A GRAMMAR OF KHIMT'ANGA

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Declaration

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work and has never been presented for a degree in any other University, and that all sources of materials used for this thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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Confirmation

This thesis has been submitted for examination with my approval as a thesis advisor.

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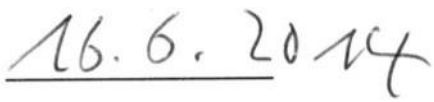
Date: 

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Teshome Belay G/Michael, entitled ***A grammar of Khimt'anga*** and submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for doctoral degree in linguistics complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis describes the grammar of Khimt'anga and provides an exhaustive analysis of its structure. Khimt'anga is a little-documented Central Cushitic language spoken by over 199,556 native speakers in the northern part of Ethiopia; but there has been little research on the language. The study employs both elicitations and oral texts to collect linguistic data. To this end, the phonology, morphology and syntax of Khmt'anga have been described based on the target language itself. In the phonology part, 33 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes are identified. The geminates, the consonant clusters, the syllable structure and the morphophonemic processes are discussed. The morphological description focuses on an in-depth investigation of both derivation and inflection grammatical aspects of the language. Eventually, in the syntax part, the word order, the phrase structure, simple and comparative sentences, and a complex clause that contains one or more subordinate clause(s) and a main (or matrix) clause are all described.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABL	ablative case
ACC	accusative case
A.D	anno domini (after birth of Jesus Christ)
ADJ	adjective
ASS	associate
AUG	augmentative
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CNJ	conjunction
CNV	converb
COM	comitative case
COMP	complement
COP	copula
DAT	dative case
DEF	definiteness
DIM	diminutive
DIST	distal
E.C	Ethiopian calendar
ej	ejective
EMPH	emphatic
EP	epenthetic
F	feminine
FREQ	frequentative
GEN	genitive
gli	glide insertion
IDEF	indefiniteness

IMP	imperative
IMPR	impersonal
INC	inclusive
INFO	information
INTJ	interjection
INST	instrumental case
INTF	intensifier
INTR	interrogation
IPV	imperfective
JUSS	jussive
km	kilometre
LINK	linking vowel
lit.	literally
LOC	locative case
LOC-EXT	locative-existential
M	masculine
MED	medial demonstrative
mm	milimetre
N	noun
NMZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative case
NP	noun phrase
nst	noun stem
OBT	object
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal
OSV	object subject verb word order

OV	object verb word order
PL	plural
PASS	passive
POL	polite form
POSP	postposition
POSS	possession
PRD	predicative
PRDP	partial reduplication
PRES	present tense
PRF	perfect aspect
PROG	progressive aspect
PROX	proximal
PRV	perfective aspect
PSTPRF	past perfect
PST	past
PURP	purposive clause
RC	relative clause
RDP	reduplication
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relative clause marker
RSLT	resultative
SG	singular
SGL	singulative
SOV	subject object word order
SUBJ	subject
TC	terminal consonant
TEMP	temporal

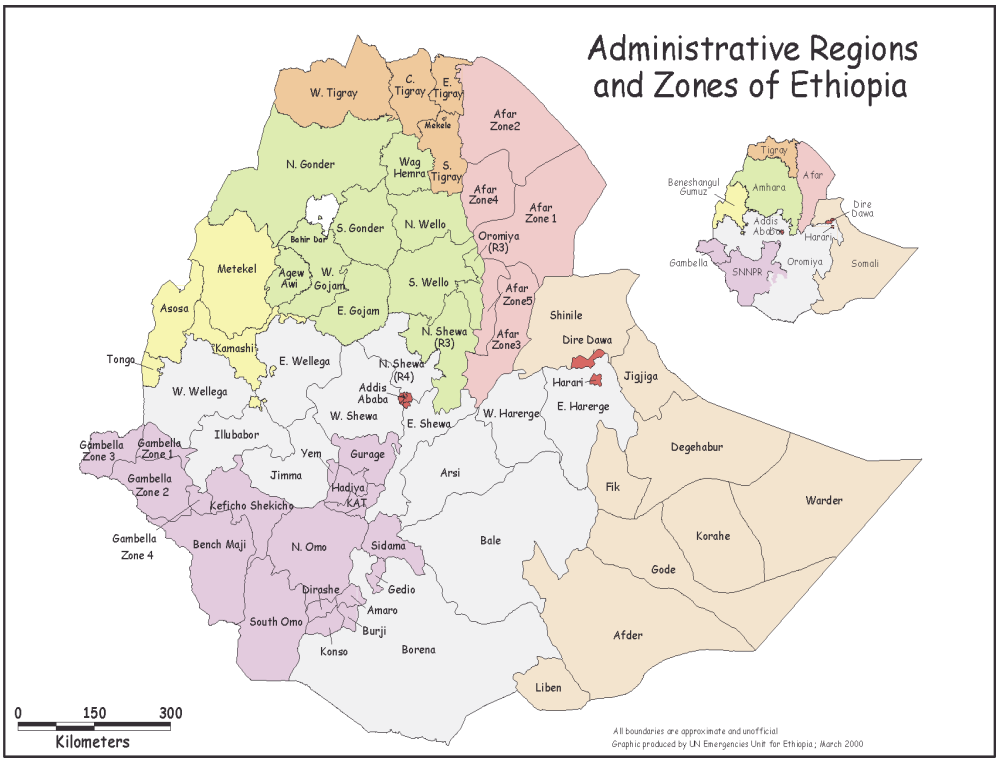
TV	terminal vowel
v	vowel
vd	voiced consonant
VN	verbal noun
vs	voiceless consonant
VO	verb initial language
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
/ /	slant line /phonemic representation
→	an arrow /read as 'becomes'
[ ]	square bracket /phonetic representation
* asterisk	ungrammatical
Ø	empty morpheme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This section presents background and socio-linguistic information of the study area. It discusses the following sub-titles in nine sections. In 1.1 the research area, in 1.2 the Cushitic language, in 1.3, the Khimt'anga language, in 1.4 statement of the problem, in 1.5, objective of the study, in 1.6. significance of the study, in 1.7 literature review, in 1.8 scope of the study and in 1.9 research methodology and procedures. Accordingly, the following three maps provide a clear picture of the research area. Map 1 shows the nine administrative regions and different zones of Ethiopia. Map 2 denotes the Amhara national regional state, and map 3 indicates the administrative districts of Waghimra special zone.

Map 1: The nine administrative regions and different zones of Ethiopia

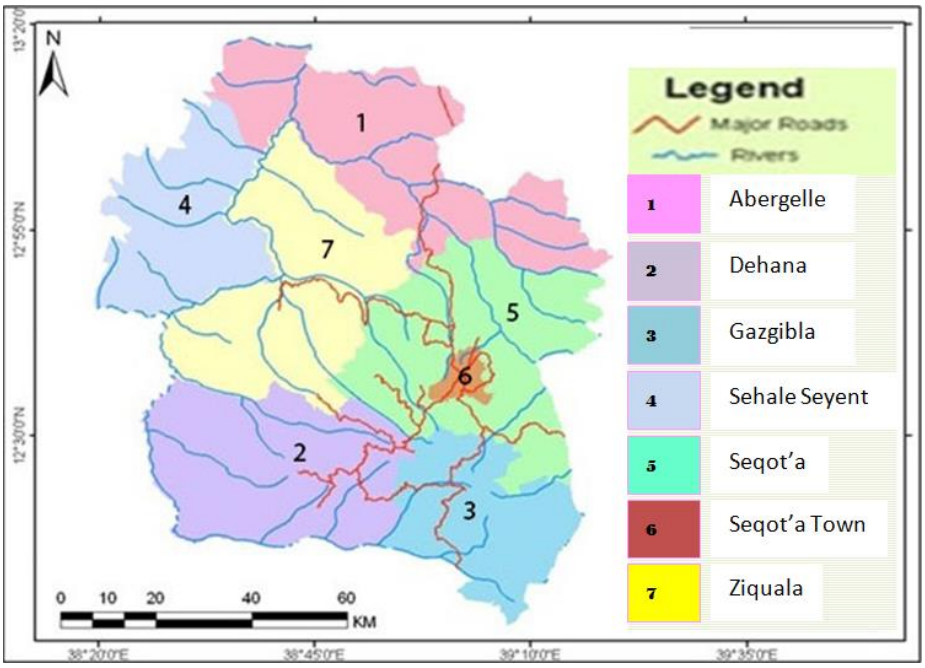


Source: http://www.idpuk.org/Resources/Maps/Administrative%20Regions/Ethiopia%20Map%20-%20Administrative%20Regions%20and%20Zones.gif 4, January 2014

Map 2: The Amhara National Regional State

Adapted from: http://www.amhara.gov.et/image/image_gallery?uuid=ee88484a-600a-46cf-8961-dac6d0ca1c8e&groupId=10157&t=1313080005136, 4, January 2014

Map 3:The administrative districts of Waghimra special zone



Source: Cooperazione-Internazionale (Coopi), March 2008

Map 3 shows the 7 administrative districts of Waghimra special zone. Khimt'anga is spoken in all these 7 administrative districts of Waghimra special zone. The names of the 7 administrative districts are indicated by cardinal numerals: Abergelle in (1), Dehana in (2), Gazgibla in (3), Sehale Seyent in (4), Seqot'a in (5), Seqot'a Administrative Town in (6) and Ziquala in (7) on map 3, respectively.

1.1. THE RESEARCH AREA

The research was conducted in Amhara National Regional State, specifically in Waghimra special zone. The Amhara National Regional State is one of the nine regions of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. It consists of 11 administrative zones. Among them, three of them are special administrative zones: namely Oromya, Awi and Waghimra. The languages spoken in these three special administrative zones are Oromo, Awngi and Khimt'anga, respectively (cf. Map 1).

Previously, Waghimra was known by the name Wag Awraja when the area was part of the former provinces of Wollo. According to Alamirew (1986 E.C: 21), the Amharic word *wag* is derived from Khimt'anga word *wəjə* 'price, value'. The compound word *Wag-himra* is a recently derived form from the combination of two words: *wag* and *himra*, the former refers to the place previously called Wag Awiraja, whereas the latter refers to a Khimt'anga speaking person. Therefore, the newly derived compound form *Wag-himra* means the place where Khimt'anga native speakers live. Due to phonological changes, it is translated into Amharic as *wag*.

As shown in map 1 and 2, the Waghimra special zone is located in the northern tip of the Amhara National Regional State. It shares borders with Tigray National Regional State in the North and East, and with North Wollo in the South. South Gondar and North Gondar are also its South West and West borders, respectively.

Until 2007, Waghimra special zone was divided into three administrative districts. These were called Seqot'a, Ziquala and Dehana (Teshome 2011:3). Currently, it has seven administrative districts. At present, in addition to the former three districts, four additional administrative districts have been added, namely: Abergelle, Sehale Seyent, Gazgibla, and Seqot'a administrative town (cf. Map 3).

The number of k'ebeles (small administrative area which is less than a district) in the Waghimra administrative zone is 125. Three k'ebeles are found in Seqot'a town, the rest are found in the rural areas. According to the Federal Democratic Republic Population Census Commission of Ethiopia (2007:86), the population of Waghimra special zone is 426,038, of which 29,942 live in Seqot'a. The number of people shown above comprises the Non-Khimra and Khimra. The Amhara National Regional State Information Bureau (2001E.C:10) and Andualem (2010:1) indicate that from this total population of 426,038: 199,556.2 (46.84%) are Khimt'anga, 216,938.55 (50.92%) are Amharic and 8,946.798 (2.1%) are Tigriyna speakers. The remaining 596.45 (0.14%) people speak other languages.

According to Waghimra Agriculture Department Office (2002 E.C :3) in Waghimra special zone, the lowest altitude is the Tekeze Desert which is about 1000 metres below sea level. The highest place is Bela Mountain which is about 3715 metres above sea level. It is the highest mountain in Waghimra special zone. The biggest river that demarcates Waghimra special zone with Tigray National Regional State is the Tirari River. The total area of Waghimra is about 805518 hectares. The total land that can be used for farming is 104,708 hectares. The land that can be used for grazing purposes is about 155,067.7. The land covered by forest grassland is about 28,8847 hectares, and the used land covers about 36,482 hectares. The weather of Waghimra zone is a mix of 8% cold, 35% mild and 57% hot. The average annual

rainfall is about 150-750 mm. The highest amount of rain fall is 750mm and the lowest amount of rainfall is about 150mm. This amount of rainfall only appears during the rainy season. In Waghimra Special Zone, the harvesting time is only once a year. However, there are very few places that get a little rain in Spring.

The capital city of the Waghimra special zone is Seqot'a. It is located about 720 km to the North of Addis Ababa. It is about 560 km away from the Amhara National Regional State capital city, Bahir Dar, and about 130 km from Lalibela.

Seqot'a town can be taken as one of the medieval towns of Ethiopia. Pankhurst (1982:182) reports that Seqot'a was the seat of Wagshum[1] and it was one of the well-known old towns of northern Ethiopia in the 19th century. McCann (1987:24) asserts that Seqot'a was the seat of Wagshum for a long time. It was not only the seat of Wagshums, but also served as a trade centre for various community members. MacCann (1987:24) claims that Seqot'a was considered a developed and stable town. This was not only due to its role of administration of Wagshums, but also due to its being the centre of trading stop. Wylde (1901:214) also mentions that Seqot'a was the place of trading for the northern part of Ethiopia. Its market days were Tuesday and Wednesday. According to him, merchants were coming from Lasta, Begemidir, Temben and Inderta. Isenberg and Krapf (1968:488) and Pankhurst (1984:41) also confirm that Seqot'a was the place of marketing.

Alamirew (1986E.C: 6) describes the town of Seqot'a as a market place for Tigray, Begemidir, Gojjam, Amhara, and Wollo. It also served as a centre of commodity exchange. Due to this, the name of the town was well-known for being the place of sharing experiences,

[1] Royal families of Agaw

customs, practices and culture of the Agaw, Amhara, Tigray and other ethnic groups (Alamirew 1986 E.C:14). After interviewing elderly residents of Waghimra, Atsede (1996 E.C: 21) found that in the olden times, different people were coming to Seqot'a, namely: people from Eritrea, Gojjam, Begemidir and Wollo. These people brought various merchandise to Seqot'a such as cloth, red peppers, and salt, and bought honey, butter, cattle, and leather in return. The Amhara traders had settled in the place still called *Amhara Tera*. This name was given by the Amhara settlers due to its being a marketing place.

1.2. THE CUSHITIC LANGUAGE FAMILY

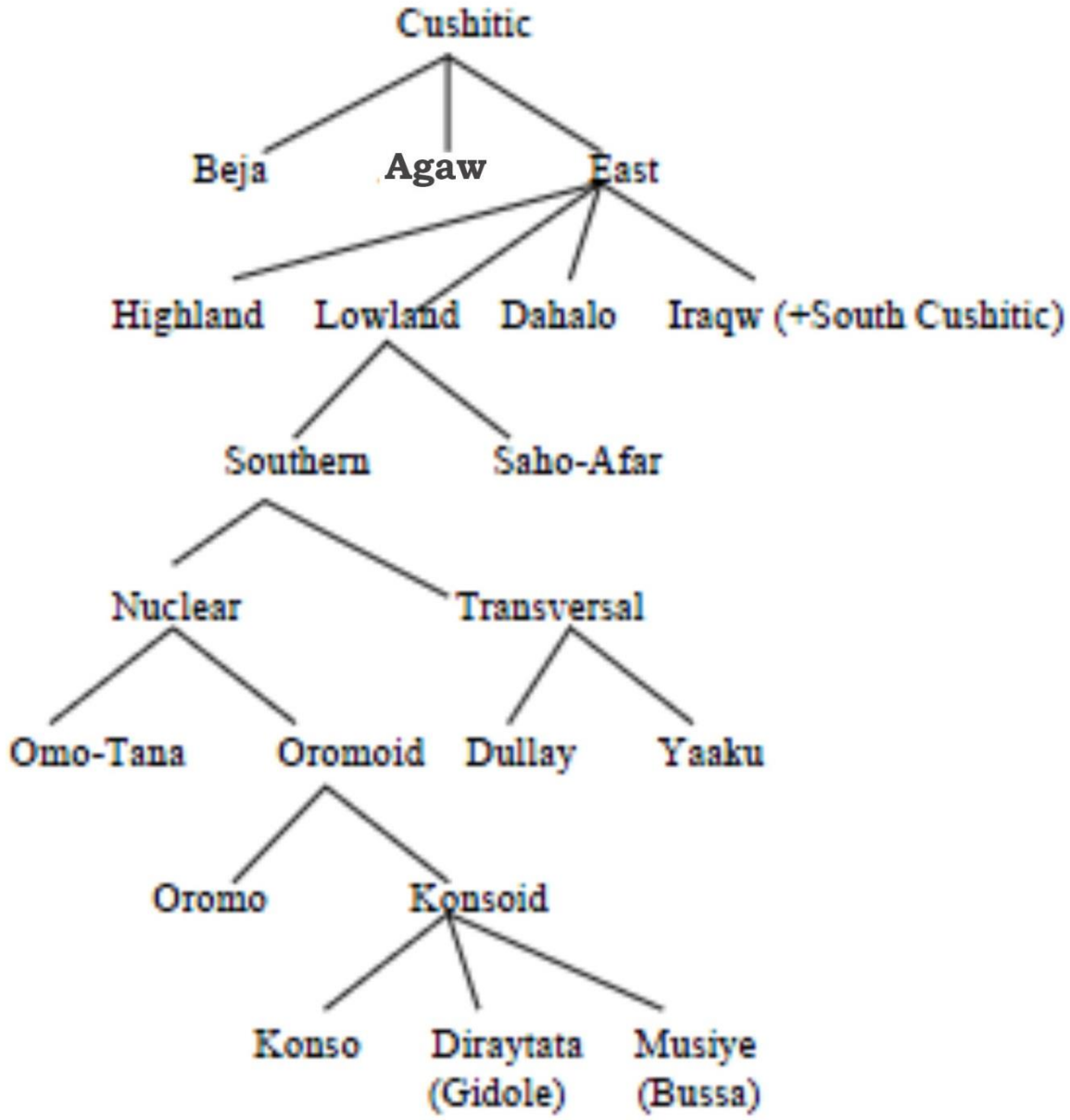
The Cushitic language family belongs to the Afro-Asiatic language phylum (called since Greenberg 1966; also called the "Hamito-Semitic phylum" in Europe), together with Omotic, Semitic, Berber, Chadic, and Ancient Egyptian. According Gordon (2005), there are approximately 47 Cushitic languages, with the classification shown in Figure 1. According to Blench's (2006: 2) classification of the Cushitic languages, they are more than 47. The majority of Central and East Cushitic languages are spoken in Ethiopia (Fleming and Bender 1976: 34), though a small number of them are also spoken outside of Ethiopia. Some Cushitic languages are not spoken in Ethiopia, but only or mainly in other countries such as Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, and Tanzania. The North Cushitic language, Bedawi (also known as Beja or Bedauye) is spoken in Sudan, one of the Southern Cushitic languages, Dahalo, in Kenya, and all the other Southern Cushitic languages in Tanzania. As can be observed in Figure 1 below, the Cushitic language family is divided into four groups, North Cushitic, Central Cushitic, East Cushitic and South Cushitic. The four language groups are shown under the left side of Figure 1, the subgroups are placed in the middle side of Figure 1 and the list of each language is indicated to the right side of Figure 1.

Figure 1: List of Cushitic languages

Family	Subgroup	Language
North		Bedawi (Beja)
Central	North eastern	Khimt'anga (Xamtanga)
	Northern	Bilin
	Southern	Awngi
		Kunfal
	Western	Kemant (Kemantney)
East	Boon	
	Dullay	Bussa
		Gawwada
		Tsamai
	Highland	Alaaba
		Burji
		Gedeo (Darasa)
		Hadiyya
		Kambaata
		Libido
		Sidaama
	Konso-Gidole	Dirasha
		Konso
	Oromo	Garreh-Ajuran
		Orma
		Borana-Arsi-Guji Oromo
		West-Central Oromo
		Sanye
	Rendille-Boni	Boni
		Rendille
	Saho-Afar	Afar
		Saho
	Somali	Darbarre
		Garre
		Jiiddu
		Maay
		Somali
		Tunni
	Western Omo-Tana	Arbore
		Baiso
		Daasanach
		El Molo
	Yaaku	Yaaku
South		Aasáx
		Alagwa
		Burunge
		Dahalo
		Gorowa
		Iraqw
		Kw'adza

Based on their genetic relationship, Tosco (2000: 108) summarizes the subdivsion of the Cushitic language families in the tree diagram in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Subdivision of the Cushitic language family



1.3. THE KHIMT'ANGA LANGUAGE

Khimt'anga belongs to the Central Cushitic group within Afro-Asiatic language family. The Central Cushitic languages (also called Agaw languages) include Bilin spoken in Eritrea (Northern Agaw), Khimt'anga spoken in Wollo (Eastern Agaw), Kemantney spoken

in Gondar (Western Agaw) and Awngi located in Gojjam (Southern Agaw). See Hetzron (1969), Zelealem (2003) and Appleyard (1984a, 1984b, 1987a, 1987b, 1987c, 1987d, 1988a, 1988b, 2006, 2007 and 2011). As mentioned in Section 1.1, the Central Cushitic languages of Ethiopia have been given national recognition by special zones. Appleyard (2006:1) also states that "[w]ith the rise of the new political systems in Ethiopia and Eritrea which give far more recognition to the countries' ethnic diversity, Agaw peoples and their languages have for the first time been given a nationally recognized status. The languages of the Bilin in Eritrea, and of the Awi and Xamɨt' in Ethiopia are now stated regional or nationality languages in their respective countries."

For the sake of clarity, the above text is summarized in Figure 3 below. In order to clearly show the major Central Cushitic languages, I put them in Figure. The Figure is classified as north and south.

Figure 3: The major Central Cushitic Languages (adapted from Hetzron 1969)

Central Cushitic(Agaw) languages

North	South
Bilin	Awngi (Kunfal[2])
Khimt'anga	
Kemant (Kemantney)	

The language Khimt'anga is named differently by different people. For example, the neighbouring Semitic speakers call the language Agawinya, Reinisch (1884) in Appleyard

[2] Regarding the status of the Kunfal (cf. Joswig 2011).

(1987a: 241) Chamir, Conti Rossini (1904) Khamta, Plazikowsky-Brauner (1957) [3] Lasta Agaw. Palmer (1957, 1958, 1960 and1967), Appleyard (1984a, 1984b, 1986, 1987a, 1987b, 1988a, 1988b,1989, 1992, 2006, 2007 and 2011) Zelealem (2003:30) call the language Khamtanga (*χamtaŋa*), In contrast, Andualem *(*2010) and Teshome (2011) call it Khimt'anga (*χɨmt'aŋa*), However, the present study seems to have proved the fieldwork that the native speakers of the language prefer the last name Khimt'anga (*χɨmt'aŋa*).

Khimt'anga consists of six dialects. [4] Among them, Appleyard (1987a: 243) identified four dialects: Ziquala, Sehale, Seqot'a and Abergelle. According to Gebre (1997: 20f), there are also two additional dialects: S'agibji and Telajje. As I mentioned in Section 1.8, my thesis is limited to the S'agibiji dialect.

1.4. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Khimt'anga is one of the well not studied, described and documented languages of Ethiopia. Reference materials on Khimt'anga are limited in number and they seem sketchy in nature. Actually, there are three MA and three BA theses that have tried to focus on the description of morphology and syntax of the language. In addition, there are few available articles conducted by scholars like Darmon (2012, 2014), Gebre (2004), Mengistu(1992) and

[3] I have no access to the works of Reinisch (1884), Conti Rossini (1904) and Plazikowsky-Brauner (1957).

[4] "[…] two speech varieties are said to be dialects of one language if speakers of two varieties can understand one another immediately i.e., with no period of familiarization on the part of either speaker" (Payne 1997: 18).

Appleyard (1987a, 1987b), etc., (cf.1.7) that have focused on the description of grammatical aspects of the language. However, there is importantly none of those works is complete and depth by their nature.

At present, many native speakers of Khimt'anga are communicating mainly using Amharic and Tigriyna instead of their native language; because they are bilinguals in Amharic and Tigriyna (cf.1.2 and 1.8). As a result, Khimt'anga may lose many of its original Cushitic features due to the influence of the neighboring Semitic languages (Amharic and Tigriyna). Therefore, the present work plays a pivotal role to provide a relatively complete and in-depth grammatical description of the language so as to document and preserve with its original Cushitic features.

1.5. OBJECTIVE OF THE STUDY

The general objective of this thesis is to provide an exhaustive grammatical description of Khimt'anga. I am intended to achieve the following specific objectives:

i. To describe the sound system of the language

ii. To analyze the morphology of the language

iii. To identify the lexical categories of the language.

iv. To describe the syntax of the language

1.6. SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Khimt'anga is a written language. Its orthography is prepared in Ethiopic script (Gebre 2004: 21). It is now given as a school subject in 121 schools, and it is used as a medium of

instruction in 106 elementary schools in Waghimra special zone. Currently, it also serves as a medium of instruction in Seqot'a College of Teacher Education of Waghimra special zone at diploma level (cf. Bekale 2012: 317). The presence of a research work like the present one is expected to make the teaching learning process in schools easy

I assume that this descriptive analysis may function as a source of linguistic data for those who are interested in making further analysis of theoretical aspects of the language. It can also be used as a source material for other researchers who are engaged in descriptive and comparative study of Afro-Asiatic in general, and the Cushitic language family in particular. Besides, it may also play an important role in language typology of universal grammar. Since Khimt'anga is one of the least studied, described and little known languages of Ethiopia, it is vital to provide a description of the phonology, morphology and syntax of the language.

To sum up, to the best of my knowledge, this thesis is the first in-depth grammatical description of Khimit'anga which focuses on phonology, morphology and syntax at PhD level in Addis Ababa University. Consequently, it may have its own contribution to the documentation of the language.

1.7. LITERATURE REVIEW

In this section, previous research works which dealt with Khimt'anga are reviewed. There is no full-fledged linguistic description of the grammar of Khimt'anga. Although there are a few works on the parts of the grammar, they are too shallow in their scale and depth. As far as my knowledge is concerned, the following research works are some of the attempts on the grammar of Khimt'nga. There are three research works on Khimt'anga at the BA level

undertaken by Kassie (1972E.C.), Mengistu (1984) and Gebrezgiher (2006). At the MA level, there are also three research works undertaken by Mengistu (1989), Andualem (2010) and Teshome (2011). In addition to the above works, there are also published articles by Appleyard (1987a, 1987b, 1988b), Mengistu (1992) and Darmon (2012, 2014). To the best of my knowledge, these are the only available research works in relation to the grammatical aspects of the language. As can be noticed from the provided descriptions of those works, they are very few in number, and not comprehensive and deep enough.

Kassie (1972 E.C) is written in Ethiopic script. It is not transcribed in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols; as a result, it is difficult for everyone to understand the grammatical aspects of the noun morphology. Mengistu (1984) tries to give descriptions of some aspects of verb inflection and verb derivation. Mengistu not only provides a poor description of the verb morphology of the language, but also fails to properly address the name of the language as "Khamta". As far as my knowledge is concerned, except Teshome's (2011) thesis, all the above mentioned theses are unpublished. Gebrezgiher (2006) attempts to describe some aspects of noun inflection such as number, gender and definiteness.

The other important grammatical descriptions are Appleyard (1987a, 1987b and 1988). The works are sketchy in depth and in length. The fact that Appleyard (1987a:241) briefly stated is that the reason for the poor description is inaccessibility of the native land of the speakers due to lack of time. Consequently, he did not conduct any fieldwork to gather linguistic data. Instead, Appleyard tried to find native speakers of the language in Addis Ababa and Nazret by the support of Addis Ababa University instructors. Therefore, one can understand that grammar aspects of Khimtʾanga were not exhaustively described and well studied.

Although Appleyard (1987a: 241) did not access the native land of the speakers, in the first part of the grammatical sketch, he briefly described the nominal system of the language in four sections: nouns, adjectives, pronouns, and numerals. Appleyard (1987b) in the second grammatical sketch, he presented the verbal system of the language. The description was intended to the derivation and the inflectional morphology of the verb. In describing the derivation of the verb stem, he noted that there are three radical verb extensions for the formation of derived stems from roots. They are the *s*-extension, the *ʃ*-extension, and the *t*-extension. The *s*-extension is connected with the notion of causation. The radical extension *-(ɨ)ʃ-* with its variant *-ʃt-* show the passive of simple transitive verbs. However, the formation of passives with verbs whose roots end in a sibilant (*s, z, ʃ*) do not employ the extension of –(ɨ)ʃ- and *-(ɨ)ʃt-***,** but make use of the t-extension. The derivation of passive extension occurs with the function of a reciprocal marker: *-ʃʃ* which is a doubling of the passive -(ɨ)ʃ**.** A radical extension-t-, like in the function of passives in the restricted context of sibilant final stems, also occurs as a non-productive format on such stems as *aq-r-* 'wash', tər**-** 'come', b-r- 'stand', *si-r-* 'dress oneself', and so on.

The description of Appleyard (1987b) is inflectional morphology of the verb. It is indicated that all verbs are inflected by means of suffixes to show person, number, gender, tense, mood, special subordinate verb forms and separate affirmative and negative paradigms. In addition, Appleyard (1987a: 250) points out that there is accent[5] in the Ziquala and Sehale dialects and the position of the accent is largely a question of morphology. According to him,

[5] However, accent is not attested in both naturally occurring oral texts and elicited data in the present study.

there are a small number of instances of minimal pairs, for accent, for instance in the case of the gender contrasts; however, the special nature of the accented forms are not productive.

Mengistu (1992), discusses the status of bound possessive pronominals in Khimt'anga which are attached to the possessed nouns in the form of clitics in line with government and binding theory.

Darmon (2012) presents a grammatical description of light verb construction in Khimt'anga and in the Ethiopian linguistic area. In her article, she has provided with the analysis of light verb construction in Khimt'anga. She has also shown that the language employs types of lexical bases similar to those found in other Ethiopian languages, and that the light verb of transitive constructions *ʃ-* is probably a frozen form of the causative of 'to say'. In her second part, she has considered light verb constructions a feature of the Ethiopian linguistic area that Ethio-Semitic borrowed from Cushitic. According to the previous studies, she has claimed that transitivity is a relevant criterion to establish a classification of those light verb constructions. The conclusion she has made is that Northern Agaw is likely to have played a pivotal role in the areal diffusion of light verb constructions. She has concluded that this cluster had an influence at a sub-areal level, on Ethio-Semitic languages spoken in the North (Ge'ez, Tigre, Tigrinya, Amharic, Gafat and Kistane). Finally, she has suggested that Northern Agaw is possibly the source of light verb constructions in the whole branch, a hypothesis that would ratify the importance of Agaw as part of the main Cushitic substrate of early Ethio-Semitic. Darmon (2014) in her another work has also given a description of Khimt'anga benefactive applicative periphrases which involve a lexical verb in a converbal form in verb one and using the verb *jɨw-* 'give' in verb two that assigns the semantic role of engager beneficiary to its dative argument.

Sasse (1974) on his part presents a comparative study on case marking in Agaw languages. He has tried to show the common and distinctive features of case marking in Proto-Agaw languages: Bilin, Kemantney and Awngi as a whole.

The following article by Sasse (1974) and whose central point was translated by Joachim Crass[6] shows this grammatical fact.

> Sasse (1974: 57f) basically claims that Kemant (Kemantney) is a marked nominative language such as many East Cushitic languages, e.g. Oromo, Sidaama and Somali. This is in contrast with the other Central Cushitic languages: Bilin and Awngi, which are regular nominative/accusative languages. Then Sasse (1974: 58) suspects that the nominative of Bilin stems from a different source than the nominative of Awngi. Both cases have different morphology. The nominative of Bilin has its origin in the Proto-Agaw "Grundkasus" (that means 'absolutive', = unmarked accusative) of Proto-Agaw. The nominative of Awngi, however, has its origin in the Proto-Agaw "Subjektskasus" (that means 'marked nominative'). Lastly he claims that there is a good reason to hypothesize that the respective "Kasusstruktur" (e.g. case structure, i.e. marked nominative versus absolutive (=unmarked accusative) is part of proto-Cushitic morphology.

Both Mengistu's (1989) and Teshome's (2011) works focus on theoretical aspects of the language. Mengistu (1989) tries to explain the syntactic nature of noun phrase complements of Khimt'anga by employing government and binding rules. Teshome (2011) gives due attention to the syntax of determiners using the recently known and developed theoretical approach of minimalist program. However, the researcher does not make complete descriptions about the language. Instead, he briefly describes only a few parts of the noun morphology such as number, gender, possession. classifier and measure phrases of the noun phrase of the language. Andualem (2010) describes morpho-syntactic and semantic features of complement relations in Khimt'anga based on the functional typological approach.

[6] Joachim Crass is a native German speaker who translated the main ideas of Sasse's (1974) paper as quoted here.

These three MA theses have given due attention to some syntactic aspects of Khimt'anga. Their description was intended to explain the syntactic nature of Khimt'anga.

1.8. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

As noted in Section 1.1, the total number of K'ebeles in Waghimra special zone is 125. Out of this number, the Seqot'a district holds 33 K'ebeles. From this number, the S'agibiji sub-district contains 10 K'ebeles. Namely, Ts'ata, Ch'ere, Badd, Selamge, Shemila, Albeta, Mik'un, It'iqunu, Areshorwa and Zanziba. The former 6 K'ebeles are bilinguals in Khimt'anga, Amharic and Tigrinya; whereas the latter 4 K'ebeles are occupied by Khimt'anga monolingual speakers. These four Khimt'anga speaking areas are the place where my language consultants live. According to the Waghimra higher officials, in the near future, the S'agibiji sub-ditrict will be a potential an independent district of Waghimra special zone.

Almost all Khimt'anga speaking communities live in the entire area of Waghimra special zone. The linguistic data for this thesis is limited to the S'agibiji dialect for two reasons. The first reason for employing the S'agibiji dialect is the availability of relatively large number of monolinguals. In these K'ebeles: Mik'un, It'iqunu, Areshorwa and Zanziba, except for a few elder men, almost all the people are monolinguals in Khimt'anga. None of the women and the youngsters speaks Amharic and Tigiriyna. The second reason is that there are few bilinguals in this dialect area. There are no significant Semitic language speakers that may distort the collected data in this area. On the other hand, in the other dialect areas, there are a relatively large number of Semitic language speakers (Amharic and Tigriyna).

This thesis has also been limited to its focus on the grammatical descriptions of the language. The works done so far on Khimt'anga in relation to grammatical description are limited in number and they are neither deep nor comprehesive in their content. In this thesis, I have attempted to provide in-depth descriptions of phonology, morphology and syntax.

1.9. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURES

In this thesis, I[7] have used a combination of structured elicitation and naturally occurring oral text in the grammatical description of Khimt'anga. "Both text and elicited data are essential to good descriptive linguistics" (Payne 1997: 365). Munro (2002: 103) on her part states that "[e]licitation and textual analysis are important complements to each other. One cannot assume every grammatical structure will show up in a text, so it is important to elicit missing structures directly. On the other hand, texts and conversational data similarly may reveal words and structures that never appear in sentence elicitation." I employed different types of data: cultural games, various activities, narratives, procedures, marriage system, autobiographies and proverbs. Since texts are very helpful in collecting linguistic data, I have given due attention to them and widely employed the data extracted from them. Dixon (2010a: 321) advocates the importance of texts as "lifeblood of linguistic fieldwork." Chelliah and de Reuse (2011: 423) also assert the advantage of the "[d]ata from naturally occurring speech is reliable in that they have not been corrupted by priming or by other translation or elicitation effects, since speakers

[7]In order to show my intrinsic connection with the research to the readers, I mainly use the first person singular in an authoritative manner. "Essentially, what you are attempting to achieve through your writing is an authoritative voice in the academic community" (Daymon and Holloway 2002: 248).

concentrate on the stories rather than on the constructions they are producing. Furthermore, some of the linguistic structures found in texts may never emerge in elicitation […]."

Although I mainly used primary data collected through natural texts and elicitations, this research also benefited from written materials on Khimt'anga and genetically related languages: Bilin, Kemantney and Awngi, too.

Since some of the following materials and other works are resourceful in various linguistic aspects, I mostly used them in different places of the thesis. The linguistic data were mainly elicited by using a linguistic questionnaire outlined by the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Lingua Questionnaire. I mainly employed the recent and most important work of Chelliah and de Reuse (2011), Dixon *(*2010a and 2010b) and Shopen (2007) Vol. 1, Vol.*2*, Vol.*3,* Payne (1997) and other works. The grammatical aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax have carefully been transcribed, translated, analyzed and interpreted based on the collected linguistic data from various sources.

1.9.1. Fieldwork

The data employed in this study were collected in four fieldtrips carried out by me in Waghimra special zone and Addis Ababa, the capital city of Ethiopia. The first fieldtrip was conducted during the period between 15 June 2010 to 25 July 2010. In the first trip of fieldwork, the first and preliminary linguistic research was carried out in Ts'ata, the small town of the S'agibiji Sub-district of Waghimra special zone. The second fieldtrip was conducted between 25 August 2011 to 30 October 2011. In the second fieldtrip, I collected the noun morphology related linguistic data: inflection, nominalization, pronouns, proper names,

adjectives, numerals and postpositions and then transcribed the data. The third fieldtrip was conducted between 27 August 2012 to 30 November 2012. In this trip, I focused mostly on the verbal and syntactic related linguistic data: inflection, derivation, conjuctions, copula constructions, negation, adverbs, word order, noun phrase structure, simple and complex clauses, etc. The fourth fieldtrip was conducted between 28 August 2013 to 31 September 2013. In this phase, I collected additional data that would give more light on linguistic data which are difficult for descriptive analysis, and checked to fill the gaps. Many linguistic consultants[8] have been involved throughout the research period for this thesis. Because of its relative positive connotation to the native speakers, I use the word consultant in this study, instead of informant. In relation to the use of the appropriate word, Munro (2002: 104) claims as follow.

> […] the English word informant has become a euphemism for informer, and […] has acquired all the negative connotations of that word in the minds of most non-academics. I see no reason to apply such a loaded, unpleasant word to the wonderful people who introduce me and my students to the joys of their languages, and I don't allow my students to do so in my hearing. Having to think of a substitute term is positive, since it forces the linguist-or field methods student to evaluate his or her own relationship with the speaker. The normal term I use is "consultant" but often (particularly when the speaker is older) "teacher" is more appropriate. Many of the native speakers who work with me are co-authors of books or papers about their languages; in this case, "collaborator" is probably the best term.

However, Crowley (2008: 86) prefers "the compound 'language-helper'". In the collection of data, both male and female native speakers are involved as consultants. Educated and uneducated consultants also participated in providing me with the linguistic data. Younger as well as elderly members of the speech community, ranging from 20 to 75 years of age are

[8] Chelliah and de Reuse (2011: 165f) also provide some of the terms used to refer to a consultant by quoting various scholars in their work. Some of the alternative mentioned terms are: subject, field assistant, respondent, research assistant, language teacher, research co-investigator/partner/, etc.

also used as consultants. “If the linguist contemplates writing the first description of the grammar of a language, it is important to work with more than one speaker […]” (Munro 2002:109). Chelliah and de Reuse (2011: 181) share Munro’s claim by justifying “[w]orking with several speakers will provide the researcher with points of comparison so that he or she can learn to distinguish between reliable and unreliable data.”

1.9.1.1. Fieldwork in Waghimra special zone

I have conducted fieldtrips in Waghimra special zone four times since 2010. I have spent most of my time in the small town called Ts’ata. My main consultant in Ts’ata is Emahoy Senbetu Aweke with her family members. She was born in 1939 around the Seqot’a district, in the Sub-district of S’agibiji, in Waghimra special zone. Her mother tongue is Khimt’anga, and she is a poor speaker of Amharic as a second language. She is an uneducated widow. She has ten children of which seven are female. All of her children are monolinguals in Khimt’anga, and they are uneducated as well. They all are rich farmers engaged in mixed farming: in rearing livestock such as sheep, goats, cows, etc., and growing various types of crops. They were directly or indirectly involved in the provision of linguistic data. When I collected the data, I used assistants.

Kidanemariam G/Hiwot and Shegaw Kibret who were former students of mine took actively part in the translations. They assisted me in translations during my fieldwork at Ts’ata and Seqot’a towns. Because both of them speak the three languages: English, the lingua franca Amharic and Khimt’anga. “The fieldworker may find an assistant who can speak English and/or another lingua franca, as well as the target language (Chelliah and de Reuse (2011:186)”.

Kidanemariam and Shegaw are currently teachers at the Seqot'a College of Teachers' Education.

Kidanemariam was born in 1989 in the village called Sirel Libanos, around Seqot'a District in Waghimra special zone. He attended church school and served as a Deacon. He completed his elementary and secondary school in a nearby town-Seqot'a. Then, he joined Dilla University where he completed his Bachelor in Curriculum and Instruction in 2009. He has been assigned as a graduate assistant at the Seqot'a College of Teachers' Education. He is trilingual in Khimt'anga, Amharic and English.

Shegaw was born in 1990, in the village called Fayamariam, around Seqot'a District, in Waghimra special zone. Like Kidanemariam, he attended church school and served as a Deacon. He completed his elementary and secondary school in a nearby town-Seqot'a. Then, he joined Bahir Dar University to do his Bachelor degree in Natural Science Education. After he earned Bachelor of Education in Chemistry in 2008, he is assigned as a graduate assistant in the Seqot'a College of Teachers' Education. Like Kidanemariam, he is trilingual in Khimt'anga, Amharic and English.

In addition, W/ro. Zewditu Assefa is another important consultant who provided me with linguistc data in Seqot'a and Addis Ababa. Since she is willing to come to Addis Ababa to provide the data, I have brought her to my home, and I have worked with her for threc consecutive weeks. She was born in 1955, in the village called Ak'im-Yohannes, around Seqot'a District, in Waghimra special zone. She is a widow and her mother tongue is Khimt'anga. She is also an eloquent speaker of Amharic. She allowed me to record valuable oral texts and elicitations.

The research procedures adopted in Ts'ata and Seqot'a are almost similar to the mentioned below in Addis Ababa in section 1.9.3.2. This is to mean that it includes the translation of Khimt'anga into English and Amharic languages, and vise-versa, free composition, correcting my composition, recording and analyzing oral texts, and so on.

1.9.1.2. Fieldwork in Addis Ababa

In Addis Ababa, two key consultants mostly involved in providing me with linguistic data. One of my key consultants was a university student Ezira Dereje. He was born in 1990 in a village called Dere in the S'agibiji sub-district which belongs to the Waghimra special zone. As a child, he attended church school. Later, he completed his elementary and secondary school in a nearby town called Seqot'a. He is currently (2014) a fouth year Law student at Addis Ababa University. Ezira's mother tongue is Khimt'anga. In addition, he speaks both Amharic and English fluently. Ezira's superb talent and cooperation provided me with detailed and reliable data during my stay in Addis Ababa. His contribution includes, for example, translating from Khimt'anga into Amharic or English sentences, composing sentences that meet the conditions provided by me, checking and correcting my composition of sentences, and so on. In addition, Ezira provided me with rich oral texts of the language, helped me to check my transcriptions and translation, and analyzed on his own texts told by uneducated consultants.

My other key consultant was the late Dr. Alamrew G/Hiwot, who was born in 1953 in a village called T'ashimenel Ghiorgis in the S'agibiji sub-district which belongs to the Waghimra special zone. His mother tongue was Khimt'anga, he also spoke Amharic with native competence. He spoke mainly Khimt'anga and sometimes Amharic with his family members, who are all Khimt'anga native speakers. Like Ezira, he started his schooling with church

education. Later, he attended primary school in Seqot'a at Wagshum Admasu Wessen Primary School. In 1963, he graduated from the W/ro Sehin Senior Secondary School in Dessie, the capital town of the former province of Wollo. He participated in the literacy campaign as an instructor, where he taught Khimt' adults how to read and write the Ethiopic script and basic arithmetic. Later, he joined Addis Ababa University for his Bachelor degree. After he received the degree Bachelor of Arts in Political Science and International Relations in 1971, he moved to Bahir Dar, where Amharic is widely spoken as a mother tongue, and worked as a civil servant. Having served for four years, he resigned to study for his PhD degree in Bulgaria. He obtained a doctorate degree in the same field of specialization. After finishing his PhD, he worked in various offices in Addis Ababa and Bahir Dar. Later, he was an assistant professor in Civil Service University until he died in July 2013 of heart attack.

The late Dr. Alamirew developed teaching materials for Khimt'anga, including an orthography in Ethiopic script (or Fidel). He also wrote a brief history of khimt' people in Amharic. The late Alamrew contributed a lot to this PhD thesis. He provided various linguistic data both in the form of oral texts and elicitations. He helped me as a translator, story teller, a Khimt'anga language teacher, a facilitator and advisor for the fieldtrips. Unfortunately having provided me with some linguistic data, and discussing various linguistic related issues with me, he passed away because of heart attack on 19 July 2013.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

In this chapter, the speech sounds of Khimt'anga are identified and described. Furthermore, co-occurrence of sounds, syllable structure, and some morphophonemic processes are discussed. Except doubling phonemes, instead of using a colon to represent geminate consonants, in the transcription, I mainly employed the IPA conventions in its revised version of 2005.

2.1. CONSONANTS

Before I present the detailed description of Khimt'anga consonants, I make a few general remarks about them. The evidence for this conclusion shall be provided in the following sections. The 33 consonants of Khimt'anga are presented in Table 1. Appleyard (1987a: 246) lists 31 consonants. In this thesis, two additional consonant sounds are found, namely *β* and *ɲ*.

The consonants are grouped into seven manners of articulation: plosives, affricates, fricatives, nasals, trill, lateral approximant and approximants. Plosives, affricates and fricatives have a three way distinction between voiceless, voiced and ejective.

Even though the frequency of occurrence differs from consonant to consonant, all consonant sounds except ŋ^{w} occur word initially, medially and finally. *ŋ^{w}* occurs only in word medial and word final position. The language does not allow more than one consonant in word initial position, but it permits clusters of two consonants in word medial and word final position.

Gemination is phonemic. All consonants except: χ, χ^w, k^w, g^w, q^w, k'^w,[9] η^w and *h* can be geminated. Like the genetically related languages: Bilin, Kemantney and Awngi in Appleyard (2006), all the labialized χ, χ^w, k^w, g^w, q^w, k'^w,[10] η^w and the two fricative consonants χ and h are not attested in geminate forms.

Table 1: Consonant phonemes

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	velar	Labiovelar	uvular	Labio-uvular	Glottal
Plosives	vl			t		k	k^w	q	q^w	
	vd	b		d		g	g^w			
	ej			t’		k’	k'^w			
Affricates	vl				tʃ					
	vd				dʒ					
	ej				tʃ’					
Fricatives	vl		f	s	ʃ			χ	χ^w	h
	vd	β		z						
	ej			s’						
Nasals		m		n	ɲ	ŋ	$ŋ^w$			
Trill				r						
Lateral-approximant Approximants		w		l	j					

2.1.1. Description of the consonant phonemes

The description of the consonant sounds of Khimtanga is presented below. When verbs are included in the examples, they are in the citation form or the bare form of the imperative which are the least marked verbal form of the language. The order is based on the manner of articulation of the sounds in the language.

[9] It is attested as a geminate form in plural formation, but not lexically attested (cf. Section 3.2.1.3.8).

2.1.1.1. Plosives

Khimtanga contains one bilabial, three alveolar, three labio-velars, three velar, one labio-uvular and one uvular plosive. The alveolar, velar and labio-velar plosives appear in the series contrasting with voiceless, voiced and ejective. The descriptions and examples of each plosive consonant are shown in (1).

The voiced bilabial plosive *b* occurs in all three positions, word initially, word medially and word finally as presented in (1).

(1)

ba 'curdled milk'	*χabəʃə* 'bread'	*dib* 'a thigh'
bigə 'a sheep'	*abɨk'ə* 'a kind of tree'	*gɨb* 'a stick'

The voiceless alveolar plosive *t* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(2)

tunə 'spring season'	*bitɨlə* 'a rabbit'	*dɨχɨt* 'poverty'
tətunə 'a cock'	*mɨk'ətə* 'a weaver'	*sɨdɨt* 'displacement'

The voiced alveolar plosive *d* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(3)

dəwɨsə 'millet'	*adərə* 'God'	*məd* 'dining table'
darɨwə 'mud'	*adɨr* 'chickpea'	*kɨnd-* 'learn'(v)

The voiceless alveolar glottalized plosive *t'* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(4)

t'ijə	'smoke' (n)	*abɨt'ə*	'a locust'	*dʒɨt'*	'a buttock'
t'ak'ət	'near '	*bat'ə*	'split'(n)	*awɨt'*	'a hair style'

The voiceless velar plosive *k* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(5)

mɨkən	'a church'	*aβɨkə*	'fenugreek'	*ʃɨk-*	'be light'(v)
kiw	'home'	*ʃɨkə*	'light'	*tək-*	'resemble' (v)

The voiceless labialized-velar plosive k^w mostly occurs in word initial and word medial positions. In word final position, it occurs only in a handful of examples.

(6)

k^w*əkulə*	'a bonus'	*mik^{w}ətə*	'dough'	*lɨk^w*	'a leg'
dɨk^{w}ə	'a one legged chair'	*ak^{w}ə*	'five'		

The voiced velar plosive *g* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(7)

ga 'a cave'	*gas'* 'a face'	*wigə* 'a thing'	*sig* 'a back'
gab 'a side'	*gals'-* 'choose'	*dɨga* 'a corner'	*təg* 'a gum'

The voiced labio-velar plosive g^w occurs in all three positions. In word final position, it is attested only rarely.

(8)

g^{w}idɨrə 'a worm'	*s'ɨg^{w}ənə* 'young woman'	*s'ig^w* 'lesser'
g^{w}anə 'a team'	*mig^{w}ɨnə* 'cooking stove'	*sig^w-* 'pounder' (v)

The voiceless velar glottalized plosive *k'* frequently occurs in all three positions: in word initial, word medial and word final.

(9)

k'əbɨrə 'a rope'	*mɨkk'ətə* 'a weaver'	*sak'* 'a goatpen'
k'əsəw 'good'	*s'akk'ətə* 'a hairdresser'	*nək'* 'give me' (IMP)

The voiceless labialized-velar glottalized *k'ʷ* occurs in word initial, word medial and word final positions. However, it does not frequently occur word final position as it does in word initial and word medial positions.

(10)

k'ʷəf 'a hat'	*χak'ʷənə* 'an end product'	*ɨrk'ʷ* 'a tooth'
k'ʷəʃʃə 'an addition'	*ɨs'ɨk'ʷənə* 'a women's belt'	*t'ark'ʷ* 'a sister in law'

The voiceless uvular plosive *q* occurs in all the three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(11)

qɨs'ɨŋə 'theft'	*dɨqɨnə* 'a goitre'	*laq* 'a tongue'
qɨrɨŋə 'stone'	*aqɨs'ə* 'a crocodile'	*as'aq-* 'send (v)

The voiceless labialized-uvular plosive q^w mainly occurs word initially and word medially. In word final position, it is attested only rarely.

(12)

q^w*əs'ɨlə* 'a fox'	$q^w aq^w$*ɨrə* 'crazy'	aq^w 'water'
q^w*ɨtʃ'ɨrə* 'a penis'	*abəq*^{w}*a* 'giant'	*s'aq*^{w} 'trench'

2.1.1.2. Affricates

The three affricates are considered to be single sounds. They are produced in palatal place of articulation. The phonemes are: *tʃ, dʒ* and *tʃ'*. The following examples illustrate the occurrences of the affricates. The voiceless palatal affricative *tʃ* occurs in all three positions, i.e, word initially, word medially and word finally.

(13)

ʈʃin	'a bull'	*awɨtʃɨnə*	'a cat'	*qɨtʃ*	'an estate'
ʈʃɨgɨre	'a razorblade'	*mɨtʃə*	'a mouth'	*mɨtʃ-*	'suit' (v)

The voiced palatal affricative *dʒ* occurs in all three positions, i e, word initially, word medially and word finally.

(14)

dʒɨrenə	'a guinea fowl'	*mɨdʒi*	'a girl'	*χarədʒ*	'Adam's apple'
dʒi	'a horn'	*s'adʒɨnə*	'an eland'	*d54ʒ-*	'ripen'(v)

The voiceless palatal glottalized affricative *tʃ'* occurrs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(15)

ʈʃ'arə	'a summer'	*mitʃ'ə*	'dough'	*ʃəwɨtʃ'*	'a week'
ʈʃ'ək'ərə	'a reptile'	*fɨtʃ'irə*	'a goat'	*nɨtʃ'*	'today'

2.1.1.3. Fricatives

Khimtanga has nine fricatives*: β, f, s, z, s', ʃ,* χ^w, χ and *h* which are found in seven places of articulation. The fricatives are one bilabial *β*, one labio-dental *f*, three alveolars *s, z, s'*, one

palatal *ʃ*, one labialized uvular χ^w, one uvular χ and one glottal *h* based on their place of articulation, respectively.

Many fricatives do not occur in the series containing voiced and voiceless members. Among the fricatives in the language, except the alveolar phonemes, all the remaining fricative sounds do not have their own voiced and voiceless counterparts. For instance, the bilabial fricative *β* does not have its voiceless counterpart. The labio-dental fricative, the palatal fricative, the labio-uvular fricative, the uvular fricative and the glottal fricative which are *f, ʃ,* χ^w, χ and *h*, respectively do not have their own voiced counterparts. However, the alveolar fricative member contains one ejective sound; consequently, the alveolar fricative series has three members: voiced, voiceless and ejective.

The voiced bilabial fricative *β* occurs in all three positions, i.e., word initially, word medially and word finally. Whereas its occurrence in word initial position limited in number, it frequently occurs in medial and final positions. This sound was not reported as a phoneme by (Appleyard 1987a: 246). However, according to Appleyard (1975: 317), the bilabial plosive *b* in Kemantney has a fricative allophone *β* occurring in all positions except word initially. This grammatical fact may be one of the distinguishing factors that differs Khimt'anga from its sister language Kemantney. See the following examples that show this linguistic fact.

(16)

βar-	'write, read'(v)	*gɨβər*	'an half'	*s'aβ*	'milk'
βɨβə	'snail'	*niβɨsɨtə*	'a mammal'	*lɨβ*	'an udder'

The voiceless labio-dental fricative *f* occurs in word initial, word medial and word final position.

(17)

fəlfələ	'a feather'	*əfərə*	'a child'	*kif*	'awing'
fəkk'ənə	'a comb'	*gɨfə*	'a common cold'	*gɨrf*	'a garden'

The voiceless alveolar fricative *s* frequently occurs in all three positions, i.e, word initially, word medially and word finally.

(18)

sələ	'a knife'	*bɨsɨrə*	'lentil'	*k'əs*	'a priest'
sɨwɨrt'ə	'an onion'	*dəwɨsə*	'millet'	*məs*	'lightening'

The voiced alveolar fricative *z* occurs in all three positions, i.e., Word initially, word medially and word finally.

(19)

zədʒɨrə	'a baboon'	*bizənəˀ*	'a key'	*liz-*	'cry' (v)
zinə	'a relative'	*dʒizənə*	'a broom	*miz*	'mead'

The voiceless alveolar glottalized fricative *s'* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(20)

s'əqərə	'a beggar'	*was'ə*	'a mat'	*gas'*	'a face'
s'ak'ə	'a grass'	*arfas'ə*	'a termite hill'	*ŋas'*	'a bone'

The voiceless labio-dental fricative *ʃ* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally. The data illustrate this linguistic fact in the following examples.

(21)

ʃɨq	'a liver'	*χaʃɨt*	'a lie'	*χɨʃ*	'but'
ʃaq^{w}ə	'three'	*χabəʃə*	'bread'	*k'ɨbɨʃ-*	'remove'(v)

The voiceless uvular fricative *χ* occurs in all three positions: Word initially, word medially and word finally.

(22)

χɨrtə 'sleeping'	*aχɨr* 'a strap'	*gaχ-* 'confront' (v)
χar 'a night'	*liχan* 'a wound'	*taχ* 'coughing'

The voiceless labio-uvular fricative χ^w occurrs only word initially and word medially. It never occurs in word final position.

(23)

χ^{w}ɨrə 'food'	*dɨχ^{w}arə* 'a donkey'
χudə 'a vagina'	*dɨχ^{w}anə* 'a bedbug'

In this thesis, I have tried to check whether the voiceless glottal fricative *h* is a phoneme of Khimt'anga or not by contrasting the data used in Appleyard (1987a: 246) and the present data collected in the fieldwork. The native speakers use this sound in their speech. As to Appleyard, the two words *hagɨr* 'country' and *has'ɨr* 'fence' were some of the sources of the data for the presence of *h*, but all my consultants have pronounced these two words as *χagɨr* 'country' and *χas'ɨr* 'fence', respectively. Instead, I have attested the presence of *h* as a phoneme of this language by providing examples from the collected data. *h* occurs in all three positions, word initially, word medially and word finally. The following examples illustrate the presence of *h*as a phoneme.

(24)

hɨr	'a large cliff'	*ruhe*	'instinct, life'	*nəh-* 'narrate'(v)
halə	'a voice'	*halha*	'a prostitution'	

2.1.1.4. Nasals

Khimtanga has five nasal phonemes in five places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, palatal, labio-velar and velar. These are *m, n, ɲ, ŋ* and *ŋ*^{w}, respectively in their places of articulation. The following examples illustrate the occurrences of nasal phonemes. The bilabial nasal *m* occurs in all three positions, i.e, word initially, word medially and word finally.

(25)

məjɨr 'a sickle'	*s'amə* 'a shadow'	*χɨm* 'beard'
maluzə 'a monk'	*ami* 'a thorn'	*t'am-* 'taste' (v)

The alveolar nasal *n* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(26)

nazə 'moth'	*tɨχɨnə* 'health'	*gɨzan* 'flour'
nitʃ' 'today'	*sɨnə* 'butter'	*əzən* 'heart'

The palatal nasal *ɲ* was not listed as phoneme by Appleyard (1987a: 246). No example was not given using the phoneme *ɲ* in Appleyard's grammatical description. However, in the present study, I claim the *ɲ* to be a phoneme. Based on the evidence in the data, it occurs in word initial, word medial and very rarely in word final position. Except in word initial position, it occurs in geminated form.

(27)

ɲar 'a sharp loud cry'	*gəɲɲə* 'a hockey small hard ball'	*wɨlβɨɲɲ*	'fresh sorghum'
ɲarɨj 'loudly cry'	*jɨɲɲə̀* 'my mother'	*ɲiɲɲ-*	'disagree' (v)

The velar nasal *ŋ* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(28)

ŋəŋ 'he'	*wərəŋə* 'what'	*taliŋ* 'hope'
ŋa 'brain'	*liŋə* 'two'	*gɨzɨŋ* 'a dog'

The labio-velar nasal $ŋ^w$ only occurs in word medial and word final positions. In the data collected in this research no sample has been attested in word initial position.

(28)

ɨrɨŋ^w*a* 'a tear'	*t'ɨŋ*^{w} 'an anus'
aŋ^w*a* 'rigged person'	*biŋ*^{w} 'a pit'

2.1.1.5. Liquids

Khimt'anga has two liquids: namely, the alveolar trill *r* and the lateral approximant /. The alveolar trill *r* occurs in all three positions, i.e, word initially, word medially, and word finally, its occurrence in word initial position being very restricted.

(30)

ruhe 'instinct, life'	*sərəw* 'red'	*mizɨr* 'an eyewitness'
	s'amɨrə 'a friend'	*tir* 'breast bone'

The alveolar lateral approximant *l* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(31)

lələ 'a bee'	*sələ* 'a knife'	*əl* 'an eye'
la 'hundred'	*məluzə* 'a monk'	*ɨwɨlɨwɨl* 'a navel'

2.1.1.6. Approximants

There are two approximants, namely the labio-velar *w* and the palatal *j*. The labio-velar approximant *w* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(32)

waqə 'how many'	*awɨr* 'a head'	*niw* 'a calf'
wik'ə 'a hyena'	*wəjə* 'a price'	*aw* 'who'

The palatal approximant *j* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(33)

jəj 'yes'	*ajɨr* 'new'	*χajj* 'look after'
jan 'I'	*s'əjənə* 'a handle'	*səj* 'flee' (v)

2.1.2. Minimal pairs of consonants

In order to decide whether a speech sound is a phoneme of a given language or not, it is vital to contrast its distribution in different positions of words using minimal pairs. **"**The phonemes of a particular language are those minimal distinct units of sound that can distinguish meaning in that language" (Salmani-Nodoushan 2005: 9f). According to Fallon (2009: 14**)** "[t]he minimal pair test is a fundamental test of the phonemic status of sounds"**.**

For determining their level of phonemic status, the consonants are arranged based on their manner of articulation. Katamba (1989:22) claims that "[t]he MINIMAL PAIR TEST (i.e. the method of determining that a single sound difference distinguishes the meanings of two words) is a key principle of phonemic analysis. Sounds are classified as separate phonemes if they are responsible for a difference in meaning in a minimal pair." He also asserts the

importance of suspicious pairs "[a]s a rule, methods for determining whether or not sounds belong to the same phoneme are only employed where SUSPICIOUS PAIRS[11] have been identified, that is to say, pairs of words containing sounds which only differ slightly and which can plausibly be members of the same phoneme"(Katamba: 23). Each Khimt'anga consonant sound suspiciously contrasts with possible consonant sound in the following data.

(34) *b* and *β*

bat' 'a place' *abə* 'a mountain' *s'ab* 'a shoe'
βət' 'a sarcasm' *aβə* 'gold' *s'aβ* 'milk'

(35) *t* and *d*
tər- 'come' (v)
dər- 'love' (v)

(36) *ŋ* and *n*
ŋəŋ 'he'
nən 'now'

(37) k^w and g^w
k^w*ij* 'stopper'
g^w*ij* 'pick'

(38) *ŋ* and *ɲ*
ɲar 'a sharp loud cry of a baby'
ŋar ' his cereals'

(39) $g^w$and *g*
g^w*iz-*'plough' (v)
giz- 'dig' (v)

(40) *g* and *ŋ*
ga 'a cave'
ŋa 'a brain'

(41) q^w and k^w
dɨq^w*ə* 'a kind of beer made of barley'
dɨk^w*ə* 'a one legged chair made of wood'

(42) *t'* and *k'*
k'ɨt'ə 'a kind of bread'
t'ɨt'ə 'cotton'

(43) k'^w and k^w
ak^w*ə* 'five'
ak'^w*ə* 'an edible tree'

(44) *β* and *f*
arβə 'the moon'
arfə 'a month'

(45) *tʃ* and *tʃ'*
tʃɨŋ- 'find'
tʃ'ɨŋ- 'call'

(46) *s* and s'
sɨbɨrə 'a snake'
s'ɨbɨrə 'ash'

(47) *tʃ'* and *dʒ*
tʃ'- 'spend the night'
dʒ- 'ripen'

(48) *s* and *z*
siβ-'spear'(v)
ziβ-dance'(v)

(49) *w* and *j*
sɨwə 'rain'
s'ɨjə 'a flower'

(50) *r* and *l*
-gure 'a husband'
gule 'a king'
s'ale 'aTigiryna speaking person'
s'are 'a mornig sun'

2.1.3. Summary of distribution of consonants

In Table 2, Table 3, Table 4 and Table 5, I have summarized the distributions of various positions of consonants in words, with respect to the occurrence of phonemes word initial, word medial and word final positions. One can see the distribution of consonants by grouping them

[11] Enphasis belomgs to the author.

using their manner of articulation which is one of the basic features of speech sounds. These are plosives, affricates, fricatives, nasals, liquids and approximates. Each category shows the distribution of consonant phonemes in three columns. The words of the first column show the distribution of phonemes in word initial position. The second column illustrates the distribution in word medial position and the third column shows the distribution in word final position.

As can be seen from Table 2, all the plosives occur word initially, word medially and word finally. In Table 2, there are twelve plosive consonants. Among these plosive sounds, there are nine pulmonic and three non-pulmonic phonemes.

Table 2: Plosives and their distribution

Sound	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
b	*bɨt'* 'soil'	*dəbərə* 'a dove'	*dib* 'a thigh'
t	*tunə* 'a spring season'	bitɨlə 'a rubbit'	kot 'happiness'
d	*dəwɨsə* 'millet'	*adərə* 'God'	*məd* 'a dining table '
t'	*t'ɨjə* 'smoke' (n)	*aβɨt'ə* 'a locust'	*dʒit'* 'a buttock'
k^w	*$_k{}^w$əkulə* 'a bonus'	*ak^{w}a* 'five'	*lɨk^w* 'a leg'
k	*kirβɨnə* 'a drum'	*mɨkən* 'a church'	*tək-* 'get resemble (v)
g^w	*g^{w}idɨrə* 'a worm'	*dɨg^{w}ənə* 'a dirt matter'	*s'ɨg^w* 'lesser
g	*gab* 'a side'	*dɨga* 'a corner'	*təg* 'a gum'
k'^{w}	*k'^{w}at'ə* 'a four legged chair made of leather'	*ɨs'ɨk'^{w}ənə* 'a woman belt'	*t'ark'^{w}* 'a sister-in- law'
k'	*k'əbɨrə* 'a rope'	*s'ɨbɨk'ə* 'a hair'	*sak'* 'a goat pen '
q^w	*q^{w}as'ə* 'an animal food'	*ɨq^{w}asəw* 'funny'	*aq^w* 'water'
q	*qas'ɨŋə* 'theft'	*aqi* 'inside'	*laq* 'a tongue'

As shown in Table 3, there are three affricate consonants. From three affricate sounds, two of them are pulmonic: *ʧ, dʒ* and one is non-pulmonic *ʧ'*. All three affricate consonants occur word initially, word medially and word finally.

Table 3: Affricates and their distribution

sound	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
tʃ	*tʃin* 'a bull '	*awɨtʃɨnə* 'cat'	*qɨtʃ* 'an estate'
dʒ	*dʒɨrenə* 'a guinea fowl'	*s'adʒɨnə* 'an eland'	*χarədʒ* 'Adam's apple'
tʃ'	*tʃ'ək'ərə* 'a reptile'	*mitʃ'ə* 'dough' '	*nitʃ'* 'today'

As can be seen in Table 4, there are eight pulmonic consonants and one non-pulmonic sound *s'*. Except the labio-uvular sound χ^w all the fricative sounds occur in all three positions. However χ^w occurs only in word initial and word medial position. It never occurs in word final position.

Table 4: Fricatives and their distribution

Sound	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
b	*βarə* 'a letter' *βənə* 'an order'(n)	*gɨβər* 'a half' *niβi* 'a dream'	*mizɨβ* 'a yoke' *s'aβ* 'milk'
f	*fəlfələ* 'a feather'	*gɨrfə* 'a common cold'	*kif* 'a wing'
s	*sarə* 'honey'	*bɨsɨrə* 'lentil'	*nəs* 'a castle'
z	*zəqənə* 'a mill'	*bizənə* 'a key '	*miz* 'mead'
s'	*s'ak'ə* 'a grass'	*was'ə* 'a mat'	*gas'* 'a face'
ʃ	*ʃɨq* 'a liver'	*wiʃəw* 'deaf'	*ajjaʃ* 'otherwise '
χ^w	χ^w*aj* 'eat' (IMP)	*diχ*^{w}*anə* 'a bedbug '	-
χ	*χar* 'night'	*lɨxan* 'a wound'	*sɨnχ* 'an unstable person'
h	hɨr 'a long cliff'	*halhal* 'a leaky house'	*nəh-* 'narrate (V)

As shown in Table 5, there are five nasals, two liquid and two approximant consonants. Among the nasal consonant phonemes *m*, *n*, *ŋ* and *ɲ* occur in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally. However, $ŋ^w$ does not occur in all three positions.The collected data show that it occurs word medially and word finally. It does not occur word initially. The liquids and the approximants occur word initially, word medially and word finally.

Table 5: Nasals, liquids and approximants and their distribution

Sound	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
m	*məjɨlə* 'sorghum'	*s'ɨmɨr* 'a tail'	*χim* 'a beard'
n	*nazə* 'a moth'	*sɨnə* 'butter'	*mɨkən* 'a church'
ɲ	*ɲar* 'a sharp loud cry of a baby'	*jiŋŋə* 'a mother'	*wɨlβiŋŋ* 'a roasted fresh sorghum'
ŋ^{w}	-	*aŋ^{w}a* 'a rigged person'	*t'iŋ^{w}* 'an anus'
ŋ	*ŋas'* 'a bone'	*liŋə* 'two'	*taliŋ* 'hope'
r	*ruhe* 'a life'	*s'amɨrə* 'a friend'	*tar* 'a word'
l	*lijə* 'fire'	sələ 'a knife'	*əl* 'an eye'
w	*wik'ə* 'a hyena'	*t'ɨwənə* 'an entrance'	*niw* 'a calf'
j	*jan* 'I'	*ajir* 'new'	*s'aj-* 'hold'(v)

2.1.4. Gemination

Most of the consonants of Khimtanga have geminate counterparts. Except *g^{w}*, *k^{w,} q^{w}*, *ŋ^{w}*, *χ^{w}*, *χ*, *k'^{w}* and *h*, all the consonants have their own geminate counterparts. It is mostly possible word medial position and very rarely word final positions to occur geminate consonant. Gemination is not allowed at word initial position. Table 6 shows geminate and non-geminate consonants.

Table 6: List of geminated and non-geminated consonants

Geminate Phonemes	Word Medially and Finally	Geminate Phonemes	Word Medially and Finally
bb	*gɨbbɨnə* 'a lizard'	χχ^{w}	-
tt	*tuttɨlə* 'horn' (blown)	χχ	-
dd	*k'ədd-* 'tear' (v)	tʃtʃ	*wɨtʃtʃə* 'boxing'
kk^{w}	-	dʒdʒ	*χadʒdʒə* 'a lamb'
kk	*kəkkaq-* 'get ugly' (v)	tʃtʃ'	*mɨtʃtʃ'u* 'a nagging person'
gg^{w}	-	Mm	*t'amm-* 'stager' (v)
gg	*ʃəgg-* 'beautify' (v)	Nn	*ginn-* 'dictate' (v)
qq^{w}	-	ŋŋ^{w}	-
qq	*χaqqonə* 'a shovel'	ŋŋ	*s'əŋŋ-* 'travel' (v)
tt'	*bɨtt'a* 'a louse'	ɲɲ	*-iɲɲə* 'a mother'
kk'^{w}	-	rr	*gurrə* 'a throat'
kk'	*s'akk'ə* 'barbering'	ll	*ŋillə* 'alone'
ββ	*gɨββ-* 'sharpen (v)	-	-
ff	*k'iff-* 'slaughter' (v)	ww	*duwwə* 'a tuft'(of grass)
ss	*k'ass* 'setback'	hh	-
zz	*sizzə* 'four'	-	-
ʃʃ	*k'^{w}əʃʃə* 'an addition'	-	-
ss'	*əss'ə* 'a curse'	*jj*	*dəjj-* 'delay' (v)

Gemination is phonemic. It occurs lexically. Table 7 shows the phonemic feature of geminate consonants.

Table 7: List of minimal pairs of geminated and non-geminated consonants

bb	*kibb-* 'siege' (v)	ss'	*əss'ə* ' a curse'
b	*kib-* 'get cold' (v)	s'	*əs'ə* 'a fate'
kk	*kəkkaq-* 'get ugly' (v)	tʃtʃ'	*mɨtʃtʃ'u* 'a nagging person'
k	*kakaq-* 'dicotisize' (v)	tʃ'	*mɨtʃ'u* 'sharp'
gg	*ʃɨgg-* 'grow' (v)	nn	k^w*ijɨnn* 'defame' (v)
g	ʃɨg- 'frustrate' (v)	n	k^w*ijɨn* 'construct' (v)
tt'	*bɨtt'a* 'a louse'	mm	*ammɨr* 'next year'
t'	*bɨt'a-* 'a place'	m	*amɨr* 'tomorrow'
kk'	*tʃəkk'-* 'contest'(v)	rr	*s'arr-* 'brighten' (v)
k'	*tʃək'-* 'spoil' (v)	r	*s'ar-* 'oath' (v)
ββ	*siββ-* 'tattoo'(v)	ll	*ləllə* 'dirty'
β	*siβ -* 'spear ' (v)	l	*lələ* 'a bee'
ss	*k'əss-* 'setback'	jj	*χajjɨnə* 'coward'
s	*kəs-* 'priest'	j	*χajɨnə* 'look after'
zz	*χazzə-* ' kind of food'	ww	*duwwə* 'tuft'(of grass)
z	*χazə-* 'a fish'	w	*duwə* 'a kind of incense'

In addition to lexical gemination, there is also an assimilation type of gemination. Due to the suffixation of causativizer morpheme, gemination through assimilation is observed, regressively.

As shown the data in the examples (51a-b), the voiced alveolar fricative sound *z* becomes the voiceless alveolar fricative sound *s* due to the influence of the neighbouring causitivizer suffix-s. Consequently, gemination is occurred due to complete assimilation process regressively.

(51)

a. /g^{w}iz-Ø-u/ → [g^{w}is-s-Ø-u]
Plough-3SG.M-PRV Plough-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'He ploughed.' 'He got someone plough.'

b. /abɨz-Ø-u/ → [abɨs-s-Ø-u]
finish-3SG.M-PRV finish-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'He finished something.' 'He got someone finish something.'

One can also see gemination by assimilation in data (52a-b).The voiceless alveolar plosive sound *t* becomes the voiceless alveolar fricative sound *s* by the influence of the neighbouring causitivizer suffix-*s*. So, one can understand that gemination can occur by the assimilation process.

(52)

a /gort-Ø-u/	→ [gor-Ø-ɨ-ss-u]
hate-3SG.M-PRV	hate-3SG.M-EP-CAUS-PRV
'He hated someone.'	'He caused someone to hate someone.'
b./sɨkɨt-Ø-u/	→ [sɨkɨs-s-Ø-u]
dislike-3SG.M-PRV	dislike-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'He disliked.'	'He caused someone to dislike.'

Gemination does not only occur lexically and by assimilation type, but also grammatically. It plays a major role in the plural formation. For instance, plurality can be expressed by partial reduplication. The majority of the noun categories of Khimt'anga employ partial reduplication for distinguishing a general noun from a plural noun. The following examples illustrate the use of gemination for differentiating a general noun from a plural noun.

(53)

a. *ʃɨq* 'a liver'	c. *dʒit'* 'a buttock'	e *təg* 'a gum'
sɨqq 'livers'	*dʒitt'* 'buttocks'	*təgg* 'gums'
b. *gɨb* 'a stick'	d. *tʃ'an* 'a valley'	f. *imar* 'a language'
gɨbb 'sticks'	*tʃ'ann* 'valleys'	*imarr* 'languages'

2.1.5. Co-occurrence of consonants

Khimt'anga allows clusters of maximally two consonants word medial and word final position. Consonant clusters in word initial position are not attested. The occurrence of consonant is restricted to sonorant followed by plosive, sonorant followed by fricative and very rarely sonorant followed by affricate. Except approximants, the rest of the sonorants precede the

plosives, fricatives and affricates. All sonorants do not follow any consonant: they do not come after plosives, fricatives and affricates. Instead, they are followed by the epenthetic vowel *ɨ*.

Generally, as a rule the first consonant is higher in sonority than the second consonant. In the vast majority of cases, the first consonant is a sonorant. In Khimt'anga, the sequences of consonant clusters are*: rb, lb, ng, ng^{w}, ld, nd, rd, rt, rt', rg, rq, lk, mg, lq, rk, rk', nt, mt, md, lʃ, ls, ms, md, nd, nz, ns, rβ, rz, rs', ls', rs, rf, mz, lf, rtʃ, ltʃ, ntʃ'. nχ, lh*.

As can be seen above, among the sonorant sounds, only nasals and liquids can co-occur with the plosives, fricatives and affricates. None of the approximants co-occurs with the plosives, fricatives and affricates. The data shown in (54), in (55) and in (56) are examples of consonant clusters of the language.

In (54a-d) below, all examples show the occurrence of non-approximant sonorants with plosive consonants, In (54a), the non-approximant liquid sonorant *r* plus the plosive, and in (54 b), the non-approximant liquid sonorant *l* plus the plosives are presented. In (54c and d), the non-approximant nasal sonorants *n* and *m* plus the plosives are presented respectively.

(54)

a. Liquid *r* followed by plosives

t'ark'^{w} 'a sister-in-law'
ark'ɨs- 'compromise' (v)
amərt'ɨt' 'a straddle'
wardə 'a play'

b. Liquid *l* followed by plosives

χalk'ə 'a chief'
kɨldɨŋ 'broken'
s'ɨldɨnə 'a charcoal'
bəlbəl 'hide'

c. Nasal *n* followed by plosives

gunt'ə 'a kid'(of goat)
k'unəng^{w}ə 'afternoon'

d. Nasal *m* followed by a plosive

mant'ə 'a twin'
kɨmt 'a state of labour'

In (55a-c), all examples show the occurrence of non-approximant sonorants with affricates. In (55a), the liquid *r* is followed by the affiricate consonant sound tʃ. In (55b), the liquid *l* is followed by the same affiricate consonant sound *tʃ*, and in (55c), the nasal sound *n* is followed by the affiricate consonant sound *tʃ'*. In sum,when it contrasts with the plosive and fricatives, the cluster of the non-approximant sonorants with affricates is less productive.

(55)

a. *sɨrtʃ* 'accumulate' (IMP) b. *goltʃu* 'a toad' c. *k'ɨntʃ'iχarə* 'a soldier ant'

In (56a-d), all examples show the occurrence of non-approximant sonorants with fricative consonants. In (56a), the non-approximant liquid sonorant *r* plus the fricative, and in (56b), the non-approximant liquid sonorant *l* plus the fricatives are presented. In (56c and d), the non-approximant nasal sonorants *n* and *m* plus the fricatives are presented, respectively.

(56)

a. Liquid *r* followed by fricatives

k'ərs'ə 'a thorn tree'
mars'ənə 'a tooth stick'
arfɨs'ə 'a termite hill'
k'ərβɨr 'a skin'

b. Liquid *l* followed by fricatives

gals'- 'explain (v) '
filflə 'a spring water'
alβə 'a cloth'
halhal 'a leaky house'

c. Nasal *n* followed by fricatives

kɨnsətə 'a teacher'
sɨnχ 'a unstable person'
zɨnzɨnə 'a dung beetle'

d. Nasal *m* followed by fricatives

kəms 'cause to arm'
kəmʃ 'arm' (IMP)
k'ərz 'a ear'

2.2. VOWELS

Khimt'anga has seven vowel phonemes: two front vowels, three central vowels and two back vowels. Appleyard (1987a: 249) claims that Khimt'anga has five vowel in contrast to the

seven vowel system of Bilin and Kemant. According to Joswig (2009: 1418), Awngi has however, six vowels, which does not contain the central vowel *ə* as other genetically related Central Cushitic languages. In addition, Joswig (2006) does not consider the high central vowel *ɨ* as vowel phoneme of Awngi (cf. Joswig 2010).

However, in the present study, two additional vowels: *e* and *o* are attested. However, in Appleyard's description of Khimt'anga, no example was provided using these newly identified vowels: *e* or *o*. Table 8 shows the vowel system of Khimt'anga.

Table 8: Vowel phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ɨ	u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

2.2.1. Description and distribution of vowels

2.2.1.1. Description of vowels

The high front unrounded *i* occurs in all three positions. It occurs word initially word medially and word finally. But from the collected data, only one word shows initial position. Examples are given in (57).

(57)

imar 'a language' *birə* 'an ox' *sɨri* 'a bride'
mirə 'a gate' *ami* 'a thorn'

The high central unrounded *ɨ* occurs in all three positions, i.e,word initially, word medially and word finally. However, it rarely occurs in word final position.

(58)

ɨwɨlɨwɨl	'a navel'	*sɨnə*	'butter'	*quɨtʃllɨ*	'testicles'
ɨnnɨ	'a grandfather'	*s'ɨjə*	'a flower'	*zɨllɨ*	'an intestine'

The mid front unrounded *e* only occurs in word medial and word final positions. No example is attested in word initial position.

(59)

mizenə	'thank, praise'	*mire*	'a trace'
dɨrej	'dinner'	*s'are*	'the morning sun'

The low central unrounded *a* occurs in all three positions: word initially, word medially and word finally.

(60)

arə	'a cereal, a grain'	*s'ab*	'a shoe'	*la*	'hundred'
are	'a market'	*tar*	'a word'	*ba*	'curdled milk'

The mid central unrounded *ə* occurs in all three positions, i.e., word initially, word medially and word finally.

(61)

əsɨŋə	'mucus'	*k'ərz*	'an ear'	*aβə*	'gold'
əs'ə	'fate'	*əzən*	'a heart'	*aχənə*	'a shelter'

The mid back rounded *o* occurs in all three positions, i.e., word initially, word medially and word finally.

(62)

oz-(v) 'ejaculate'	*ak'oq* 'an armpit'	*ago* 'a sedge'
ot- 'reign' (v)	*zonə* 'a deacon	*k'ɨʃɨtago* 'dawn'

The high back rounded *u* only occurs word medial and word final positions. It is not attested in word initial position.

(63)

burə 'porridge'	*lu* 'herd of cows'
jɨ-gure 'my husband, my master'	*χurə* 'food'

2.2.1.2. The distribution of vowels

Table 9 summarizes the distribution of vowels. Among the seven vowels, five of them occur word initially, word medially and word finally. As can be seen in Table 10, except for the vowels *e* and *u* the remaining five vowels: *i, ɨ, ə, a* and *o* occur in all three positions, i.e., in word initial, word medial and word final position, whereas, the vowels *e* and *u* occurr in word medial and word final position only. However, both of them are not attested word initially in the collected data.

Table 9: Vowels and their distribution

Vowel Phonemes	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
i	*imar* 'a language'	*s'ibɨrə* 'a snak'	*ami* 'thorn'
e	-	*dʒɨrenə* 'a guinea fowl'	*ruχe* 'a life'
		k'arenə 'greedy'	*are* 'a market'
ɨ	*ɨggum* 'a stork'	*ajɨβ* 'a shame'	*ɨnnɨ* 'a grandfather'(of father)
ə	*əsɨŋə* 'mucus'	*kɨnsətə* 'a teacher'	*k^{w}ərə* 'the sun'
a	*aβə* 'gold'	*zan* 'an insult'	*la* 'hundred'
u	-	*jɨgure* 'my husband'	*lu* 'herd of cows'
o	*otə* 'a kingdom'	*k'of* 'a hat'	*ago* 'a sedge'
	ozə 'ejaculation'	*zonə* 'a deacon'	*k'ɨʃɨtago* `dawn'

2.2.1.3. Minimal pair of vowel phonemes

This section deals with the contrastive minimal pairs of vowels. The following are examples.

