-n pεεj-a ji-n han-d-ad-a
 leave-CNV2 land-M:DEF kara-ACC:F land-M:DEF 3-ACC say-PASS-PF-REL
 ‘After they left the land that is called land of Kara,’

B031**nansi babara jinaʔan εedi k'olaji**

nansi ba-bara ji-naʔ-an εedi k'olaji
 then top-from 3-come-TEMP1 man exist_not
 ‘When they come from the highland, there was no human being on the land’

B032**pεεn korogo εεna sa barada**

pεε-n koro-go εε-na sa-bara-da
 land-ACC that:DEF:F-INST man-PL other side-from-exist
 ‘There were men by the other side of the land’

B033**pεεno kono koo-bara gorɔ jinaʔana dark'idi pεεn jisaro**

pεε-no ko-no ko-bara gorɔ ji-naʔ-ana dark'-id-i pεεn ji-sa-ro
 land-F this-F this-from empty 3-come-TEMP1 settle-PF-PST land-ACC 3-GEN-LOC
 ‘The land was empty from this side, as a result they settled on it. Then it becomes their land’

B034

ta waaka zawa gojino waaka zawa gojino kεε hamajino

ta waak-a zaw-a goji-no waak-a zaw-a goj-ino kε- ham-aj-ino
 now cattle-M red-M road-F cattle-M red-M road-F 3PL-say-IPF-F:REL
 The road which they say now “the road of the red bull”,’

B035

ana waaki dawadono gemarrin barana kεna?ado

ana waaki daw-ad-ono gemar-ri-n bara-na kε-na?-ad-o
 long ago cattle show-PF-F:REL mountain-LOC-ACC from-ADCL 3PL-come-PF-REL
 ‘In the olden time, It was from highland that they come, and it was the cattle that showed them the way’

B036

ana gemarrona kedo εedino

ana gemar-ro-na kε-do εedi-no
 long ago mountain-LOC-ADCL 3PL-exist man-F
 ‘It was the on the highland that people lived in earlier times’

B037

hajantena haaminam paxante waɲɲam arsante pεenam nansi kεdaado

haj-ante-na haami-na-m pax-ante waɲ-ɲa-m ars-ante pεε-na-m
 say-CNV1-?? field-PL-ACC plough-CNV1 cattle-PL-ACC rear-CNV1 land-PL-ACC
 nansi kε-da-ad-o
 then 3PL-exist-PF-REL
 ‘Then after, they ploughed the farm land and reared the cattle then has lived’

B038

korante haaminam oononam daxante nansi kεdark'ado

kor-ante haami-na-m oono-na-m dax-ante nansi kε-dark'-ad-o
 plant-CNV1 field/farm-PL-ACC house-PL-ACC build-CNV1 then 3PL-settel-PF-REL
 ‘They planted the farm lands, built houses and then settled’

B039**ḡabara kɛnaʔina waakina d̥awadono kɛnante**

ḡa-bara kɛ-naʔ-ina waaki-na d̥aw-ad-ono kɛ-nante
 highland-from 3PL-come-TEM2 cattle-ADCL show-PF-F:REL 3PL-DAT
 When they come from the high land, it is the cattle that show the way for them'

B040**kaaransa wotintono ogobarana**

kaaran-sa wot-into-no ogo-bara-na
 kara-GEN get out-?-F:DEF DEM:DIST-ABL-ADCL
 'Kara's source is from there'

B041

agana aga
 aga-na aga
 that:M-ADCL that:M
 'That is it'

B042**kaaran goja agaana**

kaara-n goj-a aga-na
 kara-F road-M that:M-ADCL
 That is/was the path of Kara.

