

DOCUMENTATION AND GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF CHABU



**Kibebe Tsehay
Taye**



PhD Dissertation Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies

Department of Linguistics

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture

Addis Ababa University


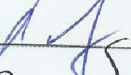
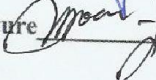
February, 2015

Addis Ababa University

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Kibebe Tsehay entitled: Documentation and Grammatical Description of Chabu (Shabo) and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the Examining Committee:

Examiner Dr. Ambessa Tegegn Signature  Date 11-11-2015
Examiner Penny King Signature  Date 13/11/2015
Advisor Moges Yigezu Signature  Date 13-11-2015

Chair of Department or Graduate program Coordinator

TABLE OF CONTENT

LIST OF TABLES	xii
LIST OF MAP	xvi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xvii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	xx
ABSTRACT	xxii
1. Introduction	1
<i>1.1 Background of the Study</i>	<i>1</i>
1.1.1 Ethno-Linguistic Background	2
1.1.1.1 Nomenclature	3
1.1.1.2 The People	4
1.1.1.3 Language Situation	7
1.1.1.3.1 Linguistic Classification	8
1.1.1.3.2 Dialectal Variation	12
1.1.1.3.3 Endangerment of the Language	12
1.1.2 History of Migration	13
1.1.3 Religion	13
1.1.4 Economy	14
1.1.5 Marriage	15
1.1.6 Education	16
<i>1.2 Statement of the Problem</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>1.3 Objectives of the Study</i>	<i>18</i>
1.3.1 General Objectives	18
1.3.2 Specific Objectives	18
<i>1.4 Significances of the Study</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>1.5 Limitation of the Study</i>	<i>19</i>
2 Literature Review	21
<i>2.1 Language Endangerment and Language Documentation</i>	<i>21</i>
2.1.1 Language Endangerment Situation	21
2.1.2 Causes of Language Endangerment	22
2.1.3 Criteria for Evaluating Endangerment Level	23
2.1.4 Language Documentation	26
2.1.5 The Value of Language Documentations	28
2.1.6 Prioritizing Endangered Languages to Research	30

2.2	<i>Previous Studies on the Chabu Language</i>	31
2.2.1	Anbessa and Unseth (1989).....	31
2.2.2	Anbessa (1991 and 1995).....	34
2.2.2.1	Phonology	34
2.2.2.2	Morphology.....	37
2.2.2.3	Syntax	39
2.2.3	Daniel (2000).....	39
3	Methodology	42
3.1	<i>Focus of the Study</i>	42
3.2	<i>Types of Data Collected</i>	43
3.3	<i>Data Collection Techniques</i>	44
3.3.1	Observation and Recording of Natural Texts	44
3.3.2	Elicitation and Interview	45
3.3.3	Survey Questionnaire	46
3.3.4	House to House Census	48
3.4	<i>Fieldwork and Recording of Media (Audio, Video, Image) and Text</i>	49
3.5	<i>Data Analysis</i>	49
3.6	<i>The Use of Information Technology and Multimedia</i>	51
3.7	<i>Ethical Issues</i>	52
4	Assessment of Level of Endangerment of Chabu	55
4.1	<i>Demographic Data</i>	55
4.2	<i>Assessment Based on UNESCO Nine Factors</i>	57
4.2.1	Intergenerational Language Transmission.....	57
4.2.2	Absolute Number of Speakers.....	59
4.2.3	Proportion of Total Number of Speakers to the Total Population.....	60
4.2.4	Domains of Language Use	61
4.2.4.1	Language Use at a Family Level.....	62
4.2.4.2	Language Use at Village Level.....	64
4.2.4.3	Public Domain	65
4.2.4.4	The Domain of Religion	66
4.2.4.5	Work Domain.....	67
4.2.5	New Domains and Media Accepted by the Language.....	67
4.2.6	Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy	69
4.2.7	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes, Policies, and Official Status	70
4.2.8	Community Members' Attitudes towards Their Own Language	74
4.2.9	Type and Quality of Documentation	75

4.3	<i>Summary</i>	76
5	Phonology	79
5.1	<i>Consonant Phonemes</i>	79
5.1.1	Description and Exemplification of Consonants	79
5.1.1.1	Stops	79
5.1.1.2	Fricatives	85
5.1.1.3	Affricates	87
5.1.1.4	Nasals	89
5.1.1.5	Liquids	90
5.1.1.6	Glides	90
5.1.2	Minimal and Near Minimal Pairs	91
5.1.3	Gemination of Consonants Example for each segment	94
5.2	<i>Vowel Phonemes</i>	94
5.2.1	Description and Exemplifications of Vowel Phonemes	95
5.2.2	Vowel Co-occurrence Restrictions	96
5.2.3	Minimal Pairs	97
5.2.4	Vowel Length	98
5.3	<i>Phonotactics</i>	99
5.3.1	Co-occurrence Restrictions at Word-initial Position	99
5.3.2	Consonant Sequences	99
5.4	<i>Syllable Structure</i>	102
5.5	<i>Phonological Processes</i>	104
5.6	<i>Morphophonemic Processes</i>	105
5.6.1	Assimilation	105
5.6.1.1	Homorganic Nasal Assimilation	105
5.6.1.2	Vowel Height Harmony	106
5.6.2	Deletion of Terminal Vowel (TV)	107
5.6.3	Deletion of Vowel [a] Resulting Voicing	107
5.6.4	Insertion	108
5.6.4.1	Glide Insertion	108
5.6.4.2	Inserting Epenthetic Vowel [-i-]/[-u-]	109
5.6.4.3	Insertion of [-a-]	110
5.6.5	Elision	110
5.6.6	Degemination	111
5.6.7	Lenition	111
5.7	<i>Tone</i>	112

5.7.1	Tone pattern in Chabu Nouns and Verbs.....	112
5.7.2	Functions of Tone in Chabu	117
5.7.3	Tonological Processes	118
6	Noun and Noun inflection.....	119
6.1	<i>The Forms of Chabu Nouns</i>	119
6.2	<i>Number</i>	120
6.2.1	Plural Markers =òddà ‘FPL’ and =otala/ =watto ‘MPL’	120
6.2.2	Plural Markers /-da/ ‘FPL’ and /-tak/ ‘MPL’	121
6.2.3	Plural Markers /-nda/ ‘FPL’ and /-ntak/ ‘MPL’ on Kinship Terms	122
6.2.4	Generic number (Common Nouns as Plural Nouns).....	123
6.2.5	Less Productive Number Marking Strategies	124
6.2.6	The associative Plural Marker =jero.....	124
6.3	<i>Gender</i>	127
6.3.1	Using the Suffixes /-ŋ/ ‘Feminine’ and –/m/ ‘Masculine’	128
6.3.2	Using Suffixes -a ‘Feminine’ and –i ‘Masculine’ on some Kinship Terms	129
6.3.3	Gender Marking on Ethnic or Clan Names	130
6.3.4	Dual and Plural Markers.....	132
6.3.5	Demonstratives as Gender Markers.....	133
6.3.6	Nouns with Default Gender.....	133
6.3.7	Using Attributives	134
6.4	<i>Definiteness</i>	134
6.4.1	The Use of Definite Marker –e.....	135
6.4.2	<i>oŋŋeŋ</i> and <i>jem</i> as Definite Markers	137
6.4.3	Third Person Personal Pronouns as Definiteness Markers	138
6.4.4	Distal Invisible Demonstrative Pronouns as Definite Markers	138
6.5	<i>Case</i>	139
6.5.1	Core Case	141
6.5.1.1	Nominative Case.....	141
6.5.1.2	Accusative-Dative-Allative Case.....	144
6.5.1.2.1	Accusative	146
6.5.1.2.2	Dative Case.....	150
6.5.2	Peripheral cases	151
6.5.2.1	Genitive Case.....	151
6.5.2.1.1	Genitive Marker <i>-ke</i>	151
6.5.2.1.2	Genitive Marker <i>-i</i> /[-e].....	152
6.5.2.2	Instrumental Case.....	153

6.5.2.3	Comitative Case	154
6.5.2.4	Spatial Cases	156
6.5.2.4.1	Ablative-Adessive Case.....	157
6.5.2.4.2	Allative Case	158
6.5.2.4.3	Inessive Case	158
6.5.2.4.4	Path.....	159
7	Pronouns	161
7.1	<i>Personal Pronouns</i>	161
7.1.1	Gender in Chabu Personal Pronouns.....	164
7.1.2	Free Pronouns and Agreement Markers	166
7.1.3	Case in Chabu Personal Pronouns.....	172
7.2	<i>Demonstratives</i>	178
7.2.1	Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives.....	178
7.2.1.1	Gender in Chabu Pronominal Demonstratives.....	182
7.2.1.2	Number Marking in Chabu Demonstratives	184
7.2.2	Adverbial Demonstratives	186
7.3	<i>The Position of Third Person Pronouns</i>	187
7.4	<i>Interrogative Pronouns</i>	190
7.4.1	Content Interrogative Pronouns.....	191
7.4.1.1	nafe/ne?e ‘Who’	192
7.4.1.2	nambi ‘What’	193
7.4.1.3	nambi je?om ‘Why’	195
7.4.1.4	hama ‘Which (one)’	196
7.4.1.5	hame ‘Where’	197
7.4.1.6	hamab ‘What type’, ‘How many’ or ‘How much’	197
7.4.1.7	hamboh(a) ‘When’	198
7.4.1.8	indik’ ‘How’	199
7.4.2	Polar Interrogatives	199
7.4.2.1	Informative Polar Interrogatives	199
7.4.2.1.1	Polar Interrogatives Clitic hana=	199
7.4.2.1.2	Polar Interrogative Marker –ne	200
7.4.2.2	Permissive Polar Interrogatives	201
7.4.2.3	Negative Polar Interrogatives.....	202
8	Noun Formation	203
8.1	<i>Derivation</i>	203
8.1.1	Abstract Nouns Derived from Other Nouns	203

8.1.2	Abstract Nominals Derived from Inchoative Verbs.....	204
8.1.3	De-verbala Nouns Derived with <i>-ta</i>	205
8.1.4	Abstract Nouns Derived from Color Terms.....	205
8.1.5	Formation of Nouns from Verb Stems.....	206
8.1.5.1	Manner Nominals.....	206
8.1.5.2	Result Nominals.....	207
8.1.5.3	Nouns Derived from Passivised Verbs.....	207
8.1.5.4	Derived Instrumental Nouns.....	208
8.1.5.5	<i>-ta</i> Nominalization.....	209
8.2	<i>Conversion</i>	209
8.2.1	Verbal Noun (Infinitive/Gerundive).....	210
8.2.2	Passive Gerundive.....	211
8.2.3	Conversion Nouns.....	212
8.3	<i>Compounding</i>	214
8.3.1	Compounds Involving Only Nouns.....	214
8.3.1.1	Noun + Noun /Juxtaposition.....	214
8.3.1.2	Genitive Compounds.....	215
8.3.1.3	N + <i>ambu</i> ‘Thing’.....	216
8.3.1.4	Compound Names for the Baby or Young of Animals (N + <i>t’o</i>).....	217
8.3.2	Compounds Having De-verbal Nouns and Base Noun as Input.....	218
8.3.2.1	Verb- <i>se</i> (Instrumental) + Noun.....	218
8.3.2.2	Verb <i>-se</i> (Instrumentals) + <i>ambu</i> ‘thing’.....	218
8.3.2.3	Noun <i>-i-</i> Verb- <i>se</i>	219
8.3.2.4	Noun + <i>débe</i> ‘Absent’.....	219
8.3.2.5	Verbal Nominal + <i>-i-</i> + Noun.....	219
8.3.2.6	Noun + Passive Gerundive.....	220
8.3.2.7	Noun + Root/Verbal Nominal.....	220
8.3.2.8	Formation of Agentive Nouns (Verbal Noun + <i>ufa</i> ‘person’).....	220
8.3.3	Compounds with Adjective and Noun Constituents.....	221
8.3.3.1	Adjective + Noun.....	221
8.3.3.2	Noun + Adj.....	223
8.3.3.3	Numeral + Noun.....	223
8.3.4	Compounds Involving Demonstratives and Nouns.....	223
9	Modifiers	224
9.1	<i>Adjectives</i>	224
9.1.1	Conversion Adjectives.....	225

9.1.2	-at Adjectivization.....	232
9.1.3	=(<i>ŋ</i>)gà Adjectivization.....	233
9.1.4	Less Productive Adjective Formations.....	233
9.1.4.1	–set Adjectivization.....	233
9.1.4.2	–we Adjectivazation.....	234
9.2	<i>Numerals</i>	234
9.2.1	Chabu Old Numeral System.....	235
9.2.2	Chabu’s Current Numeral System.....	236
9.3	<i>Adverbials</i>	241
9.3.1	Time Adverbs.....	241
9.3.2	Frequency Adverbs.....	243
9.3.3	Spatial Adverbs.....	243
9.3.4	Manner Adverbs.....	244
10	The Verb in Chabu.....	245
10.1	<i>Verb Root</i>	245
10.1.1	Terminal Vowels and Consonants of Verb Roots.....	245
10.1.2	Structure of Verb Roots.....	247
10.2	<i>Verb Inflection</i>	250
10.2.1	Person, Gender and Number.....	250
10.2.2	Tense and Aspect.....	252
10.2.2.1	Remote Past Tense.....	254
10.2.2.2	Simple Past.....	255
10.2.2.3	Present Tense.....	257
10.2.2.4	The Future Tense.....	259
10.2.2.4.1	Definite Future Tense.....	259
10.2.2.4.2	Indefinite Future Tense.....	260
10.2.2.5	The Progressive/ Non-progressive Aspect.....	261
10.2.2.5.1	Past Progressive.....	261
10.2.2.5.2	Present Progressive.....	261
10.2.2.6	Habitual Aspect.....	263
10.2.2.7	Perfect Aspect.....	264
10.2.3	Mood.....	265
10.2.3.1	Declarative Mood.....	265
10.2.3.2	Directive Mood.....	266
10.2.3.2.1	The Imperative Mood.....	266
10.2.3.2.2	The Prohibitive Mood.....	268

10.2.3.2.3	The Hortative Mood	268
10.2.3.2.4	The Jussive (Third Person Hortative).....	270
10.2.3.2.5	The Optative Mood	271
10.3	<i>Verb Stem Formation</i>	272
10.3.1	Verbs and Their Arguments	273
10.3.1.1	Intransitive (One Place Argument) Verbs.....	273
10.3.1.2	Transitive Verbs.....	273
10.3.2	Valence Increasing Stem Formation.....	275
10.3.2.1	Causativization.....	275
10.3.2.2	Pro-Construction /Deriving a Di-Transitive Verb From a Mono-Transitive	276
10.3.2.3	Transitivization of Intransitive Verbs /Causativization /	277
10.3.2.4	Causitivisation of Bound Verbs	278
10.3.2.5	Deriving a Transitive Verb From Noun	279
10.3.2.6	Malefactive –se (Action Against).	279
10.3.3	Valence Decreasing Verb Stem Formation	280
10.3.3.1	Passification(of Transitive Verbs)	280
10.3.3.2	Passivisation of Bound Verbs	282
10.3.3.3	Reflexives	282
10.3.3.3.1	Morphological Reflexive in Chabu	282
10.3.3.3.2	Analytic Reflexive.....	284
10.3.3.4	The Reciprocal	286
10.3.4	The Frequentative	287
10.3.4.1	Reduplication	287
10.3.4.2	The Use of – <i>gitam</i>	289
10.3.5	The Infinitive Form	289
10.3.6	Converb Formation.....	290
10.3.7	Motion Verbs.....	292
10.3.7.1	The Use of Directional Morphemes.....	294
10.3.7.2	The Use of – <i>wase</i>	296
10.3.7.3	The Use of – <i>ndzi</i>	296
10.3.7.4	Derivation of Itive and Ventive Serial Motion Verbs.....	297
10.4	<i>Copula Constructions</i>	298
10.4.1	Present Copula Clauses.	298
10.4.1.1	= <i>ke/ ke</i> = Copula.....	299
10.4.1.2	Third Person Pronouns as Copulative Elements	300
10.4.1.3	Copula Construction Without Copulative Elements	302
10.4.2	Tense and Copulative Constructions	303

10.4.3	Negation and Copulative Constructions.....	304
10.4.4	Interrogatives in Copula Sentences	304
10.5	<i>Existential/ Possessive Verbs</i>	305
11	Syntax	309
11.1	<i>Constituent Order</i>	309
11.1.1	Main Clause.....	309
11.1.2	Noun Phrase	313
11.1.3	Verb Phrase	316
11.1.4	Postpositional Phrase (or Locative Noun Phrases).....	318
11.1.5	Comparative Constructions	319
11.2	<i>The Syntax of Clauses</i>	322
11.2.1	Nominal Clauses.....	322
11.2.1.1	Predicate Nominal And Related Clauses	322
11.2.1.2	Existential and Possessive Nominal Clauses	325
11.2.1.3	Clauses of Becoming	326
11.2.2	Multi-clause Constructions.....	327
11.2.2.1	Serial Verbs.....	327
11.2.2.2	Complement Clause	330
11.2.2.3	Relative Clause	331
11.2.3	Adverbial Clauses.....	333
11.2.3.1	Time Clause	333
11.2.3.2	Reason Clause	334
11.2.3.3	Manner Clause	335
11.2.3.4	Purpose Clause.....	335
11.2.3.5	Conditional Clause.....	336
	SUMMARY	337
	REFERENCES	343
	APPENDIXES	354
	Appendix A- Annotated texts	354
	Appendix A1- Chabu001.eaf	354
	Appendix A2-Chabu005.eaf	358
	Appendix A3-Chabu006.eaf	378
	Appendix A4-Chabu007.eaf Egedigan	399
	Appendix A5-Chabu046.eaf	418
	Appendix B-Word list	429
	Appendix B1-Chabu English wordlist	429

Appendix B2-Chabu Amharic wordlist	452
Appendix C-Metadata	474
Appendix C1-Chabu data Metadata	474
Appendix C2- codes and information Participant	479
Appendix C3- Codes and information of Assistant	481
Appendix C4-Codes of Genres	482
Appendix D-Photo Documentation	483
Appendix D1-Sample Photos	483
Appendix D2- Sample photo documentation of the Chabu's daily activities	490
chabu058 [teŋgi kasa]/Tangi mat preparation.	490
chabu085 [tʃuβoj adà]/Pottery	492
chabu098- [koka t'a]/ Eating the wild yam ko	495
chaubu123 [ts'apatan ada] /Porridge of yam "miti"	499
chabu124 -[nilan adà]/ Preparation of corn bread.....	501
chabu126 [k'aru atat]/ Preparation of Chabu hot coffe	504