(64) *i* and *ɨ*

dʒimə 'an area, an environment'
dʒɨmə 'a song'

gɨri 'flock' (of goat)
gir 'a boy'

(65) *e* and *i*

gɨre 'a day'
giri 'flock'(of goat)

sɨre 'colosturm'
siri 'a bride'

(66) *ɨ* and *a*

gɨb 'a stick'
gab 'a side'

(67) *ə* and *ɨ*

dʒərɨwə 'a thatch'
dʒɨrɨwə 'a hen'

(68) *o* and *u*

gor 'struggling'
gur 'standing up'

2.3. SEQUENTIAL/PHONOLOGICAL CONSTRAINTS

"Phonological/sequential constraints refer to those aspects of human linguistic knowledge that explain why certain sound combinations are possible while certain other sound combinations impossible (Salmani-Nodoushan 2005:130). The following phonotactic rules are found to generalize the sound system of Khimt'anga.

a. The labialised phoneme $ŋ^w$ does not occur in word initial position.
b. The labialised phoneme $χ^w$ does not occur in word final position.
c. Except in word initial position, the phoneme *ɲ* always occurs in its geminated form.
d. All the labialised consonants: g^w, k^w, k'^w, $ŋ^w$, q^w and $χ^w$ are not attested in their geminated form.
e. Except the two consonants: *χ* and *h*, all simple consonants can be geminated.

f. Gemination is impermissible in word intial position.

g. Consonaant clustering is not permitted in word initial position.

h. A sequence of two consonant clusters can only occur in word medial and word final position, however, the co-occurrence of more than two consonants is not allowed in any position of a word (i.e, word initially, word medially and word finally).

i. Except *e* and *u,* all vowels of Khimt'anga can occur in word initial, word medial and .word final position; but the vowel phonemes *e* and *u* are not attested in word initial position.

j. Vowel clustering is not permitted in any position of a word (i.e., word initially, word medially and word finally).

2.4. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

A syllable which consists of a consonant in the coda is known as a closed syllable; whereas, a syllable, which does not consist of a consonant in the coda is called an open syllable. As to Clements and Keyser (1983:29), the languages of the world in general may have one of the following possible types of syllable structure:

Type I: CV Type Ⅲ: CV, CVC

Type II: CV, V Type Ⅳ: CV, V, CVC, VC

Khimt'anga has both closed and open syllable structure. Among the above four types of cross-linguistic syllable structure, Khimt'anga is classified as a Type IV language. However, it also has some additional syllable types: CVC_1C_1, CVC_1C_2, VC_1C_1 and VC_1C_2.

Goldsmith (1990:113) claims that languages of the world mainly divide syllable into heavy and light syllables. Furthermore, in word final position a super heavy syllable may occur in a

language which contains what looks like a heavy syllable plus an extra consonant (cf. McCarthy 1982: 11 and Goldsmith 1990: 23)

A syllable in Khimt'anga consists of onset (head), a nucleus (peak) and a coda. An onset is used in the analysis of syllable structure. It refers to the first part of a syllable. A nucleus (peak) on the other hand, is the centre of the syllable its peak: this is normally a vowel, but it is possible for a consonant to act as a peak in some languages (Roach 2002: 55). The onset and the coda are optional against the nucleus, which is obligatory. Words in Khimt'anga are monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic. Polysyllabic words are mostly trisyllabic, sometimes quadsyllabic and very rarely penta-syllabic.

Generally Khimt'anga has V, CV, CVC, VC, CVC_1C_1, CVC_1C_2, VC_1C_1 and VC_1C_2 syllable structure. The following data show a number of examples in (69) the V, in (70) the CV, in (71) the CVC, in (72) the VC, in (73) the CVC_1C_1, in (74) VC_1C_2, in (75) the CVC_1C_2 and the VC_1C_1 in (76) syllable structure.

(69) V

a	'hail'
a.sɨ.kɨz	'remember' (v)
a.rə	'a cereal'
a.re	'a market'
a.βə	'gold'
a.mi	'a thorn'
i.mar	'a language'

(70) CV

mi	'injera'
mi.rə	'a gate'
ma.lu-zə	'a monk'
mɨ.qa	'a shepherd'
tə.tu.nə	'a cock'
s'a.re'	'a morning sun'
gɨ.re	'a day'

(71) CVC

bɨr.qɨr.qɨʃ.ta-nəw	'a sub-servant '
nuw.wə	'a niger seed'
zin	'a relative'
ʃɨm	'a post'

(72) VC

əs.ɨŋ	'a nose'
əl	'an eye'
aj.ɨr	'new'
aχ.ɨr	'a strap'

(73) CVC_1C_1

ʃəgg- ‘be beautiful (v)
fəkk’ ‘comb (v)
tamm- ‘stager’ (v)
s’arr- ‘ be bright’ (v)

(74) VC_1C_2

arq- ‘know’ (v)’
ɨmq- ‘kiss’ (v)
alt- ‘be near’ (v)
ərd- ‘mate, copulate’(v)

(75) CVC_1C_2

mant’ ‘twins’
dəmz- ‘want’ (v)

(76) VC_1C_1

abb- ‘fumigate’
əss’-‘curse’

In the syllable structure, the onset cannot be more than one consonant; whereas in the coda two consonants are allowed. The nucleus can only be represented by vowels. All the consonants can be an onset in this language. However, the onset and coda of a closed syllable can be any consonant except the consonants $ŋ^w$ and $χ^w$. This is to mean $ŋ^w$ cannot occur in an onset position, and $χ^w$ is not attested in a coda position.

2.5. FREE VARIATION

The occurrence of free variation is common in Khimt’anga. “If two sounds that are different from each other can occur in the same phonological context and one of those sounds may be substituted for the other, they are said to be in free variation” (Roach 2002:30).

As can be observed in the data given, free variation only occurs word initially and word medially, but it is not attested word finally. The consonants *s’* and *tʃ’*, *k’* and *q*, *j* and *ŋ*, *s’* and *s*, and *j* and *z* are illustrative examples. In (77), *s’* and *tʃ’* occur word initially and word medially. In (79) *k’* and *q*, in (78) *j* and *ŋ* and in (80) *s’* and *s* only occur word initially. In *(*81*), j* and. *z*, freely occur word medially.

(77) *s'* and tʃ'

qos'ə 'hurt' *s'ɨməʃə* 'a stinging bird'
qotʃ'ə 'hurt' *tʃ'ɨməʃə* 'a stinging bird'

(78) j and *ŋ*

jəŋ 'he, be'
ŋəŋ 'he, be'

(79) *k'* and *q*

quqəʃə 'a kind of grass' *qɨlɨmə* 'a neck'
k'uqəʃə 'a kind of grass' *k'ɨlɨmə* 'a neck'

(80) *s'* and s

s'ug 'beneath'
sug 'beneath'

(81) *j* and *z*

lajə 'another'
lazə 'another'

2.6. MORPHOPHONEMIC PROCESSES

The relevant morphophonemic processes in Khimt'anga are assimilation, consonant alternation, deletion, glide insertion, metathesis.and epenthesis. "Morphophonemics describes the mental processes that bring about such changes in the pronunciation of morphemes" (Salmani-Nodoushan 2005: 130).

2.6.1. Assimilation

According to Salmani-Nodoushan (2005: 130f) assimilation occurs if a sound is influenced and alternated by an adjacent sound. Several scholars employ the word assimilation to denote cases in which a sound affects the sound that occurs on its left side. These linguists do not refer to right-ward sound alternation as assimilation. In general, there are three kinds of assimilation that can be distinguished: assimilation of place, assimilation of manner, and/or assimilation of voice. Katamba (1989:86) also writes the following statements regarding assimilation.

> Another way in which assimilation processes can be seen is in terms of whether a vowel or consonant acquires vowel or consonant features of a neighbouring segment. Various patterns are examined in turn below. The coverage is not intended to be exhaustive. It is only meant to show some of the commonest assimilation processes found in the languages of the world.

Devoicing plus gemination

Both devoicing and gemination are common phenomena in Khimt'anga. Both of them occur due to the suffixation of a causativizer morpheme. In the following examples, the voiced alveolar fricative *z* becomes *s* due to the influence of the neighbouring causativizer morpheme -s. Consequently, gemination, regressively occurs, *z* completely changes to *s*, and it loses its voiced feature, in (82) /z/ —> *[*s]. In other words, after a voiced segment, like the final [z] of, the underlying /-z/ is changed to [s] so that the root and the suffix become more similar: /g^{w}iz-Ø-u/ —> [g^{w}iss-Ø-u]. See examples in (82).

(82)

a. /g^{w}iz-Ø-u/ —> [*g^{w}is-s-Ø-u*]
plough-3SG.M-PRV plough-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'He ploughed.' 'He made someone plough.'

b. /giz-Ø-u/ —> [gis-s-Ø-u*]*
dig-3SG.M-PRV dig-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'He dug.' 'He made someone dig.'

2.6.2. Consonant alternation

In the vast majority of cases in Khimt'anga, the alveolar consonants are usually changed when they occur at the end of a verbal stem to form the second person singular imperative and passive derivation. Details are available in Section 5.3.3.2.1.2 for details of second person singular imperative formation.

2.6.2.1. Consonant alternation involving formation of the 2SG imperative

As can be seen in Section 5.3.3.2.1.1, several verbs form their 2SG imperative by bare verbal stems. However, there are cases that many verbs ending in alveolar consonants form their 2SG imperative by changing the alveolar consonants into their palatal counterpart. First, let us consider examples in (83) that show the voiceless alveolar plosive and glottalized plosives ending verbal stems that form 2SG Imperative.

(83)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
dəŋt-	'judge'	*dəŋtʃ'*	'judge'
sɨt-	'extinguish'	*sɨtʃ'*	'extinguish'
ʃəwɨt'-	'bet'	*ʃəwɨtʃ'*	'bet'
sabɨt'-	'spend for long period of time'	*sabɨtʃ'*	'spend for long period of time'

In addition, the voiced alveolar plosive *d* is also changed into *-tʃ'* to form the second person singular imperative. As can be observed in (84), all verbal stems ending in the voiced alveolar plosive-*d* form their second person singular imperative by changing the *d* into the palatal glottalized affricate *-tʃ'*.

(84)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative form	
ward-	'play'	*wartʃ'*	'play'
mizɨrd-	testify'	*mizɨrtʃ'*	'testify'
gɨrβəβɨd-	'kneel down'	*gɨrβəβɨtʃ'*	kneel down'
dəd-	'kick'	*dətʃ'*	'kick'

Furthermore, like the alveolar plosive ending consonantal stems, alveolar trill r ending verbal stems also form their second person singular imperative by changing the *r* into the palatal

glottalized affricate-*tʃ'*. The majority of verbs end in the alveolar trill-*r*, form their second person singular imperative by converting the *r* into *-tʃ'*. Let us consider examples in (85).

(85)

Verbal stem	2SG Imperative	Verbal stem	2SG Imperative
bər- 'leave'	bətʃ' 'leave'	*sir-* 'wear'	*sitʃ'* 'wear'
bəg^{w}ɨr- 'jump'	*bəg^{wi}tʃ'* 'jump'	*saq^{w}ɨr-*'have mercy'	*saq^{w}ɨt* 'have mercy'

In addition to the alveolar plosives and alveolar trill verbal ending stems, the alveolar fricative ending verbal stems form their 2SG imperative by converting the alveolar fricative *s(ss)* and *z* into their palatal counterpart *ʃ(ʃʃ)* and *j*, respectively. Thus, the verbal stems which end in alveolar fricative form their second person singular imperative into two ways. To form the 2S imperative, the voiceless alveolar fricative *s(ss)* changes into *ʃ(ʃʃ)*, and the voiced alveolar fricative *z* changes into *j*.

Let us consider examples in (86) and (87) for the change of the voiceless alveolar fricative *s(ss)* into the voiceless palatal fricative *ʃ(ʃʃ)*, and the voiced alveolar fricative *z* into the palatal approximant *j* for the formation of the 2SG imperative, respectively.

(86)

Verbal stem	2SG Imperative
nəs- 'bring'	*nəʃ*
təss- 'build'	*təʃʃ*
bərs 'release'	*bərʃ*
fiss- 'take out'	*fiʃʃ*
akɨs 'loosen the knot'	*akɨʃ*

(87)

Verbal stem	2SG Imperative
dʒɨz 'sweep'	*dʒɨj*
dʒəgɨz 'chase'	*dʒəgɨj*
dɨquz- 'brew'	*dɨquj*
mət'ak^{w}əz-'ferment'	*mət'ak^{w}əj*
sɨnərz- 'mix'	*sɨnərɨj*

The examples in (87), denote that the verbal stems ending in the alveolar glottalized fricative *s'* also form their second person singular imperative by changing the *s'* into the palatal approximant *j*.

(87)

Verbal stem	2SG Imperative
las'- 'shave'	*laj*
marqɨs'- 'be keen'	*marqɨj*
qas'- 'shout'	*qaj*

2.6.2.2. Consonant alternation involving involving formation of the passive

Consonant alternation also plays an important role in the derivational process of a passive. In *(*88*)*, (89) and (90) examples, I illustrate the formation of passive for the verbal stems that end in the voiceless alveolar fricative *s*, the voiced alveolar fricative *z* and the voiceless alveolar glottalized *s',* respectively. As can be observed in *(*88*)*, verbal stems ending in the voiceless alveolar fricative *s* form their passive by changing the *s* into its voiceless palatal counterpart *ʃ,* and suffixing the morpheme-*it* to the verbal stem.

*(*88*)*

Verbal stems	Passive verbal stems
nəs- 'construct'	*nəʃit* 'be brought'
bərs 'release'	bərʃit 'be released'
akɨs 'loosen the knot'	*akɨʃit* 'be loosened'
təss- 'build'	*təʃʃit* 'be built'
fiss- 'take out'	*fiʃʃ*it 'be taken out'

For unknown immediate reason (s), like the 2SG imperative, the examples in (89) show the verbal stems ending in the voiced alveolar fricative z form their passive by changing the z into its voiceless palatal counterpart *j*, and suffixing the morpheme-*it* to the verbal stem.

(89)

Verbal stems		Passive verbal stems	
dəmz-	'want'	*dəmɨjit*	'be wanted'
ʧiz-	'identify'	*ʧijit-*	'be identified'
k'orz-	'measure'	*k'orɨjit -*	'be measured'
giz-	'dig'	*gijit-*	'be dug'
gɨβərz-	'divide'	*gɨβərɨjit-*	'be divided'

Verbal stems that end in the alveolar glottalized fricative *s'* form their passive by changing the *s'* into the palatal approximant *j* plus the suffixation of the morpheme-*it* to the verbal stems. Let us, consider examples in (90).

(90)

Verbal stem		Passive verbal stem	
las'-	'shave'	*lajit*	'be shaved'
bɨs'-	'split'	*bɨjit-*	'be split'
as'-	'fate'	*ajit-*	'be fated'

2.6.2.3. Consonant alternation involving verb stem final *t*, *d*, *r* to mark the 1SG

The voiceless alveolar plosive *t*, the voiced alveolar plosive *d* and the voiced alveolar trill *r* in verb final position changes in place of articulation to the voiceless alveolar glottalized plosive *t'* to mark the first person singular (cf. 5.3.1.2).

The first five examples end in the voiceless alveolar plosive *t*, the second five examples end in the voiced alveolar plosive *d* and the remaining five examples end in the voiced alveolar

trill *r* are presented. These examples are used in the six verbal paradigms: perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb.

Let us consider examples in (91) that end in the voiceless alveolar plosive *t → t'*

(91)

Verbal stem		Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
dəŋt-	'judge'	*dəŋt'un*	*dəŋt'əkʷɨn*	*dəŋt'ɨkun*	*dəŋt' winun*	*dəŋt'əŋʷ*	*dəŋt'*
wigɨt-	'talk	*wigɨt'un*	*wigɨt'əkʷɨn*	*wigɨt'ɨkun*	*wigɨt' winun*	*wigɨt'əŋʷ*	*wigɨt'*
kɨnt-	'be worry'	*kɨnt'un*	*kɨnt'əkʷɨn*	*kɨnt'ɨkun*	*kɨnt' winun*	*kɨnt'əŋʷ*	*kɨnt'*
laqɨt-	'vomit	*laqɨt'un*	*laqɨt'əkʷɨn*	*laqɨt'ɨkun*	*laqɨt' winun*	*laqɨt'əŋʷ*	*laqɨt'*
əfɨt-	'satisfy'	*əfɨt'un*	*əfɨt'əkʷɨn*	*əfɨt'ɨkun*	*əfɨt' winun*	*əfɨt'əŋʷ*	*əfɨt'*

The voiced alveolar plosive that ends in *d → t'* is presented in (92).

(92)

Verbal stem		Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
kɨnd-	'learn'	*kɨnt'un*	*kɨnt'əkʷɨn*	*kɨnt'ɨkun*	*kɨnt' winun*	*kɨnt'əŋʷ*	*kɨnt'*
qad-	'cure'	*qat'un*	*qat'əkʷɨn*	*qat'ɨkun*	*qat' winun*	*qat'əŋʷ*	*qat'*
dəd-	'kick'	*dət'un*	*dət'əkʷɨn*	*dət'ɨkun*	*dət' winun*	*dət'əŋʷ*	*dət'*
ward-	'play'	*wart'un*	*wart'əkʷɨn*	*wart'ɨkun*	*wart'winun*	*wart'əŋʷ*	*wart'*
niβɨd-	'dream'	*niβɨt'un*	*niβɨt'əkʷɨn*	*niβɨt'ɨkun*	*niβɨt' winun*	*niβɨt'əŋʷ*	*niβɨt'*

The voiced alveolar trill that ends in *r → t'* is presented in (93).

(93)

Verbal stem		Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
dər-	'love'	*dət'un*	*dət'əkʷɨn*	*dət'ɨkun*	*dət' winun*	*dət'əŋʷ*	*dət'*
əqʷər-	'laugh'	*əqʷət'un*	*əqʷət'əkʷɨn*	*əqʷət'ɨkun*	*əqʷət' winun*	*əqʷət'əŋʷ*	*əqʷət'*
sɨŋʷɨr-	'swallow'	*sɨŋʷɨt'un*	*sɨŋʷɨt'əkʷɨn*	*sɨŋʷɨt'ɨkun*	*sɨŋʷɨt' winun*	*sɨŋʷɨt'əŋʷ*	*sɨŋʷɨt'*
aŋɨr-	'bite'	*aŋɨt'un*	*aŋɨt'əkʷɨn*	*aŋɨt'ɨkun*	*aŋɨt' winun*	*aŋɨt'əŋʷ*	*aŋɨt'*
tʃ'ɨbɨr-	'hide'	*tʃ'ɨbɨt'un*	*tʃ'ɨbɨt'əkʷɨn*	*tʃ'ɨbɨt'ɨkun*	*tʃ'ɨbɨt' winun*	*tʃ'ɨbɨt'əŋʷ*	*tʃ'ɨbɨt'*

2.6.2.4. Consonant alternation involving verb stem final *n*, *l*, *r* and others to mark the 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.F

Due to consonant alternation process, the 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.F marker realized as /(*i̇*)r/ →[-*(i̇)r*]**,** *[*-tir̛*]*, [-ḍ], [-dir]. The verb stem final ending alveolar consonants: *r*, *l*, *n*, change from *r* →*t* and from *l* and *n* →*d* plus the suffix-*ir* to form the second person singular as well as plural. The remaining verbal stem ending consonants form the second person singular and plural by the morpheme (-*i̇)r* alone. Therefore, the second person singular and plural are underlyingly marked by the suffix /-r/ by four allomorphs, namely [-r], [-d], [-dir] and [-tir] according to the final ending consonantal stems of the verb. For immediate unknown reason both the second person singular and the third person feminine singular are similarly marked with some exceptions. Except in the perfective and imperfective paradigms, both the second person singular and third person feminine singular are marked by /r/ →**[-**r]**,** [-tir̛] and [-ḍ] depending on the final ending verbal stems, whereas, the second person plural is marked by /r/ →[-r], [-tir̛] and [-ḍir] which has a slight difference in the alveolar nasal n ending verbal root as [-ḍir].

If the verbal stem ends in the alveolar nasal *n*, it suffixes the morpheme-*d* or -*dir* for second person singular and plural, respectively. If it ends in the alveolar *l*, it suffixes
-*d*. If the stem of the verb ends in the alveolar *r*, it suffixes the suffix-*tir* for marking both the second person singular and plural. If the verbal stem\ ends in other ways than the above mentioned consonantal changes, the second person singular, plural and the third person feminine singular are marked by the morpheme-*r* alone.

Due to space matter, I provide three examples for each of the allomorphs of the second person and third person singular feminine marking strategies. Examples shown in (94), (95) and (96) are the three representative verbal roots that end in the alveolar nasal *n* form the second

person singular, plural and the third person feminine singular in homorganic articulation of *d* or *dɨr* as person marker. The verbal roots used for this grammatical fact are *on-* 'be bare', *s'an-* 'load', *k^{w}in-*'construct'. I use these verbs in the six verbal paradigms: perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb.

(94) *on-* 'be bare'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*ondu*	*ondək^{w}*	*ondɨkuru*	*ond windu*	*ondəŋ^{w}*	*ond*
2PL	*ondɨrɨnu*	*ondɨrɨnək^{w}*	*ondɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*ondɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*ondɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*ondɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*onɨtʃ*	*onətʃ*	*ondɨkutʃ*	*ond winɨtʃ*	*ondəŋ^{w}*	*ond*

(95) *s'an-* 'load'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*s'andu*	*s'andək^{w}*	*s'andɨkuru*	*s'and windu*	*s'andəŋ^{w}*	*s'and*
2PL	*s'andɨrɨnu*	*s'andɨrɨnək^{w}*	*s'andɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*s'andɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*s'andɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*s'andɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*s'anɨtʃ*	*s'anətʃ*	*s'andɨkutʃ*	*s'and winɨtʃ*	*s'andəŋ^{w}*	*s'and*

(96) *k^{w}in-* 'construct'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*k^{w}indu*	*k^{w}indək^{w}*	*k^{w}indɨkuru*	*k^{w}ind windu*	*k^{w}indəŋ^{w}*	*k^{w}ind*
2PL	*k^{w}indɨrɨnu*	*k^{w}indɨrɨnək^{w}*	*k^{w}indɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*k^{w}indɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*k^{w}indɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*k^{w}indɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*k^{w}inɨtʃ*	*k^{w}inətʃ*	*k^{w}indɨkutʃ*	*k^{w}ind winɨtʃ*	*k^{w}indəŋ^{w}*	*k^{w}ind*

Examples shown in (97), (98) and (99) are the three representative verbal stems that end in the alveolar lateral approximant *l* form the second person singular, plural and the third person feminine singular in homorganic articulation of *d* or *dɨr* as person marker. The verbal roots used for this grammatical fact are *asɨl-* 'prepare', *mal-*'drop', *qal-* 'see'. I use these verbs in the six verbal paradigms: perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb.

(97) *asɨl-* ‘prepare’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*asɨldu*	*asɨldək^{w}*	*asɨldɨkuru*	*asɨld windu*	*asɨldəŋ^{w}*	*asɨld*
2PL	*asɨldɨrɨnu*	*asɨldɨrɨnək^{w}*	*asɨldɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*asɨldɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*asɨldɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*asɨldɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*asɨlɨtʃ*	*asɨlətʃ*	*asɨldɨkutʃ*	*asɨld wɨnɨtʃ*	*asɨldəŋ^{w}*	*asɨld*

(98) *mal-* ‘drop’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*maldu*	*maldək^{w}*	*maldɨkuru*	*mald windu*	*maldəŋ^{w}*	*mald*
2PL	m*adɨrɨnu*	*maldɨrɨnək^{w}*	*maldɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*maldɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*maldɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*maldɨrɨn*
3SG.F	m*alɨtʃ*	*malətʃ*	*maldɨkutʃ*	*mald wɨnɨtʃ*	*maldəŋ^{w}*	*mald*

(99) *qal-* ‘see’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*qaldu*	*qaldək^{w}*	*qaldɨkuru*	*qald windu*	*qaldəŋ^{w}*	*qald*
2PL	q*adɨrɨnu*	*qaldɨrɨnək^{w}*	*qaldɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*qaldɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*qaldɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*qaldɨrɨn*
3SG.F	q*alɨtʃ*	*qalətʃ*	*qaldɨkutʃ*	*qald wɨnɨtʃ*	*qaldəŋ^{w}*	*qald*

Examples shown in (100), (101) and (102) are the three representative verbal roots that end in the alveolar trill *r* form the second person singular, plural and the third person feminine singular by changing the final *r* into *t* and suffixing the underlying marker *ɨr* as *tɨr*. The verbal roots used for this grammatical fact are *kər-* ‘cross’, *bər-* ‘leave’, *aŋɨr-* ‘bite’. I use these verbs in the six verbal paradigms: perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb.

(100) *kər-* ‘cross’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*kətɨru*	*kətɨrək^{w}*	*kətɨrkuru*	*kətɨr windu*	*kətɨrəŋ^{w}*	*kətɨr*
2PL	*kətɨru*	*kətɨrɨnək^{w}*	*kətɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*kətɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*kətɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*kətɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*kərɨtʃ*	*kərətʃ*	*kətɨrkutʃ*	*kətɨr wɨnɨtʃ*	*kətɨrəŋ^{w}*	*kətɨr*

(101) *bər-* ‘leave’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*bətɨru*	*bətɨrək^{w}*	*bətɨrkuru*	*bətɨr windu*	*bətɨrəŋ^{w}*	*bətɨr*
2PL	*bətɨru*	*bətɨrɨnək^{w}*	*bətɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*bətɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*bətɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*bətɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*bərɨtʃ*	*bərətʃ*	*bətɨrkutʃ*	*bətɨr wɨnɨtʃ*	*bətɨrəŋ^{w}*	*bətɨr*

(102) *aŋɨr-* ‘bite’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*aŋtɨru*	*aŋtɨrək^{w}*	*aŋtɨrkuru*	*aŋtɨr windu*	*aŋtɨrəŋ^{w}*	*aŋtɨr*
2PL	*aŋtɨrɨnu*	*aŋtɨrɨnək^{w}*	*aŋtɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*aŋtɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*aŋtɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*aŋtɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*aŋɨrɨtʃ*	*aŋrətʃ*	*aŋtɨrkutʃ*	*aŋtɨr wɨnɨtʃ*	*aŋtɨrəŋ^{w}*	*aŋtɨr*

Examples shown in (103), (104) and (105) are the three representative verbal roots that end in other than the above mentioned examples. In these three representative examples, the second person singular, plural and the third person feminine singular are formed by suffixing the underlying marker-*ɨr*. In other words, all verbal roots that end in plosives, fricatives, affricates, nasals except n, approximants form the second person singular, plural and the third person feminine singular by suffixing the underlying marker-*ɨr*. As a sample, the verbal roots used for this grammatical fact are *fəw-* ‘repose’, *fiz-* ‘sow’, *t’ab-* ‘thresh’. For the matter of space, I randomly select and use these three verbs as a sample in the six verbal paradigms: perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb.

(103) *fəw-* ‘repose’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
2SG	*fəwɨru*	*fəwɨrək^{w}*	*fəwɨrkuru*	*fəwɨr windu*	*fəwɨrəŋ^{w}*	*fəwɨr*
2PL	*fəwɨrɨnu*	*fəwɨrɨnək^{w}*	*fəwɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*fəwɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*fəwɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*fəwɨrɨn*
3SG.F	*fəwɨrɨtʃ*	*fəwɨrətʃ*	*fəwɨrkutʃ*	*fəwɨr wɨnɨtʃ*	*fəwɨrəŋ^{w}*	*fəwɨr*

(104) *fiz-* ‘sow’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect		Progressive	Converb
2SG	*fiziru*	*fizirək*^{w}	*fizirkuru*	*fizir*	*windu*	*firəŋ*^{w}	*fizir*
2PL	*fizirinu*	*fizirinək*^{w}	*fizirinkurinu*	*fizirin*	*windirinu*	*fizirinəŋ*^{w}	*fizirin*
3SG.F	*fizirit∫*	*fizirət∫*	*fizirkut∫*	*fizir*	*winit∫*	*fizirəŋ*^{w}	*fizir*

(105) *t’ab-* ‘thresh’

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect		Progressive	Converb
2SG	*t’abiru*	*t’abirək*^{w}	*t’abirkuru*	*t’abir*	*windu*	*t’abirəŋ*^{w}	*t’abir*
2PL	*t’abirinu*	*t’abirinək*^{w}	*t’abirinkurinu*	*t’abirin*	*windirinu*	*t’abirinəŋ*^{w}	*t’abirin*
3SG.F	*t’abirit∫*	*t’abirət∫*	*t’abirkut∫*	*t’abir*	*winit∫*	*t’abirəŋ*^{w}	*t’ab ir*

2.6.3. Deletion

Khimt’anga does not allow a sequence of two or more vowels as diphthongs as well as in the form of vowel length in the same environment. It employs vowel deletion to avoid the impressible phonological rule of the language.

As shown in (106), there are two kinds of phonological vowel deletions. They are identical vowel deletions and different vowel deletions. The identical vowel deletion take place if two words occur consecutively, and contain the same vowel in word boundary. Since the two identical vowels: *a*’s of different words are adjacent at morpheme boundary, one of them is deleted from its stem. This grammatical fact is shown in (106a and b).

There are also different vowel deletions in (106c and d). For example, when the two different vowels: *a*, *ə* and *u*, *ə* are adjacent in different words at morpheme boundary, for unknown reason, the central unrounded vowel *ə* is always deleted from its stem. On the other

hand, when the two different vowels *u* and *ə* are adjacent in different words at morpheme boundary, the back rounded vowel *u* is always deleted.

(106)

a. /mɨqa aq-Ø-u/ → [mɨq aq-Ø-u]
shepherd be-3SG.M-PRV shepherd be-3SG.M-PRV
'He became a shepherd.'

b. /mɨqa ak^{w}ə bigə dʒɨβ-Ø-u/ → [mɨq ak^{w}ə bigə dʒɨβ-Ø-u]
shepherd five sheep buy-3SG.M-PRV shepherd five sheep buy-3SG.M-PRV
'A shepherd bought five sheep.'

c. /maluzə aq-Ø-u/ → [maluz aq-Ø-u]
monk be-3SG.M-PRV monk be-3SG.M-PRV
'He became a monk.'

d. /ŋɨru arə/ → [ŋɨr arə]
her cereal her cereal
'her cereals'

2.6.4. Glide insertion

In Khimt'anga, when two words or morphemes consecutively come together within the same environment that the first word or morpheme ends in a vowel, and the second word or morpheme also begins with the vowel at word boundary, glide insertion[12] will be phonotically taken place to break the impermissible vowel sequence of the language. For example in *(*107a-b) and *(*107c-d), the front vowels *i* and *e* occur, respectively in the final position of words such as *wɨrant'i* 'tong', *angari* 'pelt', *tʃɨgɨre* 'razorblade' and *gorade* 'sabre', all these words are followed by the suffix-*ən*, the semi-vowel -*j*- is inserted to avoid the impermissible two vowel sequence of the language. Again in (107e-f), the first words: *antifo* 'a flute*'* and *goltʃu* 'a tortoise' end in the back vowels *o* and *u,* respectively, the suffix-*ən* begins with the vowel-*ə,* consequently, the semivowel-*w*- is inserted in order to abide by the phonotactic rules of the

[12] It is also common occurrence for Dime (cf. Mulugeta 2008: 39) and for Koorete (cf Biniam 2008: 58) .

language. Let us see examples in (107) that form their plural by glide insertion plus the suffix-*ən* (cf. *3.2.3.1.3*.2 and 3.2.3.1.3.3).

*(*107)

a. *wɨrant'i-j-ən*
tong-gli-PL
'tongs'

b. *angari-j-ən*
pelt-gli-PL
lit.'pelts'

c. *tʃɨgɨre-j-ən*
razorblade-gli-PL
'razorblades'

d. *gorade-j-ən*
sabre-gli-PL
'sabres'

e. *antifo-w-ən*
flute-gli-PL
'flutes'

f. *goltʃu-w-ən*
tortoise-gli-PL
'tortoises'

b.

2.6.5. Metathesis

As can be seen in data (108), metathesis takes place in various consonants in the same word. Different consonant sounds exchange their occurrence in the same word without meaning difference. In (108a, d and g), *g* and *b*, in (108b), *r* and *j*, *in (*108c, e and f), *m* and *l*, *in (*108h), *t'* and *s* and in (108i), *β* and *l* exchange their places.

(108)

a. *gɨb* →*bɨg* 'stick'
b. χ^w*ajɨrə* →χ^w*arɨjə* 'insect'
c. *gilɨmə* →*gɨmɨlə* 'chick pea like grass'
d. *gɨbbɨnə*→*bɨggɨnə* 'lizard'
e. k'ilɨmə →*k'ɨmɨlə* 'neck'
f. *qilɨmə* →*qɨmɨlə* 'neck'
g. *gab* →*bag* 'side'
h. *t'asɨnk'* →*sant'ɨk'*- 'shrink'(v)
i. *k'alβə* →*k'aβɨlə* 'a tool used to withdraw injera from a plate'

2.6.6. Epenthesis

In Khimt'anga, the vowel *ɨ* is realized in two forms: a phonemic as well as an epenthetic[7]. The vowel *ɨ* is considered one of the seven vowels of Khimt'anga (cf. 2.2). In this section, the vowel *ɨ* is served as an epenthetic vowel. The vowel *ɨ* is inserted where a cluster of CC word initially and CCC word medially and word finally occurs due to suffixation. As can be seen in (109a-b), in order to avoid the impermissible consonant clusters, the epenthetic vowel *ɨ* is inserted.

(109)

a. *gɨmz-Ø-u*	→ *gɨm-ɨ-ss-Ø-u*	b. *k'ərz-ɨ-d*
unload-3SG.M-PRV	unload-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV	ear-EP-3SG.M.DEF
'He unloaded.'	'He caused to someone to unload.'	'the ear'

2.6.7. Fortition

Fortition is used in phonology to refer to a strengthening in the overall force of a sound, whether diachronically or synchronically; opposed to lenition. Naturally, it involves the alternation from a fricative to a stop, an approximant to a fricative, or a voiced to a voiceless sound. "Fortis and Lenis are closely related to level of vibration. Fortis sounds are those that are made with strong muscular effort, originating in the lungs. Lenis is the opposite" (Salmani-Nodoushan 2005: 46). In Khimt'anga, fortition plays an important role in plural formation (See Sections: 3.2.1.3.7, 3.2.1.3.8, 3.2.1.3.9 and 3.2.1.3.10) for the details.

It can be noted that in (110a), a noun that consists of the bilabial fricative-*β* in its stem is changed into the partially reduplicated bilabial plosive (stop)-*bb* to form its plural. In (110b), a noun that contains the voiced velar plosive consonant-*g* in its stem forms its plural by changing it into the partially reduplicated velar glottalized plosive-*kk'*. In addition in (110c), a noun that

contains the alveolar trill-*r* in its stem is changed into the partially reduplicated alveolar lateral approximant-*ll* for the formation of its plural. In (110d), a noun that holds the voiceless alveolar plosive-*t* in its stem forms its plural by changing it into the partially reduplicated alveolar glottalized plosive-*tt'*. In (110e) a noun that contains the voiced fricative-*z* in its stem forms its plural by changing it into the partially reduplicated alveolar glottalized fricative-s*s'*. Finally in (110f), a noun that contains the voiced palatal affricate *dʒ* in its stem forms its plural by changing it into the partially reduplicated labio-velar glotlalized plosive -*kk'ʷ* for plural formation.

(110)

SG	PL	
a. *χarβə*	→ *χarɨbb*	'persons' (visually impaired)
b. *bigə*	→ *bikk'*	'sheep'
c. *birə*	→ *bill*	'ox'
d. aχɨtə	→ *aχɨtt'*	lit. 'phlegm'
e. *gɨzə*	→ *gɨss'*	'neighbour'
f. *mɨdʒi*	→ *mikk'ʷ*	'girl'

CHAPTER THREE

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.1. PHONOLOGICAL FORMS OF NOUNS

Nouns are monosyllabic, disyllabic or polysyllabic. Polysyllabic nouns consist of three or more syllables. Noun stems end in a vowel or a consonant. Several noun stems ending in certain vowels delete their vowels if a plural suffix is added to them for plural formation. (See Section 3.2.1.3.3).

3.1.1. Terminal vowels of nouns

The terminal vowel (hereafter TV) of a noun in its citation form does not play a special grammatical role in Khimt'anga, but if that terminal vowel of a noun is elided from its stem, it plays a large role in plural formation. As shown in Table 10, all seven vowels are attested as TVs of nouns in their citation form. In their order of frequencies in their occurrance, the seven TVs are *ə, a, i, e, u, o* and *ɨ*. The central vowel *ə* covers the highest proportion of frequencies in its occurrence with TV in nouns. In contrast, the least proportion of frequencies is attested in the central vowel *ɨ* in its occurrence with TV in nouns. Out of 1212 randomly selected data from texts, biographies, proverbs, various activities and elicitations only two nouns are attested in occurring the vowel *ɨ* in word final position of nouns as TV. See the following data in Table 10.

All seven vowels occur in word final position of nouns in their citation form. On the other hand, of the 33 consonant phonemes, 28 of them are attested as terminal.

Table 10: Examples of all seven TVs of nouns

TV-ə	TV-a	TV-i	TV-e	TV-u	TV-o	TV-ɨ
gibə 'an eye brow'	*mɨqa* 'a shepherd'	*dʒi* 'a horn'	*aqoze* 'fertile'	*gizu* 'a belly'	*χanəbo* 'a pumpkin'	*ɨnnɨ* 'a grand father'
gibbə 'a bud'	*diga* 'a corner	*ami* 'a thorn'	*gɨre* 'a day'	*ju* 'a waist'	*ago* 'sedge'	*zɨllɨ* 'an intestine'
dirunə 'an oak'	*ŋa* 'a brain'	*mɨdʒi* 'a girl'	*are* 'a market'	*mik'ɨn* 'an heifer'	*marrəbbo* 'a gourd'	
daqɨs'ə 'a frog'	*ga* 'a cave'	*ədʒəsəri* 'a smith'	*s'are* 'a sun ray'	*miju* 'a mortar'	*k'ɨʃɨtago* 'dawn'	
əwɨnə 'a woman'	*ba* 'yoghurt'	*gɨri* 'a flock' (of sheep or goat)	*tʃɨgɨre* 'razorblade'	*goltʃu* 'a tortoise'		
dʒanə 'an elephant'	*bɨtt'a* 'a louse'	*li* 'a bequest'	*-gure* 'a husband'	*lu* 'herd of cows'		
s'ɨjə 'a flower'	*digula* 'a long necked calabash'	*məkuʃi* 'a name sake'	*-gule* 'a queen'			
tʃ'arə 'summer'	*daqa* 'a residue'					
abit'ə 'a locust'						
s'ɨldɨnə 'a charcoal'						
birə 'an ox'						
bigə 'a sheep'						
əfərə 'a child'						

3.1.2. Terminal consonants of nouns

As shown in Table 11, of the 33 phonemic consonants, 28 of them are attested as terminal consonants (hereafter TC). Except the voiceless velar plosive *k*, voiced labio-velar plosive g^w, voiceless uvular fricative *χ,* voiceless labio-uvular fricative χ^w and voiceless glottal fricative *h,* phonemic consonants, respectively, the remaining consonant phonemes of the language can occur in word final position of nouns in their citation form. However, for the above mentioned five consonants, the phonotactic system of the language does not allow their occurrence in word final position of nouns; as a result, they have never been attested in word final position of nouns in their citation form. See Table 11.

Table 11: Examples of the 28 TCs of nouns

Types of terminal consonants	Examples of nouns end in TCs	Gloss
b	*sib*	'a lung'
d	*məd*	'a dining table'
t	*χaʃɨt*	'a fallacy'
t'	*dʒit'*	'a buttock'
k'	*sək'*	'a goat pen'
k'^{w}	*s'ə mk'^{w}*	'a premolar, a molar'
q	*laq*	'a tongue'
q^w	*əq^w*	'a breast (of person)'
k^w	*lɨk^w*	'a leg'
g	*-ig*	'a mother's brother'
β	*mizɨβ*	'a yoke'
f	*gɨrf*	'a garden'
z	*k'ərz*	'an ear'
s	*kis*	'a chest'
s'	*gas'*	'a face'
ʃ	*aʃ*	'a virgin land'
ɖʒ	*awɨradʒ*	'a joist'
ʈʃ	*gɨtʃ*	'an estate'
ʈʃ'	*əqotʃ'*	'laughter'
m	*dukɨm*	'a pick axe'
n	*zinə*	'a kin, a relative'
ŋ	*gizɨŋ*	'a dog'
ŋ^w	*t'ɨŋ^w*	'an anus'
ɲ	*wɨlβiɲɲ*	'roasted sorghum'
r	*-ir*	'a father'
l	*ək'ɨl*	'a parent'
w	*niw*	'a calf'
j	*k^{w}ij*	'a stopper'

3.2. NOUN INFLECTION

Nouns of Khimt'anga marked for number, definiteness, gender and case. Before I give various morphological analysis, I first provide definitions of the key terms: roots, stems (or bases) and affixes which may serve for many of the lexical categories in a language.

Regardinding these different terminologies, Aikhenvald (2007:38) claims that "[r]oots convey lexical meaning and affixes provide additional specification." According to Bloomfield (1933:240), a root is a part of a word which exists after inflectional and derivational affixes are avoided. Now again Aikhenvald (2007:39) argues that "[s]ynthetic and especially fussional languages tend to have *stems* which are different from *roots*. *Stem (or Base*) is a bound form to be combined with derivational affixes […]". According to Payne (1997: 24), "[a] root is an unanalyzable form that expresses the basic lexical content of the word. Yet a root does not necessarily constitute a fully understandable word in and of itself […]. A stem consists minimally of a root, but may be analyzable into a root plus derivational morphemes. [...]. Like a root, a stem may or may not be a fully understandable word." Kroeger (2005: 248) shares Payne's claim by writing "[a] stem is the part of a word that contains no inflectional morphology; it consists of the root plus any derivational morphology. So, while a root is always a single morpheme." In addition, Kroeger (2005: 14) distiguishes an affix from a root as follow:

> a. An affix is always bound, but a root is often free. If a particular morpheme occurs in isolation as a word, it must be a root. b. A root normally carries lexical meaning, i.e. the kind of meaning you would look up in a dictionary or the"basic" meaning of the word (e.g. *trust*, *man*, *chin*). An affix, on the other hand, frequently carries only grammatical meaning, such as 'plural,''third person,' 'past tense,' etc. c. An affix is always part of a closed class, meaning that there is only a limited (and typically small) number of other morphemes that could be found in the same position in the word. Roots, on the other hand, normally belong to an open class, meaning that there is a very large number of other morphemes of the same type. Moreover, new roots can be borrowed or invented quite freely, whereas new affixes enter the language only rarely.

Based on the above claims, since the stem contains a minimum of the root, and may be analyzable into a root plus derivational morphemes, I employ the term stem in the morphological analysis of Khimt'nga. Before I present the detailed grammatical analysis of the nouns, I provide general remarks about them.

Nouns in Khimt'anga are categorized as simple and derived. Simple (underived) nouns are not derived from other word categories, while derived nouns are derived from other noun classes. They can be formed from verbs, adjectives, nouns themselves as well as by compounding different lexical categories.

3.2.1. Number

As one can see in the following various subsections, Khimt'anga nouns inflect for plurality and singulative markings. "The number system in most languages operates with three terms: a basic, indeterminate form that is often called the "singular" in the literature, though it is usually neutral in respect of number, which in many languages has collective or mass reference as well. Formally derived from this may be two marked forms, a "singulative" referring to a single individual, and a plural with multiple reference" Appleyard (2011:10-11).

Appleyard's general and typological remark nicely fits with Khimt'anga nouns that are attested in three terms: plural, singulative and general (singular) distinctions. Plural and singulative are morphologically marked. On the other hand, general (for Corbett 2000: 10) and singular (for Appleyard 2007) is an indeterminate formative; it is mostly neutral with respect to number marking. It has a generic or a mass reference in this language. The two marked forms the singulative and the plural, are derived from this general form. The singulative refers to a

single individual, whereas the plural refers to several references. ”Number marking in nouns in Cushitic languages is particularly complex and heterogeneous and whilst there are commonalities, by and large it is not possible to reconstruct a single system for the proto language" (Appleyard 2011:10). This number marking complexity and heterogeneous feature is explicitly shown in Khimt’anga, especially in the formation of plurality.

3.2.1.1. General (unit reference, transnumeral)[13]

The general form of a noun denotes that a referent is generic entity. It is expressed unmarkedly by no means of a specific suffix. As observed in 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.1.3, the general noun is the base for singulative and plural markers to be added. From the semantic point of view, the general form of a noun refers to either the generic or collective meanings of nouns. In the examples in (1), whether a noun refers to an entity or a generic entity seems vague, but one can only understand the exact reference in such kinds of nouns from the context.

(1)

a. *lələ* 'a bee|bee'
b. *bigə* 'a sheep|sheep'
c. *əfərə* 'a child|child'
d. *ədʒɨr* 'a man|people'
e. *lɨwə* ‘a cow|cattle’
f. *qɨrɨŋə* ‘a stone|stone’
g. *dʒɨrɨwə* ‘a hen|hen’
h. *zədʒɨrə* ‘a baboon|baboon’
i. *əbɨt’ə* ‘a locust|locust
j. *zilə* ‘a bird|bird’
k. *bədʒɨwə* ‘a leopard|leopard’
l. *gɨzɨŋ* ‘a dog|dog’

The general is a basic and an indeterminate typically nonaligned with respect to number. It denotes collective or mass reference. See examples in (2).

[13] The term transnumeral is a German tradition in Biermann (1982), unit reference in Hayward (1979) and general in Andrzejewski (1960) cited in Corbett (2000: 10).

(2)

a. *ədʒɨr-ϕ* *tər-ϕ-u*
man-NOM come-3SG.M-PRV
'A man came |People came'

b. *tʃ'ank'-ɨ-ʃ-əw* *qɨrɨŋə* *s'aw-ϕ-əkʷ*
bother-EP-PASS-3SG.M.REL stone cook-3SG.M-IPV
'A starved person may eat something which is not edible.' (lit. 'The one who is worried cooks a stone /stones.') (proverb)

3.2.1.2. Singulative

Nouns of Khimt'anga that denote peculiarity include animate, plant, inanimate, masculine, feminine, countable, uncountable and neuter have a singulative form by suffixing the morpheme-*wə*.

Singulative is morphologically marked. It is indicated by the morpheme-*wə*. It denotes that a particular instance of a noun is singulative. Singulative and definite marker do not occur together within the same environment. Consequently, if they occur one before or after another the sentence will be ungrammatical. As can be seen in (2), since the nouns are TVs, the singulative marker-*wə* is suffixed to the noun.

(2)

Singulative	General[14]	Plural	Gloss
tʃ'arə-wə	*tʃ'arə*	*tʃ'arə-t'*	'summer'
zədʒɨrə-wə	*zədʒɨrə*	*zədʒɨ-t'*	'baboon'
abɨzə-wə	*abɨzə*	*abɨ-t'*	'lion'
ɨnnɨ-wə	*ɨnnɨ*	*ɨnnɨ*	'grandfather'
ago-wə	*ago*	*ago-wən*	'sedge'
χanəbo-wə	*χanəbo*	*χanəbo-wən*	'pumpkin'
sɨs'ɨrə-wə	*sɨs'ɨrə*	*sɨs'ɨr*	'pebble'
dʒanə-wə	*dʒanə*	*dʒanə-t'*	'elephant'

Singulative marking is also the feature of Highland Cushitic languages in general and Central Cushitic languages in particular (cf. both Anbessa 2000 and Kawachi 2007 for Sidaama and Appleyard 2007, 2011) for Bilin.

If nouns end in consonants, they insert the epenthetic vowel *-ɨ* in their noun stem in order to suffix the singulative marker-*wə*.

(3)

Singulative	General	Plural	Gloss
laqɨ-wə	*laq*	*laqɨ-t'an*	'tongue'
awɨrɨ-wə	*awɨr*	*qwɨ-t'*	'head'
məmɨnɨ-wə	*məmɨn*	*məmɨn-t'an*	'mistress'
gas'ɨ-wə	*gas'*	*gass'*	'face'
əsɨŋɨ-wə	*əsɨŋ*	*əsɨŋŋ*	'nose'

[14] As can be observed in Section 3.2.1,1 the generic notion is also expressed by the singular form of a noun stem, and it is the basic form for the plural and singulative formatives (cf. 3.2.1.2).

Note that all nouns that take the singulative marker-*wə* are either countable or uncountable. In (4) the uncountable nouns are provided with singulative markers. If the singulative marker attaches to the count nouns, it functions as a diminutive or intimacy with somebody or something. If the singulative marker attaches to the uncountable or mass nouns, it semantically denotes small amount or small quantity of something. Since the mass nouns are uncountable, in example (4) plural nouns are not marked.

(4)

Singulative	General	Plural	Gloss
sɨza-wə	*sɨza*	----	'sweat'
s'aq^{w}ɨ-wə	*s'aq^{w}*	----	'wot'
s'aβɨ-wə	*s'aβ*	----	'milk'
ʃɨla-wə	*ʃɨla*	----	'local beer'
sɨjə-wə	*sɨjə*	----	'butter'
awɨsi-wə	*awɨsi*	-----	'whey'

Although all nouns take singulative marker, they do not occur together with the definite marker in the same noun in the same environment. As seen in (5a-c), the sentences are grammatical. Because the singulative marker is allowed working with the case marker, whereas the sentences in (5d-f') are ungrammatical (or ill-formed). Therefore, the language does not permit the singulative marker occurring together with the definite marker.

(5)

a. *t'amtəw-ø*	*s'ark'ə-wə-t* [15]	*sir-ø-u*
Tamtew-NOM	cloth-SGL-ACC	wear.3SG.M-PRV

'Tamtew himself wore the cloth. '

[15]In Khimt'anga, both *s'ark'ə* and *alβə* are synonymous for the English equivalent word 'cloth, garment'. My consultants interchangeably use these terms as *s'ark'əwə* or *alβəwə* 'the small cloth, garment' in their singulative forms.

b. k'ənənəw-*ø*	*əl-ɨ-wə-t*	*t'az-ø-u*
Kenenew-NOM	eye-EP-SGL-ACC	hit-3SG.M-PRV
'Kenenew hit the eye.'		
c. *amaru-ø*	*laq-ɨ-wə-t*	*k'iβ-ɨ-tʃ*
Amaru-NOM	tongue–EP–SGL-ACC	cut-EP-PRV-3SG.F
'Amaru cut the tongue.'		
d. * *t'amtəw-ø*	*s'ark'ə-wə-d*	*sir-ø-u*
Tamtew-NOM	cloth-SGL-DEF	wear-3SG.M-PRV
'Tamtew himself wore the cloth.'		
e. * *k'ənənəw-ø*	*əl-ɨ-wə-d*	*t'az-ø-u*
Kenenew-NOM	eye-EP-SGL-DEF	hit-3SG.M-PRV
'Kenenew hit the eye. '		
f. * *amaru-ø*	*laq-ɨ-wə-ʃən*	*k'iβ-ɨ-tʃ*
Amaru-NOM	tongue-EP-SGL-DEF.FEM	cut-EP-PRV-3SG.F
'Amaru cut the tongue.'		

3.2.1.3. Plural

Plurality is complex and heterogeneous in this language. On the other hand, the Central Cushitic Languages: Kemantney and Bilin which are the closest languages to Khimt'anga have about 14 and 10 formatives in order to express their plurality (Zelealem 2003:229f and Appleyard 2007:485f), respectively.

Khimt'tanga employs various formatives to express plurality. Appleyard (1987a: 254ff) identifies six plural marking formatives in his grammatical sketch of Khimt'anga for expressing plurality. However, in the present study, plural marking is attested more than six numbers of formatives. Plural marking strategy in Khimt'anga is more difficult and many in number than

the other Cushitic languages[16] as far as the data collected and the reviewed materials are concerned. These plural marking strategies are the followings.

- Suffixation of *-t'*
- Suffixation of *-t'an*
- Deletion of the final vowels of noun stems *ə, a, e, o*
- Suffixation of *-n, -ən, -jən, -wən*
- The use of two plural markers in the same noun stem
- Simultaneous partial reduplication of ultimate consonant, deletion of the final vowel and suffixation of *-ən*
- Change of consonants, partial reduplication and deletion of vowels
- Ultimate change and partial reduplication of consonants
- Change of consonants and vowels, partial reduplication and deletion of vowels
- Change of consonants and vowels plus deletion of the final vowel-*ə*
- Change of the consonant and deletion of the vowel-*ə*
- Change and deletion of vowels
- Suffixation of *-k'*
- Suffixation of *-q*
- Irregular

[16] The use of different formatives in order to express plurality is quite common for several Cushitic languages of Ethiopia. For example, Sidaama (the Highland East Cushitic language) has about eight formatives (see Anbessa 2000:37, Kawachi 2007:85f). The Lowland Cushitic languages such as Diraytata, Oromo, and Konso express plurality by employing more than five markers (Wondowesen 2006: 67, Owens 1985:25, Ongaye 2013: 84), respectively.

I have provided the plural making analysis with illustrated examples for all the above mentioned list of strategies turn by turn in the following subsections.

3.2.1.3.1. Suffixation of *-t'*

For the formation of plurality, the suffix-*t'* can be added to the noun stem in different ways. There are sevenstrategies to suffix the morpheme-*t'* to the noun stem. These strategies are:

- the suffixation of the morpheme-*t'* to the noun stem alone
- the change of the final vowel of the noun stem to another vowel and suffixation of *-t'*
- the deletion of the syllable -rə from the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'*
- the deletion of a final vowel of the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'*
- the change of the final front vowel of the noun stems *e in*to *i* and suffixation of *-t'*
- the deletion of the final liquid consonant of the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'*
- the deletion of various syllables-*wə, -zə* of the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'*

3.2.1.3.1.1. Suffixation of the plural marker-*t'* alone

In order to form their plurality, several nouns suffix the morpheme-t' to the noun stem without changing any segment of the noun stem.

(6)

SG	PL	Gloss
ʧ'əwɨn	*ʧəwɨn-t'*	'plea'
wardə	*wardə-t'*	'game'
s'aŋɨn	*s'aŋɨn-t'*	'journey '
ŋɨn	*ŋɨn-t'*	'house'

3.2.1.3.1.2. Change of the final vowel of the noun and suffixation of *-t'*

Many nouns form their plurality by changing the final central vowels-*ə* or *-o* of the noun stem into *-ɨ* and suffixing the plural marker-*t'*. In the vast majority of cases, the central vowel-*ə* is changed into *-ɨ* to form plurality before adding the suffix-*t'*, yet one example is attested in word final position of the singular noun stem: i.e., *-o* is changed into *-ɨ* and suffix-*t'*.

(7)

SG	PL	Gloss
gibə	*gibɨ-t'*	'eyebrow'
aqɨs'ə	*aqɨsɨ-t'*	'crocodile'
aβɨzɨrtə	*aβɨzɨrtɨ-t'*	'congratulation'
βɨβə	*βɨβɨ-t'*	'snail'
marrəbbo	*marrəbbɨ-t'*	'gourd'

3.2.1.3.1.3. Deletion of the final vowel -ə of the noun stem and suffixation of -t'

Several nouns form their plurality by deleting the final central vowel *ə* from the noun stem and suffixing the morpheme *-t'* to the noun stem. Examples in (8) show this linguistic fact.

(8)

SG	PL	Gloss
midələ	*midəl-t'*	'arm'
zɨlə	*zɨl-t'*	'bird'
s'əβɨrə	*s'əβ-t'*	'dam'
wat'ɨrə	*wat'ɨr-t'*	'response'

3.2.1.3.1.4. Deletion of the syllable-*rə* of the noun stem and suffixation of -t'

Several nouns form their plurality by eliding the syllable-*rə* from the noun stem and adding the suffix-*t'* to the remaining stem of a noun.

(9)

SG	PL	Gloss
zədʒɨrə	*zədʒɨ-t'*	'baboon'
əgɨrə	*əgɨ-t'*	'placenta'
məjɨrə	*məjɨ-t'*	'sickle'

3.2.2.1.3.1.5. Change of the final front vowel of a noun stem-*e* into -i and suffixation of *-t'*

Many nouns form their plurality by changing the final front vowel *-e* of the noun stem into the front vowel-*i* and adding the suffix-*t'* to the stem of noun. Since the kinship terms like -*gure* 'master' →*-guri-t'* 'masters',and *-gule* 'queen' →*-guli-t'* 'queens' since these kinds of nouns are bound, they are hyphenated preceding their stem.

(10)

SG	PL	Gloss
-gure	. *-guri-t'*	'master'
-gule	*-guli-t'*	'queen'
ələziləze	*ələziləzi-t'*	'chameleon'
ruhe	*ruhi-t'*	'life'

3.2.1.3.1.6. Deletion of the final consonants: *r*, *l* of the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'*

Out of the collected data, a few nouns are attested by deleting the final consonant sounds *r* and *l* of the noun stem and suffixing the morpheme-*t'* to the remaining stem of the noun for expressing their plurality.

(11)

SG	PL	Gloss
awɨr	*awɨ-t'*	'head'
əwɨlɨwɨl	*əwɨlɨwɨ-t'*	'navel'

3.2.1.3.1.7. Deletion of syllables:-*zə*, *wə* of the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'*

From randomly collected and selected data, one noun is attested forming its plurality by deleting the syllable-*zə* from the noun stem and suffixing the morpheme -*t'* to the remaining stem of the noun. In addition, only one example is attested out of 515 randomly selected data forming its plurality by deleting the final syllable-*wə* of the noun stem and suffixing the morpheme-*t'* to the remaining stem of the noun to form its plurality.

(12)

SG	PL	Gloss
abɨzə	*abɨ-t'*	'lion'
mamowə	*mamo-t'*	'reprimand, admonish'

To sum up, as can be seen in 3.2.1.3.1 above, plurality is expressed in seven strategies for the suffix-*t'*. According to Appleyard (1987a :255), plurality is formed by either the suffix -*t'* or -*t*, however, in the present thesis only the suffix-*t'* is attested as a plural marker for Khimt'anga. Out of the collected data, no example is attested for the suffix-*t* in expressing plurality.

3.2.1.3.2. Suffixation-*t'an*

Several nouns form their plurality by employing the morpheme-*t'an*. There are four strategies for the suffixation of -*t'an* for the formation of plurality:

- Suffixation of morpheme -*t'an* alone

Deletion of the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem and suffixation of -*t'an*

- Change of the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem to *ɨ* and suffixation of -*t'an* and
- change of both vowels and consonants of the noun stem and suffixation of -*t'an*

3.2.1.3.2.1. Suffixation of the morpheme-*t'an* alone

Although there are several exceptions, in most nouns, the suffix-*t'an* is suffixed to the kinship terms and body parts. In many nouns, the suffix-*t'an* is added to the citation form of the noun stem for the formation of plurality. Though several body parts of nouns form their plural by the deletion of the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem: *gurrə* 'throat'→*gurr* 'throats', *k'ɨrtʃ'ə* 'cheek'→*k'ɨrtʃ'* 'cheeks', *χɨtʃ'ɨlə* 'finger'→*χɨtʃ'ɨl* 'fingers' and other plural marking strategies, the majority use the suffix-*t'an*.

(13)

a. Body parts

SG	PL	Gloss	SG	P L	Gloss
gab	*gabɨ-t'an*	'side' *(of body)*	*sib*	*sibɨ-t'an*	'lung'
əq^{w}	*əq*^{w}*ɨ-t'an*	'breast'	*dʒi*	*dʒi-t'an*	'horn
kis	*kisɨ-t'an*	'chest'	*əzən*	*əzən-t'an*	'heart'
χɨm	*χɨm-t'an*	lit. 'beard'	*ŋas'*	*ŋas'ɨ-t'an*	'bone'
χarədʒ	*χarədʒɨ -t'an*	'Adam's apple'	*zɨβəlɨk*^{w}	*zɨβəlɨk*^{w}*ɨ-t'an*	'foot'

As pointed out in (12b)**, a**lmost all kinship terms form their plural by using the suffix-*t'an***;** however**,** there are also few exceptions like **-***sɨn* 'sister'**→-***s'ɨn* 'sisters' **-***zɨn* 'brother'**→-***s'ɨn* **'**brothers**'** and *ɨnnɨ* **'**grandfather'**→***ɨnnɨ* **'**grandfathers**'**. As mentioned in Section 3.2.1.3.1.5, the majority of kinship terms in Khimt'anga are bound that is why they are marked as *-irzɨn*→*-irzɨn-t'an* 'uncle'*(*father's brother*), -ig*→-igɨ-t'*an* **'**uncle**'***(*mother's brother*),* etc.

(13)

b. Kinship terms

SG	PL	Gloss
-t'ark^{w}	*-t'ark-*^{w}*ɨ-t'an*	'sister-in-law'
-irzɨn	*-irzɨn-t'an*	'uncle'*(*father's brother*)*
-ig	-igɨ-t'*an*	'*u*ncle**'***(*mother's brother*)*
-t'ajɨr	*-t'ajɨr-t'an*	'aunt'*(*father's sister*)*

In addition to body parts and kinship terms in (13a-b) mentioned above, there are also other nouns that form their plural by the use of the suffix-*t'an*.

(13)

c. Other nouns

SG	PL	Gloss
mik'ɨnu	*mik'ɨnu-t'an*	'heifer'
kirβiz	*kirβizɨ-t'an*	'iron ring that holds ploughshare to the ploughshare beam'[17]
k'en	*k'en-t'an*	'wedding'
mər	*mər-t'an*	'sack'*(*made of hide*)*
miju	*miju-t'an*	'mortar, pounding tool'
kɨlul	*kɨlul-t'an*	'pup'
mɨkən	*mɨkən-t'an*	'church'

3.2.1.3.2.2. Deletion of the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem and suffixation of *-t'an*

Some nouns form their plurality by deleting the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem and suffixing the morpheme -*t'an*. See the following examples in (14).

(14)

SG	PL	Gloss
ərɨmə	*ərɨm-t'an*	'kid' (new born sheep*)*
ərβɨnə	*ərβɨn-t'an*	'handle of the plough'
mɨk'ək'ə	*mɨk'ək'ɨ-t'an*	'chin'
dʒɨrəfə	*dʒɨrəfɨ-t'an*	'whip'

[17] Note that as seen in (13a-c) above, the noun stems end in plosives, fricatives, affricates and approximant consonants form their plural by inserting the epenthetic vowel-*ɨ* before the adding suffix-*t'an* in order to abide by the phonotactic rule of the language. (cf. 2.6.6). For instance, in (13a) *dib* 'thigh'→*dibɨ-t'an* 'thighs', *kis* 'chest' →*kisɨ-t'an* 'chests' and *χarədʒ* 'Adam's apple' →*χarədʒɨ-t'an* 'Adam's apples' in (13c) can be mentioned, respectively..

3.2.1.3.2.3. Change of the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem into -*ɨ* and suffixation of -*t'an*

Some nouns form their plural by changing the final vowel-*ə* of the noun stem into -*ɨ* and adding the suffix-*t'an*. See the following examples in (15).

(15)

SG	PL	Gloss
mɨk'ək'ə	*mɨk'ək'ɨ-t'an*	'chin'
sɨk'otə	*sɨk'otɨ-t'an*	'small axe'
dʒɨrəfə	*dʒɨrəfɨ-t'an*	'*w*hip'

3.2.1.3.2.4. Change of vowels of the noun stem and suffixation of the plural marker-*t'an*

A few nouns are attested by changing the vowels of the noun stem and adding the morpheme-*t'an* to form their plural. For instance, in the first example in (16), the front vowel-*e* changes into the front vowel-*i*, and the suffix-*t'an* is added to the singular noun stem for the formation of its plural. In addition, there is also a change of vowel-*i* into vowel-*a* and then suffixing the morpheme-*t'an* to form plurality in the second example.

(16)

SG	PL	Gloss
are	*ari-t'an*	'market'
tʃ'iχal	*tʃaχal-t'an*	'ram'

Generally, although Appleyard (1987a: 256) argues that the plural markers are both the morphemes-*t'an* and -*tan*, -t*an* is never attested in the data collected for this thesis. In order to form the plural by employing the suffix-*t'an*, four strategies are attested for the suffixation of the morpheme-*t'an*. Table 12 summarizes the four strategies of the suffix-*t'an*.

Table 12: The summary of morpheme-t'an with its four strategies

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
-t'an alone	*k'ərz*	*k'ərzɨ-t'an*	'ear'
	-ir	*-ir-t'an*	'father'
	mɨkən	*mɨkən-t'an*	'a church'
deletion of v *ə* + *-t'an*	*ərɨmə*	*ərɨm-t'an*	'new born sheep'
	ərβɨnə	*ərβɨn-tan*	'handle of the plough'
change of v *ə to ɨ* + *-t'an*	*mɨk'ək'ə*	*mɨk'ək'ɨ-t'an*	'chin'
	sɨk'otə	*sɨk'otɨ-t'an*	'small axe'
change of v *e, i* to *i, a* respectively + *-t'an*	*are*	*ari–t'an*	'market'
	tʃ'iχal	*tʃ'aχal–t'an*	'lamb' (of goat)

3.2.1.3.3. Deletion of the final vowels-*ə*, *-a* and *-e*

For the formation of plural, the deletion of the final vowel of the noun stem is the second great proportion for the majority of nouns. In this form of plural, noun stems that end in vowels such as *ə*, *a* and *e* are presented in the following four subsections.

3.2.1.3.3.1. Deletions of the final vowel-*ə*

To form their plural, many nouns employ the deletion of the central vowel *-ə* of the noun stem at word final position. See the following examples in (17).

(17)

SG	PL	Gloss	SG	PL	Gloss
gɨbbɨnə	*gɨbbɨn*	*'* lizard'	*bitɨlə*	*bitɨl*	'rabbit'
əkɨrə	*əkɨr*	'meaning'	*fəkk'ənə*	*fəkk'ən*	'comb'
mək'ɨwə	*mək'ɨw*	'mosquito'	*awɨtʃɨnə*	*awɨtʃɨn*	'cat'
gudə	*gud*	'pot*'*	*qɨlunə*	*qɨlun*	'egg'
mɨs'unə	*mɨs'un*	'wether'	*qɨrɨŋə*	*qɨrɨŋ*	'stone'

3.2.1.3.3.2. Deletion of the final vowel-*a*

Some nouns form their plural by deleting the final vowel -*a* from the noun stem. Appleyard (1987a: 254ff) reports that the deletion of the vowel-*a* at the final position of the noun stem is quite important to express plural form. However, he does not report nouns ending in -*ə* and -e; but several nouns delete those vowels of the noun stem for the formation of plural. As can be seen in 3.2.1.3.3.1 and 3.2.1.3.3.3, a large number of examples are attested by deleting the final vowels-*ə* and -*e* of the noun stem for the formation of plurality in the present study.

(18)

SG	PL	Gloss
mɨqa	*mɨq*	'*s*hepherd'
bɨtt'a	*bɨtt'*	'louse'
k'ɨt'a	*k'ɨt'*	'muffin'

3.2.1.3.3.3. Deletion of the final front vowel-*e* of the noun stem

A few nouns are attested forming their plurality by deleting the final vowel-*e* from their noun stem. Examples are given in (19).

(19)

SG	PL	Gloss
gutate	*gutat*	'pea'
məkətəre	*məkətər*	' button'

3.2.1.3.3.4. Deletion and change of the central vowel-*ə*

Out of 515 nouns randomly selected for these data, one example is attested forming its plural by deleting the final vowel-*ə* plus the change of penultimate vowel-*ə* into -*ɨ* from its noun stem. This example is shown in (20).

(20)

SG	PL	Gloss
dʒɨzənə	*dʒɨzɨn*	'broom'

Table 13: The summary of plural marking with deletion of vowels:-ə, -a, and -e plus change of -ə into -ɨ

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
Deletion of *v -ə*	*əkɨrə*	*əkɨr*	'meaning'
Deletion of *v -a*	*mɨqa*	*mɨq*	'shepherd'
Deletion *v -e*	*məkətəre*	*məkətər*	'button'
Deletion of v-*ə* + change of -*ə* to -*ɨ*	*dʒɨzənə*	*dʒɨzɨn*	'broom'

3.2.1.3.4. Suffixation of *-n*, *-ən*, *-jən* and *-wən*

Several nouns form their plural by suffixing the morphemes-*n*, *-ən*, *-jən* and *-wən*. These plural suffixes seem different at the surface level. But they are not distinct and independent plural markers. Their underlying form is /-n/. The four segments: [-n], [-ən*]*, [-jən*]*and [-wən] are the allomorph of /-n/ due to the environment influence of the neighbouring terminal consonants and vowels of the noun stem under discussion. (See 2.6.4).

For example, if a noun stem ends in a vowel, it suffixes the morpheme-*n* alone. .If a noun stem ends in a consonant, it suffixes the morpheme-*ən* alone. If the noun stem ends in

front vowels *e* or *i*, it suffixes the morpheme-*ən* with the insertion of the semivowel-*j*- to avoid the impermissible sequence of vowels. The fourth allomorph of -*n* is also -*wən*. If the noun stem terminates in back vowels: *o* or *u*, it suffixes the morpheme-*ən* with the insertion of semivowel-*w*-. As mentioned in Section 2.6.4, two vowels coming together in the same environment is not allowed. As a result, the semivowel -*w*- is inserted.

3.2.1.3.4.1. Sufixation of -*n*

Several nouns form their plural by adding the suffix-*n* to the noun stem if the noun stem terminates in a vowel. In most cases, the noun stems that end in central vowels of their citation form are sensitive to add the suffix-*n* for the formation of their plural. Mainly the noun stems terminate in the central vowel-*ə*, there are also some nouns that end in the low central vowel-*a*, but very rarely suffix this suffix-*n*.

(21)

SG	PL	Gloss	SG	PL	Gloss
dimk'ə	*dimk'ə-n*	'relation'	*ʧitə*	*ʧitə-n*	'difference'
bat'ə	*bat'ə-n*	'riff, split'	*g^{w}anə*	*g^{w}anə-n*	'team, group'
talimirra	*talimirra-n*	'propaganda'	*baqaqa*	*baqaqa-n*	'splinter'

3.2.1.3.4.2. Suffixation of -*ən*

If noun stems terminate in consonants, whether they are indigenous or loan, they add the suffix-*ən* to form their plural. For the sake of simplicity, nouns are arranged based on their

ending consonant manner of articulations. In (22a), the plosive, in (22b), the Affricative in (22c), the fricative, in (22d), the nasal and in (22d), the liquids ending consonants are presented.

(22)

a. Plosives

SG	PL	Gloss	SG	PL	Gloss
lɨmət	*lɨmət-ən*	'tray'	*misɨg*	*misɨg-ən*	'field'
χaʃɨt	*χaʃɨt-ən*	'fallacy'	*χɨg*	*χɨg-ən*	'law'
t'ɨrit	*t'ɨrit-ən*	'property'	*sək'*	*sək'-ən*	'goat-pen'
tɨngɨrt	*tɨngɨrt-ən*	'miracle'	*bɨt'ɨrk'*	*bɨt'ɨrk'-ən*	'prig'

b. Affricates

gɨtʃ	*gɨtʃ-ən*	'estate'
awɨradʒ	*awɨradʒ-ən*	'joist'
gudʒdʒ	*gudʒdʒ-ən*	'hut, bungalow'

c. Fricatives

SG	PL	Gloss
gɨrf	*gɨrf-ən*	'garden'
gɨmz	gɨmz-ən	'heel'
gɨmz	*gɨmz-ən*	'heel'

d. Nasals

dukɨm	*dukɨm-ən*	'pick axe'
kiŋ	*kiŋ-ən*	'warning'
ʃiŋ^{w}	*ʃiŋ^{w}-ən*	'name'

e. Liquids

SG	PL	Gloss
mɨntʃ'ɨr	*mɨntʃ'ɨr-ən*	'lip'
s'ɨmɨr	*s'ɨmɨr-ən*	'fly whisk, tail'
sɨbɨr	*sɨbɨr-ən*	'furrow'
ək'ɨl	*ək'ɨl-ən*	'parent'(both male and female)

3.2.1.3.4.3. Suffixation of *-jən*

As mentioned in 3.2.1.4.3 above, *-jən* is an allomorph of *-n* where the noun stems followed by front vowels *e* and *i* which form their plural by adding the suffix*-jən*. This is expressed for nouns which are indigenous or loan from different languages. Therefore, in this grammatical expression glide insertion is phonetically conditioned. One can figure out that most of the examples shown in (23) are borrowed nouns from Amharic. However, when they form their plural, they follow the rule of Khimt'anga plural marking system.

(23)

a. Nouns ending in *e*

SG	PL	Gloss
tʃɨgɨre	*tʃɨgɨre-jən*	'razorblade'
gorade	*gorade-jən*	'sabre'

b. Nouns ending in *i*

χaləngi	*χaləngi-jən*	'scourge'
ədʒəsəri	*ədʒəsəri-jən*	'black smith, artisan'
wɨrant'i	*wɨrant'i–jən*	'tong'
angari	*angari-jən*	'pelt'

3.2.1.3.4.4. Suffixation of *-wən*

The plural marker-*wən* is an allomorph of *-n* like *-jən* mentioned in 3.2.1.3.4.3 above. When a noun stem terminates in back vowels *u* or *o*, it forms its plural by adding the suffix -ən with the insertion of the semivowel-*w*- to avoid the impermissible sequence of vowels. It is phonetically conditioned (cf. Section 2.6.4) as well.

(24)

SG	PL	Gloss
goltʃu	*goltʃu-wən*	‘tortoise’
antifo	*antifo-wən*	‘flute’

Table 14: The summary of a morpheme /-n/ with its four allomorphs [-n], -[-ən], [-jən] and [-wən]

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
-n	*tʃitə*	*tʃitə-n*	‘difference’
-ən	*mɨntʃ’ɨr*	*mɨntʃ’ɨr-ən*	‘lip’
	dukɨm	*dukɨm-ən*	‘pick axe’
	ək’ɨl	*ək’ɨl-ən*	‘parent’
-jən	*tʃɨgɨre*	*tʃɨgɨre-jən*	‘razorblade’
	ədʒəsəri	*ədʒəsəri-jən*	‘blacksmith, artisan’
-wən	*ago*	*ago-wən*	‘sedge’
	χanəbo	*χanəbo-wən*	‘pumpkin’

3.2.1.3.5. Ultimate partial reduplication, deletion of vowels and suffixation of *-ən*

Several nouns form their plural simultaneously by partially reduplicating the final consonant of the base/stem, deletion of the final vowels of the noun stem and suffixation of the morpheme *-ən* to the stem. As a result, in this strategy, four ways are employed for the formation of plurality. They are:

- Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and deletion of a final vowel-*ə*
- Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and deletion of the final vowel-*a*

- Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and suffixation of the morpheme-*ən* to the stem and
- Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant alone

3.2.1.3.5.1. Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and deletion of the vowel-*ə*

Several nouns form their plural by partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and deletion of the central vowel-ə from the noun stem. We can see the following examples in (25).

(25)

SG	PL	Gloss	SG	PL	Gloss
wik'ə	*wikk'*	'hyena'	*s'adʒə*	*s'adʒdʒ*	'kid'(new born goat)
bilə	*bill*	'door'	*mirə*	*mirr*	'gate'
s'as'ə	*s'ass'*	'fly'	*was'ə*	*wass'*	'mat, carpet'
sinə	*sinn*	'story, tale'	*təgə*	*təgg*	'pace'

3.2.1.3.5.2. Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and deletion of *-a*

Some nouns form their plural by partially reduplicating their ultimate consonant and deleting the final vowel-*a* from their noun stem.

(26)

SG	PL	Gloss
ʃɨt'a	*ʃɨtt'*	lit. 'mustard'
dɨga	*dɨgg*	'corner'
wɨt'a	*wɨtt'*	'competition, race'

3.2.1.3.5.3. Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant and suffixation of *-ən*

Many nouns that end in consonants form their plurality by partially reduplicating their ultimate consonant and adding the suffix-*ən*. In order to form their plural, the ultimate consonant of the noun stem should be partially reduplicated for suffixing the morpheme-*ən*. Note that in (28), the last example *sələ* 'knife' becomes səllən 'knives'. Since this noun ends in a vowel, it partially reduplicates its ultimate consonant and then, the morpheme-n is added to the reduplicated stem. But all the remainings are followed by the suffix-*ən*, because all of them end in consonants.

(28)

SG	PL	Gloss
k'əs	*k'əssən*	'priest'
zan	*zannən*	'insult'
kif	*kiffən*	'wing'
sələ	*səllən*	'knife'

3.2.1.3.1.5.4. Partial reduplication of the ultimate consonants

Several nouns form their plural by partially reduplicating the ultimate consonant of the noun stem alone. See the examples in (29).

(29)

SG	PL	Gloss	SG	PL	Gloss
gas'	*gass'*	'face'	*təg*	*təgg*	'gum'
əsɨŋ	*əsɨŋŋ*	'nose'	*gɨb*	*gɨbb*	'stick'
dʒɨjur	*dʒɨjurr*	'shoulder'	*tʃ'an*	*tʃ'ann*	'valley'
dʒit'	*dʒitt'*	'buttock'	*imar*	*imarr*	'language'
t'ɨŋ^{w}	*t'ɨŋŋ*^{w}	'anus'	*tʃ'in*	*tʃ'inn*	'pitcher'

Table 15: The summary of ultimate partial reduplication, deletion of vowels-ə, -a and the suffixation of -ən

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
PRDP + deletion of v *ə*	*s'as'ə*	*s'ass'*	'fly'
	wik'ə	*wikk'*	'hyena'
PRDP + deletion of v *a*	*dɨga*	*dɨgg*	'corner'
	wɨt'a	*wɨtt'*	'competition, race'
PRDP + *-ən*	*kif*	*kiffən*	'wing'
	zin	*zinnən*	'relative'
PRDP alone	*əsɨŋ*	*əsɨŋŋ*	'nose'
	tʃ'in	*tʃ'inn*	'pitcher'

3.2.1.3.6. Change of consonants (mutation), partial reduplication and deletion of vowels

At the same time, nouns make their plural by changing the consonants, and partially reduplicating the changed consonant and deleting the final vowel-*ə* from the noun stem. In this strategy, in order to form their plural, three grammatical changes take place; consonant alternation, partial reduplication and deletion of the final vowels.

> By the term "consonantal ablaut." I shall refer to that morphophonemic process current to varying degrees in all Agaw languages by which certain morphologicnl categories are marked by a controlled alternation in one or more of the consonants of the lexical stem, with or without additional marking by means of suffixes. In Bilin, Xamir[18], and Kemant this process is chiefly employed in the formation of noun plurals, and this most widely in Bilin (Appleyard 1984: 35).

According to Appleyard (1984), consonant alternation plays an important role in plural formation in Agaw languages at large and Khimt'anga in particular. It is mainly a feature of the three Agaw languages: Khimt'anga, Kemantney and Bilin.

[18] In the present study, it refers to Khimt'anga.

It can be noted that in (30a-b), nouns having the bilabial fricative-*β* in their stem are changed into the partially reduplicated bilabial plosive-*bb* to form their plurality. In (30c-e), nouns contain the voiced velar plosive consonant-*g* in their stem form their plurality by changing it into the partially reduplicated velar glottalized plosive -*kk'*. In addition in (30f-h), nouns having the alveolar trill-*r* in their stem are changed into the partially reduplicated alveolar lateral approximant-*ll* for the formation of their plural. Finally in (30i-j), nouns that hold the voiceless alveolar plosive-*t* and the voiced fricative-*z* in their stem form their plural by changing them into the partially reduplicated alveolar glottalized plosive-*tt'* and the partially reduplicated alveolar fricative-*ss'*, respectively.

(30)

SG	PL	Gloss
a . *arβə*	*arɨbb*	'*m*oon'
b. *χarβə*	*χarɨbb*	'person' (visually impaired)
c. *wigə*	*wikk'*	'conversation'
d. *bigə*	*bikk'*	'sheep'
e. *dʒɨgə*	*dʒɨkk'*	'tendon'
f. *birə*	*bill*	'ox'
g. *qutʃ'ɨrə*	*qutʃ'ill*	'penis'
h. *bɨtɨrə*	*bɨtill*	'calf' (of leg*)*
i. *aχɨtə*	*aχɨtt'*	lit. 'phlegm'
j. *gɨzə*	*gɨss'*	'neighbour'

3.2.1.3.7. Ultimate changing and partial reduplication of consonants

Several nouns form their plurality by employing both ultimate consonantal change and partially reduplicating the changed consonant. These nouns usually end in the alveolar trill-*r* and the voiced bilabial fricative-*β*. To form their plurality in the majority of those kinds of

nouns, two grammatical changes take place: consonantal change and partial reduplication of the ultimate consonant (cf. 2.6.7).

As shown in (31a-e), one can deduce that noun stems that end in the alveolar trill-*r* form their plural by changing it into the partial reduplicated alveolar lateral approximant-*ll*. They mainly include kinship terms such as -q^{w}*ɨr* 'daughter' becomes-q^{w}*ɨll* 'daughters', e.t.c. And in (31f-g), a few nouns form their plural by changing the bilabial fricative-*β* into the partial reduplicated bilabial plosive-*bb*. For example, nouns like *səβ* 'job, work' becomes *səbb* 'jobs, works' and *liβ* 'udder' becomes *libb* 'udders'.

(31)

SG	PL	Gloss
a .- χ^{w}*ɨr*	χ^{w}*ɨll*	'son , generation'
b. -*aβɨr*q^{w}*ɨr*	-*aβɨr*q^{w}*ɨll*	'god daughter'
c.- *aβɨr*χ^{w}*ɨr*	-*aβɨr*χ^{w}*ɨll*	'god son'
d. -q^{w}*ɨr*	-q^{w}*ɨll*	'daughter'
e.-*gir*	-*gill*	'boy'
f. səβ	*səbb*	'job, work'
g. *liβ*	*lɨbb*	'udder'

Both reduplication and gemination are the means for plural formation in Konso, one of the Lowland Cushitic language of Ethiopia as well (cf. Ongaye 2013: 83f).