Appendix 3: Word list (Kara-English)

a

aadma v. hunt
aaka/koogo n. ancestor
aan n. hand
aank'oos Np. elbow
aansada NP. palm (of hand)
aansaduma NP. thumb
aansaja NP. guide
aansara Np. ladder
aapkajaa adj. blind
ab other
abujii n. mother's brother (uncle)
agaa pro. that (man)
ajitala n. today
alanga n. whip
almi n. game
anaa n. olden time
angalala adv. day before yesterday

ange n. boy, husband
ange naaso n. son
ank'ak'o n. termite
ank'as'so n. bee
ansa v. lead, guide
anti n. branch (of tree)
anza n. girl
apa v. spread out (maize)
apala/afala, n. cloth
apo n. language
arda v. to enter, dive
arpi n. moon, month
arsa v. pack
arsisa v. make dress
azaaba v. (be) eloquent
azabaa / p'akalaa adj. (be) wise
azo n. sand

b

baaka n. cooking stone, fire place
baar n. ocean, sea
baarfa v. (be) young
baarunk'o n. eagle
baafa n. comb
baatfa ange NP. rooster (cock)
baatfa eelinto VP. crow (as a rooster)
baatfa mɛɛ NP. hen
baatfa n. chicken
baatfa naaso NP. chick
bado adj. inexpensive
bajabaja v. float
bajii n. valley
bajis n. father-in-law, son-in-law
bajisina n. in-law, relative by marriage
bak'a v. burst
baka v. cook (v)
bak'ak'o n. ditch

bak'ala n. shoot (new plant)
bakardaa v. (be) thirsty, thirst
bakkir between
bank'o n. war
bank'odama Vp. fight
bank'oo or dzumpa n. lance (spear)
banzi n. penis
banzima v. plead, implore
barbamo n. speed
bargi n. rainy season
barijamo ɛɛdi adj. mad person
barijo n. God (supreme being)
barijo warsa NP. spiritual song
bak'ak'a adj. sour
bafa v. conquer, defeat
bafadidi v. (be) defeated
baskamo n. adultery
baski naaso n. bastard, illegitimate child

basko *n.* load, burden
bafo *dry up, evaporate*
bajis *n.* mother-in-law
baza *n.* credit
bazaa *n.* price
bazak'awa *VP.* offer
bazatja/bazabula *VP.* take revenge
baʔa *v.* bring
bee *and*
berbi *adv.* (be) fast
berk'i *v.* move away, migrate
biiwa *n.* wild cat
bilbilto *n.* butterfly
bira *adv.* top
bira bara *adv.* before
biras *n.* (be) first
biti *n.* chief, headman
bitjaa *n.* father's sister (aunt)
bokaa or siiri *n.* poison (on arrow)
bok'isa *v.* remember
bolaale *n.* trousers

ḡ

ḡaa *adv.* up
ḡal *n.* outside
ḡalk'a *n.* lightning
ḡḡḡḡ *adj.* thin
ḡeleḡele *n.* mushroom
ḡentaa *n.* seed
ḡii *n.* vine
ḡija *v.* sow, plant
ḡiza *v.* throb (with pain)

tʃ

tʃa *v.* take
tʃaa / ɗaasa *v.* carve
tʃaatʃ'i *n.* root
tʃawutʃ *n.* bush
tʃok'a *n.* odour, smell

bombamba *n.* dung beetle
bona *n.* desert, dry season
bookindoo *n.* shame
boon/leʔe *n.* year
booso *adj.* stupid person
bootja *v.* bark (as dog)
borkoto *n.* chair
boronboro *n.* agama lizard (red-headed)
bowa *v.* despise
bubuni *n.* dust
bubunsa *v.* winnow, throw in air (grain)
bok *v.* knead
bula *v.* open
bulaa *v.* accompany
bulmi *n.* (be) open
bulmii / ɗaasa *v.* uncover
bolo *n.* prostitute
buno *n.* coffee
burin *n.* morning
burk'ii *n.* diseases
burzaa/burzoon *n.* snore

ḡokata *n.* barren (of land)
ḡula *v.* jump
ḡulaa *v.* take out (from container)
ḡus' *adj.* abundant, full
ḡus'isa *v.* cause to increase
ḡuskaa *v.* accumulate
ḡuuli *n.* pool
ḡuutʃ'a *v.* pluck (feathers)
ḡuʔurja *v.* boil (water)

tʃoo *adv.* bottom, down
tʃoope *n.* south
tʃootʃi *n.* guest, visitor
tʃootʃinsa *v.* invite
tʃutʃi *n.* knot

tʃ'