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Number of Chabu Speakers Based on House to House Census.....	7
Table 2. GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) (Lewis and Simon, 2009) (Adapted from Fishman's (1991:87-121).....	24
Table 3. The Consonant Chart Given by Anbessa and Unseth (1989).....	32
Table 4. Chabu Numeral System as Presented in Anbessa and Unseth 1989	34
Table 5. Anbessa's (1991) Chabu Vowel Phoneme Chart.....	36
Table 6. Chabu Pronouns as Presented by Anbessa (1991, p. 376)).....	37
Table 7. Chabu Pronouns as Presented by Daniel (2000)	39
Table 8. Grade Level of the Chabu Who Have Schooling History.	56
Table 9. UNESCO's Scale for Grading Intergenerational Language Transmission.	57
Table 10. Tehan and Nahhas (2008)'s Point Scale for Absolute Number of Speakers.....	59
Table 11. Adapted Tehan and Nahhas, 2008 Scale for Absolute Number of Speakers.....	60
Table 12. UNESCO's Scale for Grading Proportion of Speakers to Total Community	61
Table 13. UNESCO's Parameters for Assessing Domains of Language Use	62
Table 14. Family Level Private Language Preference	63
Table 15. Language Preference at Village Level.	64
Table 16. Language Use in Public Domains	65
Table 17. Language Use in Religious Activities	66
Table 18. Language Use in Work Domain (Hunting, Bee Keeping and Farming)	67
Table 19. UNESCO's Grading Scale of New Domains and Media Usage	68
Table 20. UNESCO's Scale for Evaluating Availability of Literacy Materials.....	69
Table 21. UNESCO's Scale for Evaluating Governmental and Institutional Attitudes:.....	70
Table 22. UNESCO's Scale for Grading Community Members' Attitudes.....	74
Table 23. UNESCO's Scale for Grading the Amount of Documentation.....	75
Table 24 Summary of Evaluation of Chabu Based on UNESCO's Nine Factors.....	76
Table 25. The Phonemic Chart of Chabu Consonants.....	79
Table 26. Inventory of Vowel Phonemes of Chabu	95
Table 27. Distribution of Vowel Phonemes	97
Table 28. Possible sequences in Chabu and Their Frequency.....	99
Table 29. Chabu Syllable Types.....	102
Table 30. Distribution of Syllable Type	103
Table 31. Examples of Vowel Height Harmony in Using the Indefinite Genitive Marker.....	106
Table 32. Examples of Vowel Height Harmony in Using the Linker	106
Table 33. Examples of Terminal Vowel Deletion.....	107

Table 34: Deletion Followed by Voicing	107
Table 35: Tone on Monosyllabic Chabu Nouns and Verbs	113
Table 36: Tonal Melody of V.CV Nouns and Verbs.....	114
Table 37. Tonal Melody of CV.CV Nouns and Verbs	114
Table 38: Tonal Melody of CV.CVV Nouns and Verbs	114
Table 39: Tonal Melody of CVVC.CV Nouns and Verbs	115
Table 40: Tonal Melody of CVC.CV Nouns and Verbs	115
Table 41: Tonal Melody of CVV.CV Nouns and Verbs	115
Table 42. Tonal Melody of VCVC(C) Nouns and Verbs.....	116
Table 43: Tonal Melody of CV.CVCC Nouns and Verbs.....	116
Table 44: Tonal Melody of CV.CVC Nouns and Verbs	116
Table 45: Tonal Melody of CVC.CVC Nouns and Verbs.....	117
Table 46. Terminal Vowels and Consonants of Chabu Nouns.....	119
Table 47. Encliticization of Number Markers to Chabu Nouns	121
Table 48. Plural Markers on Definite and Indefinite Nouns	122
Table 49. Plural Markers /-nda/ ‘F’ and /-ntak/ ‘M’	123
Table 50. Plural Marker =watto and Varity Marker =jero.....	125
Table 51. Kinship Terms with /-a/ ‘F’ and /-i/ ‘M’ Gender Markers.....	129
Table 52. Gender Marking on Ethnic or Clan Names.....	131
Table 53. Default Gendered Nouns	134
Table 54. Summary of Chabu Case Markers.....	139
Table 55: Linking Elements –i/-e.....	153
Table 56. Chabu Personal Pronouns.....	161
Table 57. Chabu Pronoun System as Presented in Schnoebelen 2009.....	162
Table 58. Summary of Chabu Agreement Markers.....	168
Table 59. Chabu Agreement Markers in Remote Past and Simple Past Tenses	169
Table 60. Chabu Agreement Markers in Present and Future Tenses	170
Table 61. Summary of Case Marking in Chabu Pronouns.....	172
Table 62. Chabu Ablative Pronouns.....	176
Table 63. Chabu Pronominal Demonstratives.....	179
Table 64. Gender Marking in Chabu Demunstratives.....	183
Table 65. Number Marking in Chabu Demonstratives.....	184
Table 66. Examples for Dual and Plural Demonstratives	185
Table 67. Adverbial Demonstratives.....	187
Table 68. Chabu Interrogative Pronouns.....	191

Table 69. Inflected Forms of <i>nafe/neʔe</i> ‘Who’	192
Table 70. Inflected Forms of <i>nambi</i> ‘What’	193
Table 71. Inflected Forms of <i>hama</i> ‘Which’	196
Table 72. We- derived abstract nouns	203
Table 73 Abstract nominals derived from adjectives	204
Table 74. <i>-ta</i> Derived abstract nouns	205
Table 75. Abstract nouns derived from color terms	205
Table 76. Manner nominals	206
Table 77. <i>-se</i> Derived Result Nouns	207
Table 78 Nouns Derived from Passivized Verbs and <i>-se</i>	208
Table 79. <i>-se</i> Derived Instrumental Nouns in Compounds	208
Table 80. <i>-se</i> Suffixed on Base Nouns	209
Table 81. Base form as Infinitives	210
Table 82. Passive Gerundives	211
Table 83. Chabu Conversion Nouns	212
Table 84. Noun + Noun Compounds	214
Table 85. Noun + LINK + Noun Compounds	216
Table 86. Compounds Formed from N + <i>ambu</i>	217
Table 87. Compound Names for the Baby or Young of Animals	217
Table 88. Verb- <i>se</i> (INST) + Noun Compounds	218
Table 89. Verb- <i>se</i> (INST) + <i>ambu</i> ‘thing’	218
Table 90. Genitive Noun + Verb- <i>se</i> (DE-NOM) Compounds	219
Table 91. N + <i>dɛbe</i> ‘absent’ Compounds	219
Table 92. INF + Special N	220
Table 93. N+ <i>passive gerundive</i>	220
Table 94. <i>Noun + Verbal Nominal</i>	220
Table 95. Agentive Compounds Verbal + <i>ufa</i>	221
Table 96. Compounds Composed Of Adjectives Plus Nouns	222
Table 97. Noun + Adjective	223
Table 98. Compound Nouns with Demonstrative Input	223
Table 100. Converted Adjectives	225
Table 101. Focused Adjectives	228
Table 102. Number Marking in Chabu Attributive Adjectives	230
Table 103. The Use of Attributive Nouns <i>umba</i> and <i>ull</i>	231
Table 104. <i>-at</i> Derived Result Nouns	232

Table 105. Attributive Function of <i>-at</i> Derived Nominals	232
Table 106. Adjectives Formed by the Clitic (=ŋ)ga	233
Table 107. Adjectives Derived by Adding a Suffix <i>-set</i>	234
Table 108. <i>-we</i> Derived Adjectives	234
Table 109. Old Cardinal Numbers of Chabu	235
Table 110. Current Cardinal Numbers of Chabu	237
Table 111. Cardinals from 11 to 19	238
Table 112. Multiples of Twenty Cardinals	238
Table 113. Cardinals between Multiples of Twenty	238
Table 114. Numerals for Hundred and Thousand	239
Table 115. Chabu Ordinals	241
Table 116. Time Adverbs with Reference to the Day of Speaking as Deictic Centre	241
Table 117. Time adverbs with the time of speaking as deictic centre	242
Table 118. Time adverbs with time of action as deictic centre	242
Table 119. Lexemes for Day, Week, Month and Year	242
Table 120. Lexemes Related to Times of the Day	242
Table 121. Chabu Optative Expressions	244
Table 122. Suffixation Strategy of Chabu Verbs	247
Table 123. Person, Number and Gender Markers	251
Table 124. The Imperative Mood	267
Table 125. Verbs in Hortative Mood	269
Table 126. Jussives	270
Table 127. Optative Mood with <i>ki-</i> and <i>enak-</i>	271
Table 128. Chabu Optative Expressions with <i>dowo</i> and <i>dan̄ka</i>	272
Table 129. For or Pro Construction	276
Table 130. Causativization of Intransitive Verbs	277
Table 131. Transitivity of Inchoative Adjectival Verbs	278
Table 132. Transitivity of Bound Verbs	279
Table 133. Examples of Passivized Transitive Verbs	281
Table 134. Intertransitive Verbs from Bound Root	282
Table 135. Frequentatives that Involve Reduplication of the Second	288
Table 136. Examples of Frequentative Verb Stem that Involve 1 st CV Reduplication	288
Table 137. Examples of <i>-gitam</i> Derived Frequentative Verb Stems	289
Table 138. Affixation of <i>-alla</i> and <i>-afa</i> (Elivational Morphemes)	295
Table 139. <i>-ta</i> Derived Directional Verbs	295

Table 140. Examples of <i>-wase</i> Derived Frequentative Verb Stems	296
Table 141. Examples of <i>-ndzi</i> Derived Verb Stems	296
Table 142. Summary of Copulative Elements.....	298
Table 143. Third Person Pronouns as Copulative Elements	301
Table 144. Interrogatives in Copula Constructions.....	305
Table 145. Tense Paradigm in Existential Copula Construction.....	305
Table 146. Derivation of Prepositions.....	318

LIST OF MAP

Map 1. <i>Language map South-western Ethiopia</i> (Lewis, 2009 reference number 70)	5
---	---

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1	first person
2	second person
2/3	second and third person
3	third person
ABL	ablative
ACC	accusative
ADES	adessive
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb/ adverbial
AGR	agreement
ALL	allative
Ant	Antonymy
ATR	advanced tongue root
AUX	auxiliary verb
BEN	benefactive
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
COM	comitative
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
COP	copula
CV	consonant–vowel
CVB	converb
DAT	dative
DEF	definite
DEM	demonstratives
DENOM	denominalized
DEST	destination
DISC	discourse word
DIST	distal
DU	dual
EPENT	epenthesis
F	feminine gender
FDU	feminine dual
FOC	focus
FPL	feminine plural
FREQ	frequentative
FSG	feminine singular

FSG/DU	feminine singular and dual
ft	free translation
FUT	future tense
ge	gloss in English
GEN	genitive
H	high tone
HAB	habitual
IMP	imperative
IPFV	imperfect
INES	inessive
INTR	interrogative
INF	infinitive
INS	instrumental
INTERJ	interjection
itr	intransitive
INVS	invisible demonstrative
INVS.F	invisible feminine demonstrative
INVS.M	invisible masculine demonstrative
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
JUS	jussive
L	low tone
LINK	linker
Lit.	literally
LX	lexeme
M	mid tone
M	masculine gender
MAL	malefactive
MAN	manner
MB	at morpheme boundary
MDU	masculine dual
MED	medial (near the speaker)
MPL	masculine plural
MSG	masculine singular
N	noun
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative case
NUM	number
NUM-GEND	number-genderxviii
OPT	optative
para.	paragraph

PATH	path (case)
PL	plural number
PRES	present tense
PRF	perfect tense
PRC	pro-construction
PRO	pronoun
PROB	probabilistic
PROG	progressive
PROH	prohibitive
PROX	proximal
PRS	present
PST	past tense
PASS	passive
RECP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
Ref	reference number
REFL	reflexive
REL	relative
RPST	remote past tense
SG	singular
SIDE	by the side of
SOV	subject object verb
SV	subject verb
Syn	synonym
TADV	time adverb
TAG	Interrogative pronoun for tag
tr.	transitive
V	verb
V	vowel
VAR	varity marker
W	word level tire

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe gratitude to a number of people and institutions who contributed to the completion of this project in many different ways. Without the academic, emotional, administrative and material support of several persons and institutes this study would never have been done. I would like to express my gratitude to all. But first and above all, I would like to thank the Almighty God who helped me on all the way. It is only because of his endless love and care I passed all those dark days and devastating situations I went through.

I would like to express my heartiest gratitude to Dr. Moges Yigezu, my supervisor for the direction he gave me on how to improve this grammar and also for the enlightening discussions over the years. He has tirelessly read and reread this work, offering detailed comments on content, analysis and the writing. His guidance and comments have helped me to shape this dissertation. My highest gratitude goes to The ELDP (Endangered Languages Documentation Project) of SOAS, for financing the project in Individual graduate scholarship Grant (**IGS0135**) and for their patience in tolerating the delay of the report. I would also like to thank Dr. Anne-Christie Hellenthal. She has read portions of this work, offering detailed comments with a lot of encouragement and appreciations that enabled me build confidence in my work. She also thought me how to do a tone analysis. If it was not because of the training she offered and her help with my data, I would have not tried the brief analysis of Chabu tone.

Many thanks to the Department of Linguistics for allowing me to be enrolled in the department to make my dream of being a linguist true. My especial thanks goes to Prof. Baye Yimam and Dr. Biniyam Sisay for helping me to get the fund. Without their generous recommendations, I would not have received the ELDP grant. Prof. Baye has also read my pronoun chapter and gave me useful comments. I am also very grateful to Ato Endeshaw W/michael and Dr. Derib Addo for smoothly administering the fund from ELDP. Thanks also to others who have helped me in various ways and offered me information, advice, and insight, especially Sellasie Cheru, Fitsum Berhanu (my former student), Amare Tsehay and Girma Tilahun (public relation officer of Anderacha Woreda of Sheka Zone).

I want to thank all members of the Chabu community for the affection and trust they gave me; whenever I lost hope in my work and in my situation, I think of their love and thier hope in me and filled with courage. Everyone is a friend and close relative to me. Very

special thanks are due to the late Dawit Wolde who travelled to each village of Chabu to let them be aware of the project and its worth for them before my arrival, that made everything simple and smooth to me. Let his soul rest in peace. Many thanks to the late Alamu Bate who gave me the privilege of being a member of Chabu by announcing me as his son. He was the most active participant in the documentation process. Let god made his mercy on him. Many thanks are due to Addisael Alemu and Sadinet Elo, my Chabu families, for hosting me as their own relative, that made my stay at Jifor easy and pleasant. Kidmael Kiraris my main co-worker, consultant, and friend, who gave nearly two years to this research, often travelling far from his family deserves special thanks for his effort. His eagerness to see his language documented and his impressive abilities as a language consultant always make me admire him. I want also to thank those who offered their time and knowledge to make the documentation and this research possible, especially Attene Dmte, Arte'et Acham, Wolde Blen, Kassahun Gudeta, Yohanis Nadew, Woldanke Agerasho, Awetin Agerasho, Sergewa Agerasho, Lamge Longe, Ephrem Longe, Nikote Tiji, Momoge Finjan, Sise Damte, Alemitu Longe, Kifle Deneke, Yowna Alamu, Marikos Attene, Esmael Yatolak, Yordanos Yatolak, Yishak Arte'et, Philiose Arte'et, Alemayehu Arte'et, Aynet Mengesha, Jemanesh Lesokin, Sadok Koko, Timotiwos Lewer, Adnael Marito, Ephrem Bekele, Kibrom Acham, Isrom Geman, Tiyora Kifle, Getinet Kibrom, Tenigish Gebrel, Salma Gones, Wollo Kelane, Muse Bobodin and all the villagers of Jifor, Dembel and Gogamo.

Finally, I want to send my heartiest gratitude to my wife Hellen Tekle and my children Barok Kibebe and Bama Kibebe for their patience and love. They have seffered alot because of the pressure I passed through.

ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was documenting Chabu language: collecting a representative natural linguistic data with a view to multifunctional later use in scientific work and practical applications and to archive in digital archives as important repositories of the language. To make the documentation a good representative of the Chabu language, variety of natural texts of multiple genres have been collected, although only a few are used for the dissertation. This thesis, as part of the documentation' investigated the endangerment situation of Chabu and described the grammar of the language.

To this end, the study employed the Community Based Language Research (CBLR) model (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009) in its loose sense and Basic Linguistic Theory (Dryer 2006) as theoretical framework. Although the community members did not participate in the planning stage most of the data collection and organisation activities were done in collaboration with members of the Chabu community. In order to make the documentation comprehensive the study followed an extended documentation format that enabled it to document various texts from multiple genres, compile the grammar of a language and produce a dictionary with about 1700 lexical items.

The data were gathered in six months stay over three years period through participant and non participant observations, interview, and elicitation techniques with the help of multimedia technology (video and photo cameras and audio recorder) both in natural and induced settings. The elicitation and the cross checking of the data was also done during our stay with Chabu assistants in Meti, Tepi and Addis Ababa in about 10 additional months.

The study explored that Chabu is facing a danger of extinction because of multiple factors among which lack of recognition is the most important. Chabu is found to score the lowest point in most of the parameters set by UNESCO as indicators of vitality. The study also disclosed that the name “Shabo” which is found in most recent literature of Chabu has no base from the speaker community and neighboring ethnic groups.

The grammatical description revealed that Chabu has twenty four consonant and seven vowel phonemes in which consonant gemination, vowel length and tone have phonemic states.

As the study result revealed, Chabu nouns are found to be inflecting for number, gender, definiteness and case. Chabu has a three way number and a two-way gender system that are morphologically marked. Chabu pronoun system is found to be unique in distinguishing gender in three persons and three numbers. The person oriented demonstrative system distinguishes four distance categories (proximal, medial (near the hearer), distal and invisible). The language is found to be having productive system of noun formation. Chabu does not have a separate word class of adjectives; all words that serve as adjective have derivational relation with verbs.

Chabu verbs found to be inflected for person, gender, number, tense, aspect and mood by attaching `suffixes and prefixes to the main verb or to the auxiliary. The language has four tenses, three morphologically marked aspects, and a variety of directive moods. In verb stem formation, Chabu displays suffixation of derivational morphemes to verb roots and partial root reduplication in some cases of frequentative formation.

The findings also disclosed that Chabu is an SOV language which allows some degree of flexibility. Serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, converbs, relative clauses, and coordination construction are among the attested multi clausal construction of Chabu.

Finally, the study suggests that the Chabus and their heritage language need to be recognized and protected by both regional states and federal government. Thus, different strategies should be designed to salvage, preserve and promote the language and the culture of the Chabu by the regional administrations and by national policy makers.

1. Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

Minority languages of the world are disappearing in an alarming rate for various reasons. These dying languages are taking all the wisdom and the knowledge they embed; which is a great loss for the speaker community, for linguists, for specialists of other disciplines which, make use of language and culture as subjects of their studies (such as historians, anthropologists, folklorists, ethno-botanists and philosophers), and for the world at large. Since language is part of its speakers' cultural heritage and the main means by which the speakers express their culture, death of a language is a gradual disappearance of the culture and a great loss of the identity of the speaker community.

If the dying language is a language isolate like Chabu might be, the loss becomes very serious as the lost information will not be approximated from any other source.

Therefore, this multi-dimensional grave loss has to be stopped and the resourceful heritage languages have to be documented and if possible revitalized.

As a matter of fact, recently some preservative (documentation) and preventive (revitalization) activities have been started in many parts of the world by linguists and speaker communities. These language documentation and revitalisation activities are evidencing the possibility of reversing the current situation to the level of restoration of the dead but well documented or in Leonard's (2008) words, 'sleeping languages'.

However, since human and economic resources are limited, some languages, with special features that could have great contribution to our understanding of the universals of language and the potential of our mind, are disappearing without leaving any important evidence that verifies their existence in the history of mankind.

The Ethiopian language diversity is endangered and its extent is not fully known. Language relationship in the country is complex, and there is little agreement about the taxonomic relationships. There are languages which are not recognized as independent languages for they are spoken by a few people in peripheral areas. In addition, the diversity is endangered not only because some languages are seriously in danger of extinction but also efforts are hardly made to preserve or document these endangered languages.

Chabu (Shabo) (ISO 639-2/3 Code sbf) is one of the seriously endangered languages, which is facing the danger of extinction. Although the literature acknowledges its endangerment, there are no data that show its level of endangerment. No one knows the number of the speakers of the language and the estimations vary and are often based on outdated information (see Anbessa, 1991). In fact, this is not particular to Chabu. Bowden and Romanovsky discusses the general situation as follows:

In endangered language studies, a variety of weakly substantiated claims about the level of language endangerment across the globe are often made. ...but no detailed justification for this claim is made in the literature. It is clear that an accurate assessment of global language endangerment must start with an accurate assessment of the vitality of each of the 6000 or so languages that are currently spoken (Bowden and Romanovsky, 2007. p. 334).