3.2.1.3.8. Change of the consonants, vowel change, partial reduplication and deletion of vowels

A few nouns form their plural by employing our grammatical processes in the same noun. As we can see in (32), consonantal change, vowel change, partial reduplication and deletion of the noun stem final vowels take place for the formation of their plural. As can be

seen in (32), the two examples, *mɨdʒi* 'girl' becomes *mikk'ʷ* 'girls' the central vowel-*ɨ* is changed into the front vowel-*i*, the palatal affricate-*dʒ* is as well changed into the labio-velar glotlalized plosive-*k'ʷ* for the purpose of forming plural with the deletion of the stem final front vowel-*i*. In the second example, the noun stem *wirβə* 'river' becomes *warɨbb* 'rivers' the high front vowel-*i* is changed into the low central vowel-*a* and the bilabial fricative-*β* is also converted into the partial reduplicted bilabial plosive-*bb* with the deletion of the stem final central vowel-*ə* for the formation of plurality.

(32)

SG	PL	Gloss
mɨdʒi	*mikk'ʷ*	'girl'
wirβə	*warɨbb*	'river'

3.2.1.3.9. Consonantal and vowel change plus deletion of the vowel-*ə*

A lot of nouns form their plural by employing both consonantal and vowel change with the deletion of the final central vowel-*ə* of their noun stem. As can be observed in (33), in the three examples, *firzə* 'horse' *dʒirβə* 'hip' and *tʃintə* 'bullock' become *fars'* 'horses' *dʒarb* 'hips' and *tʃat'ɨn* 'bullocks'. In all of the three examples, the high front vowel-*i* is changed into the low central vowel-*a* and the alveolar fricative-*z*; the bilabial fricative-*β* and alveolar plosive-*t* are changed into the alveolar glottalized fricative-*s'*; the bilabial plosive-*b* and the alveolar glotlalized plosive-t' plus the deletion of the central vowel-*ə* of singular noun stem form their plural, respectively.

(33)

SG	PL	Gloss
firzə	*fars'*	'horse'
dʒirβə	*dʒarb*	'hip'
ʧintə	*ʧat'ɨn*	'bullock'

Table 16: The summary of consonantal change and vowel change, partial reduplication and deletion of vowels

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
Change of C + PRDP + deletion of v *ə*	*gɨzə*	*gɨss'*	'neighbour'
	birə	*Bill*	'ox'
Change of C + PRDP	*gir*	*gill*	'boy'
	səβ	*səbb*	'job, work '
Change of C+PRDP *v* + deletion of v *i*, *ə*	*mɨdʒi*	*mikk'^{w}*	'girl'
	wirβə	*warɨbb*	'river'
change of C and v + deletion of v *ə*	*firzə*	*fars'*	'horse'
	dʒirβə	*dʒarb*	'hip'

3.2.1.3.10. Change of the consonant and deletion of *-ə*

The following nouns in (34) mainly make their plural by changing their penultimate approximant sound *w* into the labio-velar glottalized consonant and by deleting the final vowel *-ə of* the the noun stem. In addition, the consonantal changes are from *-β* to b, *-z* to *-s'*, *-z* to *-ʧ',-ʃ* to *-ʧ', s to s',-r* to *-l*, *-χ* to *-q* and *-χ^{w}* to *-q^{w}*

3.2.1.3.10.1. Consonantal change from *w* to *k'ʷ* and deletion of *-ə*

As can be observed in (34), several nouns form their plural by changing the approximant sound *w* into the labio-velar glottalized consonant and by eliding the central vowel *ə* from its stem.

(34)

SG	PL	Gloss
əwɨnə	*əkʼʷɨn*	'woman'
dʒɨrɨwə	*dʒɨrkʼʷ*	'hen'
tʃʼətʃʼɨwə	*tʃʼətʃʼɨkʼʷ*	'chicken, pullet'

3.2.1.3.10.2. Consonantal change and deletion of the vowel-*ə*

Several nouns form their plural by changing the fricative consonants-*z* into *-sʼ* or *-tʃʼ* and *-β* into *-b*, and by deleting the final central vowel-*ə* of the noun stem. See the following examples given in (35).

*(*35)

SG	PL	Gloss
dəzə	*dəsʼ*	'pavilion'
əgɨzə	*əgɨsʼ*	'number'
məzə	*mətʃʼ*	'best-man'
siβə	*sib*	'tattoo'

3.2.1.3.10.3. Consonantal change from *-β* to *-b*

Some nouns form their plural by changing the bilabial fricative-β into the bilabial plosive-*b*.

(36)

SG	PL	Gloss
ajɨβ	*ajɨb*	*lit*. 'shame'
aβɨn	*abɨn*	'guest'

3.2.1.3.10.4. Consonantal change from *-ʃ* to *-tʃ'* and deletion of *-ə*

Some nouns form their plurality by changing the voiceless palatal fricative-*ʃ* into the voiceless palatal glottalized affricate-*tʃ'* plus deletion of the final central vowel-*ə* of the noun stem.

(37)

SG	PL	Gloss
χaməʃə	*χamətʃ'*	'father-in-law'
kəʃə	*kətʃ'*	'sack'
maχarʃə	*maχartʃ'*	'plough'

3.2.1.3.10.5. Consonantal change from *-z* to *-s'* or-s to *-s'*

Some nouns form their plural by changing the voiced alveolar fricative-*z* into the alveolar glottalized fricative *-s'*or the voiceless alveolar fricative *-s* into the glottalized-s'

(38)

SG	PL	Gloss
gɨzɨŋ	*gɨs'ɨŋ*	'dog'
-sɨn	*s'ɨn*	'sister'

3.2.1.3.10.6. Di-consonantal changes within the same noun stem

Some nouns form their plural by changing two consonants at the same time in the same noun stem. The consonantal changes take place from the alveolar trill-*r* into the alveolar lateral approximant-*l*, from voiceless uvular fricative-*χ* into the voiceless uvular plosives–*q*, from voiceless labiolized uvular fricative-χ^w into the voiceless labiolized uvular plosive-q^w and from the voiced bilabial fricative-*β* into the voiced bilabial plosive-*b*. As can be seen in (39), in the first example *aχɨr* 'straps' becomes *aqɨl* 'straps'. In order to form their plural both the uvular fricative-*χ* and the alveolar trill-*r* are simultaneously changed into the uvular plosive-*q* and the alveolar lateral approximant-*l*, respectively. In the second example, *dɨχ^{w}arə* 'donkey' becomes *dɨq^{w}al* 'donkeys'. The plural is formed by the change of both the labiolized uvular fricative consonant-χ^w and the alveolar trill consonant-*r* into the labiolized uvular plosive-q^w and the alveolar lateral approximant-*l* as well as the deletion of the central vowel-*ə*, respectively. In the third example, *gɨβɨr* 'trough, kneading 'becomes *gɨbɨl* 'troughs, kneadings'. In this noun the plural is expressed by the change of both the bilabial fricative-*β* and the alveolar trill-*r* into the bilabial plosive-*b* and the alveolar lateral approximant-*l*, respectively.

(39)

SG	PL	Gloss
aχɨr	*aqɨl*	'strap'
dɨχ^{w}arə	*dɨq^{w}al*	'donkey'
gɨβɨr	*gɨbɨl*	'trough, kneading'

3.2.1.3.11. Vowel change (vocalic ablaut) and vowel deletion

Certain nouns make their plural by changing vowels of their noun stem. Simultaneously they not only change the vowels of their noun stem, but also delete the final vowel-*ə* from their noun stem. Thus, we can figure out that two grammatical processes take place.

- Vowel change and deletion of the final vowel -*ə* and
- Vowel change only

3.2.1.3.11.1. Vowel change and deletion of the final vowel-*ə*

Out of a randomly selected 515 nouns, two nouns only form their plural by the change of the central vowel-*ə* into -*ɨ* and -*ɨ* into -*ə* vice versa and the deletion of the final central vowel-*ə* of the noun stem. In (40), *wəʃəbɨlə* 'adolescent' changes into *wɨʃəbɨl* 'adolescents'. Plurality is formed by changing the central vowel -*ə* into -*ɨ* and the deletion of the final central vowel-*ə* from the noun stem. Again *χasɨrə* 'husk' changes into *χasər* 'husks' in which case plurality is expressed by changing the central vowel -*ɨ* into the central vowel -*ə*, and deletion of the final central vowel-*ə* from its noun stem. See examples in (40).

(40)

SG	PL	Gloss
wəʃəbɨlə	*wɨʃəbɨl*	'adolescent'
χasɨrə	*χasər*	'husk'

3.2.1.3.11.2. Vowel change only

A few nouns are attested forming their plurality by the change of their vowels in their internal noun stem. As can be seen in (41), in the first example, *ʧiziŋ* 'farmland' becomes *ʧaziŋ*'farmlands' in which case the high front vowel -*i* changes into the low central vowel -*a*. In the second example, *ʃəwətʃ'* 'week' changes into *ʃəwitʃ'*'weeks' where the mid central vowel -*ə* is converted into the high central vowel -*i* for the purpose of forming their plural.

(41)

SG	PL	Gloss
ʧiziŋ	*ʧaziŋ*	'farmland'
ʃəwətʃ'	*ʃəwitʃ'*	'week'

Table 17: The summary of consonantal change, vowel change and vowel deletion

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
change of C -*β* to –*b*	*aβɨn*	*abɨn*	'guest'
	ajɨβ	*ajɨb*	'shame'
change of C -*z* to -*s'* *or -s to -s'*	*gɨzɨŋ*	*gɨs'ɨŋ*	'dog'
	sɨn	*s'ɨn*	'sister'
change of C -*z* to -*s'* or -*z* to -*tʃ'* + deletion of v -*ə*	*əgɨzə*	*əgɨs'*	'number'
	məzə	*mətʃ'*	'best-man'
change of C -*ʃ* to -*tʃ'* + deletion of v -ə	*χaməʃə*	*χamətʃ'*	'father-in-law'
	kəʃə	*kətʃ'*	'sack'
change of two C in the same noun stem	*aχɨr*	*aqɨl*	'strap'
	gɨβɨr	*gɨbɨl*	'trough, kneading'
change of v + deletion of v -*ə*	*wəʃəbɨlə*	*wɨʃəbɨl*	'adolescent'
	χasɨrə	*χasər*	'husk'
Change of v only	*tʃîzɨŋ*	*tʃazɨŋ*	'farmland'
	ʃəwətʃ'	*ʃəwɨtʃ'*	'week'

3.2.1.3.12. Suffixation of -*q*

A few nouns form their plurality by suffixing the plural marker-*q*. As we can see from the examples in (42), the plural marker-*q* is suffixed in two ways. In the first example *ŋa* 'brain' becomes *ŋa-q* 'brains'. In this formation of plural the suffix-*q* is added to the noun stem, whereas in the second example *s'ɨla* 'umbrella' becomes *s'ɨl-q* 'umbrellas'. So, in the second example, plurality is formed not only by suffixing the plural marker-*q* but also by deletion of the final low central vowel-*a* from the noun stem.

*(*42*)*

SG	PL	Gloss
ŋa	*ŋa-q*	‘brain’
s’ɨla	*s’ɨl-q*	‘umbrella’

3.2.1.1.13. Suffixation of *-k’*

Some nouns form their plural by adding the suffix-*k’* to the noun stem. There is also the change of the stem final front vowels in the plural formation. As can be seen in (43), *gɨre* ‘day’ changes into *gɨri-k’* ‘days’ it forms its plural by the change of both the consonants and vowels. In the noun stem, the final front vowel-*e* changes into *-i* and then the other front vowel *i* is changed into the central vowel *ɨ*, and suffix-*k’* is added to the noun stem.

In the second example, *kiβi* ‘a measuring device‘ changes into *kɨβɨ-k’* ‘measuring devices’. For the formation of plurality, the stem final front vowel-*i* is converted into the central vowel-*ɨ*, and then the suffix-*k’* is added to the noun stem.

(43)

SG	PL	Gloss
gɨre	*gɨri-k’*	‘day’
kɨβi	*kɨβɨ-k’*	‘measuring device’

3.2.1.3.14. The use of two plural markers for the same noun stem

Several nouns form their plural by employing two plural marking strategies for the same noun stem. Very rarely three plural markings are also attested. Speakers of Khimt'anga employ interchangeably two different plural markers of the same noun stem in their communication. See the examples in (44a-c).

(44)

a.*-t'an /-q /-n /-ən/ -qan /-t'/ PRDP / c change*

SG	PL	Gloss
ami	*ami-t'an*	'thorn'
ami	*ami-q*	'thorn'
əwələ	*əwələ-t'an*	'foal'
əwələ	*əwələ-n*	'foal'
biŋ^{w}	*biŋ^{w}-t'an*	'pit'
biŋ^{w}	*biŋ^{w}-ən*	'pit'
zəf	*zəfɨ-t'an*	'tree'
zəf	*zəff*	'tree'
k'of	*k'ofɨ-t'an*	*'cap'*
k'of	*k'off*	'cap'
əqurqur	*əqurqur-t'an*	'filter' *(*of local beer*)*
əqurqur	*əqurqurr*	'filter' *(*of local beer*)*
dʒɨrenə	*dʒɨren-t'an*	'guinea fowl'
dʒɨrenə	*dʒɨre-qan*	'guinea fowl'
mizɨβ	*mizɨβɨ-t'an*	'yoke'
mizɨβ	*mizɨb*	'yoke'
gɨrβ	*gɨrβɨ-t'an*	'knee'
gɨrβ	*gɨrb*	'knee'
lɨχan	*lɨχann*	'sore, wound'
lɨχan	*lɨχan-t'an*	'sore, wound'
gən	*gən-t'*	'reservoir'
gən	*gən–t'an*	'reservoir'

b. *-t'/-n/-ən/ -q/-tʃ'/ change* of *c /del* of *v -ə*

SG	PL	Gloss
k'ətə	*k'əti-t'*	'error'
k'ətə	*k'ətə-n*	'error'
arʃə	*arʃi-t'*	'farmer'
arʃə	*arʃ*	'farmer'
χabəʃə	*χabəʃi-t'*	'loaf'
χabəʃə	*χabə-tʃ'*	'loaf'
arfə	*arfi-t'*	'month'
arfə	*arf*	'month'
gən	*gən-t'*	'reservoir'
gən	*gən-n*	'reservoir'

c. *Ultimate PRDP /change* of *c/-ən/ del* of v *-ə /-q*

SG	PL	Gloss
zɨn	*zinn*	'brother'
zɨn	*s'in*	'brother'
gor	*gorr*	'dispute'
gor	*gorr-ən*	'dispute'
ʃikə	*ʃikk*	'light'
ʃikə	*ʃik*	'light'
bəwəl	*bəwəll*	'antiquity'
bəwəl	bəwəl-q	'antiquity'
χudə	χutt'	'vagina'
χudə	*χud*	'vagina'
mədɨr	*mədɨll*	'cattlepen'
mədɨr	*mədɨr-ən*	'cattlepen'

Table 18: The summary of plural marking with three different formatives

Plural markers	SG	PL	Gloss
-q	*ŋa*	*ŋa-q*	'brain'
	s'ɨla	*s'ɨla-q*	'umbrella'
-k'	*gɨre*	*gɨri-k'*	'day'
	kɨβi	*kɨβɨ-k'*	'measuring tool'
2 PL for same N	*ami*	*ami-t'an*	'thorn'
	ami	*ami-q*	'thorn'

3.2.1.3.15. Irregular plurals

In many cases, plural marking is so complex and heterogeneous that one cannot easily predict the rules of plural formation of nouns. Certain plural nouns do not fall into the patterns discussed above. The majority of nouns do not entirely follow the regular pattern of plural expression. Though these nouns seem irregular, they follow certain patterns. For example, in (45a), *tʃin* 'bull' changes into *tʃank'ɨn* 'bulls', there is a vowel change from *i to a* and with addition of the suffix-*k'ɨn*. In (45b), *ədʒɨr* 'man' becomes *ək'* 'men', there is a consonantal change from *dʒ to k'* and a deletion of a final syllable *ɨr* of a singular noun stem *ədʒɨr* 'man'. In (45c), *ʃimɨr* 'arbiter, old man' becomes *ʃiməkɨl* 'arbiters, old men', In this example, there is a vowel change from *ɨ to ə* and a consonantal change from r to l with the addition of the suffix-k'. In (45d), *jəβe* 'duck 'becomes *jɨbbik'* 'ducks', there are vowel changes from *ə* to *ɨ* and *e* to *i*, plus consonantal change from *β* to the partially reduplicated *bb* and a suffix-*k'*. In (45e), *maluzə* 'monk' changes into *malqus*' 'monks'. In this plural formation, there is a consonantal change from *z* to *s'* and a deletion of a final central vowel *ə* with the addition of the suffix-*q*. In (45f), *təkə* 'example' becomes *təkɨzɨt'* 'examples', there is a change of vowel from *ə* to *ɨ* and a suffix-*zɨt'*. In (45g), *amɨrə* 'year' changes into *mɨt* 'years', the word initial syllable *am-* and the word

final syllable-*rə* are deleted from the noun stem with the addition of a new segment *t* in the formation of plural. Finally in (45h and i), plurality is expressed in the zero morpheme as *ɨnnɨ* 'grandfather' *ɨnnɨ* 'grandfathers' and *s'ɨjə* 'flower' *s'ɨjə* 'flowers', respectively. According to the collected data, the last two examples in (45h and i) can be considered a zero suffix expressions in plural formation.

(45)

SG	PL	Gloss
a. *tʃin*	*tʃank'in*	'bull'
b. *ədʒɨr*	*ək'*	'man'
c. *ʃɨmɨr*	*ʃɨmək'ɨl*	'arbiter, old man'
d. *jəβe*	*jɨbbik'*	'duck'
e. *maluzə*	*malqus'*	'monk'
f. *təkə*	*təkɨzɨt', təkizan*	'example'
g. *ammɨrə*	*mɨt*	'year'.
h. *ɨnnɨ*	*ɨnnɨ*	'grandfather'
i. *s'ɨjə*	*s'ɨjə*	'flower'

3.2.1.4. Associative plural

In addition to singulative and plural markings, Khimt'anga inflects for associative plural as well. The associative plural in this language is marked by the suffix-*taj*. According to Michael Daniel (2013: 1), "[a]ssociative plural constructions consist of a noun 'X (typically of human reference, usually a person's name or a kin term) and some other material, most often an affix, a clitic, or a word. The meaning of the construction is 'X and other people associated with X'." In Khimt'anga, in all the cases, the associative plural is marked only on the class of humans (or proper names). Look at the following examples in (46a-b).

(46)

a. *guləʃə-taj* *ŋɨ-s'amɨr* *aqi* *wirβə-d* *bəb-ɨ-ŋ-u*
Guleshe-ASS.PL 3SG.M.POSS-friend.PL inside river-DEF swim-EP-3PL-PRV
'Guleshe and his friends swam in the river.'

b. *sənbətu-taj* *ŋɨr-s'amɨr* *ammɨrə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *mɨkən-d* *fir-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}*
Senbetu-ASS.PL 3SG.F.POSS- friend.PL tomorrow to church-DEF go-EP-3PL-IPV
'Senbetu and her friends will go to the church.'

3.2.1.5. Summary

To sum up, the general noun in Khimt'anga is morphologically unmarked. It is an indeterminate value with respect to number. It can refer to either the collective or the mass reference of nonspecific nouns. It is the base for the singulative and plural formatives. In contrast, in almost all kinds of nouns of Khimt'anga, singulative is morphologically marked by adding the suffix-*wə*.

To form plurality, Khimt'anga employs quite heterogeneous and complex formatives. It expresses plurality in different strategies. One can generalize the formation of plurality into four major categories: suffixation (or addition) of suffixes, subtraction (or deletion) of segments, partial stem reduplication and internal stem modification (or consonantal change and vocalic ablaut). The associative plural is marked by the suffix-*taj*, and it is only attached to the proper names.

As can be shown in Table 19, there are 15 number marking strategies used to mark plural in nouns. The number of formatives are arranged from the highest to the lowest frequently occurring formatives with a sample of about 515 nouns (cf. Appendix II).

Table 19: The summary of plural marking strategies

S.No	Plural marking formatives	No of nouns	%
1	Suffixation of the morpheme-*t'*.	128	22.26%
2	Deletion of the final vowels-*ə*, *-a*, *-e*, *o* of a noun stem	100	19.41%
3	Suffixation of the morphemes-*n*, *-ən*, *-jən*, *-wən*	80	15.53%
4	Suffixation of the morpheme-*t'an*	76	14.75%
5	Use two plural markers in the same noun	48	9.32%
6	Change of consonants, partial reduplication and deletion of vowels	21	4.08%
7	Reduplication of the ultimate consonant, deletion of the final vowel and suffixation of *-ən*	17	3.30%
8	Use consonant change and deletion of a vowel-*ə*	9	1.75%
9	Use irregular plural forms	9	1.75%
10	Ultimate change and partial reduplication of consonants	7	1.36%
11	. Consonantal and vowel change plus deletion of the vowel-*ə*	7	1.36%
12	Vowel change (vocalic ablaut) and vowel deletion	5	0.97%
13	change of consonants and vowels plus partial reduplication and deletion of vowels	4	0.78%
14	Suffixation of the morpheme-*q*	2	0.39%
15	Suffixation of the morpheme-*k'*	2	0.39%
	Total	515	100%

3.2.2. Gender

A two way gender system in a generic and a one unidentified in plural system is attested in nouns. Unidentified plural system does not tell us the specific gender. It can serve for both masculine and feminine. The three gender distinctions are masculine, feminine and plural. But plural nouns do not show gender distinction. These three terms are distinguished by looking at the verbal predicate.

The gender system is distinguished as masculine and feminine. In most cases, gender distinction is a characteristic of animate nouns. Inanimate nouns, with very few exceptions belong to the masculine category. The feminine gender[19] is employed for all the animate entities that have reference to either the biologically female or the diminutive (smallness). In some cases, the feminine gender can also be used for the expression of activeness or smallness, irrespective of their biological sex. For example, *ɸitʃ'irə* 'goat', *sarrə* 'spider', *tʃ'ətʃ'iwə* 'monkey', *əwinə* 'woman', *bitɨlə* 'rabbit', *ətʃ'iwə* 'mouse' *qʷəs'ɨlə* 'fox', *ɸilt'ə* 'flea', *s'as'iβə* 'termite' *ələzələze* 'chameleon', *s'əχarito* 'porcupine, etc, are some of the instances attested from the collected data. Even though these kinds of nouns are not morphologically marked, they semantically express feminine gender.

Although Appleyard (1987a: 251) claims that the feminine gender denotes a negative conotation, it is not attested in the present collected data. All my language consultants do not accept the negative meaning of feminine gender. There is no special formative that marks

[19] "Gender is a fascinating category, central in some languages, absent in others" (Corbett 2007: 241).

gender in nouns. Therefore, gender is not grammatical, but it is lexically (biologically) expressed

Gender is expressed by different suppletive terms for masculine and feminine nouns to denote the gender of several animate nouns. In the majority of cases, kinship terms are lexically expressed.

(46)

Masculine		Feminine	
ɨnnɨ	'grandfather'	-t*'an*	'grandmother'
-irzɨn	'father's brother'	*-ig*	'mother's brother'
χaməʃə	'father-in-law'	-t'*asɨn*	'mother-in-law'
lɨwər	'brother-in-law'	*-t'ark'*^{w}	'sister-in-law'
-t*'ajɨr*	'father's sister'	*-ɨɲɲəsɨn*	'mother's sister'
-əsɨn	'bride'	*sɨri*	'groom'
-ir	'father'	*-ɨɲɲə*	'mother'
-zɨn	'brother'	*-sɨn*	'sister'
gir	'boy'	mɨdʒi	'girl'
gɨlɨwə	'man'	*əwɨnə*	'woman'

In addition to the above kinship terms, there are also other supplementary examples that show gender lexically.

(47)

Masculine		Feminine	
ɨggum	'stork, cock'	*dʒɨrɨwə*	'hen'
ʧintə	'bull'	*mik'ɨnu*	'heifer'
ʧin	'bullock'	*lɨwə*	'cow'
fɨtʃ'ɨrə	'billy-goat'	*k'abərə*	'nanny-goat'

3.2.3. Definiteness

Definiteness refers to both indefinite and definite expressions. Khimt'anga expresses an indefinite noun by the use the bare stem, and an indefinite quantifiers: *law* and *laj* for masculine and feminine nouns. In contrast, the definitenite nouns are expressed by the suffixes-*d* and *-ʃən* for masculine and feminine nouns, respectively. The term definiteness refers to a specific, identifiable and familiarized entity (or class of entity). It is contrasted with indefiniteness (Lyons 1999: 2f). Identifiability or familiarity of the expressed entity is for both the speaker and for the hearer. Lyons further states that:

> The identifiability-based theories claim that a nominal can have a marker that alerts hearers that they should be able to identify its referent on a variety of grounds. Some of the possibilities include: the referent was mentioned before or it can be deduced from the immediate situation in which the utterance was made or from general knowledge of the world. Being based on minimal requirements, such identification does not imply that hearers must be able to recognize the referent in any real sense but rather tells them to take it for granted for the purposes of communication. Identifiability interpretations work best with specific references (Lyons 1999: 3).

Thus, from Lyons statements one can deduce that definiteness and identifiability have a very close relationship (link) in the grammaticalization of definiteness in a given language. Since definiteness is quite complex and large, the focus of this thesis is only on grammatical definiteness which emphasizes on articles. Focusing on all aspects of definiteness is quite difficult, and it is beyond the scope of the thesis. This research endeavours only to focus on articles that are found in Khimt'anga. In this language, there are two kinds of articles: definite and indefinite.

3.2.3.1. Indefinite article

Even though indefiniteness is morphologically unmarked in Khimt'anga, the citation forms are used as indefinite and generic forms. In this language, the lack of an overtly marked article specifically indicates that the noun is indefinite. An indefinite article indicates that its head noun is not yet a particular one, and is not identifiable to the hearer. It can be something that the speaker is mentioning for the first time or its right identity may be irrelevant, or the speaker may make a general statement about any such thing (Mladenova 2007).

Thus, in Khimt'anga, an absence of an article is expressed by the bare stems. In order to substantiate this grammatical fact, let us see the following examples in (48).

(48)

a.*gir-ɸ* *qɨriŋə-ɸ* *məkk'-ɸ-u*
boy-IDEF stone-IDEF throw-3SG.M-PRV
'A boy threw a stone.'

b.*mɨdʒi-ɸ* *tər-ə-tʃ*
girl-IDEF come-IPV-3SG.F
'A girl comes/or A girl will come.'

c. *j-ɨŋŋə-ɸ* *fir-ɨ-tʃ*
1SG. POSS-mother-IDEF go-PRV-3SG.F
'My mother went.'

Indefiniteness is also expressed by the indefinite quantifier *law* 'one' and *laj* 'one' for masculine and feminine head nouns, respectively. [20] See the following examples in 49).

(49)

a. *la-w* *gir-ɸ* *fir-ɸ-u*
one-3SG.M boy-NOM go-3SG.M-PRV
'A boy went' (lit. 'One boy went.')

b. *la-j* *mɨdʒɨ-ɸ* *fir-ɨ-tʃ*
one-3SG.F girl-NOM go-PRV-3SG.F
'A girl went.' (lit. 'one girl went.')

3.2.3.2. Definite article

In this section, I have provided the form and function of definite article in Khimt'anga. The definite article shows that a noun in a discourse is a particular one, and is identifiable or known to the hearer as well as to the speaker. It can be the same thing that has already been mentioned in the discourses or it may be something uniquely specified (cf. Kramer 2009, Baye 2000 E.C, 2004, 1990).

Definiteness is morphologically marked by the suffixes-*ʃən* and -*d* for feminine and masculine nouns, respectively. As can be understood from the data, gender and definiteness are mutually expressed by the same suffix. Consider the following examples that show the definite articles by the suffixes-*ʃən* and -*d*. The former is used to express a feminine noun, and the latter is used to express a masculine noun plus a plural noun.

[20] This kind of expression is quite common in Amharic (See Baye 2004, Kramer 2009).

(50)

a. j*ɨ-məmɨn-ʃən*	b. *ŋɨn-d*	c. *ŋɨn-t'-ɨ-d*	d. *dɨq^{w}al-d*
1SG.POSS-mistress-3SG.F	house-DEF	house-PL-EP-DEF	donkey.PL-DEF
'my mistress'	'the house'	'the houses'	'the donkeys'

3.2.4. Case

Khimt'anga is inflected for case. It has eight distinct formatives[21]. These are: nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, instrumental, ablative and comitative. "Case is a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads. Traditionally the term refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of a noun to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level" (Blake 2004:1).

Unlike nominative case, the remaining case formatives of Khimt'anga are morphologically marked in various suffixes. According to Blake (2004:3f), cases can be grouped into two different levels. These are core and peripheral (or primary and secondary). The former cases refer to the expression of syntactic relation, whereas the latter (peripheral) cases express semantic relations.

[21] Case in Awingi is more productive than the other Agaw languages including Khimt'anga (Berhanu *et al* 1995, Wedekind 1995:5). Awngi has about 12 case marking formatives. However, the rest of the Agaw languages, (Kemantney and Bilin) have 10 and seven case marking formatives. See Zelealem (2003:239) for Kemantney and Appleyard (2007:488) for Bilin.

3.2.4.1. Nominative case

Nominative case[22] in Khimt'anga is not morphologically marked. The nominative case encodes the subject and nouns that stand in a predicative relation to the subject. Consider the following illustrative examples in (51).

(51)

a. *ajjə-ɸ*	*bigə-t*	*t'az-ɸ-u*
Ayye-NOM	sheep-ACC	hit-3SG.M-PRV
'Daddy bit a sheep.'		
b. *iʒɨra-ɸ*		*fir-ɸ-u*
Ezira-NOM		go-3SG.M-PRV
'Ezira went.'		

3.2.4.2. Accusative case

Khimt'anga is a nominative-accusative language. Except in the nominative case, the rest of the cases are overtly marked. The accusative case identifies object nouns. It is marked by the suffix-t, but if the noun is defined or followed by the definite marker-*d*, the accusative marker-t is optional. In the remaining cases, it is suffixed to the patient or affected element of the two arguments of a clause. It is only marked for all indefinite and definite feminine nouns, yet for definite masculine and plural nouns it is optional.

[22] However, it is overtly marked for Kemantney in its masculine nouns that end in a vowel *-a* marked by the morpheme-*i* (Sasse 1974, Zelealem 2003:238).

(52)

a. *jan-ø* *lɨwə-t* *dʒɨiβ-u-n*
I-NOM cow-ACC buy-PRV-1SG
'I bought a cow.

b. *jan-ø* *lɨwə-ʃən* *dʒɨiβ-u-n*
I-NOM cow-F.DEF buy-PRV-lSG
'I bought the cow.'

c. *jan-ø* *birə-d* *dʒɨiβ-u-n*
I-NOM ox-M.DEF buy-PRV-1SG
'I bought the ox.'

d. *jan-ø* *bill-ɨ-d* *dʒɨiβ-u-n*
I-NOM ox.PL-EP-DEF buy-PRV-1SG
'I bought the oxen.'

The accusative maker is also followed by a proper noun and plural indefinite nouns. In data (3a-b), the accusative marker is followed by the proper nouns *t'amtəw* and *ʃəwit* that refer to masculine and feminine meaning, respectively in the language while in (53c-d), it is followed by plural indefinite nouns *bill* 'oxen' and *əl-t'an* 'eyes'. In (53e), *əwɨnə-ʃən-t* the accusative marker is followed by the definite marker.

When the accusative marker is added to the definite feminine noun and an indefinite plural noun, is always followed by the definite marker, and the plural markers. See the examples in (53b), (53d) and (53e).

(53)

a. *jan-ø* *t'amtəw-ɨ-t* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM Tamtew-EP-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw Tamatew.'

b. *jan-ø* *ʃəwit-ɨ-t* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM Shewit EP-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw Shewit.'

c. *jan-ø* *billə-ɨ-t* *qal–u–n*
I-NOM ox.PL-EP-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw oxen.'

d. *jan-ø* *əl-t'an-t* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM eye-PL-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw eyes.'

e. *jan-ø* *əwɨnə-ʃən-t* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM woman-DEF.F-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the woman.'

The same accusative marker is also suffixed to the interrogative pronouns. Those interrogative pronouns such as *aw* 'who', *wərəŋə* 'what' are best examples. As can be seen from

the examples in (54a-b), the accusative marker-*t* is suffixed directly to the interrogative pronouns. Consider the following examples in (54).

(54)

a. *aw-ɸ*	*aw-ɨ-t*	*k'ɨw-ø-əkʷ*
who-NOM	who-EP-ACC	kill-3SG.M-IPV
'Who kills whom?'		
b. *aw-ɸ*	*wərəŋə-t*	*s'aβ-ɸ-u*
who-NOM	what-ACC	do-3SG.M-PRV
'Who did what?'		

The accusative case marking can be expressed by the selected proverb from the elderly native speakers in (55) for the function of interrogative pronouns.

(55)

k'ɨk'ɨmə-ɸ	*aw-ɨ-t*	*tək-ɨ-rəj*	*ŋɨr-ɨɲɲə-t*
antelope-NOM	who-EP-ACC	seem-EP-3SG.F.REL	3SG.F.POSS-mother-ACC
ŋɨr-ɨɲɲə-t			
3SG.F.POSS-mother-ACC			
aw-ɨ-t	*tək-ɨ-rəj*	*ŋɨr-qʷɨrə-t*	
who-EP-ACC	seem-EP-3SG.F.REL	3SG.F.POSS-daughter-ACC	

'An antelope looks who, its mother; and the mother looks who, its daughter.'
(lit.'The antelope resembles its kid (offspring), and the offspring resembles its mother.')
(Proverb)

3.2.4.3. Genitive case

The genitive link among nouns can be morphologically marked by various suffixes. Semantically speaking, genitive cases can be subdivided into four subgroups. They include possessive, source, purposive and temporal genitives.

3.2.4.3.1. Possessive genitive

The possessive genitive marks in different suffixes. The possessive genitive indicates possession. The possessive genitive suffixes are *-z, -tu* and *-taj*. "Languages typically express many semantic relationships with the same formal construction used to express ownership" (Payne 1997:104).

(56)

a. *abɨzə-z* *lɨk^{w}-ø* *dʒɨgə* *jəŋ*
lion-GEN leg-NOM strong COP.3SG.M.PRES
'A lion's leg is strong.'

b. *gir-z* *ŋɨ-ɲŋə-ø* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
boy-GEN 3SG.M.POSS-mother-NOM come-PRV-3SG.F
'A boy's mother came.'

c. χɨm *ədʒəw* *gɨlɨwə-z-zɨmə* *k'anə ədʒəw* *mɨkən-z-ø*
beard NEG man-GEN-CNJ wood NEG church-GEN-NOM
'Graceless is the church without trees just like a man without beard.' (Proverb) (lit: 'A man without beard and a church without tree is the same.')

d. *tʃ'arə* *zɨq^{w}anə-z-zɨmə* *mas'ɨwə* *gɨdɨr-z* *wənə-ø* *arq-ø-ək^{w}*
summer thirst-GEN-CNJ autumn hunger-GEN owner-NOM know-3SG.M-IPV
'It is only the victim who understands well what starvation during autumn and thirst during summer do mean.' (Proverb) (lit'A person who feels thirst of summer and starvation of autumn knows it well.')

In the following examples, let us see the use of the possessive genitive marker-*t* in (57).

(57)

a. *jan-ø* *nɨjərə-t* *dɨx^{w}arə-t* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM merchant-GEN donkey-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw a merchant's donkey.'

b. *mulaw-ø* *fitʃ'ɨrə-t* *bəlbal-d* *fɨs-s-ø-u*
Mulaw-NOM goat-GEN hide-DEF bring-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'Mulaw brought the hide of goat.'

The possessive markers-*tu* and-*taj* is mostly employed in proper nouns and their possessed property. As we can see in (58a, b and c), the proper masculine, feminine and plural

nouns are marked by the suffixes-*tu* and -*taj*, respectively. Both masculine and feminine proper nouns are marked by the suffix-*tu*, yet the plural proper nouns are marked by-*taj*. Consider examples that show the use of the suffix-*tu* and-*taj* in (58).

(58)

a. *ajjələ-tu* *bigə-ɸ* *kɨr-ɸ-u*
Aster-GEN sheep-NOM die-3SG.M-PRV
'Ayele's sheep died.'

b. *aster-tu* *bigə-ɸ* *kɨr-ɨ-tʃ*
Aster-GEN ewe-NOM die-PRV-3SG.F
'Aster's ewe died.'

c. *ajjalə-taj* *bik'-ɸ* *kɨr-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
Ayele-GEN.ASS.PL sheep.PL-NOM die-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'The sheep that belong to Ayele and others died.'

3.2.4.3.2. Source genitive

The source genitive is marked by the suffix-*zu, -tu*. As can be observed in (59a-c), the source genitive that define the noun in terms of the material source of an object is served as complement in this language.

(59)

a. *jan-ɸ* *sarə-zu* *miz* *zɨj-ənəw* *k'ən-əkʷ-ɨ-n*
I-NOM honey-GEN mead drink-NMZ like-IPV-EP-1SG
'I like drinking mead made of honey.'

b. *ɨzɨra-ɸ* *sak'ə-zu* *ŋɨn* *dʒɨβ-ɸ-u*
Ezira-NOM grass-GEN house buy-3SG.M-PRV
'Ezira bought a house made of grass.'

c. *adəru-ɸ* *sɨk'ɨmə-zu* *ʃɨla* *zɨj-ɸ-u*
Aderu-NOM barely-GEN beer drink-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu drank a local beer made of barley.'

3.2.4.3.3. Purposive genitive

Like the source genitive, purposive genitive is also marked by the same suffix-*zu*. The purposive genitive denotes the function of the possessed noun. Here are examples in (60) that show purposive genitive.

(60)

a. *jan-ɸ* *s'aβ-ɨ-zu* *lɨwə* *zɨj-ənəw* *dʒɨβ-əkʷ-ɨ-n*
I-NOM milk-EP-GEN cow drink-NMZ buy-IPV-EP-1SG
'I (will) buy a cow for drinking milk.'

b. *t'amtəw-ɸ* *sɨjə-zu* *birə* *dʒɨβ-ɸ-u*
Tamew-NOM meat-GEN ox buy-3SG.M-PRV
'Tamtew bought an ox for meat.'

c. *jan-ɸ* *tʃizɨŋ-zu* *birə* *dʒɨβ-u-n*
I-NOM farm-GEN ox buy-PRV-1SG
'I bought an ox for ploughing.'

3.2.4.3.3. Temporal genitive

The temporal genitive is marked by the suffix-*tu*. The temporal genitive shows the time in which the possessed noun denotes. Consider the examples in (61).

(61)

a. *tatɨnə-tu* *ʃɨla-ɸ* *k'əsəw* *win-ɸ-u*
yesterday-GEN beer-NOM good COP.PST-3SG.M-PRV
'The local beer of yesterday was nice.'

b. *amɨr-tu* *tʃ'ətʃ'ɨnə-s-ɸ* *nɨtʃ'ɨ-tu* *qɨlunə-d*
tomorrow-GEN chicken-ABL-NOM today-EP-GEN egg-DEF
'The egg in the hand is worth having more than the anticipated chicken (proverb). (lit. 'Today's egg is worth having more than the chicken tomorrow.')

As I have demonstrated in the sections above, the genitive case marking is further divided into four semantic categories. These are: possessive genitive in 3.2.4.3.1, source genitive in 3.2.4.3.5.2, purposive genitive in 3.2.4.3.3, and eventually temporal genitive in 3.2.4.3.4. As can be observed in each subcategory of genitive case markings, the specific morphological markers are not easily predicted. As a result, one can infer the functions of suffixes in the context they are used.

3.2.4.4. Dative case

Khimt'anga marks the dative case. According to Blake (2004:199), the dative case encodes the indirect object. The dative case in Khimt'anga is marked by the bound morphemes-*s* and *-iz* for general and plural nouns, respectively in three place verbs. In those verbs, the patient or the affected direct object is unmarked, but the second complement that denotes the recipient or goal noun is marked by the dative. Consider the examples in (62) that denote the dative case marking by the suffix-*s*.

(62)

a. *ji-ɲɲə-ɸ* *ŋɨr-sɨn-s* *as'a* *jɨw-ɨ-tʃ*
lSG.POSS-mother-NOM 3SG.F.POSS-sister-DAT message give-PRV-3SG.F
'My mother sent a message to her sister.' ('My mother sent her sister a message.')

b. *aləkʼə* *zəwurajel-ɨ-s* *witɨkʼʷ* *saβ* *ɨjjɨ*
please Zeurael-EP-DAT little milk give.2SG.IMP
'Please give some milk to Zeurael.'

c. *giliwə-d-ɸ* *jɨtʃʼ-ɨ-s* *aqʷ* *nəj-ɸ-u*
man-DEF-NOM me-EP-DAT water offer-3SG.M-PRV
'The man gave water to me.

d. *ɨzɨra-ɸ* *ŋu* *sɨn-s* *kʼurʃ* *wis-ɸ-u*
Ezira-NOM his sister-DAT birr return-3SG.M-PRV
'Ezira returned money to his sister.'

e. *dʒɨrɨwə-ϕ* *səw-ɨ-r* *waqə-s*
hen-NOM fat-EP-3SG.F how many-DAT
'Whatever fat a chicken is, it does not meet thousand's need.'
(lit.'If there had been a fat hen, it would have been shared for how many people.)' (Proverb)

The dative case is also marked by the suffix-*iz* if the recipient noun or the goal noun is plural. Consider the examples that indicate the dative case in plural recipients in the following data.

(63)

a. *jɨnn-ϕ* *mɨq-ɨ-d* *lɨk'^{w}-iz* *g^{w}ə* *bər-s-ɨ-n-ək^{w}-ɨ-n*
we-NOM shepherd.PL-EP-DEF cow.PL-DAT to leave-CAUS-EP-lPL-IPV-EP-lPL
'We made the shepherds send to the cows.'

b. *adəru-ϕ* *kɨndət-ɨ-t'-iz* *wat'ɨr* *jɨw-ϕ-u*
Aderu-NOM student-EP-PL-DAT response give-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu gave an answer to students.'

c. *ʃəgaw-ϕ* *ŋu* *dɨq^{w}al-iz* *χasɨrə* *jɨw-ϕ-u*
Shegaw-NOM his donkey.PL-DAT husk give-3SG.M-PRV
'Shegaw gave his donkeys a husk.'

d. *ŋəŋ-ϕ* *ŋɨn-d* *ŋ=abɨn-iz* *qal-s-ϕ-u*
he-NOM house-DEF 3SG.M.CL.POSS-guest.PL-DAT see-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'He showed guests his house.'

The plural recipients are marked by the suffix-*ɨz f*or denoting the dative case. For example, a sentence, like the one below is a good evidence.

(64)

əwɨnə-ʃən-ϕ *diχ* *ək'-iz* *witɨk'^{w}* *s'aβ* *jɨw-ɨ-tʃ*
woman DEF.F-NOM poor.PL man.PL-DAT little.PL milk give-PRV-3SG.F
'The woman gave little milk to the poor persons.'

3.2.4.5. Locative case

A locative case is expressed by the bound morpheme, and independent locative post-position. The locative case is marked by the suffix-1 ‘on, in’. The locative case expresses spatial locations and other genetically related links. That is a static relationship between an entity and the place it is located in. As can be seen in (64)., the six sentences are different statements, and three of them are proverbs. All of them denote the function of a locative case.

(64)

a. *bəw-ɨ-d-ɸ* *wənbər-d-ɨ-l* *jəŋ*
gourd-EP-DEF table-DEF-EP-LOC COP.3SG.M.PRES
‘The gourd is on the table.’

b. *əʃərə-d-ɸ* *ŋɨn-ɨ-l* *aqi* *jəŋ*
child-DEF-NOM house-EP-LOC inside COP.3SG.M.PRES
‘The child is in the house.’

c. *qɨrɨŋə-d-ɸ* *wirβə-l* *aqi* *ɨk^{w}-ɸ-u*
stone-DEF-NOM river-LOC inside exist-3SG.M-PRV
‘The stone was in the river.’

d. *kurɨmant-ɨ-l* *tʃ’ɨwə* *tɨlɨmə-t-ɨ-l* *sɨwə*
one forth of bread-EP-LOC salt piece of land-ACC-EP-LOC rain
‘As there is little water in a plot of land, there is little water in slice of bread (Proverb)

e. *ku* *bəwi-l* *s’ɨb-əw-ɨ-d* *b-ɨ-tɨr* *kəs-ɨ-r* *qal-tə*
your front-LOC live-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF lack-EP-2 far-EP-2 see-2SG.NEG
‘A wood for ploughing is cut from a fool’s compound.’ (lit. ’Do not see the furthest entity; instead, see the one that presents in you.’)

3.2.4.6. Instrumental case

The instrumental case indicates an entity or a tool by which or with which an action is done. In other words, an instrumental case encodes the instrument with which an action is carried out. It is marked by the suffix-*z* (*-ɨz*) like possessive genitives. The instrumental case is

marked by the suffix-*z* (-*ɨz*) like the possessive genitives mentioned in 3.2.4.3.1, while the instrumental case marker is phonetically conditioned. When a noun ends in a voiceless or a voiced consonant, it attaches the suffix-*iz*. Otherwise, it is marked by the suffix-z. Consider the following examples in (65).

(65)

a. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *liŋə* *sa-j-iz* *tər-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}*
they-NOM two hour-gli-INST come-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'They will come at two o'clock.'

b. *gɨlɨwə-d-ɸ* *mərz-iz* *k'ɨw-ʃɨt-ɸ-ək^{w}*
man-DEF-NOM poison-INST kill-PASS-3SG.M-IPV
'The person is killed by a poison.'('The person will be killed by a poison.')

c. *χaŋ-iz* *nan* *siβirə-t* *s'a-tʃ'*
foolish-INST hand snake-ACC catch-2SG.IMP
'Catch a snake with a fool's hand.' (Proverb)

e. *lɨjə-j-iz-ɸ* *χ^{w}-ɨ-ʃɨt-əw* *t'ɨjə-j-iz* *səj-ɸ-ək^{w}*
fire-gli-INST-NOM eat-EP-PASS-3SG.M.REL smoke-gli-INST flee-3SG.M-IPV
'A fire burnt flees smoke.' (lit.'The one who was burnt by fire will flee with the smoke.') (Proverb)

f. *lɨk^{w}-ɨ-z* *də-t'ə* *k^{w}ar-əw* *awɨr-iz* *dəd-ɸ-ək^{w}*
leg-EP-DAT kick-OPT willing-3SG.M.REL head-INST kick-3SG.M-IPV
'He who is not willing to walk on foot will walk on his head. (lit. 'The one who may he not willing to kick the earth, may he kick it with his head.') (Proverb)

g. *lələ-z* *χ^{w}-ɨ-ʃɨt-əw* *sɨs'ə-z* *səj-ɸ-ək^{w}*
bee-INST eat-EP-PASS-3SG.M.REL fly-INST flee-3SG.M-IPV
'A bee stung flees fly.' (lit. 'The one who was stung by a bee will flee by fly.' (Proverb)

3.2.4.7. Ablative case

The ablative case describes the beginning point of the path. It is marked by the suffixes-is. The common use of ablative case is to denote the starting point of places. The following examples show the functions of ablative case.

a. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *gɨlɨwə-j-is* *wirk'ə-d* *fis-ɨ-tʃ*
she-NOM man-gli-ABL birr-DEF take-PRV-3SG.F
'She took money from the man.'

b. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *mɨntʃ'ɨ-is* *aq^{w}* *qədaq-ɨ-tʃ*
she-NOM spring-ABL water fetch-PRV-3SG.F
'She fetched water from the spring.'

c. *diχa-t-is* *ədɨw-ə̥nəw-is* *s'adʒə-j-is* *s'ɨŋ^{w}-ənəw*
Poor-ACC-ABL debt-NMZ-ABL rich-gli-ABL steal-NMZ
'Better to steal from a well to do than borrowing from a poor.' (lit. 'It is better stealing properties from the rich than borrowing from the poor.') (Proverb).

d. *dɨmɨnə-j-isj-əw* *k^{w}ərə-z-zɨmə-ɸ* *χaŋ-is-j-əw* *wigə-z*
cloud-gli-ABL-3SG.M.REL sun-GEN-CNJ-NOM foolish-ABL-3SG.M.REL speech-GEN
'A ray coming from the cloud and words from a fool are similar.' (lit.'The sun ray that trickles out of a cloudy sky and the speech of a foolish person are the same.') (Proverb)

e. *ajɨβɨŋŋə* *mɨdʒi-ɸ* *ŋɨr-lɨwər-t-is* *gizur-ɨ-tʃ*
shy girl-NOM 3SG.F.POSS-brother-in-low-ACC-ABL conceive-PRV-3SG.F
'A girl timid as a rabbit will be impregnated by her brother in-law.' (Proverb)
(lit:'A shy girl may conceive from her brother-in-law.')

f. *kɨl-əw-is* *k^{w}ək^{w}əl-əw*
break-3SG.M.REL-ABL snatch-3SG.M.REL
'Better he who ate than he who cut.' (lit.'The one who devoured (bread) benefits more than the one who cut it into pieces.') (Proverb)

3.2.4.8. Comitative case

A comitative case refers to the relation which is interpreted as co-agent. It introduces a thing that is available at the same event frame as prior participant. As can be seen in (66a-d), the comitative case is marked by the suffix-*dʒik'*. (66)

a. *awət'u-ɸ* *ŋɨru* *zɨn-dʒik'* *tər-ə-tʃ*
Awetu-NOM her brother-COM come-IPV-3SG.F
'Awetu will come with her brother.' ('Awetu comes with her brother.')

b. *jan-ɸ* *kɨ-dʒik'* *dər-iz-zɨmə* *k'ən-iz* *s'ɨb-ək^{w}-ɨ-n*
I-NOM 2SG.POSS-COM love-INST-CNJ devotion-INST live-EP-IPV-1SG
'I will live with you, with love and devotion.' ('I live with you, with love and devotion.'

c. *wəʃɨmən-dʒik'* *gəβət'ə*
appointed-COM kind of traditional game
'Sitting for a dinner with an auihority.'/It is quite important knowing one's own background. '/
(lit. 'Playing a traditional game with the appointed person is impossible.'(Proverb)

d. *dʒɨrɨwə-ø* *ŋɨr-s'ɨbɨk'-dʒɨk'* *kaχ-ɨ-ʃ-ə-tʃ*
hen-NOM 3SG.F-POSS-hair.PL-COM beautify-EP-PASS-IPV-3SG.F
'A chicken is beautiful with its feather.' (Proverb)

Table 20: The summary of case marking strategies

Case type		Case marker	Examples with their glosses	Translation
Nominative		*-ø*	*ɨzira-ø* *fir-ø-u* Ezira-NOM go-3-PRV	'Ezira went.'
Accusative		*-t*	*jan-ø* *liwə-t* *dʒiβ-u-n* I-NOM cow-ACC buy-PRV-1SG	'I bought a cow.'
Genitive	Possessive	*-tu, -z, -t,*	a. *ajjələ-tu* *bigə* *kir-ø-u* Ayele-GEN sheep die-3-PRV b. *abɨzə-z* *lɨkʷ* *dʒigə* lion-GEN leg strong c. *jan-ø* *nijərə-t* I-NOM merchant-GEN . *diχʷarə-t* *qal-u-n* donkey-ACC see-PRV-1SG	'Ayele's sheep died.' 'A lion's leg is strong' 'I saw a merchant's donkey.'
	Purposive	*-zu*	*t'amtəw-ø* *sɨjə-zu* *birə* Tamtew-NOM meat-GEN ox *dʒiβ-ø-u* buy-3-PRV	'Tamtew bought an ox for meat.'
	Temporal	*-tu*	*nɨtʃ'i-tu* *miz* *k'əsəw* today-GEN mead good *jəŋ* COP.3SG.PRES	'Mead of today is nice.'
	Source	*-zu,*	*adəru-ø* *sɨk'imə-zu* *ʃila* Aderu-NOM barley-GEN beer *zɨj-ø-u* drink-3-PRV	'Aderu drank beer made of barley.'
Dative		*-s* (SG) *-iz* (PL)	*getɨnnət-ø* *ŋu* *sɨn-s* Getnet-NOM his sister-DAT *k'urʃ* *wis-ø-u* birr return-3-PRV	'Getnet retuned birr to his sister.'
			ʃəgaw-ø *kindət-ɨ-t'-iz* Shegaw-ø student-EP-PL-DAT *wat'ir* *jɨw-ø-u* answer give-3-PRV	'Shegaw gave an answer to students.'
Locative		*-l*	*qiriŋə-d* *wirβə-l* stone-DEF river-LOC *aqi* *ikʷ* *jəŋ* inside exist COP.3SG.PRES	'The stone is in the river.'
Instrumental		*-z, -iz*	*adəru-ø* *əfərə-d* Aderu-NOM child-DEF *ŋi-likʷ-ɨ-z* 3SG.M.POSS-leg-EP-INST *t'az-ø-u* hit-3SG.M-PRV	'Aderu hit the child with his leg.'
			ŋɨtaj-ø *liŋə* *sa-j-iz* they-NOM two hour-gli-INST *tər-ø-ɨ-ŋ-əkʷ* come-3-EP-3PL-IPV	'They will come at two o'clock.'
Ablative		*-is*	*ŋɨr-ø* *giliwə-j-is* she-NOM man-gli-ABL *wirk'ə-d* *fis-ɨ-tʃ* money-DEF take-PRV-3SG.F	'She took money from the man.'
Comitative		*-dʒik'*	*adəru-ø* *ŋu sɨn-dʒik'* Aderu-NOM his sister-COM *tər-ø-əkʷ* come-3SG.M-IPV	'Aderu will come with his sister.'
			jan-ø ki-dʒik' *jəŋ*	'I am with you.'

3.3. DERIVED NOUNS (NOMINALIZATION)

Among the Central Cushitic languages, Khimt'anga is the most productive[23] in noun derivation processes. It consists various types of derivation. Nouns can be formed by the following strategies:

- suffixation of bound morphemes to the verbal stems
- elision of the final consonants from their verbal stems
- suffixation of bound morpheme to adjectival stems
- suffixation .of bound morpheme to the noun stems themselves and

From semantic points of view, derived nouns are categorized as agentive, instrumental, verbal, abstract, manner and result nouns. Out of the seven derived nouns, the first three in 3.3.1, 3.3.2 and 3.3.3 are mentioned in Appleyard (1987b: 494f) which are marked by *-əta, -əna* and *-ənəw*, respectively. The derivation of nouns is a very productive process. I discuss these various productive processes in the following sections.

3.3.1. Deverbal agentive nominalization

In Khimt'anga, in a deverbal nominalization, a verb that loses its verbal feature and serves as a noun is in its most productive process. According to Kroeger (2005: 256),."[a] noun derived from a verb is called a deverbal noun". Booij (2007) on his part also states that an agent

[23] Awngi has only four, Kemantney three and Bilin two (the action noun and agentive that are marked by *na* and *ənta* like Kemantney). See (Hetzron 1978 and Yaregal 2010), (Zelealem 2003 246ff) and (Appleyard 2007:502) for Awngi, Kemantney and Bilin, respectively.

is a doer or experiencer of an action. Thus, such derived agentive nouns refer to the agent of the action indicated by the verb. Agentive nouns in this language can be formed from verbal stems by adding the suffixes-*ətə* or -*ərə*. The former suffix is more productive than the latter one. Almost all derived agentive nouns are formed by the suffix-*ətə*. But there are also some nouns that are derived from the second suffix-*ərə*. In (67) the illustrative examples are given for more productive suffix-ətə.

(78)

Verbal stems	Gloss	Agentive nouns	Gloss
kɨns-	'teach'	*kɨns-ətə*	'teacher'
k'aw-	'lead'	*k'aw-ətə*	'leader'
tin-	'follow'	*tin-ətə*	'follower'
kirɨm-	'found'	*kirɨm-ətə*	'founder'
kɨm-	'rule'	*kɨm-ətə*	'ruler'

There have been also many attested examples for agentive nouns by the suffix -*ərə*. In (68), agentive nouns are attested from the collected data by the suffix-*ərə*. But the last example, *nɨjərd-* 'purchase' becomes *nɨjərə* 'purchaser' the final stem consonant *d* is deleted for the addition of the suffix-ərə. So, it seems phonetically conditioned in some contexts.

(68)

Verbal stems	Gloss	Agentive nouns	Gloss
s'aŋ^{w}-	'crave for food'	*s'aŋ*^{w}-*ərə*	'sponger'
ad-	'lend'	*ad-ərə*	'lender'
sɨŋ^{w}-	'steal'	*sɨŋ*^{w}-*ərə*	'thief'
guqur-	'be mad'	*guqur-ərə*	'insane, mad'
tʃ'əww-	'beg'	*tʃ'əww-ərə*	'beggar'
till-	'roll dance'	*till-ərə*	'roll dancer'

3.3.2. Deverbal instrumental nominalization

Among the Central Cushitic Languages, Khimt'anga and Awngi are productive languages in forming instrumental nouns from verbal stems. Instrumental nouns are derived from verbal bases by adding the suffix-*ənə*. The data in (69) denotes the productive instrumental noun formation.

(69)

Verbal stems	Gloss	Instrumental nouns	Gloss
biz-	'open'	*biz-ənə*	'key'
fəkk'-	'comb'	*fəkk'-ənə*	'comb'
mars'-	'brush' (v)	*mars'-ənə*	'tooth stick, tooth brush'
dʒiz-	'sweep'	*dʒiz-ənə*	'broom'
wat'iβ-	'sortout, separate'	*wat'iβ-ənə*	'sieve'

3.3.3. Deverbal result noun (objective) nominalization

A group of verbs in Khimt'anga have result noun counterparts. "Some languages have an affix that forms nouns designating the result, or the typical or 'cognate' object of an action […]" Comrie and Thompson 2007:340). Result nouns in Khimt'anga are formed in two different ways:

- Suffixation of the morpheme-*ə* and
- Vowel ablaut (vowel gradation, apophony) plus consonantal elision.

3.3.3.1. The suffixation of the morpheme-*ə*

Several result nouns are distinguished formally by the suffix-*ə*. These kinds of nouns are derived by adding the suffix-*ə* to the verbal stems. As can be seen in the adjective section, suffix-*ə* is not only used for deriving result nouns, but also for forming some deverbal adjectives[24].

(70)

Verbal stems	Gloss	result nouns	Gloss
arq-	'know	*arq-ə*	'knowledge'
waqɨr-	'ask'	*waqɨr-ə*	'a question'
dʒɨm-	'sing'	*dʒɨm-ə*	'a song'
akɨl-	'create'	*akɨl-ə*	'creation'

3.3.3.2. Vowel ablaut (vowel gradation, apophony) and consonantal elision

In addition to elision of consonants, there is also simultaneous change of vowels to derive certain result nouns in their verbal stems. As can be seen in (71), in addition to elision of the final consonant stems of verbs-*d* and -*w*, there is the change of penultimate front vowels in the derivation of result nouns i.e., -*i* is converted into -*e* to form the result nouns.

(71)

Verbal stems	Gloss	Result nouns	Gloss
arid-	'trade' (v)	*are*	'a market'
gɨriw-	'be day'	*gɨre*	'a day'

[24] For instance, the verb ʃəgg- 'be beautiful' derives an adjective *ʃəgg-ə* 'beautiful'.

3.3.4. Deverbal manner noun nominalization

Khimt'anga marks the manner noun by adding the suffix-*ɨn*. The manner nouns denote the way or means of doing something. Such kinds of nouns are formed from the verbal stems or bases by adding the nominalizer suffix-*ɨn*. It indicates the way in which an action is carried out. In Khimt'anga, it is formed by adding the suffix-*ɨn* to the verbal stem. "Some languages have a special derivation pattern for forming nouns that mean 'way of "verbing" from verbs" (Comrie and Thompson 2007:339*)*.

(72)

Verbal stems	Gloss	Manner nouns	Gloss
kil-	'break'	*kil-ɨn*	'way of breaking'
giqij-	'bellow, belch'	*giqij-ɨn*	'way of bellowing'
χ^{w}-	'eat'	*χ^{w}-ɨn*	'way of eating'
dəd-	'kick'	*dəd-ɨn*	'way of kicking'
gigiβ-	'prevent, protect'	*gigiβ-ɨn*	'way of preventing'
s'awɨr-	'trap'	*s'awɨr-ɨn*	'way of trapping'

3.3.5. Deverbal verbal noun nominalization

The verbal nouns of Khimt'anga are formed by suffixation of the morpheme-*ənəw* to the verbal stem. In relation to verbal nouns, Comrie and Thompson (2007: 335*)* claim that "[m]ost languages of the world make use of one or more devices for creating verbal nouns from action verbs and state nouns from stative verbs or adjectives, meaning the fact, the act, the quality, or occurrence of that verb or adjective." See the following examples in (73).

(73)

Verbal stems	Gloss	Verbal nouns	Gloss
əs'ɨw-	'arrest'	*əs'ɨw-ənəw*	'arresting'
tʃ'əkk'-	'contest'	*tʃ'əkk'-ənəw*	'contesting'
zaq-	'grind'	*zaq-ənəw*	'grinding'
lij-	'inherit'	*lij-ənəw*	'inheriting'
dʒəgɨz	'chase'	*dʒəgɨz-ənəw*	'chasing'
k'orz-	'measure'	*k'orz-ənəw*	'measuring'
g^{w}ij-	'pick up'	*g^{w}ij-ənəw*	'picking up'

3.3.6. Deadjectival abstract noun nominalization

The suffixes *(-ɨ)t* and *-nəj* are used as nominalizer morphemes which are suffixed to adjectives to derive abstract nouns and sometimes to the concrete noun themselves to form abstract nouns. But the suffix-*nəj* is only added to some human nouns to derive the abstract noun such as *qɨmə*'self' *qɨmə-nəj* 'identity', *s'amɨrə* 'friend' *s'amɨrənəj* 'friendship 'and *bərə* 'slave' *bərənəj* 'slavery'.

As can be seen in (74), in order to attach the morpheme *-t* to the adjectival basis, some phonological changes occur. Deletion is especially common in the majority of cases. For instance, in (74a, b, f, g, h, and i), out of 10 examples, in six of them, the word final consonant-*w* and the vowels-*a* and *-ə* are elided from the adjective basis for the formation of abstract nouns.[25] Thus, we can conclude that deletion can be one of the major factors in abstract noun word formation processes. Besides, as can be observed in (74a and h), there are also vowel

[25] "In some languages, abstract nouns can be formed from more concrete ones. In Si-Luyana, for example, the prefix *u-*, which is the class prefix for the 'mass noun' class 14, can be added to human noun stems to form abstract nouns meaning 'the quality of being N' " Givón (1970a:79f).

insertion and partial reduplication of penultimate consonant r in the formation of abstract noun nominalization.

(74)

Adjective bases	Gloss	Abstract nouns	Gloss
a. *s'arəw*	'white'	*s'arrɨt*	'whiteness'
b. *k'əsəw*	'good'	*k'əsɨ-t*	'goodness'
c. *ədʒiŋ*	'short'	*ədʒiŋ-t*	'shortness'
d. *ət'in*	'small'	*ət'in-t/nəj*	'smallness'
e .*əkɨl*	'far'	*əkɨl-t*	'distance'
f. *diχa*	'poor'	*diχ-ɨ-t*	'poorness'
g. *guləʃə*	'brave'	*guləʃ-ɨ-t*	'braveness, adulthood'
h. *sərəw*	'red'	*sərr-ɨ-t*	'redness'
i.*dɨnnəw*	'fat'	*dɨnn-ɨ-t*	'fatness'
j.*ŋɨtʃ'ɨr*	'black'	*ŋɨtʃ'ɨr-t*	'blackness'

In addition, abstract nouns can be derived by adding the same suffix-*t* to some nouns of the language. In order to add the suffix-t, nouns ending in vowels elide their final vowels. See the following examples in (75b, d and e).

(75)

Noun bases	Gloss	Abstract nouns	Gloss
a. *gɨzɨŋ*	'dog'	*gɨzɨŋ-t*	'being dog'
b. *əfərə*	'child'	*əfər-t*	'childhood'
c. *ədʒɨr*	'man'	*ədʒɨr-t*	'personhood'
d. *təkɨzə*	'example'	*təkɨz-ɨ-t*	'exemplary status'
e. *dɨdɨmə*	'infant'	*dɨdɨm-t*	'infancy'

3.4. COMPOUND NOUNS

Several kinds of Khimt'anga nouns can be formed by means of compounding. A compound is a complex word that contains a combination of two or more lexemes. "A stem which contains more than one root is called a compound. Compounding can be considered a

special type of derivational morphology“ (Kroeger 2005: 249). Khimt’anga permits the following kinds of compounding: N+N, ADJ+N and N+PSTP. According to Payne (1997: 92), "[a] compound is a word that is formed from two or more words.” He further states that "[t]he dominant semantic property of compounds is that the meaning of a compound is either more specific or entirely different than the combined meanings of the words that make up the compound”(Payne 1997: 93).

As one can see in (76), the N+N compounding is a very productive process. It is formed by combining two noun stems by using the linking vowel-*ə* and by simply combining the two independent leximes without using any connecting element. Notice that here the linker vowel is used to connect the two combining elements to form their compound not for epenthetic purpose.

(76)

Elements of word category		Compounds	
N	+ N		
aqʷ ‘water’	+ *ɨijə* ‘fire’	*aqʷə-ɨijə*	‘kind of weed’
aqʷ ‘water’	+ *zɨβə* ‘land’	*aqʷə-zɨβə*	‘Oasis’
əzən ‘heart’	+ *bɨrə* ‘blood’	*əzənə-bɨrə*	‘heart failure’
t’ɨjə ‘smoke’	+ fən ‘exit’	t’ɨjə-fən	‘chimney’
zɨβə ‘land’	+ *lɨkʷ* ‘leg’	*zɨβ*-lɨkʷ	‘sole’
mɨkən ‘church’	+ *zɨβə* ‘land’	*mɨkən-xɨβə*	‘name of village’
χamɨrə ‘cabbage’	+ *qulitʃ* ’ ‘sight’	*χamɨrə-qulitʃ* ’	endemic local cabbage’
aqʷ ‘water’	+ *arə* ‘grain’	*aqʷ-arə*	‘feast’
kʷijən ‘mother	+ *fɨtʃ’ɨrə* ‘goat’	*kʷijən-fɨtʃ’ɨrə*	‘she-goat’
kʷərə ‘sun’	+ *fən* ‘exit’	kʷərə-fən	‘sun rise’
aqʷ ‘water’	+ *t’ɨwə* ‘entrance’	*aqʷə-t’ɨwə*	‘irrigable land’ (ውሃ ገባ)
kʷərə ‘sun’	+ *t’ɨwə* ‘entrance’	*kʷərə-t’ɨwə*	‘sunset’
kullə ‘pup’	+ *dɨrəj* ‘supper’	*kullə-dɨrəj*	‘food of dog’ (እሴት)
gɨlban ‘straw’	+ *χosənə* ‘feeding place’	*gɨlbanə-χosənə*	‘feeding tool’(animal)
wirβə ‘river’	+ *dʒi* ‘horn’	*warβ-dʒi*	‘a river bank’

ga 'cave'	+	*kiw* 'village'	*ga-kiw*	'name of a village'
kiw 'village'	+	*adərə* 'lord, God'	*kiw-adərə*	'name of a village'

Besides N+N compounding, Khimt'anga allows ADJ+N combination also for the formation of compound nouns. The illustrative examples in (77) indicate that the formation of compound noun by the combination of adjectives and nouns themselves. Consider examples in (77).

(77)

Elements of word category			Compound nouns	
ADJ	+	N		
ət'ɨn 'small'	+	*lɨkʷɨrə* 'walker'	*ət'ɨnə-lɨkʷɨrə*	'adolescent'
məlu 'little'	+	*dʒɨnə* 'tendon'	*məlu-dʒɨnə*	'lactating mother'
χɨj 'big'	+	*sɨnbɨt* 'Sabbath'	*χɨjə-sɨnbɨt*	'Sunday'

In addition to the above kinds of compounding, it permits postposition plus noun combination kinds of compounding as well. Consider the following few illustrative examples in (78).

(78)

Elements of word category			Compounds	
N	+	PSTP		
ŋɨn 'house'	+	*gɨrə* 'after'	*gɨn-gɨrə*	'garden'
qɨlɨmə 'neck'	+	*nɨjə* 'above'	*qɨlɨmə-nɨjə*	'non-cordial kind of speech'

To sum up, as can be seen in (76), (77) and (78) above, compound nouns are derived from N+N, ADJ+N and N+PSTP, respectively. In (79), (80) and (81) below, the illustrative sentential examples show each kind of compound noun.

(79)

N+N

a. *almaz-ɨ-t* *məjɨlə-d* *aqʷə-lɨjə-ɸ* *χ-ɸ-u*
Almaz-EP-GEN sorghum-DEF water-fire-weed-NOM eat-3SG.M-PRV
'A kind of weed in a swampy farm destroyed Almaz's sorghum.'

b. *jɨ-j-ir-ɸ* *t'ɨjə-fən-d* *diβ-ɸ-u*
1SG.POSS-gli-father-NOM chimney-DEF close-3SG.M-PRV
'My father closed the chimney.'

c. *mɨkən-zɨβə-t* *mik'ʷ-ɨ-d-ɸ* *ʃəgg-ɨ-ɬ'* *ŋaj*
church. land-GEN girl.PL-DEF-NOM pretty-EP-PL COP.3PL.PRES
'The girls of Miken Zibe are pretty.'

d. *warɨbb-dʒi-ɸ* *təɾ-əw* *s'ɨwɨzə-ɸ* *wat'ɨr* *ədʒ-əwɨm*
river bank.PL-NOM come-3SG.M.REL disease-NOM across NEG-3SG.M.NEG
'A disease that comes across a river bank has no cure.'

e. *wənu-t* *k'en-ɨ-l* *χɨj-əw* *aqʷ-arə-ɸ* *aq-ɨ-ʃ-ɸ-u*
Wenu-ACC wedding-EP-LOC big-3SG.M feast-NOM be-EP-PASS-3SG.M-PRV
'A great feast has been at Wenu's wedding.'

(80) ADJ+N

a. *məlu-dʒɨnə-ɸ* *at'ə* *χurə* *bənn-ə-tʃ*
(a) lactating mother-NOM enough food need-IPV-3SG.F
'A lactating mother needs adequate diet (food).'

b. *χɨjə-sɨnbɨt* *bɨt'a* *k'anə* *kɨl-ənəw-ɸ* *tʃəld-ɨ-ʃ-ajəwɨm*
Sunday place wood break-NMZ-NOM can-EP-PASS-NEG
'It is impossible collecting (breaking) wood on Sunday.'

c. *nəjɨnu-ɸ* *ət'ɨn-ə-lɨkʷɨrə* *jəŋ*
Neyinu-NOM small-LINK-walker COP.3SG.M.PRES
'Neyinu is an adolescent.'

(81) N+PSTP

a. *jɨ-j-ɨŋŋə-ɸ* *qɨlɨmə-nɨjə* *wigə* *k'ən-ajɨrəjɨm*
1SG.POSS-gli-mother-NOM non-cordial speech like-NEG
'My mother does not like non-cordial speech.'

b. *jɨna-ŋɨn-gɨrə-d-ø* *baχɨrɨməjɨlə-z* *fiz-ɨ-ʃ-ø-ək*^{w}
1PL.POSS garden-DEF-NOM maize-INST sow-EP-PASS-3SG.M-IPV
'Our garden is covered with maize.'

Table 21: The summary of nominalization

Type of derived nouns	Nominalizer marker	Examples	Gloss
Deverbal agentive nominalization	*-ətə*	*kirɨm-ətə*	'a founder'
	-ərə	*s'aŋ*^{w}*-ərə*	'a sponger'
Deverbal instrumental nominalization	*-ənə*	*wat'iβ-ənə*	'a sieve'
		bɨz-ənə	'key'
Deverbal result nominalization	-ə	*məmuw-ə*	'an advice'
	v ablaut + deletion of C	*arid->are*	'a market'
Deverbal manner nominalization	*-ɨn*	*giqɨj-ɨn*	'way of belching'
		əχur-ɨn	'way of bearing'
Deverbal verbal noun nominalization	*-ənəw*	*tʃibɨk-ənəw*	'hiding'
		dɨquz-ənəw	'brewing'
Adjective based abstract nominalization	*-ɨ(t)*	*ədʒiŋ-t*	'shortness'
		əkɨl-t	'a distance'
Noun-based abstract nominalization	*-t*	*ədʒɨr-t*	'personhood'
	-nəj	*qimə-nəj*	'identity'
		dɨdɨm-t	'infancy'
Compounding : N+N	*aq*^{w}*+lijə*	*aq*^{w}*ə-lijə*	'a kind of weed'
N+ADJ	*məlu+dʒinə*	*məlu-dʒinə*	'a lactating mother'
N+PSTP	*ŋɨn+gɨrə*	*ŋɨn-gɨrə*	'a garden'

3.5. PROPER NOUNS

A proper noun is a word that is a name of a person, a place, an institution, etc. Payne (1997:39) states it as follows.

> Proper names are nouns that are used to address and identify particular persons or culturally significant personages or places. Proper names are used to refer to specific individuals both speaker and hearer can identify; therefore they do not usually appear with articles, modifiers, possessors, relative clauses, or other devices that render nouns themselves more identifiable.

Kawachi (2007:78) also claims that a proper noun refers to a specific entity or a specific class of entities that cannot be modified by another form. So, proper names are used to address and identify particular persons or culturally important places. They cannot occur with modifiers, articles, possessors and relative clauses.

This definition is true for Khimt'anga proper names. In Khimt'anga, like Kambaata in Treis (2008:108) personal names is not only for human being, but also for some pet animals, too. Therefore, proper nouns are defined as a grammatical subclass of the nominal word class. They differ from the majority of common nouns with respect to gender, definiteness and number markings. They dominate the declensions. These declensions are characterized by the shortage of gender markers. The genitive, accusative, instrumental, ablative, comitative, locative and dative cases in Khimt'anga are the possible cases for proper nouns, as common nouns do. In addition, they are also inflected for number by the use of the suffix-*taj* as *adəru-taj* 'Aderu and others' irrespective of gender and definite markings. Proper nouns require certain complex forms to be used as predicate. The semantic definition of proper nouns does not fit for the morpho-syntactic definition of proper nouns. Place names are nouns found in the same declension as personal names. As mentioned in Section 3.3.4, the majority of common nouns have various case forms that are identical to those of personal nouns.

3.5.1. Personal names

Personal names evolve from common nouns, adjectives and verbs. The semantic notion of personal names is culturally known. A Khimra person has several names besides his or her birth name: a Christian name, a marital name (in the case of female), a nickname, a father name, a mother name, a grandfather name, a grandmother name, in some cases a relative or kin name (aunt, sister, brother, uncle, etc). Regarding the choice of a particular or specific personal name, there are various commonly known reasons. Among the majority of justifications, a few of them are presented below.

3.5.1.1. Association with situations of a baby's birth

Khimt'anga speaking people name their babies in connection with the situations of birth time, birth day, month or year difficulties during birth, etc. For instance, the name *tʃ'ɨnk'ɨsu* refers to lit. a baby born after the expected gestation period, or when a baby's mother encounters a serious delivery, etc. The name *ʃəwit* 'green-ripe-green' is given for a baby girl who was born when there was a large amount of fresh maize, peas, beans and wellnigh full of harvesting of grains reaching for eating.

3.5.1.2. Association with economic or psychological situations of a baby's birth

On having a baby, a family may be in different economic or psychological conditions, in which case the baby may be named as *nəjɨnu* 'gift' (for masculine), *kəsɨni* 'compensation' (for

feminine), *adəru* ‘be lord’ (masculine), *ɲəŋŋə* ‘be generous’ (for both masculine and feminine), *tʃɨlə* ‘pure like water’ (for both masculine and feminine), etc.

In addition, in order to memorize or remember their forefathers, and foremothers, the newborn babies are named *bənɨnu* ‘get belonging, yearn’ (masculine), *bənɨni* get belonging, yearn’ for feminine *k’ənənəw* ‘beloved’ (masculine), *k’ənənəj* ‘beloved’ (feminine), *ajjəsarə’* elder people’ (honorific), etc.

Personal names can be given based on different situations. For instance, based on the appearance of a person’s positive physical and behavioural circumstances or particularities, personal names are offered: *t’amtəw* ‘sweet’ (for masculine only), *t’amtɨrəj* ‘sweet’ (for feminine only) *sarəwələlə* ‘honey like’ (for masculine and feminine), *ʃəggu* ‘be beautiful’ (for masculine and feminine), etc. are named based on the meaning they possess in different situations.

Personal names are also named based on the indication of good wishes and merits of a person. Personal names such as: *adəru* ‘be lord’ *otə* ‘king’, *guləʃu* ’be brave’, etc. are given for the newborn baby based on the indication of good wishes and merits of a person. Such names are usually developed from common nouns, adjectives and verbs. Here, I try to give examples for the mentioned word categories. For instance *otə* ‘king’, *ɲəŋŋə* ‘be generous’ and *adəru* ‘be lord’ are originally common nouns, adjectives, and verbs, respectively. However, these kinds of examples can serve as proper names. All personal names have to undergo declension change in all grammatical aspects.

In (82) sentential examples, the subject of the predicates are originally classified under the lexical category of verbs, but they are used as a personal name (82a and b) for feminine and masculine subjects, respectively. Gender is shown in the inflection of predicates of the arguments as well as by the suffixes-*i* and -*u* for feminine and masculine, respectively; yet it is not always overtly marked in many cases of personal names. Consider the following sentential examples that show the grammatical declensions of personal names.

(82)

a. *nəjɨn-i-ɸ*	*bigə-d*	*dʒɨβ-ə-tʃ*
Neyini-3SG.F-NOM	sheep-DEF	buy-IPV-3SG.F
'Neyini will buy the sheep'		
b. *nəjɨn-u-ɸ*	*bigə-d*	*dʒɨβ-ɸ-əkʷ*
Neyinu-3SG.M-NOM	sheep-DEF	buy-3SG.M-IPV
'Neyinu will buy the sheep.'		

The full name of a Khimra person contains his or her name and his/her father's name. For the purpose of clarification, the grandfather's name is also included. For example *adəru k'ənənəw ɲəɲɲə*, *wənəj bənɨnu guləʃu*, etc.

Nowadays, personal names are no longer given for a newborn baby especially in towns such as *sək'ut'ə*, s*'atta* and *s'ɨs'ɨk'a*. In these towns people who are about 40 or younger than that have mostly Amharic names. The older people tend to prefer to address their grandson or granddaughter in Khimt'anga tradition, whereas the younger generation tends to give personal names from the Bible or Amharic names. Accordingly, names such as are common now.

3.5.2. Place names

Another semantically defined proper noun class is place name. It occupies an intermediate position between morphologically defined proper nouns and common nouns. The majority of place names belong to the common noun declensions. For example, *s'atta* 'the small town of s'agibiji subdistrict', *sak'ut'ə* 'the capital town of Waghimra Special zone', *mɨkənzɨβə* 'the village name found in Seqot'a town', *s'ɨs'ɨk'a* 'the capital town of Ziquala district', *s'agiβɨdʒi* 'the name of the place where the S'agibiji dialect is spoken', *bɨrbɨr* 'the name of the village which is found between Seqot'a and S'agibiji' are some of the examples of the place names that can be mentioned.

In addition, *ʃaqʷətf'ɨqa*, *kiw-adərə*, *misɨk'a*, *ga-kiw, t'az-kiw*, etc. are some of the examples of names of villages found in Dehana district of Waghimra special zone (cf. Section 3.5). As shown in Map 3, Dehana district is one of the seven administrative districts of Waghimra special zone, and these names of villages are found this administrative district. However, in those areas Khimt'anga is not spoken at present, because this district is one of the assimilated areas of Waghimra special zone by the influence of the Amhara culture and language (cf. Bekale 2012: 317f). See the following sentential examples in (83).

(83)

a. *jɨna-χagɨr* *s'agɨβɨdʒi-ø* *jəŋ*
1PL.POSS-country S'agibiji-NOM COP.1PL.PRES
'Our birth place is Sagibiji.'

b. *sak'ut'ə* *tɨgʷə* *fir-ənəw-ø* *k'əsəw* *jəŋ*
Seqot'a to go-NMZ-NOM good COP.3SG.M.PRES
'It is good to go to Seqot'a.'

c. *t'amtəw-ø* *ŋɨ-s'ɨb-ənə* *bɨt'a-d* *s'agɨβɨdʒi-s* *bər-ø-u*
Tamtew-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-live-NMZ place-DEF S'agibiji-ABL leave-3SG.M.PRV
'Tamtaw left his homeland S'agibiji.'

d. *jan-ɸ* *s'agiβiʤi-s* *s'aβ* *zij-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM S'agibiji-ABL milk drink-PRV-1SG
'I drank milk brought from (the place) S'agibiji.'

3.5.3. Domestic animals naming

Important domestic animals, especially cattle, donkeys, goats, etc. are given individual names. The names of the cattle, donkeys and goats are derived from the colour: *ʧ' 'iləj* 'an ox whose colour is indigo', *ʧ'əβər'* an ox whose colour is white and black', *ajimir'* an ox whose colour is mainly black with a little bit white colour', *illiβa '* an ox having any kind of colour, but obligatorly owns white on its forehead*'*, *βirβir '* a cow which has an unidentified or water like colour', *ʧ'agit '* a cow whose colour is white and black', *bullə '* a donkey whose colour is dim white' and *ziriwə* 'a goat whose colour is like the wheat grain', *sarəjilə* 'a goat whose colour is red'. In addition, domestic animals' name can also be derived from based on the pattern of their horn shape such as *məgal '* an ox whose horn is long', *ʧ'orə '* an ox whose horn is a sharp pointed or zebu', *ləməna '* an ox whose horn is partially bending down to its hump (back side of the body*)'* and *gomə '* an ox whose horn is fully short and bent down'.

3.6. TEMPORAL NOUNS

Since Khimt'anga has various terrnologies for individual temporal nouns, it is essential to make clear these temporal words to a reader. As the seven days of the week, the 13 months of the year and the four seasons of the year have their own individual names, I treat them with personal names. Under this section, I discuss *sət* 'the times of the day', *girik'* 'days of the week', *arf* 'months of the year' and k^{w}*ər-ən* 'seasons of the year'. Temporal nouns function as in adverbial expressions of time. They are morphologically the same as common noun inflection types. They apply to the same kind of number, case and definiteness marking strategies.

Like many languages spoken in different places of Ethiopia, the times of the day in Khimt'anga start at dawn and end in the daytime of light; and it remains up to the following night or the time of darkness. The day contains 24 hours. It is further divided as *k'ɨfənə* 'dawn', which denotes the time before sun rays in the morning, *k^{w}ərə-fən* 'sunrise 'which denotes the time of the first sun rays rise in the morning, *gɨrəbəz* 'morning', which denotes the time of the first sun rays warm in the morning, *k^{w}ərə-tʃ'ɨχaχə* 'noon', that the sun becomes hot and the land warms usually the lunch time. The times of night begin at sunset and end in complete darkness. *k^{w}ərə-tɨwənə* 'sunset', denotes the time of the first disappearance of the sun rays, *dɨlɨm* 'dust', denotes the time of the darkness after sunset and *χar* 'night', denotes the time of complete darkness that covers from sunset up to the whole evening time…

Like the names of the months shown in Table 23, several names of the days of the week of Khimt'anga are similar to Amharic. Except the two terms *silz* 'Tuesday' and *kɨlzɨjə* 'Thursday', the remaining five names of the days of Khimt'anga share phonological features with Amharic. Table 22 shows the comparison between the names of the days of the week of Khimt'anga and Amharic.