tʃ'aga v. follow
tʃ'alak'a v. turn round)
tʃ'api n. marsh
tʃ'arapii v. (be) innocent
tʃ'ari adv. (be) sharp
tʃ'arfa v. sharpen (knife)

tʃ'ifii n. bile
tʃ'ootʃ'a v. husk (corn)
tʃ'orɔŋaʃ n. gill
tʃ'ubi n. smoke
tʃ'uma v. (be) silent
tʃ'uwa v. sink

d

daa n. pot (for water)
daabo n. bread
daak'ada v. (be) hungry
daak'o n. famine
daas'a adj. (be) sweet
dabi sit n. fur
dabi debe n. hide (of animal)
dakaa adj. (be) dirty
dalsoo n. widow
dambi n. tradition, custom
dampo n. tobacco
dandaja v. (be) able
dara kus'o NP. vulture
dark'a v. (be) seated, land, sit
dats'isa v. taste
daʔano n. food
dɔŋ five (5)
dɔŋar n. elephant
dɔŋtam fifty (50)
dɛɛga/malɔdimii v. (be) stupid, lazy
deesa v. grind
dembi n. death
demobara beside
des'a adv. (be) heavy
dɛsa v. kill
dibini n. ashes
dɪgɪsɪ n. feast
diiba v. to steal
diibi n. thief

diina v. fall
diis'a v. close, shut
dis'amo n. weight
dolak' n. hump
dontɔr adj. dizzy
dɔŋadɔŋa n. bell
dɔŋar aan NP. elephant's trunk
dɔŋar atsi NP. elephant's tusk
doobo n. rain
doora v. store (up)
dorba n. throwing stick
dubo n. bubble
dugga v. dip
duka v. bury
dukii n. funeral (at occasion of death)
dukirak' n. cemetery
duŋri n. shoe, sandal
durmi n. stump
durpi /durfi adj. fat (for animal)
durpisa v. castrate
duudi n. virgin
duuni n. clay
duuni n. termite hill
duuri n. roof
dzaaga v. sew
dɔɔada v. (be) dead
dɔɔompok'o n. intestines
dɔɔogodɔa v. throw
dɔɔumpada v. stumble

d

daa v. hit, strike frapper, punish, ring
daaba v. lick
daaba v. fly
daalima v. inherit
daasa v. raise, lift
daba v. throw away, get rid of
daba v. rise up
dabi n. penalty, punishment
dagaa adj. (be) angry
daka n. bundle
dakaa n. strap
dakimo n. spirit (of dead person) (invisible)
dank'aja n. spark
dartj'aa n. tumour
dawa v. indicate, point, show
dawuso n. announcement
dεbε n. skin (animal)
deefa n. fang (of snake), poison
dεεfaa n. medicine

dεkεdεkε n. vagina
dendat n. pus
daʔaja v. heal (tr), cure
dεsa v. know
diba v. drip
dibdoŋ five hundred (500)
dibkala hundred (100)
diblama two hundred (200)
diiba v. rub
dik /katʃ adj. high
dink' dink'i adv. (be) round
dombodombo n. Highland water container
dopoo n. lung
dowoo n. bone marrow
dok n. promise
duli adj. shallow
fulsa v. lack
dus adj. smooth
duulo n. flour

e

eela v. hiss
eetima v. swell (intr)
eezin n. star

ε

εεda n. family, relative (by blood)
εεdi n. human being, person
εεdi s'aal NP. kind
εεdi tʰipa NP. honest
εεdi zarbo NP. wicked
εεja n. man (male)
εεmmo εεdi NP. fisherman

εεpi n. mourning, cry, weep
εkiri n. bedbug
εrgo n. command, (be)send
εrgotja v. obey
εsara v. hear
εtmaa n. swelling