The endangerment of Chabu and our understanding of the worth of documenting this unique language motivated us to document and describe the language.

Determining Chabu's current status is found to be essential as part of the documentation process to determine its level of endangerment and to recommend possible intervention actions based on up-to-date information. With this objective in mind a survey study has been conducted. The focus of the survey was limited to examining the level of vitality and endangerment of Chabu language. The vitality and endangerment level of the language were assessed against the following parameters: the language's intergenerational transmission, absolute number of speakers, proportion of speakers within the total population, trends in existing language domains, response to new domains and media, materials for language education and literacy, governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies, including official status and use, community members' attitudes toward their own language and amount and quality of documentation available (Brenzinger et al., 2003) only to the level attainable.

1.1.1 Ethno-Linguistic Background

In this section, relevant background information will be presented with regard to the Chabu people as well as their language situation.

1.1.1.1 Nomenclature

The Chabu people are one of the least-known minority groups in Ethiopia. In the literature the Chabu and their language are known by two different names, by Mikeyir or its variants (Mikair, Mekeyir, or Mekeyer) and by Shabo. The name Shabo is introduced by Unseth (1984) to the linguistic literature as the self-name of the people and subsequent works used this name. Schnoebelen (2009) also mentions that the people call themselves Sabu. But our current field work does not confirm Unseth's and Schnoebelen's naming.

The people have their own names for themselves, for their resident forest, and for their language. They call themselves Chabu [*tʃabu*] or Tsabu [*ʃabu*]¹, their resident forest Chawi [*tʃawi*] and their language Chawi kaw [*tʃawi kaw*] (literally meaning 'the mouth of Chabu area'). In all the narratives collected and throughout the interviews and discussions the researcher made, the people consistently use the term Chabu or [*ʃabu*] to refer to themselves. Moreover, they are not happy with the name Shabo.²

The speakers of the two neighbouring dominant languages, the Shekkacho and the Majangir, have separate names for the Chabu. The Shekkacho exclusively use "Shakko" [*ʃakko*].³ The Majangir use "Sabuye" [*sabuje*].⁴ Therefore, the name "Shabo" exists only in the literature and there is no reason to name the people and their language as "Shabo".

Although the Chabu call their language *tʃawi kaw* "language of Chabu place", when they use other languages like Amharic, they use Chabu to refer to both themselves and their language. They prefer to call their language by ethnonym rather than by the place name. The Chabu consultants also advised us to use the ethnic name to refer to the language.

¹ The ejective post alveolar (palatal) fricative [*ʃ*] appears as variant of the ejective post alveolar (palatal) affricate [*tʃ*] in some occurrences in the language.

² When we used the term Shabo while talking to one young Chabu, the boy responded with anger and asked us what Shabo means and told us that the term doesn't refer to them. All members of the community we met proved the same.

³ The Sheka Zone officials refused to accept the letter of support that we took from AAU which refers to the Chabu as "Shabo". We had to come back to Addis Ababa to have another letter that refers to the Chabu as "Shakko".

⁴ When we presented a letter of support that we took from AAU to the then vice administrator of Majangir in April 2009, the administrator corrected the name "Shabo" to "Sabuye" on the letter.

Since they prefer the name Chabu, in this study the researcher uses consistently Chabu, the self-name of the people under study to refer both to the people and to their language.

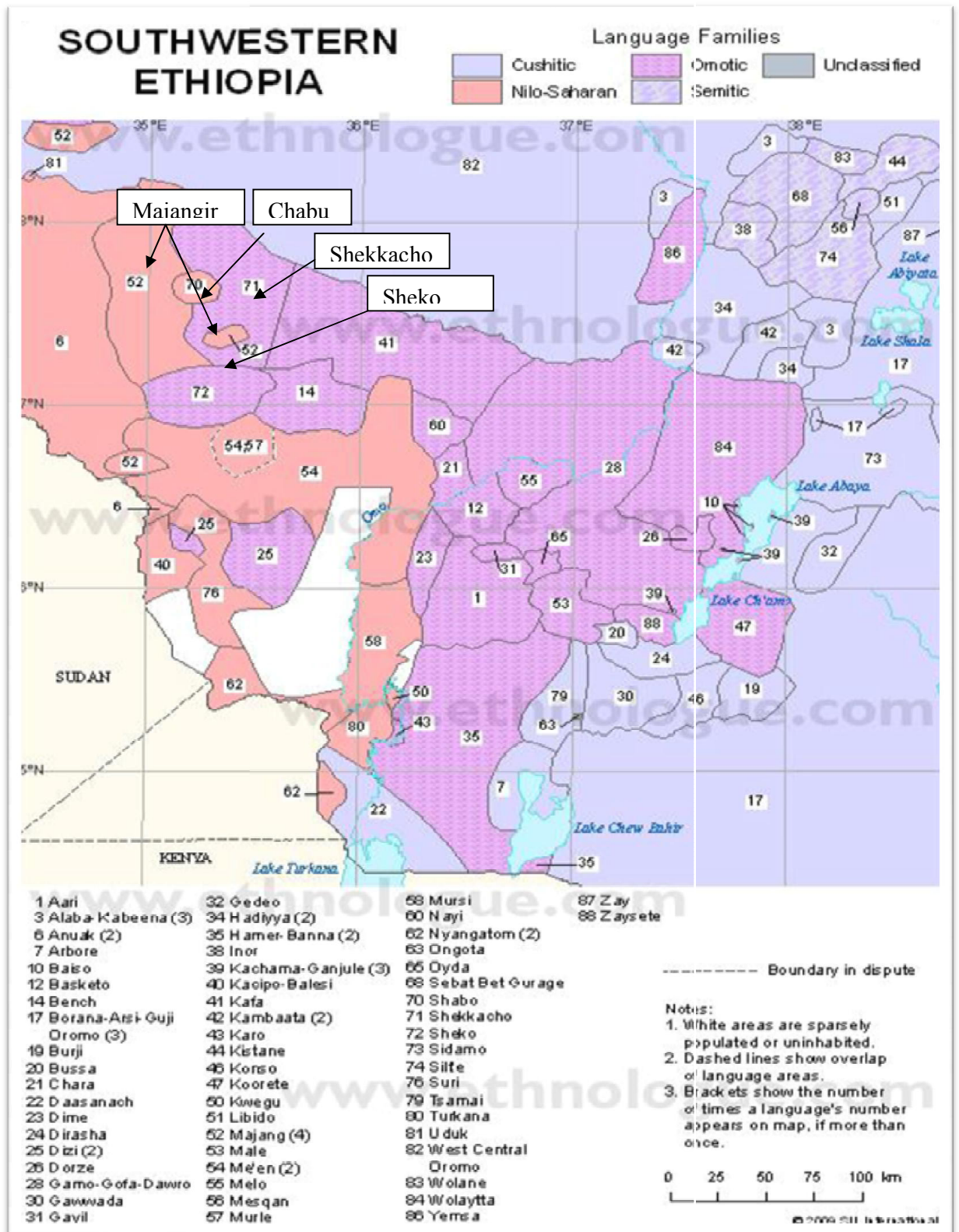
1.1.1.2 The People

The Chabu are hunter gatherers who live in two adjacent regional states in South-Western Ethiopia: in Gambella and Southern Nations Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). In Gambella, they live in Mengeshi and Godere Woradas⁵ of the Majangir Zone and in SNNPR, in Andaracha Worada of Shekka Zone. They are reportedly dispersed across Yeri, Gubeti, Dushi, Fejeji, Shone, Bayya, Kumi and Djanje kebeles (localities) of Mengeshi Worada and in Galasha and Chami areas of Godare Worada, in the south-east of Gambella, as well as in Gayi, Shera and Shekabedo Kebeles of Andaracha Worada in north-western part of the SNNPR. The sociolinguistic situations of the Chabu in the two regions differ significantly (cf. 4.2). The Ethnologue map below shows the south-western densely populated linguistic area of Ethiopia where the Chabu reside.

There are about thirteen clans named Buchub, Chagib, Chokab, Dumab, Gidheb, Gogub, Gojib, Goyub, Gugamb, Gundub, Iyab, Kalgib, and Sib. Each clan associates itself with something (animal, supernatural creatures, materials) which they call [*seja*] seya ‘Clan identifier’. For example, the Chagib are considered as having some relations with [*labu*] ‘sorghum’, the Gogamb with [*koppa*] ‘ape’, the Dumab with [*soj*] ‘bee’, the Gundub with [*tf’uwa*] ‘fire’ and [*bak’e*] spear and the Goyub with [*mijad*] ‘buffalo’. The clans are believed to have the power to control the seya (clan identifier thing) because of this special relationship the clan has anchored with those particular things. For example a Gundub person is believed to have the power to heal people who are wounded with a spear, knife or fire by spitting his saliva on the wound and apes do not touch a Gogumb person’s corn plant while damaging other persons’ by passing the Gogumb person’s corn field.

⁵ Woreda is a subdivision (district) of a zone in the Ethiopian government system. The country is divided into regional states and the states in to zones.

Map 1. Language map South-western Ethiopia (Lewis, 2009 reference number 70)



Concerning the number of the ethnic group members and speakers of the language, there is no reliable source. The Chabu are not recognized as an independent ethnic group yet in both regions they live in and there is no official document that mentions the name and number of Chabu speakers. According to the officials of the area, the Chabu are counted as if they are members of the Majangir in the reports of the two national population census of the country (1995 and 2007). However, according to the participants of this study, the Chabu of Jifor, Dambal, Gogamo areas and most of the Chabu who reside in the forest were not included in any census. Only the nearby people, some District level and a few Zonal level officials know of their existence and only a few individuals acknowledge that the Chabu have a different language.

In addition, the estimates made in the literature concerning both the total population and the speakers of the language are conflicting. Anbessa (1991, p. 371) and Lewis (2009) estimate the total number of the Chabu people at about 600, while UNESCO (2005) considers the Chabu as a “large ethnic population, which has about 400 to 1,000 speakers”. According to the census data collected for this study, the estimation of UNESCO seems closer to the reality than Anbessa’s and Lewis’s estimations.

A survey was conducted in order to examine the endangerment level of the language (the full report is presented in Chapter 4). It must be noted that the survey is not comprehensive. Although the Chabus participated in the survey interview report that the Chabu live in about ten localities in Majangir Zone, Gambella Region, the researcher could access only the villages in Yeri and Gubeti localities. This is because, the then vice administrator of Majangir Zone sent us to Yeri informing us that the Chabu live only there. He did this because it is Yeri Kebele which is known to the officials as the residence of Chabu where the language is actively used in some domains. And this has been found true that among the areas in Gambella region where the Chabu reside it is only Yeri Kebele that has villages where Chabu is used for every day private use at village level. Therefore, the survey didn’t include the Chabu in Dushi, Fajaji, Shone, Bayya, Kumi and Janje kebeles of Mengeshi Worada and Gelashi and Chemi kebeles of Godere Worada in the Majangir Zone. Table 1 shows the demographic information from the census data collected from Chabu speaking community.

Table 1. Number of Chabu Speakers Based on House to House Census

	Region Kebele	No. Houses visited	1 st Language Speakers		2 nd Language Speakers		Infants		Chabu who do not speak		Total		Total
			F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	
Gambella	Yeri	110	81	104	15	28	3	4	58	44	157	180	337
	Gubeti	11	2	2	1	5	-	1	9	8	12	16	28
	Dushi	7	1	1	3	7	-	2	12	9	16	19	35
	Total	128	84	107	19	40	3	7	79	61	185	215	400
SNNP	Shira	123	147	164	-	-	4	3	-	-	151	167	318
	Gayi	36	54	58	-	-	-	-	-	-	54	58	112
	Shekka Bado	18	11	18	9	5	1	-	9	7	31	29	60
	Total	177	212	240	9	5	5	3	9	7	236	254	490
Total no. of Chabu		306	296	347	28	45	8	10	88	68	421	469	890

The collected census data summarised in Table 1. above shows that there are about 716 Chabu speakers (643 mother tongue speakers and around 73 second language speakers) among the 890 members of the ethnic group accessed by the survey. However, as mentioned above this number does not include all Chabu inhabited areas, for the census is done only in the areas where the language is relatively vital. Most of the Chabu living in the kebeles which are not included in the survey have reportedly shifted to Majang. According to the Chabu in Jifor and Yeri, most Chabu are scattered in areas mainly inhabited by Majangir and have shifted to Majang. The Chabu who live in and around Shekka forest (those included in the survey) are the ones who have preserved their heritage language.

1.1.1.3 Language Situation

Chabu (ISO 639-2/3, Code sbf) is a highly endangered language of Ethiopia spoken by the Chabu people. Only some of the children of the ethnic group are still acquiring the language as their mother tongue. The language is still used in most of the daily life domains of the Chabu in SNNPR and some Chabu of Gambella who live in Yeri locality. However, since the Chabu are scattered amongst the Majangir and Shekkacho people; almost all of them are bilingual or multilingual in Chabu, Majang, Shekkacho, Amharic, Oromo or/and Keffinoonoo.

1.1.1.3.1 Linguistic Classification

The classification of Chabu is not yet clearly established and debate is still going on. Although linguistic classification of Chabu is not the focus of this work, a brief overview of the different proposals on the genetic position of the language, ranging from that consider Chabu as a dialect of Majang to those who declared that Chabu is a representative of an extinct linguistic phylum will be given below.

The proposals on the classification of Chabu can be categorized into two main groups. The first group classifies the language under Nilo-Saharan phylum (though at different levels). The second group considers the language as an isolate that represents an independent language phylum, apart from the four known African languages phyla.

Most researchers describe Chabu as Nilo-Saharan language (Bender, 1977, 1983; Fleming, 1991, Anbessa & Unseth, 1989 and Anbessa, 1991, 1995, Unseth, 1984), but there are some scholars (Ehret, 1995, n.d. and Schnoebelen, 2009) who identify Chabu as a language isolate.

The first comment made on Chabu classification is by Bender. Bender (1975) in a chapter where he overviews some classification problem languages, he devoted two paragraphs on Chabu. Based on different sources, he discusses three different proposals. The first proposal he mentions puts Chabu as a ‘deviant dialect of Majang’ based on local information. The second proposal Bender mentions is of J. Haspels’s (a person of American Mission station of Tepi) position that states “from its location Mekeyer may be a far-flung outpost of Tishena” (Bender, 1975, p. 74) (Tishena is a dialect of Me’en beside Bodi). The third suggestion is his own opinion and Bender says “it is also not unlikely that Mekeyer is again part of Olam Murle or another Murle offshoot” (ibid). Both the second and the third proposals put Chabu as an independent language in the Nilo-Saharan language phylum under the Surmic group.

Latter, based on the data collected by a missionary Harvey Hoekstra, Bender (1977) categorized Chabu in Surmic language group under Eastern Sudanic.

By further examining the same data Bender (1983) questioned his own earlier stand. In this work where he published the lexical items collected by Hoekstra, he compared them with data from different languages of Ethiopia and indicated the lexical correspondences with so many different languages (mainly with Majang).

By considering the four personal pronouns, six demonstratives and four interrogatives in Hoekstra's data, Bender came up with a suggestion that Chabu morphology is in support of Omotic relation. However, the vocabulary list is a bit problematic; the medial (near to the listener) adverbial and identifier demonstratives *ɲaŋka* 'there' and *ɲa* 'that' are among the four lexemes that Hoekstra presents as personal pronouns and glosses as '2SG' and '3SG' personal pronouns respectively. In addition among the listed demonstratives and interrogatives, *ɲa* 'that medial' and *hambo(h)* 'when' were transcribed as *ɲə* and *hambo* respectively and *maka* is a proximal masculine object demonstrative that is inflected for accusative case with the common accusative marker *-ka* as *ma-ka*. Thus, it seems that Bender's argument was based on partially inaccurate data.

Although Bender realised the insufficiency of the data, the vocabulary correspondences with so many different languages, and the absence of support from the grammatical information of the data, he grouped Chabu under the Nilo-Saharan language family.

Nevertheless this is not his final position. Anbessa (1995, pp. 30 -31) discusses Bender's latest position as follows: "Bender (p.c.) writes, 'we just don't know: I think it is one of several 'strange hybrids' (e.g. Kwegu, Birale, and Mao)'. He adds that Shabo might be a vestige of some other genetic family which has now but disappeared (i.e. neither N-S nor Afrasian)".

Fleming (1983), by examining the same data collected by Harvey Hoekstra that Bender used, stated that Chabu doesn't fit in the two language families existing in Ethiopia; but latter, he changed his position and proposed Chabu as a member of the Nilo-Saharan phylum as a major branch of its own or as coordinate half of Koman (Fleming, 1991, p. 401).

Unseth (1984) comments that Chabu is not a member of the Surma subgroup of East Sudanic (Nilo-Saharan) and left it unclassified (cited in Brenzinger, 1992, p. 384), but later, with Anbessa, made a sketchy phonological, morphological, and lexical comparison with the nearby Nilo-Saharan and Afro-asiatic languages and concluded that Chabu is a Nilo-Saharan language under Southern Sudanic Group. (Anbessa and Unseth, 1989, p. 417).

Anbessa (1991) strengthens Anbessa and Unseth's (1989) position of classifying Chabu as Nilo-Saharan in his sketch grammar of Chabu; but he was not sure where Chabu fits within

the Nilo-Saharan phylum. He further notes that “All the linguistic evidence definitely puts Shabo under Nilo-Saharan language family. The next more daunting task will be finding the exact position of Shabo within Nilo-Saharan” (Anbessa, 1991, p. 385).

Few scholars including Bender see Chabu as a single remnant of an otherwise completely lost and unknown independent African linguistic phylum. For example Ehret expresses his impression of Chabu along with Krongo as follows:

... Shabo and Krongo (Kadugli-Kromgo) form two language families separate from Nilo-Saharan. It is possible that Krongo may belong at a higher level to a super family having Nilo-Saharan as its other branch, but it is certainly not, on the available evidence, a member of Nilo-Saharan proper. Shabo appears to hold, if anything, a solitary position.... In sum, the number of African language families can for the present be enumerated as six: Afro-asiatic, Niger-Kordofanian, Nilo-Saharan, Krongo (Kaduli-Krongo), Shabo and Khoisan. (Ehret, 1995, pp. 191-192)

Blažek (n.d.) supports the way Ehret handled the taxonomy of the Nilo-Saharan phylum that takes Chabu out of the phylum. By comparing Bender’s and Ehret’s analysis, he expresses his view as follows:

... confronting the approaches of Ehret and Bender from the point of methodology, Ehret’s approach based on evaluation of lexical innovations vs. archaisms seem more productive than Bender’s accent on morphological isoglosses (although Bender, a well-known propagator of lexicostatistics, uses the lexical comparison too; on the other hand, Ehret has devoted a big space to morphological parallels too) (Blažek, n.d., p. 9).

Ehret’s position of Chabu as language isolate is strengthened by a recent work of Schnoebelen (2009). Schnoebelen argues that all the writings that classify Chabu under the Nilo-Sahara phylum based their decision on problematic and insufficient data (Schnoebelen, 2009, p. 12). According to Schnoebelen, all the Nilo-Saharan hypotheses for Chabu are based on three evidences; the plural marker *-k*; the accusative marker */-k/* and lexical similarity. He judged all the three evidences as problematic. Schnoebelen rejects Anbessa’s (1991) report that put the common Nilo-Saharan plural marker */-k/* as Chabu plural marker. He commented Anbessa’s report as probable result of Majang interference during Anbessa’s elicitations (Schnoebelen, 2009, p. 6). The author also did not find any evidence that support Anbessa’s position (see the discussion on number under 6.2.).