Table: 22 The comparison between names of the days of the week of Khimt'anga and Amharic

Khimt'anga		Amharic	
sinu	'Monday'	*səŋŋo*	'Monday'
silz	'Tuesday'	*maksəŋŋo*	'Tuesday'
ərβ	'Wednesday'	*ɨrob*	'Wednesday'
kɨlzɨjə	'Thursday'	*hamus*	'Thursday'
arβ	'Friday'	*arb*	'Friday'
k'ɨdansɨnbɨt	'Saturday'	k'*ɨdame*	'Saterday'
χɨjəsɨnbɨt	'Sunday'	*ɨhud sənbət*	'Sunday'

The year has 13 months. Each 12 month has 30 days. But the Leap year (thirteenth month of the year) contains five days for every three years, and six days in every fourth year. Since the Ethiopian New Year starts at *miskurrɨm* 'September' and ends in *k^{w}agume* 'Leap year', Table 23 is arranged in that way for the sake of comparison between Khimt'anga and Amharic. Though it needs further investigations whether Khimt'anga borrows from Amharic or it lends to Amharic, as the names of the days, the the names of the months in Khimt'anga and in Amharic share several similar phonological structures. Except *t'ɨrr* 'January', the remaining months of the year show slight phonological differences in word initial, word medial, and word final position. For example, one can see the third, the second and the twelfth months of the year word initially, word medially and word finally phonological changes, respectively: *χɨdar* 'November' becomes *hɨdar* 'November', *t'ɨqɨmt* 'October' becomes *t'ɨk'ɨmt* 'October' and *nəχaʃ* 'August' becomes *nəhase* 'August'.

In the first example, the voiceless uvular fricative sound *χ* is word initially placed for Khimt'anga. For Amharic, it is used by the voiceless glottal fricative sound h. In the second example, the voiceless uvular plosive sound *q* is word medially placed for Khimt'anga. For Amharic, it is employed by the glottalized plosive sound *k'*. And in the third example, the voiceless palatal fricative sound *ʃ* and the voiceless uvular fricative sound *χ* word medially and word finally are placed for Khimt'anga. For Amharic, they are used by voiceless glottal fricative sound *h*, and the voiceless alveolar fricative sound *s* with the addition of the suffix-*e*, respectively.

Table: 23 The comparison between names of the months of the year of Khimt'anga and Amharic

Khimt'anga		Amharic	
miskurɾɨm	'September'	*məskərəm*	'September'
t'ɨqɨmt	'October'	*t'ɨk'ɨmt*	'Octomber'
χɨdar	'November'	*hɨdar*	'November'
taχɨsɨsɨs	'December'	*tahsas*	December'
t'ɨrr	'January'	*t'ɨrr*	'January'
ləkatit	'February'	*jəkatit*	'February'
mɨgɨβɨt	'March'	*məgabit*	'March'
məzɨjə	'April'	*mijazija*	'April'
gɨnbɨt	'May'	*gɨnbot*	'May'
sin	'June'	*səne*	'June'
χamɨl	'July'	*hamɨle*	'July'
nəχaʃ	'August'	*nəhase*	'August'
k'^{w}agume	'Leap year'	*p'agume*	'Leap year'

The above 13 months are divided into four seasons. The seasons of the year are lexically different in forms. These include *tʃ'arə* 'Summer', *mas'ɨwə* 'Autumn', *ɨjjə* 'Winter' and *tunə* 'Spring'. According to the Ethiopian calendar, *tʃ'arə* 'Summer' covers the period starting from *sin lərɨn-ak^{w}ə* '25, June' to miskurɾɨm *lərɨn-ak^{w}ə* '25, September' including the Leap year. *mas'ɨwə* 'Autumn' covers the period starting from *lərɨn-walt'ə* '26, September' to *taχsɨsɨs lərɨn-ak^{w}ə* '25, December'. *ɨjjə* 'Winter' covers the period starting from *taχɨsɨsɨs lərɨn-walt'ə* '26, December' to *mɨgɨβɨt lərɨn-ak^{w}ə* '25, March'. And *tunə* 'Spring' covers the period starting from *mɨgɨβɨt lərɨn-walt'ə* 26, March' to *sin lərɨn-ak^{w}ə* '25, June'. Approximately each of the four seasons contains three or so months.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOUNS AND INTENSIFIERS

In this chapter, I discuss the pronoun system and forms, and functions of the intensifier. In the discussion, different forms and functions of pronoun and various intensifiers are presented.

4.1. PRONOUNS

This topic deals with demonstrative and personal pronouns. According to Bhat (2004:1), "[t]he term 'pronoun' is generally used to refer to several different sets of words such as personal pronouns, demonstratives, etc." Schachter and Shopen (2007: 24) state that, " [b]y far the commonest type of pro-form is the pronoun, a word used as a substitute for a noun or noun phrase. Various subtypes of pronouns may be distinguished, among them personal, […], reciprocal, demonstrative […] and relative." In the following consecutive sections, I discuss them in turn.

4.1.1. Demonstratives

A demonstrative pronoun is a term used in grammar, which semantically refers to a class of items whose function is to point out to an entity in the situation or elsewhere in a sentence. A demonstrative pronoun is a subgroup of determiners with the semantic function of referring to things either in the speech situation (deixis) or previously mentioned (anaphora). "All languages have demonstratives, but their form, meaning and use vary tremendously across the languages of the world" (Diessel 1999:1). As one can understand from Diessel's explanation,

demonstratives can be considered as a universal feature of the world's languages. Dryer (2007a: 162) strengthens Diessel's claim by saying that, "[…] all languages appear to have words that we can call 'demonstratives'." There are also languages that include other deictic distinctions[26] such as visible-invisible, above-below, in front-behind, inside-outside, etc. Those languages represent their deixes through distinct pronominal elements.

Khimt'anga makes a three-fold distinction between proximal *ɨn-en* 'this', medial *ŋəŋ* 'that' which is nearer to the addressee, but further away from the speaker and distal *ɨd-en* 'that' is further away from both the speaker and the hearer. However, the medial is perceived as merely a point midway between the proximal and the distal, with the medial point being regarded as the location near the addressee.

The perception of the medial as the location of the addressee in contrast to its perception as a point that is midway the proximal and distal appears to form part of a typological distinction. This distinction is primarily based on the existence of the third person pronouns that form part of the system of personal pronouns, on the one hand, and the ones that do not fit properly into that system, but belong to the system of demonstratives.

[26]Sidaama in Kawachi (2007:189), Alaaba in Schneider-Blum (2007:107), Dime in Mulugeta (2008:73) and Kambaata in Treis (2008: 95) among others argue that demonstratives express deictic distinction; two degrees of distance namely near to and further away from the speaker, as well as further away with someone as something between the speaker and the referred items and another category mainly used for contrasting purposes.

Having made general remarks about demonstrative pronouns, the medial demonstratives in Khimt'anga are denoted by the third person pronouns as *ŋəŋ* 'that SG.M' *ŋɨr* 'that SG.F' *ŋɨtaj* 'those PL' which indicate position nearer to the addressee, but further away from the speaker. Demonstratives are inflected for gender and number. According to Diessel (1999: 2), "[…] like distance-marked demonstratives, distance-neutral demonstratives are commonly used to orient the hearer in the surrounding situation, and second they can always be reinforced by demonstratives that are marked for gender if it is necessary to differentiate between two or more referents […]"

As can be observed in Table 24, proximal demonstratives are distinguished by *ɨn-en* 'this' and *ɨn-tʃen* 'this' for masculine and feminine singular demonstratives, respectively. However, the distal singular demonstratives are expressed by *ɨd-en* 'that' and *ɨ-tʃen* 'that' for masculine and feminine, respectively. As can be deduced from the given data, masculine and feminine gender is marked by the suffixes-*en* and -*tʃen* for both proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively, In contrast, the medial demonstratives are semantically expressed by the third person pronominal forms such as *ŋəŋ* 'he' and ŋɨr 'she' for masculine and feminine singular demonstratives and *ŋɨtaj* 'they' for the third person plural demonstratives.

Consequently, the third person pronominal forms: *ŋəŋ* 'he' and ŋɨr 'she' and *ŋɨtaj* 'they' function into two ways: as a personal pronoun as well as a medial demonstrative. The medial demonstrative is not a strange feature of Khimt'anga. It also occurs in some of the world languages which distinguish demonstratives as the proximal, the medial and the distal such as Ambulas which is a Sepike language spoken in New Guinea (Wilson 1980:454), Ewondo which is a Northwest Bantu language spoken in southern Cameroon (Redden 1980: 67) and a Korean language (Sohn 1994: 297) cited in (Diessel 1999: 15).

Plurality is expressed by the suffixes-*zaj* for proximal and -*zzaj* for distal demonstratives, respectively. For example, *ɨn-zaj* 'these' and ɨ-*zzaj* 'those' for proximal and distal plural demonstratives, respectively. In the case of medial demonstratives, it is the same as the third person pronouns in the language. According to Diessel (1999:25), "[t]he inflectional features of demonstratives vary with their syntactic function. Pronominal demonstratives are more likely to inflect than adnominal and identification demonstratives, which, in turn, are more often inflected than adverbial demonstratives." Diessel further, claims that "the demonstratives of some languages are morphologically invariable (e.g Koren), while the demonstratives of other languages inflect for gender, number and/or case" (Diessel: 22).

Table 24: Demonstratives

Proximal		Medial		Distal	
Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine	Feminine
ɨn-en 'this'	*ɨn-tʃen* 'this'	*ŋ-əŋ* 'that'	*ŋ-(ɨ)r* 'that'	*ɨd-en* 'that'	*ɨ-tʃen* 'that'
ɨnzaj 'these'	*ɨnzaj* 'these'	*ŋɨtaj* 'those'	*ŋɨtaj* 'those'	*ɨzzaj* 'those'	*ɨzzaj* 'those'

In addition, in relation to gender and number inflection, consider the following sentential examples. As can be seen in the examples (84a-g), the demonstratives can be used as modifiers of the head nouns that follow them. In (84a-b), gender is marked on singular demonstratives by the suffixes-*en* and -*tʃen* for masculine and feminine, respectively. In (84c-d), in plural demonstratives; gender is not marked, whereas plurality is marked by the suffix *zaj* and -*zzay* for both proximal and distal demonstratives, respectively. In (84e-g), the medial demonstratives are denoted by the third person pronouns.

(84)

a. *ɨn-en* *gir-d-ø* *s'agiβɨdʒi-s* *tər-ø-u*
PROX-3SG.M boy-DEF-NOM S'agibiji-ABL come-3SG.M-PRV
'This boy came from S'agibiji.'

b. *ɨn-tʃen* *mɨdʒi-ʃən-ɸ* *s'agiβɨdʒi-s* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
PROX-3SG.F girl-DEF.3SG.F-NOM S'agibiji-ABL come-PRV-3SG.F
'This girl came from S'agibiji.'

c. *ɨd-en* *gir-d-ɸ* *s'agiβɨdʒi-s* *tər-ɸ-u*
DIST-3SG.M boy-DEF-NOM S'agibiji-ABL come-3SG.M-PRV
'That boy came from S'agibiji.'

d. *ɨ-tʃen* *mɨdʒi-ʃən-ɸ* *s'agiβɨdʒi-s* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
DIST-3SG.F girl-DEF.3SG.F-NOM S'sgibiji-ABL come-PRV-3SG.F
'That girl came from S'agibiji.'

c. *ɨn-zaj* *ək'^{w}ɨn-d-ɸ* *fir-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
PROX-PL woman.PL-DEF-NOM go-3-EP-PL-PRV
'These women went.'

d. *ɨ-zzaj* *ək'-ɨ-d-ɸ* *fir-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
DIST-PL man.PL-EP-DEF-NOM go-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'Those men went.'

e. *ŋəŋ* *gir-d-ɸ* *tər-ɸ-u*
MED.3SG.M boy-DEF-NOM come-3SG.M-PRV
'That boy came.' (lit. 'he boy came')

f. *ŋɨr* *mɨdʒi-ʃən-ɸ* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
MED.3SG.F girl-DEF.3SG.F-NOM come-PRV-3SG.F
'That girl came.' (lit. 'she girl came.')

g. *ŋɨtaj* *əfər-d* *tər-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
MED.3PL child.PL.DEF come-3-EP-3PL-PRV
Those children came.'(lit. 'they children came.')

4.1.2. Personal pronouns

Khimt'anga personal pronouns make seven way person distinctions. Person, number and gender are the major systems underlying the personal pronoun. "Personal pronouns are words used to refer to the speaker (e.g. I, me), the person spoken to (you), and other persons and things whose referents are presumed to be clear from the context (he, him, she, her, it, etc.)" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 25).

Gender is only crucial to the third person singular pronoun. There is no special honorific form. The plural form of a personal pronoun is employed for honorific forms. The honorific form is used to address the spiritual leaders such as (bishops, priests), elders, chiefs, bosses, in-laws, monks, nuns, and people who are older than the speaker and everyone the speaker wants to respect (honour). They express their various cases by different forms of their pronouns. Personal pronouns can replace animate[27] nouns and can occupy the same positions as their noun counterparts do.

In the vast majority of cases, unlike the grammatical case on nouns that can be morphologically marked, the grammatical cases of pronouns are separately distinguished by their own different forms. But like nouns, their accusative cases are similarly marked by the suffix-*t*. They can be grouped as nominative, dative, ablative, genitive and locative.

4.1.2.1. Subject (nominative) personal prononuns

A subject (nominative) personal pronoun is an independent,. The subject (nominative) form is unmarked. As can be seen in Section 4.1.2.2, it is the base for the object (accusative) form of personal pronoun.. As can be seen in Table 24, there are seven subject (nominative) personal pronoun forms. Gender is only distinguished in the third person. In other kinds of personal pronouns, it is not morphologically marked. In the third person singular subject pronouns, masculine and feminine gender is marked by the suffixes-*əŋ* and -*r*. They are: *ŋ-əŋ* 'he' and *ŋɨ-r* 'she' for masculine and feminine subjects, respectively.

[27] Khimt'anga has no pronoun for inanimate compared to English it or they (used for inanimate referents for singular and plural nouns, respectively).

Table 25: Subject (nominative) personal pronouns

Person	NOM	Gloss
1SG	*jan-ø*[28]	'I'
2SG	*kɨt-ø*	'you'
3SG.M	*ŋəŋ-ø*	'he'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-ø*	'she'
1PL	*jɨnn-ø*	'we'
2PL	*kɨtɨn-ø*	'you'
3PL	*ŋɨtaj-ø*	'they'

Consider the following sentential examples in (85).

(85)

a. *jan-ø* *tət'-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM come-PRV-1SG
'I came.'

b. *ŋɨr-ø* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
3SG.F SUBJ-NOM come-PRV-3SG.F
'She came.'

c. *ŋɨtaj-ø* *tər-ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM come-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They came.'

d. *ŋəŋ-ø* *tər-ø-u*
3SG.M.SUBJ-NOM come-3SG.M-PRV
'He came.'

e. *kɨt-ø* *tə-tɨr-u*
2SG.SUBJ-NOM come-2SG-PRV
'You came.'

f. *kɨtɨn-ø* *tə-tɨr-ɨ-n-u*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM come-2-EP-2PL-PRV
'You came (PL).'

[28]Native speakers of Khimt'anga alternatively use the two terms *jan* or *an* for the first person singular subject form. For the sake of consistency, I entirely use the term *jan* through out the grammatical descriptions of this work.

g. *jɨnn-ɸ* *tər-ɨ-n-u-n*
IPL.SUBJ-NOM come-EP-lPL-PRV-1PL
'We came.'

4.1.2.2. Object (accusative) personal pronouns

Object (accusative) personal pronoun are formed from the reduced subject (nominative) personal pronouns. The object (accusative) personal pronoun case marker-*t* marks its object (accusative) pronoun which is also employed for marking accusative case in nouns. The suffix-*t* is added to the reduced form of a subject pronoun in order to form an object (accusative) case. The subject and the object form of pronouns seem closely related, but they are not identical to each other. In all of the singular and plural forms except the second person singular pronouns, the first part of the syllable of the subject pronoun is the base for the object pronoun which suffixes-*t*. Again for the first and third person singular masculine and feminine pronoun: *jan* 'I', jɨ-*t* 'me', *ŋəŋ* 'he', ŋɨ-*t* 'him', *ŋɨr* 'she', *ŋɨr-t* 'her' the same suffix-*t* is added to the reduced form of the subject. And for the first, second and third person plural pronouns, the suffix-*at* is added to the subject reduced form in the formation of an object personal pronoun as j*ɨnn* 'we', *jɨn-at* 'us', *kɨtɨn* 'you', *kɨt-at* 'you' and *ŋɨtaj* 'they', *ŋɨt-at* 'them' for the subject and object forms, respectively.

The corresponding third person singular masculine and feminine object pronoun forms are distinguished as *ŋɨ-t* 'him' and *ŋɨr-t* 'her', respectively. Like the first person singular and plural pronouns, the second person plural pronouns and the third person plural pronouns, the third person singular masculine pronoun elides its final segment-*əŋ* from its subject form to

form its object. However, in the third person singular feminine pronoun, in contrast, the gender marker is not deleted when forming its object.

Table 26: Object (accusative) personal pronouns

Person	ACC	Gloss
1SG.	*jɨt*	'me'
2SG	*kɨt*	'you'
3SG.M	*ŋɨt*	'him'
3SG.F	*ŋɨrt*	'her'
1PL	*jɨnat*	'us'
2PL	*kɨtat*	'you'
3PL	*ŋɨʈat*	'them'

Consider the following sentential examples in (86).

(86)

a. *jan-ɸ* *ŋɨr-t* *qal-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.F.SUBJ-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw her.'

b. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *jɨ-t* *qal-ɨ-tʃ*
3SG.F SUBJ-NOM ISG.OBJ-ACC see-PRV-3SG.F
'She saw me.'

c. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *ŋɨ-t* *qal-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.M OBJ-ACC see-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They saw him.'

d. *ŋəŋ-ɸ* *ŋɨ-t* *qal-ɸ-u*
3SG.M.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.M.OBJ-ACC see-3SG.M-PRV
'He saw him.'

e. *kɨtɨn-ɸ* *awɨtʃɨnə-t* *s'aj-aj-ɨ-r- ɨ-n-ək'ɨm*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM cat-ACC catch-NEG-EP-2-EP-2PL-NEG
'You do not catch a cat (PL).'

f. *jɨnn-ø* *tər-ɨ-n-u-n*
lPL.SUBJ-NOM come-EP-lPL-PRV-1PL
'We came.'

g. *jɨnn-ø* *kɨt-ø* *qal-ɨ-n-u-n*
lPL.SUBJ-NOM 2SG-ACC see-EP-lPL-PRV-1PL
'We saw you (SG).'

4.1.2.3. The dative personal pronouns

Personal pronouns can be morphologically marked by the dative suffix–*tʃ'is* 'to'. This suffix is added to the reduced subject form of a pronoun. Consider Table 27.

Table 27: Dative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jɨ-tʃ'is*	'to me'	*jɨna-tʃ'is*	'to us'
2	*kɨ-tʃ'is*	'to you'	*kɨta-tʃ'is*	'to you'
3SG.M	*ŋɨ-tʃ'is*	'to him'	*ŋɨta-tʃ'is*	'to them'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-tʃ'is*	'to her'		

Examples in (87) denote the sentential usage of the dative personal pronouns. The suffix-t*ʃ'is* is added to the reduced form of a personal pronoun in order to form the dative personal pronoun. As can be observed in (87), in the sentential examples, dative cases are marked by the suffix-*tʃ'is.*

(87)

a. *jan-ø* *ŋɨr-t* *qal-əw-zɨrə,* *ŋɨta-tʃ'is* *dɨk'^{w}-ək^{w}-ɨ-n*
ISG.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.F.SUBJ-ACC see-REL-CNJ 3PL.OBJ-DAT tell-IPV-EP-1SG
'If I see her, I will tell to them.'

b. *ŋəŋ-ø* *jɨ-tʃ'is* *aq^{w}* *nəj-ø-u*
3SG.SUBJ-NOM ISG.OBJ-DAT water offer-3SG.M-PRV
'He gave water to me.'

c. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *jɨna-tʃ'is* *χabəʃə* *jɨw-ɨ-tʃ*
3SG.SUBJ-NOM 1PL.OBJ-DAT bread give-PRV-3SG.F
'She gave bread to us.'

d. *jɨnn-ɸ* *ŋɨta-tʃ'is* *as'a* *jɨw-ɨ-n-u-n*
IPL.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.OBJ-DAT message give-EP-lPL-PRV-1PL
'We sent a message to them.'

e. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *ŋɨta-tʃ'is* *birə* *dʒɨβ-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM 3PL. OBJ-DAT ox buy-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They bought an ox to them.'

f. ŋɨr-ɸ *ŋɨ-tʃ'is* *χabəʃə* *fij-ɨ-r-əŋ*^{w} *ŋi*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.M..OBJ-DAT bread bake-EP-3SG.F-PROG COP. 3SG.F
'She is baking bread for him.'

4.1.2.4. The instrumental personal pronouns

Pronouns can be overtly marked by the instrumental suffix-*k'uz*. So as to indicate the action of doing something by the use of the instrument or tool, personal pronouns attach the suffix-*k'uz* to the reduced form of the subject personal pronoun. Consider Table 28.

Table 28: Instrumental personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jɨ-k'uz*	'by me'	*jɨna-k'uz*	'by us'
2	*kɨ-k'uz*	'by you'	*kɨta-k'uz*	'by you'
3SG.M	*ŋɨ-k'uz*	'by him'	*ŋɨta-k'uz*	'by them'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-k'uz*	'by her'		

Consider the following sentential examples for the sake of more understanding.

(88)

a. *ŋɨta-ɸ* *ŋ-k'uz* *k'ɨw-ɨ-ʃɨt-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-ək*^{w}
3P.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.OBJ-INST kill-EP-PASS-EP-3PL-IPV
'They are killed by him.'

b. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *adərə-t-ɨ-k'uz* *amɨn-t'əŋə* *t'ɨw-ɨ-ʃɨt-ə-tʃ*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM God-GEN-EP-INST believe-OPT enter-EP-PASS-IPV-3SG.F
'May she be believed in (by) God?'

4.1.2.4. The ablative personal pronouns.

The ablative pronouns are formed by the morpheme-*gis*. Like the dative and instrumental personal pronouns, it is attached to the reduced form of the subject personal pronoun. Therefore, the subject personal pronoun is the base for the suffixation of ablative form of pronouns. Table 29 summarizes the ablative personal pronoun.

Table 29: Ablative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jɨ-gis*	'from me'	*jɨna-gis*	'from us'
2	*kɨ-gis*	'from you'	*kɨta-gis*	'from you'
3SG.M	*ŋɨ-gis*	'from him'	*ŋɨta-gis*	'from them'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-gis*	'from her'		

The following illustrative sentential examples show the use of ablative personal pronouns.

(89)

a. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *ŋ-gis* *wirk'ə-d* *fɨs-ɨ-tʃ*
3S.F.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.M.OBJ-ABL money-DEF take-PRV-3S.F
'She took money from him.'

b. *ŋəŋ-ɸ* *ŋɨta-gis* *aq*^{w} *qədaq-ɸ-u*
3SG.M-NOM 3PL.OBJ-ABL water fetch-3SG.M-PRV
'He fetched water from them.'

c. *ŋəŋ-ɸ* *jɨna-gis* *s'aβ* *nənɨm* *nənɨm* *fɨs-ɸ-u*
3S.M.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.OBJ-ABL milk frequent RDP take-3SG.M-PRV
'He took milk from us again and again.'

4.1.2.5. The comitative personal pronouns

The comitative pronoun is marked by the suffix-*dʒɨk*'. It is attached to the reduced subject personal pronoun form. As can be seen in Table 30, the comitative personal pronoun marker is attached to the reduced form of a subject pronoun. In all cases, the suffix *-dʒɨk'* is attached to the reduced form of a subject personal pronoun.

Table 30: Comitative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jɨ-dʒɨk'*	'with me'	*jɨna-dʒɨk'*	'with us'
2	*kɨ-dʒɨk'*	'with you'	*kɨta-dʒɨk'*	'with you'
3SG.M	*ŋ-dʒɨk'*	'with him'	*ŋɨta-dʒɨk'*	'with them'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-dʒɨk'*	'with her'		

The following sentential examples show the use of comitative personal pronoun in (90).

(90)

a. *ŋɨr-ø* *ŋɨr-sɨn-dʒɨk'* *fir-i-tʃ*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.F-sister-COM go-PRV-3SG.F
'She went with her sister.'

b. *jɨnn-ø* *jɨna-χ^{w}ɨr-dʒɨk'* *tər-ɨ-n-u-n*
IPL.SUBJ-NOM 1PL.POSS-son.PL-COM come-EP-lPL-PRV-1PL
'We came with our sons.'

4.1.2.6. The Possessive personal pronouns

There are two types of possessive pronouns. These are the attributive and the headless possessive pronouns. The two categories of possessive pronouns are different from each other in morpho-syntactic properties. The possessive pronoun which functions as a modifier element,

always occurs followed by the head noun, whereas the headless genitive pronoun appears independently. Regarding the attributive genitives, consider examples in Table 30.

Table 31: Possessive personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*ju bigə*	'my sheep'	*jɨnaw bigə*	'our sheep'
2	*ku bigə*	'your sheep'	*kɨtaw bigə*	'your sheep'
3SG.M	*ŋu bigə*	'his sheep'	*ŋɨtaw bigə*	'their sheep'
3SG.F	*ŋɨru bigə*	'her sheep'		

The following sentential examples denote the function of genitive personal pronoun in (91).

(91)

a. *ɲəŋŋə-ɸ* *tatɨnə* *ŋu* *bigə-t* *k'ɨj-ɸ-u*
Gnegne-NOM yesterday his sheep-ACC sell-3SG.M-PRV
'Gnegne sold his sheep yesterday.'

b. *t'amtɨrəj-ɸ* *ŋɨru* *lɨwə-t* *q^wəʃ-ɨ-tʃ*
Tamtrey NOM her cow-ACC milk-PRV-3SG.F
'Tamtrey milked her cow.'

The other genitive form of pronouns comprises those that appear independently. These kinds of genitive pronouns occur without their head. In other words, the possessed head noun does not appear.

Table 32: The headless possessive personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*ju*	'my'	*jɨnaw*	'our '
2	*ku*	'your'	*kɨtaw*	'your'
3SG.M	*ŋu*	'his'	*ŋɨtaw*	'their'
3SG.F	*ŋɨru*	'her'		

Generally speaking, personal pronouns are described in different aspects.Table 33 summarizes the personal pronouns and the major case markers that they take.

Table 33: The summary of various forms of personal pronouns

Person	NOM	ACC	DAT	INST	ABL	COM	POSS
1SG	*jan-ø*	*jɨ-t*	*jɨ-tʃis*	*jɨ-k'uz*	*jɨ-gis*	*jɨ-dʒik'*	*ju*
2SG	*kɨt-ø*	*kɨt-ø*	*kɨ-tʃ'is*	*kɨ-k'uz*	*kɨ-gis*	*kɨ-dʒɨk*	*ku*
3SG. M	*ŋəŋ-ø*	*ŋɨ-t*	*ŋɨ-tʃ'is*	*ŋɨ-k'uz*	*ŋɨ-gis*	*ŋɨ-dʒɨk'*	*ŋu*
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-ø*	*ŋɨr-t*	*ŋɨr-tʃ'is*	*ŋɨr-k'uz*	*ŋɨr-gis*	*ŋɨr-dʒɨk'*	*ŋɨru*
1PL	*jɨnn-ø*	*jɨn-at*	*jɨna-tʃ'is*	*jɨna-k'uz*	*jɨna-gis*	*jɨna-dʒɨk'*	*jɨnaw*
2PL	*kɨtɨn-ø*	*kɨt-at*	*kɨta-tʃ'is*	*kɨta-k'uz*	*kɨta-gis*	*kɨta-dʒɨk'*	*kɨtaw*
3PL	*ŋɨtaj-ø*	*ŋɨt-at*	*ŋɨta-tʃ'is*	*ŋɨta-k'uz*	*ŋɨta-gis*	*ŋɨta-dʒɨk'*	*ŋɨtaw*

4.1.3. Reciprocal pronouns

Reciprocity is one of the features of Khimt'anga. According to Bhat (2004:85), "[r]eciprocity is another concept that is primarily concerned with the predicate rather than with the argument. It resembles reflexive meaning in some respects but differs from it in others. The most important difference between the two is that the notion of 'coreference', when it occurs, is a real one in the case of reflexive meaning, whereas in the case of reciprocal meaning, it is only illusory." Khimt'anga uses a pronominal device for denoting the reciprocal meaning. "While the pronominal devices that occur in the case of reflexive meaning can be regarded as anaphoric and definite, in the case of reciprocal meaning, the devices can only be regarded as 'anaphoric' but not as definite. That is, languages generally use an indefinite expression as a reciprocal pronoun" (Ibid: 86).

4.1.3.1. Nominative-Accusative reciprocal pronouns

Khimt'anga forms its reciprocal pronoun, 'each other' by reduplicating the reduced forms of the possessive plus the dative marker-*s*, and another marker-*j*. It is used for the notion, "more than one participant" (usually two participants) on one another. This pronoun is expressed in the reduced form of possessives. As can be observed from Table 34, reciprocity is expressed by *jɨna-s jɨna-j, kɨta-s kɨta-j* and *ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-j* 'each other' for the first, second and third person plural pronouns, respectively.

Table 34: The nominative-accusative reciprocal pronouns

Person	Nominative reciprocal form	Gloss
1PL	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-j*	'we each other'
2PL	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-j*	'you each other;
3PL	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-j*	'they each other'

As can be seen from the examples in (92, the reciprocal pronoun marker is not only marked in the subject arguments, but it is also marked in the verbal predicates. By the use of the linking vowel-*ə*, the reduplicated verbal stems and the passive marker are essential to form the nominative form of the reciprocity. Consider the following sentential examples.

(92)

a. *jɨnn-ø* *jɨna-s* *jɨna-j*
1PL.SUBJ-NOM 1PL.POSS-DAT 1PL.POSS-RECP
qal-ə *qal-ʃɨt-ɨ-n-u-n*
see-LINK RDP-PASS-EP-IPL-PRV-lPL
'We saw each other.'(lit.'We were seen each other'.)

b. *kɨtɨn-ø* *kɨta-s* *kɨta-j*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM 2PL.POSS-DAT 2PL.POSS-RECP
qal-ə *qal-ʃɨt-ɨ-t'ɨn*
see-LINK RDP-PASS-EP-2PL.IMP
'You are ordered to see each other.' (lit. 'You are ordered to be seen each other.')

c. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *ŋɨta-s* *ŋɨta-j*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.POSS-DAT 3PL.POSS-RECP
qal-ə *qal-ʃɨt-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
see-LINK RDP-PASS-3PL-EP-3PL-PRV
'They saw each other.'('They were seen each other.')

4.1.3.2 .The nominative-dative reciprocal pronouns

The dative reciprocal pronoun form is derived from the total reduplicated reduced form of possessives, and the dative marker-*s*.

Table 35: The nominative-dative reciprocal pronouns

Person	Dative reciprocal form	Gloss
1PL	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-s*	'We for each other'
2PL	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-s*	'You for each other'
3PL	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-s*	'They for each other'

As can be observed from the examples in (93), the reciprocal pronoun dative form is not only marked in the subject arguments, but it is also marked in the verbal predicates. It is formed by the use of the linking vowel-*ə*, and the reduplicated verbal stems.The following sentential examples denote the function of the dative reciprocal pronoun.

(93)

a. *jɨnn-ɸ* *jɨna-s* *jɨna-s*
1PL.SUBJ-NOM 1PL.POSS-DAT 1PL.POSS-DAT
kəβ-ə *kəβ-ɨ-n-u-n*
help-LINK RDP-EP-1PL-PRV-lPL
'We helped each other.' (lit.'We helped for each other.')

b. *kɨtɨn-ɸ* *kɨta-s* *kɨta-s*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM 2PL.POSS-DAT 2PL.POSS-DAT
kəβ-ə *kəβ-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-u*
help-LINK RDP-2-EP-2PL-PRV
'You helped each other.' (lit.'You helped for each other.')

c. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *ŋɨta-s* *ŋɨta-s*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.POSS-DAT 3PL.POSS-DAT
kəβ-ə *kəβ-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
help-LINK RDP-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They helped each other.' (lit.'They helped for each other.')

4.1.3.3. The nominative-instrumental reciprocal pronouns

The instrumental reciprocal pronoun is formed from the total reduplicated reduced forms of the possessive plus the dative and instrumental markers-*s* and -*z*, respectively. Consider Table 36.

Table 36: The nominative-instrumental reciprocal pronouns

Person	Instrumental reciprocal form	Gloss
1PL	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-z*	'We with each other'
2PL	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-z*	'You with each other'
3PL	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-z*	'They with each other'

As can be observed from the examples in (94), the instrumental reciprocal pronoun form is not only marked in the subject arguments, but it is also marked in the verbal predicates. It is formed by the use of the linking vowel-*ə*, and the reduplicated verbal stems. The following sentential examples denote the function of the instrumental reciprocal pronoun. The following examples show the function of the instrumental reciprocal pronouns.

(94)

a. *jɨnn-ɸ* *jɨna-s* *jɨna-z*
1PL.SUBJ-NOM 1PL.POSS-DAT 1PL.POSS-INST
ward-ə *ward-ɨ-n-u-n*
play-LINK RDP-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL
'We played together.' (lit.'We played with each other.')

b. *kɨtɨn-ɸ*	*kɨta-s*	*kɨta-z*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM	2PL.POSS-DAT	2PL.POSS-INST
ward-ə	*ward-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-u*	
play-LINK	RDP-EP-2-EP-2PL-PRV	
'You played with each other.'		
c. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ*	*ŋɨta-s*	*ŋɨta-z*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM	3PL.POSS-DAT	3PL.POSS-INST
ward-ə	*ward-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*	
play-LINK	RDP-3-EP-3PL-PRV	
'They played with each other.'		

4.1.3.4. The nominative-ablative reciprocal pronouns

The ablative reciprocal pronoun is formally marked by the suffix-*gis* followed by the total reduplicated reduced forms of the possessives, and the dative marker-*s*. See Table 37.

Table 37: The nominative-ablative reciprocal pronouns

Person	Ablative reciprocal form	Gloss
1PL	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-gis*	'We from each other'
2PL	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-gis*	'You from each other;
3PL	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-gis*	'They from each other'

Like the nominative, dative and instrumental reciprocal pronouns, the ablative reciprocal pronoun is not only marked in the subject arguments, but it is also marked in the verbal predicates. It is formed by the use of the linking vowel-*ə*, and the reduplicated verbal stems. The following sentential examples denote the function of the dative reciprocal pronoun. Consider the following sentential examples in (95).

(95)

a. *jɨnn-ɸ*	*jɨna-s*	*jɨna-gis*
1PL.SUBJ-NOM	1PL.POSS-DAT	1PL.POSS-ABL
wirk'ə	*ʧiŋ-ə*	*ʧiŋ-ɨ-n-u-n*
birr	share-LINK	RDP-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL
lit. 'We contributed the money from each other.'		

b. kɨtɨn-ɸ	*kɨta-s*	*kɨta-gis*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM	2PL.POSS-DAT	2PL.POSS-ABL
wirk'ə	*tʃiŋ-ə*	*tʃiŋ-ɨ- r-ɨ-n-u*
birr	share-LINK	RDP-EP-2-EP-2PL-PRV

lit.'You contributed the money from each other.'

c. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ*	*ŋɨta-s*	*ŋɨta-gis*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM	3PL.POSS-DAT	3PL:POSS-ABL
wirk'ə	*tʃiŋ-ə*	*tʃiŋ-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
birr	share-LINK	RDP-3-EP-3PL-PRV

lit. 'They contributed the money from each other.'

Table 38: The summary of various reciprocal forms with personal pronouns

Person	Nominative form of reciprocal pronouns	Dative form of reciprocal pronouns	Instrumental form of reciprocal pronouns	Ablative form of reciprocal pronouns
1PL	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-j*	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-s*	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-z*	*jɨnn jɨna-s jɨna-gis*
2PL	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-j*	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-s*	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-z*	*kɨtɨn kɨta-s kɨta-gis*
3PL	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-j*	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-s*	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-z*	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-s ŋɨta-gis*

4.2. THE INTENSIFIER

The intensifier is expressed by the lexical form *qɨmə* 'self'. In Table 39, the emphatic or intensifier is presented. It employs the free morpheme *qɨmə* 'self' for giving emphasis with the genitive forms. The stem of the intensifier is preceded by the reduced form of the genitive pronouns or all of the pronouns: *jɨ*, *kɨ*, ŋɨ and ŋɨr which stand for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular reduced genitive pronoun forms, respectively. Note that *ŋɨ* and *ŋɨr* represent the 3rd person singular masculine and feminine reduced forms of genitive pronoun, respectively. On the other hand, *jɨna*, *kɨta* and *ŋɨta* represent the reduced form of the first, second and third person plural genitives, respectively. In the intensifier, the subject and the genitive reduced pronouns are the same person and they are coreferencial with the subject of the clause in which it occurs. "Expressions like English x-self […] exhibit very specific syntactic and semantic properties and

play a distinctive role in process of grammaticalization and semantic change. It therefore seems justified to assign these expressions to a special subclass of function words" (König 2001:747).

Table 39: Forms of intensifier

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jan ji-qɨmə*	'I myself'	*jɨnn jɨna-qɨmə*	'we ourselves'
2	*kɨt kɨ-qɨmə*	'you yourself'	*kɨtɨn kɨta-qɨmə*	'you yourselves'
3SG.M	*ŋəŋ ŋɨ-qɨmə*	'he himself'	*ŋɨtaj ŋɨta-qɨmə*	'they themselves'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr ŋɨr-qɨmə*	'she herself'		

To make this more concrete, consider the following sentential intensifier forms in (96).

(96)

a. *jan-ɸ* *ji-qɨmə* *k'iβ-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM 1SG.POSS-INTF cut-PRV-1SG
'I cut myself.'

b. *kɨt-ɸ* *kɨ-qɨmə* *k'iβ-ɨ-r-u*
2SG.SUBJ-NOM 2SG.POSS-INTF cut-EP-2-PRV
'You cut yourself.'

c. *ŋəŋ-ɸ* *ŋɨ-qɨmə* *k'iβ-ɸ-u*
3SG.M.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-INTF cut-3SG.M-PRV
'He cut himself.'

d. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *ŋɨr-qɨmə* *k'iβ-ɨ-tʃ*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.F.POSS-INTF cut-PRV-SG.F
'She cut herself.'

e. jɨnn-*ɸ* *jɨna-qɨma* *k'iβ-ɨ-n-u-n*
IPL.SUBJ-NOM IPL.POSS-INTF cut-EP-IPL-PRV-IPL
'We cut ourselves.'

f. *kɨtɨn-ɸ* *kɨta-qɨmə* *k'iβ-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-u*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM 2PL.POSS-INTF cut-EP-2-EP-2PL-PRV
'You cut yourselves.'

g. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *ŋɨta-qɨmə* *k'iβ-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.POSS-INTF cut-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They cut themselves.'

The function of the intensifier is to emphasize referent of the subject NP. For instance in (97), the subjects are 'the farmer, and the proper name 'Ezira'. To express that the farmer is the person who gave something to somebody and to denote the doer of an action by the proper name, Ezira is emphasized. The only intensifier is used with the noun farmer and the proper name Ezira.

(97)

a. *arʃə-d*	*ŋɨ-qɨmə-ʧ'is*	*wirk'ə-d*	*jɨw-ɸ-u*
farmer-DEF	3SG.M.POSS-INTF-DAT	money-DEF	give-3SG.M-PRV
'The FARMER himself gave me the money.'			
b. *ɨzira-ɸ*	*ŋɨ-qɨmə*	*mirə-d*	*bɨz-ɸ-u*
Ezira-NOM	3SG.M. POSS-INTF	gate-DEF	open-3SG.M-PRV
'EZIRA himself opened the door.'			

4.2.1. The intensifier plus personal pronouns

This section deals with the intensifier with dative, intensifier with insrumetal and intensifier with ablative.

4.2.1.1. The intensifier with dative personal pronouns

The intensifier with dative personal pronoun is presented in Table 40. As can be observed in Table 40, like nouns the intensifier with dative personal pronoun is morphologically marked by the suffix-*s* which is attached to the reduced form of possessive pronoun, and the intensifier marker *qɨmə* 'self'.

Table 40: The intensifier with dative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*ji-qimə-s*	'for myself'	*jina-qimə-s*	'for ourselves'
2	*ki-qimə-s*	'for yourself'	*kita-qimə-s*	'for yourselves'
3SG.M	*ŋi-qimə-s*	'for himself'	*ŋita-qimə-s*	'for themselves'
3SG.F	*ŋir-qimə-s*	'for herself'		

To make it more concrete, consider the following sentential examples in (98).

(98)

a. *izira-ø* *ŋi-qimə-s* *liwə-ʃən* *dʒiβ-ø-u*
Ezira -NOM 3SG.M.POSS-INTF-DAT cow-DEF.3SG.F buy-3SG.M-PRV
'Ezira bought the cow for himself.'

b. *jan* intensifier-*ø* *ji-qimə-s* *liwə-ʃən* *dʒiβ-u-n*
ISG.SUBJ-Nom. 1SG.POSS-INTF-DAT cow-DEF.3SG.F buy-PRV-ISG
'I bought the cow for myself.'

c. *ŋitaj-ø* *ŋita-qimə-s* *liwə-ʃən* *dʒiβ-ø-i-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-*NOM* 3PL.POSS-INTF-DAT cow-DEF.3S.F buy-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They bought the cow for themselves.'

4.2.1.2. The intensifier with genitive personal pronouns

The intensifier with genitive personal pronoun denotes one's own property. It is indicated by the reduced form of the intensifier *qimə* 'self' as *qim* and by suffixing the intensifier with genitive personal pronoun marker-*tu*. As can be observed in Table 40, the intensifier with genitive personal pronoun is morphologically marked by the bound suffix-*tu* which is followed by the clitic form of the intensifier *qim* and the possessive marker-*tu*.

Table 41: The intensifier with genitive personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*ji-qim-tu*	'my own'	*jina-qim-tu*	'our own'
2	*ki-qim-tu*	'your own'	*kita-qim-tu*	'your own'
3SG. M	*ŋi-qim-tu*	'his own'	*ŋita-qim-tu*	'their own'
3SG.F	*ŋir-qim-tu*	'her own'		

Consider the following sentential examples in (99).

(99)

a *.kɨt-ɸ* *kɨ-qɨm-tu* *wirk'ə-d* *dʒɨs-s-ɸ-u*
2SG.SUBJ-NOM 2SG.POSS-INTF-GEN money-DEF lose-CAUS-PRV
'You lost your own money.'

b. *ŋɨ-qɨm-tu* *fɨtʃ'ɨrə-d* *kɨr-ɸ-u*
3SG.M. POSS-INTF-GEN goat-DEF die-3SG.M-PRV
'His own goat died.'

4. 2.1.3. The intensifier with instrumental personal pronouns

Like nouns, the intensifier with instrumental personal pronoun is overtly marked by the suffix-*z*. It is followed by the possessive marker-*tu*, and it is formed by the reduced form of the intensifier form *qɨmə* 'self' as *qɨm* plus the genitive marker-*tu* 'own'.

Table 42: The intensifier with instrumental personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jɨ-qɨm-tu-z*	'by my own'	*jɨna-qɨm-tu-z*	'by our own'
2	*kɨ-qɨm-tu-z*	'by your own'	*kɨta-qɨm-tu-z*	'by your own'
3SG. M	*ŋɨ-qɨm-tu-z*	'by his own'	*ŋɨta-qɨm-tu-z*	'by them own'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-qɨm-tu-z*	'by her own'		

The intensifier with instrumental personal pronoun is used for expressing the adverbial function. Consider the following sentential examples in (100).

(100)

a. *t'amtəw-ɸ* *ŋɨ-qɨm-tu-z* *mirə-d* *diβ-ɸ-u*
Tamtew-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-INTF-GEN-INST gate-DEF shut-3SG.M-PRV
'Tamtew shut the gate by himself.'

b. *ŋɨr-ɸ* *ŋɨr-qɨm-tu-z* *sələ-d* *giβ-ɨ-tʃ*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM 3SG.F.POSS-INTF-GEN-INST knife-DEF sharpen-PRV-3SG.F
'She sharpened the knife by herself.'

c. *ŋɨtaj-ɸ* *ŋɨta-qɨm-tu-z* *kɨndɨŋ* *χatt-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM 3PL.POSS-INTF-GEN-INST education finish-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They completed their education by themselves.'

d. *jan-ɸ* *jɨ-qɨm-tu-z* *anɨwɨʃ-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM 1SG.POSS-INTF-GEN-INST regret-PRV-1SG
'I regretted by myself.'

4.2.1.4. The intensifier with ablative personal pronouns

The intensifier with ablative personal pronoun is formally marked by the suffix-*tigis*. Like the intensifier with dative and the intensifier with instrumental personal pronouns, the intensifier with ablative personal pronoun is formed by preceding the reduced form of possessive pronoun marker-*tu* and the intensifier marker *qɨmə* 'self'. As shown in Table 43, the intensifier with ablative personal pronoun form is formed by the possessives, and the full form of the intensifier *qɨmə* 'self' plus the ablative form-*tigis*.

Table 43: The intensifier with ablative personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
1	*jɨ-qɨmə-tigis*	'from myself'	*jɨna-qɨmə-tigis*	'from ourselves'
2	*kɨ-qɨmə-tigis*	'from yourself'	*kɨta-qɨmə-tigis*	'from yourselves'
3SG. M	*ŋɨ-qɨmə-tigis*	'from himself'	*ŋɨta-qɨmə-tigis*	'from themselves'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-qɨmə-tigis*	'from herself'		

Let us see, the following sentential illustrative examples in (101).

(101)

a. *jan-ɸ* *jɨ-qɨmə-tigis* *kɨndətə* *bɨtʃ'ɨk'* *kɨndɨŋ* *kɨnd-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM 1SG.POSS-INTF-ABL student much education learn-PRV-1SG
'I myself learned a lot of lessons from my student.'

b. *adəru-ɸ* *ŋɨ-qɨmə-tigis* *s'amɨr-d* *kɨndɨŋ* *kɨnd-ɸ-u*
Aderu-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-INTF-ABL friend-DEF education learn-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu himself learned the lesson from his friend.'

c. *əkʼ-ɸ* *ŋɨta-qɨmə-tigis* *bɨtʃʼɨkʼ* *kɨndɨŋ-d* *kɨnd-ɸ-ɨ-ŋ-əkʷ*
man.PL-NOM 3PLPOSS-INTF-ABL much education-DEF learn-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'People will learn lots of lessons from themselves.'

Table 44 summarizes the intensifier with dative, intensifier with genitive, intensifier with insrumetal and intensifier with ablative.

Table 44: The summary of different forms of intensifier plus personal pronouns

Person	Intensifier with dative	Intensifier with genitive	Intensifier with insrumetal	Intensifier with ablative.
1SG	*jɨ-qɨmə-s*	*jɨ-qɨm-tu*	*jɨ-qɨm-tu-z*	*jɨ-qɨmə-tigis*
2SG	*kɨ-qɨmə-s*	*kɨ-qɨm-tu*	*kɨ-qɨm-tu-z*	*kɨ-qɨmə-tigis*
3SG.M	*ŋɨ-qɨmə-s*	*ŋɨ-qɨm-tu*	*ŋɨ-qɨm-tu-z*	*ŋɨ-qɨmə-tigis*
3SG.F	*ŋɨr-qɨmə-s*	*ŋɨr-qɨm-tu*	*ŋɨr-qɨm-tu-z*	*ŋɨr-qɨmə-tigis*
1PL	*jɨna-qɨmə-s*	*jɨna-qɨm-tu*	*jɨna-qɨm-tu-z*	*jɨna-qɨmə-tigis*
2PL	*kɨta-qɨmə-s*	*kɨta-qɨm-tu*	*kɨta-qɨm-tu-z*	*kɨta-qɨmə-tigis*
3PL	*ŋɨta-qɨmə-s*	*ŋɨta-qɨm-tu*	*ŋɨta-qɨm-tu-z*	*ŋɨta-qɨmə-tigis*

CHAPTER FIVE

VERB MORPHOLOGY

5.1. INTRODUCTION

Like nouns, in Khimt'anga, verbal roots begin with both consonants and vowels, whereas they only end in a consonant or consonant clusters. Among the seven vowels, four of them are attested occurring at word initial position of verbal roots. These vowels are *ə*, *a*, *ɨ* and *o*. Out of these vowels *ə* and *a* are the most frequently occurring vowels at the beginning of the verbal roots as compared to *ɨ* and *o*. According to the collected data, the rest of the vowels *e*, *u* and *i* are never attested occurring in the word initial position of verbal roots of this language. However, almost all consonant phonemes can occur in final position of verbal roots. In Table 45, 29 consonants are attested ending in verbal roots. For the sake of simplicity, consonant phonemes are arranged according to their places of articulation.

Table 45: Examples of verbal roots ending in consonant phonemes

Ending verbal consonants	Examples with their glosses
b	*t'ab-* 'thresh', *bəb-* 'swim, *s'ɨb-* 'live', *abb-* 'fumigate', *əbb- '*swell', etc.
β	*giβ-* 'deprive', *liβ-* 'fall', *niβ-* 'suckle', *ziβ-* 'dance', *dʒiβ-* 'buy', etc.
m	*gim-* 'descend', *gɨmm'*-rub', *k'ɨm-*'rule', *ʃəm-*'derive' *kirɨm-*'start', etc.
w	*k'ɨw-* 'kill', *jɨw-* 'give', *k'aw-* 'lead', etc.
f	*f- 'go* out', *nif-* 'rain', *wif-* 'bark', *k'iff-* 'slaughter, etc.
t	*alt-* 'be near', *dəŋt-* 'judge', *wigɨt-* 'talk' *kɨnt-* 'be worry', etc.
d	*kɨnd-* 'learm', *qad-* 'cure', *ward-* 'play', *gɨrβəβɨd-* 'kneel down', etc.
t'	*bat'-* 'spilit', malt'- 'be bold', *ak'ɨt'-* 'be grey', etc.
s	*wis-* 'marry', *fis-* 'take out', *təss-* 'build, *tass-* 'roast', etc.
z	*az-* 'make love, fuck', *t'az-* 'hit', *gɨmz-*'lower', *liz-* 'cry', g^{w}*ijɨz-* 'pull', etc.
s'	*bas'-* 'spilt', *əss'-* 'curse', *qas'-* 'scream', *χɨs'-* 'be worm', *niqɨs'-* 'be many', etc.
n	*k'ən-* 'love', *tən-* 'save', k^{w}*in-* 'construct', *s'an-* 'load', *bənn-* 'yearn', etc.
r	*fir-* 'go', *kər-* 'cross', *mir-* 'forget', *χar-* 'smell', etc.
l	*mal-* 'drop', *qal-* 'see ', *kil-* 'break', χ^{w}*əll-* 'visit', *akɨl-* 'create', *zətil-* 'be cheap', *as ɨl-* 'prepare', etc.
ʃ	*wəʃ-*'hear', *zaʃ-* 'insult', *kaʃ-* 'yawn', *qaʃ-* 'be day', *k'ɨʃ-* 'be dawn', etc.
tʃ	*gitʃ-* 'establish, found', *mitʃ-* 'be comfort', etc.
ʅʒ	*dʒ-* 'ripen', *s'adʒ-* 'be rich', *adʒ-* 'wake up', *widʒ-* 'wish', *t'adʒ-* 're-new', etc.
tʃ'	*tʃ'-* 'spend the night', *mitʃ'-* 'ferment', etc.
j	*s'ɨj-* 'bloom', *fɨj-* 'bake', *χajj-* 'look after ', *χɨj-* 'be big', *χadɨj-* 'battery', etc.
ɲ	*ɲəŋɲ-* 'be generous', *ɲɨŋɲ-* 'nag', etc.
k	*ʃɨk-* 'be light', etc.
g	*ʃɨg-* 'warm', *ʃɨgg-* 'grow', *dʒɨg-* 'strengthen', *ʃəgg-* 'get beautiful', etc.
g^{w}	*s'ɨg*^{w}- 'diminish', etc.
k'	*fəkk'-* 'comb', *məkk'-* 'throw', *tʃ'əkk'-* 'contest', *tʃək'-* 'spoil', *əs'ɨk'-* 'tie', etc.
ŋ	*s'aŋ- '*travel', *siŋ-* 'spend', *kiŋ- '*warn', *ədʒɨŋ- '*shorten', etc.
q	*χaq-* '*d*efeat', *zaq-* 'grind', *tʃaq-* 'fill', *aq-*'exist', *fəraq-* 'widen', etc.
χ	*sɨnχ-* 'beautify', *oχ* - 'be flame'
χ^{w}	χ^{w} - 'eat'
h	nəh- 'narrate'

The verbal roots in Khimt'anga are bound. They do not stand on their own. The verb root consists of a verb root alone or a verb root plus one or more inflectional and derivational suffixes. The inflectional and derivational suffixes are attached following the verbal root. The verbal root cannot stand by itself; so, it is always followed by one or more derivational or

inflectional suffixes. The arrangement of morphemes is the verb ROOT-DERIVATIONAL SUFFIX-INFLECTIONAL SUFFIX (ASPECT-SUBJECT AGEEMENT MARKERS).

Akin to all Agaw languages in particular and Cushitic languages, in general, the verb forms are complex [29] by their nature (Appleyard 2007:492). This is clearly observed in Khimt'anga as well. In the verb morphology, various aspects of verbs are addressed. These aspects include the verb root, inflectional categories of verbs such as subject (agreement) markers, perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive aspect and mood

5.2. THE VERB ROOT

The verb root is the major part of the verb. It contains the lexical meaning of the verb. Appleyard (1987:470) claims that all verbal roots in Khimt'anga are monosyllabic. However, as can be clearly seen in the following examples, verbal roots are not only monosyllabic, but they are also disyllabic and trisyllabic. As can be observed in (1a-f), monosyllabic roots are classified in six categories; these are: CVC- in (1a), CVC_1C_2 in (1b), CVC_lC_l in (1c), VC- in (1d), $VC_l\ C_2$- in (1e), and VC_lC_l in (1f). Consider the following examples in (1), (2) and (3) monosyllabic, disyllabic and trisyllablic verbs, respectively.

Mono-syllabic verbal roots

[29]" Indeed, it has been estimated that a single lexical verb in Bilin has a potential scatter, in theory at least, of over 10,000 forms" (Palmer 1957: 131).

(1)

a. CVC-	b. CvC_1C_2-	c. CvC_1C_1-
sig-'grind'	*marχ*- 'pull out the first tooth '	*tʃ'əkk'*-'contest'
tʃ'as'- 'break wind, fart'	*bɨrq*- 'sip'	*χatt*- 'finish'
kɨl- 'break'	*tʃɨlq*- 'escape'	*ʃəgg*- 'be pretty'
dər- 'love'	*kɨnd*- 'learn'	*mizz*-'graze, pullout grass'
k'ɨw-'kill	*ward*- 'play'	*ɲɨŋɲ*- 'nag, disagree'
k'ɨj- 'sell'	*kend*- 'be bride'	*ɲəŋɲ*- 'be generous'
diq- 'belch, bellow'	*χarβ*- 'be blind'	*t'ass*- 'roast'
kaʃ- 'yawn'	*dəŋt*- 'judge'	*k'ass*- 'hinder'
gitʃ- 'found, establish'	*gard*- 'endeavour'	*k'ɨzz*- 'cut' (rope)
dʒɨz- 'sleep'(animal)	*t'ɨld*- 'treat the ill'	*χazz*- 'clean'
g^{w}iz- 'plough'	*bɨlk'*- 'boil'	*sɨŋŋ*- 'steal'
lij- 'inherit'	*g^{w}ərt*- 'hate'	*ʃɨgg*- 'grow'
səj- 'flee'	*gimz*- 'lower'	*gɨmm*-'rub'
t'ɨj- 'smoke'	*sinχ*- 'beautify'	*ʃərr*- 'be severe' (wound)
tʃ'ɨ/- 'call'	*kɨnt*- 'be worry'	*təss*- 'build'

d. VC-	e. VC_1C_2-	f. VC_1C_1-
əq- 'cough'	*ɨmq*-'kiss'	*əbb*- 'swell, bulge'
on- 'be bare'	*alt*- 'be near'	*abb*- 'fumigate'
ot- 'reign'	*arq*-'know'	*əss'*- 'curse'
oz- 'ejaculate'	*ərd*-'mate, copulate'	
ət'- 'be fine grain'		
aq- 'exist, present, be'		
as- 'complete'		
ag- 'grew mold'		
az 'have sex'		
adʒ-'wake up'		
ow- 'be high'		

As shown in (2a-g), disyllabic verbal roots have the following syllabic structures. These are CV-CVC- in (2a), V-CVC- in (2b), CV-CVC_lC_2- in (2c), CVC_1-C_2VC- in (2d), V-CVC_1C_2- in (2e), VC_1-C_2VC- in (2f) and CV-CVC_lC_1- in (2g). .

Disyllabic verbal roots

(2)

a. CV**.**CVC-

ni.βid- ‘dream’
bɨ.t’il- ‘sleep’ (for donkey)
gi.gɨβ- ‘prevent, protect’
la.qɨt- ‘vomit’
dʒɨ.lɨw- ‘go round’
mə.muw- ‘advise’
mi.zɨw- ‘chew’

s’a.s’ɨq- ‘bind’
zɨq^{w}.aw- ‘be heavy’
nɨ.qɨs’- ‘be many’
gɨ.zɨn- ‘have sex’
χa.kaz- ‘be handicapped’
zə.tɨl- ‘be cheap’
mɨ.t’ɨk’- ‘emerge’

b. **V.CVC-**

ə.dʒɨŋ- ‘shorten’
ə.gɨz- ‘count’
ə.kɨs- ‘loosen (knot)
a.s’aq- ‘send’
a.raq- ‘be drunkard’
a.s’ɨβ- ‘fold down’
ə.dɨl- ‘pay’

c. CV.CVC$_1$C$_2$**-**

gɨ.dɨrd- ‘be hungry’
χa.βərd- ‘be weak’
ʃɨ.mɨrd- ‘be old’
mi.zenz- ‘praise’

f**.** VC$_1$.C$_2$VC

ɨn.t’ɨŋ- ‘be happy’

d. CVC$_1$.C$_2$VC-

mil.gɨβ- ‘mend’

g. CV.CVC$_1$C$_1$-

ŋɨ-tʃ’ɨrr- ‘be black’

e**.** V**.**CVC$_1$C$_2$-

a-qɨld- ‘tolerate’

Trisyllabic verbal roots

As compared to mono-syllabic and disyllabic structures, in trisyllabic structures, numerous examples are not attested. As can be seen in (3a-d), trisyllabic verbal stems are CV.CV.CVC- in (3a), V.CV.CVC- in (3b), CVC$_l$.C$_2$V.CVC- in (3c) and CV.CV.CVC$_1$C$_2$- in (3d). Therefore, based on the collected data, Appleyard’s (1987:470) argument that claims verbs in Khimt’anga are only mono-syllabic is robustly challenged.

(3)

a. CV.CV.CVC-

bɨ.tʃ'ɨ.k'ɨd- 'be much'
ta.χɨ.zɨβ- 'observe'
mə.t'a.k'^{w}əz- 'ferment'

b. V.CV.CVC-

a.bɨ.ləw- 'be hot' (for air)

d. CV.CV.CVC$_1$C$_2$-

mi.zɨ.wənd- 'ruminate'

c. CVC$_1$.C$_2$V.CVC-

gɨr.βə.βɨd- 'kneel down'

In general, the majority of the verbal roots have two or three consonants. Rarely four consonants are also attested in disyllabic and trisyllabic verbal roots. In addition, monoconsonant verbal roots.[30] are attested as well. These monoconsonant verbal roots are: *j-* 'say', *f-* 'go out', *g^{w}-* 'sit down', *χ^{w}-* 'eat', *dʒ-* 'ripe', *tʃ'-* 'spend the night' and *b-* 'lack', etc.

5.3. THE VERB INFLECTION

The inflectional system of the verb involves the following grammatical categories: person, number, gender, aspect and mood. As far as the collected data depict in the majority of cases, Khimt'anga seems to have a mixture of an agglutinative morphology plus fissional intricate patterns which are flexive[31] in nature .

[30] The presence of monoconsonant is also attested in Kemantney and Alaaba (cf. Zelealem 2003:183 and Scheinder-Blum 2007), respectively.

[31] Flexive type of morphology is common in the majority of languages of the world (cf. Bickel and Nichols 2007: 184).

5.3.1. Subject (Agreement) markers

A verb in Khimt'anga inflects for person, number and gender. A subject (agreement) marker is agreement to a noun reference that identifies a subject noun phrase that appears on a verbal root.

5.3.1.1. The first person marker

For the sake of understanding the person markers, I separate them by the hyphen in the paradigms where they exist. A verb denotes a subject marker with its subject agreement by attaching the suffix to the verbal root. Khimt'anga verbs distinguish the first person singular in two ways. That is by using the suffix-*n* and consonantal change in various paradigms, whereas the first person plural is marked only by the suffix-*n*. Akin to the first person marking, I take examples using the verb *kaf* 'yawn' for the different paradigms. As can be observed in (4), both the first person singular and plural forms are morphologically marked in the paradigms: perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb. However, the marker-*n* is not marked for progressive and converb paradigms, instead it is expressed by consonantal change from *t, d* and *r* into *t'* for final ending verbal roots only (cf. 2.6.5). See illustrative examples in (5, 6 and 7), respectively. The suffix-*n* is directly attached to the main verbal root, whereas in the past perfect, it is suffixed to the auxiliary verb form for both the first person singular and plural. [32]

[32] Bilin and Kemantney also inflect for person, number and gender (Appleyard 2007: 495f) and (Zelealem 2003:184), respectively.

For the sake of contrasting the first person marker with other persons, I purposefully include all the seven persons in the illustrated examples.

(4)

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*kaʃu-n*	*kaʃək^{w}-ɨ-n*	*kaʃiku-n*	*kaʃ winu-n*	*kaʃəŋ^{w}*	*kaʃ*
2SG	*kaʃɨru*	*kaʃɨrək^{w}*	*kaʃɨrkuru*	*kaʃɨr windu*	*kaʃɨrəŋ^{w}*	*kaʃɨr*
3SG.M	*kaʃ-Ø-u*	*kaʃ-Ø-ək^{w}*	*kaʃɨ-Ø-k -u*	*kaʃ win-u*	*kaʃ-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*kaʃ*
3SG.F	*kaʃɨtʃ-Ø*	*kaʃ-Ø-ə-tʃ*	*kaʃɨr-Ø-kutʃ*	*kaʃɨr win-Ø-ɨ-tʃ*	*kaʃɨr-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*kaʃɨr*
1PL	*kaʃɨnu-n*	*kaʃɨnək^{w}ɨ-n*	*kaʃɨnkunu-n*	*kaʃɨn winnu-n*	*kaʃɨnəŋ^{w}*	*kaʃɨn*
2PL	*kaʃɨrɨnu*	*kaʃɨrɨnək^{w}*	*kaʃɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*kaʃɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*kaʃɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*kaʃɨrɨn*
3PL	*kaʃ-Ø-iŋu*	*kaʃ-Øiŋək^{w}*	*kaʃ-Ø-iŋkuŋu*	*kaʃiŋ win-Ø-iŋu*	*kaʃiŋəŋ^{w}*	*kaʃiŋ*

In addition, in the first person singular [33] in the six paradigms (perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb forms), person is simultaneously marked in two formatives. That is, it is expressed by ultimate consonantal change (mutation), and by the suffix-n. When verbal stems end in the alveolar plosive sounds *t, d* and the liquid sound *r*, these three sounds are changed into the alveolar ejective-*t'* to form the first person singular. In the entire three paradigms the person marker-*n* is attached to the post-position of perfective marker-*u,* and the imperfective marker-*ək^{w}*, whereas in the past perfect paradigm, it is suffixed to the auxiliary verb. The conversion of those ending consonants is applicable for the first person singular in the six paradigms. But, it does not work for the first person plural. Consider the representative alveolar plosive *t, d* and the liquid r ending verbs: *əfit-* satisfy'**,** *niβid-* 'dream' and *k'^{w}ɨr-*'hood' in (5), (6) and (7) in the perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb paradigms, respectively.

[33] Person marking for verbs is not a unique feature of Khimt'anga only, it is a feature of Diryatata as well. Regarding Diryatata, Wondwosen (2006: 95) claims that Diryatata distinguishes person first and second.

(5) *əfɨt-* 'satisfy'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*əfɨ-t'-u-n*	*əfɨ-t'-əkʷɨ-n*	*əfɨ-t'-ɨ-ku-n*	*əfɨ-t' winu-n*	*əfɨ-t'-əŋʷ*	*əfɨ-t'*
2SG	*əfɨtɨru*	*əfɨtɨrəkʷ*	*əfɨtɨrku-ru*	*əfɨtɨr windu*	*əfɨtɨrəŋʷ*	*əfɨtɨr*
3SG.M	*əfɨt-Ø-u*	*əfɨt-Ø-əkʷ*	*əfɨt-Ø-ɨku*	*əfɨt win-Ø-u*	*əfɨt-Ø-əŋʷ*	*əfɨt*
3SG.F	*əfɨ-Ø-tɨrɨtʃ*	*əfɨ-Ø tɨrətʃ*	*əfɨ-Ø-tɨrkutʃ*	*əfɨtɨr win-Ø-ɨtʃ*	*əfɨtɨr-Ø-əŋʷ*	*əfɨtɨr*
1PL	*əfɨtɨnu-n*	*əfɨtɨnəkʷɨ-n*	*əfɨtɨnku-n*	*əfɨtɨn winnu-n*	*əfɨtɨnəŋʷ*	*əfɨtɨn*
2PL	*əfɨtɨrɨnu*	*əfɨtɨrɨnəkʷ*	*əfɨtɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*əfɨtɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*əfɨtɨrɨnəŋʷ*	*əfɨtɨrɨn*
3PL	*əfɨt-Ø-ɨŋu*	*əfɨt-Ø-ɨŋəkʷ*	*əfɨt-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*əfɨtɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*əfɨt-Ø-ɨŋəŋʷ*	*əfɨtɨŋ*

(6) *niβid-* 'dream'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*niβi-t'-u-n*	*niβi-t'-əkʷɨ-n*	*niβi-t'-ɨku-n*	*niβi-t' winu-n*	*niβi-t'əŋʷ*	*niβi-t'*
2SG	*niβidɨru*	*niβidɨrəkʷ*	*niβidɨrkuru*	*niβidɨr windu*	*niβidɨrəŋʷ*	*niβidɨr*
3SG.M	*niβid-Ø-u*	*niβid-Ø-əkʷ*	*niβid-Ø-ɨku*	*niβid win-Ø-u*	*niβid-Ø-əŋʷ*	*niβid*
3SG.	*niβid-Ø-ɨrɨtʃ*	*niβid-Ø-ɨrətʃ*	*niβid-Ø-ɨrkutʃ*	*niβidɨr win-Ø-ɨtʃ*	*niβid-Ø-ɨrəŋʷ*	*niβidɨr*
1PL	*niβidɨnu-n*	*niβidɨnəkʷɨ-n*	*niβidɨnkunun*	*niβidɨn winnun*	*niβidɨnəŋʷ*	*niβidɨn*
2PL	*niβidɨrɨnu*	*niβidɨrɨnəkʷ*	*niβidɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*niβidɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*niβidɨrɨnəŋʷ*	*niβidɨrɨn*
3PL	*niβid-Ø-ɨŋu*	*niβid-Ø-ɨŋəkʷ*	*niβid-Ø ɨŋkuŋu*	*niβidɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*niβidɨŋəŋʷ*	*niβidɨŋ*

(7) *kˀʷɨr-*'hood'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*kˀʷɨ-t'-u-n*	*kˀʷɨ-t'-əkʷɨ-n*	*kˀʷɨ-t'-ɨku-n*	*kˀʷɨ-t' winu-n*	*kˀʷɨ-t'əŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨ-t'*
2SG	*kˀʷɨtɨru*	*kˀʷɨtɨrəkʷ*	*kˀʷɨtɨrkuru*	*kˀʷɨtɨr windu*	*kˀʷɨtɨr-Ø-əŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨtɨr*
3SG.M	*kˀʷɨr-Ø-u*	*kˀʷɨr-Ø-əkʷ*	*kˀʷɨr-Ø-ku*	*kˀʷɨr win-Ø-u*	*kˀʷɨrəŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨr*
3SG.F	*kˀʷɨt-Ø-ɨrɨtʃ*	*kˀʷɨ-Ø-tɨrətʃ*	*kˀʷɨ-Ø-tɨrkutʃ*	*kˀʷɨtɨr win-Ø-ɨtʃ*	*kˀʷɨtɨr-Ø-əŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨtɨr*
1PL	*kˀʷɨrinu-n*	*kˀʷɨrinəkʷ-ɨ-n*	*kˀʷɨrinkunun*	*kˀʷɨrin winnun*	*kˀʷɨrinəŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨrin*
2PL	*kˀʷɨtɨrɨnu*	*kˀʷɨtɨrɨnəkʷ*	*kˀʷɨtɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*kˀʷɨtɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*kˀʷɨtɨrɨŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨtɨrɨn*
3PL	*kˀʷɨr-Ø-ɨŋu*	*kˀʷɨ-Ø-rɨŋəkʷ*	*kˀʷɨr-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*kˀʷɨrɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*k'ˀʷɨrɨŋəŋ-Ø-əŋʷ*	*kˀʷɨrɨŋ*

5.3.1.2. The second person marker /-r/ and its allomorphs [-r], [-d], [-dɨr] and [-tɨr]

Person marking in the second person singular and plural is phonologically conditioned. This phonological process is consonant alternation of alveolar sounds such as *r, l, n*, ending of verbal roots change from *r* into *t* and from *l* and *n* into *d* plus the suffix-*ɨr* to form

the second person singular as well as plural. The remaining verbal root ending consonants form the second person singular and plural by the suffix-(*ɨ)r* alone. Therefore, the second person singular and plural are underlyingly marked by the suffix /-r/ by four allomorphs, namely [-r], [-d], [-dɨr] and [-tɨr] according to the final ending consonantal roots of the verb.

If the verbal root ends in the alveolar nasal *n*, it adds the suffix-*d* or *-dɨr* for second person singular and plural, respectively. If it ends in the alveolar liquid *l*, it suffixes-*d*. If the root of the verb ends in the alveolar liquid r, it suffixes the suffix-*tɨr* for marking both the second person singular and plural. If the verbal root ends in other ways than the above mentioned consonantal changes, the second person is marked by the suffix-*r* alone. In the perfect paradigm, both the second person singular and plural are marked for both the main and auxiliary verb forms. What is special in the perfect paradigm in the second person marking is that, in addition to suffixing-*d*, *-dɨr*, *-tɨr* and *-r*, it is also expressed by reduplicating the person marker-*r* by attaching the *r* to post-position of other suffixes. Consider the verbs *abɨz-* 'complete', *kən-* ' like', *ləmɨr-* 'receive', *kil-* 'break' in (8), (9), (10) and (11), respectively in the perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb paradigms. As can be observed in (8), both the second person singular and plural are marked in the same way in six paradigms which are phonologically determined. It is marked by the suffix-*r* elsewhere. In other words, the verb roots do not end in *n*, *r* and *l*. Except these alveolar consonants, if the verb root ends in the rest, the person marker is the suffix-*r*.

(8) *abɨz-* 'complete'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*abɨzun*	*abɨzək^{w}ɨn*	*abɨzɨkun*	*abɨz winun*	*abɨzəŋ^{w}*	*abɨz*
2SG	*abɨzɨ-r-u*	*abɨzɨ-r-ək^{w}*	*abɨzɨ-r-ku-r-u*	*abɨzɨ-r win-d-u*	*abɨzɨ-rəŋ^{w}*	*abɨzɨ-r*
3SG.M	*abɨz-Ø-u*	*abɨz-Ø-ək^{w}*	*abɨz-Ø-ɨku*	*abɨz win-Ø-u*	*abɨz-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*abɨz*
3SG.F	*abɨzɨtʃ*	*abɨzətʃ*	*abɨzɨrkutʃ*	*abɨzɨr winɨtʃ-Ø*	*abɨzɨ-Ø-rəŋ^{w}*	*abɨzɨr*
1PL	*abɨzinun*	*abɨzinək^{w}ɨn*	*abɨzinkunun*	*abɨzin winnun*	*abɨzinəŋ^{w}*	*abɨzin*
2PL	*abɨzɨ-r-ɨnu*	*abɨzɨ-r-ɨnək^{w}*	*abɨzɨ-r-ɨnku-r-ɨn*	*abɨzɨ-r-ɨn win-dɨr-ɨnu*	*abɨzɨ-r-ɨnəŋ^{w}*	*abɨzɨ-r-ɨn*
3PL	*abɨz-Ø-ɨŋu*	*abɨz-Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*abɨz-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*abɨziŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*abɨz-Ø-ɨŋəŋ^{w}*	*abɨziŋ*

In (9), person is marked by the suffix-*d* for second person singular and *-dɨr* for second person plural because the verb ends in the alveolar nasal *n*.

(9) *k'ən-* 'like'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*k'ənun*	*k'ənək^{w}ɨn*	*k'ənkun*	*k'ən winun*	*k'ənəŋ^{w}*	*k'ən*
2SG	*k'ən-d-u*	*k'ən-d-ək^{w}*	*k'ən-d-ɨku-r-u*	*k'ən-d win-d-u*	*k'ən-d-əŋ^{w}*	*k'ən-d*
3SG.M	*k'ən-Ø-u*	*k'ən-Ø-ək^{w}*	*k'ən-Ø-ku*	*k'ən win-Ø-u*	*k'ən-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*k'ən*
3SG.F	*k'ən-ɨtʃ*	*k'ən-ə-tʃ*	*k'ən-ɨrkutʃ*	*k'ənd winɨtʃ*	*k'ənd-əŋ^{w}*	*k'ənd*
1PL	*k'ənɨnun*	*k'ənɨnək^{w}ɨn*	*k'ənɨnkunun*	*k'ənɨn winnun*	*k'ənɨnəŋ^{w}*	*k'ənɨn*
2PL	*k'ən-dɨr-ɨnu*	*k'ən-dɨr-ɨnək^{w}*	*k'ən-dɨr-ɨnku-r-ɨn*	*k'ən-dɨr-ɨn win-dIr-ɨn*	*k'ən-dɨr-ɨnəŋ^{w}*	*k'ən-dɨr-ɨn*
3PL	*k'ən-Ø-ɨŋu*	*k'ən- Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*k'ən-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*k'əniŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*k'ən-Ø -ɨŋəŋ^{w}*	*k'əniŋ*

In (10), the second person is expressed by the suffix-*tɨr* since the final verbal root ends in the alveolar liquid *r*; *ləm-tɨr-u* 'You (SG) received' and *ləm-tɨr*-ɨ-n-u 'You (PL) received' for the second person singular and plural, respectively.

(10) *ləmɨr-* 'receive'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*ləmɨt'un*	*ləmɨt'ək^{w}ɨn*	*ləmɨt'ɨkun*	*ləmɨt' winun*	*ləmɨt'əŋ^{w}*	*ləmɨt'*
2SG	*ləmɨ-tɨr-u*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ək^{w}*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ku-ru*	*ləmɨ-tɨr win-d-u*	*ləmɨ-tɨrəŋ^{w}*	*ləmɨ-tɨr*
3SG.M	*ləmɨr-Ø-u*	*ləmɨr-Ø-ək^{w}*	*ləmɨr-Ø-ku*	*ləmɨr win-Ø-u*	*ləmɨr-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*ləmɨr*
3SG.F	*ləmɨr-ɨtʃ*	*ləmɨr-ətʃ*	*ləmɨ-tɨrkutʃ*	*ləmɨtɨr win-ɨtʃ*	*ləmɨ-tɨrəŋ^{w}*	*ləmɨtɨr*
1PL	*ləmɨrɨnun*	*ləmɨrɨnək^{w}ɨn*	*ləmɨrɨnkunun*	*ləmɨrɨn winnun*	*ləmɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*ləmɨrɨn*
2PL	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ɨnu*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ɨnək^{w}*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ɨnku-r-ɨnu*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ɨnwin-dɨr-ɨnu*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ɨnəŋ*	*ləmɨ-tɨr-ɨn*
3PL	*ləmɨriŋu-Ø*	*ləmɨr-Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*ləmɨr-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*ləmɨriŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*ləmɨr-Ø-ɨŋəŋ^{w}*	*ləmɨriŋ*

In (11), since the verbal stem ends in the alveolar lateral *l*, second singular and plural person is marked by the suffix-*dɨr:* i.e., *kil-dɨr-u* 'You (SG) broke' and kil-dɨr-ɨ-n-u 'You (PL) broke'

(11): *kil-* 'break'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Converb
1SG	*kilun*	*kiləkʷɨn*	*kilkun*	*kil winun*	*kil*
2SG	*kil-d-u*	*kil-d-əkʷ*	*kil-dɨr-ku-r-u*	*kil-d win-d-u*	*kil-d*
3SG.M	*kil-Ø-u*	*kil-Ø-kʷ*	*kil-Ø-ku*	*kil winu-Ø*	*kil*
3SG.F	*kil-ɨtʃ*	*kil-ətʃ*	*kil-dɨrkutʃ*	*kil-dɨr winɨtʃ*	*kildɨr*
1PL	*kilɨnun*	*kilɨnəkʷɨn*	*kilɨnkunun*	*kilɨn winnun*	*kilɨn*
2PL	*kil-dɨr-ɨnu*	*kil-dɨr-ɨnəkʷ*	*kil-dɨr-ɨnku-r-ɨnu*	*kil-dɨr-ɨn win-ɨnu*	*kil-dɨr-ɨn*
3PL	*kil-Ø-ɨŋu*	*kil-Ø-ɨŋəkʷ*	*kil-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*kilɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*kilɨŋ*

The second person marking is not only realized in the perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect and converb paradigm, but it is also indicated in the progressive paradigm. As can be observed in (12a-h), the second person singular is shown in (12a, c, e and g) and in (12b, d, f, and h), the second person plural is marked in the progressive paradigm. See additional sentential examples in (12).

(12)

a. *bənn-ɨ-d-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
yearn-EP-2-PROG PRES.AUX.2
'You (SG) are yearning.'

b. *bənn-ɨ-d-ɨ-n-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
yearn-EP-2-EP-2PL-PROG PRES.AUX.2P
'You (PL) are yearning.'

c. *akɨl-dɨr-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
create-2-PROG PRES.AUX.2SG
'You (SG) are creating.'

d. *akɨl-dɨr-ɨ-n-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
create-2-EP-2PL-PROG PRES.AUX.2P
'You (PL) are creating.'

e. *fi-tɨr-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
go-2- EP-PROG PRES.AUX.2
'You (SG) are going'

f. *fi-tɨr-ɨ-n-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
go-2-EP-2PL-PROG PRES.AUX.2PL
'You (PL) are going.'

g. bəb-ɨ-r- *jəŋ*
swim-EP-2PL-PROG PRES.AUX.2SG
'You (SG) are swimming.'

h *bəb-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-əŋʷ* *jəŋ*
wim-EP-2-EP-2PL-PROG PRES.AUX.2PL
'You (PL) are swimming.'

Since, the third person is morphologically unmarked in all of the paradigms:perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect and progressive, no need of a separate section treating it independtly. As can be seen in (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8) and (9), it is covertly expressed by the bare root (*-Ø)* in all the paradigms.

In general, the first person is marked by the suffix-*n* in the perfective, imperfective, perfect and in the past perfect paradigms. The second person is marked by the suffixes-*r*, *-d*, *-dɨr* and *-tɨr* depending on the final ending consonants in the verbal roots which is phonologically conditioned. It is marked in the perfective, imperfective, perfect progressive and converb paradigms.

Table 46: The summary of person markers

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1	*-n* + C alternation from *d, r* and t into *t'* (1SG only)	-n + C alternation from *d, r* and t into *t'* (1SG only)	-n + C alternation from *d, r* and *t* into *t'* (1SG only)	-n + C alternation from *d, r* and *t* into t' (1SG only)	-n + C alternation from *d, r* and *t* into *t'* (1SG only)	-n + C alternation from *d, r* and t into *t'* (1SG only)
2	*-r-d,-dɨr, -tɨr*	*-r-d,-dɨr,-tɨr*	*-r-d,-dɨr,-tɨr*	*-r,-d,-dɨr,-tɨr*	-r,-d,-dɨr,-tɨr	*-r-d,-dɨr,-tɨr*
3	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-Ø*	*-Ø*

5.3.1.3. Number

As mentioned in 5.3.1, number [34] is another verbal agreement feature. It is morphologically marked by attaching the suffix-*n* for both the first person and the second person plural on a verb, whereas the third person plural is marked by the suffix-*ŋ*. Thus, attaching the suffix-*n* to a verb marks for both first and second person plurals in the perfective, imperfective, present perfect, progressive, converb and past perfect paradigms. For the sake of contrasting singular and plural forms of verbs in the given paradigms, the singular forms are also included. Number marking in the present perfect marks twice: following the verb stem and between the perfective marker the two-u's. In the past perfect paradigm, it is marked following both the main and the auxiliary verb stems.

Consider the verb *laqɨt-* 'vomit' to denote number marking. In the examples given in (13), the number markers are put in between the hyphens as -n- and -ŋ- for first and third person plural, respectively.