g

gaagi n. canoe
gaaja n. baboon
gaal n. enemy

gaalinfo n. hardship, distress,
gaalo n. problem, trouble
gaarabuk'oo n. ankle

gaaza *n.* ant
gabaja *n.* market
gabati *n.* plate
gajido *n.* wedding (ceremony) marriage
gajilimi *n.* river bank
gajita *n.* hoe
galidi *v.* suffer
galoo *n.* armpit
gandanda *n.* spider
gansa *v.* to smell
gara *v.* leave (place, abandon, avoid)
gawu *n.* bracelet
gaza / tipa *v.* (be) fair
gaʔaa *v.* bite, peck, sting
gaʔafo *n.* warthog
gawdo *n.* pig
gaji *n.* path, road
gawo mara *n.* slice
gawo *n.* bark (of tree), crust
geba *v.* grow up
gebi *adj.* big
geʔisa *v.* bring up (a child)
geekindaa *v.* lean against
geesaa *v.* bow (as in greeting)
geja *v.* explain, tell
gemar bira *n.* summit, highest point
gemar *n.* mountain
gena *v.* give pain, hurt
gentadoo *n.* belch
getfoo *v.* old (not young)
gibaro *n.* wind
gibarsa *v.* blow (of wind)
gibaz *n.* malaria (fever)
gibaza *v.* shake
gidogalt *n.* mid night
gidoo/bakki *n.* middle
gilgili *v.* tickle
girfo *n.* squirrel
gija *v.* feed (animals), look after
gifaa *v.* rule over, dominate

gisimo /gisma *v.* call (someone)
gitamaa *n.* blacksmith
gobaa *v.* flee, run away from, run
gobaa *v.* respect
gobisa *v.* decorate
gobozii *n.* thigh
golombo *n.* kingfisher
gonde *n.* truth
gondimba *adv.* really, truly
goobamo *n.* (facial) incision(s), tattoo(s)
goofa *n.* admire, reverence (for God)
gooza *n.* hem
gowaa *n.* hip
godob *adj.* long
gudubi *adj.* giant
gudubsa *v.* lengthen
guduri *n.* hyena
guganat *n.* thunder
gul eedi *n.* neighbour
guldi *n.* bud
gulfaa/gulpaa *n.* phlegm
gullaja *n.* lizard
gulo *n.* palm tree
gulpa bulaa/gulfa bulaa *NP.* blow nose
guma / tjaa *v.* agree
gumadabaa *v.* succeed
gunduma *v.* growl
gungusi *n.* navel
guno *n.* snake
guno opo *NP.* spitting cobra
gurgur *n.* crocodile
guro *adv.* (be) hollow
goro *n.* empty
gurtfgurtfa *adv.* rough
gosi *n.* calabash
gufo *n.* claw, fingernail
gutfa *v.* drag, pull, subtract
gutfaa *adj.* slippery
guuda *v.* smoke (fish)
guus'a *n.* rope, string

h

haa *adv.* When
haada *v.* shave
haade *n.* hippopotamus
haami *n.* field, farm land
haantjifa *v.* lower (tr)
haapa *v.* find
haara *n.* fiancé
haasowa *n.* speech, discourse
haasowa *v.* speak, talk
haas's'imba *n.* broom
haaza *n.* arrow
hadzimee *n.* wound
hadzimoo /hadzadfaa *v.* (be) sick, (be) ill
hajimaa *n.* dream (n)
hajo *n.* sun
hajowuta *n.* sunrise
hak'a gido *NP.* trunk (of tree)
hak'a mook'a *NP.* spoon (traditional)
hak'a *n.* tree
hak'a wadima *NP.* Wood work
halfa / halpa *n.* knife
halk'ahak' *n.* taste

i

iika *v.* hesitate
iinza *v.* groan (with pain)
iira *v.* insult
iirmo *n.* insult
iiro *n.* inside
iifo *n.* gift
imba *n.* father
inda *n.* mother
indakanaa *n.* father's brother (uncle)
indakanaa *n.* mother's sister (aunt)