Schnoebelen (2009, p. 7) accepts the presence of the accusative case marker of the form /-k/ in *Chabu*. However, he argues that the *Chabu* morpheme /-k/ is different from the Nilo-Saharan case marker /-k/ because the *Chabu* /-k/ has other forms /-ka/ and /-kaka/, and has other uses beyond marking an object that makes the morpheme's similarity with the Nilo-Saharan proto form vague. (Except the case of /-kaka/ all the arguments of Schnoebelen are in line with the findings of this study. (See section 6.5. Case for the details).

Schnoebelen by examining *Chabu* based on 47 stable features of languages (among 66 proposed by Wichmann and Holman, cited in Schnoebelen (2009, p. 13) and by comparing *Chabu* with 90 Nilo-Saharan languages, suggests that *Chabu* is not a member of the Nilo-Saharan phylum. He outlines his findings as follows:

[W]e have given the Nilo-Saharan hypothesis every opportunity to succeed, but none of the data is convincing.

- The morphology of *Shabo* is very un-Nilo-Saharan, especially once we correct the data that has been used in the past. This is true for all sorts of morphology; especially case and verbal inflection.
- *Shabo* doesn't clearly participate in any of the 80 innovations that Bender describes, or his Nilo-Saharan-wide grammemes.
- The lexical support for the Nilo-Saharan hypothesis has been overstated. (Schnoebelen, 2009, p. 32).

Then, he concludes that "it is best to call *Chabu* a language isolate" (Schnoebelen, 2009, p. 32).

Among the works done on the classification of *Chabu* Schnoebelen's work seems to be based on well organized data. My field work result also shows that the word list used by both Bender and Ehret are not purely of *Chabu* vocabulary. For example, among 134 lexical items that are published in Bender (1983) 13 lexical items are from *Majang* that have different *Chabu* equivalents, 12 items are rejected by consultants, 18 items are glossed with different meaning than their actual ones and 17 items are transcribed with minor errors. Another example is that among 144 words listed in Ehret (1995), 11 are *Majang* words which are not part of *Chabu* vocabulary and another 22 are glossed with a different meaning than their actual ones.

The descriptive result of the present study is hoped to provide a good deal of evidence that could be used to settle the argument on the classification of Chabu and contribute to historical linguistic studies.

1.1.1.3.2 Dialectal Variation

According to the respondents participated in the sociolinguistic survey, which are all L1 Chabu speakers, there are no dialectal variations among Chabu speakers. The Chabu spoken in all areas in both Gambella and SNNP regions is one and the same. Since the Chabu are mobile and the geographical separation is not as such real because they move between the different areas where their relatives reside, their assumption appears true. When the author of this dissertation go to Jifor for his 1st field work in January 2010, he met some of the Chabu whom he had met earlier in May 2009 at Yeri while he was doing a pilot study. It appeared that some of them live in both places; they claim that they have the right to have plots of land in both regions.

1.1.1.3.3 Endangerment of the Language

Chabu is an endangered language. However, its level of endangerment is not as exaggerated as it is in the literature. The reason for the exaggerated report of its endangerment level could be the areas from where data were collected for the previous works. Almost all the data concerning Chabu were taken from areas accessible via public transportation and largely dominated by other ethnic groups.

For example, UNESCO (2005) states that the youngest speaker has passed middle age. But this is true only in the case of Yeri and most villages in Mengeshi Worada. There are still villages (Bagi, Badi, Dambal, Dame, Dushi, Gugamo and Jifor) in the heart of Shekka forest which are inhabited exclusively by Chabu speaking people where small children acquire Chabu as their mother tongue at list until the time of the first two field works of this study.

The general state of usage of Chabu in the SNNPR is that all the Chabu (grandparents, parents, children, and grandchildren) can speak Chabu. The people are using their language for everyday communication in their villages. However, this may not continue after a year or two because of the resettlement program in Andaracha worada and the pressure from settlers in Mangashi worada.

The case of the Chabu who live in Gambella is different and varied; all grandparents speak Chabu; parents are less uniform in that some speak Chabu fluently, while others who live in the surrounding small towns prefer to communicate in Majang or Shekkacho. Although most of the children understand basic everyday expressions, they do not use Chabu for day to day communication.

Chapter four presents the survey conducted on the Chabu speech communities. The purpose of the survey was to assess the level of endangerment or vitality of the language.

1.1.2 History of Migration

There is no written resource that explains the history of the Chabu. According to Chabu elders of Jifor and Suni (SNNPR), the origin of the Chabu is the Shekka forest. Wolde of Suni and Atene and Alemu of Juror tell a similar story that their ancestors were created in the forest and lived there for many centuries. They strongly assert that they don't have any migration history. However, the neighbouring Majangir do not accept this claim. According to one story told by a Majang man Chabu is a clan of Majangir who moved to the forest for social reasons to hide themselves from other clans.

Schnoebelen (2009, p. 3) notes that "the Shabo recount stories that the first Shabo were Majangir who moved to the mountains and tried to clear land for farming only to have the rains wash out their fires. Other Majangir moved in later and called the first group *Sabu*, the name meaning something about incomprehensibility." However, elders interviewed in Suni, Jifor and Dushi of Gayi claim that their history has no relation to the Majangir. Moreover, the linguistic data supports the Chabu elders claim rather than the Majangir version (Schnoebelen, 2009).

1.1.3 Religion

The Chabu originally were followers of traditional religion and some of them, especially those who live in the bush still practice it. However, recently, most of the Chabu have been converted to Protestantism. The Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus Ilubabor Bethel Synod Development and Social Service Commission is the only organization that works for the development of the Chabu. The clinic and the elementary school at Yeri which have been built by the commission are the only clinic and formal education centre in Chabu dominated areas until 2013. Further more, the church has launched a project entitled 'Shabuye Sang Development Project' in 2011. The project has many objectives such as:

helping the Chabu to be heard, enabling them conserve their culture, identity and the forest up on which their livelihood-hood depends a lot, introducing primary education, delivering health services, introducing credit and agricultural extension services (Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekane Yesus, 2011, p. 12). Behind the project, it seems obvious that preaching the Gospel is their other (probably the main) goal. The attraction and conversion of the Chabu to the protestant religion seems largely due to these various developmental activities.

Nevertheless, the conversion of most Chabu seems to be partial in the sense that they practice both the modern religion and the traditional one. They practice their Christianity only during Church services, while at any other time most of them practice the traditional religion as their ancestors used to. For example, when someone gets sick they take him to a traditional healer, a person who is believed to have the knowledge and the skill of healing by performing a traditional healing activity. Moreover, most elderly Chabu who reside in the forest are still followers of the traditional religion.

1.1.4 Economy

Traditionally, the Chabu were hunter-gatherers and beekeepers who live in small family units and frequently change their living area. Today most Chabu who live in Shekka forest practice the same but hunt to a lesser extent. Those who live in the forest live by hunting and subsistence agriculture. In the forest, where most of the Chabu reside, the land is very fertile and suitable for agriculture. One can cultivate fruit and cereals that can grow in warmer areas. The major agricultural crops, which are used as the main subsistence, are corn, cocoyam, yam, sweet potato and cassava. Currently the youth (especially of Jifor and Dumbel) have started growing false banana (enset), coffee, banana, papaya, sugarcane and the like. This agricultural activity has made them to settle in one place and to start establishing villages. As a result, by the time the survey data were collected there were about 11 Chabu villages with 13 to 117 dwellers in the middle of the forest in Andaracha worada (Bagi 13, Yayi 16, Di, 27, Semin 29, Dabrzeit 31, Dame 36, Badi 40, Dushi 43, Gogamo 68, Dambal 68 and Jifor 117).

Though, these people begin to produce crops, they do not use them properly and the cultivated products are not supporting much of the diet, For instance, the ensets they grow are very huge and would be very useful, if grated (prepared) properly, however the Chabu use them only for wrapping purpose and wasted them without further use. As a result,

some Chabu (of Dushi) leave their village to search for food during the dry season. Furthermore, for the Chabu live too far from markets, the fruits they cultivate have not been commercialized; they are used for local consumption alone. The only product the Chabu frequently do take to the market is honey. Their forest honey is considered the best quality in the area and believed to have high medicinal value. Almost all the honey the Chabu produce is for marketing. The Chabu consume honey only when they are collecting it from the beehives otherwise it is marketed.

Some Chabu youth begin to take the meat of wild pigs they hunt to Gamadaro (the nearest small town) to sale. But Chabu elders are not happy with this practice. Because this is against their tradition. In Chabu, a man who hunted a prey should share the meat with all the neighbouring households equally. He (the hunter) has no right to take the lion's share but must share equally with his neighbours.

The Chabu did not rear cattle, sheep and goats. The only domestic animals they look after are chickens and dogs. But recently, with the help of the Sabuye Shang project launched by the Evangelical Mekane Yesus Church, they have begun to rear some sheep and goats.

1.1.5 Marriage

Most marriages in Chabu take place within their ethnic group. However, recently intermarrying with the Majangir has become a common practice and some Chabu boys have got wives from the Sekkacho, Kafa and Oromo communities as well. According to the respondents in the survey, some of the youth do this for two main reasons. The prime one is that they consider it as a sign of civilization and the second one is that because Chabu women are reluctant for love play, thus, they prefer to get married with women of other ethnic groups.

Marriage in Chabu is arranged by the agreement of the girl and the boy. There is no marriage without the consent of the girl in the Chabu community. In most cases, marriage takes place in the form of abduction with the will of the girl. Before the abduction the boy builds a shelter in remote forest to hide his bride and himself from the bride's parents. The groom has to hide himself until his case is settled through elderly people. If the family members of the girl meet him by accident, they could kill him. Thus, wise elders will be sent to the girl's family for negotiation. When they reach upon agreement, a reconciliation ceremony is organized. During reconciliation ceremony the girl's father takes a piece of

burning charcoal and put it on the palm of the boy and shakes the boys hand by pressing the fire between their palms until it turns to ashes. Then the boy presents a bride price to the bride's family. The boy is expected to pay bride price in kind, in terms of spears and axes. The spears are given to the father and other male relatives while the axes are for the mother and other female relatives. Though the number of spears and axes that the boy should present are not usually fixed, they should not be less than three. But currently the bride price has been changed to money which cannot be less than ten thousand Birr.

Polygamy is allowed and some Chabu men marry more than one wife. However, this happens only if the first wife agrees; she has the right to refuse.

Love making is also made with full consent of the wife and the husband. A Chabu man could make love to his wife only if she expresses her willingness by receiving the stick her husband stretches to her. According to Mommoge and Nikote (interviewed Chabu ladies), from the day a woman knows that she is pregnant, the couple do not make love. Therefore, the men leave their house immediately when they know that their wives are pregnant and return home only when their new born baby starts to walk. Although the men frequently send meat from their hunting to their pregnant wives, the pregnant woman has to survive by her own by gathering some wild yam. However, in the current life style of the young Chabu, although they do not make love during pregnancy, they stay at home and they do not abandon the pregnant woman.

1.1.6 Education

The only formal education centre which is found in Chabu dominated areas is the Yeri elementary school which started in 2010/2011 academic year. The building and all the equipment were donated by the Evangelical Church. The Zonal education office on it part assigned teachers and a school director.

The other educational centres are the informal alternative schools at Gogok and Jifor. There is also a house of two small classes prepared for the same purpose before 2011 at Dushi of Gayi though not started giving service until June 2014.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

A number of minority languages of the world are facing extinction because of various reasons. These languages are dying with the wisdom and the knowledge they embody.

Chabu is among a few seriously endangered languages of Ethiopia. There is no significant work done on the language worth considering as documentation and usable if the need for revitalisation arises. This project is aimed to fill this gap.

The most important factors which made Chabu subject of this documentation project are:

- Small number of its speakers; (according to Ethnologue report (Lewis, 2009) less than 600) but above 700 according to the survey made for this study.
- The Chabu are in an enclave situation surrounded by the dominant Majang and Shekkacho speech communities.
- The bilingual or trilingual status of all the speakers of the language in Majang and/or Shekkacho. Almost all speakers of Chabu except a few small children in the middle of Shekka forest are fluent in Majang or/and Shekkacho (Anbessa, 1991; Anbessa and Unseth, 1989; Schnoebelen, 2009 and the current researcher's personal observation).
- The speakers' perception of Majang community as dominant and high prestige (Schnoebelen, 2009).
- Its exclusion from the two (1994 & 2007) population censuses reports of the country
- The scarcity of research and documentation on the language
- The high probability of its being an isolate language
- Its unique linguistic features (for example the presence of gender distinction in all three persons of independent personal pronouns in singulars, duals and plurals)

Therefore, the researcher of this study conducted a documentary and descriptive study that can contribute to the preservation of the language and the culture it embodies.

This is therefore a study that addressed the following research questions besides documenting the language

1. What are the facts and factors influencing the use of Chabu?
2. What is the attitude of the speaker community towards their language and culture?
3. What is the official status of the language?
4. What is the actual level of endangerment of the language?
5. What are the basic phonological, morphological and syntactic features of the language?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1.3.1 General Objectives

The general objectives of this study are:

- ❖ documenting natural texts and conversations of Chabu, and
- ❖ describing the grammar of the language

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

In order to achieve the above general objectives the following specific objectives have been addressed.

- recording oral texts from a range of speech varieties and discourse types using digital photo, audio and video recorders;
- assigning metadata for each unit of recording;
- transcribing and translating some of the collected linguistic materials;
- annotating a 30 minutes sample of the collected linguistic materials
- identifying the level of endangerment of the language based on the parameters set by the UNESCO
- describing the phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of the language;
- creating an electronic and print glossary of about 1750 words ;
- Making ready the transcribed, translated and annotated recordings for archive.

1.4 Significances of the Study

The concern of this study, as has been already mentioned, is two-fold providing a comprehensive documentation of Chabu and compiling its grammatical description. Therefore, the study has the following significances:

Most of the proposals of classification of Chabu language are based on very limited data and less dependable lexicostatistical materials which must be supplemented by comparative morphological studies (Schnoebelen, 2009). Thus, this study alleviates the deficiency of data and the descriptive result can be used for comparison purpose.

As the language is likely a language isolate, it is also hoped that the study provides evidence that can be used to fill the gaps in our knowledge of language families of Africa and add important points to our knowledge of how human languages work.

Since languages are keystones of humankind's intangible heritage and Chabu is a seriously endangered language on the verge of extinction, the documentation serves as a live document reflecting the linguistic and cultural profiles of the speakers that preserve the world's cultural heritage for future generations.

The collected and linguistically enriched language materials can be used to create materials for language revitalization and development.

The documentation can serve as a source for further studies both in linguistics and other disciplines.

1.5 Limitation of the Study

The output of the documentation is expected to serve multiple purposes. Thus, a language documentation project requires a multidisciplinary approach that involves researchers, theories and methods from a wide range of areas (anthropology, history, literature, musicology, psychology, ecology, applied linguistics etc.). However, researchers from other disciplines other than linguistic are not involved in this study. This is because of resource and time limitations and the purpose of the study (to produce a PhD dissertation).

Community based language research (CBLR) model is becoming the current trend in language documentation tradition and the success of language documentation might be determined by the needs of the community, the available time and economic resources (Czaykowska- Higgins, 2009, p. 27). Thus, this author has tried to adapt CBLR. Nevertheless, because of time and resource limitations, purpose of the study and lack of awareness from the target community side, members of the community did not participate in planning the project and their agenda has not been entertained. Although they had the chance to direct the project by choosing the items of the cultural domains that should be given priority of documentation (they were oriented and encouraged to do so), they could not get hold of the available opportunity well. This author's lack of linguistic fieldwork experience also had its own negative impact in involving the community members to maximum level. Hence, CBLR model is not employed in its strict sense.

The assessment survey on endangerment level of the language has been done only in areas where the language is actively spoken and in some points the result of the study is far from the actual situation. For example the ratio of the total number of the ethnic group members to the speakers of the language would not been the same if all the Chabu who had given up using their ethnic group language had been included.

Because of time limitation, out of more than 50 hours of recorded natural linguistic data only about 30 minutes of recording has been fully translated and annotated.

The researcher's limited linguistic background and experience of linguistic fieldwork made the progress the project very slow and the project took much more time than proposed.

2 Literature Review

As this study includes documentation and description of the seriously endangered language Chabu, the literature review has two components. The first section is concerned with language endangerment and language documentation and the second section is an overview of the available works done on the language.

2.1 Language Endangerment and Language Documentation

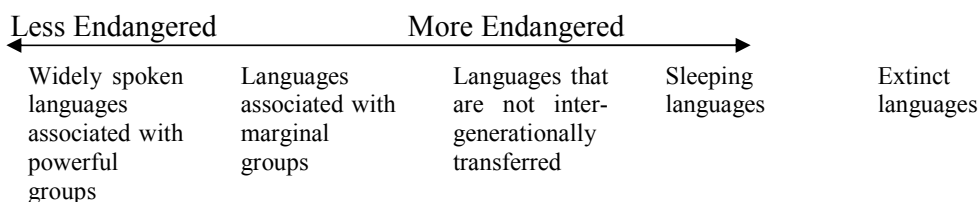
2.1.1 Language Endangerment Situation

The currently spoken 6000-plus languages of the world vary in terms of number of speakers and their status of use from the major languages like Chinese and English to languages with only few speakers like that of Ongota. “About 97% of the world’s people speak about 4% of the world’s languages; and conversely, about 96% of the world’s languages are spoken by about 3% of the world’s people” (Bernard, 1996, p. 142, cited in Brenzinger et al., 2003). Most of the languages with fewer speakers are being threatened by the major languages and moving towards extinction. Krauss (1992) categorizes the current status of the world languages in to three groups:

- Moribund languages 20% to 50% (languages children have already stopped acquiring them as native languages); (p. 6)
- Endangered languages 40% to 75% (languages still being learned by children as native languages, but if the present tendency continues, they will move into the first category by the end of the twenty-first century), and
- Safe languages only 5% to 10% (languages which are assured of continuing to be spoken in the future) (p. 7)

By considering the gradual change languages undergo, Leonard (2008) puts the world languages on a continuum (along a continuous spectrum) ranging from less to more endangered instead of putting them in closed groups. Leonard’s endangerment continuum reads as follows:

Figure 2: Language Endangerment Continuum (Leonard, 2008)



By recognizing the future possibility of revitalization, Leonard refers to some currently off use but well documented languages as “sleeping languages”, meaning that they are not currently in use but, since they are well documented, if efforts are exerted the languages could be revitalized. Those languages which died without leaving any trace of them are not part of Leonard’s continuum because they are no longer topics of discussions of endangerment (Leonard, 2008, p. 27).

According to Krauss’s (1992, p. 5) prediction and National Geography’s (2009) estimation, half of the presently spoken languages will disappear by the end of the century, “taking with them a wealth of knowledge about the natural environment, culture, history, and the human brain” (National Geography, n.d., section Losing our world’s languages, para. 1). Therefore, a strong effort must be exerted to salvage these heritages of the world.

2.1.2 Causes of Language Endangerment

Causes of language endangerment and extinction are many and interwoven. In most cases it is difficult to single out the only cause of a language’s endangerment as it is driven by multiple factors. However, there are major contributors which worth mentioning.

According to Headland (2003, p. 4-5) the most important reasons for language death were “ethnocide or linguicide, or even genocide, of an indigenous group.”