(13)

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Converb
1SG	*laqɨtun*	*laqɨtəkʷɨn*	*laqɨtɨkun*	*laqɨt winun*	*laqɨt*
2SG	*laqɨtɨru*	*laqɨtɨrəkʷ*	*laqɨtɨrkuru*	*laqɨtɨr windu*	*laqɨtɨr*
3SG.M	*laqɨt-Ø-u*	*laqɨt-Ø-əkʷ*	*laqɨt-Ø-ɨ-ku*	*laqɨt-**Ø** win-**Ø**-u*	*laqɨt*
3SG.F	*laqɨt-ɨtʃ*	*laqɨt-ətʃ*	*laqi-tɨr-ku-tʃ*	*laqɨtɨr win-ɨtʃ*	*laqɨtɨr*
1PL	*laqɨtɨ-n-un*	*laqɨtɨ-n-əkʷɨn*	*laqɨtɨ-n-ku-n-un*	*laqɨtɨ-n win-n-u-n*	*laqɨtɨ-n*
2PL	*laqɨtɨrɨ-n-u*	*laqɨtɨrɨ-n-əkʷ*	*laqɨtɨrɨ-n-ku-rɨnu*	*laqɨtɨrɨ-n winɨ-n-u*	*laqɨtɨrɨ-n*
3PL	*laqɨt-Øɨ-ŋ-u*	*laqɨt-Øɨ-ŋ-əkʷ*	*laqɨt-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ku-ŋu*	*laqɨtɨŋ win-Øɨ-ŋ-u*	*laqɨt-Ø-ɨ-ŋ*

[34] Number marking in verbs is not the only feature of Khimt'anga, It is a feature of some Cushitic languages. For example, Diraytata distinguishes number for first, second and third person plural (cf. Wondwosen 2006: 98).

Number marking is not limited only to the perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect and converb paradigms; it is also realized in the progressive. As denoted in (14b), the first person plural is indicated as: *s'aŋ-i̵-n-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* 'We are travelling.' The number marker-*n* is suffixed in between the stem of the main verb and the progressive marker-*əŋ*^{w}. In (14d), the second person plural is shown as *s'aŋ-i̵-r-i̵-n-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* 'You (PL) are travelling.' In this example, the number marker-*n* is affixed between the person marker–*r* and the progressive marker-*əŋ*^{w}. And eventually in (14g), the third person plural is indicated: *s'aŋ-i̵-ŋ-əŋ*^{w} *ŋaj* 'They are travelling.' The number marker-*ŋ* is affixed following the main verbal stem and preceding the progressive marker-*əŋ*^{w}.

(14)

a. *s'aŋ-ø-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ*
travel-1SG-PROG PRES.AUX.1SG
'I am travelling.'

b. *s'aŋ -i̵-n-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ*
travel-EP-1PL-PROG PRES.AUX.1PL
'We are travelling.'

c. *s'aŋ-i̵-r-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ*
trave*l*-EP-2SG-PROG PRES.AUX.2SG
'You (SG) are travelling.'

d .s'aŋ-i̵-r-i̵-n-əŋ^{w} *jəŋ*
trave*l*-EP-2-EP-PL-PROG PRES.AUX.2PL
'You (PL) are travelling.

e. *s'aŋ-ø-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ*
travel-3SG.M-PROG PRES.AUX.3SG.M
'He is travelling.'

f. *s'aŋ-ø-i̵-r-əŋ*^{w} *ŋi*
trave*l-3*-EP-SG.F-PROG PRES.AUX.3SG.F
'She is travelling.'

g. *s'aŋ-ø-i̵-ŋ-əŋ*^{w} *ŋaj*
trave*l*-3-EP-PL-PROG PRES.AUX.3PL
'They are travelling.'

Table 47: The summary of number markers in verbs

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1PL	*-n*	*-n*	*-n…-n*	*-n…-n*	*-n*	*-n*
2PL	*-n*	*-n*	*-n…-n*	*-n…-n*	*-n*	*-n*
3PL	*-ŋ*	*-ŋ*	*-ŋ…-ŋ*	*-ŋ…-ŋ*	*-ŋ*	*-ŋ*

5.3.1.4. Gender

For an unknown reason, like the second person marking system, the third person feminine singular gender is mostly marked by the suffixes-*r, -d, -dɨr* and *-tɨr*. It depends on the final ending consonant of the verbal stems (cf. Sections*:* 2.6.2 and 5.3.1.3). However, there are also exceptions regarding the third person feminine singular gender marking, as a result, I should provide some details of analysis about it.

In the verb morphology, gender is marked only on the third person feminine singular. It is marked by using basically the suffix /-r/ with its allomorphs [-r*]*, *[*-d*]*, [-dɨr*]* and [*-tɨr]* depending on the ending verbal consonant stems. It is also marked by the suffix-*tʃ* in the perfective, perfect and imperfective paradigm. In addition, it is marked by the suffixes-*r*, *-d, -dɨr, -tɨr* and plus the suffix-*tʃ* for only perfect aspect paradigms at the same time. Besides, the suffixes-*r,-d, -dɨr* and *-tɨr* are also attested marking gender for the third person feminine singular in progressive, past perfect paradigm and in the converb form of the mood. Like the second person marking mentioned in 5.3.1.3, gender marking in the third person singular follows the same pattern. Since it follows similar pattern with the second person, compare the analysis given in 5.3.1.3. Here, see different paradigms using the verbal stems which are representative for various consonantal ending verbal stems like: *abb-* 'fumigate', *mal-* 'drop*', mir-* 'forget' and *tən-* 'save' in (15), (16), (17) and (18), respectively*'.* In these paradigms, gender markers are put in between hyphens.

The third person feminine singular is marked by the suffix-*(ɨ)r* if the verbal roots end in all plosives, fricatives, affricates, approximants, nasal *m, ŋ,* and *ŋ, ɲ* except *n* and the liquids *l* and *r*.

(15): *abb-* 'fumigate'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*abbun*	*abbək^{w}ɨn*	*abbɨkun*	*abb winun*	*abbəŋ^{w}*	*abb*
2SG	*abbɨru*	*abbɨrək^{w}*	*abbɨrkuru*	*abbɨr windu*	*abbɨrəŋ^{w}*	*abbɨr*
3SG.M	*abb-Ø u*	*abb-Ø-ək^{w}*	*abb-Ø-ku*	*abb win-Ø-u*	*abb-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*abb-Ø*
3SG.F	*abbɨ-tʃ-*	*abbə-tʃ*	*abb-ɨ-r-ku-tʃ*	*abbɨ-r win-ɨ-tʃ*	*abbɨ-r-əŋ^{w}*	*abbɨ-r*
1PL	*abbɨnun*	*abbɨnək^{w}ɨn*	*abbɨnkunun*	*abbɨn winnun*	*abbɨnəŋ^{w}*	*abbɨn*
2PL	*abbɨrɨnu*	*abbɨrɨnək^{w}*	*abbɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*abbɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*abbɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*abbɨrɨn*
3PL	*abbɨŋu-Ø*	*abb-Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*abb-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*abbɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*abb-Ø-ɨŋəŋ^{w}*	*abb-Ø-ɨŋ*

In (16) *mal-* 'drop', the third person feminine singular is morphologically marked by the suffix-*tʃ* in perfective and imperfective, whereas both the suffixes-*dɨr* and -*tʃ* are attached to the main verb in the present perfect. In progressive and converb forms, it is formed by attaching the suffix-*dɨr* to the verbal stem. And the suffix-*dɨr* is attached to the main verb and the suffix-*tʃ* is attached to the auxiliary verb form of past perfect paradigms. See the following data in (16).

(16): *mal-* 'drop'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*malun*	*maləkʷɨn*	*malkun*	*mal winun*	*maləŋ^{w}*	*mal*
2SG	*maldɨru*	*maldɨrək^{w}*	*maldɨrkuru*	*maldɨr windu*	*mal-dɨr-əŋ^{w}*	*maldɨr*
3SG.M	*mal-Ø-u*	*mal-Ø-ək^{w}*	*mal-Ø-ku*	*mal win-Ø-u*	*mal-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*mal*
3SG.F	*mal-ɨ-tʃ*	*mal-ə-tʃ*	*mal-dɨr-ku-tʃ*	*mal-dɨr win-ɨ-tʃ*	*mal-dɨr-əŋ^{w}*	*mal-dɨr*
1PL	*malɨnun*	*malɨnək^{w}ɨn*	*malɨnkunun*	*malɨn winnun*	*malɨn-əŋ^{w}*	*malɨn*
2PL	*maldɨrɨnu*	*maldɨrɨnək^{w}*	*maldɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*maldɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*mal-dɨrɨn-əŋ^{w}*	*maldɨrɨn*
3PL	*mal-Ø-ɨŋu*	*mal-Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*mal-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*malɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*mal-Ø-ɨŋəŋ^{w}*	*malɨŋ*

In (17) *mir-* 'forget', since the verb root ends in a liquid *r*, it forms its third person feminine singular by changing the final verbal root *r* into *t* plus adding the suffix-*(ɨ)r* in the present perfect, past perfect, progressive and converb paradigms. For unknown reasons, in the perfective and imperfective paradigms, it forms its third person feminine singular by the suffix -*tʃ* without changing the final root sound r into *t*.

(17): *mir-* 'forget'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*it'un*	*mit'ək^{w}ɨn*	*mit'ɨkun*	*mit' winun*	*mit'əŋ^{w}*	*mit'*
2SG	*mitɨru*	*mitɨrək^{w}*	*mitɨrkuru*	*mitɨr windu*	*mitɨrəŋ^{w}*	*mitɨr*
3SG.M	*miru-Ø*	*mir-Ø-ək^{w}*	*mir-Ø-ku*	*mir win-Ø-u*	*mir-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*mir*
3SG.F	*mir-ɨ-tʃ*	*mir-ə-tʃ*	*mi-tɨr-ku-tʃ*	*mi-tɨr win ɨ-tʃ*	*mi-tɨr-əŋ^{w}*	*mi-tɨr*
1PL	*mirɨnun*	*mirɨnək^{w}ɨn*	*mirɨnkunun*	*mirɨn winnun*	*mirɨnəŋ^{w}*	*mirɨn*
2PL	*mitɨrɨnu*	*mitɨrɨnək^{w}*	*mitɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*mitɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*mitɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*mitɨrɨn*
3PL	*mir-Ø-ɨŋu*	*mir-Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*mir-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*mirɨŋ winɨŋu-Ø*	*mir-Ø-ŋəŋ^{w}*	*mirɨŋ*

In (18) *tən-* 'save', the third person feminine singular is morphologically marked by the suffix-*tʃ* in perfective and imperfective, whereas both the suffixes-*d* and *-tʃ* are attached to the main verb in the present perfect. In the progressive and converb forms, the suffix-*d* is suffixed to the main verbal stem. The suffix-*d* is attached to the main verb and the suffix-*tʃ* is attached to the auxiliary verb form of past perfect paradigms. Cosider the following data in (18).

(18): *tən-* 'save'

Person	Perfective	Imperfective	Perfect	Past perfect	Progressive	Converb
1SG	*tənun*	*tənək^{w}ɨn*	*tənkun*	*tən winun*	*tənəŋ^{w}*	*tən*
2SG	*təndu*	*təndək^{w}*	*təndɨkuru*	*tənd windu*	*təndəŋ^{w}*	*tənd*
3SG.M	*tən-Ø-u*	*tən-Ø-ək^{w}*	*tən-Ø-ku*	*tən win-Ø-u*	*tən-Ø-əŋ^{w}*	*tən*
3SG.F	*tən-ɨ-tʃ*	*tən-ə-tʃ*	*tən-d-ɨku-tʃ*	*tən-d win -ɨ-tʃ*	*tən-d-əŋ^{w}*	*tən-d*
1PL	*tənɨnun*	*tənɨnək^{w}ɨn*	*tənɨnkunun*	*tənɨn winnun*	*tənɨnəŋ^{w}*	*tənɨn*
2PL	*təndɨrɨnu*	*təndɨrɨnək^{w}*	*təndɨrɨnkurɨnu*	*təndɨrɨn windɨrɨnu*	*təndɨrɨnəŋ^{w}*	*təndɨrɨn*
3PL	*tən-Ø-ɨŋu*	*tən-Ø-ɨŋək^{w}*	*tən-Ø-ɨŋkuŋu*	*tənɨŋ win-Ø-ɨŋu*	*tən-Ø-ɨŋəŋ^{w}*	*tənɨŋ*

In sum, as shown in Table 48, person is marked by the suffix-*n* for both the first person singular and plural. The second person singular and plural are morphologically marked by the suffixes-*r, -d, -dɨr* and *-tɨr* according to the verb root final ending consonants. However, the third person singular and plural are not marked for person.

In addition, number is also marked for both the first person and second person plural by the suffix-*n* and the third person plural is morphologically marked by the suffix-*ŋ*. The suffix-*n* in Khimt'anga has two functions in verbal subject agreement nominal feature as person marker for both the first person singular and plural, and as number marker for both first person plural and second person plural. This kind of grammatical fact is also shown in Bilin (cf. Appleyard 2007: 495).

Table 48: The summary of verbal subject agreement markers

Person	Person marker	Number marker	Gender marker
1SG	-*n*+ C alternation from d, r and t into t' (1SG only)	-	-
2SG	-*r*, -*d*, -*dɨr*, -*tɨr*	-	-
3SG.M	-*Ø*	-	-
3SG.F	-*Ø*	-	-*r*, -*d*, -*dɨr*, -*tɨr*,-*tʃ*
1PL	-*n*	-*n*	-
2PL	-*r*, -*dɨr*, -*tɨr*	-*n*	-
3PL	-*Ø*	-*ŋ*	-

5.3.2. Aspect

Aspect is morphologically marked in Khimt'anga in different ways. It semantically gives various senses. According to Kroeger (2005: 147) aspect "relates to the distribution of an event over time: is it instantaneous or a long, slow process?; completed or ongoing?; once only or a recurring event?" Stump (2001: 28) claims that the grammatical category of aspect is used in order to make a distinction between "the various senses in which an event e can be situated at a particular time interval i." Bybee (1985:142) points out that "the function of aspect is to allow the temporal dimensions of a situation to be described from different points of view depending on how thc situation is intended to fit into the discourse."

The verb morphology makes a distinction between perfective, perfect, past perfect, imperfective and progressive aspects. Since Appleyard (1987b) gives due attention to a brief description of verbs of Khimt'anga in terms of tense, he did not focus on the aspectual paradigms. Appleyard (1987b: 477ff) points out that past tense is marked by the suffix-*u* for the six subject personal pronouns and -*i* for the third person feminine singular. According to the collected data, in the present study, Khimt'anga does not seem to have a clear and distinctive tense marker. It marks for perfective, present perfect, imperfective and past perfect aspect paradigms. Instead, it distinguishes between past and non-past. The past tense directly concides with a perfective, and it refers to completed actions only. By the same token, the non-past concides with the imperfective aspectual form, and it refers to actions or events in present or future context[35].

As already mentioned above, Khimt'anga distinguishes morphologically between perfective and imperfective. Typologically it has been ratified that the difference between the perfective and imperfective aspect is a widespread grammatical fact in several languages of the world (Bybee 1985, Dahl 1985). Though Appleyard (1987b) did not clearly show distinctions between perfect, past perfect and progressive aspect, Khimt'anga has been found to mark on

[35] The grammatical fact that languages do not have tense markers and concide the past with the perfective aspect, and the non-past with imperfective aspect is not the only peculiar feature of Khimt'anga, but it is also the feature of several Cushitic and Omotic languages of Ethiopia. For instance, similar cases have been reported by works on Sidaama and Burji in Abebe *et al* (1985), Afar in Zaborski (1978), Oromo in Baye (1986), Sheko in Hellenthal (2010:310) and Dasenech in Sasse (1976), Northern Mao in Ahland (2012:448) and Diraytata in Wondwosen (2006:105).

these aspectual paradigms in the present research. In contrast, as one will see in Sections 5.3.2.4 and 5.3.2.5**.** tense is clearly marked in progressive and past perfect paradigms.

5.3.2.1. Perfective

The perfective aspect in general is expressed by the verb a completion of an action or event. Bybee (1985:142) claims that the perfective aspect "presents the event as one complete entity". Bybee also gives alternative names for it as, "[o]ther terms used for [perfective] are "punctual", "momentaneous", "unique" and "Iimited" (Bybee 1985:142)." Comrie (1976 :24) on his part writes, "[p]erfective [a]spect still views the situation as a single complete whole, the distributive lexical meaning of this verb gives information as to the internal constituency of this action."

The perfective aspect in Khimt'anga is morphologically marked by the suffix-u with the exception of the third person feminine singular which is marked by the suffix-*i̵*. The perfective marker-*u* is always suffixed to the verbal stem if there are no other grammatical suffixes such as person, number and gender markers co-occur with it. All the examples provided in Table 48 are in the perfective aspect. Consider the following examples in Table. 48 using the verb *k'i̵w-* 'kill'.

Table 49: The paradigm of perfective marking

Person	Verbal root	PRV marker	Examples with their glosses	Translations
1SG	*k'ɨw-*	*-u*	*k'ɨw-u-n* kill-PRV-1SG	'I killed.'
2SG	*k'ɨw-*	*-u*	*k'ɨw-ɨ-r-u* kill-EP-2SG-PRV	'You killed.'
3SG.M	*k'ɨw-*	*-u*	*k'ɨw-Ø-u* kill-3SG.M-PRV	'He killed.'
3SG.f	*k'ɨw-*	*-ɨ*	*k'ɨw-ɨ-tʃ* kill-PRV-SG.F	'She killed.'
1PL	*k'ɨw-*	*-u*	*k'ɨw-ɨ-n-u-n* kill-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL	'We killed.'
2PL	*k'ɨw-*	*-u*	*k'ɨw-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-u* kill-EP-2-EP-2PL-PRV	'You killed.'
3PL	*k'ɨw-*	*-u*	*k'ɨw-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u* kill-3-EP-3PL-PRV	You killed.'

5.3.2.2. Imperfective

The imperfective is used to denote an action that took place in the present time The imperfective aspect is marked in Khimt'anga by the suffix-*əkʷ-* and -*ə* for all persons and the third person femimine singular, respectively. It expresses an incomplete action. Comrie (1976:24), argues the imperfective aspect "explicit reference to the internal temporal structure of a situation, viewing a situation from within; as also will be the general point that imperfectivity is not incompatible with perfectivity, and that both can be expressed if the language in question possesses the formal means to do so […]."

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, the imperfective aspect in Khimt'anga is morphologically marked by the suffix-*əkʷ* for all persons singular and plural, but with the exception of the third person feminine singular where the suffix-*ə* is employed. In contrast, it

fits with Appleyard's (1987b: 479) finding that identifies the tense formant of the present as -*əkʷ* for all persons, but -*ə* for the third person feminine singular which is the same as the present research as the imperfective aspect. According to the collected data, the suffix-*əkʷ is* used for expressing the imperfective aspect.

Therefore, the present tense marker-*əkʷ* of Appleyard which was mentioned in his grammatical sketch of Khimt'anga seems to be considered the imperfective marker following the findings of the present study. Examples in Table 49 show that the imperfective aspect is marked by the suffix-*əkʷ* for all persons, however, in the third person feminine singular, the imperfective aspect is expressed by the suffix-*ə*. As can be noted from all the examples given in Table 49, both the imperfective markers-*əkʷ* and -*ə* are followed by the person marker.

But the gender marker-*tʃ* for the third person feminine singular is attached following the imperfective marker-*ə*. Let us see examples in Table 49 using the verb *kaʃ-* 'yawn'.

Table 50: The paradigm of imperfective marking

Person	Verbal root	IPV marker	Examples with their gloss	Translations
1SG	*kaʃ-*	*-əkʷ*	*kaʃ-əkʷ-i-n* yawn-IPV-EP-1SG	'I will yawn.'
2SG	*kaʃ-*	*-əkʷ*	*kaʃ-i-r-əkʷ* yawn-EP-2SG-IPV	'You will yawn.'
3SG.M	*kaʃ-*	*-əkʷ*	*kaʃ-Ø-əkʷ* yawn-3SG.M-IPV	'He will yawn.'
3SG.f	*kaʃ-*	*-ə*	*kaʃ-i-r-ə-tʃ* yawn-EP-3SG.F-IPV-3SG.F	'She will yawn.'
1PG	*kaʃ-*	*-əkʷ*	*kaʃ-i-n-əkʷ-i-n* yawn-EP-1PL-IPV-EP-1PL	'We will yawn.'
2PL	*kaʃ-*	*-əkʷ*	*kaʃ-i-r-i-n-əkʷ* yawn-EP-2-EP-2PL-IPV	'You will yawn.'
3PL	*kaʃ-*	*-əkʷ*	*kaʃ-Ø-i-ŋ-əkʷ* yawn-3-3P-IPV	'They will yawn.'

5.3.2.3. Perfect

The present perfect is used to express an action that took place starting from the preceding time up to the present time. The present perfect is basically marked by the suffix-*ku*, and the composition of additional inflected auxialaries: *-ru, -tʃ, -nu, -rɨnu* and *-ŋu* for 2SG, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively. As can be seen in Table 50, for unknown reason(s), the additional suffixes are **not** observed in the first person singular and the third person masculine singular. The present perfect aspect is not recognized in any form of the paradigm in Appleyard (1987b) at all, consequently, I did not make any comparison between his description and my data for this problematic aspectual form. According to Bhat (1999:170), perfect is defined as "completed (perfective) event with continuing (imperfective) relevance." Comrie (1976:52) argues that the perfect "relates some state to a preceding situation." Moreover, Comrie (1976:52) differentiates the perfect from other aspects, "it expresses a relation between two time-points, on the one hand the time of the state resulting from a prior situation, and on the other the time of that prior situation." In addition, Kroeger (2005: 158) writes "[t]he terms *PERFECT* and *PERFECTIVE*[36] are often confused, or used interchangeably, but there is an important difference between them." Let us consider examples of the perfect paradigm of Khimt'anga by taking the verb *k*^{w}*ir-* 'hood' in Table 51.

[36] The emphasis is not mine, it belongs to the author himself.

Table 51: The paradigm of perfect marking

Person	Verbal root	PRF marker	Examples with their glosses	Translations
1SG	*kʷir-*	*-ku NO* AUX	*kʷi-t'-i-ku-n* hood-1SG-EP-PRF-1SG	'I have hooded.'
2SG	*kʷir-*	*-ku* +*A*UX *-ru*	*kʷi-tir-ku-ru* hood-2SG-PRF-ANSUX	'You have hooded.'
3SG.M	*kʷir-*	*-ku NO* AUX	*kʷir-Ø-ku* hood-3SG.M-PRF	'He has hooded.'
3SG.f	*kʷir-*	*-ku* + AUX *-tʃ*	*kʷi-tir-ku-tʃ* hood-3SG.F-PRF-ANSUX.3SG.F	'She has hooded.'
1PL	*kʷir-*	*-ku* + AUX-*nu*	*kʷir-i-n-ku-nu-n* hood-EP-1PL-PRF-ANSUX-1PL	'We have hooded.'
2PL	*kʷir-*	*-ku* + AUX-*rinu*	*kʷir-i-r-i-n-ku-rinu* hood-EP-2-EP-2P-PRF-ANSUX	'You have hooded.'
3PL	*kʷir-*	*-ku* + AUX-*ŋu*	*kʷir-Ø-i-ŋ-ku-ŋu* hood-3-EP-3PL-PRF- ANSUX	'They had hooded.'

5.3.2.4. Progressive

In Khimt'anga, the progressive aspect is marked by the suffix-*əŋʷ* plus the auxiliary verbs both in the present and past forms that mark the tense, respectively. Bybee *et al* (1995:126) claims that the progressive aspect" views an action as on going at a reference time. The progressive aspect can appear together with the markers of past or non-past tense auxiliary verb forms such as *jəŋ*[37] for 1SG, 1PL, 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.M subject forms: *ŋaj* and *ŋi* for third person plural and third person feminine singular subject forms, respectively in the present tense. The progressive aspect marker-*əŋʷ* also occurs with an auxiliary verb *win*-'stay' in the past tense for all persons. The progressive aspect always goes through with complex verb form

[37] The auxiliary verbal forms *jəŋ* or *ŋəŋ* can alternatively use for 1SG, 1PL, 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.M subject personal pronouns in the discourse, for the sake of consistency, I use the form *jəŋ* throughout the the grammatical analysis of this thesis.

which comprises the main verb and auxiliary verbs like *jəŋ, ŋaj*, *ŋi* or *win-* (cf. Appleyard 1987b: 488).

5.3.2.4.1. The present progressive

As mentioned in 5.3.2.4, the suffix-*əŋ*^{w} is the marker for progressive aspect. It is attached to the main verb stem in a complex verb structure. The progressive aspect marker *-əŋ*^{w} appears with the auxiliary verbal forms that denotes the present tense. It always occurs preceding various auxiliary verb forms. As can be observed in Table 51, the progressive aspect marker-*əŋ*^{w} is suffixed following the person, number, and gender markers of the verbal stem, and it precedes the auxiliary verbs which indicate the present tense. Let us consider the examples in Table 52 by taking the verb *zaʃ-* 'insult'

Table 52: The paradigm of present progressive marking

Person	Verbal root	PRES PROG marker	Examples with their glosses	Translations
1SG	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *jəŋ*	*zaʃ-Ø-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* insult-1SG-PROG AUX.1SG	'I am insulting.'
2SG	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *jəŋ*	*zaʃ-i-r-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* insult-EP-2SG-PROG AUX.2SG	'You are insulting.'
3SG.M	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *jəŋ*	*zaʃ-Ø-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* insult-3SG.M-PROG AUX.3SG.M	'He is insulting.'
3SG.f	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *ŋi*	*zaʃ-i-r-əŋ*^{w} *ŋi* insult-PROG AUX.3SG.F	'She is insulting.'
1PL	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *jəŋ*	*zaʃ-i-n-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* insult-EP-1PL-PROG AUX.1PL	'We are insulting.'
2PL	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *jəŋ*	*zaʃ-i-r-i-n-əŋ*^{w} *jəŋ* insult-EP-2-EP-2PL-PROG AUX 2PL	'You are insulting.'
3PL	*zaʃ-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *ŋaj*	*zaʃ-Ø-i-ŋ-əŋ*^{w} *ŋaj* insult-3-EP-3PL-PROG AUX.3PL	'They are insulting.'

5.3.2.4.2. The past progressive

Like the present progressive aspect marking on complex verb forms, the past progressive is expressed by the same suffix-*əŋ*^{w} in a similar pattern. The distinction between the present progressive and past progressive is that in the present progressive aspect, in addition to the main verb, there are different auxiliary verbal forms that indicate the present tense: *jəŋ, ŋi, ŋaj*, depending on the subject nominal feature. These auxiliaries do not inflect for agreement: person, number and gender. Whereas, as can be seen in Table 52, in the past progressive paradigm, the main verb co-occurs together with only the auxiliary verb form which denotes the past tense *win-* 'stay'. In contrast to the auxiliary verbs that denote present tense, this auxiliary verb *win-* 'stay' which indicate the past tense is inflected for person, number and gender to express the past progressive and past tense.

The similarity between the present and past progressive is the affixation pattern of their progressive marker-*əŋ*^{w}. Like the present progressive aspect indicated in 5.3.2.4.1, the progressive marker-*əŋ*^{w} appears preceding the auxiliary verb *win-* 'stay' and following the verbal stem *j-*'say'. Moreover, with regard to employing the auxiliary verb *win-*'stay', the past progressive follows the same pattern with the past perfect paradigm. Like the past perfect mentioned in Table 53, the past progressive follows a similar pattern in employing the main verb plus auxiliary verb win-'stay'. The past progressive differs from the past perfect in suffixing the morpheme-*əŋ*^{w} to the main verbal stem. In order to figure out the past progressive, let us see the monoconsonantal verb *j-* 'say' in Table 53.

Table 53: The paradigm of past progressive marking

Person	Verbal root	PST PROG marker	Examples with their glosses	Translations
1SG	*j-*	*-əŋ*^{w}+ AUX *win-*	*j-Ø-əŋ*^{w} *win-u-n* say-1SG-PROG AUX-PRV-1SG	'I was saying.'
2SG	*j-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *win-*	*j-ɨ-r-əŋ*^{w} *win-d-u* say-EP-2SG-PROG AUX-2SG-PRV	'You were saying.'
3SG.M	*j-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *win-*	*j-Ø-əŋ*^{w} *win-Ø-u* say-3SG.M-PROG AUX-3SG.M-PRV	'He was saying.'
3SG.f	*j-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *win-*	*j-ɨ-r-əŋ*^{w} *win-ɨ-tʃ* say-EP-3SG.F-PROG AUX-PRV-SG.F	'She was saying.'
1PL	*j-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *win-*	*j-ɨ-n-əŋ*^{w} *win-n-u-n* say-EP-1PL-PROG AUX-1PL-PRV-1PL	'We were saying.'
2PL	*j-*	*-əŋ*^{w} + AUX *win-*	*j-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-əŋ*^{w} *win-dɨr-ɨ-n-u* say-EP-2-EP-2PL-PROG AUX-2-EP-2PL-PRV	'You were saying.'
3PL	*j-*	*--əŋ*^{w} + AUX *win-*	*j-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-əŋ*^{w} *win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u* say-3-EP-3PL-PROG AUX-3-EP-3PL-PRV	'They were saying.'

5.3.2.5. Past perfect

A past perfect is used to express an event that took place in the past time. The perfective markers-*u* and -*ɨ* are not only suffixed to the simple verbs as mentioned in Table 48 above, but they are also marked for complex verb types that co-occur with the main verb and auxiliary in past perfect forms. In the past perfect, the main verb occurs in its converb form plus subject agreement markers, but the converb is morphologically unmarked. The auxiliary verb *win-* 'stay' appears in its past form. All the examples in Table 54 are in the past perfect

paradigm. Yet, since the verbs are in their complex forms that consist of the main verb, and the auxiliary verb, the past perfect is marked by the perfective marker-*u* for all persons, and -*ɨ* for the third person feminine singular, while the auxiliary verb *win*- 'stay' denotes the past tense reading. This auxiliary *win*- 'stay' is differently marked according to the agreement markers: person, number and gender nominal features. Consider the following examples in Table 54 using the verb. *məkk'* - 'throw'

Table 54: The paradigm of past perfect marking

Person	Verbal root	PST PRF marker	Examples with their glosses	Translations
1SG	*məkk'-*	*-u*+ AUX *win-*	*məkk'-Ø* *win-u-n* throw-CNV AUX-PRV-1SG	'I had thrown.'
2SG	*məkk'-*	*-u*+ AUX *win-*	*məkk'-ɨ-r-Ø* *win-d-u* throw-EP-2-CNV AUX-2SG-PRV	'You had thrown.'
3SG.M	*məkk'-*	*-u*+ AUX *win-*	*məkk'-Ø* *win-Ø-u* throw-CNV AUX-3SG.M- PRV	'He had thrown.'
3SG.f	*məkk'-*	*-ɨ* + AUX *win-*	*məkk'-ɨ-r-Ø* *win-ɨ-tʃ* throw-EP-3SG.F-CNV AUX-3-PRV-SG.F	'She had thrown.'
1PL	*məkk'-*	*-u*+ AUX *win-*	*məkk'-ɨ-n-Ø* *win-n-u-n* throw-EP-1PL-CNV AUX-1PL-PRV-1PL	'We had thrown.'
2PL	*məkk'-*	*-u*+ AUX *win-*	*məkk'-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-Ø* *win-dir-ɨ-n-u* throw-EP-2-EP-2PL-CNV AUX-2-EP-2PL-PRV	'You had thrown.'
3PL	*məkk'-*	*-u*+ AUX *win-*	*məkk'-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u-Ø* *win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u* throw-3-EP-3PL-PRV-CNV AUX-3-EP-PL-PRV	'They had thrown.'

Table 55 summarizes different types of aspectual paradigms in Khimt'anga. These paradigms are perfective, imperfective, present perfect, past perfect and progressive. The verb root employed in the summary is: *abb-* 'fumigate', Due to the matters of space, I did not provide with their translations, and see their translations in Table 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53 and 54, respectively.

Table 55: The summary of various types of aspectual marking paradigms

Person	PRV *-u* or *-ɨ*	IPV *-əkʷ* or *-ə*	PRF *-ku* + AUX	PROG *-əŋʷ* + AUX	PST PRF v stem + AUX v PST
1SG	*abb-u-n* fumigate-PRV -1SG	*abb-əkʷ-ɨ-n* fumigate-IPV -EP-1SG	*abb-ɨ-ku-n* fumigate-EP -PRF-1SG	*abb-əŋʷ* fumigate-PROG *jəŋ* PRES.AUX	*abb* fumigate *win-u-n* AUX-PRV-1SG
2SG	*abb-ɨ-r-u* fumigate-EP-2 -PRV	*abb-ɨ-r-əkʷ* fumigate-EP-2 -IPV	*abb-ɨ-r-ku-ru* fumigate-EP-2 -PRF-AUX	*abb-ɨ-r-əŋʷ* fumigate-EP-2 -PROG *jəŋ* PRES.AUX	*abb-ɨ-r* fumigate-EP-2 *win-d-u* AUX-2-PRV
3SG.M	*abb-Ø-u* fumigate-3SG -PRV	*abb-Ø-əkʷ* fumigate-3SG -IPV	*abb-Ø-ɨ-ku* fumigate-3SG -EP-PRF	*abb-Ø-əŋʷ* fumigate-3 -PROG *jəŋ* PRES.AUX	*abb-Ø* fumigate -3SG.M *win-Ø-u* AUX 3-PRV
3SG.F	*abb-ɨ-tʃ* fumigate-PRV -3SG.F	*abb-ə-tʃ* fumigate-IPV -3SG.F	*abb-ɨ-r-ku-tʃ* fumigate-EP-2 -PRF-3SG.F	*abb-ɨ-r-əŋʷ* fumigate-EP -3SG.F-PROG *ŋi* PRES.AUX	*abb-ɨ-r* fumigate-EP-2 *win-ɨ-tʃ* AUX-PRV -3SG.F
1PL	*abb-ɨ-n-u-n* fumigate-EP -1PL-PRV-1PL	*abb-ɨ-n-əkʷ-ɨ-n* fumigate-EP- 2PL-IPV-EP -2PL	*abb-ɨ-n-ku-nu* *-n* fumigate-EP -1PL-PRF -ANSUX-1PL	*abb-ɨ-n-əŋʷ* fumigate-EP -1PL-PROG *jəŋ* PRES.AUX	*abb-ɨ-n* fumigate-EP -1PL *win-n-u-n* AUX-1PL-PRV -1PL
2PL	*abb-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-u* fumigate-EP-2 -EP-2PL-PRV	*abb-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-əkʷ* fumigate-EP-2 -EP-2PL-IPV	*abb-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-ku* *-rinu* fumigate -EP-2-EP-PRF -AUX	*abb-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-əŋʷ* fumigate-EP -2PL-PROG *jəŋ* PRES.AUX	*abb-ɨ-r-ɨ-n* fumigate-EP-2 -EP-1PL *win-dir-ɨ-n-u* AUX-2-EP -1PL-PRV
3PL	*abb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u* fumigate-3-EP -3PL-PRV	*abb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-əkʷ* fumigate-3-EP -IPV	*abb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ku* *-ŋu* fumigate-3-EP -3PL-PRF -AUX	*abb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-əŋʷ* fumigate-3-EP -3PL-PROG *ŋaj* PRES.AUX	*abb-ɨ-ŋ* fumigate-EP -3PL *win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u* AUX-3-EP -3PL-PRV

5.3.3. Mood

Bybee (1985:22) defines mood as an indication of "what the speaker wants to do with the proposition in a particular discourse context." In other words, mood is a grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose in speaking.

The word mood refers to various linguistic purposes that denote how the speaker chooses to put the proposition into the discourse context (Bybee 1985:165). According to Kroeger (2005: 163), "mood is a grammatical reflection of the speaker's purpose in speaking." Halliday (1994: 43f) classifies mood either as indicative or imperative. An indicative mood refers to either declarative or interrogative (cf. Kroeger (2005: 163). And an interrogative is further grouped either as polar or content interrogative. According Halliday (1994: 43f), the notion of polarity is either assertive (positive) or negative. The other intermediate possibilities are between the two positive and negative end points. They include probability, possibility and certainty to which the term modality belongs. However, the intermediate polarities are not morphologically attested in Khimt'anga. Different types of mood are morphologically marked in Khimt'anga.

Taking into account Halliday's classification, a verb in Khimt'anga can be categorized into two general moods: the indicative and the directive. The indicative mood consists of declarative and interrogative moods, whereas the directive contains imperative, jussive, optative, converb and conditional moods. The first of the three mood types are presented below. The converb and conditional moods will be dealt with in the syntax sections.

5.3.3.1. Indicative

As mentioned above in 5.3.3, the indicative mood is further divided into two: declarative and interrogative, in this section, I only discuss the indicative mood, the interrogative will be discussed in Section 9.4.

The declarative verb in Khimt'anga denotes polarity, and it can be affirmative or negative. Unlike the prohibitive declarative mood discussed in Chapter 8, there is not any independent suffix that shows affirmative declarative mood. It is expressed by a bare verbal stem that contrasts with the prohibitive marker. I discuss the prohibitive declarative mood in Chapter 8 by its own independently. As can be observed in (19), all the examples denote the affirmative declarative mood are unmarked in the perfective, perfect, imperfective and progressive verbal paradigms in (19a, b, c and d), respectively.

(19)

a. *ɲəŋŋə-Ø* *ŋɨ-kɨra* *ŋɨn-d* *nənɨm* *nənɨm* *k'^{W}əʃʃ-Ø-u*
gnegne-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-rent house-DEF frequent RDP add-3SG.M-PRV
'Gnegne repeatedly increased his house rent.'

b. *awət'u-Ø* *χabəʃə-d* *χ^{w}-ɨ-r-ku-ʧ*
awetu-NOM bread-DEF eat-EP-3SG.F-PRF-3SG.F
'Awetu has eaten the bread.'

c. *nəjɨnu-taj-Ø* *s'agɨβɨdʒ-is* *tər-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}*
neyinu-ASS.PL-NOM S'agibiji-ABL come-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'Neyinu and others will come from S'agibiji.'

d. *jɨ-s'amɨrə-d-Ø* *jɨ-ʧ'is*
1SG.POSS-friend-DEF-NOM 1SG.POSS-DAT
sinə *nənɨm* *dik'^{w}-Ø-əŋ^{w}* *jəŋ*
story frequent tell-3-PROG PRES.AUX 3SG.M
'My friend is repeatedly telling a story to me.'

5.3.3.2. Directives

In the directive mood, the verb form imposes or proposes some course of action or pattern of behavior and denotes that it must be carried out. The directive mood includes commands, requests, entreaties and warnings. According to Bybee *et al* (1995: 141), all such directives and utterances are taken as speaker oriented modalities. Khimt'anga employs imperative, jussive, optative and prohibitive moods. The prohibitive will be discussed under the topic negation in Section 8.4.

5.3.3.2.1. Imperative

The imperative denotes polarity, and has a negative counterpart-prohibitive that contrasts with the affirmative form. The affirmative imperative bears a semantic meaning 'do', while the prohibitive has a semantic content 'do not do' which will be separately discussed later in Chapter 8.

In Khimt'anga, the second person imperative has different forms for singular or plural, and the imperative is affirmative or negative. The second person plural imperative is more predicable than the second person singular, whereas the second person singular imperative is more complex than the second person plural.

The second person singular imperative is expressed in three different ways. They are: bare stem, stem plus consonant alternation and irregular or suppletion. Though it is not deep and

full-fledged, Appleyard (1987b:482) asserts that these three ways of expressions are used for second person singular imperative as well.

5.3.3.2.1.1. The 2SG imperative by the bare stem

The second person singular imperative is formed by the bare stem. In the vast majority of the cases, the bare stem imperative is widely common in Khimt'anga. Except the verbal stem final ending alveolar plosives, alveolar trill, alveolar fricatives as well as uvular fricative and bilabial approximant, the remaining final ending verbal stem consonants form their second person singular imperative by employing the bare stem alone. As can be observed in Table 56, most of the non-alveolar consonants, alveolar nasals and alveolar lateral approximant form their second person singular imperative by employing the bare stem (verb form) alone.

However, there are also other exceptions. It shows the bare stem formation of the second person singular imperative. It also denotes the final ending verbal stem types of consonants which form the second person singular imperative with illustrative examples.

Table 56: The formation of 2SG imperative by the bare stem

Final ending consonant types	Examples of bare stem imperative forms	Gloss
b	*wirβə-l* *bəb-Ø*	'Swim in a river.'
β	*bigə-d* *tɨkɨβ-Ø*	'Push the sheep.'
m	*βar-ənəw* *kirɨm-Ø*	'Start to read.'
f	*f-Ø*	'Go out.'
l	*zədʒɨrə-d* *qal-Ø*	'See the baboon.'
n	*kɨ-wirk'ə-d* *tən-Ø*	'Save your money.'
tʃ	*kɨ-ŋɨn-d* *gitʃ-Ø*	'Establish/found your house.'
dʒ	*ŋɨr-t fir-ənəw* *adʒ-Ø*	'Remind her to go.'
tʃʾ	*kɨ-əwɨnə-dʒik'* *tʃʾ-Ø*	'Spend the night with your wife.'
ʃ	*lɨwə-ʃən* *q^wəʃ-Ø*	'Milk the cow.'
ɲ	*ɲəŋɲ-Ø*	'Be generous.'
j	*mi-d* *fɨwij-Ø*	'Bake the bread (injera).'
k	*lijə-d* *ʃɨk-Ø*	'Light the candle (fire).'
g	*ʃɨgg-Ø*	'Be grown up.'
kʾ	*kɨ-zɨn* *sinə-d* *dɨkʾ-Ø*	'Tell your brother the story.'
ŋ	*tʃʾɨqa* *ədʒɨr-d* *kiŋ-Ø*	'Warn the rude person.'
q	*wirkʾə-d* *məraq-Ø*	'Confiscate the money.'
h	*sinə-d* *nəh-Ø*	'Narrate the story.'

As can be observed in Table 55, most of the non-alveolar consonants, alveolar nasals and alveolar lateral approximant form their second person singular imperative by employing the bare stem (verb form) alone. However, like non-alveolar consonants, alveolar nasals and alveolar lateral approximant that end in verbal stem all geminate forms of alveolar plosives, alveolar fricatives, and alveolar trill can also form their second person singular imperative by the use of the bare stem. As we can see in (20a-b) below, the stem final geminate form of alveolar trill and alveolar plosive form their second person singular imperative by employing the bare stem form of verbal stems. Consider the following examples in (20).

(20)

a. *tʃʾɨqa* *gəβə-d* *tʃʾɨlq-ənəw* *ɲirr-Ø*
bad thing-DEF escape-NMZ cry.loudly-2SG.IMP
'Minimize punishment by crying loud.' (lit. 'Cry loudly to escape from evil thing.')

b. *kɨ-kɨndɨŋ* *χatt-Ø*
2SG.POSS-education finish-2SG.IMP
'Complete your lesson.'

5.3.3.2.1.2. The 2SG imperative by stem plus consonant alternation

The second person singular imperative can also be formed by stem plus consonant alternation. If the verbal stem ends in alveolar plosive, alveolar trill, alveolar fricative and bilabial approximant and uvular fricative, the second person singular imperative is formed by alternating the stem final consonant sound into palatal *tʃ'* and *j*, respectively.

As can be observed in (21), both pulmonic voiceless alveolar and non-pulmonic alveolar plosives which end in stem final verbs are changed into palatal ejective-*tʃ'* in order to form the second person singular imperative.

(21)

Verbal stem	2SG Imperative	Verbal stem	2SG Imperative
əfɨt- 'satisfy'	*əfɨtʃ'* 'satisfy'	*sirt-* 'hold up'	*sirtʃ-* 'hold up'
dəŋt- 'judge'	*dəŋtʃ'* 'judge'	*baχɨt-* 'be weak'	*baχɨtʃ'* 'be weak'
laqɨt- 'vomit'	laqɨtʃ 'vomit'	*alt-* 'be near'	*altʃ'* 'be near'
ət'- 'get finely grind'	*ətʃ'* 'get finely grind'	*q^wɨt'-* 'be wet'	*q^wɨtʃ'* 'be wet'
ʃəwɨt'- 'bet'	*ʃəwɨtʃ'* 'bet'		

In addition, the voiced alveolar plosive *d* is also changed into *-tʃ'* to form the second person singular imperative. As can be observed in (22), all verbal stems ending in the voiced alveolar plosive-*d* form their second person singular imperfective by changing the *d* into the palatal glottalized affricate-*tʃ'*. See the following examples in (22).

(22)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
ward-	'play'	*wartʃ'*	'play'
k'end-	'become bride'	*k'entʃ'*	'become bride'
gard-	'endeavour'	*gartʃ'*	'endeavor'
mizɨrd-	testify'	*mizɨrtʃ'*	'testify'
gɨrβəβɨd-	'kneel down'	*gɨrβəβɨtʃ'*	'kneel down'
kɨnd-	'learn'	*kɨtʃ'*	'learn'

In addition, like the alveolar plosive ending consonantal stems, alveolar trill r ending verbal stems also make their second person singular imperative by changing the *r* into the palatal glottalized affricate-*tʃ'*. As we can understand from the collected data, the majority of verbs end in the alveolar trill-*r*, form their second person singular imperative by changing the *r* into -*tʃ'*. The data given in (23) are examples that verbal stems ending in the alveolar trill *r* are changed into -*tʃ'* to form their second person singular imperative.

(23)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative		Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
k'awɨr-	'warm the fire'	*k'awɨtʃ'*	'warm the fire'	*ədɨwɨr-*	'bororw'	*ədɨwɨtʃ'*	'borrow'
kɨbɨr-	'pour'	*kɨbɨtʃ'*	'pour'	*məwɨr-*	'carry'	*məwɨtʃ'*	'carry'
bər-	'leave'	*bətʃ'*	'leave'	sir-	'wear'	*sitʃ'*	'wear'
bəg^{w}ɨr-	'jump'	*bəg^{wi}tʃ'*	'jump'	*saq^{w}ɨr-*	'have mercy'	*saq^{w}ɨtʃ'*	'have merey
gilβɨr-	'reverse'	gilbɨtʃ'	'reverse'	ləmɨr-	'receive'	*ləmtʃ'*	'receive'

Although almost all verbal stems end in the alveolar trill *r* form their second person singular imperative by changing the *r* into the glottalized affricate-tʃ', there are also a few exceptions that do not follow this general pattern. The examples in (24) are some of the irregular forms attested in the collected data that form their second person singular imperative

by the bare stem, instead of changing the alveolar trill *r* into the palatal glottalized affricate *-tʃ'*. Consider the following examples in (24).

*(*24*)*

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
waqɨr-	'ask'	*waqɨr*	'ask'
kər-	'cross'	*kər*	cross'
daqɨr-	'divorce'	*daqɨr*	'divorce'
əqɨr-	'put'	*əqɨr*	'put'
βar-	'read, write'	*βar*	'read, write'
aβɨr-	'compose'	*aβɨr*	'compose'

In addition to the alveolar plosives and alveolar trill verbal ending stems, stem plus consonant alternation also happens in forming the second person singular imperative by alveolar fricative ending verbal stems. The verbal stems which end in alveolar fricative form their second person singular imperative into two ways: i.e, verbal stems ending in voiceless alveolar fricative *s* and voiced alveolar fricative *z*. The former changes into *ʃ* and the latter changes into *j*.

As can be seen in (25), the verbal stem ending in the voiceless alveolar fricative *s(ss)* form their second person singular imperative by alternating the *s(ss)* into the voiceless palatal fricative *ʃ (ʃʃ)*.

(25)

Verbal stem		2S Imperative	
nəs-	'bring'	*nəʃ*	'bring'
təss-	'build'	*təʃʃ*	'build'
bərs-	'release'	bərʃ	'release'
fis-	'take'	*fiʃ*	'take'
akɨs-	'loosen the knot'	*akɨʃ*	'loosen the knot'

As can be observed in (26), all verbal stems ending in the voiced alveolar fricative consonant *z* form their second person singular imperative by changing the *z* into the palatal approximant sound *j*.

(26)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
dʒɨz-	'sweep'	*dʒɨj*	'sweep'
dʒəgɨz-	'chase'	*dʒəgɨj*	'chase'
mət'ak'^{w}əz-	'ferment'	*mət'ak'^{w}əj*	'ferment'

The examples given in (27), denote that the verbal stem ending in the alveolar glottalized fricative *s'* form their second person singular imperative by changing the *s'* into the palatal approximant *j*.

(27)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
las'-	'shave'	*laj*	'shave'
marqɨs'-	'be keen'	*marqɨj*	'be keen'
qas'-	'shout'	*qaj*	'shout'
bɨs'-	'cut equally'	*bɨj*	'cut equally'
tʃ'as'-	'fart, break wind'	*tʃ'aj*	'fart, break wind'

As can be observed in (28), verbal stems ending in both the voiceless labio-uvular *χ^{w}* and the uvular fricative *χ* form their second person singular imperative by suffixing the morpheme-*aj* to the verbal stems.

(28)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
χ^{w}-	'eat'	*χ^{w}aj-*	'eat'
sinχ-	'beautify'	*sɨnχaj-*	'beautify'

As can be seen in (29), like the alveolar fricative ending verbal stem consonants z and s', all the verbal stems ending in the bilabial approximant sound *w* form their second person singular imperative by alternating the *w* into the palatal approximant *j* (cf. 26 and 27).

(29)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative	
k'ɨw-	'kill'	*k'ɨj*	'kill'
dɨw-	'insert, marry'	*dɨj*	'insert, marry'
jɨw-	'give'	jɨj (ɨjj)	'give'

5.3.3.2.1.3. The 2SG imperative by irregular or suppletion

In addition to the bare stem and stem plus consonant alternation, the second person singular imperative is also formed by irregular or suppletion[38]. Irregular is expressed in various ways. As shown in 5.3.3.2.1.1. and 5.3.3.2.1.2, the second person singular imperative is expressed in the bare stem and stem plus consonant alternation. However, besides, these two strategies, there are also a few exceptions in the formation of the second person singular imperative. For example as shown in Table 55, all non-alveolar plosives, trill, fricatives, non-bilabial approximant and non-uvular consonantal stems which end in those sounds form their second person singular imperative by employing the bare stem verbs. However, there are certain verbal stem endings that violate this general rule.

[38] According to Appleyard (2007:501) typological remarks, suppletion is the feature of many Ethiopian languages in the formation of imperatives.

As indicated in Table 56, verbs ending in palatal consonant *ʃ* form its second person singular imperative by using bare stem. But as shown in (30a-b), this rule is violated as: *zaʃ-* 'insult' *zatʃ'* 'insult' and *wəʃ-* 'hear, listen' *wətʃ'* 'hear, listen'. Verbal stems ending in the bilabial approximant *w* form their second person singular imperative by changing the *w* into the palatal approximant *j*, but as can be seen in (30g), this rule is violated as: *tʃ'əw* 'beg' *tʃ'əwɨtʃ'* 'beg'.

The large majority of verbs ending in the palatal approximant *j* form their second person singular imperative by employing the bare stem (cf. Table 55). But this general pattern is violated in (30c, d and e), as *s'aj-*' 'hold' *s'atʃ'* 'hold', *zɨj'* drink' *zɨtʃ'* 'drink and *nəj'*offer me' *nək'* 'offer me', respectively.

As shown in (23), verbal stems ending in the alveolar trill *r* form their second person singular imperative by changing the *r* into the glottalized affricate-*tʃ'*. However, as indicated in (24 and 30f), this general rule is violated.

Apart from these violations of rules, there is also a total suppletion in the formation of second person singular imperative as shown in (30i), *tər '*come' *ləw* 'come'

(30)

Verbal stem		2SG Imperative form	
a. *zaʃ-*	'insult'	*zatʃ'*	'insult'
b. *wəʃ-*	'hear, listen'	*wətʃ'*	'hear, listen
c. *s'aj-*	'hold'	*s'atʃ'*	'hold'
d. *zɨj-*	'drink'	*zɨtʃ'*	'drink'
e. *nəj-*	'offer me'	*nək'*	'offer me'
f. *fir-*	'go'	*fit'*	'go'
g. *tʃ'əw-*	'beg'	*tʃ'əwɨtʃ'*	'beg'
i. *tər-*	'come'	*ləw*	'come'

5.3.3.2.1.4. The 2PL imperative

Although the second person plural imperative[39] marker is identified as *-tɨn*, *-tən* or *-tan* by Appleyard (1987b: 482), none of them is attested in the present study. In the S'agibiji dialect, the only attested suffix that marks the second person plural imperative is *-t'ɨn*. Since the S'agibiji dialect is not mentioned by Appleyard, the variation of the second person plural imperative might have resulted from the dialectal difference. All my consultants who provided me with linguistic data both via the oral texts and elicitations confirmed that the second person plural imperative is formed by the suffix*-t'ɨn*. All the consultants who participated in providing linguistic data for the present study are not familiar with the plural markers: *-tɨn*, *-tən* or *-tan* which were identified by Appleyard (1987b: 482). As can be observed in Table 56, all types of verbs ending in different consonantal sounds form their second person plural by adding the suffix*-t'ɨn*. Consider the following examples in Table 56 that shows different verbal stem ending consonants.

[39] The polite form of imperative is expressed in the same way as in the second person plural imperative. It is formed by using the suffix*-t'ɨn* for all types of verbs.

Table 57: Examples of the 2PL imperative

Types of root final ending consonants	2PL imperative Examples		Gloss
b	*arə-d*	*t'ab-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Thresh the grain.'
β	*bigə-ʃən*	*dʒiβ-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Buy the sheep.'
m	*diχ^{w}arə-d*	*ʃəm-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Drive the donkey.'
w	*wik'ə-d*	*k'ɨw-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Kill the hyena.'
f	*dʒɨriwə-ʃən*	*k'iff-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Slaughter the hen.'
t	*ədʒir-d*	*dəŋt-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Judge the person.'
d	*wərdə hojə*	*wərd-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Play the traditional game.'
t'	*k'ənə-d*	*bat'-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Chop the wood.'
s	*kɨtaw nan-t'an*	*aqas-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Wash your hands.'
z	*qas'iŋə-d*	*t'az-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Hit the thief.'
s'	*qas'-ɨ-t'ɨn*		'Scream.'
n	*wirk'ə-d*	*tən-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Save the money.'
r	*alβə-d*	*sir-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Wear the cloth (garment).'
l	*zədʒɨrə-d*	*qal-t'ɨn*	'See the baboon.'
ʃ	*siŋ^{w}ərə-d*	*zaʃ-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Insult the robber.'
tʃ	*kɨtaw kɨndɨŋ*	*gitʃ-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Establish your school.'
dʒ	*k'əsəw gəβə-d*	*widʒ-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Wish good luck.'
tʃ'	*kɨtaw ək'^{w} ɨn-dʒik'*	*tʃ'-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Spend the night with your wives.'
ɲ	*awɨtʃɨnə-d*	*ɲir-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Call the cat.'
j	*aq^{w}*	*zɨj-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Drink water.'
k	*lɨjə-d*	*ʃɨk-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Light the fire.'
k'	*qɨriŋə-d*	*məkk'-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Throw the stone.'
ŋ	*kɨtaw ir-dʒɨk'*	*siŋ -t'ɨn*	'Spend the day with your father. '
q	*arə-d*	*zaq-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Grind the grain.'
χ	*ŋɨn-d*	*sɨnχ-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Beautify the house.'
χ^{w}	*χ^{w} ɨrə-d*	*χ^{w}-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Eat the food.'
h	*sinə-d*	*nəh-ɨ-t'ɨn*	'Narrate the story.'

5.3.3.2.2. The jussive

The jussive has no second person forms in Khimt'anga. The jussive utterance for indirect commands involve the first person singular and plural, third person singular masculine and feminine and third person plural subjects. The jussive category is functionally and structurally identifiable. The suffix used to denote the jussive is the same suffix-*nə* for various

subjects with the exception of the first person singular. For example, the first person plural, the third person masculine and feminine singular and the third person plural are marked similarly by the suffix-nə. In contrast, the first person singular is separately marked by the suffix-*tʃ'ə*. [40] These utterances are indirect commands, expressing wishes, blessings, or curses with the third person or the first person subjects. Consider the following paradigms using the verbs: *əgɨz-* 'count', *kɨnd-* 'learn', *bəb-* 'swim', *kɨl-* 'break', *məkk'-* 'throw' and *tər-* 'come'.

(31)

Person	*əgɨz-*	*kɨnd-*	*bəb-*	*kɨl-*	*məkk'-*	*tər-*
1SG	*əgɨzɨtʃ'ə*	*kɨnɨtʃtʃ'ə*[41]	*bəbɨtʃ'ə*	*kɨltʃ'ə*	*məkk'ɨtʃ'ə*	*tətʃtʃ'ə*[39]
2SG	-	-	-	-	-	-
3SG.M	*əgɨzɨnə*	*kɨndɨnə*	*bəbɨnə*	*kɨlɨnə*	*məkk'ɨnə*	*tərɨnə*
3SG.F	*əgɨzɨrɨnə*	*kɨndɨrɨnə*	*bəbɨrɨnə*	*kɨldɨrɨnə*	*məkk'ɨrɨnə*	*tətɨrɨnə*
1PL	*əgɨzɨnnə*	*kɨndɨnnə*	*bəbɨnnə*	*kɨlɨnnə*	*məkk'ɨnnə*	*tərɨnnə*
2PL	-	-	-	-	-	-
3PL	*əgɨzɨŋɨnə*	*kɨndɨŋɨnə*	*bəbɨŋɨnə*	*kɨlɨŋɨnə*	*məkk'ɨŋɨnə*	*tərɨŋɨnə*

5.3.3.2.3 The impersonal jussive

There is an impersonal jussive in Khimt'anga that is used with animate subjects in the third person. This utterance type like other jussives, expresses indirect commands. The singular impersonal jussive is identically marked by the same suffix merely with the third person

[40] This kind of jussive marking is not only the feature of Khimt'anga, it is also investigated in the Omotic languages such as Northern Mao in (Ahland 2012: 482ff).

[41] As mentioned in the Section 2.6.1, the alveolar ending consonants such as *d*, *r*, etc. are changed into the palatal glottalized sound *tʃ'* to form the first person singular, that is why it is doubled.

masculine singular. It is also similarly marked with the third person plural, and the third person plural impersonal jussive by the suffix-*nə*.

The examples in (32a-b), clearly show that both singular and plural impersonal jussives are similarly marked as the third person masculine singular and the third person plural personal pronouns.

Note that the impersonal jussive has only been investigated if the subject is animate. Therefore, people use polite texts when they want to convince or to persuade their listeners and the third person singular masculine jussive form is not used. Instead the impersonal form is employed.

(32)

a. *gɨʒɨŋ-d*	*wif-ɨ-nə*
dog-DEF	bark-EP-JUSS
lit.'Let the dog bark.'	
b. *dɨqʷal-d*	*hall-ɨ-ŋ-ɨ-nə*
donkey.PL-DEF	bray-EP-3P-EP-JUSS
lit. 'Let the donkeys bray.'	

5.3.3.2.4. The optative

The optative[42] paradigm in Khimt'anga is marked for all persons. Kroeger (2005:163) claims that "[a]nother […] category is the optative, which marks something the speaker hopes

[42] Optative marking is not a feature of Khimt'anga only, but it also seems to be a common feature of Omotic and Cushitic languages, for instance, Sheko (Hellenthal 2010: 303f) and Sidaama (Kawachi 2007: 427ff).

for, or wishes would be true." It is morphologically marked in various ways. The optative is always affixed following a verbal stem. It is mostly used to express speakers' good wishes and curses. Though it seems to have the same meaning with the jussive, it is slightly different both in form and function. The same verbs that show the jussive paradigm in 5.3.3.2.4 are also used in the optative form for the sake of comparison: *əgɨz-* 'count', *kɨnd-* 'learn', *bəb-* 'swim', *kil-* 'break', *məkk'-* 'throw' and *tər-* 'come'.

(33)

Person	*əgɨz-*	*kɨnd-*	*bəb-*	*kil-*	*məkk'-*	*tər-*
1SG	*əgɨzɨtʃ'əŋə*	*kɨnɨtʃtʃ'əŋə*	*bəbɨtʃ'əŋə*	*kiltʃ'əŋə*	*məkk'ɨtʃ'əŋə*	*tətʃtʃ'əŋə*
2SG	*əgɨzɨtəŋə*	*kɨndɨtəŋə*	*bəbɨtəŋə*	*kiltəŋə*	*məkk'ɨtəŋə*	*təttəŋə*
3SG.M	*əgɨzɨt'əŋə*	*kɨndɨt'əŋə*	*bəbɨt'əŋə*	*kilt'əŋə*	*məkk'ɨt'əŋə*	*tərt'əŋə*
3SG.F	*əgɨzɨtəŋə*	*kɨndɨtəŋə*	*bəbɨtəŋə*	*kiltəŋə*	*məkk'ɨtəŋə*	*təttəŋə*
1PL	*əgɨzɨnnəŋə*	*kɨndɨnnəŋə*	*bəbɨnnəŋə*	*kilɨnnəŋə*	*məkk'ɨnnəŋə*	*tərɨnnəŋə*
2PL	*əgɨzɨtɨnəŋə*	*kɨndɨtɨnəŋə*	*bəbɨtɨnəŋə*	*kiltɨnəŋə*	*məkk'ɨtɨnəŋə*	*təttɨnəŋə*
3PL	*əgɨzɨŋt'əŋə*	*kɨndɨŋt'əŋə*	*bəbɨŋt'əŋə*	*kilɨŋt'əŋə*	*məkk'ɨŋt'əŋə*	*tərɨŋt'əŋə*

5.3.3.2.4.1. The 3SG.F, 2SG and 2PL optative

As can be understood from (33), both the third person feminine singular, the second person singular and plural have the same suffix-*təŋə* to express the optative mood. In addition in the second person plural, number is also marked. In (34a) below, optative is marked by the suffix-*təŋə* for both second person singular and the third person feminine singular in the sentential examples for the expression of speaker's blessings, good wishes and curses. In (34b), the second person plural optative is indicated.

(34)

a. *gir-Ø* *əχ^{w}-ɨ-r-təŋə*
boy-IDEF bear-2SG/3SG.F.OPT
'I (wish) you may (SG) have a son' ('I wish) she may have a son.')

b. *wirk'ə-d* *əgɨz-ɨ-tɨnəŋə*
money-DEF count-EP-2PL.OPT
'(I wish) you may (PL) count the money.'

5.3.3.2.4.2. The 3SG.M and 3PL optative

Both third person masculine singular and third person plural are similarly marked by the suffix-*t'əŋə* for optative paradigm (cf. data 33 above). As can be seen in (35), the sentential examples denote the optative form. In (35a, c and e), the third person masculine singular is marked by the suffix-*t'əŋə* alone, whereas in (35b, d and f), the third person plural marks its optative by using the number marker-*ŋ* plus the suffix-*t'əŋə*.

(35)

a. *mɨkən-d* *χ^{w}əll-ɨ-t'əŋə*
church-DEF visit-EP-3SG.M.OPT
'(I wish) he may visit the church.'

b. *mɨkən-d* *χ^{w}əll-ɨ-ŋ-t'əŋə*
church-DEF visit-EP-3PL-OPT
'(I wish) they may visit the church.'

c. *alβə-d* *k'ɨj-ɨ-t'əŋə*
cloth-DEF sell-EP-3SG.M.OPT
'(I wish) he may sell the cloth.'

d. *alβə-d* *k'ɨj-ɨ-ŋ-t'əŋə*
cloth-DEF sell-EP-3PL-OPT
'(I wish) they may sell the cloth.'

e. *liz-ɨ-t'əŋə*
cry-EP-3SG.M.OPT
'(I wish) he may cry.'

f. *d ɨdɨmə-Ø* *əχ^{w}* ɨr-*ɨ-ŋ-t'əŋə*
baby-INDEF bear-EP-3PL-OPT
'(I wish) they may give birth to a baby.'

5.3.3.2.4.3. The 1SG and 1PL optative

Both the first person singular and plural in Khimt'anga are similarly marked for their optative form by employing their own jussive markers-*tʃ'ə* and -*nə* plus the morpheme -*ŋə* for the first person singular and plural, respectively.Thus, to form the optative form of the first person singular and plural, the jussive markers-*tʃ'ə* and -*nə* and the suffix-*ŋə* are equally

important. As a general rule, the jussive marker always precedes the optative form in their verbal stem.

The sentential examples given in (36a-d) denote the morphological realization of optative mood of the first person singular and plural. The first person singular optative is shown in (36a and c), whereas the first person plural is indicated in (36b and d).

(36)

a. *ʃɨla-d* *t'am-tʃ'ə-ŋə*
beer-DEF taste-1SG.JUSS-OPT
'(I wish) I may taste the beer.'

b. *ʃɨla-d* *t'am-ɨ-n-nə-ŋə*
beer-DEF taste-EP-1PL-JUSS-OPT
'(I wish) we may taste the beer.'

c. *wardə-d* *ward-ɨ-tʃ'ə-ŋə*
play-DEF play-EP-1SG.JUSS-OPT
'(I wish) I may play the game.'

d. *wardə-d* *ward-ɨ-n-nə-ŋə*
play-DEF play-EP-1PL-JUSS-OPT
'(I wish) we may play the game.'

'

5.3.3.2.4.4. The impersonal optative

Like the impersonal jussive mentioned in 5.3.3.2.3, the impersonal optative is similarly marked by the suffix-*t'əŋə* as the third person masculine singular and the third person plural mentioned in 5.3.3.2.5.2. using the same suffix-*t'əŋə*. However, for the third impersonal plural the number marker-*ŋ* co-occurs with the optative marker-*t'əŋə*. The sentential examples in (37a-b) denote the marking of impersonal optative for singular and plural, respectively.

(37)

a. *gɨzɨn-d* *wif-ɨ-t'əŋə*
dog-DEF bark-EP-OPT
'(I wish) the dog may bark.'

b. *gɨs'ɨn-d* *wif-ɨ-ŋ-t'əŋə*
dog.PL-DEF bark-EP-3PL-OPT
'(I wish) the dogs may bark.'

Table 58 summarizes jussive and optative forms using the verbs *qal* 'see' and *laqɨt-* 'vomit'.

Table 58:The summaries of SG and PL jussive and optative

Person	Jussive	Optative	Jussive	Optative
1SG	*qaltʃ'ə* 'Let me see.'	*qaltʃ'əŋə* '(I wish) I may see.'	*laqɨtʃtʃ'ə* 'Let me vomit.'	*laqɨtʃtʃ'əŋə* '(I wish) I may vomit.'
1PL	*qalɨnnə* 'Let us see.'	*qalɨnnəŋə* '(I wish) we may see.'	*laqɨtɨnnə* 'Let us vomit.'	*laqɨnnəŋə* '(I wish) we may vomit.'
2SG	-	*qaltəŋə* '(I wish) you may see.'	-	*laqɨttəŋə* '(I wish) you may vomit.'
2PL	-	*qaltɨnəŋə* '(I wish) you may see.'	-	l*aqɨttɨnəŋə* '(I wish) you may vomit.'
3SG.M	*qalɨnə* 'Let him see.'	*qalt'əŋə* '(I wish) he may see.'	*laqɨtɨnə* 'Let him vomit.'	*laqɨtɨt'əŋə* '(I wish) he may vomit.'
3SG.F	*qaldɨrɨnə* 'Let her see.'	*qaltəŋə* '(I wish) she may see.'	*laqɨtɨrɨnə* 'Let her vomit.'	*laqɨtɨtəŋə* '(I wish) she may vomit.'
3PL	*qaliŋɨnə* 'Let them see.'	*qaliŋt'əŋə* '(I wish) they may see.'	*laqɨtiŋɨnə* 'Let them vomit.'	*laqɨtiŋt'əŋə* '(I wish) they may vomit.'
3SG.IMPR	*qalɨnə* 'Let it see'	*qalt'əŋə* '(I wish) it may see.'	*laqɨtɨnə* 'Let it vomit.'	*laqɨtɨt'əŋə* '(I wish) it may vomit.'
3PL.IMPR	*qaliŋɨnə* 'Let they see.'	*qaliŋt'əŋə* '(I wish) they may see.'	*laqɨtiŋɨnə* 'Let them vomit'	*laqɨtiŋɨt'əŋə* '(I wish) they may vomit.'

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5.4. THE VERB DERIVATION

In the previous Section 5.3, I have shown the verb inflection. In the present chapter, I deal with the verb derivation which includes valence increasing and valence decreasing processes. The valence increasing processes are the causative and adjutative. The valence decreasing processes are the passive, middle and reciprocal. In contrast, the frequentative, inchoative and composite forms do not affect the valence.

5.4.1. Valence increasing process

5.4.1.1. The causative

In the vast majority of cases, the causative in Khimt'anga is basically marked by the suffix-s, but there are also other morphemes at surface level. Kulikov (2001: 886) generally defines causative "as verbs which refer to a causative situation, that is, to a causal relation between two events, one of which (P2) is believed by the speaker to be caused by another (P1)". This definition gives attention to the general meaning of the causative situations. In this thesis analysis, there is one supplementary aspect of the underlying semantics of the causative, and that aspect is that there is a separation between the causing event and the caused event, and hence between the causer and the other participant (the causee). This division is on the whole a mental division, not a division in surface. The essence of the causative is to make a difference between a causer and a caused event and that is why the causer needs to be described as a separate subject argument, and in that sense the causative is the opposite of the middle. The causative operation is the opposite of the middle operation which focuses on the lack of separation between the participants and views the event as one whole.[43] (cf. Tolemariam 2009: 63). The causative is a productive derivational process in Khimt'anga. There are direct and indirect causative. These causative markings in Khimt'anga are differently marked in four various formatives. These causative formatives are addition of the suffixes-*s (-ɨs*), -*sɨs*, -*z* and consonantal change.

[43] "In many cases the causative verb contrasts with the middle verb in Ethiopian Afro-Asiatic languages" Tolemariam (2009: 64).

5.4.1.2. The causative-*s (-ɨs)* and *-sɨs*

The suffix-*s (-ɨs)* is suffixed to the majority of verbal stems for the formation of direct causative, while *-sɨs* is added to form indirect causative. These kind of suffixation is widely attested causative derivation in this language. Consider the following data in (38) for the addition of the suffixes-*s (-ɨs)* and *-sɨs* for direct and indirect causative forms, espectively.

(38)

Verbal stem		Direct causative		Indirect causative	
a. *f-*	'go out'	*fɨs-*	'bring'	*fɨsɨs-*	'cause to bring
b. *s'an-*	'carry'	*s'ans-*	'load'	*s'ansɨs-*	'cause to load'
c. *χ-*	'eat'	*$χ^w$ɨs-*	'feed'	*$χ^w$ɨsɨs-*	'cause to feed'
d. *diq-*	'be pass'	*diqɨs-*	'pass'	*diqɨsɨs-*	'cause to pass'
e. *ɨnk'ur*	'get dirty'	*ɨnk'us*	'make dirty'	*ɨnk'usɨs-*	'cause to dirty'

In (39a-j), the verbal stems which end in the voiced alveolar fricative z form their direct causative by changing the z into its voiceless counterpart *s*, then plus the causative marker-*s*. In (39k-l), the verbal stems which end in the voiceless palatal fricative sound *ʃ* form their direct causative by changing the *ʃ* into the voiceless alveolar fricative s, then plus the causative marker-s. In (m, n and o), the direct causative is formed by the irregular forms, but the indirect causative is expressed by the the suffix-*s*. In (39m), the initial glottalized alveolar plosive sound *t'* is replaced by the voiced alveolar plosive sound d. In (39n), the verbal stem which ends in the voiceless alveolar plosive *t* forms its direct causative by changing the *t* into the voiceless alveolar fricative *s*. In (39o), the direct causative is formed by changing both initial and final verbal stem of consonants *t* and *r*, respectively.

(39)

Verbal stems		Direct causative		indirect causative	
a. *wiz-*	'giveback'	*wiss*	'return'	*wissɨs-*	'cause to return'
b. *dəmz-*	'lose'	*dəmɨss-*	'put out'	*dəmɨssɨs-*	'cause to lose'

c. *dʒiz-* 'sweep'	*dʒiss* 'clean'	*dʒissɨs-*'cause to sweep'
d. *dʒəgiz-*'chase'	*dʒəgiss-* 'chase'	*dʒəgiss-* 'cause to chase'
e. *k'orz-* 'measure'	*k'orɨss* - 'measure'	k*'orɨssɨs-* 'cause to measure'
f. *t'az-* 'hit'	*t'ass-* 'beat'	*t'assɨs-* 'cause to hit'
g. *fiz-* 'sow'	*fiss-* 'sow'	f*issɨs-* 'cause to sow'
h. *dɨquz-* 'squeeze'	*dɨquss-* 'brew'	*dɨqussɨs-* 'cause to brew'
i. *tik^{w}ɨz-* 'shoot'	*tik^{w}ɨss-* 'shoot'	*tik^{w}ɨssɨs-* 'cause to shoot'
j. *gɨbərz-* 'be half'	*gɨbərɨss-* 'make equal'	*gɨbərɨssɨs-* 'cause to make equal half'
k. *wəʃ-* 'hear'	wəss- 'listen'	*wəssɨs-* 'cause to listen'
l. *q^{w}əʃ-* 'milk'	*q^{w}əss-* 'milk'	*q^{w}əssɨs-* 'cause to milk'
m. *t'ɨw-* 'enter'	*dɨw-* 'insert, marry'	*dɨwɨs-* 'cause to insert, marry'
n. *s'ɨwɨt-* 'be ill'	*s'ɨwɨs-* 'make ill'	*s'ɨwɨss-* 'cause to make ill'
o. *tər-* 'come'	*nəs-* 'bring'	*nəsɨs-* 'cause to bring'

In the following sentential examples, one can see the causative formation[44] by using the consonantal change for the direct causative in (40a and b) and in (40c and d) the suffix *-sɨs* for the indirect causative verbal derivations. For this purpose, I take the verbs *dɨquz-* 'squeeze' and *q^{w}əʃ-* 'milk'.

(40)

a. *t'amtɨrəj-Ø* *dɨq^{w}ə-d* *dɨqu-ss-ɨ-tʃ*
Tamtrey-NOM kind of local beer-DEF squeeze-CAUS-PRV-3SG.F
'Tamtrey brewed the local beer.'

b. *t'amtɨtəj-Ø* *lɨwə-d* *q^{w}ə-ss-ɨ-tʃ*
Tamtrey-NOM cow-DEF milk-CAUS-PRV-3SG.F
'Tamtrey milked the cow.'

c. *t'amtɨrəj-Ø* *mɨdʒi-t* *dɨq^{w}ə-d* *dɨqu-ss-ɨs-ɨ-tʃ*
Tamtrey-NOM girl-ACC kind of local beer-DEF squeeze-CAUS-CAUS-PRV-3SG.F
'Tamtrey made the girl brewed the local beer.'

d. *t'amtɨrəj-Ø* *mɨdʒi-t* *lɨwə-d* *q^{w}ə-ss-ɨs-ɨ-tʃ*
Tamtrey-NOM girl-ACC cow-DEF milk-CAUS-CAUS-PRV-3SG.F
'Tamtrey made the girl milk the cow.'

[44] Even though there are slight differences between (Appleyard 1987b) and the present data, (see Appleyard 1987b: 470f) for the -*s* extension of causative formation.

In sum, as can be observed in (40a), (41b) and (40c and d), there is an increment in argument in double causative constructions. In addition, the following sentences can also add arguments in four place verbs. In (41a-b), there are four semantic roles: the agent, the causee, the recipient and the theme. In (41a) *t'amtəw, iʐira-t, ɲəɲɲə-s* and *bigə* denote for those semantic roles: the agent, the causee, the recipient and the theme. respectively. In (141b), *t'amtəw, adəru-t, bəninu-s* and *χabəʃə-d* represent the agent, the causee, the recipient and the theme, respectively. Both examples in (41a-b) syntactically denote the indirect subject, the logical (grammatical) subject, the indirect object and the direct object.

(41)

a. *t'amtəw-Ø iʐira-t ɲəɲɲə-s bigə dʒiβ-i-ss-Ø-ək^{w}*
Tamtew-NOM Ezira-ACC Gnegne-DAT sheep buy-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-IPV
'Tamtew makes Ezira buy a sheep for Gnegne.'

b. *t'amtəw-Ø adəru-t bəninu-s χabəʃə-d qij-i-ss-Ø-ək^{w}*
Tamtew-NOM Aderu-ACC Beninu-DAT bread-DEF sell-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-IPV
'Tamtew makes Aderu sell the bread for Beninu.'

5.4.1.3. The adjutative

The adjutative plays a role in the expression of an indirect agent in a discourse. It is responsible for the occurrence of the action in the support of the agent in the discourse. The adjutative is simultaneously formed by the total reduplication of the verbal stem, by the insertion of the linking vowel-ə plus the suffixation of the causative suffix-s to the verbal stems. As the causative constructions, the adjutative constructions also increase the argument structure. Observe the sentential examples in (42).

(42)

a. *guləʃə-Ø ŋita-t k'anə-d kil-ə kil-s-Ø-u*
Guleshe-NOM 3PL.SUBJ-ACC wood-DEF break-LINK RDP-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'Guleshe supported them break the wood.'

b. *jan-Ø* *ŋɨr-t* *kʷinə-d* *nəs-ə* *nəs-s-u-n*
I-NOM she-ACC castle-DEF build-LINK RDP-CAUS-PRV-1SG
'I supported her construct the castle.'

c. *jɨnn-Ø* *guləʃə-t* *mirə-d* *diβ-ə* *diβ-ɨ-s-ɨ-n-u-n*
we-NOM Guleshe-ACC gate-DEF close-LINK RDP-CAUS-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL
'We supported Guleshe close the gate.'

d. *adəru-Ø* *guləʃə-t* *lɨwə-ʃən* *dʒɨβ-ə* *dʒɨβ-ɨ-s-Ø-u*
Aderu-NOM Guleshe-ACC cow-DEF buy-LINK RDP-EP-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu supported Guleshe buy the cow.'

5.4.2. Valence decreasing processes

5.4.2.1. The passive

A passive construction in Khimt'anga is a little bit heterogeneous. It employs various changes of the final ending consonant of the verbal stem. Keenan and Dryer (2007: 328f) write about the presence of basic passives across all languages. The reason they are called basic is because of their existence in several languages of the world. The basic passives have the following properties:

A. no agent phrase

B. the main verb in its non-passive form is transitive and

C. the main verb expresses an action, taking agent subjects and patient objects in its non-passive form.

Khimt'anga has a very productive basic passive construction which can occur with every transitive verbal form. Passives are formed from both transitive and ditransitive verbs. In passive constructions, the subject is affected by the action of the verb. The passive in Khimt'anga is determined by the terminating consonant sound of the verbal stems. The

collected oral texts and elicitations show that the passive markers are *-ʃɨt(-ʃ)*, *-jit* or *-it* depending on the final consonants of the verbal stems. However, Appleyard (1987:472) claims in his grammatical sketch that "[…] the formation of passives is that verbs whose stems end in a sibilant [*s, z, ʃ*] do not employ the extension-*ɨ(ʃ)* or -*ɨ(ʃt)*[45], but make use of the -t extention […]". Though I do not know the reseason behind, however in the present collected data these sibilant ending consonants [*s, z, ʃ*] are attested as well. According to all the consultants who participated in providing the linguistic data in the present study, the derivation of passive by employing the morphemes *-ʃɨt(-ʃ)*, *-jit* or *-it* is quite common. Verbal stems ending in sibilant consonants *z* and *s'* form their passive *by* changing them into the palatal approximant *j* plus attaching the suffix-*it* to the verbal stems. In the following examples, I illustrate the formation of passive for the verbs that end in the voiced alveolar fricative sound *z*. As can be observed in *(*43*)*, all the verbs ending in the voiced alveolar fricative *z* form their passive by changing the *z* into the palatal approximant *j*, and adding the suffix-*it* to the verbal stem. However, the last example violates this general rule as *k'ɨzz-* 'cut off '*k'ɨt'ɨr* 'be cut off'. This last example is expressed by a supplitive form.

*(*43*)*

Verbal stems		Passive verbal stems	
dəmz-	'want'	*dəmɨjit-*	'be wanted'
tʃɨz-	'identify'	*tʃɨjit-*	'be identified'
dɨquz-	'brew'	*dɨqujit-*	'be brewed'
k'orz-	'measure'	*k'orɨjit -*	'be measured'
t'az-	'hit'	*t'ajit-*	'be hit'
gɨz-	'dig'	*gɨjit-*	'be dug'
gɨβərz-	'divide'	*gɨβərɨjit-*	'be divided'
g^{w}iz-	'plough'	*g^{w}ijit-*	'be ploughed'
k'ɨzz-	'cut off'	*k'ɨt'ɨr*	'be cut off

[45]For the sake of consistency and clarity, I have intentionally employed the IPA conventional symbols, instead of using Appleyard's (1987a) as it is.

Like the *z* ending stems in *(*43*)*, verbal stems that end in the alveolar glottalized fricative *s'* form their passive by changing the *s'* into the palatal approximant *j* plus adding the suffix-*it* to the verbal stems.

(44)

Verbalstem		Passive verbal stem	
las'-	'shave'	*lajit*	'be shaved'
bɨs'-	'split'	*bɨjit-*	'be split'
əss'-	'curse'	*əss'ɨjit-*	'be cursed'
bas'-	'splinter'	*ajit-*	'be splintered'
as'-	'fate'	*ajit-*	'be fated'

In addition, as can be observed in (45a-q) verbs that end in the sibilant s form their passive by the morpheme-ʃɨt with its variant-ʃ. Like the majority of other verbal stems ending in the fricatives, plosives, affricates, nasals, approximants and the liquid sound l, it forms its passive by the suffix-ʃɨt /or-ʃ/. However, in (45k), the verbal stem that ends in the alveolar liquid r forms its passive by adding the suffix-t to the verbal stem. Since the language allows the liquid sound followed by the plosive sound. Because of this phonological rule, the epenthetic vowel ɨ is not inserted.