I

idaa *v.* choose , pick
ilat *v.* grunt, shout
ima *v.* give
imaa *adj.* (be) generous

hama *pro.* which
hammii *n.* wisdom
hanta *adv.* Where
hantakamo *adv.* everywhere
hantja *v.* descend, go down
hantj'ii *n.* laugh
har *adv.* what
harijaa *n.* friend
harintoo *n.* diarrhea
harmidi *v.* hoe
harmo *n.* weeds
harmo *v.* weed
harnante *adv.* why
has *adv.* how
hajka *v.* act, do
hajkimo *v.* whisper
hajko *n.* witchcraft
hatstja *n.* rubbish
hawu *pro.* who
hawutjhawutj *v.* crunch
ha?asa *v.* tear
hororsav *enlarge*

ink'aso *n.* kid,
inta *pro.* I
isin *n.* sorghum
isinda *v.* thresh, beat (grain)
iffimo *n.* elder
iyati mæ *NP.* ewe
iyati *n.* sheep
iyati soboro *NP.* lamb
izak'a *v.* swallow

itsa *v.* eat
itsada *n.* labour (n), birth pains
itsaro *n.* food

k

kaa *pro. this (man)*

kaakadiirinjab *n. chameleon*

kaak'ima *v. ruminant, chew*

kaala / kalmia *v. wait*

k'aamo kaja *NP. deaf (mute) person*

k'aamo ukaa *NP. pierce (ears)*

kaara gus'a *NP. fishing line*

kaara lapo *NP. fish bone*

kaara *n. fish*

k'aara *n. monkey*

kaara naputi *n. fishing net*

kaafa *v. resolve, settle (dispute)*

k'aawa *n. muscle*

k'ada *v. smear*

k'ada *v. apply (ointment),*

kaja *v. (be) lost, disappear*

kajis *n. (be) taboo*

kajisa *v. quench, extinguish*

kajisa *v. lose*

kajisi *n. slave*

kala *one*

kala soogo *adv. once*

kalakamo *adv. never*

kalakamo *n. nothing*

kama *v. pick up ramasser*

kamaa *v. gather amasser*

kanta *adj. (be) great, (be) powerful*

kantaa *n. knee*

karija apo *NP. beak*

karija ɔɔno *NP. bird's nest*

karijaa *n. bird*

karkaatfi *n. partridge*

karna *n. waist*

karnabara *behind*

karsa *v. begin*

karsi *n. beginning*

kaja *v. divide, separate*

kas'aa *v. shoot*

kajaa *v. pay (for goods, services, etc.)*

kajii *n. payment*

katama *n. town, city*

kazma *v. copulate, have sexual intercourse*

kajiso *n. belongings*

kεε *pro. they*

kεema *v. marry*

kεemo *n. marriage*

kεemoda *n. brideprice (for bride's family)*

kεerso *v. meet, encounter*

kelfa *v. help*

kelfo *n. help*

k^hurtan/ bokindo εedi *adj. (be) shy*

kibo *n. bead*

kigija *v. (be) same*

kiilma *v. advice*

kimtaxa *v. resemble*

kinka *together*

kirba *v. dance*

kitima *v. haggle, negotiate a price*

koja *v. dig*

kojidi *n. tobacco pipe*

kojiso *n. thing*

kok'a *v. fry*

komparsaa *v. kneel*

kook'a *v. fence in (v)*

kooli daasa *NP. flap the wings*

kooli *n. wing*

koona *n. granary*

k'oopaa *n. room*

koote *n. shirt*

kora *n. transplant*

kormi *n. fishhook*

kota *adv. here*

kubuni *n. hare*

kubuni *n. mole*

kudi *n. chaff*

kujee *n. jackal*

k'uli ange NP. *billy goat*
k'uli mɛɛ NP. *nanny goat*
kupi adj. *poor*
kurkume n. *hawk*
kuro n. *honey*
kurtamo n. *fear*

k'

k'aabo ɛɛdi v. *(be) intelligent* ~
k'aabo n. *knowledge, plan*
k'aajo n. *caterpillar, intestine worm*
k'aak'a n. *udder*
k'aama v. *'gather domesticate*
k'aama taxa n. *circumcision (male)*
k'aamo gawu NP. *earring*
k'adzaa v. *(be) tired*
k'adzi adj. *(be) cold (objects)*
k'albo n. *leaf*
k'amdi n. *orphan*
k'anti n. *testicle*
k'aro n. *python*
k'artʃ'atʃ'aa v. *pimple*
k'asaa n. *louse*
k'aski n. *dog*
k'awu ɛɛdi NP. *bush dweller*
k'ɔɔfo n. *snail*
k'ɔɔk'i n. *duck*
k'ɛta pro. *few*
k'iis'aa n. *shin*
k'uli n. *goat*
k'undaa n. *clitoris*
k'undisa v. *fold*