- Ethnocide is when a dominant political group attempts to purposely put an end to a people’s traditional way of life.
- Linguicide (linguistic genocide) is when such a dominant group tries to extinguish the language of a minority group; say by punishing anyone caught speaking it.
- Languages can also disappear quickly because of the physical loss of the whole speaker community due to natural disasters, war or genocide or they are scattered in a way that destroys their existence as a linguistic community and “these were common reasons for language extinctions in the 18th and 19th centuries.” (Headland, 2003, pp. 4-5)

According to Headland the recent situation is different and “... minority languages more commonly die “naturally,” rather than by being systematically killed, simply by being overwhelmed by the more passive acculturative processes of the encroaching industrialized world” (ibid) and the following can be taken as some examples:

- Contact between different language speaker communities that results an exchange of cultural elements, products and cultural prestige related with the degrees of

technological advancement of the groups. (The NWO [The Netherlands Foundation for Scientific Research advisory committee], 2000)

- Language shift a) by giving up a traditional economy that is central to the identity of the group, b) by conversion to a religion other than the indigenous one. (The IVLDP [The Istrian Vlashki Language Documentation Project], 2005; The NWO, 2000)
- The economical advantage the majority languages have over the minority ones and children's and their parents demand to gain the advantage by abandoning their ancestral language to the dominant language exclusively (Crystal, 2000).
- Governments and peoples attitude towards their cultural minorities. Minority people are mostly regarded as backward and primitive and not encouraged to develop their culture and language (Miyaoaka, n.d., p 12; 2004, p. 4)
- The high prestige and official language policies in fever of using colonial languages. (National Geography, n.d.).

2.1.3 Criteria for Evaluating Endangerment Level

Often, number of speakers is considered as the main factor to measure language endangerment especially by people far from language documentation activities. Number of speakers is not the only parameter of measuring the level of language endangerment (Miyaoaka, n.d.); it is not even the basic parameter (The NWO, 2000, p. 1). Even though small communities are more susceptible to external threats, sometimes population size is not the main factor. "If small speaker population alone were taken as an indicator of language endangerment, the current worldwide count of languages with fewer than 10,000 speakers is 3,524 which amounts to just over 50% of the identified living languages in the world today" (Lewis and Simons, 2009, p. 4). In assessing vitality and endangerment of language, the factors that need to be taken into account for each of the languages concerned are many and varied. Therefore, there are other more important factors besides the population size of the speech community.

As Miyaoaka, (n.d.) discusses:

Many conditions (including national policies) can influence a language's fate, but first and foremost is the question of whether children are learning the language of their parents and grandparents as a native language and using it on a daily basis. When a native language stops being acquired and used, it is like stopping the process of heredity or breaking natural lines of transmission (section 1. 2. Para. 2)

The NWO Advisory Committee (2000, p. 6) agrees with this idea. The NOW (2000) also adds that the abandonment of indigenous language by children and the ethnic group as a whole and the viability of a language are mainly determined by the attitude of its speakers towards their traditional culture, of which their language is one of the most important components.

As language endangerment and death have long been a topic of discussion among sociolinguists, linguists, language planners, educators, and others (Lewis and Simons, 2009, p. 3); some scholars such as Fishman (1991) and Brenzinger et al. (2003) have attempted to set factors that are relevant in assessing vitality of a language.

Fishman has developed a framework that shows the graded typology of threatened languages he called ‘the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)’ which is perhaps the best-known evaluative framework of language endangerment for nearly two decades (Lewis and Simons, 2009, p. 3). Fishman's GIDS, presented below, focuses on the key role of intergenerational transmission in vitality of languages. Based on the roles the language play and the situation of the intergenerational transmission Fishman (1991) categorises languages into eight groups (from a language with only few rememberers to a language that is used actively in all domains of language use).

Table 2. GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale) (Lewis and Simon, 2009)
(Adapted from Fishman's (1991:87-121))

Level	Description
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting it to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

If parents do not teach their language to their children, the children will not be able to pass the language on to their children. Therefore, intergenerational transmission is the best indicator of language vitality, although there are other factors that need consideration.

Another framework which provides a richer set of parameters for assessing the vitality of languages is proposed by a UNESCO panel of experts (Brenzinger et al., 2003). The UNESCO framework establishes six categories of language vitality and endangerment, namely, *Safe, Vulnerable, Definitely endangered, Severely Endangered, Critically Endangered and Extinct*. For the purpose of assessing the status of a language, the framework provides a set of nine factors that can be analyzed to determine the level of endangerment. The nine factors are:

- Intergenerational language transmission
- Absolute number of speakers
- Proportion of speakers within the total population
- Trends in existing language domains
- Response to new domains and media
- Materials for language education and literacy
- Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes And Policies, Including Official Status and Use
- Community Members' Attitudes toward Their Own Language
- Amount and Quality of Documentation

These nine factors are of three categories: the first six factors evaluate the situation of language use, the next two assess language attitudes and the last one evaluates the availability of documentation (Brenzinger et al., 2003, pp. 7-16).

Again, the most important of these factors is intergenerational transmission (Lewis and Simons, 2009, p. 8). If intergenerational transmission is interrupted, the language will not have the chance of continuation.

In Chapter four of this study, an assessment survey result is presented to determine the level of endangerment of Chabu in light of the nine factors suggested by UNESCO (Brenzinger et al., 2003).

2.1.4 Language Documentation

In recent years a new field of linguistics, documentary linguistics (language documentation) has been emerged. Documentary linguistics is “concerned with the methods, tools, and theoretical underpinnings for compiling a representative and lasting multipurpose record of a natural language or one of its varieties” (Gippert, Himmelmann, & Mosel, 2006, p. v), and the activity carried out by researchers and communities engaged in work that adopts a documentary linguistic approach is known as language documentation (Austin, 2007).

The main focus of language documentation is on endangered languages. Several minority languages are in danger of extinction and if the current situation continues, half of the presently spoken languages will disappear by the end of this century (Fishman 1991). If these languages die without being documented, it is irreversible tragic loss of information and accumulated wisdom. Therefore a rescuing action must be taken. One of the very important means of rescuing these endangered languages is documenting them before it is too late. Documentary linguistics therefore, is a response for such a situation and its emergence is closely related to this endangered situation of several languages of the world. Jukes (2008, language documentation section, para. 2) discusses this situation as follows:

Language documentation is most often associated with work on endangered languages, and it is fair to say that an increased interest in language endangerment (both among linguists and in the wider community) was the primary motivation behind its inception (and likewise the rationale behind the major funding schemes), but the principles behind it can be applied to any linguistic work involving use of primary data.

Language documentation differs from language description (which mainly aims to describe a language's system of structures and rules in the form of a grammar or dictionary) in its approach, focus, and objectives. Himmelmann (2006, p. 15) states five important features of documentary linguistics that differentiate it from descriptive linguistics. These are:

- *Focus on primary data* – its main concern is collection and analysis of primary language data that can be used by a wide range of users;
- Explicit concern for accountability

The focus on primary data implies that considerable care is given to the issue of making it possible to evaluate the quality of the data. This in turn implies that the field situation is made transparent and that all documents are accompanied by metadata which detail the recording circumstances as well as the further steps undertaken in processing a particular document (Himmelmann 2006, p.15).

- *Concern for long-term storage and preservation of primary data* – it not only focuses on language documentation, but also on archiving the documented linguistic data for posterity with the help of digital technology;
- *Work in interdisciplinary teams* – to be comprehensive and of multipurpose, language documentation requires a multidisciplinary approach that involves expertise of researchers, theories and methods from a wide range of areas;
- *Close cooperation with and direct involvement of speech community* – In Austin's (2007) words "it essentially also concerns itself with the roles of language speakers in documentary projects and their rights and needs in ways not previously considered within linguistics" (p. 1). Thus, almost all the work of recording, transcription, translation and glossing done in the field were done with active participation and collaboration of community members (both as producers of language materials and as co-researchers).

Unlike the results of descriptive linguistics (grammar and dictionary), typical outcomes of documentation projects are many and varied. Jukes (2008, p. 198) summarizes the outcomes proposed by DOBES as follows:

- annotated audio and video recordings of diverse speech events with transcriptions, translations into one or more major languages, morphosyntactic analysis and other comments on content and linguistic phenomena;
- photographs and drawings partly bundled into groups of photos documenting processes, as, how to build a house;
- music recordings and videos of cultural activities and ceremonies;
- a description of the language's genetic affiliation, its socio-linguistic context, its phonetic and grammatical features, and the circumstances of research, recording and documentation;
- keyword-based descriptions to facilitate the organization and accessibility of documents in the archive;

2.1.5 The Value of Language Documentations

Most people and some scholars of language as if it is nothing more than a tool for communication among people and all languages are nothing more than simple tools with the same function. Then following this, there is a feeling that being multilingual country is being inefficient and uneconomical, and the existence of different languages is considered harmful. So that loss of linguistic diversity is seen as a good opportunity to minimize the problem (Miyaoaka, n.d., 2.1. Section, para. 1). The following expression of Headland (2003, p. 4) by quoting an anonymous author shows this view of some scholars:

Most people in America today will argue that it is a good thing that all these confusing languages are finally dying out. Sadly, the majority of lay people in the industrialized world would agree with the economist who said this: ‘Certainly a single language for all humanity would bring huge economic benefits—and perhaps do more than anything else to unite the world’s quarrelling peoples’ (Anonymous 2000).

In fact, if languages were mere tools for communication among people and nothing more than simple tools, losing a language may not be a worry because, people could communicate through languages other than their native ones. But, anthropologists and linguists strongly argue against this belief of some scholars and most lay people which consider language as mere communicative tool. For anthropologists and linguists language is much more than mere communicative tool and whenever a language dies they regret very much because they know that the speaker community, the scientific community and the world at large loss something very valuable.

There are a number of reasons why endangered languages should be studied, documented and preserved. The first reason is the more we know about the various structures of the worlds languages and various ways of language use, the better we can understand the capabilities of human mind in perceiving his environment and communicating his perception (Miyaoaka, 2004), and the better we could explain the phenomenon of language and to decide which part is grounded in biological predisposition and which in the general cognitive abilities and cultural representation systems in the human brain (The NWO, 2000, p. 6). Every time a language dies, we lose part of the evidence that shows how our brains work.

The knowledge of languages is also the key to knowledge in several other disciplines, such as anthropology, archaeology, history and prehistory. They provide data, “unobtainable

anywhere else, for historical studies” (Miyaoaka, n.d., 3.3. section, para. 3; 2004, p. 5). Language comparison and reconstruction can give insights into the history and prehistory of the region where these languages are spoken, the geographical origins of peoples, their possible migrations, the time dimension of the contact situation, and the way of life and thinking of the original population (The NWO, 2000, p. 6).

In addition, language is closely associated with identity of both the individuals and the group of its speakers. The language one speaks defines who s/he is. People who speak the same native language also have a great tie and create a community of speakers. Even those who share only a small amount of common vocabulary create strong “mutual ties and sense of affinity and builds up a psychological barrier that outsiders cannot easily overcome” (Miyaoaka, n.d., 2.5. section, para. 2).

Every language is unique and represents the unique cultural wisdom and wealth of the speaker community that contribute to the linguistic and cultural diversity of the world. Thus, “each language may be called part of the world cultural heritage no less significant than such examples of material culture as castles, shrines, and temples” (Miyaoaka, n.d., 2.5. section, para. 5); “... each language is like a soaring cathedral: a thing of beauty, the product of immense creative effort, filled with rich tapestries of knowledge” (Headland, 2003, p.4.)

Moreover, indigenous groups that have interacted closely with nature for thousands of years often have profound insights into indigenous lands, plants, animals, and ecosystems and specialized knowledge that are not yet discovered by science. When the language gets extinct and the culture be abandoned, this kind of specialized knowledge may be lost forever (National Geography, n.d., Why is it important section, para. 1).

Therefore, loss of any single language is a loss not only for the individual speaker or the speaker community, but for the whole world; it is loss of human intellectual heritage (Brenzinger et al., 2003).

For these reasons, documenting and studying indigenous languages is very crucial and a timely act. “Through documentation, the language and the cultural traditions associated with it can be saved for future generations of community members and scholars. This means that language materials are collected in the audio, video, digital and book format

and deposited with special libraries and other institutions committed to take care of them over time and make them accessible to interested parties” (The Istrian, 2005)

2.1.6 Prioritizing Endangered Languages to Research

As discussed in the previous section, knowledge of each language provides evidence for linguistic theory and insight into how human mind works in processing information through language. Therefore, documenting each language contributes to the understanding of the human mind and culture. Documenting every languages before it gets extinct is thus of a great help to this end. However, the practical limitations and lack of human resource force us to do the prioritization among the undescribed endangered languages (The NWO, 2000). As Myakka explains:

Factors to be considered include not only a language's level of endangerment and the volume and quality of past documentation but also its degree of genetic isolation. Even if one language dies out, if it has surviving near relatives or related dialects, there is hope of obtaining data that approximate those of the extinct language. But if a language without genealogical ties dies out, the keys to and knowledge of the unique patterns of that language group will be permanently lost (Myakka, n.d., section 3.4, para. 2).

By adding other two factors, the NWO Advisory Committee states three factors that should be considered in planning research and funding projects on endangered language documentation. Hence, priority should be given to:

- Endangered isolates;
- Groups of languages which are endangered in their totality;
- Initiation language and other ritual languages or registers, language of occupational “castes”, and language of peoples dependent on other people in a client situation; (for loss of contact situations and of special languages that diminishes our potential insights into processes of language change and processes of register specialization) (The NWO, 2000, p. 9).

Chabu is one of the seriously endangered and poorly documented languages of Ethiopia. Its classification is not yet settled and it has high probability of being a language isolate. Therefore, it deserves the top priority and this is the reason it is chosen as a subject of this study.

2.2 Previous Studies on the Chabu Language

Chabu is among the little-known, least studied and poorly documented languages. The works done on the language are few in number, preliminary in nature and most of the available works focus on the genetic classification of the language.

In this section, a concise review of linguistic works on the grammar of the language will be provided. The descriptive works done on the language are: Anbessa (1991), “Grammar Sketch of Shabo”, Anbessa (1995), “Brief Phonology of Shabo” and Daniel (2000) “Shabo Pronoun”. Another important work of a historical-comparative nature dealing with the classification of Chabu is Anbessa and Unseth (1989). In this study, the authors have also presented a sketch grammar of the language. To the best of our knowledge these are the linguistic studies that provide information with regard to the grammar of Chabu. Schnoebelen’s (2009) “(Un)classifying Shabo” is yet another very important work that gives a considerable amount of linguistic information about Chabu. These are highly valuable works which have guided us a lot. Most of the studies done on the genetic classification of Chabu are based on these works (especially Anbessa and Unseth, 1989 and Anbessa, 1991) as well as the lexical list collected by the missionary Harvey Hoekstra (Bender 1983). In this sub-section the first four works will be reviewed. Although, Schnoebelen (2009) presents many important grammatical points, such as pronoun system, case marking and tense aspect features of the language, the data and analysis are presented in different places in the way appropriate to his discussion. Therefore, his work will not be reviewed here in this section. His points will be discussed in the text under the appropriate topics of this study.

2.2.1 Anbessa and Unseth (1989)

The earliest work among the four works mentioned is the classification work of Anbessa and Unseth (1989). In order to substantiate their position on the linguistic classification of Chabu, Anbessa and Unseth provide a brief sketch of the grammar of Chabu. However, this author accessed only four of the seven parts of Anbessa and Unseth (1989); (Background, Phonology, Numerals and part of the syntax of Chabu) and the review of this work is based on these four parts only.

The background section is mainly about the previous linguistic classifications and brief explanation of the location of Chabu.

Following the background section Anbessa and Unseth discuss the phonology of the language. The authors identified 19 consonant phonemes and nine consonant segments that are suspected as non-phonemic.

All the ejectives, the voiceless fricatives [f] and [s] and the glottal stop [ʔ] are not considered as phonemes of Chabu. The ejectives are considered allophones of their non-ejectives counterparts. Their argument for the allophonic status of ejectives is based on a premise that says “Almost all of them appear word-initially” (Anbessa and Unseth 1989, p 406). But it appeared that this conclusion is based on insufficient data. The current study shows that all the ejectives, except p', are found to be phonemes of the language. Table 3 presents Anbessa and Unseth's consonant chart. The IPA symbols in curved brackets are added to indicate what the symbols given by Anbessa and Unseth stand for.

Table 3. The Consonant Chart Given by Anbessa and Unseth (1989)

		Bilabial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	ejectives	[p']	[t']	[c'(tʃ)]	[k']	
	voiceless	p	t	c (tʃ)	k	[ʔ]
	voiced	b	d	j (dʒ)	g	
Implosives		ɓ	ɗ			
Nasals		m	n		ŋ	
Fricatives	Voiceless	[f]	[s]	š(j)		
	Voiced	[z]	[ʒ (ʒ)]			
Liquids:			r, l			
Glides		w		y (j)	h	

Anbessa and Unseth give examples to illustrate the occurrence of free variation between [p] ~ [f] ~ [ϕ], [k] ~ [h], [s'] ~ [tʃ], [z] ~ [ʒ] ~ [dʒ] and [s] ~ [ʃ]. However, some of the variants are not attested in the current study; among the alternatives Anbessa and Unseth presented, only [k] ~ [h] and [s] ~ [ʃ] are attested. The alteration of [f], [ϕ] and [p] is not attested in the current study but, only [f] and [ϕ]. One set of the examples presented by Anbessa and Unseth to show the alternation [f], [ϕ] and [p] is (*[kasufu] ~ *[kasuϕu] ~ [kasupu]) 'moon'. Among these variations, only [kasupu] is accepted by our consultants.

The alveolar fricative consonant [z], which is not attested in the current study, has also been presented as a variant of [ʒ] and [dʒ] by Anbessa and Unseth. Nevertheless, our data shows that even the Amharic loan word [zajit] meaning 'oil' is pronounced as [dʒajiti] or [ʒajiti] with [dʒ] or [ʒ], and never pronounced with the consonant [z].

Both alternative forms *[s'o] and *[t'o] (which are glossed as 'new' in Anbessa and Unseth) to show the free variation of [s'] and [tʃ] are not accepted by our consultants for two reasons. First, the Chabu word for 'new' is /k'inna/ and has no any phonological similarity with the forms presented. Second, if their intention is to mean "child" the forms must be corrected as [t'o] or [ʃ'o]. Therefore, the free variation of [s'] and [tʃ] is not attested, but [ʃ] is attested as a variant of [tʃ] in most occurrence of [tʃ].

They also mention the existence of consonant gemination and vowel length, at least phonetically. These are found to be phonemic in the current study.

Regarding the vowel system the authors recorded [i], [u], [e], [o] and [a] with short and long forms. This inventory excludes two vowel phonemes that are identified in the current study and in Anbessa's later works.

Anbessa and Unseth identify Chabu as a tonal language with two level tones and gave a minimal payer as evidence. The current study claims that Chabu has three level tones.

Anbessa and Unseth also mention that the basic word order of Chabu is SOV which agrees with the findings of the current study. But their argument that a relative clause follows the head noun is found to be incorrect and the example they present are judged as meaningless by informants. In our study, it has been found that the relative clause precedes the head noun.

Anbessa and Unseth (1989) further state that the numeral system of Chabu is base five, base ten, and base twenty and the morphemes are derived from counting of fingers and toes. The authors acknowledge that the numeral system of Chabu has been influenced by the Majang numeral system. If the transcription of forms for 'two', 'six', 'seven' and 'eleven' are corrected, this could be one version of the recent Chabu numeral system which is adopted from Majang. However, it has been found that the Chabu used to have a counting system of their own which they seldom use. This system will be discussed under Chapter 9 below.

Table 4 below, presents Anbessa and Unseth (1989, p. 410) comparison of Chabu numerals with their Majang counterparts.