(45)

Verbal stems		Passive verbal stems	
a. *nəs-*	'construct'	*nəʃɨt/nəʃ-*	'be constructed'
b. *kil-*	'break'	*kilʃɨt/kilʃ-*	'be broken'
c. q^w*əʃ-*	'milk'	*qəʃʃɨt/*q^w*əʃʃ-*	'be milked'
d. *t'adʒ-*	'renew'	*t'adʒʃɨt/t'adʒɨʃ-*	'be renewed'
e. *diβ-*	'close'	*diβɨʃɨt/diβɨʃ-*	'be closed'
f. *dʒɨβ-*	'buy'	*dʒɨβɨʃɨt/dʒɨβɨʃ-*	'be bought'
g. *gigɨβ*	'prevent, protect'	*gigɨβɨʃɨt/gigɨβɨʃ-*	'be prevented'
h. *t'am-*	'taste'	*t'amʃɨt/t'amʃ-*	'be tasted'
i. *zaʃ-*	'insult'	*zaʃʃɨt/zaʃʃ-*	'be insulted'
j. *tʃ'əw-*	'beg'	*tʃ'əwɨʃɨt/tʃ'əwɨʃ-*	'be begged'
k. *s'awɨr-*	'trap'	*s'awɨrʃɨt/s'awɨrʃ-*	'be trapped'
l. *dik'*	'tell'	*dik'ɨʃɨt/dik'ɨʃ-*	'be told'

m. *k'ən-*	'love'	*k'ənʃit-/k'ənʃ-*	'be loved'
n. *bin-*	'roast'	*binʃit/binʃ-*	'be roasted'
o. *tən-*	'save'	*tənʃit/tənʃ-*	'be saved'
p. *s'an-*	'upload'	*s'anʃit/s'anʃ-*	'be uploaded'
q. χ^w-	'eat'	χ^w*ɨʃit/*χ^w*ɨʃ-*	'be eaten'

As noted in (43), (44) and (45), the passive is derived by adding the suffixes-*jit*, *-ʃit* (-ʃ) and *-it* according to the final consonantal verbal stems. In the passive construction, the object of the transitive clause is the subject of the passive and the subject of the passive clause is not a complement of the passive. That is, the subject of the passive clause typically has the thematic role of a patient, and the agent is not mentioned or optional in the passive construction. Consider the following active sentential examples with their corresponding passives in (46). As can be seen in (46b, d and f), the passive is constructed preceding perfective, perfect and imperfective morphemes, respectively. In these paradigms, the patient is promoted as a subject by the suffix-*ʃit*. The passive object is indicated by the instrumental case marker-*iz*.

(46)

a. *ədʒɨr-d*	*χabəʃə-d*	χ^w*-Ø-u*
man-DEF	bread-DEF	eat-3SG.M-PRV
'The man ate the bread.'		
b. *χabəʃə-d ədʒɨr-iz*	χ^w*- ɨ-ʃit-Ø-u*	
bread-DEF man-INST	eat-EP-PASS-3SG.M-PRV	
'The bread was eaten (by the man).'		
c. *ədʒɨr-d*	*χabəʃə-d*	χ^w*-Ø-ɨ-ku*
man-DEF	bread-DEF	eat-3SG.M-EP-PRF
'The man has eaten the bread.'		
d. *χabəʃə-d*	*ədʒɨr-iz*	χ^w*-ɨ-ʃit-Ø-ɨ-ku*
bread-DEF	man-INST	eat-EP-PASS-3SG.M-EP-PRF
'The bread has been (by the man).'		
e. *ŋɨtaj-Ø*	*bilə-d*	*kil-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək*^{w}
they-NOM	door-DEF	break-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'They break the door.'		

f. *bilə-d* *ŋɨtaj-iz* *kil-ʃɨt-Ø-ək*^{w}
door-DEF they-INST break-PASS-3SG.M-PV
'The door is (will be) broken (by them).'

Another useful suffix that can form the passive is -jit. Consider the following sentential examples in (47).

(47)

a. *jɨnn-Ø* *gɨzɨŋ-d* *t'az-ɨ-n-u-n*
we-NOM dog-DEF hit-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL
'We hit the dog.'

b. *gɨzɨŋ-d-Ø* *jɨna-j-iz* *t'a-jit-Ø-u*
dog-DEF-NOM 3PL.POSS-gli-INST hit-PASS-3SG.M-PRV
'The dog was hit (by us).'

c. *jɨnn-Ø* *gɨzɨŋ-d* *t'az-ɨ-n-ku-nu-n*
we-NOM dog-DEF hit-EP-1PL-PRF-AUX-1PL
'We have hit the dog.'

d. *gɨzɨŋ-d-Ø* *jɨna-j-iz* *t'a-jit-Ø-ɨ-ku*
dog-DEF-NOM 1PL.POSS-gli-INST hit-PASS-3SG.M-EP-PRF
'The dog has been hit (by us).'

e. *jɨnn-Ø* *gɨzɨŋ-d* *t'az-ɨ-n-ək*^{w}*-ɨ-n*
we-NOM dog-DEF hit-EP-1PL-IPV-EP-1PL
'We (will) hit the dog.'

f. *gɨzɨŋ-d-Ø* *jɨna-j-iz* *t'a-jit-Ø-ɨ-ək*^{w}
dog-DEF-NOM 1PL.POSS-gli-INST hit-PASS-3SG.M-EP-IPV
'The dog is (will be) hit (by us).'

Note that the inclusion of an agentive oblique is only very rarely attested in the collected data. In the vast majority of cases, the agent is not mentioned at all.[46] Consider the following sentential examples in (48b and d).

[46] See Mulugeta (2008: 144), Tolemariam (2009: 104) and Ahland (2012: 402) among others with regard to the absence of agent in the passive construction..

(48)

a. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *k'anə-d* *kil-Ø-u*
he-NOM wood-DEF break-3SG.M-PRV
'He broke the wood.'

b. *k'anə-d-Ø* *kil-ʃit-Ø-u*
wood-DEF-NOM break-PASS-3SG.M-PRV
'The wood was broken.'

c. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *wirk'ə-d* *dɨz-Ø-əkʷ*
he-NOM money-DEF lose-3SG.M-IPV
'He loses the money.'

d. *wirk'ə-d-Ø* *dɨ-jit-Ø-əkʷ*
money-DEF-NOM lose-PASS-3SG.M-IPV
'The money is lost.'

e. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *bigə-d* *dʒɨβ-Ø-u*
he-NOM sheep-DEF buy-3SG.M-PRV
'He bought the sheep.'

f. *bigə-d-Ø* *dʒɨβ-ɨ-ʃit-Ø-u*
sheep-DEF-NOM buy-EP-PASS-3SG.M-PRV
'The sheep was bought.'

5.4.2.2. The middle

Khimt'anga belongs to the group of two form languages that have a nominal intensifier and a verbal middle. There is no universal definition of the middle. Several linguists understand the middle verb in various ways. For example, Kemmer (1993:238) points out that the middle verb has two behaviours: "1) Initiator as affected entity (End point) and 2) low degree of elaboration of events." According to this explanation, the middle verb is determined by the degree of oneness among the participants involved. It indicates that the high degree of oneness provides a middle event, while the low degree of oneness describes a reflexive event. Manney (1995:163) claims that the prototype middle voice: "the expriencer subject is highly responsive to psycho-emotive stimulus […] undergoes experience rather than initiates a mental act […] not

in control of the psycho-emotive forces which act upon him/her." Manney's definition of the prototype middle concerns only emotion middles, while Kemmer's explanation of the middle verb is universal and can be linked to various meaning types of the middle verb.

In Khimt'anga, the middle is morphologically marked by the suffix *-(ɨ)r* for the notion of the middle reading. This grammatical fact is also identified in (Appleyard 1987b: 473). Though it is not attested in the present study, in Appleyard (1987b: 473).both the middle and reflexive have semantically the same notion in this language. *k'aw-ɨ-r-* 'warm', k*'ab-ɨ-r-* 'stride', *qam-ɨ-r-* 'upside down', *bəg^{w}-ɨ-r-* 'jump', *aŋ-ɨ-r-* 'bite', *aq-ɨ-r-* 'buldge', *arɨw-ɨ-r-* 'wait', *ab-ɨ-r-* 'embress', *kəm-ɨ-r-* 'arm', *ək^{w}-ɨ-r-* 'bless', *tʃ'ɨm-ɨ-r-* 'put on a thread on a neck', *tʃ'ɨb-ɨ-r-* 'hide', *gilb-ɨ-r-* 'reverse', *giw-ɨ-r-* 'graduate', *ajɨβ-ɨ-r-* 'shame on', *t'aq-ɨ-r-* 'get near' and the like are some of the attested examples from the collected data. See the following sentential examples in (49).

(49)

a. *ŋɨ-mizɨβ-ɨ-d*	*tʃ'ɨm-ɸ-ɨ-r-u*	b. *s'am-ɸ-ɨ-r-u*
3SG.M.POSS-thread-DEF	put on-3SG.M-EP-MID-PRV	yoke-3SG.M-EP-MID-PRV
'He put on the thread on a neck.'		'He yoked.'

5.4.2.3. The reciprocal

As can be seen in the following sections, in the derivation of reciprocity[47] of Khimt'anga, three different strategies are involved. Kemmer (1993:96f) argues that a prototypical reciprocal context is a simple event expressing a two-participant event for which there are two relations; each participant plays the role as initiator in one of those relations, and

[47] The derivation of reciprocity of Khimt'anga almost all follows a similar pattern with Kemantney (cf. Zelealem 2003: 204).

polar (endpoint) in the other. The reciprocal verb describes an action performed by two or more persons that are both agents and patients simultaneously. The semantic link holding between the participants are prototypically of the direct affectedness type. The reciprocal situations can either involve simultaneous or sequential relations of actions. Agent and patient are both expressed in the subject, which have to be plural or a coordinated noun phrase.

Three possible ways are quite important to express the reciprocal in Khimt'anga. The linking vowel-*ə*, the total reduplication of the verbal stem and the passive markers are equally important.

(50)

Verbal stem	Passive form	Reciprocal form
qal- 'see'	*qalʃit-* 'be seen'	*qaləqalʃit-* 'see each other'
tʃ'ɪŋ- 'call'	*tʃ'ɪŋʃit-* 'be called'	*tʃ'ɪŋətʃ'ɪŋʃit-* 'call each other'
kil- 'break'	*kilʃit-* 'be broken	*kiləkilʃit-* 'break each other'
kəβ- 'help'	*kəβɨʃit-* 'be helped'	*kəβəkəβɨʃit-* 'help each other'
k'ɨw- 'kill'	*k'ɨwɨʃit-* be killed'	*k'ɨwək'ɨwɨʃit-* 'kill each other'
t'az- 'hit'	*t'ajit-* 'be hit'	*t'ajət'ajit-* 'hit each other'

In (51a), the third person plural, in (51b), the first person plural, in (51c), the second person plural and in (51), the coordinated proper nouns are used as subject in the reciprocal paradigm, respectively in the sentential examples.

(51)

a. *gɨs'ɨŋ-d-Ø* *aŋɨr-ə* *aŋɨr-ɨ-ʃit-ɨ-Ø-ŋ-u*
dog.PL-DEF-NOM bite-LINK RDP-EP-PASS-EP-3PL-PRV
'The dogs bit each other.'

b. *jɨnn-Ø* *qal-ə* *qal-ʃit-ɨ-n-u-n*
we-NOM see-LINK RDP-PASS-EP-PL-PRV-1PL
'We saw each other.'

c. *kɨtɨn-Ø* *ɨmq-ə* *ɨmq-ɨ-ʃɨt-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-u*
you.PL-NOM kiss-LINK RDP-EP-PASS-EP-2-EP-2PL-PRV
'You (PL) kissed each other.'

d. *t'amtəw-sɨmə* *adəru-Ø* *tʃ'iŋ-ə* *tʃ'iŋ-ʃɨt-ɨ-ŋ-u*
Tamtew-CNJ Aderu-NOM call-LINK RDP-PASS-EP-3PL-PRV
'Tamtew and Aderu called each other.'

5.4.3. Frequentative

The frequentative does not affect the verbal valence. It is derived in two ways: by barely reduplicating the verbal stem plus by dropping the initial syllable of the verbal stem in (52a-f), and by reduplicating the verbal stem plus inserting the linking vowel *ə* in (52g-p), respectively.

(52)

Verbal stems		Frequentative	
a. *t'ɨqɨz-*	'overlap'	*t'ɨqɨz qɨz-*	'overlap again and again'
b. *dɨχ^{w}ɨn-*	'weaken'	*dɨχ^{w}ɨn χ^{w}ɨn-*	'weaken again and again'
c. *kirɨm-*	'start'	*kirɨm rɨm-*	'start again and again'
d. *t'ɨk'ɨr-*	'get cloud'	*t'ɨk'ɨr k'ɨr-*	'get cloud again and again'
e. *tɨkɨβ-*	'push'	*tɨkɨβ kɨβ-*	'push again and again'
f. *aqas-*	'wash'	*aqas qas-*	'wash again and again'
g. *t'am-*	'taste'	*t'am-ə-t'am-*	taste again and again'
h. *tʃ'ək'-*	'deteriorate'	*tʃ'ək'-ə-ʧ'ək'-*	'deteriorate again and again'
i. *ʃəm-*	'derive'	*ʃəm-ə-ʃəm-*	'derived again and again'
j. *kil-*	'break'	*kil-ə-kil-*	'break again and again'
k. *qal-*	'see'	*qal-ə-qal-*	'see again and again'
l. sir-	'wear'	sir-ə-sir-	'wear again and again'
m. *sɨŋ^{w}-*	'steal'	*sɨŋ^{w}-ə-sɨŋ^{w}-*	'steal again and again'
n. *zɨj-*	'drink'	*zɨj-ə-zɨj-*	'drink again and again'
o. *t'ab-*	'thresh'	*t'ab-ə-t'ab-*	'thresh again and again'
p. *qas'-*	'scream'	*qas'-ə-qas'-*	'scream again and again'

Consider the following sentential examples in (53a-e) for frequentative derivation by eliding the initial syllable of the verbal stem plus barely reduplicating the verb stem.

(53)

a. *t'ɨqɨz-* 'overlap'
ŋəŋ-Ø t'ɨqɨz qɨz-Ø-u
he-NOM overlap RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'He overlapped again and again'

b. *dɨχ^{w}ɨn χ^{w}ɨn-* 'weaken-
ŋəŋ-Ø dɨχ^{w}ɨn χ^{w}ɨn j-Ø-u
he-NOM weaken RDP say-3SG.M-PRV
'He weakened again and again'

c. *kirɨmrɨm-* 'start'
ŋəŋ-Ø kirɨm rɨm-Ø-u
he-NOM start RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'He started again and again'

d. *t'ɨk'ɨr-* 'get cloud'
ŋəŋ-Ø t'ɨk'ɨr k'ɨr-Ø-u
he-NOM get cloud RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'It got cloud again and again'

e. *tɨkɨβ-* 'push'
ŋəŋ-Ø tɨkɨβ kɨβ-Ø-u
he-NOM push RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'He pushed again and again'

In (54a-e) frequentative is derived by total reduplication of the verb stem plus the insertion of the linking vowel *ə*.[48]

(54)

a. *t'am-* 'taste'
ŋəŋ-Ø t'am-ə t'am-Ø u
he-NOM taste-LINK RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'He tasted again and again.'

b. *tʃ'ək'-* 'deteriorate'
ŋəŋ-Ø tʃ'ək'-ə tʃ'ək'-Ø-u
he-NOM deteriorate-LINK RDP-3SG.M.PRV
'He deteriorated again and again.'

c. *ʃəm-* 'derive'
ŋəŋ-Ø ʃəm-ə ʃəm-Ø-u
he-NOM derive-LINK RDP-3Sg.M-PRV
'He derived again and again.'

e. *qal-* 'see'
ŋəŋ-Ø qal- qal-Ø-u
he-NOM see-LINK RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'He saw again and again.'

e. *sɨŋ^{w}-* 'steal'
ŋəŋ-Ø sɨŋ^{w}-ə sɨŋ^{w}-Ø-u
he-NOM steal-LINK RDP-3SG.M-PRV
'He stole again and again.'

[48] Frequentative is also the feature of Kemantney, and Bilin which are the two Central Cushitic languages of Ethiopia and Eritrea in similar pattern, respectively. See examples in (Zelealem 2003: 202f) and (Appleyard 2007: 495) for Kemantney and Bilin, respectively.

5.4.4. Inchoative

The inchoative verb stem in Khimt'anga encodes 'becoming into a certain state'. It is attested with several verbs which are derived from nouns and adjectives. Verbalization plays a role in a derivation of verbs from roots or stems of Khimt'anga.

5.4.4.1. Noun-based inchoatives

The noun-based inchoatives in Khimt'anga are mainly formed by adding the suffix-*d*, and very rarely by attaching the suffixes-*t* and -*z*. In some cases, they are also derived by dropping the final vowel *ə* from their noun-based stems plus adding the suffix-*d*. In (55a-g), the noun-based inchoative verbal stems are derived by attaching the suffix-*d* alone. And in (55h and i), they are formed by suffixing the morphemes-*ɨ(-t)* and -*z* to the noun-based stems, respectively.

(55)

Noun-based stems		Inchoative verbal forms	
a. *gəjɨn*	'phlegm'	*gəjɨn-d-*	'become phlegm'
b. *gɨdɨr*	'starvation'	*gɨdɨr-d-*	'become hungry'
c. *k'en*	'wedding'	*k'en-d-*	'wed'
d. *zin*	'relative	*zin-d-*	'be relative'
e. *χajɨl*	'strength'	*χajɨl-d-*	'become strong'
f. *mizɨr*	'witness'	*mizɨr-d-*	'testify'
g. *aqɨl*	'tolerance'	*aqɨl-d-*	'become tolerant'
h. *aq*^{w}	'water'	*aq*^{w}*ɨ-t-*	'become fluid'
i. *gɨβər*	'half'	*gɨβər-z-*	'divide, make equalize'

In addition to suffixation, noun based stems mentioned in Section 5.4.4.1, the noun-based inchoative verbal stems can also be derived mainly by dropping the final vowel *ə* of the noun based stem and suffixing the-d, and very rarely by the addition of the suffix-*əβɨd*.

Consider the examples in (56a-c) and in (56d) for both kind of deletion plus suffixation, respectively.

(56)

Noun-based stems		Inchoative verbal forms	
a. *zɨq^{w}anə*	'thirst'	*zɨq^{w}an-d-*	'become thirsty'
b. *qas'ɨŋə*	'theft'	*qas'ɨŋ-d-*	'become thief'
c. *tunə*	'spring'	*tun-d-*	'spend the spring'
d. *gɨrβ*	'knee'	*gɨrβ-əβɨd-*	'kneel down'

5.4.4.2. Adjective-based inchoatives

Like noun based inchoatives, several inchoative verbal stems are derived from adjectives by suffixation of the morpheme-*d* and deletion of the final vowel *ə* of the adjective stem plus addition of the suffix-*d*, and very rarely, suffixation of the morpheme-*ld* to the adjective stem. Observe the following examples shown in (57a-d) and in (57e), respectively.

(57)

Adjective-based stems		Inchoative verbal stems	
a. *ʃimɨr*	'old'	*ʃimɨr-d-*	'be old'
b. *bɨtʃ'ɨk'*	'much'	*bɨtʃ'ɨk'ɨ-d-*	'be much'
c. *χaβərə*	'weak'	*χaβər-d-*	'be weak'
d. *guləʃə*	'brave'	*guləʃ-d-*	'be brave'
e. *χaŋ*	'foolish'	*χaŋɨ-ld-*	'be foolish'

5.4.5. Composite (Compound) verbs

Composite verbs in Khimt'anga comprise the combination of different kinds of nouns, and the verbs like *s'aj-* 'hold', *jɨw-* 'give', *tʃɨŋ-* 'find, get', *wis-* 'return' and ideophones incorporation with the verb *j-* 'say'.

5.4.5.1. Noun stem plus the verbal stems

In (58a-d), several composite verbs are formed by employing the combination of different kinds of nouns plus the verbal stem *s'aj-* 'hold'. In (58e, f and g), some composite verbs are formed by the combination of different kinds of noun stems plus the verbal stems *jɨw-* 'give', *tʃɨŋ-* 'get', *wis-* 'return', respectively.

(58)

Noun stems		+	Verbal stems		Composite verbal forms	
a. *was'ə*	'mat'	+	*s'aj-*	'hold'	*was'ə-s'aj-*	'get sick'
b. *k'ɨjə*	'marriage'	+	*s'aj-*	'hold'	*k'ɨjə-s'aj-*	'get marriage'
c. *lɪk^{w}*	'leg'	+	*s'aj-*	'hold'	*lɪk^{w}-s'aj-*	'move a little bit'
d. *nan*	'hand'	+	*s'aj-*	'hold'	*nan-s'aj-*	'be poor'
e. *mi*	'injera'	+	*tʃɨŋ-*	'get'	*mi-tʃɨŋ-*	'get wealth'
f. *əzən*	'heart'	+	*jɨw-*	'give'	*əzən-jɨw-*	'get frank'
g. *bɨr*	'blood'	+	*wis-*	'return'	bɨr-*wis-*	'retaliate, revenge'

5.4.5.2. The ideophones plus the verb *j-* 'say'

Several composite verbs are formed by employing the combination of different idiophones plus the verbal stem *j-* 'say'. Consider the following examples in (59).

(59)

Idiophone forms		+ the verbal stem	Composite verbal forms	
ɨf	'blow'	+ *j-* 'say'	*ɨf-j-*	'blow'
fut	'make noise'	+ *j-* 'say'	*fut-j-*	'sip'
bag	'enlighten'	+ *j-* 'say'	*bag*-j-	'spark'
k^{w}əf	'make noise'	+ *j-* 'say'	*k^{w}əf-j*	'move slowly'
əχ-	'be rest'	+ *j-* 'say'	əχ-j-	'steep'
zɨm-	'silent'	+ *j-* 'say'	*zɨm-j-*	'get silent'
dol dol-	'add'	+ *j-* 'say'	*dol dol-j-*	'high flow of liquids'

CHAPTER SIX

THE PREDICATIVE POSSESSION, THE COPULA AND THE LOCATIVE-EXISTENTIAL VERBS

The predicate possession, the copula and the locative-existential verb constructions are notoriously irregular in Khimt'anga. They do not clearly show regular patterns.

6.1. THE PREDICATE POSSESSION (THE VERB 'TO HAVE') CONSTRUCTION

The predicate possession in Khimt'anga is a compound verb by its very nature. It is a combination of two verbs: a main verb and an auxiliary verb. It is constructed by the use of the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ,* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL and 2PL in the present tense, whereas the verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verbs *ŋi* and *naj* for the third person feminine singular and the third person plural, respectively. In contrast, the verb 'to have'(predicate possession[49]) construction is formed by the use of the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verb *win-* in the past time. This auxiliary *win-* is also inflected for various grammatical categories such as person, number, gender and perfective aspect (cf. 5.3)

Semantically speaking, in the verb 'to have' (predicate possession) construction, the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' denotes the idea of possession. The auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ*, *ŋi* and *naj* show the time of actions in the present time, whereas the auxiliary verb *win*-denotes the time of

[49] "Languages differ considerably in how they express what can be called predicate possession" (Dryer 2007c: 244).

actions in the past time. Therefore, we can generalize that the auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ*, *ŋi* and *naj* are the tense markers for the present time, and the auxiliary verb *win-* is a past tense marker in the past time.

In (1), both the present and the past form of the verb 'to have' are presented. As can be observed in (1), in most cases, in the present form, the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' is only inflected for various agreement grammatical categories. In contrast, in the past form, both main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' and the auxiliary verb *win-* are inflected for various grammatical categories.

(1)

Person	The presen form			The past form			
1SG	*s'ak'ər*	*jəŋ*	'I have'	*s'ak'*	*winun*	'I	had'
2SG	*s'ajirər*	*jəŋ*	'You have'	*s'ajirər*	*windu*	'You	had'
3SG.M	*s'ajəw*	*jəŋ*	'He has'	*s'ajəw*	*winu*	'He	had'
3SG.F	*s'ajirəj*	*ŋi*	'She has'	*s'ajirəj*	*winɨtʃ*	'She	had'
1PL	*s'ajinək'*	*jəŋ*	'We have'	*s'ajinək'*	*winnun*	'We	had'
2PL	*s'ajirɨnək'*	*jəŋ*	'You have'	*s'ajirɨnək'*	*windirɨnu*	'You	had'
3PL	*s'ajək'^{w}*	*ŋaj*	'They have'	*s'ajɨŋ*	*winɨŋu*	'They	had'

In (2a-g) and in (3a-g), the verb 'to have' sentential examples are given in the present and past forms, respectively. However, the subject is dropped, it can be identified by the subject agreement markers plus the auxiliary verbs that follows it. As can be observed in (2a-g) and in (3a-g), the subject agreement is marked in the present tense paradgim for the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' by the suffixes: *k'ər, irər, əw, irəj, inək, irɨnək'* and *ək'^{w}* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively. In contrast, in the past tense paradigm, the predicate possession is expressed in both the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' and the auxiliary verb *win-* 'stay' which inflect for subject agreement markers. The main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' subject agreement markers in the past paradgim are: *k', irər, -əw, irəj, inək', irɨnək'* and *-ɨŋ*, whereas the auxiliary

verb *win-* 'stay' subject agreement markers in past paradgim are: *-n, -d, -Ø, -tʃ-Ø, -n, -dɨr* and *-ŋ-Ø for* 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively.

(2)

a. *bigə s'a-k'ər jəŋ*
sheep hold-1SG .AUX SG.PRES.
'I have a sheep.'

b. *bigə s'aj-irər jəŋ* '
sheep hold-2SG. AUX.2SG.PRES
'You have a sheep.'

c. *bigə s'aj-əw jəŋ*
sheep hold-3SG.M .AUX.3SG.M.PRES
'He has a sheep.'

d. *bigə s'aj-irəj ŋi*
sheep hold-3SG.F AUX.3SG.F.PRES
'She has a sheep.'

e. *bigə s'aj-inək' jəŋ*
Sheep hold-1PL AUX.1PL.PRES
'We have a sheep.'

f. *bigə s'aj-irɨnək' jəŋ*
Sheep hold-2PL AUX.2PL.PRES
'You have a sheep.'

g. *bigə s'aj-ək'ʷ ŋaj*
Sheep hold-2PL AUX .PL.PRES.
'They have a sheep.'

(3)

a. *bigə s'a-k' win-u-n*
sheep hold-1SG AUX-PRV-1SG
'I had a sheep.'

b. *bigə s'aj-irər win-d-u*
sheep hold-2SG. AUX.2SG-PRV.
'You had a sheep.'

c. *bigə s'aj-əw win-Ø-u*
sheep hold-3SG.M AUX.3SG.M-PRV
'He had a sheep.'

d. *bigə s'aj-irəj win-ɨ-tʃ*
sheep hold-3SG.F AUX-PRV-3SG.F
'She had a sheep.'

e. *bigə s'aj-inək' win-n-u-n*
sheep hold-1PL AUX-PL-PRV-1PL
'We had a sheep.'

f. bigə s'aj-irɨnək' win-dɨr-ɨ-n-u
Sheep hold-2PL AUX.2-EP-2PL-PRV
'You had a sheep. '

g. bigə s'aj-ɨŋ win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u
Sheep hold-2PL AUX-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They had a sheep. '

6.2. THE COPULA CONSTRUCTION

Like the verb 'to have', the copula construction is also highly heterogeneous and unpredictable in form. In common with the other Agaw languages, Khimt'anga has a number of other roots that can be glossed as 'be, exist' *aq-, jəŋ , ŋi, naj* and *win-* (past form of be). The last example *win-* is only inflected for person, gender and number in the past tense. Consider the data in (4).

(4)

Person	The present form			The past form	
1SG	*jan*	*jəŋ*	'I am'	*jan winun*	'I was'
2SG	*kɨt*	*jəŋ*	'You are'	*kɨt windu*	'You were'
3SG.M	*ŋəŋ*	*jəŋ*	'He is'	ŋəŋ *winu*	'He was'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr*	*ŋi*	'She is'	*ŋɨr winɨtʃ*	'She was'
1PL	*jɨnn*	*jəŋ*	'We are'	*jɨnn winnun*	'we were'
2PL	*kɨtɨn*	*jəŋ*	'You are'	*kɨtɨn windɨrɨnu*	'You were'
3PL	*ŋɨtaj*	*naj*	'They are'	*ŋɨtaj winiŋu*	'They were'

In (5a-g), the copula verb sentential examples are presented in the present tense.

(5)

a. *jan-Ø* *kɨnsətə* *jəŋ*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM teacher COP.PRES.1SG
'I am a teacher.'

b. *kɨt-Ø* *kɨnsətə* *jəŋ*
2SG.SUBJ-NOM teacher COP.PRES.2SG
'You are a teacher.'

c. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *kɨnsətə* *jəŋ*
3SG.M.SUBJ-NOM teacher COP.M.PRES.3SG
'He is a teacher.'

d. *ŋɨr-Ø* *kɨnsətə* *ŋi*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM teacher COP.F.PRES.3SG
'She is a teacher.'

e. *jɨnn-Ø* *kɨnsət-ɨ-t'* *jəŋ*
1PL.SUBJ-NOM teacher-EP-PL COP.PRES.1PL
'we are teachers.'

f. *kɨtɨn-Ø* *kɨnsət-ɨ-t'* *jəŋ*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM teacher-EP-PL COP.PRES.2PL
'You are teachers.'

g. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *kɨnsət-ɨ-t'* *naj*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM teacher-EP-PL COP.PRES.3PL
'They are teachers.'

In (6a-g), the copula verb sentential examples are presented in the past tenses. In the past forms, the copula verb *win-* is inflected for various grammatical categories: person, number, gender and perfective.

(6)

a. *jan –Ø*	*kɨnsətə*	*win-u-n*
1SG.SUBJ-NOM	teacher	COP.PST-PRV-1SG
'I was a teacher.'		
b. *kɨt-Ø*	*kɨnsətə*	*win-d-u*
2SG.SUBJ-NOM	teacher	COP.PST -2SG-PRV
'You were a teacher.'		
c. *ŋəŋ-Ø*	*kɨnsətə*	*win-Ø-u*
3SG.M.SUBJ-NOM	teacher	COP.PST -3SG.M-PRV
'He was a teacher.'		
d. *ŋɨr-Ø*	*kɨnsətə*	*win-ɨ-tʃ*
3SG.F.SUBJ-NOM	teacher	COP.PST -PRV-3SG.F
'She was a teacher.'		
e. *jɨnn-Ø*	*kɨnsət-ɨ-t'*	*win-n-u-n*
1PL.SUBJ-NOM	teacher-EP-PL	COP.PST -1PL-PRV-1PL
'We were teachers.'		
f. *kɨtɨn-Ø*	*kɨnsət-ɨ-t'*	*win-dɨr-ɨ-n-u*
2PL.SUBJ-NOM	teacher-EP-PL	COP.PST -2PL-EP-2PL-PRV
'You were teachers.'		
g. *ŋɨtaj-Ø*	*kɨnsət-ɨ-t'*	*win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3PL.SUBJ-NOM	teacher-EP-PL	COP.PST -3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They were teachers.'		

6.3. THE LOCATIVE-ESISTENTIAL VERB CONSTRUCTION

Like the 'verb to have', the locative-existential verb construction is notoriously irregular in form. It is a combination of two verbs: the main verb *ɨk*^{w}- 'exist' and the auxiliary verbs such as *jəŋ,* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL and 2PL and *ŋi* and *ŋaj* for the third person feminine singular and plural, respectively in the present tense, As an independent verb, the locative-existential shows located existence (cf. Appleyard 1987b: 497). Like the verb 'to have' construction, it is

formed by the use of the bare stem of the verb *ɨk^{w}-* 'exist' plus the auxiliary verb *win-* in the past tense. Consider illustrated examples for locative-existential verb construcrions in (7) in the present tense.

(7)

a. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-ɨ-n* *jəŋ*
river-LOC exist-EP-1SG AUX.1SG.PRES
'I am in the river.'

b. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-ɨ-r* *jəŋ*
river-LOC exist-EP-2SG AUX.2SG.PRES
'You are in the river.'

c. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-Ø* *jəŋ* '
river-LOC exist-3SG.M AUX.3SG.M.PRES
'He is in the river.'

d. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-ɨ-r* *ŋi*
river-LOC exist-EP-3SG.F AUX.3SG.F.PRES
'She is in the river.'

e. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-ɨ-n* *jəŋ*
river-LOC exist-EP-1PL AUX.1PL.PRES
'We are in the river.'

f. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-i-r-ɨ-n* *jəŋ*
river-LOC exist-EP-2-EP-2PL AUX.2PL.PRES
'You are in the river.'

g. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}-ɨ-ŋ-Ø* *naj*
river-LOC exist-3-EP-3PL AUX.3PL.PRES
'They are in the river.'

In (8), the locative-existential verb construcrions are presented in the past tense paradigms. In the past tense paradigms, the auxiliary verb *win-* is inflected for various grammatical categories such as person, number, gender and perfective aspect.

(8)

a. *wirβə-l* *ɨk^{w}* *win-u-n*
river-LOC exist AUX.PST-PRV-1SG
'I was in the river.'

b wirβə-l `*ɨkʷ-ɨ-r* *win-d-u*
river-LOC exist-EP-2SG AUX.PST -2SG-PRV
'You were in the river.'

c. *wirβə-l* *ɨkʷ-Ø* *win-Ø-u*
river-LOC exist-3SG.M AUX.PST-3SG.M-PRV
'He was in the river.'

d. wirβə-l *ɨkʷ-ɨ-r* *win-ɨ-tʃ* '
river-LOC exist-EP-3SG.F AUX.PST -PRV-3SG.F
'She was in the river.'

e. wirβə-l *ɨkʷ-ɨ-n* *win-n-u-n*
river-LOC exist-EP-1PL AUX.PST -1PL-PRV-1PL
'We were in the river.'

f. *wirβə-l* *ɨkʷ-ɨ-r-ɨ-n* *win-dɨr-ɨ-n-u* '
river-LOC exist-EP-2-EP-2PL AUX.PST -2-EP-2PL-PRV
'You were in the river.'

g. *wirβə-l* *ɨkʷ-Ø-ɨ-ŋ* *win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u* '
river-LOC exist-3-EP-3PL AUX.PST -3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They were in the river.'

CHAPTER SEVEN

MODIFIERS, CONJUNCTIONS AND ADPOSITIONS

In this chapter, I discuss adjectives, quantifiers, adverbs, conjunctions and adpositions. The modifiers include: the adjectives, quantifiers and adverbs. The adpositions typologically subsume both prepositions and post-positions, while in Khimt'anga only postpositions are attested. The conjunctions are: the coordinative, disjunctive, adversative, additive and resulative. I briefly discuss all these topics in turn in the following sections.

7.1. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Khimt'anga are semantically classified: as dimension, age, value, colour, physical property, human propensity, speed, difficulty, similarity, qualification, quantification and position. This kind of classification of adjectives is taken from Dixon (2010b). According to Dixon (2010 b: 73f), the adjective semantic types are classified into three sets: Set A, Set B and Set C.

Set A consists of four core semantic types which are associated with both large and small adjective classes:

1. Dimension- *χɨjəw* 'big', *ligɨzəw* 'long, tall', *ɨt'ɨn* 'small', *fəraq^{w}əw* 'wide', *ass'əw* 'narrow', *ədʒɨŋ* 'short', *əkɨl* 'far', *etc*.

2. Age- *ajɨr* 'new', *argəw* 'old', *wəʃəbələ* 'young', *etc*.

3.Value- *χaʃìt* 'false', *k'əsəw* 'good, nice', sigɨsəw 'ugly', *tʃ'ɨqa*, 'atrocious, bad', *ʃəggə* 'pretty', *kaχɨʃəw* 'beautiful', *zɨtɨləw* 'cheap', *k'ənʃəw* 'expensive', *wirɨjəw*, 'clean', *ɨq^{w}asəw* 'funny', *ɨmiqəw* 'dirty', *etc*.

4. Colour- *s'ərəw* 'white', *sərəw* 'red', *ŋɨtʃ'ɨr* 'black', *qaməwə*, 'blue', *χas'əs'ə* 'green', *bullə* 'brown', *s'ɨbɨsə* 'yellow', *wəjinə* 'dark', *bəjəw* 'light', *etc*.

Set B consists of three semantic types which are associated with medium-sized and large adjective classes:

1. Physical property- *ziq^{w}əw* 'heavy', *q^{w}ɨt'ɨn* 'wet', *zɨlaqəw* 'weak', *t'ankar* 'strong, hard', *ləsɨlaj* 'soft' *kibbə*, *qazɨqɨzəw* 'cold', *abɨləwə* 'hot', *jɨzəw* 'dry', *etc*.

2. Human propensity-*χajilu* 'powerfull', *s'adʒəw* 'prosperous, wealthy', *s'əwitəw* 'sick', *tiχɨnu* 'healthy', *sizɨwərə* 'lazy', *dʒɨgɨnə* 'clever, brave', *zɨmɨjew* 'silent, calm', *awələ* 'fermented, sour', *χarə* 'aroma', *mərrəw* 'bitter', *dinnəw* 'fat', *bədəw* 'empty', *etc*.

3. Speed- *k'azɨjəw* 'fast, quick', *dəjjə* 'slow', *etc*.

Set C consists of a number of other semantic types which are associated with large adjective classes:

1. Difficulty-*k'ələw* 'easy', *dʒɨsəw* 'difficult', *etc*.

2. Similarity- *təkəw* 'like', *təkaw* 'unlike', *təkə-təkəw* 'similar', *tʃɨtətʃɨtəw* 'different', *lazə*, *lajə* 'another', *etc*.

3. Qualification- *ɨmman* 'true', *arqɨʃɨtəw* 'definite', *tɨχɨnu* 'normal', *kɨnnɨʃʃəw* 'common', *tʃɨk'ɨtə* 'right, correct', *wəjɨsəw* 'sensible', *etc*.

4. Quantification- '*bɨtʃ'ɨq* 'much', *nɨqɨs'əw* 'many', *witu* 'little', *witɨk^{w}* 'few', *ɨnk'* 'all', *gɨβər* 'half', *ɨnk'ə-ɨnk'* 'the whole', *at'ə* 'enough', *awɨməw* 'every', *etc*.

5. Position- 'ow*ɨgə* 'high', *etc*.

7.1.1. Inflection

Adjectives in Khimt'anga constitute a separate word class. They are distinguished from nouns and verbs on morphological and syntactic basis. Like nouns and verbs, they start with consonants and vowels. They end in consonants and vowels as well. Unlike nouns, they are characterized by gender agreement, but in number marking, they follow the same pattern as that of nouns (cf. Section 3.2.1). However, like other Cushitic languages of Ethiopia, adjective in Khimt'anga are not inflected for definiteness and case.[50] They use the suffixes-*əw* and -*rəj* that show masculine and feminine gender markers, respectively. For example, *χɨjəw* 'big M', *χɨjɨrəj* 'big F', *ligɨzəw* 'tall, long M', *ligɨzɨrəj* 'tall, long F', etc. They function as an attribute and a predicate. When they function as the attribute, they precede the head noun. If they function as the predicate, they follow a grammatical subject. There is special marker for distinguishing the attributive adjective from a predicative adjictive. We can identify the attributive adjective from a predicative adjective the order in which they occur in the noun phrase construction. The attributive adjective adjective always occurs preceding the head noun they modify, while the predicative adjictive occurs following the head noun they modify. Consider the sentential examples in (1a-c) and in (1d-g), for the attributive and the predicative functions of the adjectives, respectively.

(1)

a. *dinn-əw*	*ədʒɨr-d-Ø*	*kɨr-Ø-u*
fat-3SG.M.	man-DEF-NOM	die-3SG.M-PRV
'The fat man died.'		
b. *dinn-ɨ-rəj*	*əwɨnə-ʃən-Ø*	*kɨr-ɨ-tʃ*
fat-EP-3SG.F.	woman-DEF.F-NOM	die-PRV-3SG.F
'The fat woman died.'		

[50] According to Wondowesen (2006: 86), Diraytata is not inflected for definiteness and case, respectively..

c. ɨd-en *s'adʒu ədʒɨr-d-Ø* *χɨj-əw* *ŋɨn* *s'aj-əw* *jəŋ*
DIST-3SG.M rich man-DEF-NOM big-3SG.M house hold-3SG.M 3SG.M.PRES.AUX.
''That rich man has a big house.'

d. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *s'adʒ-əw* *jəŋ*
he-NOM rich-3SG.M COP.PRES.3SG.M
'He is prosperous.'

e. *ŋɨr-Ø* *s'adʒ-ɨ-rəj* *ŋi*
she-NOM rich-EP-3SG.F COP.PRES.3SG.F
'She is prosperous.'

f. *ɨn-en* *gɨzɨŋ-Ø* *χɨj-əw* *jəŋ*
PROX-3SG.M dog-NOM big-3SG.M COP.PRES.3SG.M
'This dog is big.'

g. *ɨn-tʃen* *gɨzɨŋ-Ø* *χɨj-ɨ-rəj* *ŋi*
PROX-3SG.F dog-NOM big-EP-3SG.F COP.PRES.3SG.F
'This bitch is big.'

7.1.2. Derivation

In Khimt'anga, the majority of adjectives are derived from verbs. As shown in (2a-c), there are also a handful of adjectives which are underived or simple by their nature. Several adjectives have verbal counterparts, with which they share the basic phonological structures, and semantic contents. This suggests that adjectives can mostly be treated as derived forms. The semantic relationship between adjectives and their verbal counterparts is that the adjectives denote states, while their verbal counterparts denote change of state or what we call inchoative already mentioned in Section 5.4.4. In other words, the verbal equivalents denote 'becoming adjective'. This semantic relationship between adjectives and their verbal counterparts is common across languages of the world (Saeed 1993:72).

As learned from (3a-i), in the derivation of adjectives, suffixation plays a major role. In order to form derived adjectives, different suffixes are added to the verbal stems. For instance, in (3a-e), the suffix-*əw* is added to the verbal stems *k'ənʃ-* 'be expensive', *fəraq*^{w}- 'be wide',

ass'- 'be narrow' and *sɨgɨs-*'be ugly'. The derived adjectival forms of these verbal stems are *kənʃ-əw* 'expensive', *fəraq*^{w}*-əw* 'wide', *ass'-əw* 'narrow' and *sɨgɨs-əw* 'ugly', respectively. In all the cases, all suffixes deriving adjectives. But the suffix-*əw* is the most productive of the other suffixes.

In (3f and g), the suffix-*ə* is added to the verbal stems *dʒɨgɨn-* 'be clever, be brave' and *ʃəgg-* 'be beautiful' changed into *dʒɨgɨn-ə* 'clever, brave' and *ʃəgg-ə* 'beautiful', respectively. In (3h), o*w-* ' be high', the suffix-*gə* is added to the verbal stem for forming the derived adjective *owɨ-gə* 'high'. In (2d), the suffix-*a* is added to the verbal stem as *tʃ'ɨq-* 'be atrocious 'changes into *tʃ'ɨq-a* 'atrocious'. See the following empirical data that indicate underived and derived adjectives in (2) and (3), respectively.

(2)

Underived adjectives	
a. *ɨt'ɨn*	'small'
b. *witu*	'little'
c. *ajɨr*	'new'

(3).

Verbal stems		Derived adjectives	
a. *ass'-*	'be narrow'	*ass'-əw*	'narrow'
b. *χɨj-*	' be big'	*χɨj-əw*	'big'
c. *sɨgɨs-*	'be ugly'	*sɨgɨs-əw*	'ugly'.
d. *fəraq*^{w}*-*	'be wide'	*fəraq*^{w}*-əw*	'wide'
e. *k'ənʃ-*	'be expensive'	*kənʃ-əw*	'expensive'
f. *dʒɨgɨn-*	'be brave'	*dʒɨgɨn-ə*	'clever'
g. *ʃəgg-*	'be pretty'	*ʃəgg-ə*	'pretty'
h. *ow-*	'be high'	*owɨ-gə*	'high'
i. *tʃ'ɨq-*	'be bad'	*tʃ'ɨq-a*	'atrocious'

7.2. NON-NUMERICAL QUANTIFIERS

Non-numerical quantifiers in Khimt'anga are terms such as *witɨkʷ* 'few', *witu* 'little', '*bɨtʃ'iq* 'much', *nɨqɨs'əw* 'many', *etc*. All non-numerical quantifiers precede the head noun they quantify. Depending on the nature of the head noun, the non-numerical quantifiers can modify both the countable and uncountable nouns. For instance, as shown in (4a-b), the non-numerical quantifiers quantify the countable nouns. In contrast, in (4c-d), the non-numerical quantifiers quantify uncountable nouns.(4)

a. *nəjinu-Ø* *witɨkʷ* *fɨtʃ'ir* *dʒɨβ-Ø-u*
Neyinu-NOM few goat.PL buy-3SG.M-PRV
'Neyinu bought a few goats.'

b. *t'amtəw-Ø* *nɨqɨs'əw* *fɨtʃ'ir* *s'aj-əw* *jəŋ*
Tamtew-NOM many goat.PL hold-3SG.M 3SG.M.AUX
'Tamtew has many goats.'

c. *t'amtəw-Ø* *bɨtʃ'iq* *ʃila* *zɨj-Ø-əkʷ*
Tamtew-NOM much local beer drink-3SG.M-IPV
'Tamtew drinks much local beer.'

d. *ʃəwit-Ø* *witu* *saβ* *zɨj-ə-tʃ*
Shewit-NOM little milk drink-IPV-3SG.F
'Shewit drinks some milk.'

7.3. NUMERALS

Khimt'anga forms cardinal numerals in different lexemes, whereas the ordinal numeral types are derived from the cardinal numerals by suffixing the morpheme *-tɨrə*. Both the cardinal numerals and the ordinal numerals function as noun modifiers. Dryer (2007a :164) describes the two types of numerals as follows.

> There are two sorts of numeral words that occur as modifiers of nouns. One of these is cardinal numerals, words that indicate how many referents the noun phrase denotes, as in English *three books*. These contrast with ordinal numerals, which identify a referent in terms of its order with respect to other referents, as in English *the third book*. Ordinal numerals are most commonly derived from cardinal numerals.

Although there are transcription differences with the present study, Appleyard (1987a :265f) identifies the lower cardinal numerals in Khimt'anga from one to ten and the higher cardinal numerals from 20 to 1000. In addition, he also identifies the ordinal numeral by the suffix-n*tɨrna* which differs from the present study that identifies the ordinal numeral as *-tɨrə*. This transcription difference may be resulted from the dialectal difference. Because the S'agibiji dialect that the present study rely on is not identified by (Appleyard 1987a : 241).

7.3.1. Cardinal numerals from 1-19

The cardinal numerals 1 to 10 end in the central vowel *ə*. The numerals 11 to 19 identified are formed by affixing the morpheme *s'ɨtʃ'*- to one to nine cardinal unit numerals. Before affixation of the morpheme *s'ɨtʃ'*-, morphophonemic processes take place. They are consonantal mutation from *k'* to *tʃ'*, and deletion of the final central vowel *a* of the underlying structure of *s'ɨk'ə* 'ten'. Therefore, I claim that the internal structure of these numerals is *s'ɨk'ə* 'ten' which is the base of 11 to 19. See the examples presented in (5) and in (6) for 1 to 10 and 11 to19, respectively.

(5)

ləwə	'one' [51]
liŋə	'two'
ʃaq^{w}ə	'three'
sizzə	'four'
ak^{w}ə	'five'
walt'ə	'six'
laŋt'ə	'seven'
səwɨt'ə	'eight'
s'ajɨtʃ'ə	'nine'
s'ɨk'ə	'ten'

(6)

s'ɨtʃ'-ləwə	'eleven'
s'ɨtʃ'-liŋə	'twelve'
s'ɨtʃ'-ʃaq^{w}ə	'thirteen'
s'ɨtʃ'-sizzə	'fourteen'
s'ɨtʃ'-ak^{w}ə	fifteen'
s'ɨtʃ'-walt'ə	'sixteen'
s'ɨtʃ'-laŋt'ə	'seventeen'
s'ɨtʃ'-səwɨt'ə	'eighteen'
s'ɨtʃ' -'ajɨtʃ'ə	'nineteen'

[51] *ləw* is a dependent form, whereas *ləwə* is an independent form. When I say the dependent form, it always occurs before nouns serving as a modifier. It is inflected for gender *lə-w* for masculine and *lə-j* for feminine as *la-w* gir 'one boy' and *la-j* mɨdʒi 'one girl', respectively. But the independent form *ləwə* 'one' stands on by its own.

7.3.2. The cardinal numerals from 20 to 99

The cardinal numerals from *lərɨn* ‘twenty’ to *s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋɨn* ‘ninety’ are shown in (7). Number 20 has a lexical form *lərɨn;* number 30 has a lexical form *sɨwɨriŋɨn*. The rest of the decimal numbers from 40 to 90 seem to be formed by dropping the final syllable of the lower unit numeral plus the suffixation of the morpheme-*ɨriŋɨn* to the reduced lower unit numeral lexical forms (cf. data 5 above).

(7)

lərɨn	‘twenty’	*lant’ɨriŋɨn*	‘seventy’
sɨwɨriŋɨn	‘thirty’	*səwɨt’ɨriŋɨn*	‘eighty’
sizɨriŋɨn	‘forty’	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋɨn*	‘ninety’
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn	‘fifty’		
walt’ɨriŋɨn	‘sixty’		

The cardinal numerals can also be expressed through the combination of compounding of tens plus unit numerals. For instance, the numeral 21 can be expressed twenty plus one, etc. In (8), twenty plus one to nine unit numerals, in (9), thirty plus one to nine unit numerals, in (10), forty plus one to nine unit numerals are presented.

(8)	(9)	(10)
lərɨn-ləwə	*sɨwɨriŋɨn-ləwə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-ləwə*
twenty-one	thirty-one	forty-one
‘twenty-one’	‘thirty-one’	‘forty-one’
lərɨn-liŋə	*sɨwɨriŋɨn-liŋə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-liŋə*
twenty-two	thirty-two	forty-two
‘twenty-two’	‘thirty-two’	‘forty-two’
lərɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə	*sɨwɨriŋɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə*
twenty-three	thirty-three	forty-three
‘twenty-three’	‘thirty-three’	‘forty-three’
lərɨn-sizzə	*sɨwɨriŋɨn-sizzə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-sizzə*
twenty-four	twenty-five	forty-four
‘twenty-four’	‘thirty-four’	‘forty-four’
lərɨn-ak^{w}ə	*sɨwɨriŋɨn-ak^{w}ə*	*sizɨriŋɨn ak^{w}ə*

twenty-five	thirty-five	forty-five
'twenty-five'	'thirty-five'	'forty-five'
lərɨn-walt'ə	*siwɨriŋɨn-walt'ə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-walt'ə*
twenty-six	thirty-six	forty-six
'twenty-six'	'thirty-six'	'forty-six'
lərɨn-laŋt'ə	*siwɨriŋɨn-laŋt'ə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-laŋt'ə*
twenty-seven	thirty-seven	forty-seven
'twenty-seven'	'thirty-seven'	'forty-seven'
***lə**rɨn-səwɨt'ə*	*siwɨriŋɨn-səwɨt'ə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-səwɨt'ə*
twenty-eight	thirty-eight	forty-eight
'twenty-eight'	'thirty-eight'	'forty-eight'
lərɨn-s'ajɨtʃ'ə	*siwɨriŋɨn-s'ajɨtʃ'ə*	*sizɨriŋɨn-s'ajɨtʃ'ə*
twenty-nine	thirty-nine	forty-nine
'twenty-nine'	'thirty-nine'	'forty-nine'

The fifty plus one to nine unit numerals, the sixty plus one to nine unit numerals, the seventy plus one to nine unit numerals, the eighty plus one to nine unit numerals and the ninety plus one to nine unit numerals are provided in (11), in (12), in (13), in (14) and in (15), respectively.

(11)	(12)	(13)
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn-ləwə	*walt'ɨriŋɨn-ləwə*	*lant'ɨriŋɨn-ləwə*
fifty-one	sixty-one	seventy-one
'fifty-one'	'sixty-one'	'seventy-one'
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn-liŋə	*walt'ɨriŋɨn-liŋə*	*lant'ɨriŋɨn-liŋə*
fifty-two	sixty-two	seventy-two
'fifty-two'	'sixty-two'	'seventy-two'
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə	*walt'ɨriŋɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə*	*lant'ɨriŋɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə*
fifty-three	sixty-three	seventy-three
'fifty-three'	'sixty-three'	'seventy-three'
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn-sizzə	*walt'ɨriŋɨn-sizzə*	*lant'ɨriŋɨn-sizzə*
fifty-four	sixty-four	seventy-four
'fifty-four'	'sixty-four'	'seventy-four'
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn-ak^{w}ə	*walt'ɨriŋɨn-ak^{w}ə*	*lant'ɨriŋɨn-ak^{w}ə*
fifty-five	*sixty*-five	seventy-five
'fifty-five'	'*sixty*-five'	'seventy-five'
ak^{w}ɨriŋɨn-walt'ə	*walt'ɨriŋɨn-walt'ə*	l*ant'ɨriŋɨn-walt'ə*

fifty-six	sixty-six	seventy-six’
‘fifty-six’	‘sixty-six’	‘seventy-six’
ak^{w}ɨriŋin-laŋt’ə	*walt’ɨriŋin-laŋt’ə*	*lant’ɨriŋin-laŋt’ə*
fifty-seven	sixty-seven	seventy-seven
‘fifty-seven’	‘sixty-seven’	‘seventy-seven’
ak^{w}ɨriŋin-səwɨt’ə	*walt’ɨriŋin-səwɨt’ə*	*lant’ɨriŋin-səwɨt’ə*
fifty-eight	sixty-eight	seventy-eight
‘fifty-eight’	‘sixty-eight’	‘seventy-eight’
ak^{w}ɨriŋin-s’ajɨtʃ’ə	*walt’ɨriŋin-s’ajɨtʃ’ə*	*lant’ɨriŋin-s’ajɨtʃ’ə*
fifty-nine	sixty-nine	seventy-nine
‘fifty-nine’	‘sixty-nine’	‘seventy-nine‘

(14)

səwɨt’ɨriŋin-ləwə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-ləwə*
eighty-one	ninety-one
‘eighty-one’	ninety-one’’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-liŋə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-liŋə*
eighty-two	ninety-two
‘eighty-two’	‘ninety-two’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-ʃaq^{w}ə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-ʃaq^{w}ə*
eighty-three	ninety-three
‘eighty-three’	‘ninety-three’
səwɨt’ɨriŋi n-sizzə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-sizzə*
eighty-four	ninety-four
‘eighty-four’	‘ninety-four’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-ak^{w}ə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-ak^{w}ə*
eighty-five	ninety-five
‘eighty-five’	‘ninety-five’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-walt’ə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-walt’ə*
eighty-six	ninety-six
‘eighty-six’	‘ninety-six’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-laŋt’ə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-laŋt’ə*
eighty-seven	ninety-seven
‘eighty-seven’	‘ninety-seven’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-səwɨt’ə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-səwɨt’ə*
eighty-eight	ninety-eight
‘eighty-eight’	‘ninety-eight’
səwɨt’ɨriŋin-s’ajɨtʃ’ə	*s’ajɨtʃ’ɨriŋin-s’ajɨtʃ’ə*
eighty-nine	ninety-nine
‘eighty-nine’	‘ninety-nine’

(15)

7.3.3. The cardinal numerals from 100 to 1,000,000

Number hundred has the lexical form la. Number thousand and number million have lexical forms ʃɨχ and miliwən which are borrowed from Amharic words with slight phonological changes, respectively.

The hundreds follow the pattern the unit numeral plus the base numeral by means of compounding. Both the unit numerals and the base numerals occur in their full forms. Consider the following examples in (16).

(16)

liŋə-la	*ak^{w}ə-la*	*səwɨt'ə-la*
two-hundred	five-hundred	eight-hundred
'two hundred'	'five hundred'	'eight hundred'
ʃaq^{w}ə-la	*walt'ə-la*	s'*ajɨtʃ'ə-la*
three-hundred	*six*-hundred'	nine-hundred
'threehundred'	'*six* hundred'	'nine hundred'
sizzə-la	*laŋt'ə-la*	*ʃɨχ*
four-hundred	seven-hundred	thousand
'four hundred'	'seven hundred'	'thousand'

The three combinations of compounding of the *la* 'hundred', the tens: *s'ɨk'ə* 'ten', l*ərɨn* 'twenty'. *sɨwɨrɨŋɨn* 'thirty', etc. and the unit numerals: *ləwə* 'one', *liŋə* 'two', etc. can form the higher numeral forms. Consider the following data in (17).

(17)

la-l*ərɨn-liŋə*	*la-walt'ɨrɨŋɨn-səwɨt'ə*	*la-s'ajɨtʃ'ɨrɨŋɨn-s'ajɨtʃ'ə*
hundred-twenty-two	hundred-sixty-eight	hundred-ninety-nine
'one hundred and twenty-two'	'one hundred sixty-eight'	'one hundred ninety-nine'
la-sɨwɨrɨŋɨn-ʃaq^{w}ə	*la-lant'ɨrɨŋɨn-ləwə*	
hundred -thirty-three	hundred-seventy-one	
'one hundred and thirty-three'	'one hundred and seventy-one'	

la-k^{w}ɨrɨŋɨn-walt'ə	*la-səwɨt'ɨrɨŋɨn-laɲt'ə*
hundred-fifty-six	hundred-eighty-seven
'one hundred and fifty-six'	'one hundred and eighty-seven'

The thousands exactly follow the same pattern of compounding as the hundreds. In the derivation of these higher cardinal numerals, neither morphological nor phonological changes take place. See the data in (18).

(18)

liŋə-ʃiχ	*sizɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ*	*walt'ə-la-ʃiχ*
two-thousand	forty thousand	six-hundred-thousand
'two thousand'	'forty thousand'	'six hundred thousand'
ʃaq^{w}ə-ʃiχ	*ak^{w}-ɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ*	*laɲt'ə-la-ʃiχ*
three-thousand	fifty-thousand	seven-hundred-thousand
'three thousand'	'fifty thousand'	'seven hundred thousand'
sizzə-ʃiχ	*walt'ɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ*	*səwɨt'ə-la-ʃiχ*
four-thousand	sixty-thousand	eight-hundred-thousand
'four thousand'	'sixty thousand'	'eight hundred thousand'
ak^{w}ə-ʃiχ	*lant'ɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ*	*s'ajɨtʃ'ə-la-ʃiχ*
five-thousand	seventy-thousand	nine hundred thousand
'five thousand'	'seventy thousand'	'nine-hundred-thousand'
walt'ə-ʃiχ	*səwɨt'ɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ*	*miliwən*
six-thousand	eighty-thousand	million
'six thousand'	'eighty thousand'	'one million'
laɲt'ə-ʃiχ	*s'ajɨtʃ'ɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ*	
seven-thousand	ninety-thousand	
'seventhousand'	'ninety thousand'	
səwɨt'ə-ʃiχ	*la-ʃiχ*	
eight-thousand	hundred-thousand	
'eight thousand'	'one hundred thousand'	
s'ajɨtʃ'ə-ʃiχ	*liŋə-la-ʃiχ*	
nine-thousand	two-hundred-thousand	
'nine thousand'	'two hundred thousand'	
s'ɨk'ə-ʃiχ	*ʃaq^{w}ə-la-ʃiχ*	
ten-thousand	three-hundred-thousand	
'ten thousand '	'three-hundred-thousand'	
lərɨn-ʃiχ	*sizzə-la-ʃiχ*	
twenty-thousand	four-hundred-thousand	
'twenty thousand'	'four hundred thousand'	
ʃaq^{w}ɨrɨŋɨn-ʃiχ	*ak^{w}ə-la-ʃiχ*	
thirty-thousand	five-hundred-thousand	
'thirty-thousand'	'five hundred thousand'	

7.3.4. Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the suffix-*ʈirə* to a cardinal number. Appleyard (1987a: 266) however reports that the suffixes-*ntɨrna* and the definite markers-*d* and -*jən* which are invariable for gender: *laẉɨd* for M/PL, and *lajjən* SG.F. 'first', for expressing ordinal numerals. He also identifies the suffix-*ʧ'*: *s'ɨk'a-ʧ'* 'tenth'. However, in the present collected data, all these formatives are not recorded either in the oral texts or in the elicitations. According to all the consultants who were active participants in providing linguistic data, the only morpheme which was repeatedly attested in forming ordinal numeral is -*ʈirə*. Consider the following examples for ordinal numerals from one to twenty one in (19) which agree with Dryer's claim (See 7.3).

(19)

ləwə-ʈirə	*səwɨt'ə-ʈirə*	*s'ɨtʃ-ak^{w}ə-ʈirə*
one-ORD	eight-ORD	ten-five-ORD
'first'	'eighth'	'fifteenth'
liŋə-ʈirə	*s'ajɨtʃ'ə-ʈirə*	*s'ɨtʃ'-walt'ə-ʈirə*
two-ORD	nine-ORD	ten-six-ORD
'second'	'nineth'	'sixteenth'
ʃaq^{w}ə-ʈirə	*s'ɨk'ə-ʈirə*	*s'ɨtʃ'-laŋt'ə-ʈirə*
three-ORD	ten-ORD	ten-seven-ORD
'third'	'tenth'	'seventeenth'
sizzə-ʈirə	*s'ɨtʃ'-ləwə-ʈirə*	*s'ɨtʃ'-səwɨt'ə-ʈirə*
four-ORD	ten-one-ORD	ten-eight-ORD
'fourth'	'eleventh'	'eighteenth'
ak^{w}ə-ʈirə	*s'ɨtʃ'-liŋə-ʈirə*	*s'ɨtʃ'-s'ajɨtʃ'ə-ʈirə*
five-ORD	ten-two-ORD	ten-nine-ORD
'fifth'	'twelveth'	'nineteenth'
walt'ə-ʈirə	*s'ɨtʃ'-ʃaq^{w}ə-ʈirə*	l*ərɨn-ʈirə*
six-ORD	ten-three-ORD	twenty-ORD
'sixth'	'thirteenth'	'twentieth'
laŋt'ə-ʈirə	*s'ɨtʃ'-sizzə-ʈirə*	l*ərɨn-ləwə-ʈirə*
seven-ORD	ten-four-ORD	twenty-one-ORD
'seventh'	'fourteenth'	'twenty first'

7.4. ADVERBS

The class of lexical adverbs in Khimt'anga is few in number compared to other open classes. Adverbs can be derived from other lexical forms: nouns and adjectives, but they cannot be the base for deriving other word categories. In contrast to adjectives, lexical adverbs that are not derived from other parts of speech are many in number. From the given examples shown in (20), many of them are underived. For instance, *wɨtɨrk'* 'always', *ajjəŋət* 'bad(ly)', *nən* 'now', *tʃ'ɨk'ɨŋə* 'very', *tʃ'ɨq*^{w} 'only', *əq*^{w}*ɨŋ*^{w}*ə* 'last year', ɨkɨsətu 'olden times', etc., can be mentioned. Many of them are time adverbs, which refer to temporal relations or points in time relative to the time of utterance or a particular reference point. "The usual functional definition of adverbs identifies them as modifiers of verbs, adjectives, or other adverbs" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 20). These scholars further argue that adverbs function as modifiers of constituents other than nouns. In (20) below, list of adverbs is presented.

(20)

tatɨnə	'yesterday'	*wɨtɨrk'*	'always'
amɨr	'tomorrow'	*ajjəŋət*	'badly'
ammɨrə	'next year'	*k'azijoz*	'fast'
əq^{w}*ɨŋ*^{w}*ə*	'last year'	*nənɨm*	'frequently'
əzəniz	'deep heartedly'	*t'ankɨrən*	'hard'
k'əsəw	'well'	*χasɨdɨnbəriz*	'rudely'
nən	'now'	*s'ɨmərəz*	'blindly'
dɨngɨtiz	'suddenly'	*tʃ'ɨk'ɨŋə*	'very'
ŋɨtamigiz	'willingly'	*nɨtʃ'*	'today'
ɨnen ammɨrə	'this year'	*tʃ'ɨq*^{w}	'only'
gɨrəbəz	'morning'	*k*^{w}*ər-fən*	'sunrise'
k'ɨʃənə	'dawn'	*k*^{w}*ər-t'ɨwən*	'sunset'
dɨlɨm	'dusk'	*k*^{w}*ərə-tʃ'ɨχaχə*	'noon'
amɨr-gɨrə	'day after tomorrow'	*k*^{w}*ər*	'season, time'
ɨkɨsətu	'olden times'	*sət-gɨrə*	'afternoon'
tatətɨgɨrə	'day before yesterday'	*k*^{w}*ərəjɨz*	'daytime'
χar	'at night'		

From the above list of adverbs in (20), the majority of them are also derived from noun and adjective stems. For instance, some of the examples are given in (21). As can be observed in (21), derived adverbial forms are mainly formed by suffixing the morpheme-*(i)z* to the noun and adjective stems. In most cases, manner adverbs[52] are derivable apart from other kinds of word categories.

(21)

Noun stems		Derived adverbial forms		Adjective stems		Derived adverbial forms	
dɨngɨt	'sudden'	*dɨngɨtiz*	'suddenly'	*k'az*	'quick'	*k'azijoz*[53]	'quickly'
ŋɨtamig	'willing'	*ŋɨtamigiz*	'willingly'	*s'ɨmərə*	'blind'	*s'ɨmərəz*	'blindly'
əzən	'heart'	*əzəniz*	'deep heartedly'	*χasɨdɨnbər*	'crude'	*χasɨdɨnbəriz*	'crudely

Adverbial meanings are often expressible in other ways as well. Many adverbial meanings are expressed by nouns or adjectives. For example, *tatɨnə* 'yesterday', *amɨr* 'tomorrow', *gɨrəbəz* 'morning', *nɨtʃ'* 'today', etc., are some of the nouns that function as adverbs. There are also adjectives which function as adverbs such as *k'əsəw* 'well', *tʃ'ɨqa* 'bad(ly)' and *dəjjəw* 'slowly'.

Adverbs in Khimt'anga are semantically categorized as time, manner, place and degree. Manner adverbs and time adverbs are expressed through simple lexical forms. In addition, simple adpositions (postposition) and noun phrases in Khimt'anga, function as adverbs (see 7.6).

Time adverbs are relative to the moment of speech. They include *tatɨnə* 'yesterday', *amɨr* 'tomorrow', *ammɨrə* 'next year', *əq*^{w}*ɨŋ*^{w}*ə* 'last year', *nən* 'now', *ɨnen ammɨrə* 'this year', *wɨtɨrk'* 'always, every day', *nɨtʃ'* 'today, etc.

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[52] "In many languages, manner adverbs are derivable from adjectives by means of fairly productive processes of derivational morphology" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 20).

[53] *k'az* 'quick', *k'azijoz* 'quickly' a little bit, it seems to be an exception when it is compared to other formatives given in data (21) above.

The manner adverbs are *k'əsəw* 'well', *ajjəŋət* 'bad(ly)', *tʃ'iq*^{w} 'only', *dəjjəw* 'slowly', *k'azijoz* 'quickly', *s'ɨmərəz* 'blindly', *χasɨdinbəriz* 'crudely, *əzəniz* 'deep heartedly', *ŋɨtamigiz*'willing(ly)' and *dingɨtiz* 'suddenly'. The degree adverbs are *tʃ'ɨk'iŋə* 'very', *t'ankɨrən* 'hard', etc. The place (direction) adverbs are *tɨg*^{w}*ə s'agiβidʒ* 'to S'agibiji', *tɨg*^{w}*ə kiw* 'to the village', etc.

7.5. CONJUNCTIONS

As can be observed in Table 59, conjunctions in Khimt'anga include coordinative, disjunctive (alternative), adversative, additive, resultative (reason) and conditional. "Conjunctions are words that are used to connect words, phrases, or clauses" (Schachter and Shopen 2007: 45). In Khimt'anga, a very wide range of constituents are connected in this way: nouns and noun phrases, verbs and verb phrases, adjectives, adverbs, adpositions, clauses, etc. This section deals with the following list of conjunctions that are attested in Khimt'anga are shown in Table 59.

Table 59: The lists of conjunction

Coordinative	Disjunctive (Alternative)	Adversative	Additive	Resultative (Reason)	Conditional
-sɨmə, -zɨmə 'and'	*'wɨnɨm* 'or'	*χiʃ* 'but'	*k'*^{w}*əʃʃə* 'besides, in addition'	*-ənsɨk*' 'causal, for'	*-zɨrə* 'if'

7.5.1. Coordinative

Coordination is expressed by the suffix-*sɨmə, -zɨmə* 'and'. The emphatic form is expressed by the numeral *liŋə* 'two' plus the suffix-*dɨk'* as *liŋə-dɨk'* 'both'. "In natural conjunction, the conjuncts habitually go together and can be said to form some conventionalized

whole or conceptual unit" (Mithun 1988:332). Some of the commonly employed instances of natural coordination are provided in (22).

(22)

a. *ji-j-iŋŋə-zimə* *ji-j-ir*
1SG-gli-mother-CNJ 1SG-gli-father
'my mother and my father'

b. *gir-simə* *midʒi*
boy-CNJ girl
'a boy and a girl'

c. *ədʒir-simə* *əwinə*
man-CNJ woman
'a man and a woman'

d. *wik'ə-zimə* *ga*
hyena-CNJ cave
'a hyena and a cave'

f. *liwə-zimə* *birə*
cow-CNJ ox
'a cow and an ox'

g. *əl-simə* *k'ərz*
eye-CNJ ear
'an eye and an ear'

The coordinative conjunction seems to be phonologically conditioned. If the conjuncts end in consonants, they suffix the coordinative-*simə*. If the conjuncts end in vowels, they suffix the coordinative-*zimə*. In (23) below, the sentential examples reveal the simple coordinative in (23a-b) and in (23c-d) the emphatic forms, respectively.

(23)

a. *j-iŋŋə-zimə-Ø* *ji-j-ir* *dʒimə-d* *dʒim-Ø-i-ŋ-u*
1SG.POSS-mother-CNJ-NOM 1SG.POSS –gli-father song-DEF sing-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'My mother and my father sang the song.' ('My parents sang the song.')

b. *gir-simə-Ø* *midʒi* *dʒimə-d* *dʒim-Ø-i-ŋ-u*
boy-CNJ-NOM girl song-DEF sing-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'A boy and a girl sang the song.'

c. *tamtəw-simə-Ø* *adəru-s* *liŋə-dik'* *s'agibidʒi* *tig^{w}ə* *fir-Ø-i-ŋ-ək^{w}*
Tamtew-CNJ-NOM Aderu-DAT two-EMPH S'agibiji to go-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'Both Tamtew and Aderu will go to S'agibiji.'

d. *tamtəw-simə-Ø* *adəru-s* *liŋə-dik'* *kindət-i-t'* *ŋaj*
Tamtew-CNJ-NOM Aderu-DAT two-EMPH student-EPN-P COP.PRES.3PL.
'Both Tamtew and Aderu are students.'

The negative emphatic coordination is expressed by the inclusive suffix-*m* plus the free morpheme *anə* 'neither'. When the negative emphatic coordination is constructed, the suffix-*m*

is attached to the first coordinand, and then the free morpheme *anə* 'neither' is placed in between the first coordinand, and the second coordinand.

(24)

a. *tamtəw-ɨ-m-Ø* *anə* *adəru* *s'agɨβɨdʒi* *tʃin-ɨ-jək'um*
Tamtew-EP-INC.EMPH-NOM neither Aderu S'agibiji reach-EP.NEG
'Neither Tamtew nor Aderu reached S'agibiji.'(lit. Tamtew and Aderu did not reach S'agibiji.')

b. *tamtəw-ɨ-m-Ø* *anə* *kɨndət-ɨ-t'* *adəru* *ajək'um*
Tamtew-EP-INC.EMPH-NOM neither student-EP-PL Aderu NEG. COP
'Neither Tamtew nor Aderu are students.'

7.5.2. Disjunctive (Alternative)

The disjunctive (alternative) conjunction is *wɨnɨm* 'or' which seems to be borrowed from Amharic wəjinɨm 'or'. It is used for both in question and in declarative affirmative statements in giving alternatives. See the following affirmative sentential examples in (25) for the disjunctive (alternative) conjunctions.

(25)

a. *adəru-Ø* *wɨnɨm* *guləʃə-Ø* *tər-Ø-ək^{w}*
Aderu-NOM or Guleshe-NOM come-3SG.M-IPV
'Aderu or Guleshe will come.'

b. *aderu-Ø* *miz-d* *wɨnɨm* *ʃɨla-d* *zɨj-Ø-ək^{w}*
Aderu-NOM mead-DEF or beer-DEF drink-3SG.M-IPV
'Aderu will drink the mead or the beer.'

c. *ŋɨr-Ø* *k'at'ə-d* *wɨnɨm* *s'ab-ɨ-t'an-d* *dʒɨβ-ə-tʃ*
she-NOM ring-DEF or shoe-EP-PL-DEF buy-IPV-3S.F
'She will buy either the ring or the shoes.'

d. *bəwɨrə* *win-Ø* *arɨw-ək^{w}* *wɨnɨm* *q^{w}əj-ɨ-ʃ-Ø-ək^{w}*
before grape-NOM benefit-IPV or harm-EP-PASS-3SG.M-IPV
'A grape that ripens ealier than its type is either eaten by a bird or broken by a tool like catapult.'(Proverb)

e. *ɨnen birə-d-mə jəŋ təmz-ɨ-r-əw-ɨ-d wɨnɨm ɨden-t jəŋ*
this ox-DEF-INTR COP.2SG like-EP-2-REL-EP-DEF or that-ACC COP.2SG
'Do you like this ox or that one?'

7.5.3. Adversative

The adversative coordination in Khimt'anga is expressed by the lexical form *χɨʃ* 'but'. According to Haspelmath (2007: 28), "[w]hile it is fairly common for languages to have a 'but' coordinator other languages express the same idea exclusively by means of a concessive subordinate clause." It has the same reading in this language as well. Syntactically, the adversative coordination *χɨʃ* 'but' is placed between two sentences, like the following examples in (26a-c).

(26)

a. *jan- kɨnsətə jəŋ χɨʃ kɨt-Ø kɨndətə jəŋ*
I-NOM teacher COP.1SG.PRES but you-NOM student COP.2SG.PRES
'I am a teacher, but you are a student.'

b. *ŋɪr-Ø jɨ-t asɨkɨz-ə-tʃ χɨʃ*
she-NOM 1SG.POSS-ACC remind-IPV-SG.F but
mi-t'-əkʷ-ɨ-n ŋɪr-ʃɨŋʷ-ɨ-d
forget-1SG-IPV-EP-1SG 3SG.F.POSS-name-EP-DEF
jan-Ø
I-NOM
'She reminds me, but I forget her name.'

c. *t'amtəw-Ø miz-ɨ-t zɨj-ənəw dəmz-Ø-əkʷ χɨʃ*
Tamtew-NOM mead-EP-ACC drink-NMZ want-3SG.M-IPV but
adəru-Ø s'aβ zɨj-ənəw dəmz-Ø-əkʷ
Aderu-NOM milk drink-NMZ want-3SG.M-IPV
'Tamtew wants drinking mead, but Aderu wants drinking milk.'

Note that, as can be observed in (26), adversative coordination is always binary: i.e., it has to consist of two coordinands. In contrast, the conjunctions and the disjunctives can consist of an indefinite number of coordinands. See the following examples in (27a-b).

(27)

a. *səhalə* *ziqʷalə* *diχanə* *gaziɡibilə* *aβərgəlle zimə* *sak'ut'ə-s*
Sehale Ziquala Dehana Gazgibla Abergelle-CNJ Seqot'a-DAT
wəjəχimirə *tʃit-əw*
Waghimra differ-3SG.M.REL
zon-iz *tʃiŋ-ʃ-əkʼʷ* *wərə-t* *ŋaj*
zone-INST find-PASS-3SG.M.IPV district-ACC COP.PRES.3PL.
'Sehale, Ziquala, Dehana, Gazgibla, Abergelle and Seqot'a are the districts found in Waghimra Special Zone.'

b. *kit-Ø* *tamtəw-i-t* *winim* *nəjinu-t* *winim*
you-NOM Tamtew-EP-ACC or Neyinu-ACC or
guləʃə-t *winim* *awət'u-t* *mars'-ənəw* *tʃəl-d-əkʷ*
Guleshe-ACC or Awetu-ACC choose-NMZ can-2SG-IPV
'You can vote for Tamtew or Neyinu or Guleshe or Awetu.'

7.5.4. Additive

The additive clause is expressed by the lexical form *kʼʷəʃʃə* 'besides, in addition'.

(28)

a. *ji-kindiŋ-d* *dik'-is-ənəw-is* *kʼʷəʃʃə* *ji-tim-d*
1SG.POSS-education-DEF lose-CAUS-NMZ-DAT besides 1SG.POSS-test-DEF
diz-u-n *dik'-is-u-n*
lose-PRV-1SG lose-CAUS-PRV-1SG
'Besides missing my class, I lost my test.'

b. *lilisənə* *βarə* *s'aj-ənəw-is* *kʼʷəʃʃə* *ki-lilisənə*
addimission letter hold-NMZ-DAT besides 2SGl..POSS-identification
βarə-d *qal-is-tir* *t'iw-i-ʃ-Ø-əkʷ*
card-DEF see-CAUS-2.IMP enter-EP-PASS-IPV 'In addition to having addmission letter, you must show your identity card.'

7.5.5. Resultative

The resultative is expressed by the suffix-*ənsɨk*'. It expresses the cause–effect relation of actions or events. Consider the following sentential examples in (29).

(29)

a. *əfərə-d-Ø* *g^{w}ət-ənsɨk'* *liz-Ø-u*
child-DEF-NOM frustrate-RSLT cry-3SG.M-PRV
'The child cried, because he was frustrated.'

b. *ji-səβ-ɨ-d* *abɨz-ənsɨk'* *nas'ə* *jəŋ*
1SG.POSS-work-EP-DEF finish-RSLT free COP.PRES.1SG
'Because I finish my work I am free.'

7.5.6. Conditional

Among the semantic types of conditionals, the realis or predictive condition is expressed by the relative clause marker plus the morpheme-*zɨrə* 'if'. As the data illustrate all of conjunctions in the realis are suffixed in bound forms. The following sentential examples illustrate the use of -*zɨrə* 'if' in the realis or predictive condition in (30).

(30)

a. *jan-Ø* *s'agɨβɨdʒi* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-t'-əw-ɨ-zɨrə* *jan-Ø* *s'aβ* *zɨ-k'-ək^{w}-ɨ-n*
I-NOM S'agibiji to go-1-REL-EP-CNJ I-NOM milk drink-1-IPV-EP-1SG
'If I go to S'agibiji, I will drink milk.'

b. *jɨnn-Ø* *s'agɨβɨdʒi tɨg^{w}ə fir-ɨ-n-əw-ɨ-zɨrə* *jɨnn-Ø* *s'aβ* *zɨ-n-ək^{w}-ɨ-n*
we-NOM S'agibiji to go-EP-1PL-REL-EP-CNJ we-NOM milk drink-1PL-IPV-EP-1PL
'If we go to S'agibiji, we will drink milk.'

c. kɨt-*Ø* *s'agɨβɨdʒi tɨg^{w}ə fi-tɨr-əw-ɨ-zɨrə* *kɨt-Ø* *s'aβ* *zɨj-ɨ-r-ək^{w}*
you-NOM S'agibiji to go-2SG-REL-EP-CNJ you-NOM milk drink-EP-2SG-IPV
'If you (SG) go to S'agibiji, you will drink milk.'

d. *kɨtɨn-Ø* s'agiβɨdʒi *tɨg^{w}ə fi-tɨr-ɨ-n-əw-ɨ-zɨrə* *kɨtɨn-Ø*
s'aβ S'agibiji to go-2-EP-2PL-REL-EP-CNJ you-NOM
you-NOM *zɨj-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-ək^{w}*
milk drink-EP-2PL-EP-IPV
'If you (P) go to S'agibiji, you will drink milk.'

e. *ŋɨr-Ø s'agiβɨdʒi tɨg^{w}ə fi-tɨr-əw-ɨ-zɨrə ŋɨr-Ø s'aβ zɨj-ə-tʃ*
she-NOM S'agibiji to go-3SG.F-REL-EP-CNJ she-NOM milk drink-IPV-3SG.F
'If she goes to S'agibiji, she will drink milk.'

f. *ŋəŋ-Ø s'agiβɨdʒi tɨg^{w}ə fir-əw-ɨ-zɨrə ŋəŋ-Ø s'aβ zɨj-Ø-ək^{w}*
he-NOM S'agibiji to go-3SG.M.REL-EP-CNJ he-NOM milk drink-3SG.M-IPV
'If he goes to S'agibiji, he will drink milk.'

g. *ŋɨtaj-Ø s'agiβɨdʒi tɨg^{w}ə fir-ɨ-ŋ-əw-ɨ-zɨrə*
they-NOM S'agibiji to go-EP-3PL-REL-EP-CNJ
ŋɨtaj-Ø s'aβ zɨj-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}
they NOM milk drink-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'If they go to S'agibiji, they will drink milk.'

7.6. ADPOSITIONS

In all of the cases, Khimt'anga has postpositions. No preposition is attested in the collected data. "Proto typical instances of adpositions are words that combine with noun phrases and that indicate the semantic relationship of that noun phrase to the verb, […]" (Dryer 2007a : 81). Adpositions in Khimt'anga, however, are both free and bound. Both the free and the bound denote the semantic linkage of that noun phrase to the verb. Khimt'anga has the following adpositions. As can be seen in (31) and (32), they are suffixed after their host. The postpositions which are free include *g^{w}ə*, *tɨg^{w}ə* 'to', *dig* 'on', *aqi* 'inside', *sa* 'down', *zɨnɨjə* 'up', *tɨnɨjə* 'over, above', *sɨnɨjə* 'under, below', *tɨbəwigə* ' in front of', *tɨgɨrgə* 'behind', *bizə*, *tɨbizə* 'outside', *t'ak'ət* 'near', etc. Additionally, some of the bound forms are *-dʒɨk'(g)* 'with' , *-l* 'on, in', etc.

As shown in Sections 3.3.4.5, 3.3.4.6 and 4.1.2.3 in case of marking of nouns and demonstratives, the locative case marker-*l* is suffixed to every noun, and to every demonstrative pronoun to denote a locational and a spatial notion, respectively (cf. Appleyard 1987a: 258).

See the following locational nouns that are constructed by the use of the suffixes–*l* in (31).

(31)

a. *χazə-Ø* *aq^{w}-ɨ-l* *s'ɨb-Ø-ək^{w}*
fish-NOM water-EP-LOC live-3SG.M-IPV
'A fish lives in water.'

b. *ju* *lɨwə-ʃən-Ø* *ɨk'ə-Ø* *aq^{w}-ɨ-dʒɨk'* *zɨj-ɨ-tʃ*
my cow-DEF.3S.F-NOM leech-IDEF water-EP-COM drink-PRV-3SG.F
'My cow drank water with a leech.'

c. *jan-Ø* *ŋɨn-i-l* *ɨk^{w}-u-n* *win-u-n*
I-NOM house-EP-LOC exist-PRV-1 AUX.PST-PRV-1SG
'I was in the house.'

As can be seen in (31a-c), the bound morphemes are suffixed to their hosts: *aq^{w}-ɨ-l*, *aq^{w}-ɨ-dʒɨk'*, and *ŋɨn-i-l*, respectively.

The following examples denote both spatial and temporal function of demonstrative pronouns by the use of the bound postpositional suffixes: *-l*, *-(i)z* and *liŋə* and a free form: *sət* 'at two o'clock'. In (32a-c) and (32d), the use of free and bound postpositional forms are presented, respectively. One can also see the spatial demonstrative reading in (32a-c), while the temporal one is in (32d).