l

laa six
laala n. *burn*
laalo n. *antelope*
laɓaa adv. *(be) flat*
labile n. *ostrich*

kurtan n. *coward*
kurtinsa v. *threaten, frighten*
kus'o n. *stork (marabou)*
kusufo n. *fly*
kuta n. *pound*
kuwaman adv. *perhaps*

k'uns'a v. *break*
k'urak n. *crow*
k'ojid n. *threshing-floor*
k'okaa adj. *(be) selfish*
k'olba v. *pour*
k'olompo n. *scorpion*
k'omboo n. *hunchback*
k'ook'a adj. *narrow*
kook'k'i n. *fence (n)*
k'ooro n. *crooked*
k'oorsa v. *bend, crook, curve*
k'oofa v. *nurse, suckle (baby)*
k'oosii n. *arm*
k'ooto n. *beehive*
k'ormofa aapi NP. *kernel*
k'ormofo n. *maize*
k'ortʃ' harago NP. *necklace*
k'os'a v. *scrape (v)*
k'os'ima v. *gossip (v)*
koso n. *moth*
k'ofumo n. *antenna*
k'otʃ'a v. *suck /mothers breast*
k'ufmo n. *horn*
k'ɔwu n. *forest*

lalaa v. *scatter*
lalmo v. *divorce*
lama two
lamatam twenty
lamatam kala twenty-one
lamatam lama twenty-two

lansa *n.* (be) second
lapo *n.* bone
latam *sixty*
laʔasa *v.* touch, feel (active)
lɔŋkaji *eight*
lɛɛmi *adv.* (be) slow

m

maalo *n.* boundary (of field)
maalo *n.* frontier (of ethnic area)
maamaa/s'irkaa *v.* spit
maasa *v.* answer, reply
maata *v.* return go back
mada *n.* wound, scar
mado *n.* upper grinding stone
majif *n.* open place, clearing
majifa *v.* clear (land for planting)
mak'a (be) used up
mak'asii/maʔasii *n.* blood
makinsi . (be) third
makkam *three*
makkantam *thirty*
mala *with*
malaatf'a *n.* razor
mantii *n.* twin
mara *v.* refuse , forbid, protect
maskaso *n.* skull
matfa *v.* slaughter, kill

n

na *pro.* she
naa *adv.* yesterday
naabi *n.* name
naaso *n.* child
nagadaa *n.* trader
nak'isi *n.* sound, voice
napaŋa *n.* machete

ɲ

ɲaa *adv.* (be) sticky

lepelepe *n.* bat
leʔe *n.* river
likki *adj.* right, (be) correct
loŋa *n.* shield (n)
loŋkajitam *eighty*
luup *n.* cloud

maxasgoj *n.* vein
mɔɔro *n.* village
mee giloo *NP.* menstrual period
mɛɛ *n.* wife, woman
mɛɛki *n.* buffalo
mɛɛfi *n.* demon, evil spirit
melel *n.* light
mermer *n.* news
mete ayintoo *n.* sorrow (n)
mete burk'uma *n.* headache
mɪfɪfaa *v.* (be) sated
mogoo *n.* namesake (for male)
moloo *v.* (be) bald
moora *n.* sorcerer (male)
motforoo *n.* calf of leg
muk'aajo *n.* egg
muldaapo *n.* door, doorway cover
mumulk'i *n.* kidney
mura *n.* gun
mutf'utf' *v.* smile

nasɔ ɔɔɔ *NP.* womb
naʔa *v.* come
ɲɔ *pro.* he
ɲɔɲ *n.* fire
nunk'o *n.* water
nunk'ojis'a *v.* sprinkle

ɲaali *n.* mould

ᵐabala *n. cane, walking*
ᵐalɔjiti *n. hunting net*
ᵐatsepitf *n. herd (cattle, sheep)*

o

obasa *v. crawl*
ogota *adv. there*
ojida *adj. (be) hot (objects)*
ojida *n. hot weather*
ojidi *four*
ojiditam *forty*
ojisa *v. ask, request*