If the transcription of forms for ‘two’, ‘six’, ‘seven’ and ‘eleven’ are corrected, this could be one version of the recent Chabu numeral system which is adopted from Majang. However, it has been found that the Chabu used to have a counting system of their own which they seldom use. This system will be discussed under Chapter 9 below.

Table 4. Chabu Numeral System as Presented in Anbessa and Unseth 1989

Numeral	Chabu	Majang
1	<i>in̄ki</i>	<i>omoi</i>
2	<i>bap</i> * [<i>bab</i>] corrected form	<i>pee</i>
3	<i>jiita</i>	<i>jiit</i>
4	<i>aŋan</i>	<i>aŋan</i>
5	<i>tuul</i>	<i>tuul</i>
6	<i>tulu(ŋ/m)</i> * [<i>tuula in̄ki</i>]	<i>tuulaom</i>
7	<i>tulikakin̄ki</i> * [<i>tuula bab</i>]	<i>tuulapee</i>
8	<i>tuna jiita</i>	<i>tuulajiit</i>
9	<i>tulaaŋan</i>	<i>tuulaŋan</i>
10	<i>bapif</i> * [<i>babif</i>]	<i>aarn</i>
11	<i>mabafifin̄ki</i> * [<i>babif in̄ki</i>]	<i>aarnomoj</i>
20	<i>in̄k upa kor</i>	<i>rumir idit</i>

2.2.2 Anbessa (1991 and 1995)

As a follow up to the previous study, Anbessa also has made two major contributions to the study of Chabu. In his grammatical sketch of Chabu, Anbessa (1991) presents an overview of the people and the language, a short review of the previous works and a tentative analysis of the phonetic, phonological, morphological and syntactic structures of the language. In his second work Anbessa (1995) presents a brief phonology of Chabu. For ease of presentation, Anbessa's two major contributions will be reviewed under three different topics, namely phonology, morphology and syntax.

2.2.2.1 Phonology

Concerning the consonant segments, Anbessa (1991) differs from the previous work of Anbessa and Unseth (1989) in five ways. First, Anbessa (1991) recognizes the ejectives as independent phonemes; second, he adds the palatal nasal [*ɲ*] as an independent phoneme besides the bilabial, the alveolar and the velar nasals; third, he recognizes the bilabial voiceless fricative [*f*] as an independent phoneme; fourth, he considered the palatal

voiceless fricative [ʃ] not part of the phonemic system of the language and, fifth, the fricatives [sʰ], [z] and [ʒ] are absent from his phonemic chart.

The finding of the present study differs from Anbessa (1991 and 1995) with respect to the bilabial ejectives [pʰ], the palatal fricative ejectives [sʰ], the palatal nasal [ɲ] and the velar implosive [ɠ]. The three consonants [pʰ], [ɠ] and [sʰ] are not attested in the present study. Our data shows that all lexemes transcribed with the ejective [pʰ] in the previous works are pronounced with the implosive [ɠ]. In addition, the palatal fricative [ʃ] is an allophone of its affricate counterpart [tʃ]. The palatal nasal [ɲ] is not recognised as an independent phoneme, but as an allophone of the basic nasals.

Anbessa discusses free variation of different segments in both works. In his sketch grammar, Anbessa (1991) discusses three types of consonant alternations; [p] ~ [f] ~ [ɸ], [z] ~ [dʒ] and [s] ~ [ʃ] ~ [tʃ]. Among the alternations presented in Anbessa and Unseth (1989), Anbessa accepted only the alteration of [p] ~ [f] ~ [ɸ]. Anbessa (1991) uses the IPA symbol that stand for palatal implosive segment [ɠ] to represent the voiceless bilabial fricative. The variation between [z] ~ [ʒ] ~ [dʒ] in Anbessa and Unseth (1989) is reduced to [z] ~ [dʒ] and the [s] ~ [ʃ] variation has been replaced by variations between [s] ~ [ʃ] ~ [tʃ].

In his 1995 work, Anbessa has made changes in his position of alternative consonants except the case of variations between [s] ~ [ʃ] ~ [tʃ]. He excludes the bilabial fricative [ɸ] and presents only [p] ~ [f] as free variants; [ʒ] is identified as a variant of [dʒ] instead of [z]; he also adds other consonants that he argues occur in free variation ([ʃ] ~ [s], [tʃ] ~ [dʒ], [ɠ] ~ [tɰ] and [k] ~ [h]).

The finding of the current study agrees with Anbessa (1995) regarding the alternations between [dʒ] ~ [ʒ], [s] ~ [ʃ], [tʃ] ~ [ɰ] and [k] ~ [h]. The others are not attested in the present study (see 5.1.1). Anbessa's examples given to demonstrate the alternation of [p] ~ [f], [tʃ] ~ [ɰ] and [ʃ] ~ [s] ~ [tʃ] are corrected by our consultants as follows:

(1)	Anbessa's (1995, p. 31) examples	Corrected form
	<i>hanšep</i> ~ <i>hanšef</i> 'some'	<i>hantʃib</i> (both versions are rejected)
	<i>apal</i> ~ <i>afal</i> 'hit'	<i>affal</i>
	<i>helenč(tʃ)</i> ~ <i>helenʃ(dʒ)</i> 'saliva'	<i>helendʒi</i>
	<i>šaapo</i> ~ <i>sap</i> ~ <i>čapu</i> 'snow'	<i>tʃaapo</i>

čeelakan ~ šeelakan ‘calf’

seelaka ~ feelaka

Anbessa (1991, p. 375) identifies eight vowels. Five of these vowels have a lengthened counterpart (see Table 5 below).

Table 5. Anbessa’s (1991) Chabu Vowel Phoneme Chart

	Front	Central	Back	Long	
High	i	ɪ	u	ii	uu
Mid	e	ʌ	o	ee	oo
Low		a	ɔ	aa	

Anbessa’s transcription of the vowels does not seem to be based on IPA, because he used [ɪ], to represent the high central vowel [i] and [ʌ], to represent the schwa mid central vowel [ə]. In his second work (Anbessa 1995) corrects these transcription errors and uses the appropriate IPA symbols. His latest work, Anbessa (1995) differs from his previous work by having the open mid [ɛ] as a phoneme thereby increasing the number of vowel phonemes to nine.

In the current study the existence of the mid central vowel [ə] is not confirmed and the occurrence of the high central vowel [i] is limited to few instances where it occurs as an epenthetic vowel to break up an impermissible consonant sequences.

Anbessa (1995) speculates that Chabu might have [-ATR] vowel, but the current study does not come up with such conclusion.

Anbessa, in both his works recognizes the existence of consonant gemination, vowel lengthening and lexical tone in Chabu. Anbessa (1995) in addition claims that consonant gemination is phonemic in the language. The present study attests that both consonant gemination and vowel lengthening have a phonemic status.

According to Anbessa (1995), Chabu has both open and closed syllables and words that begin in a vowel make an onset optional. According to him all consonants but /p’ and t’/ can occur in coda position, and the sonorant /m, n, l, r, and j/ are the most frequent in coda position. He also claims that the nucleus of a syllable in Chabu can be a short vowel, a long vowel or a glide.

The current study agrees with most of the points, except with the following. In addition to /b/ and /t’/, Anbessa’s /p’ and t’/, the voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/ is absent from coda position in a syllable. The occurrence of a glide as nucleus is not confirmed by the current

study. The example Anbessa presents to illustrate the occurrence of a glide nucleus, [soj] ‘bee’, is a monosyllabic word with a vowel nucleus and a glide coda.

2.2.2.2 Morphology

Anbessa (1991) recognizes thirteen personal pronouns and realizes the gender distinction in all persons both in singulars and plurals. However, since he did not recognize the existence of dual pronouns, he mixes the dual pronouns with plurals. For example the dual feminine pronouns /*ann*/ ‘1FDU’ and /*sijaka*/ ‘2FDU’ are presented as plural in the places of /*ljanful*/ ‘1FPL’ and /*subaka*/ ‘2FPL’ respectively and the second person plural feminine pronoun /*subaka*/ is presented as second person common plural pronoun. Anbessa’s Chabu pronouns are presented in Table 6 below.

Table 6. Chabu Pronouns as Presented by Anbessa (1991, p. 376)

Person	Gender	Singular	plural
1 st	Masculine	<i>tiŋŋ</i>	<i>jiŋŋ</i>
	Feminine	<i>taja*</i>	<i>ann*</i>
2 nd	Masculine	<i>kukku</i>	<i>sitalak</i>
	Feminine	<i>kuŋgu</i>	<i>sijak*</i>
	Common		<i>subak*</i>
3 rd	Masculine	<i>ji</i>	<i>otalak*</i>
	Feminine	<i>uŋa*</i>	<i>odda</i>

The pronouns presented as 1FSG and as 3MPL in the table are not simple citation forms of the pronouns, rather they are complex forms inflected for case; the *-ŋa* in *taja* is a comitative-coordinative case marker and the *-k* in *otalak* could be either an auxiliary or an accusative case marker. The free forms of these pronouns that are attested in the present study are *ta* ‘1FSG’ and *otala* ‘3MPL’. The 3FSG pronoun is also attested *oŋŋa* in the current study not */*uŋa/*.

Concerning Chabu demonstratives, Anbessa (1991) presents two pronouns and claims that there is no gender marking in the system. However, his examples show that there is gender distinction in the use of Chabu demonstratives. Some examples from Anbessa (1991, p. 378) are given below.

(2) Chabu demonstratives as presented by Anbessa (1991, p. 378)

<i>ma ufa</i>	‘this man’	<i>inka umba</i>	‘this woman’
<i>ŋa(tum) ufa</i>	‘that man’	<i>ŋa umba</i>	‘that woman’

As can be seen from the examples, *ma* is a masculine proximal and *inka* is a feminine proximal pronoun. This evidences the existence of gender marking or distinction in Chabu

demonstratives. In addition Chabu has a four way distinction in its demonstratives. (For the discussion of Chabu demonstratives, see section 7.2.1 below.)

Anbessa (1991) examines the case marking system of Chabu; in most part the current study agrees with Anbessa's findings, but some of his analysis will be challenged in the present study. (See section 6.5.2.1).

The numeral system Anbessa (1991) presents is similar with what Anbessa and Unseth (1989) presented except that he interpreted *bab if inki* to represent 'ten'. Ten in Chabu is *bab if* 'literally two hand' and *bab if eku inki* is 'eleven'.

In his analysis of Chabu tense/ aspect marking, Anbessa presents a discussion of four different morphemes. These are *-gg* 'imperfect', *-y ~ -e* perfect, *-kuss* present perfect and *-n* 'continuous tense' markers. According to Anbessa, the alteration in "perfect conjugation" is related to the tone pattern of the stem verb.

The current study assigns different semantics to all the four morphemes presented by Anbessa (1991 and 1995). Contrary to Anbessa's claim, the morphemes represent the four tenses of the language: *-gg* 'future', *-e* 'simple past', *-kuss* 'remote/historic past' and *-n* 'present tense'.

Concerning the negation marking morphology of Chabu, Anbessa presents three kinds of morphemes: */-be/* 'imperfect NEG', */-bege/* 'perfect NEG' and */p'ikin/* 'PROH'. The negative markers */-be/* and */p'ikin/* that Anbessa identified are proven to be correct in the present study except the correction on the glossing of */-be/* as an imperfect and on the transcription of the prohibitive. The prohibitive attested in the current study is *=ekin* and *-be* is the negative marker in all sentences of Chabu except in the prohibitive and optative.

Anbessa discusses that Chabu verbal nouns have the same form as the second person singular masculine imperative verb form, and this is found to be partially true in the present study. Some verbs attested dropping the terminal vowels of their citation form when forming the '2SG.IMP' form. Moreover, there is no gender distinction in singular and plural imperative forms. Gender as verbal agreement appears only in duals.

2.2.2.3 Syntax

The discussion of syntax in Anbessa (1991) is brief. All the descriptive statements given in his work except the case of question words are confirmed true in the current study.

Concerning question words Anbessa presents only two items; *ne'e* “who?” and *hama* “where*, which, what*”. The current study agrees with *ne?e* as ‘who’, but *hama* is found to mean only ‘which’ and for ‘where’, ‘what’ and some other question arguments Chabu has separate forms; *hamat* ‘where (location)’, *hamak* ‘where (destination)’ *nimbi* ‘what’, *indik* ‘how’, *hamboh* ‘when’ and *nambi(si)som* ‘why (Lit. what for)’.

2.2.3 Daniel (2000)

Daniel in his contribution entitled “Shabo Pronouns” discusses four types of pronouns namely, personal pronouns, demonstratives, interrogatives and indefinite pronouns.

Concerning personal pronouns Daniel (2000) recognizes fourteen pronouns and identified the gender distinction in all persons both in singulars and plurals. Nevertheless, he does not recognize the existence of dual pronouns; thus, he mixes the dual pronouns with plurals. For example the dual feminine pronouns /*ann/* ‘1FDU’ is presented as ‘1FPL’ as variant of /*ljanfu/* ‘1FPL’ and /*subaka/* ‘2FPL’ is presented as second person common plural pronoun. Daniel’s (2000, p. 1692-93) Chabu pronouns are presented in Table 7 below.

Table 7. Chabu Pronouns as Presented by Daniel (2000)

	masculine	Feminine	Neuter
1sg	<i>tin(u)</i>	<i>tena</i>	
2sg	<i>kuk</i>	<i>kung(u)</i>	
3sg	<i>yi/yih</i>	<i>ona/oono</i>	
1pl	<i>yiin</i>	<i>ann/yamfu</i>	
2Pl	<i>silaak</i>	<i>sillaku</i>	<i>subak</i>
3pl	<i>otal(ak)</i>	<i>odda</i>	

As it can be observed from Table 7, in Daniel (2000),

- The focus marker *-u* is wrongly presented as optional part of the citation forms of ‘1MSG’ and ‘2FSG’ pronouns and as mandatory part of ‘2FPL’.
- The pronouns that should have been transcribed with the velar nasal [ŋ] (*tiŋŋ*, *kung* and *jiŋŋ*) are transcribed with the alveolar nasal [n] as *tin*, *kung* and *jin* respectively. (Daniel does not recognize the velar nasal segment as phoneme of Chabu).

- The form presented as 1FSG *tena* is not attested in the current study. The */-na/* in */tena/* seems the coordinative conjunction or the comitative case marker, but it is difficult to hypothesize the source of the change of the vowel *-a* in *ta* ‘1FSG’ to *-e*.
- Only the reduced form of ‘2MPL’ pronoun *silaka* is recognized and it is used for both genders. But, the complete form of ‘2MPL’ is *sitalak* and the ‘2FPL’ pronoun is *subak*.

Daniel presents */inki umba/* ‘a woman’, */ona umba/* ‘she woman’ and */*umba ona/* as alternative pronouns for ‘1SG’, 2SG’ and ‘3PL’ respectively which is not confirmed in the present study.

Daniel states that it is common to find sentences which drop their subject pronouns because of the present of subject marker suffixes or agreement markers on the verb. This is corroborated by the present study. However, his discussion about the similarity of agreement markers for the second and third person subject pronouns is not attested.

Concerning demonstrative Daniel has identified seven pronouns that distinguish gender, distance and number. It seems that Daniel has recognized that Chabu demonstrative system is person oriented which take both the speaker and the hearer as deictic center. Nevertheless, he doesn’t present some of the pronouns in their exact deictic representations. For example, the pronouns described as medial (near the hearer) demonstratives *ηatum/ηatiη* (SG) and *ηatumtak* (MPL) are attested in the present study as distal (far from both) demonstratives along with *ηatiηtak* (FPL) whose common base is *ηat* “distal (far from both)”. The gender markers of Chabu modifiers *-η* (F) and *-m* (M) are not identified in Daniel's work and both forms are transcribed as */-n/*. Despite his claim, the gender his demonstratives refer to is not clear (they do not seem to be glossed with appropriate gender); the form */natun/** for example, must be corrected to either */ηatiη/* to refer to feminine or */ηatum/* to refer to masculine.

Daniel comments Anbessa (1991) for using demonstratives unmarked for number and gender considering number marking as obligatory. However, number marking in Chabu demonstratives is obligatory only when they function as the only element in a noun phrase position or when the head noun is unmarked for number. If the head noun is marked for number, the number marking on the demonstratives is optional.

Regarding interrogative pronouns Daniel has listed almost all the pronouns attested by the current study. However, some of them are assigned different semantics. For example, the interrogative pronoun *indik* 'how' is glossed as 'who', 'what' and 'how'.

Daniel's claim about the presence of neuter gender is not attested in the current study. All animate and inanimate things are found to be grouped either in feminine or in masculine category by evidences that can be find in their inflection for number and/or gender.

Generally, although the four descriptive works reviewed above are major contributions to the grammar of Chabu, the language has not been yet documented and described well. Hence, a multi media documentation coupled with a detailed description of the grammar of this endangered language is a matter of urgency.

The present study is, therefore, an attempt to contribute to our knowledge of Chabu grammar by filling some of the gaps. It is hoped that this study has addressed Fleming's clarion call for an extensive description of the language.

3 Methodology

3.1 Focus of the Study

As mentioned in chapter 1, the goal of this project is to document and describe the language. Therefore, the work has two main components: the first is digital documentation of the language with a representative transcription, translation and multitier annotation, and the other is the grammatical description of the language.

Language documentation, unlike language description, is discourse-centred and its primary goal is the direct representation of a wide range of discourse types (Austin, 2006) in which description and analysis are contingent by-products of the documentation which can develop through time (Woodbury, 2003; Austin and Grenoble, 2007). Therefore, the description of Chabu which produced this dissertation is partly the by-product of the documentation process. The discussion of the research methodology here thus largely focuses on the documentation component of the project.

This study has four of the five important features of documentary linguistics discussed by Himmelmann (2006, p. 15).

1. Focused on primary data. A large amount of natural language has been collected.
2. Presented natural texts as evidence of the analysis. Some transcribed, translated and annotated natural text is presented.
3. A few samples of the collected linguistic corpora have been archived at Endangered Language Archive (ELAR) of School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London University for future use and preservation of primary data.
4. It is done in cooperation with speech community and their direct involvement.

The study has followed the Community Based Language Research (CBLR) model in its loose sense. CBLR model is chosen because it involves a collaborative relationship, and partnership between researchers and members of the community within which the research takes place.

In CBLR collaboration and partnership that involves reciprocity and sharing in the creation of knowledge are vital and “knowledge is democratized: community knowledge, community ways of knowing, community ways of constructing knowledge, and

community ways of disseminating knowledge are highly valued by all parties (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2009, p. 24)”.

Therefore, the Chabu speaking community were involved in the research not only by simply contributing their knowledge of the language and the culture to the project, but also some members of the community were trained and participated in interviewing other members, in video and audio recording and photo taking. As recommended by The Istrian (2005, p. 2) some Chabu boys also helped us in educating other members about the current situation of Chabu, the importance of using the language, its documentation and preservation. One native of Chabu is also trained in basic computer skills and has participated in transcribing the recorded audio and video texts under the supervision of the researcher.

In order to make the documentation comprehensive the project followed the extended documentation format and consists of a large corpus of primary data (among which a few sample data is fully annotated) and a descriptive grammar with a dictionary of more than 1700 lexical items.

3.2 Types of Data Collected

As Chabu is a seriously endangered language, unless some preservative action is taken, its time of extinction might not be very far. Thus, to avoid loss of the language without proper documentation that leads to an unbridgeable gap in our knowledge of the possible complexity of sound systems, grammatical structure and language universals, it must be properly documented. Therefore the emphasis of this study was the effective and systematic collection of representative natural linguistic data with a view to multifunctional later use in scientific work and practical applications. To make the documentation a good representative, a possible kind and amount of data is collected from the following data types.