(32)

a. *adəru-Ø* *ɨn-en-ɨ-l* *g^{w}əjj-Ø-u*
Aderu-NOM PROX-3SG.M-EP-LOC sit-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu sat here.'

b. *wijɨtu* *aq^{w}* *ɨn-en-ɨz* *ɨk^{w}-ək^{w}* *jəŋ*
little water PROX-3SG.M-INST exist-3SG.M.IPV COP.3SG.M.PRES
'Here is little water.'

c. *əfər-d* *ɨ-zzaj-ɨz* *ɨk^{w}-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}* *ŋaj*
child.P-DEF DIST-PL-INST exist-3-EP-3PL-IPV COP.PRES.3PL
There are children.'

d. *jan-Ø* *ɨd-en-ɨz* *liŋə* *sət* *tə-t'-u-n*
I-NOM DIST-3SG.M-INST two clock come-1SG-PRV-1SG
'I came at two o'clock.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

NEGATION

This chapter discusses the way in which negation[54] is expressed in Khimt'anga. I discuss and exemplify various ways in which negative assertions are expressed.[55] According to Payne (1997: 282) "[t]he most common negative strategies in any language are those used to negate an entire proposition." This kind of negation can be referred to as clausal. Clausal type of negation is true for Khimt'anga as well. The whole clause[56] can be negated using "a noninflecting element" or "an inflecting element. A negative clause is one that confirms that some event, situation, or state of affairs does not hold. Miestamo (2005: 5) notes that "the negative marker can be a noninflecting element, bound or free […], or it can be an inflecting element."

Negative verb construction in Khimt'anga is formed in several different ways. The vast majority of these constructions also require the finite verb stems. Khimt'anga employs multiple formatives in expressing negation for different finite and non-finite verb constructions. In

[54] See the works of Appleyard (1984a and 1992) for better understanding of negative verb formation in Agaw languages as a whole.

[55] According to Treis (2012: 1), High land East Cushitic languages, all of them contain two to the minimum, and at the maximum of five verious negative formatives.

[56] Payne (1997: 282) claims that "[a]lthough the semantic effect of constituent negation can be very similar or identical to that of clausal negation; constituent negation is always less common as a grammatical device than clausal negation." In the majority of the cases, this typological remark is true in Khimt'anga as well.

relation to using multiple number of formatives, Payne (1997: 284) further notes that "[i]t is fairly common for negative constructions to involve multiple operators, either an affix and a particle, two particles, or a particle or affix plus a word order change." As we can observe in the following discussions in various sections, except word order, all the mentioned strategies by Payne and vowel ablaut are applied for the expression of negation in Khimt'anga.

8.1. NEGATION OF THE PERFECTIVE AND PERFECT

Both the perfective and perfect declarative negative paradigms are marked in same way, i.e. these two aspects are neutralized in negation.. They express their negative forms by employing vowel ablaut according to person, number and gender agreement features. For example, vowel ablaut in the stem from -u to -i, is used for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.F, 2PL and 1PL plus different particles forming negation depending on their agreement features. The vowel ablaut from -u to -ɨ plus various particles is used for both the 3SG.M and 3PL to derive their negation accordingly."In many languages the negative particle or affix varies depending on the tense, aspect, mode, or other factors" (Payne 1997: 285). That is why it is true that the occurrence of negation varies in Khimt'anga relying on the agreement feature. See Table 60 that shows the expression of perfective and perfect affirmative and negative forms using the verb *bəb-* 'swim'. For the sake of clarity and consistency, I mainly use the verb *bəb-*'swim' for the majority of finite and non-finite main verb forms

Table 60: Negation of the perfective and perfect

Person	Affirmative PRV	Negative PRV	Affirmative PRF	Negative PRF
1SG	*bəbun* ˈI swam'	*bəbikˈərɨm* 'I did not swim'	*bəbɨkun* 'I have swum'	*bəbikˈərɨm* 'I have not swum'
2SG	*bəbɨru* ˈYou swam'	*bəbirərɨm* ˈYou did not swim'	*bəbɨrkuru* ˈYou have swum'	*bəbirərɨm* ˈYou have not swum'
3SG.M	*bəbu* ˈHe swam'	*bəbɨjəwɨm* ˈHe did not swim'	*bəbɨku* ˈHe has swum'	*bəbɨjəwɨm* 'He has not swum'
3SG.F	*bəbɨtʃ* ˈShe swam'	*bəbirəjɨm* ˈShe did not swim'	*bəbɨrkutʃ* ˈShe has swum'	*bəbirəjɨm* ˈShe has not swum'
1PL	*bəbɨnun* ˈWe swam'	*bəbinəkˈɨm* ˈWe did not swim'	*bəbɨnkunun* 'We have swum'	*bəbinəkˈɨm* 'We have not swum'
2PL	*bəbɨrɨnu* ˈYou swam'	*bəbirɨnəkˈɨm* ˈYou did not swim'	*bəbɨrɨnkurɨnu* ˈYou have swum'	*bəbirɨnəkˈɨm* ˈYou have not swum'
3PL	*bəbɨŋu* 'They swam'	*bəbɨjəkˈum* 'They did not swim'	*bəbɨŋkuŋu* 'They have swum'	*bəbɨjəkˈum* 'They have not swum'

8.2. NEGATION OF IMPERFECTIVE

The imperfective declarative negative is marked by the change of the initial vowel of the imperfective marker-*əkʷ* of *ə* into the vowel-*a* plus different particles depending on the different nominal subject. But in the case of the third person feminine singular, the imperfective marker-*ə* forms its negative by totally changing into the vowel-*a* plus a particle -*jirəjɨm*. See Table 61.

Table 61: Negation of the imperfective

Person	Affirmative IPV		Negative IPV	
1SG	*bəbəkʷɨn*	'I *(*will*)* swim'	*bəbajəwɨm*	ˈI will not swim'
2SG	*bəbirəkʷ*	ˈYou (will) swim'	*bəbajirərɨm*	ˈYou will not swim'
3SG.M	*bəbəkʷ*	ˈHe (will) swim(s)'	*bəbajəwɨm*	ˈHe will not swim'
3SG.F	*bəbətʃ*	'She (will) swim(s)'	*bəbajirəjɨm*	'She will not swim'
1PL	*bəbinəkʷɨ*	'We (will) swim'	*bəbajinəkˈəm*	'We will not swim'
2PL	bəbirɨnək	'You (will) swim'	*bəbajirɨnəkˈɨm*	'You will not swim'
3PL	*bəbiŋəkʷ*	ˈThey (will) swim'	*bəbajəkˈum*	'They will not swim'

8.3. NEGATION OF THE PROGRESSIVE AND PERFECT

Negation of the progressive and past perfect is expressed in different ways. As can be observed in Table 65, in the three paradigms: the present progressive, the past progressive and the pluperfect, negation is marked by the auxiliary particles different from their respective affirmative auxiliaries. For example, the negative auxiliary particles: *akk'ərɨm* , *ajɨrəjɨm*, *ajəwɨm*, *ajɨrəjɨm*, *ajɨnək'ɨm*, *ajɨrɨnək'ɨm* and *ajək'um* are used for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL in making their negative present progressive, respectively. In contrast, both the past progressive and the pluperfect negation are similarly expressed by the negative auxiliary particles: *winik'ərɨm*, *winirərɨm*, *winijəwɨm*, *winɨrəjɨm*, *wininək'ɨm*, *winirɨnək'ɨm* and *winijək'um* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL, respectively. However, the second person singular and the third person feminine singular are identically marked by the auxiliary particles *ajɨrəjɨm* for negative present progressive and *winɨrəjɨm* for both negative past progressive and the past perfect.

Table 62: Negation of the progressive and past perfect

Person	Affirmative PRES PROG	Negative PRES PROG	Affirmative PST PROG	Negative PST PROG	Affirmative PST PRF	Negative PSTPRF
1SG	*bəbəŋ^{w}* jəŋ ‘I am swimming.’	*bəbəŋ^{w} akk’ərɨm* ’I am not swimming.’	*bəbəŋ^{w} winun* ’I was swimming.’	*bəbəŋ^{w} winik’ərɨm* ’I was not swimming.’	*bəb winun* ’I had swum.’	*bəb winik’ərɨm* ’I had not swum.’
2SG	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} jəŋ* ’You are swimming.’	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} ajɨrəjɨm* ’You are not swimming.’	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} windu* ’You were swimming.’	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} winirərɨm* ’You were not swimming.’	*bəbɨr windu* ’You had swum.’	*bəbɨr winirərɨm* ’You had not swum.’
3SGM	*bəbəŋ^{w} jəŋ* ’He is swim ing.’	*bəbəŋ^{w} ajəwɨm* ’He is not .	*bəbəŋ^{w} winu* ’He was swimming.’	*bəbəŋ^{w} winijəwɨm* ’He was not swimming.’	*bəb winu* ’He had swum.’	*bəb winijəwɨm* ’ ‘She had not swum.’
3SGF	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} ŋi* ’She is swimming.’	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} ajɨrəjɨm* ’She is not swimming.’	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} winɨtʃ* ’She was swimming.’	*bəbɨrəŋ^{w} winɨrəjɨm* ’She was not swimming.’	*bəbɨr winɨtʃ* ’She had swum.’	*bəbɨr winɨrəjɨm* ’She had not swum.’
1PL	*bəbɨnəŋ^{w} jəŋ* ’We are swimming.’	*bəbɨnəŋ^{w}ajɨnək’ɨm* ’ We are not swimming’	*bəbɨnəŋ^{w} winnun* ’We were swimming.’	*bəbɨnəŋ^{w} wininək’ɨm* ’We were not swimming.’	*bəbɨn winnun* ‘We had swum.’	*bəbɨn wininək’ɨm* ‘We had not swum.’
2PL	*bəbɨrɨnəŋ^{w} jəŋ* ’You are swimming.’	*bəbɨrɨnəŋ^{w} ajɨrɨnək’ɨm* ’You are not swimming.’	*bəbɨrɨnəŋ^{w} windɨrɨnu* ‘You were swimming.’	*bəbɨrɨnəŋ^{w} winirɨnək’ɨm* ’You were not swimming.’	*bəbɨrɨn windɨrɨnu* ’You had swum.’	*bəbɨrɨn winirɨnəkɨm* ‘You had not swum.’
3PL	*bəbɨŋəŋ^{w} ŋaj* ‘They are swimming.’	*bəbɨŋəŋ^{w} ajək’um* ‘They are not swimming.’	*bəbɨŋəŋ^{w} winɨŋu* ‘They were swimming.’	*bəbɨŋəŋ^{w}winijək’um* ‘They were not swimming.’	*bəbɨŋ winɨŋu* ‘They had swum.’	*bəbɨŋ winijək’um* ’ They had not swum.’

8.4. NEGATION OF THE JUSSIVE AND VERBAL NOUNS

Even though the jusive and the verbal noun are different in word class, form and function, the negation of the jussive[57] and verbal noun paradigms marks in similar pattern They form their negation by the change of the initial vowel of the jussive marker-*ɨnə* of -*ɨ* into -*i* and the initial vowel of the verbal noun marker-*ənəw* of -*ə* into -*a* plus the infixation of the epenthetic particle *jɨ*, respectively. In addition, the verbal noun is also preceded by the reduced form of the possessive adjective and followed by the definite article-*d* for all the personal pronouns. However, in the case of the first person singular and plural, it is totally different from the third person singular and plural in the jussive negative form. It is marked by the affixes-*ək*' and -*ajɨnək*' the former is used for the first person singular and the latter for the first person plural, respectively. Table 63 shows this grammatical fact.

Table 63: Negation of the jussive and verbal noun

Person	Affirmative JUSS	Negative JUSS	Affirmative VN	Negative VN
1SG	*bəbitʃ'ə* 'Let me swim'	*bəbək'* 'Let me not swim'	*jɨbəbənəwɨd* 'My swimming'	*jɨbəbajɨnəwɨd* 'My not swimming'
2SG	-	-	*kɨbəbənəwɨd* 'Your swimming'	*kɨbəbajɨnəwɨd* 'Your not swimming'
3SG.M	*bəbɨnə* 'Let him swim'	*bəbinə* 'Let him not swim'	*ŋɨbəbənəwɨd* 'His swimming'	*ŋɨbəbajɨnəwɨd* 'His not swimming'
3Sg.F	*bəbɨrɨnə* 'Let her swim'	*bəbirɨnə* 'Let her not swim'	*ŋɨrbəbənəwɨd* 'Her swimming'	*ŋɨrbəbajɨnəwɨd* 'Her not swimming'
1PL	*bəbɨnnə* 'Let us swim'	*bəbajɨnək'* 'Let us not swim'	*jɨnəbəbənəwɨd* 'Our swimming'	*jɨnəbəbajɨnəwɨd* 'Our not swimming'
2PL	-	-	*kɨtəbəbənəwɨd* 'Your swimming'	*kɨtəbəbajɨnəwɨd* 'Your not swimming'
3PL	*bəbiŋɨnə* 'Let them swim'	*bəbajək'um* 'Let them not swim'	*ŋɨtəbəbənəwɨd* 'Their swimming'	*ŋɨtəbəbajɨnəwɨd* ' Their not swimming'

[57] Since jussive does not exist in the second person singular and plural in Khimt'anga, it does not have negative counterpart as well.

8.5. PROHIBITIVE

The second person singular and the second person plural form their prohibitive differently. The second person singular prohibitive is marked by the suffix-*tə*. It follows regular pattern despite the affirmative second person singular imperative (cf. Sections 5.3.3.2.1.1, 5.3.3.2.1.2 and 5.3.3.2.1.3).

On the other hand, the second person plural and the polite negative imperative are similarly marked by the suffix -*tɨnə*. As noted in 5.3.3.2.2 and 5.3.3.2.3, both the second person plural and the polite affirmative imperative are marked by the suffix-*t'ɨn*; the same is true in their negative prohibitive as well by the suffix-*tɨnə*. Consider Table 63 examples for the affirmative second person singular imperative, second person singular negative prohibitive, both the second person plural and the polite affirmative imperative and the second person plural and the polite negative prohibitive forms.

Table 64: The 2SG and 2PL form of the prohibitive

Person	Affirmative IMP		Negative IMP	
2SG	*bəb*	'Swim*!'*	*bəbɨtə*	'Do not swim!'
2PL	*bəbɨt'ɨn*	'Swim*!'*	*bəbɨtɨnə*	'Do not swim!'

8.6. NEGATION OF THE OPTATIVE

Negation in the second person singular and in the third person feminine singular optative is identically marked by the suffix-*ajɨrəŋə*. In contrast, negation is expressed by the morphemes-*ajɨk'əŋə*, -*ajəŋə*, -*ajɨnəŋə*, -*ajɨrɨnəŋə* and -*ajɨŋəŋə* for 1SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively. In all the optative negative markings, the vowel ablaut from *ɨ* to *a* is common for the seven subject pronouns. In addition, it can be observed in Table 63, the change of the first person singular from affirmative optative marker-*tʃ'* to -*k'* and the change of second person

singular and plural from *-t* to *-r* plus the optative marker *-əŋə* make their negative optative form: like the affirmative optative, number is also marked in the second person plural negative optative.

However, in the first person plural and third person plural, negative optative is formed by the vowel ablaut from *ɨ* to *a* plus the number marker-n and *-ŋ* for the first person plural and third person plural, respectively and the optative marker *-əŋə*: person marker is not overtly marked. The third person masculine singular negative optative is marked by the vowel ablaut from *ɨ* to *a* plus the optative marker-*əŋə* alone.

Table 65: Negation of the optative

Person	Affirmative OPT		Negative OPT	Gloss
1SG	*bəbɨtʃ'əŋə*	'I wish I may swim.'	*bəbajɨk'əŋə*	'I wish I may not swim.'
2SG	*bəbɨtəŋə*	'I wish you may swim.'	*bəbajɨrəŋə*	'I wish you may not swim.'
3SG.M	*bəbɨt'əŋə*	'I wish he may swim.'	*bəbajəŋə*	'I wish he may not swim.'
3SG.F	*bəbɨtəŋə*	'I wish she may swim.'	*bəbajɨrəŋə*	'I wish she may not swim.'
1PL	*bəbɨnəŋə*	'I wish we may swim.'	*bəbajɨnəŋə*	'I wish we may not swim.'
2PL	*bəbɨtɨnəŋə*	'I wish you may swim.'	*bəbajɨrɨnəŋə*	'I wish you may not swim.'
3PL	*bəbɨŋt'əŋə*	'I wish they may swim.'	*bəbajɨŋəŋə*	'I wish they may not swim.'

8.7. NEGATION OF THE PREDICATIVE POSSESSION, COPULA AND LOCATIVE-EXISTENTIAL VERBS

8.7.1. Negation in the predicative possession

Negation of the predicative possession is similarly expressed by the segment *ɨdʒ-* for all the seven subject pronouns. For example, in the present predicative possession, the negative markers are: *ɨdʒərɨm, ɨdʒɨrərɨm, ɨdʒəwɨm, ɨdʒɨrəjɨm, ɨdʒɨnək'ɨm, ɨdʒɨrɨnək'ɨm* and *ɨdʒɨrɨŋək'ɨm*

for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL, respectively. In contrast, in the past predicative possession, the negative markers are: *ɨdʒər winun*, *ɨdʒɨrər windu*, *ɨdʒəw winu*, *ɨdʒɨrəj winɨtʃ*, *ɨdʒɨnək' winnun*, *ɨdʒɨrɨnək' windɨrɨnu* and *ɨdʒək'u winɨŋu* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SF, 2PL and 3PL, respectively.

Table 66: Negation of the predicative possession

Person	Affirmative PRES PRD POSS	Negative PRES PRD POSS	Affirmative PST PRD POSS	Negative PST PRD POSS
1SG	*bigə s'ak'ər jəŋ* 'I have a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒərɨm* 'I have not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ak' winun* 'I had a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒər winun* 'I had not a sheep.'
2SG	*bigə s'ajirər jəŋ* 'You have a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨrərɨm* 'You have not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ajirər windu* 'You had a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨrər windu* 'You had not a sheep.'
3SG.M	*bigə s'ajəw jəŋ* 'He has a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒəwɨm* 'He has not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ajəw winu* 'He had a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒəw winu* 'He had not a sheep.'
3SG.F	*bigə s'ajirəj ŋi* 'She has a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨrəjɨm* 'She has not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ajirəj winɨtʃ* 'She had a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨrəj winɨtʃ* 'She had not a sheep.'
1PL	*bigə s'ajinək' jəŋ* 'we have a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨnək'ɨm* 'we have not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ajinək' winnun* 'we had a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨnək' winnun* 'we had not a sheep.'
2PL	*bigə s'ajirɨnək' jəŋ* 'You have a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨrɨnək'ɨm* 'You have not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ajirɨnək' windɨrɨnu* 'You had a sheep. '	*bigə ɨdʒɨrɨnək' windɨrɨnu* 'You had not a sheep.'
3PL	*bigə s'ajək^{w}naj'* They have a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒɨrɨŋək'um* 'They have not a sheep.'	*bigə s'ajɨŋ winɨŋu* 'They had a sheep.'	*bigə ɨdʒək'u winɨŋu'* 'They had not a sheep.'

8.7.2. Negation of the copula

The present negation of the copula construction is exactly the same as the present predicative possession negation: *ɨdʒərɨm*, *ɨdʒɨrərɨm*, *ɨdʒəwɨm*, *ɨdʒɨrəjɨm*, *ɨdʒɨnək'ɨm*, *ɨdʒɨrɨnək'ɨm* and *ɨdʒɨrɨŋək'um* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL, respectively (cf. 8.7.1). However, the past negation of the copula construction is exactly the same as the past progressive and pluperfect negation: *winik'ərɨm*, *winirərɨm*, *winijəwɨm*, *winɨrəjɨm*, *wininək'ɨm*,

winirɨnək'ɨm and *winijək'um* for1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL, respectively (cf. 8.6).

Table 67: Negation of the copula

Person	Affirmative PRES COP	Negative PRES COP	Affirmative PST COP	Negative PST COP
1SG	*jan kɨnsətə jəŋ* 'I am a teacher.'	*jan kɨnsətə ɨdʒərɨm* 'I am not a teacher.'	*jan kɨnsətə winun* 'I was a teacher.'	*jan kɨnsətə winik'ərɨm* 'I was not a teacher.'
2SG	*kɨt kɨnsətə jəŋ* 'You are a teacher.'	*kɨt kɨnsətə ɨdʒɨrərɨm* 'You are not a teacher.'	*kɨt kɨnsətə windu* 'You were a teacher.'	*kɨt kɨnsətə winirərɨm* ' You were not a teacher.'
3SG.M	*ŋəŋ kɨnsətə jəŋ* 'He is a teacher.'	*ŋəŋ kɨnsətə ɨdʒəwɨm* 'He is not a teacher.'	*ŋəŋ kɨnsətə winu* 'He was a teacher.'	*ŋəŋ kɨnsətə winijəwɨm* 'He was not a teacher.'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr kɨnsətə ŋi* 'She is a teacher.'	*ŋɨr kɨnsətə ɨdʒɨrəjɨm* 'She is not a teacher.'	*ŋɨr kɨnsətə winɨtʃ* 'She was a teacher.'	*ŋɨr kɨnsətə winɨrəjɨm* 'She was not a teacher.'
1PL	*jɨnn kɨnsətɨt' jəŋ* 'we are teachers.'	*jɨnn kɨnsətɨt' ɨdʒɨnək'ɨm* 'we are not teachers.'	*jɨnn kɨnsətɨt' winnun* 'we were teachers.'	*jɨnn kɨnsətɨt' wininək'ɨm* 'We were not teachers.'
2PL	*kɨtɨn kɨnsətɨt' jəŋ* 'You are teachers.'	*kɨtɨn kɨnsətɨt' ɨdʒɨrɨnək'ɨm* 'You are not teachers.'	*kɨtɨn kɨnsətɨt' windɨrɨnu* 'You were teachers.'	*kɨtɨn kɨnsətɨt' winirɨnək'ɨm* 'You were not teachers.'
3PL	*ŋɨtaj kɨnsətɨt' naj* 'They are teachers.'	*ŋɨtaj kɨnsətɨt' ɨdʒɨrɨŋək'um* 'They are not teachers.'	*ŋɨtaj kɨnsətɨt' winiŋu* 'They were teachers.'	*ŋɨtaj kɨnsətɨt' winijək'um* 'They were not teachers.'

8.8. NEGATION OF THE LOCATIVE-EXISTENTIAL VERBS

The negation of the locative-existential verb construction is exactly expressed in the same way as copula verb construction. The present negative locative-existential verb construction is expressed by the particles: *ɨdʒərɨm, ɨdʒɨrərɨm, ɨdʒəwɨm, ɨdʒɨrəjɨm, ɨdʒɨnək'ɨm, ɨdʒɨrɨnək'ɨm* and *ɨdʒɨrɨŋək'um* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL and the past

negative locative-existential verb construction is expressed by the particles: *winik'ərɨm*, *winirərɨm*, *winijəwɨm*, *wininək'ɨm*, *winirɨnək'ɨm* and *winijək'um* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL, 3SG.F, 2PL and 3PL, respectively

Table 68: Negation of the locative-existential verbs

Person	Affirmative PRES LOC-EXT	Negative PRES LOC-EXT	Affirmative PST LOC-EXT	Negative PST LOC-EXT
1SG	*jan jəŋ* 'I exist.'	*jan ɨdʒərɨm* 'I do not exist.'	*jan winun* 'I existed.'	*jan winik'ərɨm* 'I did not exist.'
2SG	*kɨt jəŋ* 'You exist.'	*kɨt ɨdʒirərɨm* 'You do not exist.'	*kɨt windu* 'You existed.'	*kɨt winirərɨm* 'You did not exist.'
3SG.M	*ŋəŋ jəŋ* 'He exists.'	*ŋəŋ ɨdʒəwɨm* 'He does not exist.'	*ŋəŋ winu* 'He existed.'	*ŋəŋ winijəwɨm* 'He did not exist.'
3SG.F	*ŋɨr ŋi* 'She exists.'	*ŋɨr ɨdʒirəjɨm* 'She does not exist.'	*ŋɨr winɨtʃ* 'She existed.'	*ŋɨr winɨrəjɨm* 'She did not exist.'
1PL	*jɨnn jəŋ* 'we exist.'	*jɨnn dʒɨnək'ɨm* 'we do not exist.'	*jɨnn winnun* 'we existed.'	*jɨnn wininək'ɨm* 'We did not exist.'
2PL	*kɨtɨn jəŋ* 'You exist.'	*kɨtɨn ɨdʒɨrɨnək'ɨm* 'You do not exist.'	*kɨtɨn windɨrɨnu* 'You existed.'	*kɨtɨn winirɨnək'ɨm* 'You did not exist.'
3PL	*ŋɨtaj naj* 'They exist.'	*ŋɨtaj ɨdʒɨrɨŋək'um* 'They do not exist.'	*ŋɨtaj winɨŋu* 'They existed.'	*ŋɨtaj winijək'um* 'They did not exist.'

8.9. NEGATION OF THE NON-FINITE VERBAL

FORMS AND NOMINAL CONSTRUCTIONS

8.9.1. Negation of the converb

The affirmative converb is expressed in two ways: bare stem and stem plus person, number and gender subject (agreement) markers (cf. 10.5). The negative converb is formally expressed by the suffix-*iŋk'ə* for all persons. However, Appleyard (1987b: 488f) points out the converb form has no corresponding negative suffix because the data he collected were inadequate (cf. Appleyard 1987a: 241). The data in Table 68 confirm the presence of the corresponding negative suffix-*iŋk'ə* in the converb.

Table 69: Negation of the converb

Person	Affirmative converb	Negative converb
1SG	*bəb* 'I having swum'	*bəbiŋk'ə* 'I you/he/she/we/you/they having not swum'
2SG	*bəbɨr* 'You having swum'	
3SG.M	*bəb* 'He having swum'	
3SG.F	*bəbɨr* 'She having swum'	
1PL	*bəbɨn* 'We having swum'	
2PL	*bəbɨrɨn* 'You having swum'	
3PL	*bəbiŋ* 'They having swum'	

8.9.2. Negation of the relative clause

The affirmative relative clause is marked differently according to the subject personal pronouns (cf. 9.2.6). For example, the morphemes *-ər*, *-rər*, *-əw*, *-rəj*, *-nək'*, *-rɨnək'* and *-ək^{w}'* plus the definite article *-d* are used to express affirmative relative clause for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively. One can notice that when the relative clause is constructed, the definite article-*d* is attached to the relative clause marker for all persons.

Negation in the relative clause is marked differently for the present and past paradigms. The present negative paradigm is expressed by the vowel alternation from *ə* to *a* plus the particle *jɨk'* for 1SG: the vowel from *ɨ* to *a* plus the particle *jɨ* for 2SG: the vowel from *ə* to *a* plus the particle *j* for 3SG.M: the vowel from *ɨ* to *a* plus the particle *jɨ* for 3SG.F: the vowel from *ɨ* to *a* plus the particle *j* for 1PL: the vowel from *ɨ* to *a* plus the particle *jə* for 2PL: and the vowel from *ə* to *a* plus the particle j are used for 3PL, respectively in the verb stem.

In contrast, the past negative paradigm is expressed by the vowel change from ɨ *to* i plus the particle *k'* for 1SG: the vowel from ɨ *to* i for 2SG: the vowel from ɨ *to* i plus the particle *j* for 3SG.M: the vowel from ɨ *to* i for 3SG.F: the vowel from ɨ *to* i for 1PL: the vowel from *ɨ to* i for 2PL and the vowel from *ɨ* to *i* plus the particle *j* for 3PL, respectively. Except 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL, all the rest form their negative by the vowel from *ɨ to* i only: they are not followed by negative particles like 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL.

Table 70: Negation of the relative clause

Person	Affirmative REL PRES	Negative REL PRES	Affirmative REL PST	Negative REL PST
1SG	*as'ad mit'ərd jan jəŋ* 'I am the one who forget the message.'	*as'ad mit'ajɨk'ərd jan jəŋ* 'I am the one who do not forget the message.'	*as'ad mit'ərɨd jan jəŋ* 'I am the one who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mit'ik'ərd jan jəŋ* 'I am the one who did not forget the message.'
2SG	*as'ad mitɨrərd kɨt jəŋ* 'You are the one who forget the message.'	*as'ad mit'ajɨrərd kɨt jəŋ* 'I am the one who do not forget the message.'	*as'ad mitɨrərd kɨt jəŋ* 'You are the one who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mitɨrərd kɨt jəŋ* 'You are the one who did not forget the message.'
3SG.M	*as'ad mirəwɨd ŋəŋ jəŋ* 'He is the one who forgets the message.'	*as'ad mirajəwɨd ŋəŋ jəŋ* 'He is the one who does not forget the message.'	*as'ad mirəwɨd ŋəŋ jəŋ* 'He is the one who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mirijəwɨd ŋəŋ jəŋ* 'He is the one who did not forget the message.'
3SG.F	*as'ad mitɨrəjɨd ŋɨr ŋi* 'She is the one who forgets the message.'	*as'ad mitajɨrəjɨd ŋɨr ŋi* 'She is the one who does not forget the message.'	*as'ad mitɨrəjɨd ŋɨr ŋi* 'She is the one who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mitɨrəjɨd ŋɨr ŋi* 'She is the one who did not forget the message.'
1PL	*as'ad mirɨnək'ɨd jinn jəŋ* 'We are the ones who forget the message.'	*as'ad mirajɨnək'ɨd jinn jəŋ* 'We are the ones who do not forget the message.'	*as'ad mirɨnək'ɨd jinn jəŋ* 'We are the ones who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mirɨnək'ɨd jinn jəŋ* 'We are the ones who did not forget the message.'
2PL	*as'ad mitɨrɨnək'ɨd kitɨn jəŋ* 'You are the ones who forget the message.'	*as'ad mitajərɨnək'ɨd kitɨn jəŋ* 'You are the ones who do not forget the message.'	*as'ad mitɨrɨnək'ɨd kitɨn jəŋ* 'You are the ones who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mitɨrɨnək'ɨd kitɨn jəŋ* 'You are the ones who did not forget the message.'
3PL	*as'ad mirɨŋək^{w}ɨd ŋɨtaj ŋaj* 'They are the ones who forget the message.'	*as'ad mirajək^{w}ɨd ŋɨtaj ŋaj* 'They are the ones who do not forget the message.'	*as 'ad mirək^{w}ɨd ŋɨtaj ŋaj* 'They are the ones who forgot the message.'	*as'ad mirijək^{w}ɨd ŋɨtaj ŋaj* 'They are the ones who did not forget the message.'

9.9.3. Lexical negation

The lexical negation is marked by the free morpheme *aqijəw*. For some of the attested lexical forms, examples are presented in Table 71.

Table 71: Lexical negation

Negative marker	Affirmative leximes	Lexical negation
aqijəw	*g^{w}anə* 'group, party'	*g^{w}anə aqijəw* 'non-party, non-group'
aqijəw	*kɨndətə* 'teacher'	*kɨndətə aqijəw* 'non-teacher'
aqijəw	*ədʒɨr* 'man'	*ədʒɨr aqijəw* 'non-human, non-man'
aqijəw	*ɨnsəsa* 'animal'	*ɨnsəsa aqijəw* 'non-animal'

To sum up, in the description of negation of Khimt'anga, I have mainly used the works of Appleyard (1984, 1992). In his comparative studies of Agaw languages at large and Khimt'anga in particular, his work plays a major role in the analysis of negation for the present study. I have benefited a lot from his findings. Except in the converb negative paradigms, I have not found new formatives in these synchronic data in the negative construction of Khimt'anga.

CHAPTER NINE

SYNTAX

9.1. WORD ORDER

Like several languages of Ethiopia at large and Cushitic in particular, the word order of Khimt'anga is mainly SOV. But there is also OSV word order very rarely. In relation to word order, Dryer (2007a: 61) presents the following typological notes.

> When people refer to the word order of a language, they often are referring specifically to the order of subject, object, and verb with respect to each other, but word order refers more generally to the order of any set of elements, either at the clause level or within phrases, such as the order of elements within a noun phrase. When examining the word order of a language, there are two kinds of questions one can ask. The first question is simply that of what the order of elements is in the language. The second question is that of how the word order in the language conforms to cross-linguistic universals and tendencies.

Taking into account Dryer's, claim, I analyze the word order of Khimt'anga both in phrasal and clausal level. If the arguments of a transitive verb are expressed overtly, the word order is predominantly SOV. OSV order is possible, but it is used only when the subject is in focus (topic) or (cf. section 10.5). If the arguments of an intransitive verb are expressed with independent words, the word order is predominantly SV. VS order is also possible, but it is used only when the subject is in focus. Consider the following examples that show SOV in (1a), OSV in (1b), SV in (1c) and VS in (1d) order, respectively.

(1)

a. *t'amtəw-Ø* *awət'u-t* *dər-Ø-ək^{w}*
Tamtew-NOM Awetu-ACC love-3SG.M-IPV
'Tamtew loves Awetu.'

b. *awət'u-t* *t'amtəw-Ø* *dər-Ø-ək^{w}*
Awetu-ACC Tamtew-NOM love-3SG.M-IPV
'T'AMTEW loves Awetu.'

c. *t'amtəw-Ø* *amɨr* *tər-Ø-ək^{w}*
Tamtew-NOM tomorrow come-3SG.M-IPV
'Tamtew will come tomorrow.'

d. *amɨr* *tər-Ø-ək^{w}* *t'amtəw-Ø*
tomorrow come-3SG.M.IPV Tamtew-NOM
'Tamtew will come TOMORROW.'

9.2. STRUCTURE OF NOUN PHRASES

A noun phrase in Khimt'anga can consist of just a noun alone. It may consist of a head noun and a definite suffix. It can also have different adnominal constituents. They include attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, genitives (possessives) and relative clauses. Except the definite suffix, all adnominal components precede the head noun they modify. In sum, the syntax of noun phrases shows restrictions in the order of constituents. The following examples in (2) are some of the noun phrases without the verb phrase.

(2)

a. *χɨj-əw* *siβɨrə* *ʃak'ə* *ŋɨn-t'*
big-3SG.M snake three three house-PL
'a big snake' 'three houses'

b. *la-w* *k'əbɨk'ab* *diχa* *arʃə* e. *ɨd-en* *lig ɨz-əw* *s'arəw* *fɨtʃ'ɨrə-d*
one-3SG.M earnest poor farmer DIST-3SG.M long-3SG.M white goat-DEF
'an earnest poor farmer' 'that tall white goat'

c. *ɨd-tʃen* *ədʒɨŋ* *s'arəw* *fɨtʃ'ɨrə-ʃən*
DIST-3 SG.F short white goat-DEF.F
'that short white goat'

9.2.1. Noun phrases with definite suffix

A noun phrase consists of a head noun and a definite suffix. Examples are shown in (3a-c): *gɨzɨŋ-d* 'the dog', *gɨzɨŋ-ʃən* 'the bitch' and *gɨs'ɨŋ-d* 'the dogs', respectively.

(3)

a. *gir-d-Ø* *əqər-Ø-u*
boy-DEF.M-NOM laugh-3SG.M-PRV
'The boy laughed'

b. *mɨdʒi-ʃən-Ø* *kɨr-ɨ-ʈʃ*
girl-DEF.F-NOM die-PRV-3SG.F
'The girl died.'

c. *gill-ɨ-d* *əqər-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
boy.PL-EP-DEF laugh-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'The boys laughed.'

d. *mɨ-kk'ʷ-ɨ-d* *əqər-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
girl-PL-EP-DEF laugh-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'The girls laughed.'

9.2.2. Noun phrases with adjectives as modifiers

When the head noun is modified by an adjective, the adjective takes a morphological gender and number markers in agreement with the head noun, but gender is only the feature of the third person masculine and feminine singular. Gender is marked on modifiers but not on the head nouns.

The suffix-*əw* is attached to the adjective when the head noun is masculine, while the suffix–*rəj* is attached to the head noun when it is feminine singular. Regarding the number agreement, if the head noun is plural, the modifier adjective mostly suffixes the morpheme-*k'ʷ*. Since the large majority of derived adjectives end in the bilabial approximant sound *w*, they form their plural by converting the final consonant of the stem *w* into-*k'ʷ* like several nouns do (cf. Section 3.1.3.10.1).

An attributive adjective comes before the head noun as shown in (4a-c) in accordance with gender and number agreement markers, respectively. In example (4a), the third person

masculine singular is inflected for gender as *ligɨz-əw* 'tall M' functions as a modifier of the head noun *ədʒɨr-d* 'the man'. In example (4b), the third person feminine singular is inflected for gender as *ligɨz-ɨ-rəj* 'tall F' functions as a modifier of the head noun *əwɨnə-ʃən* 'the woman'. And in example (4c), the third person plural is inflected for number as *ligɨzə-k^{w}* 'tall PL' functions as a modifier of the head noun *ək'-ɨ-d* 'the people'.

(4)

a. *jan-Ø*	*ligɨz-əw*	*ədʒɨr-d*	*qal-u-n*
I-NOM	tall-3SG.M	man-DEF	see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the tall man.'			
b. *jan-Ø*	*ligɨz-ɨ-rəj*	*əwɨnə-ʃən*	*qal-u-n*
I-NOM	tall-EP-3SG.F	woman-DEF.3SG.F	see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the tall woman.'			
c. *jan-Ø*	*ligɨzə-k^{w}*	*ək'-ɨ-d*	*qal-u-n*
I-NOM	tall-PL	man.PL-EP-DEF	see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the tall men.'			

When a sequence of adjectives occurs in the same NP, the order of adjectives is not restricted. Consider the following examples in (5 a-b).

(5)

a. *ŋɨtʃ'ɨl*	*χɨjə-k^{w}*	*ək'-ɨ-d-Ø*	*wik'ə-d*	*k'ɨw-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}*
black.PL	big-PL	man.PL-EP-DEF-NOM	hyena-DEF	kill-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'The black big men will kill the hyena.'				
b. *χɨjə-k^{w}*	*ŋɨtʃ'ɨl*	*ək'-ɨ-d -Ø*	*wik'ə-d*	*k'ɨw-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}*
big-PL	black.PL	man.PL-EP-DEF-NOM	hyena-DEF	kill-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'The black big men will kill the hyena.'				

When a degree word occurs in the same NP with adjectives, the order of adjectives is preceded by the degree word. The degree words in this language are *ək'əŋə* 'very' and *tʃ'ɨqɨŋə* 'very' which semantically indicate positive and negative connotation, respectively.

Consider the following examples in (6a-b).

(6)

a. *ək'əŋə* *ligɨz-ɨ-rəj* *mɨdʒi-ʃən-Ø* *sək'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-ɨ-tʃ*
very tall-EP-3SG.F girl-DEF.3SG.F-NOM seqot'a to go-PRV-3SG.F
'The very tall girl went to Seqot'a.'(Positive connotation)

b. *tʃ'ɨqɨŋə* *χɨj-ɨ-rəj* *əwɨnə-ʃən-Ø* *kɨr-ɨ-tʃ*
very big-EP-3SG.F woman-DEF.3SG.F-NOM kill-PRV-3SG.F
'The very big woman died.'(Negative connotation)

9.2.3. Noun phrases with demonstratives as modifiers

The head noun in Khimt'anga is always preceded by a demonstrative when a noun phrase comprises different constituents. In examples (7a-c), the demonstratives determine the head nouns which are the proximal demonstratives. In (7a), the third person masculine singular proximal demonstrative *ɨnen* **'**this M' functions as a determiner of the head noun *gir* 'boy'. In (7b), the third person feminine singular proximal demonstrative ɨntʃen 'this F' functions as a determiner of the head noun *mɨdʒi* 'girl'. And in (7c), third person plural proximal demonstrative *ɨnzaj* 'these' functions as a determiner of the plural head noun *ək'* 'people'.

(7)

a. *ɨn-en* *χɨj-əw* *gir-d-Ø* *liz-Ø-u*
PROX-3SG.M big-3SG.M boy-DEF-NOM cry-3SG.M-PRV
'This big boy cried.'

b. *ɨn-tʃen* *χɨj-ɨ-rəj* *mɨdʒi-ʃən-Ø* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
PROX-3SG.F big-EP-3SG.F girl-DEF.3SG.F-NOM come-PRV-3SG.F
'This big girl came.'

c. *ɨn-zaj* *χɨj-ək'^{w}* *ək'-ɨ-d -Ø* *bər-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
PROX-PL big-PL man.PL-EP-DEF-NOM leave-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'These big people left.'

In examples (8a-c), the demonstratives determine the head nouns which are the medial demonstratives. In (8a), the third person masculine singular pronoun used as medial

demonstrative ŋəŋ ‘he’ functions as a determiner of the head noun *gir* ‘boy’. In (8b), the third person feminine singular pronoun used as medial demonstrative *ŋɨr* ‘she’ functions as a determiner of the head noun *mɨdʒi ‘girl’*. And in example (8c), third person plural pronoun used as medial demonstrative *ŋɨtaj* ‘they’ functions as a determiner of the plural head noun *ək’* ‘people’.

In the medial demonstrative, the noun phrases *ŋəŋ χɨj-əw gir-d*, ’this big boy’, *ŋɨr χɨj-ɨ-rəj mɨdʒi-ʃən* ‘this big girl’ and *ŋɨtaj χɨjə-k^{w} ək’-ɨ-d* ‘these big people’ semantically denote that the adnominal demonstratives are referring to things or persons distantly located away from the speaker, but near to the addressee (or hearer).

(8)

a. *ŋəŋ-Ø*	*χɨj-əw*	*gir-d-Ø*	*liβ-Ø-u*
3SG.M-NOM	big-3SG.M	boy-DEF-NOM	fall-3SG.M-PRV
‘This big boy fell down.’ (lit. ‘He big boy fell down.’)			
b. *ŋɨr-Ø*	*χɨj-ɨ-rəj*	*mɨdʒi-ʃən-Ø*	*liβ-i-tʃ*
3SG.F-NOM	big-EP-3SG.F	girl-DEF.3SG.F-NOM	fall-PRV-3SG.F
‘This big girl fell down.’ (lit. ‘She big girl fell down.’)			
c. *ŋɨtaj-Ø*	*χɨjə-k^{w}*	*ək’-ɨ-d-Ø*	*liβ-Ø-i-ŋ-u*
3PL-NOM	big-PL	man.PL-EP-DEF-NOM	fall-3-EP-3PL-PRV
‘These big people fell down.’ (lit. ‘They big people fell down.’)			

As can be shown from the extracted texts in examples (9a-b), the demonstratives determine the head nouns which are the distal demonstratives. In (9a), the third person feminine singular distal demonstrative i-tʃen ‘that F’ functions as a determiner of the head of a feminine singular noun əwɨnə-ʃən ‘the woman’. And in (9b), the third person plural distal demonstrative

ɨzaj[58] 'those PL' functions as a determiner of the head of a plural noun *gɨlk^{w}-ɨ-d* 'the men' (cf. Text 1 of Appendix I)

(9)

a. *i-tʃen* *əwɨnə-ʃən-Ø* *ŋɨr-kiw* *t'ɨw -ɨ-r-əŋə*
DIST-3SG.F woman-3SG.F.DEF-NOM 3SG.F.POSS-village enter-EP-3SG.F-COMP
jɨ -t'ɨt'ɨqun *s'aw-ɨʃ-Ø* *win-əw* *tʃ'in-d*
1SG.POSS-boiled grains boil-PASS-CNV AUX.PST.3SG.M.REL pitcher-DEF
qal-d-ənd *s'aw-ɨʃ- əw* *χ^{w}-ɨ-ʃɨt-Ø* *niti* *tʃɨŋ- ɨ-tʃ*
see-3SG.F-TEMP boil-PASS-3SG.M.REL eat-EP-PASS-CNV null find-PRV-3SG.F
'That woman as she arrived home, and when looked at the pitcher, she found that the boiled grain was eaten and decreased.'

b. *ɨd-ɨ-zaj* *wəʃ -ək^{w}* *gɨlk^{w}-ɨ-d-Ø* *wərəŋə*
PROX-EP-PL hear-3PL.REL male.PL-EP-DEF-NOM what
arɨw-Ø *j-Ø- ɨ-ŋ-Ø* *gɨlɨbb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*
be-CNV say-3-EP-3PL-CNV get back-3-EP-3PL-CNV
ŋɨr-g^{w}ə *fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
3SG.F.POSS-toward go-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'Those men who heard her screaming went to her to ask what happened to her.'

In addition, in the following elicited sentential examples (10a-c), the demonstratives modify the head nouns which are the distal demonstratives. In (10a), the third person masculine singular distal demonstrative ɨd-*en* 'that M' functions as a modifier of the head noun *gir* 'boy'. In (10b), the third person feminine singular distal demonstrative *ɨ-tʃen* 'that F' functions as a modifier of the head noun *mɨdʒi 'girl'*. And in example (10c), the third person plural distal demonstrative *ɨ-zzaj* 'those' functions as a modifier of the plural head noun *ək'* 'people'.

[58] The plural form of *ɨden'* that' is also attested as *ɨdɨzaj* 'those' in the extracted oral texts. But both *ɨdɨza*j and *ɨzzaj* are attested in the elicited data. However, for the sake of uniformity, I mostly use the plural form *ɨzzaj* 'those' for this grammatical description.

(10)

a. *ɨd-en* *χɨj-əw* *gir-d-Ø* dɨdɨmə-t *abɨl-Ø-u*
that-3SG.M big-3SG.M boy-DEF-NOM infant-ACC smother-3SG.M-PRV
'That big boy smothered the infant.'

b. *ɨ-tʃen* *χɨj-ɨ-rəj* *mɨdʒi-ʃən -Ø* *fir-ɨ-tʃ*
that-3SG.F big-3SG.F girl-DEF:3SG:F-NOM go-PRV-3SG.F
'That big girl went.'

c. *ɨ-zzaj* *χɨjə-k^{w}* *ək'-ɨ-d-Ø* *ziβ-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
that-PL big-PL man.PL-EP-DEF-NOM dance-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'Those big people danced.'

9.2.4. Noun phrases with numerals as modifiers

Like the other adnominals, cardinal numerals normally precede the head noun that they modify. The cardinal numerals semantically indicate the number of "referents the noun phrase denotes"[…] (Dryer 2007b: 164). He further states that "[c]ardinal and ordinal numerals often differ in their syntax" (Dryer 2007b: 164). Numeral modifiers in Khimt'anga cannot be separately marked for plurality from their heads. However, they are marked for gender only for the cardinal number *la-w* 'one' and *la-j* 'one': the former is used for masculine singular and the latter is for feminine singular.

The example in (11a), denotes the masculine singular *la-w* 'one' which functions as a modifier of the head noun *ədʒɨr-d* 'the man'. In (11b), it denotes the feminine singular *la-j* 'one' which functions as a modifier of the head noun *əwɨnə-ʃən* 'the woman'. And in (11c), it denotes the plural modifier cardinal number *liŋə* 'two' without the plural agreement marker, which functions as a modifier of the plural head noun *ək'-ɨ-d* 'the people'.

(11)

a. *jan–Ø* *tatɨnə* *la-w* *abɨzə-d* *qal-u-n*
I -NOM yesterday one-3SG.M lion-DEF see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the lion yesterday.'

b. *jan-Ø* *tatɨnə* *la-j* *dʒɨrɨwə-ʃən* *dʒɨβ-u-n*
I-NOM yesterday one-3SG.F hen-DEF.3SG.F buy-PRV-1SG
'I bought the hen yesterday.'

c. *jan–Ø* *titanə* *liŋə* *ək'-ɨ-d* *arq-u-n*
I-NOM yesterday two man.PL-DEF know-PRV-1SG
'I got introduced to the two people yesterday.'

In examples (12a-c), the function of ordinal numerals is presented.

(12)

a. *nəjɨnu-tu* *liŋə-tɨrə* *əfərə-d-Ø* *nɨtʃ'* *tər-Ø-u*
Neyinu-GEN two-ORD child-DEF-NOM today come-3SG.M-PRV
'Neyinu's second child came today.'

b. *ʃakʷə-tɨrə* *jɨ-qʷɨrə* *ʃəggə* *ŋi*
three-ORD 1SG. POSS-daughter beautiful COP.1SG.PRES
'My third daughter is beautiful.'

c. *adəru-tu* *ləwə-tɨrə* *ŋɨ-χʷɨrə_* *bɨr-z* *ŋə* *sərəw*
Aderu-GEN one-ORD 3SG.M.POSS-son blood-INST as red
'Aderu's first son is as red as blood.'

9.2.5. Noun phrases with possessives as modifiers

In Khimt'anga, both alienable and inalienable possession is marked identically by the morpheme *-tu* for proper nouns, and only very rarely for common nouns, whereas the morpheme-*zu* is used for all the remaining kinds of nouns. Dryer (2007b: 185) asserts that "[t]he most common instances of multiple genitive constructions involve a contrast of alienable and inalienable possession. Inalienable possession involves kinship relations and part–whole relations, where the relationship is essentially an inherent or permanent one […]."

In (13a-b) and (13c-d), the suffixes *-zu* and *-tu* are attached to the possessor noun which indicate inalienable possession, respectively.

(13)

a. *jan–Ø ədʒɨr-zu awɨr qal-u-n*
I-NOM man-GEN head see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the man's head.'

b. *jan–Ø birə-zu dʒi t'az-u-n*
I-NOM ox-GEN horn hit-PRV-1SG
'I hit the horn of the ox.'

c. *jan–Ø amaru-tu χɨtʃ'ɨlə aqa-s-u-n*
I-NOM Amaru-GEN nail wash-CAUS-PRV-1SG
'I washed Amaru's nail.'

d. *jan–Ø tamtəw-tu s'ɨbɨk'ə fəkk'-u-n*
I-NOM Tamtew-GEN hair comb-PRV-1SG
'I combed Tamtew's hair.'

In (14a-d), the suffix-*zu* and *-tu* are attached to the possessor noun which indicate alienable possession.

(14)

a. *jan-Ø ədʒɨr-zu gɨzɨŋ tʃ'ɨŋ-u-n*
I-NOM man-GEN dog call-PRV-1SG
'I called the man's dog.'

b. *jan-Ø amaru-tu k'əsəw alβə-d dʒɨβ-u-n*
I-NOM Amaru-GEN good cloth-DEF buy-PRV-1SG
'I bought Amaru's nice cloth.'

c. *tamtəw-Ø gɨzɨŋ-zu s'arəw lɨk^{w}-ɨ-t'an kil-Ø-u*
Tamtew-NOM dog-GEN white leg-EP-PL break-3SG.M-PRV
'Tamtew broke the dog's white legs.'

d. *əwɨnə-tu ajɨr s'ab dɨz-ɨ-tʃ*
woman-GEN new shoe lose-PRV-3SG.F
'The woman lost her new shoe.'(lit. 'The woman's new shoe got lost.')

Whether the possession type is alienable or inalienable, either the possessor noun is a common or a proper, the plural possessor nouns are marked by the suffix-*zu*. Consider the following examples in (15a-c).

(15).

a. *lɨk'^{w}-ɨ-zu s'ɨmɨr-Ø k'iβ-ɨ-ʃɨt-Ø-u*
cow.P-EP-GEN tail-NOM cut-EP-PASS-3SG.M-PRV
'The cows' tail was cut.'

b. *bill-ɨ-zu s'ɨmɨr-Ø k'iβ-ɨ-Ø-ʃɨt-u*
ox.PL-EP-GEN tail-NOM cut-EP-3SG.M PASS-PRV
'The oxen's tail was cut.'

c. *ajjələ-zɨmə ŋɨ-s'am ɨr ə-zu ŋɨn-t'-Ø k'ij-ɨ-ʃɨt-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
Ayele-CNJ 3SG.M.POSS-friend GEN house-P-NOM sell-3-EP-PASS-EP-3PL-PRV
'Ayele and his friend's houses were sold.'

9.2.6. Noun phrases with relative clauses as modifiers

A relative clause is one of the subordinate clause modifiers of Khimt'anga which always precedes its head noun. "A relative clause […] is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of a NP by specifying the role of the referent of that NP in the situation described by the RC" (Andrews 2007: 206). The relative clause in Khimt'anga is differently marked for person, gender or number of the noun that it modifies.

When the modified noun is the third person feminine singular, the feminine gender marker is attached to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the relativized noun. The same is true for the masculine and plural relativized noun. In subject relative clauses, the head noun is the subject of the relative clause. Subject relative clauses can be headed by a definite head noun. The head of a relative clause is a common noun, a pronoun or very rarely a proper noun. Regarding the components of the relative clause Payne writes the following:

> The pertinent parts of a relative clause are the following: 1 The head is the noun phrase that is modified by the clause. […]. 2 The restricting clause is the relative clause itself. […]. 3 The relativized noun phrase[…] is the element within the restricting clause that is coreferential with the head noun. [**…**]**.** 4 The relativizer is the morpheme or particle that sets off the restricting clause as a relative clause (Payne 1997: 325f).

As shown in section 8.9.2, the relative clause markers that function as a modifier in the noun phrase are: *ər*, *-rər*, *-əw*, *-rəj, -nək'*, *-(t)irinək'* and *-ŋək^{w}* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively, but it is not marked for aspect, and it is expressed by bare stem. "Prenominal relative clauses occur in some OV languages" (Payne 1997:327). Since Khimt'anga seems to be one of a few verb final languages, the relative clause occurs preceding the head noun.

Consider the following examples in (16a-d) that denote common nouns which function as the head. They are preceded by the relative clause. In (16e-f), proper nouns function as the head. They are preceded by the relative clause.

(16)

a. *gizin-d* *tatinə* *t'az-Ø-əw* *əfərə-Ø* *fir-Ø-u*
dog-DEF yesterday hit-PRV-3SG.M.RE child-NOM go-3SG.M-PRV
'The child who hit the dog went yesterday.'

b. *əfərə-d* *kiw* *tig^{w}ə* *zaʃ-Ø-rəj* *midʒi-Ø* *fir-i-tʃ*
child-DEF home to insult-PRV-3SG.F.REL girl-NOM go-EP-3SG.F
'A girl who insulted the boy went home.'

c. *jan-Ø* *biitilə-ʃən-t* *dʒəgizØ-əw* *gizin-d* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM rabbit-DEF.3SG.F-ACC chase-PRV-3SG.M.REL dog-DEF see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the dog that chased the rabbit.'

d. *jan-Ø* *gizin-d* *dʒəgiz-Ø-rəj* *biitilə-ʃən-t* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM dog-DEF chase-PRV-3SG.F.REL rabbit-DEF.3SG.F-ACC see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the rabbit that the dog chased.'

e. *gulaʃə-t* *nitʃ'* *χ^{w}əll-Ø-əw* *adəru-Ø* *tər-Ø-u*
Guleshe-ACC today visit-PRV-3SG.M.REL Aderu-NOM come-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu who visited Guleshe came today.'

f. *gulaʃə-t* *nitʃ'* *x^{w}əll-Ø-i-rəj* *t'amtirəj-Ø* *tər-i-tʃ*
Guleshe-ACC today visit-PRV-EP-3SG.F.REL Tamtirey-NOM come-PRV-3SG.F
'Tamtirey who visited Guleshe came today.'

In (17a-g), the relative clause is constructed using *-ər*, -r*ər*, *-əw*, -r*əj*, *-nək', -tɨrɨnək'* and *-ŋək'*^{w} for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 3SG.F, 1PL, 2PL and 3PL, respectively.

(17)

a.*tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø-ər-d*	*jan-Ø*	*jəŋ*
pitcher	break-IPV-1SG.REL-DEF	I-NOM	COP.1SG.PRES
'I am the one who break a pitcher.'			
b. *tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø* (d)*ɨrər-d*	*kɨt-Ø*	*jəŋ*
pitcher	break-IPV-2SG.REL-DEF	you-NOM	COP.PRES.2SG>PRES
'You are the one who break a pitcher.'			
c. *tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø-əw-ɨ-d*	*ŋəŋ-Ø*	*jəŋ*
pitcher	break-IPV-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF	he-NOM	COP.3SG.M>PRES
'He is the one who breaks a pitcher.'			
d. *tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø-*r*əj-ɨ-d*	*ŋɨr-Ø*	*ŋi*
pitcher	break-IPV-3SG.F.REL-EP-DEF	she-NOM	COP.3SG.F.PRES
'She is the one who breaks a pitcher.'			
e. *tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø-nək'-ɨ-d*	*jɨnn-Ø*	*jəŋ*
pitcher	break-IPV-1PL.REL-EPN-DEF	we-NOM	COP.1PL.PRES
'We are the ones who break a pitcher.'			
f. *tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø-rɨnək'-ɨ-d*	*kɨtɨn-Ø*	*jəŋ*
pitcher	break-IPV-2PL.REL-EP-DEF	you-NOM	COP.2PL.PRES
'You are the ones who break a pitcher.'			
g. *tʃ'in*	*kil-Ø-ɨ-ŋək'*^{w}*-ɨ-d*	*ŋɨtaj-Ø*	*ŋaj*
pitcher	break-IPV-EP-REL-EP-DEF	they-NOM	COP.3PL.PRES
'They are the ones who break a pitcher.'			

In addition, the relative clause in Khimt'anga can work with the polar question marker[59] *-mə*. As we can see in (18a-g) below, in all of the examples, the relative clause marker is suffixed to the main verbs in the reversed position of the auxiliary verbs, while the polar interrogative marker-*mə* is attached to the subject pronoun forms. Consider the following examples in (18).

[59] The affixation of a polar interrogative marker with the relative clause is not only a feature of Khimt'anga. It is also the feature of Kemantney (cf. Zelealem 2003:217).

(18)

a. *jan-mə* *jəŋ* *fi-Ø-t'-ər-d*
I-INTR AUX.1S.PRES go-IPV-1SG.REL-DEF
'Am I/will I be the one who will go?'

b. *kɨt-mə* *jəŋ* *fi-Ø-tɨrər-d*
you-INTR AUX.2SG.PRES go-IPV-2SG.REL-DEF
'Are you/will you be the one who will go?'(SG)

c. *ŋəŋ-mə* *jəŋ* *fir-Ø-əw-ɨ-d*
he-INTR AUX.3SG.M.PRES go-IPV-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF
'Is he/will he be the one who will go?'

d. *ŋɨr-mə* *ŋi* *fi-Ø-tɨrəj-ɨ-ʃən*
*s*he-INTR AUX.3SG.F.PRES go-IPV-3SG.F.REL-EP-DEF.F
'Is she/will she be the one who will go?'

e. *jɨnn-mə* *jəŋ* *fɨr-Ø-ɨ-nək'-ɨ-d*
we-INTR AUX.1PL.PRES go-IPV-EP-1PL.REL-EP-DEF
'Are we/will we be the ones who will go?'

f. *kɨtɨn-mə* *jəŋ* *fi-Ø-tɨrɨnək'-ɨ-d*
*y*ou-INTR AUX.2PL.PRES go-IPV-2PL.REL-EP-DEF
'Are you/will you be the ones who will go?' (PL)

g. *ŋɨtaj-mə* *ŋaj* *fɨr-Ø-ɨ-ŋək'-ɨ-d*
they-INTR AUX.3PL.PRES go-IPV-EP-3PL.REL-EP-DEF
'Are they/will they be the ones who will go?'

9.2.7. Order of the constituents of the noun phrase

According to the collected textual data, noun phrases, in natural discourse, most typically contain no more than three elements, including the head noun. Consequently, I have relied on elicited data in order to examine the relative order of different modifiers (e.g. demonstrative, numeral, color and dimension, etc.) in the various types of noun phrases. In the discussion, I have explicitly identified those patterns which are attested only in elicited examples.

In this section, I have examined various attributive and complex constructions of the constituents of the noun phrase. The order of constituents of the noun phrase follows certain patterns. In the attributive construction, the first left most position of the noun phrase is reserved for a demonstrative. In the inclusion of multiple attributive modifiers in a noun phrase, the order of these attributive modifiers is a determiner + a numeral + a relative clause + a head noun, where the determiner may be either the demonstrative or a genitive NP. The three modifiers in the attributive construction which take the genitive case marker form the genitive construction.

In (19a), the noun phrase is constructed from an attributive modifier, a definite suffix and a head noun as *ʃiməkʼɨl əkʼ-ɨ-d* 'the elderly people'. In (19b), the noun phrase is constructed from a demonstrative modifier, a numeral, an attributive modifier and a head noun as *ɨd-en la-w ɨtʼin χazə* 'that one small fish'. In (19c), the noun phrase is constructed from a demonstrative modifier, a genitive noun, a numeral, an attributive modifier, a definite suffix and a head noun as *ɨn-zaj adəru-tɨkʷ liŋə sarəkʷ nikʷ-ɨ-d* 'these Aderu's two white calves'. In (19d), the noun phrase is constructed from a possessive noun modifier, a relative clause and a head noun as *kɨ-χʷɨr ətʃʼɨwə tigʷɨz-əw məsərəjə-z* 'the gun that your son shot the mouse with.' In (19e), the noun phrase is constructed from a degree word plus different adjectives and a head noun as *tʃɨkʼɨŋə kʼəsəw dʒɨgɨnə kʷijəw-sɨmə tɨχɨnu əfərə* 'a very good, clever, lenient and healthy child'. In (19f and g), the noun phrase is constructed from an adjective, a relative clause and a head noun as *jan tatɨnə dʒɨβəw zətɨl-əw sʼab-ɨ-tʼan-d* 'the cheap shoes that I bought yesterday' and *ŋɨtaj qal-ɨ-ŋ-əw ŋɨtʃʼɨr dɨχʷarə-d* 'the black donkey which they saw', respectively. And in (19h), the noun phrase is constructed from a demonstrative modifier, a genitive noun modifier, a numeral modifier, an attributive adjective modifier, a relative clause plus its modifier and a head noun as *ɨ-zzaj adəru-tɨkʷ liŋəˑ sər-kʷ guləʃə tatɨnə dʒɨβ-əkʷ fitʃʼɨr-d* 'those two red goats that Guleshe bought yesterday'

(19)

a. *ʃiməkɨl* *əkʼ-ɨ-d-Ø* *wikʼə-d* *s ələ-z* *kɨr-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-əkʷ*
elderly.PL people.PL-EP-DEF-NOM hyena-DEF knife-INST kill-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'The elderly people kill the hyena with a knife.'

b. *ɨd-en* *la-w* *ɨtʼɨn* *χazə-Ø* *bəb-Ø-əkʷ*
DIST-SG.M one-3SG.M small fish-NOM swim-3SG.M-IPV
'That small fish swims.'

c. *ɨn-zaj* *adəru-tɨkʷ* *liŋə* *sarəkʷ* *nikʷ-ɨ-d-Ø* *sʼagiβɨdʒi*
PROX-PL Aderu-GEN.P two white.PL calf.PL-EP-DEF-NOM S'agibiji
tɨgʷə *fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-əkʷ*
to go-3-EP-PL-IPV
'These Aderu's two white calves will go to S'agibiji.'

d. *jan-Ø* *kɨ-χʷɨr* *ətʃʼɨwə* *tigʷɨz-Ø-əw* *məsərəjə-z* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM 2SG.POSS-son mouse shoot-PRV-3SG.M.REL gun-INST see-PRV-1SG
'I saw the gun that your son shot the mouse with.'

e. *bənɨnu-Ø* *tʃɨkʼɨŋə* *kʼəsəw* *dʒɨgɨnə* *kʷəw-sɨmə* *tɨχɨnu* *əfərə* *jəŋ*
Beninu-NOM very good clever lenient-CNJ healthy child COP.3SG.M. PRES
'Beninu is a very good, clever, lenient and healthy child.'

f. *jan* *tatɨnə* *dʒɨiβ-Ø-əw* *zətɨl-Ø-əw*
I yesterday buy-PRV-3SG.M.REL cheap-PRV-3SG.M.REL
sʼab-ɨ-tʼan-d *diz-Ø-u*
shoe-EP-PL-DEF get. lost.3SG.M-PRV
'The cheap shoes that I bought yesterday got lost.'

g. *ŋɨtaj* *qal-ɨ-ŋ-əw* *ŋɨtʃʼɨr* *diχʷarə-d* *kɨr-Ø-u*
they see-EP-3PL-REL black donkey-DEF die-3SG.M-PRV
'The black donkey which they saw died.'

h. *ɨ-zzaj* *adəru-t-kʷ* *liŋə* *sər-kʷ*
DIST-PL Aderu-GEN-PL two red-PL
guləʃə *tatɨnə* *dʒɨiβ-Ø-əkʷ* *fitʃʼɨr-d* *nitʃʼ*
Guleshe yesterday buy-PRV-3PL.REL goat.PL-DEF today
diz-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u
get.lost-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'Those two red goats that Guleshe bought yesterday got lost today.'

9.3. INTROGATIVES

Khimt'anga shows two types of interrogatives. These are polar (yes-no questions) interrogatives and content (wh-questions) interrogatives. Polar interrogatives employ inflectional way of denoting, whereas the content interrogatives use various content interrogative words.

9.3.1. Polar interrogatives

According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:179), a polar interrogativeis "one that seeks a comment on the degree of truth of questioned proposition." Khimt'anga verbs are subjected to polarity. They denote polarity in their affirmative and negative forms.. Mithun (1995:355) points out that "interrogation and negation have no effect on reality classification in many languages."

In Khimt'anga the affirmative polar interrogatives[60] have two kinds of functions informative and permissive. The informative interrogative is used to have information about something, while the permissive interrogative is used to have permission (or admission) to do something. As can be seen in (20a-f), in all the examples, polar interrogative is marked by the particle-*mə,* however, the informative or permissive markers are not identical in all the six persons. For instance in (20a, b and e), the information or permission is marked by the

[60] Like in several places of this thesis here, for the matters of space, the nominative and the third person markers are not indicated for polar interrogatives in the given examples, because , they are unmarked (-*Ø*), and the subject personal pronouns are written in their lexical forms, instead of using the abbreviated forms: 1SG.SUBJ, 1PL.SUBJ, 2SG.SUBJ, 2PL.SUBJ, etc.

morpheme-*ə*. Whereas in (20c and f) the information or permission is marked by the zero morpheme for the third person masculine singular and the third person plural. And in (20d), it is marked by the morpheme-*i* for the third person feminine singular. Instead, the imperfective aspect is morphologically marked for both of them. Consider the following examples by taking the verb *fir-* 'go'.

(20)

a. *fir-ɨ-n-ə-mə*
go-EP-1PL-INFO-INTR
'Do (will) we go?'

b. *fi-tɨr-ɨ-n-ə-mə*
go-2-EP-2PL-INFO-INTR
'Do (will) you (PL)go?'

c. *fir-ək^{w}-Ø-mə*
go-IPV-INFO-INTR
'Does (will) he go?'

d. *fi-tɨr-i-mə*
go-3SG.F-INFO-INTR
'Does (will) she go?'

e. *fi-tʃ'-ə-mə*
go-1SG-INFO-INTR
'Do (will) I go?'

f. *fir-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}-Ø-mə*
go-EP-3PL-IPV-INFO-INTR
'Do (will) they go?

As can be observed in (21a-g), like the imperfective aspect paradigm shown in (21a-f), the information or permission is not morphologically marked. Instead, only the polar interrogative is marked by the morpheme-*mə* with the perfective aspect marker.

(21)

Polar questions	Positive responses
a. *jɨnn fir-ɨ-n-u-n-ɨ-mə*	*jəj kɨtɨn fi-tir-ɨ-n-u*
we go-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL-INFO-INTR	yes you go-2-EP-2PL-PRV
'Did we go?'	'Yes, you (PL) did go.'
b. *jan fi-t'-u-n-ɨ-mə*	*jəj kɨt fi-tir-u*
'I go-1SG -PRV-1SG-INFO-INTR	yes you go-2-PRV
'Did I go?'	'Yes, I did go.'
c. *ŋɨtaj fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u-mə*	*jəj ŋɨtaj fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
they go-3-EP-3PL-PRV-INFO-INTR	yes they go-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'Did they go?'	'Yes, they did go.'

d. *ŋɨr*	*fir-ɨ-tʃ-ɨ-mə*	*jəj* *ŋɨr*	*fir-ɨ-tʃ*
she	go-PRV-3SG.F-INFO-INTR	yes she	go-PRV-3SG.F
'Did she go?'		Yes, she did go.'	
e. *ŋəŋ*	*fir-Ø-u-Ø-mə*	*jəj* *ŋəŋ*	*fir-Ø-u*
he	go-3SG.M-PRV-INFO-INTR	yes he	go-3SG.M-PRV
'Did he go?'		'Yes, he did go.'	
f. *kɨt*	*fi-tir-u-Ø-mə*	*jəj* *jan*	*fi-t'-u-n*
'you	go-2-PRV-INFO-INTR	yes I	go-1SG-PRV-1SG
'Did you go?' (SG)		'Yes, I did go.'	
g. *kɨtɨn*	*fi-tir-ɨ-n-u-Ø-mə*	*jəj* *jɨnn*	fir-*ɨ-n-u-n*
you	go-2-EP-2PL-PRV-INFO-INTR	yes we	go-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL
'Did you (PL) go?'		'Yes, we did go.'	

Having presented the perfective, I also briefly discuss the past perfect paradigms in marking polar interrogatives in the following examples with their corresponding responses. As can be seen in (22a-g), except in the third person masculine singular subject which is shown in (22f), all the persons suffix their polar interrogative marker-*mə* to the auxiliary verb win-'stay', yet the suffix-*mə* is not attached to the main verb fir-'go'. However, the only exception is the third person masculine singular that suffixes the polar interrogative marker *-mə* to its main verb fir-'go'.

(22)

Polar questions	Positive responses
a. *jɨnn* *fir-ɨ-n-u* *win-u-mə*	*jəj kɨtɨn fi-tir-ɨ-n* *win-dir-ɨ-n-u*
we go-EP-1PL-PRV AUX.PST-PRV-INTR	yes you go-2-EP-2PL AUX.PST-2-EP-PRV
'Had we gone?'	'Yes, you (PL) had gone.'
b. *jan fi-t'-u-n-ɨ-mə*	*jəj* *kɨt* *fi-tir* *win-d-u*
I go-1SG-PRV-1SG-EP-INTR	yes you go-2 AUX.PST-2-PRV
'Had I gone ?'	'Yes, you (SG) had gone.'
c. *ŋɨtaj fir-ɨ-ŋ* *winɨ-ŋ-u-mə*	*jəj* *ŋɨtaj fir-ɨ-ŋ* *win-ɨ-ŋ-u*
they go-EP-3PL AUX.PST-EP-3PL-PRV-INTR	yes yes they go-3-EP-3PL AUX.PST-EP-3PL-PRV
'Had they gone?'	'Yes, they had gone.'
d. *kɨtɨn fi-tir-ɨ-n* *win-dir-ɨ-n-u-mə*	*jəj* *jɨnn* *fir-ɨ-n* *win-n-u-n*
you go-2-EP-2PLAUX.PST-2-EP-2PL-PRV-INTR	yes we go-EP-1PL AUX.PST-1PL-PRV-1PL
'Had you (PL) gone?'	'Yes, we had gone.'

e. *ŋir fi-tir win-ɨ-tʃ-ɨ-mə*
she go-3SG.F AUX.PST-PRV-3SG.F-EP-INTR
'Had she gone?'

jəj ŋir fi-tir win-ɨ-tʃ
yes she go-3SG.F AUX.PST-PRV-3SG.F
'Yes, she had gone.'

f. *ŋəŋ fir-ɨ-mə win-Ø-u*
he go-EP-INTR AUX.PST-3SG.M-PRV
'Had he gone?'

jəj ŋəŋ fir-Ø win-Ø-u
yes he go-3SG.M AUX.PST-3SG.M-PRV
'Yes, he had gone.'

g. *kɨt fi-tir win-d-u-mə*
you go-2 AUX.PST-2-PRV-INTR
'Had you (SG) gone?'

jəj jan fi-t' win-u-n
yes I go-1SG AUX.PST-PRV-1SG
'Yes, I had gone.'

9.3.2. Content interrogatives (wh-questions)

Content interrogatives are used to ask for new information. Consequently, having first introduced question words in Khimt'anga, I provide sentential examples. Content interrogatives require the use of interrogative pronouns. As can be observed in (23), the majority of content interrogative are derived from the interrogative word *aw* 'who'. Out of the given 10 interrogative words, 7 of them are formed from the interrogative word *aw* 'who'. The following are interrogative words.

(23)

aw-ɨ-n	*aw-ɨ-z*	*aw-ɨ-l*	*aw-ɨ-tu*
who-EP-TEMP	who-EP-INST	who-EP-LOC	who-EP-GEN[61]
'when'	'by where'	'where'	'whose'
wɨrk'at' [37]	'why'	*aw*	'who'
wərəŋə	'what'	*awəj*	'how'
waqə	'how much, how many'	*aw jəŋ*[37]	'which one'

As can be observed in (24a, d, e, f, g and k), all content interrogative words can be inflected for various cases. For example in (24a), the word *aw-ɨ-tu* 'whose' is inflected for

[61] *wərəŋəl*, *wərəŋə-z* 'why' and *awɨden* 'which one' are also interchangeably used for content interrogatives *wɨrk'at'* 'why' and *aw jəŋ* 'which one', respectively. For the sake of consistency, I mainly use the terms *wɨrk'at'* and *awɨden* in this thesis.

genitive case. In (24d) *aw-ɨ-l* ‘where’ is inflected for locative case. In (24e) *aw-ɨ-n* ‘when’ is inflected for temporal. In (24f) *aw-ɨ-z* ’by where*’* is inflected for instrumental case. In (24j) *waqə-s* ‘for how many, how much’ is inflected for dative case and finally in (24k) *wərəŋə-z,* ‘why’ is inflected for instrumental case as well.

(24)

a. *ɨd-en birə-d aw-ɨ-tu jəŋ*
that-3SG.M ox-DEF who-EP-GEN COP.3SG.
‘Whose ox is that?

b. *kɨ-mɨt-ɨ-d waqə jəɲ*
2SG.POSS-year.PL-EP-DEF how many COP.3SG.M
‘How old are you?

c. *kɨ-ʃɨŋ^{w}-ɨ-d aw jəŋ*
2SG.POSS-name-EP-DEF who COP.3SG.M
'What is your name?’

d. *ŋəŋ aw-ɨ-l jəŋ s’ɨb-əw-ɨ-d*
he who-EP-LOC COP live-REL-EP-DEF
‘Where is that he lived?’

e. *ŋəŋ aw-ɨ-n fir-Ø-u*
he who-EP-TEMP go-3SG.M-PRV
‘When did he go?’

g. *aw aq^{w} zɨj-Ø-u*
who water drink-3SG.M-PRV
‘who did drink water?’

h. *ŋɨtaj aw-ɨ-t-k’^{w} lɨk’^{w} ŋaj*
they who-EP-GEN-PL cow.PL COP.3PL
‘Whose cows are they?’

i. *ŋɨr tatɨnə wərəŋə sir-ɨ-tʃ*
she yesterday what wear-PRV-3SG.F
‘What did she wear yesterday?’

f. *ədʒɨr-d s’agɨβɨdʒi tɨg^{w}ə aw-ɨ-z s’aβ fir-ən*
man-DEF S’agibiji to who-EP-INST do go-CNJ
‘By where does the man go to S’agibiji?’

j. *dʒɨrɨwə səw-ɨ-tʃ waqə-s*
hen fat-EP-3SG.F how many-DAT
‘If a hen were fat, would it be shared for how many people?’ (proverb)

k. *wərəŋə-z tər-Ø-u*
what-INST come-3SG.M-PRV
‘Why did he come?

9.4. COMPARISON CONSTRUCTIONS

Khimt’anga has comparison constructions: one which predicates two elements as equivalent with respect to a quality (the equivalent comparative construction) and two different syntactic constructions which predicate one element as having more of a quality than the other element (the non-equivalent comparative and superlative constructions). The comparative and equative (or equivalent) comparative consructios are differently marked. The equative

(equivalent) comparative construction is presented in section 9.4.1 and both comparative and superlative construction are briefly discussed in 9.4.2.

9.4.1. Equative (or equivalent) comparative construction

Examples in (25) illustrate the equative (equivalent) comparative construction.This construction is based on the attributive predication (i.e. copular construction). In the equative (equivalent) comparative construction, the noun phrase occurs in its citation form. As shown in (25), it is expressed by the morphemes *ʒɨŋə*, *tɨŋə*, *ŋə* 'as'.

(25)

a. *ɲəŋŋə-tu* *ɨrq^{w}-ɨ-d* *saβ* *ŋə* *s'arəw* *jəŋ*
Gnegne-GEN tooth-EP-DEF milk as white COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Gnegne's tooth is as white as milk.'

b. *guləʃə-tu* *gas'-ɨ-d* *t'ɨk'ɨrə-z* *ŋə* *ŋɨtʃ'ɨr* *jəŋ*
Guleshe-GEN face-EP-DEF soot-INST as black COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Guleshe's face is as black as soot.'

c. *amaru-Ø* *goltʃu* *tɨŋə* *dəjjə-*rəj *ŋi*
Amaru-NOM tortoise as slow-3SG.F COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Amaru is as slow as tortoise.'

d. *ərʃə-Ø* *qɨrɨŋə-j-iz* *ŋə* *ʒɨq^{w}əw* *jəŋ*
corpse-NOM stone-EP-INST as heavy . COP.PRES.3SG.M
'A corpse is as heavy as a stone.'

e. *adəru-Ø* *wik'ə* *ʒɨŋə* *g^{w}əʃər* *jəŋ*
Aderu-NOM hyena as voracious COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Aderu is as voracious as hyena.'

f. *təʃomə-Ø* *guləʃə* *tɨŋə* *ədʒɨŋ* *jəŋ*
Teshome-NOM Guleshe as short COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Teshome is as short as Guleshe.'

g. *ədʒɨr-d* *abɨzə-d* *ʒɨŋə* *χ^{w}ɨgɨr-Ø-ək^{w}*
man-DEF lion-DEF as roar-3SG.M-IPV
'The man roars as the lion.'

h. *əwɨnə-ʃən* *dɨdɨmə-d* *tɨŋə* *liz-ə-tʃ*
woman-DEF.SG.F baby-DEF as cry-IPV-3SG.F
'The woman cries as the baby.'

i. *ɨn-en* *ədʒɨr-d* *tʃɨχal-iz* *ŋə* *χɨm* *s'aj-əw* *jəŋ*
PROX-SG.M man-DEF lamb-INST as beard hold-3SG.M.REL COP.PRES.3S.M
'This man has beard as a lamb.'

9.4.2. Comparative construction

Both the comparative and superlative constructions are similarly expressed by the free morpheme *tɨgis* 'more or most'. The examples shown in (26a-e) denote the comparative construction, and examples shown in (26f and g) show the superlative construction.

(26)

a. *ɨzɨra-Ø* *aderu* *tɨgis* *arqəw* *jəŋ*
Ezira-NOM Aderu more knowledgeable COP.3SG.M.PRES
'Ezira is more intelligent than Aderu.'

b. *t'amtɨrəj-Ø* *ʃəwit* *tɨgis* *ʃəggə* *ŋi*
Tamtirey-NOM Shewit more beautiful COP.PRES.3SG.F
'Tamtirey is more beautiful than Shewit.'

c. *təʃomə-Ø* *ɨzɨra* *tɨgis* *ədʒɨŋ* *jəŋ*
Teshome-NOM Ezira more short COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Teshome is shorter than Ezira.'

d. *t'amtəw-Ø* *guləʃə* *tɨgis* *ligɨzəw* *jəŋ*
Tamtew-NOM Guleshe more tall COP.PRES.3SG.M.
'Tamtew is taller than Guleshe.'

e. *k'abərə-d* *tʃɨχal-d* *tɨgis* *dinn-ɨ-rəj* *ŋi*
nanny-goat-DEF lamb-DEF more fat-EPN-S.F COP.PRES.3SG.F
'The nanny-goat is fatter than the lamb.'

f. *ɨzɨra-Ø* *kɨndət-ɨ-t'* *tɨgis* *arqəw* *jəŋ*
Ezira-NOM student-EP-PL most knowledgeable COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Ezira is the most intelligent of the students.'

g. *təʃomə-Ø* *ɨnk'* *kɨnsət-ɨ-t'* *tɨgis* *ədʒɨŋ* *jəŋ*
Teshome-NOM all teacher-EP-PL most short COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Teshome is the shortest of all teachers.'

CHAPTER TEN

COMPLEX CLAUSES

A complex clause contains one or more subordinate clause (s) and a main (or matrix) clause. When the subordinate and the main clauses occur in a complex clause, the subordinate clause precedes the main clause. Thompson *et al* (2007: 238) explain that there are "[…] three types of subordinate clauses: those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses (called adverbial clauses)." This chapter deals with complex adverbial clauses: namely conditional, temporal, purpose, complement and converbs clauses.

10.1. CONDITIONAL CLAUSES

The conditional clause consists of three types. They are: Type I, Type II and Type III.[62] Each of the conditional clause type is separately marked. For the sake of clarity, I provide the same types of sentences for all the three conditional clauses, paradigmatically instead of using different sentences. Therefore, readers can see the differences between the forms and functions of the three conditional clauses.

[62] The terms predictive, hypothetical and counterfactual are taken from (Thompson *et al* 2007 259).

10.1.1. Conditional clause Type I (Predicative or Realis)

As noted in Section 7.5.6, Type I conditional clause is expressed by the marker-*ʒɨrə*. The marker-*ʒɨrə* is suffixed to the verbal stem of the subordinate clause following person, gender, number and third person masculine singular relative marker-*əw*, where the verbal stem of the main clause is in its imperfective form. The following examples in (1a-g) denote Type I conditional clause constructions.

(1)

a. *jan-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-t'-əw-i-ʒɨrə* *jan-Ø*
I-NOM Seqot'a to go-1SG-REL-EP-CNJ I-NOM
miz-i-t *ʒɨj-i-k'-ək^{w}-i-n*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-1SG-IPV-EP-1SG
'If I go to Seqot'a, I will drink mead.'

b. *jɨnn-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-i-n-əw-i-ʒɨrə* *jɨnn-Ø*
we-NOM Seqot'a to go-EP-1PL-REL-CNJ we-NOM
miz-i-t *ʒɨj-i-n-ək^{w}-i-n*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-1PL-IPV-EP-1PL
'If we go to Seqot'a, we will drink mead.'

c. *kɨt-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-tɨr-əw-i-ʒɨrə* kɨt-Ø
you-NOM Seqota to go-2-REL-EP-CNJ you-NOM
miz-i-t *ʒɨj-r-ək^{w}*
mead drink-2SG-IPV
'If you go to Seqot'a, you will drink mead.'

d. *kɨtɨn-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-tɨr-n-əw-i-ʒɨrə* *kɨtɨn-Ø*
you-NOM Seqot'a to go-2-2PL-REL-EP-CNJ you-
miz-i-t *ʒɨj-r-n-ək^{w}*
NOM mead-EP-ACC drink-2PL-2PL-IPV
'If you go to Seqot'a, you will drink mead.'

e. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-əw-i-ʒɨrə* ŋəŋ-Ø
he-NOM Seqot'a to go-3SG.M.REL-EP-CNJ he-NOM
miz-i-t *ʒɨj-Ø-ək^{w}*
mead-EP-ACC drink-3SG.M-IPV
'If he goes to Seqot'a, he will drink mead.'

f. *ŋɨr-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-tɨr-əw-ɨ-zɨrə* *ŋɨr-Ø*
she-NOM Seqot'a to go-3SG.F-REL-EP-CNJ she-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ə-tʃ*
mead-EP-ACC drink-IPV-3SG.F
'If she goes to Seqot'a, she will drink mead.'

g. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-ɨ-ŋ-əw-ɨ-zɨrə* *ŋɨtaj-Ø*
they-NOM Seqot'a to go-EP-3PL-REL-EP-CNJ they-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-ək^{w}*
mead drink-3-EP-3PL-IPV
'If they go to Seqot'a, they will drink mead.'