ɔ

ɔɔɔ *n. tribe, ethnic group*
ɔɔno *n. house*

p

paafaa *v. get well, recover*
paatfa *adv. late*
pajida *v. count*
pajila *pro. all*
paka *v. cultivate,*
pakaja **ɛɛdi** *NP . farmer*
pakalaa *v. (be) courageous*
palsa *v. crush, chop into pieces*
parapi *n. white man*
parda / farad *n. horse*
parmaa *n. fork (in path)*
parfo *n. beer (traditional)*
pats'ii *n. saliva*
Pee *n. ground, land*
pɛggɛ *adv. far*
peldfaa *n. cockroach*
p^huuso *n. break wind*

r

raa gawu *NP. ankle ring,*
raa *n. leg*
raas'i *n. milk*
rak' *n. place*

ᵐepeʔwa *n. mongoose*
ᵐawuno *n. birdlime*

ojiso *n. request*
oolo *n. hole*
oom *v. bow (hunting)*
ooto *n. calf*
orbaatfa *n. pelican*
ofigala *adv. day after tomorrow*
ooka *v. alter, change*

ɔɔra *towards*
ɔska *v. barter, exchange*

piisii *n. umbilical cord*
pijaa *v. defecate*
pijoo *n. excrement*
pijoofka *v. cause to decrease*
pɪr *adv. again*
piʃkiʃa *v. straighten*
pispiso *n. drizzle*
poola *n. sky*
poolaro *n. On the air*
pooli *n. tortoise (land)*
poori *n. (be) proud*
poska *n. heap*
potiinfoo *v. cough*
pugaa *n. blow (with mouth)*
putfa *v. assemble, meet together*
putta *n. cotton*
puʔufa *v. herd, tend (cattle, sheep)*

rasi *n. footprint (human)*
regimba *n. tooth stick, toothbrush*
riirins'o *n. mud wasp*
roobina *n. flame*
rooro *n. day*

roorowul *adv. always*
ruur *adj. (be) curious*

S

saa *v. sweep*
saama *n. tail*
saarajiko *n. grasshopper*
saas'ini *n. box*
sabaa *n. duty, obligation*
sadaa *n. life*
saga *v. cross (river)*
sajii *n. flea*
sajile *n. storm*
sakaa *adv. tomorrow*
sako *n. beam, rafter*
sal *nine*
salla *v. kick*

S'

s'aali *adj. (be) good*
s'aba *v. stretch*
s'ajiintoo *v. vomit*
s'ak'uma *adj. (be) bitter*
s'amzi *n. giraffe*
s'ans'a *v. mend, repair*
s'ɛɛdi *adv. (be) short*

Ƀ

Ƀaada *v. bathe, wash oneself*
Ƀaano *n. urine*
Ƀaano ɃɃno *NP. bladder*
Ƀaapo *n. fig tree*
Ƀaja *v. wash (clothes, utensils)*
Ƀakabo *n. soup, broth*
Ƀawufa *heap up*
Ƀawwi *n. leopard*
Ƀeba *v. add*
Ƀeda *v. try*
Ƀii *n. thousand*
Ƀiita *n. fertile soil*