- Elicited and non-elicited discourse data from
 - ✘ Social stratification, classification of social groups, and settlements;
 - ✘ Trades: hunting, crafts, nutrition, medicine, religion;
 - ✘ Literature, art, music: village history, tales, jokes, riddles, songs and dances;
- Greeting dialogues

- Interview data - unmonitored recording during interview
- Utterances elicited for distributional and other structural linguistic analysis
- Utterances elicited for specific phonetic documentation purposes

3.3 Data Collection Techniques

As a qualitative research which is concerned with ethnographic data this study involves a range of data collection techniques: participant and nonparticipant observation, interview, elicitation, and group discussion which involve audio and/or video recording and questionnaire are implemented.

3.3.1 Observation and Recording of Natural Texts

As participant observation usually requires an extended period of time, ranging from several months to many years, to be able to obtain detailed and accurate information about the people being studied, the writer of this dissertation stayed for about six months in the field during the four years of the project period. Field work has been done in four field trips. In addition, the author stayed about 10 months with some assistants in Meti, in Tepi and in Addis Ababa. This enabled him to learn the language to some level and to get intimate familiarity and trust from the speech community through an intensive interaction in their daily life. As a result the Chabu community at Jifor have accepted him as members of the community. One indicator of the acceptance he obtained is the announcement that the late Alemu Bate made. Alemu, an old man who participated in the documentation process with great concern and enthusiasm, announced in his last speech before his death that he has accepted the researcher as his son. Then he solemnly ordered his fellow people to accept the researcher as one member of the community.

In fact, many favourable situations have contributed for the success of the current research. The first was the contribution of the late Dawit Wolde. This author met him at Yeri in April 2010 while the author was doing a pilot study. Then, the Author invited Dawit to visit Addis Ababa on his request. However, Dawit was diagnosed for tuberculosis as soon as he reached Addis Ababa. Therefore, he could not stay in Addis Ababa as he planned; he returned to Yeri to start the long term medication. After his return, Dawit travelled to different Chabu villages and oriented all the Chabu about the project and the Chabu were eager to see the researcher. During his first trip to Jifor, when he arrived to Jifor with

Dawit, a place in the middle of Shekka forest in December 2010, a lot of Chabu elders and youth were clearing the road to receive this author.

The second favourable incident happened the next day of his arrival. Upon his arrival at Jifor, the oldest man of the Chabu community at Jifor, Attene Damte, announced to the community that he had a dream that revealed the Author's intention is for the betterment of the Chabu. Then Attene asked the community to cooperate with this author.

The third God given opportunity was related to the couples who hosted the writer of this dissertation. The young lady named Sadinat, (Adisael Alamu's wife) had had a repeated experience (eight times) of loosing children after a few days of their birth. When this author was hosted in her home for the first time, she was pregnant for the ninth time. The baby girl born from this ninth pregnancy of Sadinat is still alive and this is seen by the community as a reward from God for hosting the "saint" researcher.

Because of all these favourable situations this author was able to participate in the daily activities of the community and to collect and record data without any barrier.

Influences of the neighbouring ethnic groups (Majang and Shekkacho) and modern way of life have caused loss of context of use of some domains of the culture or the language. Thus, the possibility of collecting natural data in its various forms was impossible. Therefore, it was necessary to induce natural settings. For the purpose of this study, therefore, settings have been induced by gathering multiple speakers to reconstruct the full system of traditional marriage ceremony due to the fact that it has already been abandoned.

However, most of the data collected through observation were used for the documentation purpose. Only a few annotated data were used in the dissertation for the description of the language. Some of the data collected through observation were also included in the introductory chapter and in the chapter where the status of endangerment of the language is assessed.

3.3.2 Elicitation and Interview

Natural text alone cannot be enough to do a good description of a language. It must be supplemented or complemented by elicited data. Payne (1997, p. 366) states the importance of having the two types of data as follows:

Both text and elicited data are essential to good descriptive linguistics. They each have advantages and disadvantages. The linguistic researcher needs to be aware of these in order to make the best use of all the data available. Even as chopsticks are no good for eating soup and a spoon is awkward for eating spaghetti, so elicited and text data each have their own areas of usefulness. The linguistic researcher will be handicapped in conceptualizing a linguistic system if he/she attempts to use one type of data to accomplish a task best performed by the other type.

This author has observed the importance of elicited data especially for beginner researchers like him who work on a language they do not have any prior knowledge.

Therefore, linguistic data collected by conducting elicitations and interviews with selected consultants is used to supplement the information obtained through participant and nonparticipant observation techniques. The information obtained through elicitations consists of word lists, paradigms, and short phrases. Interview is conducted to collect traditional texts such as myths and legends, stories from daily lives, personal experiences among others and some information concerning language use and attitude. The description of the language that constitutes the dissertation in its most part is a result of data collected through elicitation and interview.

3.3.3 Survey Questionnaire

In order to measure the level of endangerment of Chabu based on the nine factors of UNESCO, the data were mainly collected by means of questionnaire, (largely adapted from a SIL Sociolinguistic Survey Questionnaire), which were administered in four representative villages (two of the villages are in Gambella region and the other two in SNNPR). The questionnaires have been administered:

1. to discover the range of facts and factors influencing the use of Chabu;
2. to identify the attitude of the speaker community towards their language and culture;
3. to identify the actual level of endangerment of the language;

The data presented in the study are based on 20 completed survey questionnaires. The survey questionnaire consists of 99 questions. The questionnaire is written in Amharic and orally translated for the respondents. Although the survey has some multiple choice

questions, most of the questions are open, allowing respondents to comment on situations of language practices, attitudes and preferences.

The first part of the survey focuses on basic demographic data, including age, place of residence, job, religion, education, and marital status.

The second part presents a series of questions designed to establish the multilingual status of each respondent and the village the respondent inhabits including questions about the mother tongue of the respondent, other languages the respondent can speak, the language s/he frequently uses (language preference), the mother tongue of the respondent's parents and the language they frequently use, as well as the language situation at family and village level.

The third part assesses the language used in several domains of life while the fourth section focuses on the language attitude of the respondent and his/her perception of other villagers' attitude.

The fifth section assesses whether the respondent believes in the presence of dialectal variation and the sixth section asks about the social interaction of the villagers with nearby villages.

The seventh part asks questions about language vitality and change e.g. whether the Chabu youth have been abandoning their culture or not, and whether people from other ethnic group reside in the villages try to learn the language or influence it by imposing their own.

The last part of the survey contains questions about the activities concerning language development related to writing, education and media.

It should be pointed out that this survey was intended and executed as a preliminary study to get a first impression about the current situation of the language. Thus, it should not be considered as a complete and comprehensive account of the sociolinguistics of Chabu language. In this preliminary survey, it was impossible to use a random sampling technique because of the inaccessibility of the people. Thus, only accessible and volunteer individuals were included in the survey.

3.3.4 House to House Census

House to house Census has also been administered to examine the approximate numbers of Chabu speakers and the total ethnic group. Household survey provides a broad range of information across different subjects and detailed information regarding specific household characteristics. It also helps to identify various features of language endangerment as claimed by Bowden & Romanovsky (2007, p. 338). However, the questions on the census questionnaire prepared for this study are limited and made simple in order to let assistants to collect data without much hustle. The language assistants were students of primary education (grade 8 or below) although the youngest is above 25 years old.

Information obtained through household surveys is:

1. Household demography - to get some idea about the absolute number of Chabu
2. Mother tongue situation - to identify the number of Chabu who speak their heritage language (the intergenerational transmission)
3. Other languages spoken - to determine the level of multilingualism among the Chabu
4. Frequently used languages - to identify the dominant language in each village and the frequently used language by each household member.

Information about the above categories is elicited through the use of a short structured questionnaire that is administered by interviewers at each household. Nevertheless, the census is not comprehensive for two reasons: first, it focused on the people who live in villages and left out the families who live dispersed in the forest. Second, from Gambella region only those who live in Yeri and Gubati Kebeles were included in the census. The Chabu in other kebeles of Mangashi and Godare Woradas are reportedly have abandoned their heritage language Chabu and claim the identity of the dominant ethnic group of the kebeles, Majangir. Thus, because of the complex situation of these kebeles, the Chabu who reside in these kebeles were not included in the house to house census. If the Chabus in these kebeles had been included, the survey result concerning the proportion of the speakers of the language to the whole ethnic group may have been significantly different.

Data from personal communication and observation are also used to triangulate the results of the questionnaire.

3.4 Fieldwork and Recording of Media (Audio, Video, Image) and Text

Language documentation basically is a long-term field work project. Hence, this study centred its base on fieldwork that was conducted in Shekka Zone, Andaracha Worada Shira and Gayi Kebeles and Majangir Zone, Godere Worada, Yeri Kebele.

Since a good documentation corpus should include audio and video materials recorded in authentic settings, in this study a great deal of natural linguistic corpus with the necessary metadata has been recorded. All the audio, video and image data are collected using modern digital ICT to avoid the later digitalisation, to increase the quality of the corpus and to facilitate editing. Audio is recorded using Marantz 661 and video and images are recorded with Sony HDR-CX550 Handycam.

Including the pilot survey during April 2010, this author has done five field trips. The first field work after the pilot survey is done in December 2010 and January 2011. The second in March and April 2011, the third in January, February and March 2012, and the final is in March and the beginning of April 2014. The aim of the pilot survey was to determine the focus place/site of the documentation where the language is actively used, to get the consent of the community and concerned officials and to test the survey questionnaire. The pilot survey was done at Yeri in Gambella Region, Majangir Zone Mangashi Worada. The author established contact with the community and collected basic vocabulary of the language, four tells and a few minutes explanation of Chabu situation by Wolde Bilen an elderly Chabu at Suni. The first and the third field trips were done in Jifor and the second at Dushi area in SNNPR, Shekka Zone. The final field trip was to Meti and Yeri in Gambella to fill some gapes with individual consultants.

3.5 Data Analysis

The core of this documentation project is the created corpus of audio and video materials of the language. The aim of analysis within language documentation is making the recorded linguistic data accessible to a broad range of potential users (from linguists to community members). The recording is thus intended for posterity, so some level of analysis is required. In particular transcribing, translating into one or more languages of wider communication, glossing and, systematic recording of metadata makes the archived document usable (Nathan and Austin, 2004 cited in Austin 2007, p. 223).

In order to meet this requirement, a sample of the collected data (about a half hour) has been processed with transcription, translation into English and time-aligned multi-tier annotation in such a way that future analysis will be possible. The relevant metadata of the materials has been also documented along with the corpus. In doing so, to maintain the standards:

1. Both phonetic and phonemic transcriptions done following the conventions of the International Phonetic Association (IPA).
2. Grammatical annotation tags are done following general linguistic practice (such as the Leipzig Glossing Rules), with a list of relevant abbreviations and symbols provided as metadata.

Contrary to our proposal only small portion of the collected corpus is transcribed, translated and annotated in the field in collaboration with members of speaker community as “part of the documenter’s language learning process in the field” (Nathan, D. 2008, p. 70). Annotating a natural text was not a simple task; it took us more than six months (working time) to fully understand and annotate a three minutes text.

In his first two field trips this author committed what Paul Newman called “the whole language and culture fallacy”. He tried to collect a data from every accessible genre that put him in confusion and stress. Newman comments on this idea of collecting everything accessible data as follows.

This [the whole language and culture notion] is a notion propagated by certain proponents of documentary linguistics that you are supposed to study the entire language and culture. Let us be realistic, which linguist have anthropological training and skills to undertake a professionally proper study of culture and world view.... The idea that linguist should somewhat rather go to the field and workout kinship systems, culture, worldview etc.; it is just ridicules. (Newman, n.d. (Video))

When it comes to this author, let alone anthropological knowledge, he had no proper training as a linguist; even he did not have any prior experience of linguistic field work. Therefore, he was in confusion and disappointment in the first two years of the project time.

Because of this the anthropological analyses in this work includes only a brief introduction of socio-cultural and language use situations of the linguistic community.

The grammatical description of the language which makes this dissertation was processed during the researchers stay in Addis Ababa following descriptive method based on basic linguistic theory. Although some linguists advise a descriptive grammar to be theory free, one cannot do description without any assumption that he shares with other linguists (that can be considered theory) (Dryer, 2006). Therefore, descriptive and explanatory theories from different scholars of linguistics including typological studies have been used whenever appropriate to substantiate discussions of what the language is like in its own term and the rationale behind the way it is.

This author's first intention was to do the description based on the rich semi-processed linguistic data of the documentation from the beginning, but his limited knowledge and experience in linguistics hindered him from quickly processing the documentation data as planned. The overwhelming amount of natural text he collected did not help the author at first to describe the language, rather it confused him. Even he could not annotate a single three minute text in his two field trips. Therefore, during his third field trip the author changed his focus to elicited data and only then he was able to identify the morphological and syntactic feature of the language. It is only after his third field work that this author began describing the grammar of the language starting from phonology.

Therefore, the grammatical description of the language is done predominantly based on elicitation data. However, in most instances this author has tried to present evidences from natural texts for our discussions.

3.6 The Use of Information Technology and Multimedia

This project, with the current practice of fieldwork, has made use of the advantages of the recent advances in information technology. The linguistic data were recorded with the help of digital audio and video recorders and editing is done with the help of various softwares. The following tools have been used:

- Audacity for editing audio materials;
- Free video converter for video conversion;
- Toolbox for lexical entry database, text and lexicon annotation;
- ELAN for sound alignment, multi tier video and audio annotation and multimedia presentation.

For long-term preservation purposes this author administered uncompressed and high quality data representation wherever possible and tried to make the encoding principles simple. The encoding standard is under non-proprietary control. Therefore, following Austin's (2006, p. 96) suggestion, the processed data are encoded in the following ways:

1. Character encoding — characters are represented by 16 bit Unicode (ISO 10646).
2. Data encoding —ELAN is used for text annotation, which can be exported into rich text format (RTF) to be read by Microsoft Word in order to produce presentation format PDF documents for print and distribution. Lexical items are encoded in Toolbox standard markers common working formats.
3. File encoding — text files are encoded in plain text Unicode format, audio files in wav (44.1/48 kHz with 16 bits resolution) format, video files in MPEG2 or MP4 format and digital images in JPEG format.
4. Physical storage media — the physical forms that are used to store the files are DVD, external hard disk and flash memory stick.

3.7 Ethical Issues

To address ethical issues, this author has

- Produced letters of support from the department of linguistics AAU and from SNNPR Culture and Tourism Office.
- Provided the community with information concerning:
 - The nature of the project;
 - The protection of the community's cultural estate and other property;*
 - The availability of a preliminary report for comment;*
 - The researcher's willingness to cooperate with community in every possible way;*
 - The researcher's willingness to deposit data, working papers and related materials in an agreed-upon repository;*
- Showed respect to the culture, traditions and knowledge of the community; participated in activities that the community members engaged when possible; stayed with a host family using the accommodation offered by the hosting family. (Dine with community members in the way they dine and all the food items they

eat. Drunk [*k'aru*] the hot coffee with a lot of chilli powder and other spicy plant leafs.)

- Conducted the research in collaboration with Chabu speaking community; The community members have been given the opportunity to lead the documentation by choosing the cultural domains that should gain priority; most interviews are done by four Chabu youth who have a good command of Amharic and are native speakers of Chabu; some of the transcribed data is transcribed by a Chabu boy who took a computer training (during his stay in Addis Ababa) and trained transcribing audio data using ELAN. *
- Since this author understands that the speaker community value the trustworthiness and love of a researcher more than every expertise qualities he has (Austin 2008: 4), he has tried to meet their expectation (treated them in a very friendly way and strived to positively impress them as much as possible). It seems that he has succeeded in this respect more than any of the works he has done. For one thing he has been given membership of the Chabu community by the will of the late Alemu Bate. While he was on death throat, Alemu announced the researcher as his son and ordered his biological children and the whole community to accept the researcher as a member of the community without any condition and to support him in every possible way. Although he was expected to receive the blessing and farewell in person, he could not manage to do so and the blessing is done in his absence (He was one of a few persons asked by Alemu to receive his will and blessing along with a few near relatives as per the tradition).
- Informed every community member he approached that her/his participation is only based on her/his will and as s/he is free to agree or disagree to participate in the project and to withdraw from participation at any time. Following Crowley's (2007, p. 29) recommendation we have tried to make participants signal their willingness to participate in the documentation verbally in a recording.
- Tried to respect the point of views of different participants;*
- By understanding that the project consumes the time of people who participate, he was flexible in time management based on their interest and he has compensated their time spent for the project.

- He will submit copies of his collections and works for members of the community after publishing. He already has distributed some photos to some participants.*
- He did not publicize the information provided by individuals in a way that is harmful either to the informant or to other members of the community.
- He did not publicize controversial stories which may result in violence or harm on the society, and did not provoke any kind of controversy.

Note: - All the points indicated by /*/ are done follow the suggestions given by the Canadian Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (cited in Czaykowska, 2009, p. 28-29).

4 Assessment of Level of Endangerment of Chabu

In this section, the results of the questionnaire survey and census data as well as data from interviews and observation are presented and analyzed. Following the discussion of the general demographic situation, the status of Chabu is assessed against the nine factors of language vitality and endangerment set by the UNESCO Experts Group (Brenzinger *et al.*, 2003).

4.1 Demographic Data

The 20 individuals who answered the survey questionnaire are all Chabu mother tongue speakers. 10 are from Gambella Region and the other 10 from SNNPR. 3 of them are female and 17 are male. Telling the age of the respondents is very difficult since the Chabu do not tell age of children above 6 years (six summers and six winters). The average age of respondents (based on their unreliable response) is about 32. Among the 20 respondents, 11 didn't go to school, and even among the 9 who have some formal education the highest is of eighth grade. All the respondents except one are farmers; the remaining one is a student.

The total number of Chabu included in the census is 890 (421 female and 469 male). Among these the majority 490 (236 female and 254 male) live in SNNP region and the rest 400 (185 Female and 215 male) are from Gambella region.

As mentioned earlier, counting age is not an issue in the Chabu's life style; hence the age data included in this study are not accurate. Most of the respondents couldn't tell their age -if they tell, it is much lower than their actual age could be. For example, Alemu Bate, the father of Addisu Alemu (who is 36) told us that he is 40 and Sise Damte, the mother of Dawit Wolde (35), said she is 35. The events they tell as references of their birth time are too local and restricted to their community, so that one could not estimate their exact age. Therefore, the discussion about ages of the respondents is left out for it gives a wrong impression.

From the total Chabu included in the census data, 103 (11.57%) are preschool children below age seven, but the ratio is not the same in the two regions; 44 (only 8.98% of 490) are of SNNPR dwellers and the remaining 59 (14.75% of 400) are residents of Gambella region. The Chabu do not have many children; in most households, the children do not

exceed two. The birth-rate seems to be very low. The reason, according to Momoge and Nikote (interviewed Chabu ladies), is that for they are mobile in the forest, having many children is creating trouble on oneself. This seems true because, for most SNNPR dwellers live in the centre of the forest and have fewer children than those who live outside the forest. In addition, the Chabu men spend most of their time in hunting far away from their home for weeks and months. Another reason is that a Chabu man leaves his house the day he knows that his wife is pregnant and comes back only when the child walks. Until the new born child stands in his feet and starts walking the couples do not make love. This means, the Chabu use natural contraceptive methods to have a planned family size. Another reason is the role of females on decision about lovemaking; nothing can be done without the will of females. Some Chabu men with whom we spoke told us that Chabu women are reluctant for sex play and unwilling to have many children. This idea goes in line with the point raised by the two ladies that they do not want to have many children to avoid the suffering while moving from one place to another. Child care seem left to the women.