10.1.2. Conditional clause Type II (Hypothetical)

The conditional clause Type II is expressed by the suffix-*ən*. It is attached to the verbal stem of the subordinate clause. In the main clause, both the main and the auxiliary verbs are marked. The main verb is in its jussive form, whereas the auxiliary verb is in the past form. The following examples in (2a-e) denote Type II conditional clause constructions.

(2)

a. *jan-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-t'-ən* *jan-Ø*
I-NOM Seqot'a to go-1SG-CNJ I-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-tʃ'ə* *win-u-n*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-1SG.JUSS AUX.PST-PRV-1SG
'If I went to Seqot'a, I wound drink mead.'

b. *jɨnn-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-ɨ-n-ən* *jɨnn-Ø*
we-NOM Seqot'a to go-EP-1PL-CNJ we-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-nə* *win-n-u-n*
mead drink-EP-1PL.JUSS AUX.PST-1PL-PRV-1PL
'If we went to Seqot'a, we would drink mead.'

c. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-ən* *ŋəŋ-Ø*
he-NOM Seqot'a to go-CNJ he-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-nə* *win-Ø- u*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-3SG.M.JUSS AUX.PST-3SG.M-PRV
'If he went to Seqot'a, he would drink mead.'

d. *ŋɨr-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-tɨr-ən* *ŋɨr-Ø*
she-NOM Seqot'a to go-3SG.F-CNJ she-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-r-ɨ-nə* *win-ɨ-tʃ*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-3SG.F-EP-3SG.F.JUSS AUX.PST-PRV-3SG.F
'If she went to Seqot'a, she would drink mead.'

e. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir ɨ-ŋ-ən* *ŋɨtaj-Ø*
they-NOM Seqot'a to go-EP-3PL-CNJ they-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-ŋ-ɨ-nə* win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-3PL-EP-3PL.JUSS AUX.PST-EP-3PL-PRV
'If they went to Seqot'a, they would drink mead.'

10.1.3. Conditional clause Type III (counterfactual conditionals)

Like the conditional clause Type II, the conditional clause Type III is expressed by the suffix-*ən,* but apart from Type II conditional clause, the suffix-*ən* is suffixed to the auxiliary verb form of the dependent clause of Type III, instead of suffixing to the main verb. In addition, like Type II conditional clause the main verb is always followed by the past form of the auxiliary verb according to the person, number and gender grammatical feafure. The following examples in (3a-e) denote Type III conditional clause constructions.

(3)

a. *jan-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fi-t'* *win-ən* *jan-Ø*
I-NOM Seqot'a to go-1SG AUX-CNJ I-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-k'* ` *win-u-n*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-1SG AUX.PST-PRV-1SG
'If I had gone to Seqot'a, I would have drunk mead.'

b. *jɨnn-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-ɨ-n* *win-ən* *jɨnn-Ø*
we-NOM Seqot'a to go-EP-1PL AUX-CNJ we-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-n* *win-n-u-n*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-1PL AUX.PST-1PL-PRV-1PL
'If we had gone to Seqot'a, we would have drunk mead.'

c.ŋəŋ-Ø *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* fir-Ø *win-ən* *ŋəŋ-Ø*
he-NOM Seqot'a to go-3SG.M. AUX.PST-CNJ he-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-Ø* *win-Ø-u*
mead-EP-ACC drink-3SG.M AUX.PST-3SG.M-PRV
'If he had gone to Seqot'a, he would have drunk mead.'

d. *ŋɨr-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə fi-tɨr* *win-d-ən* *ŋɨr-Ø*
she-NOM Seqot'a to go-3SG.F AUX.PST-3SG.F-CNJ she-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-r* *win-ɨ-tʃ*
mead-EP-ACC drink-EP-3SG.F AUX.PST-PRV-3SG.F
'If she had gone to Seqot'a, she would have drunk mead.'

e. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *sak'ut'ə* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-ɨ-ŋ* *win-ɨ-ŋ-ən* *ŋɨtaj-Ø*
they Seqot'a to go-EP-3PL AUX.PST-EP-3PL- CNJ they-NOM
miz-ɨ-t *zɨj-ɨ-ŋ* *win-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
mead-EPN-ACC drink-EP-3PL AUX.PST-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'If they had gone to Seqot'a, they would have drunk mead.'

10.2. TEMPORAL CLAUSES

The temporal clause is expressed by the morpheme-*ənd* 'when, while'. The morpheme -*ənd* is suffixed to the verbal stem of the subordinate clause. As shown in (4a-h), the temporal subordinate clause is embedded in the main clause.

(4)

a. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *jan-Ø* *till-ənd* *qal-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
they-NOM I-NOM roll dance-TEMP see-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They saw me when/while/ I roll danced.'

b. *jɨnn-Ø* *ŋɨtaj-Ø* dɨdɨmə-t *ab*ɨl-ɨ-*ŋ-ənd* *qal-ɨ-n-u-n*
we-NOM they-NOM baby-ACC smother-EP-3PL-TEMP see-EP-1PL-PRV-1PL
'We saw them when/while/ they smothered a baby.'

c. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *kɨt-Ø* *liβ-ɨ-r-ənd* *qal-Ø-u*
he-NOM you-NOM fall-EP-2SG-TEMP see-3SG.M-PRV
'He saw you when/while/ you fell down.'

d. *amaru-Ø* *jɨnn-Ø* *bəg^{w}ɨr*-ɨ-n-ənd *qal-ɨ-tʃ*
Amaru-NOM we-NOM jump-EP-1PL-TEMP see-PRV-3SG.F
'Amaru saw us when/while/ we jumped.'

e. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *kɨtɨn-Ø* *mi-t* *x^{w}-ɨ-r-ɨ-n-ənd* *qal-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
they-NOM you-NOM injera-ACC eat-EP-2-EP-2PL-TEMP see-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They saw you when/while/ you ate injera.'

f. *ɲəɲɲə-Ø* *ŋɨr-Ø* *laqɨt-ɨ-r-ənd* *qal-Ø-u*
Gnegne-NOM she-NOM vomit-EP-3SG.F-TEMP see-3SG.M-PRV
'Gnegne saw her when/while/ she vomited.'

g. *jan-Ø* *gulaʃə-Ø* *mirə-d* *bɨz-ənd* *qal-u-n*
I-NOM Guleshe-NOM gate-DEF open-TEMP see-PRV-1SG
'I saw Guleshe while/ he opened the gate.'

h. *ʃəwit-Ø* *bəb-ɨ-r-ənd* *bɨtʃ'ɨk'* *aq^{w}* *zɨj-ə-tʃ*
Shewit-NOM swim-EP-3SG.F-TEMP much water drink-IPV-3SG.F
'When/While Shewit swims, she drinks much water.'

10.3. PURPOSE CLAUSE

Although both purpose and equative clauses are semantically different, like the equative comparative noted in 9.4,1, the purpose clause is similarly marked by the same morpheme-*ŋə*. As can be observed from the various finite verbal forms of Khimt'nga, in all the subordinate clauses: relative clause, conditional clause types, temporal clause and complement clause, aspect is not marked. Thus, in the purpose clause, aspect is not marked as well. See examples in (5).

(5)

a. *jan-Ø* *fɨtʃ'ɨrə-d* *k'urʃə* *dʒɨβ-ɨ-ŋə* *tən-u-n*
I-NOM goat-DEF money buy-EP-PURP save-PRV-1SG
'I saved money in order to buy the goat.'

a. *ŋɨr-Ø* *k'anə-d* *k'iβ-ɨ-r-ɨ-ŋə* *βən-ʃ-ɨ-r-ku-tʃ*
she-NOM wood-DEF cut-EP-3SG.F-EP-PURP order-PASS-EP-SG.F-PRF-3SG.F
'She has been ordered to cut the tree.'

10.4. COMPLEMENT CLAUSE

In contrast, the complement clause is separately marked by the morpheme-*əŋə* with a slight morphological difference with the purpose **cl**ause mentioned in Section 10.3. The complement clause is not marked for person, number and gender. It can be identified in three ways in many languages of the world. "A complement type is identified basically by (i) the

morphology of the predicate, (ii) the sorts of syntactic relations the predicate has with its arguments (complement-internal syntax), and (iii) the syntactic relation of the complement construction as a whole with the rest of the sentence (complement-external syntax)" (Noonan 2007:54f). Let us consider the following examples in (6).

(6)

a. *jan-Ø tatɨnə are tɨg^{w}ə fi-t'-əŋə ŋɨr-Ø wəʃ-ɨ-tʃ*
I-NOM yesterday market to go-1SG-COMP she-NOM hear-PRV-3SG.F
'She heard that I went to market yesterday.'

b. *guləʃə-Ø ajɨr ŋɨn təss-əŋə adəru-Ø arq-Ø-u*
Guleshe-NOM new house build-COMP Aderu-NOM know-3SG.M-PRV
'Aderu knew that Guleshe built a new house.'

c. *t'amtəw-Ø ŋɨ-səβ b-əŋə arq-Ø-u*
Tamtew-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-job lack-COMP know-3SG.M-PRV
'Tamtew knew that he lost his job.'

10.5. CONVERB

The converb in Khimt'anga is productively formed from lexical roots, plus a set of subject agreement markers. The converb is a verb form that is used for the expression of subordination and does not form a sentence on its own. It is inflected for number: for the first, second and third person plural, and gender: for the third person singular only, it is also inflected for both the second person singular and plural. But it is not inflected for aspect. It is unmarked for aspect, tense and mood. However, the main (independent, matrix) verb inflects for aspect if it contains the converb as a subordinate clause. "An independent clause is one that is fully inflected, and capable of being integrated into discourse on its own" (Payne 1997:306).

The converb clause is semantically ambiguous. It functions as a clause chaining or as adverbial clause which modifies of the event expressed by the main verb. In clause-chaining

function, converb clauses indicate a sequence of different verbal events which precede the verbal event encoded by the main verb. Clause chaining may consist of only one converb or an indefinite number of them. "The adverbial and clause-chaining functions of converbs are not distinguished by grammatical morphemes but only by the discourse context" (Meyer 2012:174). It is also true in Khimt'anga in converb function. Unless one can understand from the context, it is not easily distinguished by the specific morphemes. As denoted in the extrated Text 2 of Appendix I, the converb is expressed by the bare stem. Consider the following examples in (7).

(7)

a. *ɨn-z*	*gort-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*	*dəŋt*	*tʃɨŋ-ənsɨk'*	*amdu*[63]	*tɨg^{w}ə*
PROX-INST	argue-3-EP-3PL-CNV	judge	find-RSLT	hyena.AUG	to
fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u					
go-3-EP-3PL-PRV					

'Having disagreed with this point (matter), they went to hyena to get justice.'

b. amdu-t	*bəwɨg-il*	*tʃ'ɨb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*	*birə*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-ɨ-*mə
hyena.AUG-ACC	before-LOC	stand-3-EP-3PL-CNV	ox	bear-EP-INTR
əχ^{w}ɨr-ajəw	*j-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*	*tʃ'əkk'-Ø-u*		
bear-NEG	say-3-EP-3PL-CNV	contest-3SG.M-PRV		

'Having stood before the hyena, they asked him saying, "Does an ox give birth to a calf or not?"

c. *amdu-Ø*	*gab*	*qɨran-d*	*qal-ənd*	*girə*
hyena.AUG-NOM	side	left-right-DEF	see-TEMP	after
ək'^{w}ɨŋə	*ək'^{w}ɨŋə*	*lɨwə*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-ənd*	
long years ago	RDP	cow	bear-TEMP	
j-Ø	*win-ɨ-tʃ*	*nitʃ'*	*nitʃ'*	
say-CNV	AUX.PST-PRV-3SG.F	today	RDP	
χɨʃ	*birə*	*jəŋ*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-əw-ɨ-d*	
but	ox	AUX.3SG.PRES	bear-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF	
jəŋ	*dəŋt-Ø-u*			
AUX.3SG.M.PRES	judge-3SG.M-PRV			

'Having looked at his left and right side, the hyena made a decision saying that in the olden days, it was the cow that would give birth to a calf, but nowadays, it is the ox that gives birth to a calf.'

[63] *amdu* 'hyena' is an augmentative form of *wik'ə*. *wik'ə* 'hyena' is a formal term which serves in a daily communication discourse use.

In addition, the elicited data in (8) also illustrate the function of converb.

(8)

a. *jan-Ø* *bəb-Ø* *tə-t'-u-n*
I-NOM swim-CNV come-1SG-PRV-1SG
'I having swum, I came.'

b. *kɨt-Ø* *bəb-Ø-ɨ-r* *tə-tɨr-u*
you-NOM swim-CNV-EP-2SG come-2SG-PRV
'You having swum, you came.'

c. *ŋəŋ-Ø* *bəb-Ø* *tər-Ø-u*
he-NOM swim-CNV come-3SG.M-PRV
'He having swum, he came.'

d. *ŋɨr-Ø* *bəb-Ø-ɨ-r* *tər-ɨ-tʃ*
she-NOM swim-CNV-EP-3SG.F come-PRV-3SG.F
'She having swum, she came.'

e. *jɨnn-Ø* *bəb-Ø- ɨ-n* *tər-ɨ-n-u-n*
we-NOM swim-CNV-EP-1PL come-EP-1P-PRV-1PL
'We having swum, we came.'

f. *kɨtɨn-Ø* *bəb-Ø-ɨ-r-ɨ-n* *tə-tɨr-ɨ-n-u*
you-NOM swim-CNV-EP-2PL-EP-2PL come-2PL-EP-2PL-PRV
'You having swum, you came.'

g. *ŋɨtaj-Ø* *bəb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ* *tər-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
they-NOM swim-CNV-EP-3PL come-3-EP-3PL-PRV
'They having swum, they came.'

The converb in this language has different functions. It is used to express the past perfect (habitual past) and to express future perfect with the modal component of likelihood or to express future with the modal component of likelihood.

10.5.1. The converb to express past perfect (habitual past)

One of the options of the use of converb is to employ the perfective copula in order to express past perfect (habitual past). The converb form of the main verb *abb-* 'fumigate' and the perfective copula form win- 'stay' are shown in paradigms (9).

(9)

1SG	*abb*	*winun*	'I had fumigated'
2SG	*abbɨr*	*windu*	'You had fumigated'
3SG.M	*abb*	*winu*	'He had fumigated'
3SG.F	*abbɨr*	*winɨtʃ*	'She had fumigated'
1PL	*abbɨn*	*winnun*	'We had fumigated'
2PL	*abbɨrɨn*	*windɨrɨnu*	'You had fumigated'
3PL	*abbɨŋ*	*winɨŋu*	'They had fumigated'

As can be understood from the above paradigms, the past perfect is expressed in the converb form of the main verb *abb-* plus the past form of the copula *win-*. Both the main verb *abb-*'fumigate' and the past copula win- 'stay' are inflected for various grammatical categories. The main verb is inflected for subject agreement markers with unmarked converb, whereas the past copula is inflected for the perfective aspect. See the sentential examples in (10).

(10)

a. *adəru ŋɨ-gas'* *əqar-Ø* *ŋɨ-χ^{w}ɨrə* *χ^{w}-Ø*
Aderu 3SG.M.POSS-face wash-CNV 3SG.M.POSS-food eat-CNV
ŋɨ-kɨdɨŋ-ŋɨn-d *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-Ø* *win-Ø-u*
3SG.M.POSS-education-house-DEF to go-CNV COP.PST-3SG.M-PRV
Aderu used to wash his face; eat his breakfast and then go to school.'

b. *abbɨr* *kanə-d* *win-ɨ-tʃ*
fumigate-EP-3SG.F wood-DEF COP.PST-PRV-3SG.F
'She had fumigated the wood.'

10.5.2. The converb to express future perfect (future) with the modal component of likelihood

The second option is to use the imperfective copula to express future perfect (future) with the converb and the modal component of likelihood. As can be observed in paradigms (11), the future perfect or future is expressed in the converb form of the main

verb plus the imperfective copula to express future perfect (future) with the modal component of likelihood.

(11)

1SG	*abb*	*wintʃ'ə*	*jəŋ*	'I might fumigate'
2SG	*abbɨr*	*wintə*	*jəŋ*	'You might fumigate'
3SG.M	*abb*	*wint'ə*	*jəŋ*	'He might fumigate'
3SG.F	*abbɨr*	*wintə*	*ŋi*	'She might fumigate'
1PL	*abbɨn*	*winnə*	*jəŋ*	'We might fumigate'
2PL	*abbɨrɨn*	*wintɨnə*	*jəŋ*	'You might fumigate'
3PL	*abbɨŋ*	*winɨŋt'ə*	*ŋaj*	'They might fumigate'

As can be seen from the above paradigms, the future perfect (future) is expressed in the converb form of the main verb *abb-* 'fumigate', the modal component of likelihood which is derived from past form of the copula *win-* 'stay' and the imperfective form of the copula: *jəŋ* used for (1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1LP and 2PL), *ŋi* (3SG.F) and *ŋaj* (3PL), respectively. The main verb *abb-*'fumigate', the modal component of likelihood and the imperfective form of the copula are differently marked. Like the past perfect in (9), the main verb is inflected for subject agreement markers with unmarked converb. In addition, the modal component of likelihood is inflected for the subject agreement markers plus optative, whereas, the imperfective copula is lexically expressed in different copula forms: *jəŋ*, *ŋi* and *ŋaj* (cf 11 above). See the sentential examples in (12).

(12)

a. gul*əʃə* *ammɨrə* *lalibəla* *tɨg^{w}ə* *fir-Ø* *win-t'ə* *jəŋ*
Guleshe tomorrow Lalibela to go-CNV COP.PST-3SG.M.OPT COP.PRES.3SG.M
'Guleshe might go to Lalibela.'

b. *t'ɨrunəʃ-taj* *ŋɨr-samɨr* *wɨt'e-d* *χaq-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*
T'irunesh-ASS.PL 3SG.F.POSS-friend.PL race-DEF defeate-EP-3PL-CNV
win-ɨ-ŋ-t'ə *ŋaj*
COP.PST-EP-3PL-OPT COP.PRES.3PL
'T'irunesh and her frends might win the race.'

10.6. CLEFT CONSTRUCTION

A cleft construction in Khimt'anga is based on the copular construction, but the arguments of the construction are in the reverse order of their constituents. When we find the order subject [...] predicate in the copular construction, the order predicate [...] subject is found in the cleft construction. The predicated element (in first position) is the clefted element and is followed by one of the copular forms i.e. either the copula *jəŋ*, *ŋi* or *ŋaj* depending on the person, number and gender, respectively for the present or the future meaning, *win-* for past meaning. The subject of the cleft construction is a relativized (nominalized) verb which takes the subject case marker if the verb is focused. The cleft construction functions as a focus. One can see examples in (13) by clefting *əfərə-d ŋɨ-iŋŋə-s tatɨnə birə jɨw-Ø-u* 'The child gave his mother an ox'.

(13)

a.*ŋɨ-iŋŋə-s* *tatɨnə* *birə* *jɨw-əw-ɨ-d*
3SG.M.POSS-mother-DAT yesterday ox give-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF
əfərə-d-Ø *jəŋ*
child-DEF-NOM COP.3SG.M.PRES
'It is the CHILD that gave an ox to his mother yesterday.'

b. *əfərə-d-Ø* *ŋɨ-iŋŋə-s* *birə* *jɨw-əw-ɨ-d*
child-DEF-NOM 3SG.M.POSS-mother-DAT ox give-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF
tatɨnə *jəŋ*
yesterday COP.3SG.M.PRES
'It is YESTERDAY that the child gave an ox to his mother.'

c. *tatɨnə* *əfərə-d-Ø* *birə* *jɨw-əj-ɨ-ʃən*
yesterday child-DEF-NOM ox give-3SG.F.REL-EP-DEF.3SG.F
ŋɨ-iŋŋə *ŋi*
3SG.M.POSS-mother COP.3SG.F.PRES
'It is HIS MOTHER that the child gave an ox yesterday.'

d. *əfərə-d-Ø* *tatɨnə* *ŋɨ-ŋŋə-s*
child-DEF-NOM yesterday 3SG.M.POSS-mother-DAT
birə *jəŋ* *jɨw-əw-ɨ-d*
ox COP.3SG.M.PRES give-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF
'It is the OX that the child gave to his mother yesterday.'

CHAPTER ELEVEN

SUMMARY

In this thesis, I have described the grammatical structure of Khimt'anga using both elicited and oral text based data. Khimt'anga is a Central Cushitic language spoken in the Amhara National Regional State, specifically in Waghimra special zone in the north part of Ethiopia. It is spoken by over 199,556 native speakers, but there has been little research on the language.

Including this chapter, the thesis is organised in eleven chapters. Chapter one provides background information on the Khimt'anga language and the people, statement of the problem, objective of the study, significance of the study, scope of the study, and fleetingly reviews previous studies. It also briefly discusses research methodology and procedures used in the study.

Chapters two describes the phonology of Khimt'anga. It identifies 33 consonant and 7 vowel phonemes, respectively. Out of the 33 consonants, six of them are labialised; and are not occurred in geminate forms. All vowels except *e* and *u* occur in word initial position. This chapter also provides a detail description of the geminates and the consonant clusters of the language. Some phonotactic constraints are also identified. The syllable structure and the morphophonemic processes are discussed.

Chapter three describes noun morphology. The topics discussed in this chapter include: inflectional and derivational morphology. The inflectional morphology focuses on number, gender, definiteness and case. The general number is morphologically unmarked, and the

singulative is marked by the suffix-*wə*. Plural marking is attested very complex and highly heterogeneous. Gender is expressed by suppletive leximes. Indefiniteness is not morphologically marked; it is expressed by the bare stem, and the cardinal number *law* 'one' and *laj* 'one' for masculine and feminine singular nouns, respectively. While definiteness is expressed by the suffixes-*d* and -*ʃən;* the former suffix is used for masculine singular and plural definite nouns, whereas the latter is for feminine singular definite nouns. Eight case marking strategies are identified. They are nominative, accusative, genitive, dative, locative, instrumental, ablative and comitative. Out of these eight case formatives, the nominative case is unmarked, the remaining cases are expressed by different suffixes. Khimt'anga is productive in noun derivation process. The six type of derived nouns are identified. These derived nouns are formed using different suffixes. The six categories of derived nouns include: agentive, instrumental, verbal, abstract, manner and result. Moreover, compound nouns of Khimt'anga, are also treated in this chapter. Khimt'anga allows N+N, ADJ+N and N+PSTP kinds of compounding that characterize as a single noun. In addition, this broad chapter presents proper nouns and temporal nouns. Personal names evolve from common nouns, adjectives and verbs. The semantic notion of personal names is culturally known. A Khimra person has several names besides his or her birth name: a Christian name, a nickname, etc. In temporal nouns' section, the seven days of the week, the thirteen months of the year and the four seasons of the year are discussed.

Chapter 4 discusses the pronoun system, and forms and functions of the intensifier. The pronoun system includes the demonstratives, the personal pronouns and the reciprocal pronouns. The intensifier mainly occurs with the dative, the instrumental and the ablative personal pronouns.

Chapter 5 deals with the verb morphology: various aspects of verbs are addressed. These include the verb root, stem, inflectional categories of verbs such as subject (agreement) markers, perfective, imperfective, perfect, past perfect, progressive aspect and mood. Different vebal derivational processes are also discussed. The verb derivation includes valence increasing and valence decreasing processes. In valence increasing processes, the causative and adjutative are treated. In valence decreasing processes, the middle, the passive and the reciprocal are discussed. In addition, other derivational processes such as frequentative, inchoative and composite (compound) verbs are described.

Chapter 6 deals with the verb 'to have' (predicative possession), locative -existential verb and the copula constructions. These types of verb construction are irregular in Khimt'anga. They do not follow regular patterns. The predicative possession is formed by a combination two verbs. The main verb *s'aj-*'hold'and different auxiliary verbs are essentially required to construct the predicative possession. Therefore, the main verb *s'aj-*'hold' plus auxiliary verbs: *jəŋ,* for 1SG, 2SG, 3SG.M, 1PL and 2PL in the present tense; whereas the verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verbs *ŋi* and *naj* for the third person feminine singular and the third person plural can construct the predicative possession, respectively. In contrast, the predicative possession construction is formed by the use of the main verb *s'aj-* 'hold' plus the auxiliary verb *win-* in the past tense. This auxiliary *win-* is also inflected for various grammatical categories such as person, number, gender and perfective aspect. Like the predicative possession, the copula construction is also highly heterogeneous and unpredictable in form. In common with the other Agaw languages, Khimt'anga has a number of other roots that can be glossed as 'be, exist' *aq-*, *ɨk^{w}*, *jəŋ* , *ŋi, naj* and *win-* (past form of be). The last example *win-* is only inflected for person, gender and number in the past tense.

Chapter 7 discusses adjectives, quantifiers, adverbs, conjunctions and postpositions. The conjunctions are: the coordinative, disjunctive, adversative, additive and resultative.

Chapter 8 discusses the negative verb constructions of Khimt'anga. Negation is formed in several different ways. The vast majority of these constructions require the finite verb stems. It is attested that Khimt'anga employs multiple formatives in expressing negation for different finite and non-finite verbs.

Chapter 9 deals with the word order, the noun phrase, simple and comparative sentences. A noun phrase of Khimt'anga can consist of just a noun alone, a head noun and a definite suffix. It may also comprise different adnominal constituents. They include attributive adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, genitives (possessives) and relative clauses.

Finally, Chapter 10 discusses a complex clause that contains one or more subordinate clause(s), and a main (or matrix) clause. When the subordinate and the main clauses occur in the complex clause, the subordinate clause always precedes the main clause.

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APPENDICES

In this section, two transcribed and glossed stories are presented. The first text is the story talking about a husband who developed bad behaviour, and the second one is a story about a fox and a leopard. Both texts are presented in three line interlinear morpheme by morpheme glosses adopted from Leipzig Glossing Rules. In the first line, the morpheme boundaries are indicated. In the second line, the translation of lexemes and glossing of grammatical morphemes are given. And in the third line, a free translation of the whole sentence is given.

APPENDIX I: TEXTS

Text 1: *jɨnanz aw χu əfə?* 'Who ate with my hand?'

jɨ-nan-z	*aw*	*χ-Ø-u*	*əfə*
1SG.POSS-hand-INST	who	eat-3SG.M-PRV	INTJ

'Who ate with my hand?'

la-w	*gɨlɨwə-zɨmə*	*la-j*	*əwɨnə-s*	*gabb-ɨʃ-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u-Ø*
one-3SG.M	male-CNJ	one-3S.F	female-DAT	offer-PASS-3-EP-3PL-PRV-CNV
s'ɨb-əŋ^{w}		*win-Ø-ɨ- ŋ-u*		
live-PROG		AUX-3-EP-3PL-PRV		

'There lived a couple' (a husband and a wife)

ɨd	*j-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*	*s'ɨb-ɨ-ŋ ənd*	*k^{w}ərə*	*gɨlɨwə-d*
DIST	say-3-EP-3PL-CNV	live-EP-3PL-TEMP	time	male-DEF
tʃɨqa	*amɨl*	*fɨs-s-Ø-u*		
bad	behaviour	display-CAUS-3SG.M-PRV		

'While they lived in such a way, the man developed bad behaviour.'

ɨn-ɨ-m	*ŋɨ-əwɨnə*	*asɨl-d-əw*	*ɨrəq^{w}*	*dɨk'-i*
PROX-EP-INC	3SG.M.POSS-woman	prepare-3SG.F-REL	material	tell-NEG
ŋ-əwɨnə	*j-ɨ-rəj-zɨrɨ-nə*	*mi-m*	*anə*	*t'ɨt'ɨqun*
3SG.M..POSS-woman	say-EP-3SG.F.REL-CNJ-JUSS	bread-INC	neither	boiled grain
winɨm	*burə*	*sɨŋ^{w}-Ø*	*χ^{w}-əw*	*win-Ø-u*
or	porridge	steal-CNV	eat-3SG.M.REL	AUX.PST-3SG.M- PRV

'That newly developed behaviour was that he began to steal and eat boiled grains, bread (injera) or porridge.'

əwɨnə-ʃən *ɨn-z* *j-ɨ-əw* *gəβə-z* *tʃ'ɨqɨŋə*
woman-3SG.F.DEF PROX-INST say-EP-3SG.M-REL thing-INST extremely
tʃ'ənk'-ɨʃ-ɨ-r-əŋ^{w} *niqɨs'əw* *k^{w}ər* *s'ɨb-ɨ-tʃ*
worry-PASS-EP-3SG.F-PROG much time live-PRV-3SG.F
'The woman, being extremely worried about her husband's actions, for a long time, she lived in this way.'

la-w *k^{w}ərə* *χɨʃ* *ŋɨ-gure-t* *ajɨβɨsɨtə* *bənn-ɨ-tʃ*
one-3SG.M time but 3SG.M.POSS-husband-ACC shame want-PRV-3SG.F
'One day, she wanted to get her husband ashamed.'

la-w *s'arəm* *asɨl-dɨr-ɨ-tʃ*
one-3SG.M method prepare-3SG.F-PRV-3SG.F
Then, she invented a solution.'

ɨn-z *məț'ɨn-ɨ-m* *kunu* *t'ɨt'ɨqun*
PROX-INST therefore-EP-INC night boiled grain
s'aw-ɨ-r-Ø *tʃ'-ɨ-r-Ø* *k'ɨʃən ə-j-iz*
cook-EP-3SG.F-CNV spend the night-EP-3SG.F-CNV dawn-EP-INST
ŋɨr-*s'am-t'-ɨ-dʒɨk'* *tʃ'in-d* *ŋɨr-sig-il*
3SG.F.POSS-friend-PL-EP-COM pitcher-DEF 3SG.F.POSS-back-LOC
məw-ɨ-r-Ø *aq^{w}* *qədaq-ɨ-r* *nəs-ɨ-ʈɨr-Ø*
carry-EP-3SG.F-CNV water fetch-EP-3SG.F bring-EP-3SG.F-CNV
ŋɨ-gure *χɨr-Ø-ŋə* *ŋɨllə* *mal-dɨr-Ø*
3SG.M.POSS-husband sleep-CNV-COMP alone drop-3SG.F-CNV
wirβə-l *fir-ɨ-tʃ-*
liver-LOC go-PRV-3SG.F
'Having boiled grains in the evening, carrying the pitcher on her back, to fetch water, while her husband was still sleeping alone, she went to a river.'

gɨlɨwə-d-ɨ-m *ŋɨ-əwɨnə* *aq^{w}* *nəs-ɨ-ʈɨr-Ø*
male-DEF-EP-INC 3SG.M.POSS-wife water bring-EP-3SG.F-CNV
fi-tɨr-ə-tʃ *arqə* *bər* *kunu* *s'aw-ɨʃ-ɨ-k^{w}*
go-3SG.F-IPV-3SG.F knowledge leave night boil-PASS-EP-3PL.REL
t'ɨt'ɨqun-d *ŋ=nan-t'an-d* *bər-Ø*
boiled grains-DEF 3SG.M.CL.POSS=hand-PL-DEF leave-CNV
χ^{w}-ɨ-t'əŋə *kirɨm-Ø-u*
eat-EP-3SG.M.OPT start-3SG.M-PRV
'Knowing that his wife went to fectch water, he put his hands to the pot to eat the boiled grains.'

qəna-z *əfɨt-ɨ-sɨk'* *χ-Ø-u*

extreme-INST satisfy-EP-REAS eat-3SG.M-PRV

'He ate to his fill.'

ɨd-ɨ-z *gɨrə-m* *ŋɨ-nan-t'an-d* *aqar-t'əŋə*

DIST-EPN-INST after-INC 3SG.M.POSS-hand-PL-DEF wash-3SG.M.OPT

bənn-Ø *tʃ'in-il* *aq^{w}* *qal-ən* *b-Ø-u*

want-CNV pitcher -LOC water see-CNJ lack-3SG.M-PRV

'After that, he wanted to wash his hands, but could not get water in the pitcher.'

ɨd-en-z *gɨrə-m* *qal-ənd* *arɨwə-l*

DIST-3SG.M-INST after-INC see-TEMP surrounding-LOC *f-Ø-Ø*

go out-3SG.M-CNV

ʃiməkʼɨl *gab-il* *g^{w} j-Ø-u* *wardə ward-ənəw*

elderly people.PL side-LOC sit say-3SG.M-PRV play play-NMZ

kirɨm-Ø-u

start-3SG.M-PRV

Then, leaving the village, he went to the elderly people, sat down with them, and started playing.'

ɨdəsərəm *wirβə-l* *aq^{w}* *qədaq-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø* *tər-tʼiŋə*

then river-LOC water fetch-3-EP-3PL-CNV come-3PL.OPT

fir-ək^{w} *ək^{w}ɨn-d* *watʼir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*

go-3PL.REL woman.P-DEF return-3-EP-3PL-CNV

ŋɨta-kiw *tʼiw-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*

3PL.POSS-village enter-3-EP-3PL-PRV

'Then, the women who went to fetch water returned back to their respective home having done so.'

i-tʃen *əwɨnə-ʃən* *ŋɨr-kiw* *tʼiw-ɨ-r-əŋə*

DIST-3SG.F woman-3SG.F.DEF 3SG.F.POSS-village enter-EP-3SG.F-COMP

jɨ-tʼɨtʼɨqun *sʼaw-ɨʃ-Ø* *win-əw* *tʃ'in-d*

1SG.POSS-boiled grains boil-PASS-CNV AUX-3SG.M.REL pitcher-DEF

qal-d-ənd *sʼaw-ɨʃ- əw* *χ^{w}-ɨ-ʃɨt-Ø* *niti* *tʃɨŋ-ɨ-tʃ*

see-3SG.F-TEM boil-PASS-3SG.M.REL eat-EP-PASS-CNV null find-PRV-3SG.F

'That woman as she arrived home, and when looked at the pitcher, she found that the boiled grain was eaten and decreased.'

ɨn-tʃen-*z* *gɨrə-m* *bizə* *fir-Ø* *fɨww-ɨ-tʃ*
PROX-3SG.F-INST after-INC outside go-CNV scream-PRV-3SG.F
‘Then, she went out, and started screaming

ɨd-ɨ-zaj *wəʃ-ək’*^{w} *gɨlk’*^{w}*-ɨ-d* *wərəŋə*
PROX-EP-P hear-3P.REL male.PL-EP-DEF what
arɨw-Ø *j- Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø* *gɨlɨbb-Ø- ɨ-ŋ-Ø*
be-CNV say-3-EP-3PL-CNV getback-3-EP-3PL-CNV-
ŋɨr-g^{w}ə fir-*Ø*-ɨ-ŋ-u
3SG.F.POSS-toward go-3-EP-3PL-PRV
‘And those men who heard her screaming went to her to ask what happened to her.’

ŋɨr-ɨ-m *kiw* *qarʃ-ɨ-ŋ-ək’*^{w} *gɨlk’*^{w}*-ɨ-d*
she-EP-INC village delay-EP-3PL-REL male.PL-EP-DEF
jɨ-t’ɨt’ɨqun-d *χ*^{w}*-ɨ-r- ɨ-n* *ɨk*^{w}*-ɨ- r-ɨ-n-Ø*
SG.POSS-boiled grains-DEF eat-EP-2-EP-2PL exist-EP-2-EP-2PL-CNV
j-ɨ-tʃ
say-PRV-3SG.F
‘And the woman said the men who stayed at home must have had the boiled grains.’

gɨlk’^{w}*-ɨ-d-ɨ-m* *χ*^{w}*-inək’ ɨm* *j-Ø*-ɨ-ŋ-*Ø* *s’ar-Ø*-ɨ-ŋ-u
male.PL-EP-DEF-EP-INC eat-NEG say-3-EP-3PL-CNV swear-3-EP-3PL-PRV
‘The men swore, saying that they did not eat the boiled grains.’

ŋɨr-ɨ-m *ŋɨr-gure* *tɨg*^{w}*ə* *alt-tɨr-Ø*
she-EP-INC 3SG.M-POSS-husband to near-3SG.F-CNV
k*ɨt-ɨ-m* *arʃə* *wig-ɨ-tʃ’* j-*ɨ-tʃ*
you-EP-INC farmer speak-EP-2SG.IMP say-PRV-3SG.F
‘Getting closer to her husband, the woman asked to him to tell her if he had eaten the boiled grains.’

ŋəŋ-ɨ-m *χ*^{w}*-ik’ər ɨm* *j-əw*
he-EP-INC eat-NEG say-3SG.M.REL
s’ar-t’əŋə *kirɨm-Ø-u*
swear-3.OPT start-3SG.M.PRV
‘And he started swearing saying that, “I did not eat it.”

kɨt-Ø *ammɨn-ək'ɨm* *kɨ-nan-t'an-d* *fis-s-ɨ-r-Ø*
you-ACC believe-NEG 2SG.POSS-hand-PL-DEF display-CAUS-EP-2-IMP
qal-ʃ *j-ɨ-r-ənd* *q^{w}at'ɨq^{w}at'ɨj-əŋ^{w}* *ŋɨ-nan-t'an-d*
see-PASS say-EP-3SG.F-TEM tremble-PROG 3SG.M.POSS-hand-PL-DEF
fis-s-Ø *ŋi-nan-il* *s'ib-əw* *t'ɨt'ɨqun-iz*
display-CAUS-CNV 3SG.M.POSS-hand-LOC live-3SG.M.REL boiled grain-INST
lɨgəgə-d *qal-Ø* *bər-Ø* *ajiβit-əsɨnk'*
jelly like liquid-DEF see-CNV leave-CNV shame-REAS
ɨ j-nan-z *aw t'ɨt'ɨqun* *χ-Ø-u* *əfə*
1SG.POSS-hand-INST who boiled grains eat-3SG.M-PRV INRJ
'And his wife said, "I do not trust you, take out your hands, and show me," taking out his hands with fear, he said, "Who ate with my hand the boiled grains, looking at the jelly like left over on his hand."'

ɨn-z-ɨ-m *ɨnk'* *gɨlk^{w}-ɨ-d* *sɨŋ^{w}-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø-ənd*
PROX-INST-EP-INC all male.PL-EP-DEF steal-3-EP-3PL-CNV-TEMP
arq-ɨ-ŋ-sɨnk'
know-EP-3PL-REAS
ajiβɨt-ənd *jɨ-nan-z* *aw* *sɨŋ^{w}-Ø*
shame-TEMP 1SG.POSS-hand-INST who steal-CNV
χ-Ø-u
eat-3SG.M-PRV
*j-Ø-*ɨ*-*ŋ*-Ø* *sinz-Ø* *j-Ø-ək^{w}* *jəŋ*
say-3-EP-3PL-CNV kid-CNV say-3SG.M.3SG.M-IPV AUX.3SG.M
'Consequently, having known as he stole the boiled grains, he got ashamed of, all the men kidded at him saying that who ate with his hand.'

Text 2*: bədʒɨwə-zɨmə q^{w}əs'ɨlə* 'A leopard and a fox'

bədʒɨwə-zɨmə	*q^{w}əs'ɨlə*	*are-d*	*fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
leopard-CNJ	fox	market-DEF	go-3-EP-3PL-PRV

'A leopard and a fox went the market.'

bədʒɨwə	*ŋɨ-birə-d*	*dʒɨβ-Ø-u*
leopard-	3SG.M.POSS-ox-DEF	buy-3SG.M-PRV

'The leopard bought the ox.'

q^{w}əs'ɨlə	*ŋ̇ɨr-tʃɨŋ̇ər-iz*	*lɨwə-t*	*dʒɨβ-ɨ-tʃ*
fox	3SG.F.POSS-part-INST	cow-ACC	buy-PRV-3SG.F

'And the fox on its part bought the cow.'

ɨn-z	*gɨrə*	*birə-zɨmə*	*lɨwə-ʃən*
PROX-INST	after	ox-CNJ	cow-DEF.F
ŋ̇ɨta-liŋ̇ə-d			
3PL.POSS-two-DEF			
tirə tirə-j-iz		*χajj-ənəw*	*kirɨm-Ø-ɨ-ŋ̇*
turn RDP-gli-INST		look after-NMZ	start-EP-3PL

'Then, both of them started looking after the ox and the cow turn by turn.'

la-w	*gɨre*	*bədʒɨwə-tu*	*tirə*	*win-Ø-u*
one-3SG.M	day	leopard-GEN	turn	COP.PRES-3SG.M-PRV

'One day was the turn of the leopard.'

la-j-ɨ-d	*gɨre-j-iz*	*q^{w}əs'ɨlə-t*	*lɨwə*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-ɨ-tʃ*
one-3SG.F-EP-DEF	day-gli-INST	fox-GEN	cow	bear-PRV-3SG.F

'On that day, the fox's cow gave birth to a calf.'

bədʒɨwə	*ɨn-en-t*	*qal-əŋ̇ə*	*lɨwə-t*	*ədʒɨŋ̇ə-d*	*g^{w}ij*
leopard	PROX-3SG.M-ACC	see-COMP	cow-GEN	umbilical cord-DEF	pick
ŋ̇=birə-j-iz		*dʒɨt'-il*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-əw*	*təkɨz-Ø*	*əq^{w}ər-Ø-u*

3SG.M.CL.POSS=ox-gli-INST buttock-LOC bear-3SG.M.REL seem-CNV put-3SG.M-PRV

'When the leopard saw this, he took the umbilical cord from the cow, and put it at the buttock of the ox.'

ŋɨzɨla	*kiw*	*fir-Ø*	*jɨ-birə-d*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-Ø*	*j-Ø-u*
then after	home	go-CNV	1SG.POSS-ox-DEF	bear-CNV	say-3SG.M-PRV

'Then, he went home, and said [to the fox],"My ox gave birth to a calf."'

q^{w}əs'ɨlə	*birə-mə*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-Ø-ək^{w}*	*j-r əj*	*waq ɨr-ɨ-tʃ*
fox	ox-INTR	bear-3SG.M-IPV	say-3SG.F.REL	ask-PRV-3SG.F

'The fox asked, "Does the ox give birth to a calf?" '

ɨn-z	*gort-Ø-ɨ- ŋ-Ø*	*dəŋt*	*tʃɨŋ-ənsɨk'*	*amdu*	*tɨg^{w}ə*	*fir-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*
PROX-INST	argue-3-EP-3PL-CNV	judge	find-RSTL	hyena.AUG	to	go-3-EP-3PL-PRV

'Having disagreed with this point (matter), they went to a hyena to ask her to judge.'

amdu-t	*bəwɨg-il*	*tʃ'ɨb-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*	*birə*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-ɨ-*mə
hyena.AUG-ACC	before-LOC	stand-3-EP-3PL-CNV	ox	bear-EP-INTR *əχ^{w}ɨr-*
ajəw	*j-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø*	*tʃ'əkk'-Ø-u*		
bear-NEG	say-3-EP-3PL-CNV	contest-3SG.M-PRV		

'Having stood before the hyena, they asked him saying, "Does an ox give birth to a calf or not?"

amdu-Ø	*gab*	*qɨran-d*	*qal-ənd*	*gɨrə*
hyena.AUG-NOM	side	left-right-DEF	see-TEMP	after
ək'^{w}ɨŋə	*ək'^{w}ɨŋə*	*lɨwə*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-ənd*	
long years ago	RDP	cow	bear-TEMP	
j-Ø	*win-ɨ-tʃ*	*nitʃ'*	*nitʃ'*	
say-CNV	AUX-PRV-3SG.F`	today	RDP	
χɨʃ	*birə*	*jəŋ*	*əχ^{w}ɨr-əw-ɨ-d*	
but	ox	AUX	bear-3SG.M.REL-EP-DEF	
jəŋ	*dəŋt-Ø-u*			
AUX	judge-3SG.M-PRV			

'Having looked at his left and right side, the hyena made a decision saying that in the old days, it was the cow that would give birth to a calf, but nowadays, it is the ox that gives birth to a calf.'

q^{w}əs'ɨlə	*lazə*	*tʃ'əkk'-ərɨm*	*j-ɨ-rəj*	
fox	another	contest-NEG	say-EP-3SG.F-REL	
amdu-t	*arq-ajəwɨm*	*j-ɨ-r-ənd*	*gɨrə*	*gəβə-d*
hyena.AUG-GEN	know-NEG	say-EP-3SG.F-TEMP	after	thing-DEF
tʃ'əllu-t	*tɨg^{w}ə*	*fis-ɨ-tʃ*		
monkey.DIM-GEN	to	take-PRV-3SG.F		

'And the fox which was not convinced by the decision made by the hyena, took the case to the monkey.'

ŋɨ-dʒɨk'	*tʃɨŋ-əŋə*	*awɨ*tʃ*ɨr-Ø-u*
3SG.M.POSS-COM	reach-COMP	good morning-3SG.M-PRV
tʃ'əllu	*j-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-u*	
monkey.DIM	say-3-EP-3PL-PRV	

*'*And as they reached there, they greeted the monkey saying good morning.'

mizenanə j-ɨ-tʃ	*tʃ'əllu*	*ŋɨr=tirə-j-iz*
praise say-EP-3SG.F	monkey.DIM	3SG.F=turn-gli-INST

'And the monkey said, "Praise God", in her turn.'

tikɨnz-ɨ-ŋ-Ø	*wərəŋə*	*səraʃ-ɨ-r-ənd*
follow-EP-3PL-CNV	what	work-EP-3SG.F-TEMP
j-Ø-ɨ-ŋ-Ø	*waqɨr-Ø -ɨ-*ŋ-u	
say-3-EP-3PL-CNV	ask-3-EP-3PL-PRV	

'And then, they asked her what she was doing.'

ŋɨr-ɨ-m	*j-ir*	*ga*
she-EP-INC	1SG.POSS-father	cave
sak'-ɨ-n-əŋ^{w}	*jəŋ*	*j-ɨ-tʃ*
sew-EP-1SG-PROG	AUX	say PRV-3SG.F

'And, she said, "I am sewing the cave of my father."

bədʒɨwə-d	*ŋɨr-ɨ-m*	*mɨdʒə-s*	*ləmɨr-Ø*
leopard-DEF	she-EP-INC	mouth-DAT	receive-CNV
ga-mə	*s'aʃɨw-Ø*	*j-Ø-u*	
cave-INTR	sew-CNV	say-3SG.M-PRV	

'And taking from her mouth, the leopard said immediately, "Is a cave sewn?"

tʃ'əllu	*ŋɨr=tirə-j-iz*	*ɨd-ɨ-wə*
monkey.DIM	3SG.F.CL.POSS=turn-gli-INST	PROX-EP-SGL
birə-mə	*əχ*^{w}*ɨr-əw*	*j-ɨ-rəj*
ox-INTR	bear-3SG.M.REL	say-EP-3SG.F.REL
dəŋt-ɨ-tʃ	*j-ɨ-ʃɨt-Ø-ək*^{w}	
judge-PRV-3SG.F	say-EP-PASS-3SG.M-IPV	

'And the monkey replied, "Then how the ox gives birth to a calf? ", in her turn, and eventually, it was concluded that the monkey was hunted by the leopard.'

APPENDIX II: SAMPLE OF NOUN WORD LISTS FOR PLURAL MARKING

In this section, the sample noun word list of Khimt'anga is presented to show the degree of complexity and heterogeneous nature of plural marking. The noun word lists are arranged based on their frequencies. Their frequency arrangement is from the highest to the lowest percentages of the proportion of the plural marking formatives. Consequently, the following noun word lists are not arranged in their alphabetical order. For matters of space, the noun word lists are presented in a single space.

Singular	Plural	Gloss
1. *bənnə*	*bənnə-t'*	longing'
2. *gojɨtə*	*gojɨtə-t'*	lit. 'diarrhoea'
3. *daqa*	*daqa-t'*	'remnants, residue'
4. *k'ərs'əsarə*	*k'ərs'əsarə-t'*	'resin'
5. *kubajə*	*kubajə-t'*	'cup'
6. *ziləsɨfɨrə*	*ziləsɨfɨrə-t'*	'nest'
7. *tʃ'əwɨn*	*tʃəwɨn-t'*	'plea'
8. *tʃ'arə*	*tʃa'rə-t'*	'summer'
9. *jiwɨn*	*jiwɨn–t'*	'gift, present'
10. *wardə*	*wardə-t'*	'play, game'
11. *afɨrə*	*afɨrə-t'*	'froth'
12. *ʃəŋŋə*	*ʃəŋŋə-t'*	'hump'
13. *s'aŋɨn*	*s'aŋɨn-t'*	'journey '
14. *dəŋt*	*dəŋtɨ-t'*	'judgment'
15. *tʃ'in*	*tʃ'in-t'*	'pitcher'
16. *ŋɨn*	*ŋɨn-t'*	'house'
17. *bow*	*bowɨ-t'*	'forehead'
18. *ajɨβəŋŋə*	*ajɨβəŋŋə-t'*	'shy'
19. *gibə*	*gibɨ-t'*	'eyebrow'
20. *barɨnt'ə*	*barɨnt'ɨ-t'*	'hat'
21. *amzə*	*amzɨ-t'*	lit. 'kind of bread '
22. *baltə*	*baltɨ-t'*	'joke'
23. *ɨŋŋə*	*ɨŋŋɨ-t'*	'mother'(blood relation)'
24. *təzə*	*təzɨ-t'*	'shelter'
25. *aqɨs'ə*	*aqɨsɨ-t'*	'crocodile'
26. *ɨtʃ'əwə*	*tʃəwɨ-t'*	'scorpion'
27. *arfis'ə*	*arfɨsɨ-t'*	'termite hill'
28. *akɨβə*	*akɨβɨ-t'*	'conference'
29. *χaŋsətə*	*χaŋsətɨ-t'*	'cheater'
30. *ziβətə*	*ziβətɨ-t'*	'dancer'

31. *χajjətə* *χajjəti-t'* 'defender'
32. *qas'irətə* *as'irəti-t'* 'employer'
33. *aniwə* *aniwi-t'* 'remorse'
34. *kirimətə* *kirimə ti-t'* 'founder'
35. *s'ark'ə* *s'ark'i-t'* 'garment'
36. *t'abitə* *t'abiti-t'* 'globule'*(*pours of the blood*)*
37. *digitə* *digiti-t'* 'greeting'
38. *ligisətə* *ligisəti-t'* 'guardian'
39. *lejətə* *lejəti-t'* 'heir'
40. *aβizirtə* *aβizirti-t'* 'congratulation'
41. *təkə* *təki-t'* 'image'
42. *tʃilfə* *tʃilfi-t'* 'ladle'
43. *ədusətə* *adusəti-t'* 'lender'
44. *adiwə* *adiwi-t'* 'loan'
45. *bəʃə* *bəʃi-t'* 'bottle' (milking bottle like calabash)
46. *kimətə* *kiməti-t'* 'ruler'
47. *lizətə* *lizəti-t'* '*m*ourner'
48. *qalətə* *qaləti-t'* 'observer, spectator'
49. *aniwiʃətə* *aniwiʃəti-t'* 'penitent'
50. *gibbə* *gibbi-t'* 'pocket'
51. *aβirətə* *aβirəti-t'* 'poet'
52. *ləmirətə* *ləmirəti-t'* 'receiver'
53. *qaqətə* *qaqəti-t'* 'remainder'
54. *malqulfə* *malqulfi-t'* 'safety pin'
55. *βiβə* *βiβi-t'* '*s*nail'
56. *tʃibirətə* *tʃibirəti-t'* 'usher'
57. *sarrə* *sarri-t'* 'spider'
58. *milgiβə* *milgiβi-t'* 'patchier'
59. *filt'ə* *filt'i-t'* 'flea'
60. *k'ərs'ə* *k'ərs'-t'* 'thorn tree'
61. *kortʃə* *kortʃi-t'* 'saddle'
62. *gədəβə* *gədəβi-t'* 'stirrup'
63. *tinətə* *tinəti-t'* 'follower'
64. *dəmzə* *dəmzi-t'* 'interest'
65. *kindətə* *kindəti-t'* 'student'
66. *kinsətə* *kinsəti-t'* 'teacher'
67. *arqətə* *arqəti-t'* 'intellectual, knowledgeable'
68. *kitə* *kiti-t'* 'shirt'
69. *wit'etə* *wit'eti-t'* 'runner'
70. *s'iwizə* *s'iwizi-t'* 'disease'
71. *marrəbbo* *marrəbbi-t'* 'gourd'
72. *kirβinə* *kirβin-t'* 'drum'
73. *giβənə* *giβən-t'* 'file'
74. *s'irs'ənə* *s'irs'ən-t'* 'arrow'

75. *k'ɨntʃ'ɨχarə* *k''ɨntʃ'ɨχar-t'* 'soldier ant'
76. *s'ɨldɨnə* *s'ɨldɨn-t'* 'charcoal'
77. *dʒɨnə* *dʒɨn–t'* 'umbilical cord'
78. *daqɨs'ənə* *daqɨs'ən-t'* 'bow'
79. *siβɨrə* *siβɨr-t'* *'s*nake'
80. *midələ* *midəl-t'* 'arm'
81. *dɨqulə* *dɨqul-t'* 'fist'
82. *əsɨŋə* *əsɨŋ-t'* 'mucus'
83. *wəβərə* *wəβər-t'* 'team work'
84. *atinə* *atin-t'* 'bamboo'
85. *awɨlə* *awɨl-t'* 'small mushroom'
86. *zilə* *zil-t'* 'bird'
87. *k'əlk'ilə* *kalk'ɨl-t'* *'s*mall cliff'
88. *bəwənə* *bəwən-t'* 'carrying tools' *(*of baby*)*
89. *s'əβɨrə* *s'əβɨr-t'* 'dam'
90. *tulfulə* *tulful-t'* 'troop'
91. *qams'ən ə* *qams'ən-t'* 'a small calabash'
92. *k'ɨfənə* *k'ɨfən-t'* 'container' (of grain*)*
93. *sɨg^{w}ənə* *sɨg^{w}ən-t'* 'pestle'
94. *tunə* *tun-t'* 'spring season'
95. *s'ɨbənə* *s'ɨbən-t'* 'residence'
96. *wat'ɨrə* *wat'ɨr-t'* 'response'
97. *aqɨlɨnə* *aqɨlɨn-t'* 'patience'
98. *s'ɨranə* *s'ɨran-t'* 'thatch'
99. *kibenə* *kiben-t'* 'rung' (of ladder*)*
100. *ʃinə* *ʃin-t'* lit. 'sand'
101. *əs'ɨwənə* *əs'ɨwən-t'* 'sash'
102. *wat'ɨβənə* *wat'ɨβən-t'* 'sieve'
103. *s'awɨrə* *s'awɨr-t'* 'rope, snare'
104. *mikərə* *mikər-t'* 'misery'
105. *ɨkɨlə* *ɨkɨl-t'* 'distance'
106. *dʒɨsənə* *dʒɨsən-t'* 'pan'
107. *s'ɨwɨzɨdʒɨnə* *s'ɨwɨzɨdʒɨn-t'* 'patient'
108. *k'urfənə* *k'urfən-t'* 'pillow'
109. *waqɨrə* *waqɨr-t'* 'question'
110. *baqonə* *baqon-t'* 'lair'
111. *fəlfələ* *fəlfəl-t'* 'feather'(of bird)
112. *zədʒɨrə* *zədʒɨ-t'* 'baboon'
113. *əgɨrə* *əgɨ-t* 'placenta'
114. *məjɨrə* *məjɨ-t'* 'sickle'
115. *ədorə* *ədo-t'* 'debtor'
116. *guqurə* *guqu-t'* 'insane'
117. *sɨŋ^{w}ərə* *sɨ ŋ^{w}ə-t'* 'thief'
118. *nigɨrə* *nigɨ-t'* 'trade'

119. *k'abərə* *k'abə-t'* 'nanny-goat *'(*young*)'*
120. *χɨmɨrə* *χɨmɨ-t'* 'Khimt'anga speaking person'
121. *gure* *guri-t'* 'king, husband*'*
122. *gule* *guli-t'* 'queen'
123. *ələziləze* *ələziləzi-t'* 'chameleon'
124. *ruhe* *ruhi-t'* 'life'
125. *awɨr* *awɨ-t'* 'head*'*
126. *əwɨlɨwɨl* *əwɨlɨwɨ-t'* 'navel'
127. *abɨzə* abɨ-t' 'lion'
128. *mamowə* *mamo-t'* 'reprimand, admonish'
129. *t'ɨk'ɨrə* *t'ɨk'ɨr* 'laugher*'*
130. *gɨbbɨnə* *gɨbbɨn* 'lizard*'*
131. *əkɨrə* *əkɨr* 'meaning'
132. *mək'ɨwə* *mək'ɨw* 'mosquito'
133. *zɨnt'ɨqurə* *zɨnt'ɨqur* 'niece'
134. *qas'ə* *qas'* 'noise'
135. *s'ɨs'ɨrə* *s'ɨs'ɨr* 'pebble'
136. *nək'ut'ə* *nək'ut'* 'point'
137. *tʃ'ətʃ'ɨnə* *tʃ'ətʃ'ɨn* 'pullet, chicken'
138 *χɨmɨnə* *χɨmɨn* 'ram'
139. *χaβɨKə* *χaβɨk* 'scratch'
140. *k'anə* *k'an* 'wood, plant'
141. *gɨzənə* *gɨzən* lit. 'flour'
142. *gudə* *gud* 'pot*'*
143. *əs'ɨlənə* *əs'ɨlən* 'farming tool *'(*combiner like*)*
144 *sɨk'ɨmə* *sɨk'ɨm* lit. 'barley'
145. *mɨs'unə* *mɨs'u* 'castrated goat*'*
146. *k'at'ə* *k'at'* 'ring'
147. *dɨdɨmə* *dɨdɨm* 'baby, infant'
148. *atʃ'ɨnə* *atʃ'ɨn* 'metal'
149. *s'adʒɨnə* *s'adʒɨn* 'fright*'*
150. *mant'ə* *mant* 'twin'
151. *χafɨlə* *χafɨl* 'diaper' (rag of cloth*)*
152. *dɨk'ələ* *dɨk'* 'bastard*'*
153. *k'ut'ɨq^{w}at 'ə* *k'ut'ɨq^{w}at* 'bush'
154. *χatɨmə* *χatɨm* 'city, town'
155. *βənə* *βən* 'command, order*'*
156. *as'ə* *as'* 'complaint*'*
157. *qamərə* *qamər* 'rod of the plough which press against the oxen neck'
158. *tʃ'əwɨt'ɨrə* *tʃ'əwɨt'ɨ* lit. 'salt'
159. *wɨtɨdɨrə* *wɨtɨdɨr* 'soldier'
160. *lɨmɨnə* *lɨmɨn* 'lemon'
161. *məjɨlə* *məjɨl* lit. 'sorghum'
162. *zɨrɨwə* *zɨrɨw* lit. 'wheat'

163. *dɨrk'ɨnə*	*dɨrk'ɨn*	'ploughshare'
164. *t'at'ɨqə*	*t'at'ɨq*	'strawberry like edible plant'
165. *dəwɨsə*	*dəwɨs*	lit. 'millet'
166. *bək'ɨlə*	*bək'ɨl*	'bean'
167. *bɨsɨrə*	*bɨsɨr*	'lentil'
168. *gojɨlə*	*gojɨl*	'haricot bean'
169. *aβɨkə*	*aβɨk*	'fenugreek'
170. *sɨwɨrt'ə*	*sɨwɨrt'*	'onion'
171. *sərəs'ak'ə*	*sərs'ak'*	' kind of grass'
172. *tɨrβ*	*tɨrβ*	lit. 'flax'
173. *q ʷəs'ɨlə*	*q ʷəs'ɨl*	'fox'
174. *bitɨlə*	*bitɨl*	'rabbit'
175. *k'ɨk'ɨmə*	*k'ɨk'ɨm*	'antelope'
176. *bɨtawɨtʃn*	*bɨtawɨtʃn*	'kind of leopard *(*small kind*)*
177. *dɨχ^{w}an*	*dɨχ^{w}an*	'bedbug'
178. *s'as'ɨβə*	*s'as'ɨβ*	'termite'
179. *dirunə*	*dirun*	'oak'
180. *abɨt'ə*	*abɨt'*	'locust'
181. *d*	*dɨk'ɨn*	'goitre
182. *dɨχɨrə*	*dɨχɨr*	'faece'
183. *fəkk'ənə*	*fəkk'ən*	'comb'
184. *gɨlbanə*	*gɨlban*	'straw'
185. *arə*	*ar*	'grain, cereal'
186. *awɨtʃɨnə*	*awɨtʃɨn*	'cat'
187. *adɨrə*	*adɨr*	'chickpea'
188. *bik'ɨlə*	*bik'ɨl*	'mule'
189. *fɨtʃ'ɨrə*	*fɨtʃ'ɨr*	'goat'
190. *dədɨsənə*	*dədɨsən*	'evidence'
191. *daqɨs'ə*	*daqɨs'*	'frog'
192. *dɨrqurə*	*dɨrqur*	'grime' (dirt matter of liquid*)*
193. *əs'ə*	*əs'*	'fate'
194. *aq^{w}arə*	*aq^{w}ar*	'invitation'
195. *k'ɨrtʃ'ə*	*k'ɨrtʃ'*	'cheek'
196. *χɨtʃ'ɨlə*	*χɨtʃ'ɨl*	'finger'
197. *bɨs'ɨqunə*	*bɨs'ɨqun*	'saliva'
198. *əfərə*	*əfər*	'child'
199. *χɨs'ə*	*χɨs'*	'worm'
200. *χas'ə*	*χas'*	'leaf'
201. *qɨrɨŋə*	*qɨrɨŋ*	'stone'
202. *qɨlunə*	*qɨlun*	'egg'
203. *migunə*	*migun*	'cooking plate'
204. *lələ*	*ləl*	'bee'
205. *χamɨrə*	*χamɨr*	'cabbage'
206. *tʃ'əz*	*tʃ'əz*	'spirit' (of devil*)*

207. *tunə*	*tun*	‘spring season’
208. *s’ɨgɨlɨwə*	*s’ɨgɨlɨw*	‘star’
209. *dər*	*dərqan*	‘kind of insect‘
210. *sɨm*	*sɨmχ*	‘wax’
211. *gurrə*	*gurr*	‘throat’
212. *mɨqa*	*mɨq*	‘*s*hepherd’
213. *bɨtt’a*	*bɨtt’*	louse’
214. *k’ɨt’a*	*k’ɨt’*	‘muffin’
215. *dɨχa*	*dɨχ*	‘penniless’
216. *gutate*	*gutat*	‘pea’
217. *məkətəre*	*məkətə*	‘button’
218. *gab*	*gabɨ-t’an*	‘side’ *(*of body*)*
219. *əq*^{w}	*əqw ɨ-t’an*	‘breast’
220. *kis*	*kisɨt’an*	‘chest’
221. *χɨm*	*χɨm-t’an*	lit. ‘beard’
222. *χarədʒ*	*χarədʒ ɨ -t’an*	‘Adam’s apple’
223. *k’ərz*	*k’ərzɨ-t’an*	‘ear’
224. *əl*	*əl-t’an*	‘eye’
225. *k’ak’w*	*k’ak’wɨ-t’an*	‘premolar, molar’
226. *laq*	*laqɨ-t’an*	‘*t*ongue’
227. *ju*	*ju-t’an*	‘waist’
228. *sig*	*sigɨ -t’an*	‘back’
229. *gizu*	*gizu-t’an*	‘belly’
230. *aqoq*	*aqoqɨ -t’an*	‘armpit‘
231 *nan*	*nan-t’an*	‘hand’
232. *lɨkw*	*lɨkwɨ-t’an*	‘leg’
233. *dib*	*dibɨ-t’an*	‘thigh’
234. *bəraw*	*bərawɨ-t’an*	‘shin’
235. *zɨβəlɨk*^{w}	*zɨβəlɨk*^{w}*ɨ-t’an*	‘foot’
236. *ŋas’*	*ŋas’ɨ -t’an*	‘bone’
237. *əzən*	*əzən-t’an*	‘heart’
238. *sib*	*sibɨ-t’an*	‘lung’
239. *dʒi*	*dʒi-t’an*	‘horn’
240 .*t’ark*^{w}	*t’ark*^{w}*ɨ-t’an*	‘sister-in-law’
241.- *t’asɨn*	*t’asɨn-t’an*	‘mother-in-law’
242. *-irzɨ*	*irzɨn-t’an*	‘uncle *(*father’s brother*)*
243.*-ig*	igɨ-t’*an*	‘uncle‘*(*mother’s brother*)*
244.*-ɨŋŋəsɨn*	*ɨŋŋəsɨn-t’an*	‘aunt’*(*mother’s sister)
245. *-t’ajɨr*	*t’ajɨr-t’an*	‘aunt’*(*father’s sister*)*
246. *-məmɨn*	*məmɨn-t’an*	‘mistress, sweet heart’
247. *-asɨn*	*asɨn-t’an*	‘bride’
248. *-lɨwər*	*lɨwər-t’an*	‘brother-in-law’
249 *-ir*	*-ir-t’an*	‘father’
250. *-k*^{w}*ij*	*k*^{w}*ijən-t’an*	‘elder mother

251. *maχɨn maχɨn-t'an* 'barren, sterile'
252. *-t'an t'an-t'an* 'grandmother'
253. *mik'ɨnu mik'ɨnu-t'an* 'heifer'
254. *kirβɨz kirβɨzɨ-t'an* 'iron ring that holds plough share to the plough beam'
255. *ərɨŋ^{w} ərŋ^{w}-t'an* lit.'tear'
256. *balbal balbal-t'an* 'rug ,hide'
257. *məs'af məs'afɨ-t'an* 'book'
258. *kiw kiwɨ-t'a* ' home'
259. *k'en k'en-t'an* 'wedding'
260. *mər mər-t'an* 'sack'(made of hide)
261. *t'ɨk'ɨləl t'ɨk'ɨləl-t'an* 'collective name for farming tool'
262. *s'as'ɨn s'as'ɨn-t'an* 'box'
263. *mugɨd mugɨdɨ-t'an* 'cover of plate'
264. *dil dil-t'an* ' local bed'(made of mud)
265. *gɨdʒɨm gidʒɨm-t'an* 'cutting tool' (of farming)
266. *miju miju-t'an* 'mortar, pounding tool'
267. *kal kal-t'an* 'leaning stone'(of stove)
268. *kɨlul kɨlul-t'an* 'pup'
269. *arq arqɨ-t'an* 'riddle'
270. *k^{w}ij k^{w}ijɨ-t'an* 'topper'
271. *mizɨr mizɨr-t'an* 'test money'
272. *məkuʃi məkuʃi-t'an* 'name sake'
273. *mɨkən mɨkən-t'an* 'church'
274. *k'ərβɨ k'ərβɨr-t'an* 'leather, hide'
275. *li li-t'an* 'bequest'
276. *ərɨmə ərɨm-t'an* 'kid' (of sheep)
277. *ərβɨnə ərβɨn-t'an* 'handle of the plough'
278. *mɨk'ək'ə mɨk'ək'ɨ-t'an* 'chin'
279. *dʒɨrəfə dʒɨrəfɨ-t'an* 'whip'
280. *mɨk'ək'ə mɨk'ək'ɨ-t'an* 'chin'
281. *sɨk'otə sɨk'otɨ-t'an* 'small axe'
282. *are ari-t'an* 'market'
283. *tʃ'iχal tʃ'χal-t'an* 'lamb' (of goat)
284. *əqotʃ' əqotʃ'-ən* 'laughter'
285. *χɨg χɨg-ən* 'law'
286. *mɨntʃ'ɨr mɨntʃ'ɨr-ən* 'lip'
287. *gird gird-ən* 'maid'
288. *tɨngɨrt tɨngɨrt-ən* 'miracle'
289. *ʃɨŋ^{w} ʃɨŋ^{w}-ən* 'name'
290. *dukɨm dukɨm-ən* 'pick axe'
291. *ək'ɨl ək'ɨl-ən* 'parent'(both male and female)
292. *t'ɨrit t'ɨrit-ən* 'property'
293. *bɨt'ɨrk' bɨt'ɨrk'-ən* 'prig'
294. *halhal halhal-ən* 'prostitute'

295.	*tʃiŋər*	*tʃiŋər-ən*	'quota ,quotient'
296.	*ʃələməlɨmə*	*ʃələməlɨmət'-ən*	'servile'
297.	*mɨχɨr*	*mɨχɨr-ən*	'advice'
298.	*lɨmət*	*lɨmət-ən*	'tray'
299.	*aʃ*	*aʃ-ən*	'virgin land'
300.	*misɨg*	*misɨg-ən*	'field'
301.	*siməj*	*siməj-ən*	'sky'
302.	*gɨmz*	*gɨmz-ən*	'heel'
303.	*k^{w}ər*	*k^{w}ər-ən*	'time'
304.	*kot*	*kot-ən*	'coat'
305.	*gɨnd*	*gɨnd-ən*	'stem'
306.	*tar*	*tar-ən*	'word'
307.	*s'ɨmɨr*	*s'ɨmɨr-ən*	'fly whisk'
308.	*misɨk'ɨl*	*misɨk'ɨl-ən*	'cross'
309.	*tikɨrkɨr*	*tikɨrkɨr-ən*	'debate'
310.	*dɨkot*	*dɨkot-ən*	'bangle, bracelet'
311.	*ləgəs*	*ləgəs -ən*	'benefactor'
312.	*gudʒdʒ*	*gudʒdʒ-ən*	'hut, bungalow'
313.	*nəs*	*nəs-ən*	'castle'
314.	*adʒɨβ*	*adʒɨβ-ən*	lit. 'cheese'
315.	*al*	*al-ən*	'hour'
316.	*dizər*	*dizər-ən*	'destruction'
317.	*χaʃɨt*	*χaʃɨt-ən*	'fallacy'
318.	*əmman*	*əmman-ən*	'reality'
319.	*qɨs'ar*	*qɨs'ar-ən*	'punishment, penalty'
320.	*sɨbɨr*	*sɨbɨr-ən*	'furrow'
321.	*gɨβər*	*gɨβər-ən*	'half'
322.	*tʃɨgər*	*tʃɨgər-ən*	'problem'
323.	*awɨradʒ*	*awɨradʒ-ən*	'joist'
324.	*dɨr*	*dɨr-ən*	'jungle, forest'
325.	*mɨfɨtɨl*	*mɨFɨtɨl-ən*	'weaving tool'
326.	*wɨrgat'*	*wɨrgat'-ən*	'young man'
327.	*kɨrər*	*kɨrər-ən*	'playing tool'
328.	*sək'*	*sək'-ən*	'goat-pen'
329.	*kiŋ*	*kiŋ-ən*	'warning'
330.	*gɨrf*	*gɨrf-ən*	'garden'
331.	*dɨmdɨmət*	*dɨmdɨmət-ən*	'perch'
332.	*gɨtʃ*	*gɨtʃ-ən*	'estate'
333.	*səβərrər*	*səβərrər-ən*	'person who is self centred'
334.	*angari*	*angari-jən*	'pelt'
335.	*tʃɨgɨre*	*tʃɨgɨre-jən*	'razorblade'
336.	*gorade*	*gorade-jən*	'sabre'
337.	*χaləngi*	*χaləngi-jən*	'scourge'
338.	*ədʒəsəri*	*ədʒəsəri-jən*	'smith'

339. *wɨrant'i* *wɨrant'i–jən* 'tong'
340. *mɨtʃi* *mɨtʃi–jən* lit. 'fever'
341. *kobi* *kobi–jən* 'pen'
342. *bawɨndi* *bawɨndi–jən* 'kerchief'
343. *ago* *ago-wən* 'sedge'
344. *χanəbo* *χanəbo-wən* 'pumpkin'
345. *goltʃu* *goltʃu-wən* 'tortoise'
346. *antifo* *antifo-wən* 'flute'
347. *ami* *ami-t'an* 'thorn'
348. *ami* *ami-q* 'thorn'
349. *əwələ* *əwələ-t'an* 'foal'
350. *əwələ* *əwələ-n* 'foal'
351. *biŋ*^{w} *biŋw-t'a* 'pit'
352. *biŋ*^{w} *biŋ*^{w}*-ən* 'pit'
353. *zəf* *zəfɨ-t'an* 'tree'
354. *zəf* *zəff* 'tree'
355. *k'of* *k'ofɨ-t'an* 'cap'
356. *k'of* *k'off* 'cap'
357. *gutʃ'ɨmə* *gutʃ'ɨmə-t'an* 'clitorises'
358. *gutʃ'ɨmə* *gutʃ'ɨmm* 'clitorises'
359. *əqurqur* *əqurqur-t'an* 'filter' (of local beer)
360. *əqurqur* *əqurqurr* 'filter' (of local beer)
361. *dʒɨrenə* *dʒɨren-t'an* 'guinea fowl'
362. *dʒɨrenə* *dʒɨre-qan* 'guinea fowl'
363. *mizɨβ* *mizɨβɨ-t'an* 'yoke'
364. *mizɨβ* *mizɨb* 'yoke'
365. *gɨrβ* *gɨrβɨ-t'a* 'knee'
366. *gɨrβ* *gɨrb* 'knee'
367. *liχan* *liχann* 'sore, wound'
368. *liχan* *liχan-t'a* 'sore, wound'
369. *gən* *gən-t'* 'reservoir'
370. *gən* *gən–t'an* 'reservoir'
371. *k'ətə* *k'ətɨ-t'* 'error'
372. *k'ətə* *k'ətə-n* 'error'
373. *arʃə* *arʃɨ-t'* 'farmer'
378. *arʃə* *arʃ* 'farmer'
379. *χabəʃə* *χabəʃɨ-t'* 'loaf'
380. *χabəʃə* *χabə-tʃ'* 'loaf'
381. *arfə* *arfɨ-t'* 'month'
382. *arfə* *arf* 'month'
383. *gən* *gən-t'* 'reservoir'
384. *gən* *gən-n* 'reservoir'
385. *zɨn* *zinn* 'brother'
496. *zɨn* *s'in* 'brother'

387. *gor* *gorr* ‘dispute’
388. *gor* *gorrən* ‘dispute’
389. *ʃikə* *ʃikk* ‘light’
390. *ʃikə* *ʃik* ‘light’
391. *bəwəl* *bəwəll* ‘antiquity’
392. bəwəl bəwəl-q ‘antiquity’
393. χudə χutt’ ‘vagina’
394. *χudə* *χud* ‘vagina’
395. *mədɨr* *mədɨll* ‘cattle pen’
396. *mədɨr* *mədɨr-ən* ‘cattle pen’
397. *t’ufə* *t’ufə-n* ‘letter’
398. *talimirra* *talimirra* ‘propaganda’
399. *dimk’ə* *dimk’ə-n* ‘relation’
400. *məsərɨjə* *məsərɨj-n* ‘gun‘
401. *bat’ə* *bat’ə-n* ‘riff, split’
402. *malə* *malə-n* ‘shadow’
403. *k’atə* *k’atə-n* ‘trigger’
404. *kitɨrə* *kitɨrə-n* ‘warf’
405. *fə* *fə-n* ‘result’
406. *timə* *timə-n* ‘trial’
407. *aqə* *aqə-n* ‘condition’
408. *tʃitə* *tʃitə-n* ‘difference’
409. *koddə* *koddə-n* ‘flask’
410. *g*^{w}*anə* *g*^{w}*anə-n* ‘*t*eam, group’
411. *tʃ’ɨwarə* *tʃ’ɨwarə-n* ‘hoe’
412. *mələ* *mələ-n* ‘finesse ’
413. *gibbə* *gibbə-n* ‘bud’
414. *baqaqa* *baqaqa-* ‘splinter’
415. *bəbə* *bəbb* ‘fig tree’
416. *kutə* *kutt* ‘thick cape’
417. *wik’ə* *wikk’* ‘hyena’
418. *bilə* *bill* ‘door’
419. *s’as’ə* *s’ass’* ‘fly’
420. *wirə* *wirr* ‘olive tree‘
421. *sinə* *sinn* ‘story, tale’
422. *qutʃ’ɨlə* *qutʃ’ɨll* ‘testicle’
423. *s’adʒə* *s’adʒdʒ* ‘kid‘ (of goat)
424. *aβə* *aββ* *lit.* ‘gold’
425. *mirə* *mirr* ‘gate’
426. *linə* *linn* ‘handle of the plough’(farming tool)
427. *bas’ə* *bass’* ‘fasces’
428. *zirə* *zirr* ‘seed’
429. *təgə* *təgg* ‘pace
430. *χurə* *χurr* ‘meal’

431. *abə*	*abb*	‘mountain’
432. *was’ə*	*wass’*	‘mat, carpet’
433. *ʃɨt’a*	*ʃɨtt’*	lit. ’mustard’
434. *dɨga*	*dɨgg*	‘comer’
435. *wɨt’a*	*wɨtt’*	‘competition, race’
436. *k’əs*	*k’əssən*	‘priest’
437. *sɨl*	*sɨllən*	‘drawing’
438. *zin*	*zinnən*	‘relative’
439. *zan*	*zannən*	‘insult’
440. *tʃ’əf*	*tʃ’əffən*	‘pinnacle’
441. *kif*	*kiffən*	wing’
442. *sələ*	*səllən*	‘knife’
443. *kəzɨŋ*	*kəzɨŋŋ*	‘precipice, cliff’
444. *gas’*	*gass’*	’face’
445. *əsɨŋ*	*əsɨŋŋ*	‘nose’
446. *dʒɨjur*	*dʒɨjurr*	‘shoulder’
447. *dʒɨt’*	*dʒɨtt’*	‘buttock’
448. *t’ɨŋ*^{w}	*t’ɨŋŋ*^{w}	‘anus’
449. *tir*	*tirr*	‘breast bone’
450. *ʃɨq*	*sɨqq*	‘liver’
451. *təg*	*təgg*	‘gum’
452. *gɨb*	*gɨbb*	'stick’
453. *tʃ’an*	*tʃ’ann*	‘valley’
454. *imar*	*imarr*	‘language’
455. *tʃ’in*	*tʃ’inn*	‘pitcher’
456. *sək’*	*səkk’*	‘goat pen’
457. *əwɨnə*	*ək*^{w} *ɨn*	‘woman’
458. *dʒɨrɨwə*	*dʒɨrɨk*^{w}	‘hen’
459. *tʃ’ətʃ’ɨwə*	*tʃ’ətʃ’ɨk*^{w}	‘chicken’
460. *bədʒɨwə*	*bədʒɨk*^{w}	‘leopard’(small kind)
461. *lɨwə*	*lɨk*^{w}	‘cow’
462. *arβə*	*arɨbb*	‘moon’
463. *χarβə*	*χarɨbb*	‘person’(visually impaired)
464. *wigə*	*wikk’*	‘conversation’
465. *bigə*	*bikk’*	‘sheep’
466. *dʒɨgə*	*dʒɨkk’*	‘tendon’
467. *birə*	*bill*	‘ox’
468. *qutʃ’ɨrə*	*qutʃ’ɨll*	‘penis’
469. *bɨtɨrə*	*bɨtɨll*	‘calf’ (of leg)
470. *aχɨtə*	*aχɨtt’*	lit. ‘phlegm’
471. *gɨzə*	*gɨss’*	‘neighbour’
472. *dəzə*	*dəs’*	‘pavilion’
473. *əgɨzə*	*əgɨs’*	‘number’
474. *məzə*	*mətʃ’*	‘best-man’

475. *siβə* *sib* ‘tattoo’
476. *χaməʃə* *χamətʃ’* ‘father-in-law’
477. *kəʃə* *kətʃ’* ‘sack’
478. *maχarʃə* *maχartʃ* ‘plough’
479. *aχɨrə* *aqɨl* ‘strap’
480. *dɨχ^{w}arə* *dɨq^{w}al* ‘donkey’
481. *amɨrə* *mɨt* ‘year’
482. *ədʒɨr* *ək’* ‘man’
483. *ɨnnɨ* *ɨnnɨ* ‘grandfather’
484. *ʃɨmɨr* *ʃɨmək’ɨl* ‘arbiter, old man’
485. *jəβe* *jɨbbɨk’* ‘duck’
486. *s’ɨjə* *s’ɨjə* ‘flower’
487. *təkə* *təkɨzɨt’, təkiza* ‘example’
488. *maluzə* *malqus’* ‘monk’
489. *tʃɨn* *tʃank’ɨn* ‘bull’
490. *χ^{w}ɨr* *χ^{w}ɪll* ‘son, generation’
491. *aβɨrq^{w}ɪr* *aβɨrq^{w}i̲ ll* ‘god daughter’
492. *aβɨrχ^{w}ɪr* *aβɨrχ^{w}ɨll* ‘god son’
493. *q^{w}ɨr* *q^{w}ɨll* ‘daughter’
494. *gɨr* *gɨll* ‘boy’
495. *səβ* *səbb* ‘job, work’
496. *lɨβ* *lɨbb* ‘udder’
497. *wɨrβə* *warɨbb* ‘river’
498. *fɨrzə* *fars’* ‘horse’
499. *dʒɨrβə* *dʒaribb* ‘hip’
500. *tʃɨntə* *tʃat’ɨn* ‘bullock’
501. *ajɨβ* *ajɨb* ‘shame’
502. *aβɨn* *abɨn* ‘guest’
503. s*ɨn* s’*ɨn* ’sister’
504. *gɨzɨŋ* *gɨs’ɨŋ* ‘dog’
505. *gɨβɨr* *gɨbɨl* ‘trough, kneading’
506. *wəʃəbɨlə* *wɨʃəbɨl* ‘adolescent’
507. *χasɨrə* *χasər* ‘husk’
508. *tʃɨzɨŋ* *tʃazɨŋ* ‘farmland’
509. *ʃəwətʃ’* *ʃəwɨtʃ’* ‘week'
510. *ŋa* *ŋa-q* ‘brain’
511. *s’ɨla* *s’ɨl-q* ‘umbrella‘
512. *gɨre* *gɨri-k’* ‘day’
513. *kɨβi* *kɨβi-k’* ‘measuring tool’
514. *zɨβə* *zɨ* ‘land
515. *wəjə* *wə* ‘price’