ruur *v. hasten, hurry*

saltam *ninety*

sara *v. snatch*

siilija *n. guinea fowl*

siiro *n. mud*

siisi *n. beeswax, bee-bread*

silda *n. thorn-tree*

sile *n. feather*

sirma *v. (be) pregnant*

sirs'i *n. (be) tight*

sooti *n. darkness*

sor *n. harvest season*

sos'owul *adv. often*

suuni *n. stone*

s'ɛɛdi *adv. near*

s'ɛɛdisa *v. shorten*

s'ɛɛri *adv. (be) deep*

s'ɛɛrisa *v. deepen*

s'eʔesa *v. dry out (clothes)*

s'ink'iri *n. charcoal*

s'uuz *v. suck*

Ƀira *v. soar*

Ƀiʔifa *v. leave, prevent*

Ƀojjii *v. (be) fierce*

Ƀok'o *n. grass*

Ƀokolaa *v. limp*

Ƀokolo *n. cripple*

Ƀolbi *adj. (be) light (not heavy)*

Ƀooli *adj. (be) small*

Ƀowa *v. rustle (leaves)*

Ƀuk'uma *v. whistle*

Ƀunk'a *v. kiss*

Ƀupa *v. cover*

fupi *n. thatch*
fupo *n. shadow*
furta *n. fish-scale*

fʌn *n. compound*
fʌna *v. buy*
fʌnfa *v. sell*

t

taa *adv. now*
taana *n. heel*
tabi *ten*
taɓkala *eleven*
tabla *sixteen*
tablama *twelve*
taɓlonkaji *eighteen*
taɓmakkam *thirteen*
tabojidi *fourteen*
taɓsal *nineteen*
tabtsoba *seventeen*
tajisa *v. deceive*
taka *v. cut down (tree)*
talba *v. stutter*
tarbi *adj. big(gest) drum*
tibijju *n. axe*

tip *adv. (be) straight*
tipa tʃ'iri *NP. noon*
toogamo *n. lie, (falsehood)*
toozadɔ *v. hate*
toɗi *n. buttock*
tuk'adɔo *n. hiccough*
tultul *v. singe*
tulumaji *n. wave*
tulugo *n. flute*
tuma *v. saw (wood)*
tumɪɗi or wojisidi *v. cease, stop*
tunas or tunsidi *v. finish, complete*
tuni *adv. (be) blunt, dull*
tunsi *n. end*
tunto *n. hammer*
turabo *n. liver*

ts

tsoba *seven*
tsobatam *seventy*

u

ukaa *n. pain*
ukuli *n. donkey*
ukumi *n. tendril*
uuba *v. stop up*
uusii *n. breath*

uufimi *n. flower*
uuta *n. bride*
uutas *n. groom*
utini *n. mouse*

ɔ

oka *v. stab*

w

waa *n. meat*
waadima *n. work*
Waaki *n. cattle*

waana *different*
waara *v. paddle*
waasimi *n. lake*

waatf' v. quarrel
waazaa n. rejoice
waazinsa v. please, satisfy
wak'ak'a v. wither (plant)
wala v. forget
waldaso n. peace
walfi v. hum
warak' n. noise
warga v. stir
warkwark v. loosen
warsa n. dance (n)
warsa n. music
watan n. brother-in-law, sister-in-law
watfamo n. strength
watfi adj. (be) strong
watfifa or watfi v. harden

j

jaa pro. you (2SG.)
jaajo n. journey, trip (n)
jaja v. wander
jaʔa v. go, walk
jaʔima v. continue, resume
jeda v. hold
jeka enough
jekka adj. equal
jeralbula v. create, make
jerdɔŋko v. tell, recount (story)
jerhuta n. abscess
jerwul pro. everything
jeska v. arrive
jeti pro. you (2PL.)

z

zagaa v. want, desire, look for
zara ɔɔʃaa n. fever (not malaria)
zarbo adj. (be) bad
zarsii n. People
zaska v. need
zɛɛ n. cattle pen

woja v. stand
wojilam n. heart
woli n. dove
woltfa n. stem, stalk
woodaa/raata v. sleep
woogaa n. breathe
worri adv. (be) wide
woti pro. we
wotibara in front of, before
wotfi adj. (be) expensive
wotfii v. (be) difficult
wunkura v. roll
wurro n. cat
wota v. come (or go) out, exit
wutf'a v. drink
wutf'o n. alcohol (general)

jetko / dara ukul n. zebra
jezez n. dusk, twilight (after sunset)
jibaj n. paddle
jigajina v. say
jiink'ima v. leak, flow
jiink'isa v. spill (liquid)
jik'a v. push pousser
jimala v. (be) alone
jipata v. load
jirali adj. scarce
jirk adv. (be) low
jiskidi v. approach
jito n. owl

zerma n. argument
zerma v. deny
ziili n. rainbow
ziino n. mosquito
ziʔa n. mead, honey beer
zobo n. lion

zonpe *n. north*

zonza *n. old person*

zoonzamo *v. intercede, mediate*

zoota *v. swim*

zɔlɔɔ *n. back*

zuuzi *n. point (n)*

zɔwi *n. iron*