Among the total Chabu included in the census 787 have reached or passed school age, but 79.42% (625) do not have any formal or non-formal education. Even from 162 who have schooling history 57 are enrolled only by the year the data was collected and the preceding year. The following table presents the grade levels of 162 Chabu who have schooling background. However, this data shows only the situation of the time when the data was collected. There could be relatively a better situation now than then.

Table 8. Grade Level of the Chabu Who Have Schooling History.

Grad	G.1	G2	G3	G4	G5	G6	G7	G8	G9	G10 +	Total
Female	4	18	11	7	2	2	0	2	0	0	46
male	6	29	31	23	12	7	1	4	1	2	116
Total	10	47	42	30	14	9	1	6	1	2	162

Most of the people who have better schooling history are those who live in Gambella region. Among 32 who were attending grade 5 and above, 26 were from this region. Among the inhabitants of SNNPR only 6 were attending second cycle primary school by moving to Gambella region.

This again is the result of the life style difference of the Chabu in the two regions and variation of distance from school environment.

4.2 Assessment Based on UNESCO Nine Factors

4.2.1 Intergenerational Language Transmission

Whether small children are learning their ethnic group language as a mother tongue or not is the commonly used parameter in assessing language vitality because the language's stability depends on its transmission from generation to generation. Even a current safe status could not be taken as a guarantee for a community could give-up transmitting their language to the next generation. The current status and the level of endangerment of a language can be ranked from safe to extinct (Brenzinger et al., 2003). The UNESCO's ranking parameters of intergenerational transmission from Brenzinger *et al.* (2003) are presented in the following table.

Table 9. UNESCO's Scale for Grading Intergenerational Language Transmission.

Degree	Grade	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	5	The language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted
Vulnerable	4	Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
Definitely endangered	3	Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
Severely endangered	2	Though the language is spoken by grandparents and older generations, the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to their children or among themselves.
Critically endangered	1	The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
Extinct	0	There are no speakers left

Among 890 Chabu included in the census data, 643 (72.25%) speak Chabu as a mother tongue and 73 (8.2%) speak as a second language. 156 (17.51%) members do not speak their heritage language at all and the other 16 (1.80%) are infants.

However, the percentages given above do not work for the whole Chabu inhabited areas for two reasons. First, the sociolinguistic situation of the Chabu in the two regions is

different. Second, the census done in Gambella region is done in the areas where the language is relatively vital; most of the Chabu who live in other kebeles of this region which are not included in the survey have shifted to Majang.

Even though the areas in the Gambella region covered by the census are the areas where Chabu language is relatively vital, the proportion of mother tongue speakers to total ethnic group members ratio in the region is much less than that of SNNPR. In the case of SNNPR, among the 490 Chabu included in the census, 90.2% speak Chabu as a mother tongue and only 3.27% (who reside in Shekabado Locality) do not speak their ethnic group language. In the case of Gambella, among 400 Chabu included in the census, only 47.75% speak Chabu as mother tongue and more than 35% do not speak their parents' language at all. In addition, in some villages, Chabu children are not learning their parents' language. For example, among 11 villages of Yeri Kebele included in the census, in 5 villages (Dil, Gefaci, Gogok, Wakki and Yeri Town), the younger speakers are 14 or above.

However, the difference may not last long for three reasons. First, although there are monolingual villages in the heart of Shekka forest where small children acquire Chabu as their mother tongue, this may not continue in the near future. The main worry is that the current resettlement program administered by Andarach Worada administration might affect the language use situation. The two major monolingual Chabu villages, Dushi and Jifor, will no longer remain monolinguals. At the time of survey field work, a large area of farming plots of these two villages have been distributed to a large group of Shekkacho people. Since almost all the Chabu in these villages are bilinguals in Shekkacho, the arrival of a large number of Shekkacho in the area alters the everyday language use of the villagers and the use of Chabu would gradually be restricted to home domains. By now the situation of Dush has been already altered and it is dominated by Shekkacho dwellers.

Second, the Chabu were dominantly hunter-gatherers residing in the middle of a forest, where markets, schools, health and transportation services and other basic facilities are absent. Therefore, most members of the speech community, specially the youth, want to leave the forest to live a stable life and to access the above mentioned services. Their intention to marry someone outside of their ethnic group is an indication of this attraction of a civilized way of life; all the 20 respondents consider that marrying someone who is not Chabu is a good way of accessing opportunities that a 'civilized' way of life would provide.

Wherever they move they are likely to switch to other languages and their children would pick up the dominant language of the area as their first language.

Third, some alternative (non-formal) schools have been started and non-Chabu teachers are assigned. For example, in Jifor, three Shekkacho teachers are assigned and whenever they are around, the medium of communication is switched to Shekkacho. In addition, the medium of instruction is Amharic and this is very much appreciated by the respondents; 17 (85%) respondents suggest that Amharic should be the medium of instruction in school in order to enable their children to lead a civilized life. Only 2 (10%) aspire Chabu to be a medium of instruction.

Nevertheless, the above presented census data shows that currently Chabu is still used by most of the children of the ethnic group (Where the survey is done, especially in SNNPR) and this puts the language on UNESCO's 'vulnerable level'.

4.2.2 Absolute Number of Speakers

Although the number of speakers alone cannot be an indicator of language endangerment it is believed that a small speech community is in danger. The following citation from Brenzinger et al. (2003, p. 9) illuminate the danger.

A small speech community is always at risk. A small population is much more vulnerable to decimation (by disease, warfare, or natural disaster, for example) than a larger one. A small language group may also easily merge with a neighbouring group, giving up its own language and culture.

Brenzinger et al. (2003) do not supply a graded scale for the absolute number of speakers. For this survey, however Tehan and Nahhas (2008)'s suggestion on the absolute number of speakers has been adapted.

Table 10. Tehan and Nahhas (2008)'s Point Scale for Absolute Number of Speakers.

Grade	Absolute number of Speakers
6	Above 100,000
5	50,000 - 100,000
4	10,000 - 50,000
3	6000 - 10,000
2	3000 - 6000
1	1000 - 3000
0	Less than 1000

Tehan and Nahhas (2008) scale has been modified for the purpose of this study for two reasons. First, the seven scale (0 to 6) is reduced to six (0 to 5) to make it uniform with UNESCO's (0 to 5) scale used in the analysis. Second, a language with no speaker is labelled 0 (extinct) in UNESCO's scale for intergenerational language transmission and to be consistent the same label 0 is used for no speaker left for the absolute number of speakers as well.

Table 11. Adapted Tehan and Nahhas, 2008 Scale for Absolute Number of Speakers

Degree of endangerment	Grade	Absolute number of Speakers
Safe	5	Above 100,000
Vulnerable	4	50,000 - 100,000
Definitely endangered	3	10,000 - 50,000
Severely endangered	2	1000 - 10,000
Critically endangered	1	Less than 1000
Extinct	0	No speaker

The total number of Chabu speakers is a little more than 700, which is very small. In addition the Chabu do not live in isolation and almost all of them are bilinguals in Majang, Shekkacho, Amharic, Oromo or Kafinoonoo Languages. Only 25 children below 8 are monolinguals.

Thus, Chabu can be labelled as critically endangered or moribund based on absolute number of speakers.

4.2.3 Proportion of Total Number of Speakers to the Total Population

“The number of speakers in relation to the total population of a group is a significant indicator of language vitality, where ‘group’ may refer to the ethnic, religious, regional, or national group with which the speaker community identifies” (Brenzinger et al., 2003, p. 9). Brenzinger et al. (2003) present the following scale to grade ratio of speakers to total reference community as indicator of the degree of endangerment.

Table 12. UNESCO's Scale for Grading Proportion of Speakers to Total Community

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers Within the Total Reference Population
safe	5	All speak the language.
unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language.
definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language.
severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language.
critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language.
extinct	0	None speak the language.

As mentioned in Chapter one, among the 890 ethnic group members included in the census, 716 (80.45%) speak their heritage language and 156 (17.53%) do not. Thus, the data shows that the majority of the members speak the language and based on mother tongue speakers to total ethnic group ratio, the language can be placed on definitely endangered level. However, if all the Chabu in Gambella region were included in the census, this ratio would have dropped significantly and the level would change to 'Severely Endangered. Even in the presented data, the ratio in Gambella is worse than that of SNNPR only 191 of 400 speak their heritage language.

4.2.4 Domains of Language Use

In most cases, language shift or language loss starts with the loss of domains of use (Xu, Tao, and Xie 1997 cited in Suhua 2010, p. 4). As the number of domains associated with a language begins to diminish, parents may decide that the language is a less valuable resource for their children than another language. In this sense, the language begins to lose its use in family domain as well (Lewis and Simons 2009:6). Once the family domain is affected, natural intergenerational language transmission is interrupted and the language becomes endangered in its future survival (Suhua, 2010, p. 1).

Assessing domains of use helps to determine preference and choice of languages in different domains and functions. Varied categories of domains have been posited by different scholars. Fishman (1972) outlined five domains of language use: families, friends, education, religion, work, and the media. Price and Donohue (2009) used four domains (private, school, church and what they called Umum which include traditional ceremony, announcements and village council meetings) for the survey of Ansum language in West Yapen Island, Papua Indonesia. In the present study five domains of use are considered private domain at the family level, private domain above family level, public, religion and

work domain. These domains are most closely related to people’s everyday lives. Since education and the media do not have a role to play in Chabu life, these domains are not included in the survey questionnaire. Even the chosen domains included in the questionnaires are not of equal value; however, they are inter-related and affect one another (Suhua 2010, pp. 4-5).

UNESCO ranks languages from safe to extinct based on the active domains, evaluating the position of a language on a scale from “all domains, for all functions” (universal use) to “not used in any domain and for any function” (extinct). Table 13 presents the parameters of UNESCO for grading languages based on domains of use.

Table 13. UNESCO’s Parameters for Assessing Domains of Language Use

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	Domains and Functions
universal use	5	The language is used in all domain
multilingual parity	4	Two or more languages may be used in most social domains and for most functions.
dwindling domains	3	The language is in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
limited or formal domains	2	The language is used in limited social domains and for several functions
highly limited domains	1	The language is used only in a very restricted domains and for a very few functions
extinct	0	The language is not used in any domain and for any function.

In what follow, the language use situation of Chabu is assessed based on the chosen domains and the parameter set by UNESCO.

4.2.4.1 Language Use at a Family Level.

The family domain is the most important domain of use because most intergenerational transmission of a language takes place in the private domain, mainly in the family. Choice of languages in family domain (for intergenerational communication) was covered in the survey questionnaire and the results are shown in Table 14 below.

Table 14. Family Level Private Language Preference

Communication with	Use of Chabu	Gambella	SNNPR	Mean
Father	use exclusively Chabu	40%	80%	60%
	use Chabu and (Majang or Shekkacho)	40%	20%	30%
	never use Chabu	20%		10%
Mother	use Chabu exclusively	40%	70%	55%
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	30%	30%	30%
	never use Chabu	30%		15%
Siblings	use Chabu exclusively	10%	70%	40%
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	60%	30%	45%
	never use Chabu	30%	-	15%
Spouse	use Chabu exclusively	10%	50%	30%
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	50%	40%	45%
	never use Chabu	40%	-	20%
	unmarried	-	10%	5%
Children	use Chabu exclusively	10%	60%	35%
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	50%	20%	35%
	never use Chabu	40%	-	20%
	do not have children	-	20%	10%
Other relatives	use Chabu exclusively	20%	100%	60%
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	40%	-	20%
	never use Chabu	40%	-	20%

The data in Table 14 shows that Chabu is mainly used in rural homes in the middle of the Shekka forest. It is also evident that Chabu is the language used by all generations in the forest for intergenerational communications, and thus, it seems to be safe in this area. To the contrary, Chabu in Gambella is endangered. Two respondents from this region reportedly never use the language with their parents. This ratio increases between parents and children; four of the respondents do not use the language when talking to their children and five respondents (50%) use Chabu besides Majang. This evidence shows that Chabu is at the verge of losing its function even at family level.

As the data shows, even the safeness of Chabu in the forest is not strong, since more than 20% of the respondents reported that Chabu is not the only language they use in their home. Moreover, many Majang loan words are used in the family domains of Chabu use. According to Alamo Bate and Kifle Deneke, even the greeting system of Chabu has been altered to Majang greeting system.

4.2.4.2 Language Use at Village Level

Table 15. Language Preference at Village Level.

Communication	Use of Chabu	Gambella	SNNPR	Mean
With Friends	Chabu exclusively	10%	80%	45%
	Chabu + Majang or/and Shekkacho	50%	20%	35%
	never use Chabu	40%		20%
With Elders of the village	Chabu exclusively	10%	90%	50%
	Chabu + Majang or/and Shekkacho	30%	10%	20%
	never use Chabu	60%	-	30%
With Children of the village	Chabu exclusively	-	80%	40%
	Chabu + Majang or/and Shekkacho	20%	20%	20%
	never use Chabu	80%	-	40%
With Other dwellers of the village	Chabu exclusively	-	90%	45%
	Chabu + Majang or/and Shekkacho	60%	10	35%
	never use Chabu	40%		20%
During Hunting	Chabu exclusively	30%	70%	50%
	Chabu + Majang or/and Shekkacho	50%	10%	30%
	never use Chabu	20%	-	10%
	no response	-	20%	10%

As shown in Table 15 above, similar to the family domain, the private use of Chabu at village level outside the family level is more endangered in Gambella. Most of the villages inhabited by the Chabu in the region are residences of other ethnic groups as well and in most of these villages, the non-Chabu residents outnumber the Chabu speakers. Therefore, communication with the people from other ethnic groups is in languages other than Chabu and the use of Chabu is restricted to the household family domains. Moreover, in these multilingual villages, the young Chabu do not use their heritage language when communicating with each other in front of other language speakers.

The case of Chabu in SNNPR is different. Almost all the communication in the Chabu villages is done in Chabu. More than 70% of respondents from this region responded that they use Chabu in everyday interaction. The remaining respondents, who responded that they use Majang or Shekkacho besides Chabu, must be referring to their occasional use of the languages. According to Ismael Yatolak, representative of Jifor area, in their villages they use Majang or Shekkacho only when talking to the three Shekkacho teachers and when having non-Chabu company. However, this may not last long for the above mentioned settlement programme will affect the language use sooner or later.

4.2.4.3 Public Domain

Table 16 below shows that the language use situation in domains outside family and village level is very much diminished in both regions. Since the civil servants assigned in the Chabu area are from non-Chabu ethno-linguistic groups and most of the services are rendered outside the area, the media of communication are other languages (mainly Amharic, Majang or Shekkacho). The leaders of SNNPR Kebeles where the Chabu speakers live are Shekkacho and they do not have the knowledge of Chabu. Therefore, their very presence in the Chabu villages dictates the medium of communication to be the Shekkacho language. Although the chairman and his vice of the Yeri Kebele of Gambella Region, Ephrem and Dagim Gnakito are Chabu, they address the needs of other language speakers through the media of Amharic and Majang while they are on duty.

Table 16. Language Use in Public Domains

Communication	Use of Chabu	Gambella	SNNPR	Mean
With kebele leaders	use Chabu exclusively	-	40%	20%
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	20%	-	10%
	never use Chabu	80%	50%	65%
	no response	-	10%	5%
With civil servants	use Chabu exclusively	-	-	-
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	-	-	-
	never use Chabu	100%	100%	100%
	no response	-	-	-
In bigger markets	use Chabu exclusively	-	-	-
	use Chabu and Majang or Shekkacho	10%	10%	10%
	never use Chabu	80%	80%	80%
	no response	10%	10%	10%
In clinics	never use Chabu	90%	10%	50%
	no response (have no experience of going to clinic)	10%	90%	50%

In all the villages visited except Yeri there are no markets. Therefore, the Chabu have to walk for two to eight hours to reach the nearby markets where Chabu is not used as means of communication. In Yeri, a multilingual market town, the media are Majang and Amharic. Hence, the Chabu language is not used in this domain except in certain instances that Chabu speakers bargain with each other.

The table also reveals how far the Chabu of SNNPR are deprived from basic services like health centres. The only public service the researcher saw in his two field trips in the area is the alternative (non-formal) school of Jifor where grade 1 to 4 curriculum of the formal education program is rendered. This service is a new development in the area which has been started in September 2010. All those who are exposed to modern education had to move out of the Chabu areas.

4.2.4.4 The Domain of Religion

Table 17. Language Use in Religious Activities

Religion	Female followers	Male followers	Total
Protestant	285	311	596 (69.71%)
Cultural	93	112	205 (23.89%)
Muslim	3	2	5 (0.58%)
No religion	6	4	10 (1.17%)
Age below 5	9	13	22 (2.57%)
No response	12	5	17 (1.99%)

Although the statistics show that the majority of Chabu consider themselves Protestants, the reality on the ground contradicts this fact. Active Protestant churches are available only in Yeri town and Gogok Villages. In Dushi and Jifor villages, although there are shelters built for Sunday school services, they were not in use during our field work for the endangerment survey.

In Yeri and Gogok where a weekend service is regularly offered, the media are Majang and Amharic. The Bible reading is done in Amharic then translated into Majang and the preaching is dominantly done in Majang. Hymns are sung in Amharic and Majang languages.

In all other Chabu villages both in SNNPR and Gambella (including Dushi and Jifor), the practice of Christianity is limited to prayer during mealtime. Even this is done only when they dine in group. During the first two field trips (altogether in about four months' stay), no religious service was given except for the 'mealtime thanks'. Considering this mealtime prayer, 5 respondents reported that they use Chabu for religious purpose. In fact all the meal prayers we attended in Jifor and Dushi were done in Chabu. However, during the third field trip after the survey data collection, we attended two times Sunday morning

services by the Chabu youth in Chabu language at Jifor and one in Majang and Amharic languages because of the arrival of a priest and evangelists from Tepi.

Many Chabu Protestants still exercise the traditional religious practices. During the survey field work, the researcher observed three weekends during which the Chabu of Dushi, who responded that they are Protestants in the census, entertained the traditional spirit called [tfojni]. The language dominantly used in spiritual activities is Majang; all the songs that are sung while praising the spirit were in Majangir.

The Chabu also go to Shekkacho witchdoctors or spirit entertainer, who are believed to have a direct communication with a spirit and a healing power by the help of the spirit.

4.2.4.5 Work Domain

The typical jobs of the Chabu are hunting, bee keeping and limited farming, which are all practiced in the forest.

Table 18. Language Use in Work Domain (Hunting, Bee Keeping and Farming)

Communication in work	Of 20 respondents	Gambella	SNNPR
	55% Exclusively use Chabu	30%	80%
25% Use Majang besides Chabu	50%	-	
10 % Never use Chabu	20%	-	
10% do not respond	-	20%	

As the data in Table 18 above depicts, the language use in work domain is the same as the private language use domain at village level. Since the activities are done in the forest in the traditional way in the monolingual SNNPR Chabu villages, Chabu is used dominantly.

From the overview of the various domains, one can gather that Chabu is used mainly in the family domains and to some degree at the village level conversation in private and work domains, but not used in public, education and religious domain. Thus, the general use of the Chabu language is dwindling and its importance in some domains is deteriorating, although the current situation in SNNPR seems safer than that of Gambella.

4.2.5 New Domains and Media Accepted by the Language

According Brenzinger et al. (2003), new developments in every aspect of life that require the use of language are considered as new domains of language use. If a language cannot serve newly introduced domains its importance deteriorates and gradually it becomes more

irrelevant and stigmatized (Brenzinger et al., 2003). In this respect, UNESCO Experts group present the following grading scale:

Table 19. UNESCO's Grading Scale of New Domains and Media Usage

Degree of Endangerment	Grade	New Domains and Media
dynamic	5	The language is used in all new domains.
robust/active	4	The language is used in most new domains.
receptive	3	The language is used in many new domains.
coping	2	The language is used in some new domains.
minimal	1	The language is used only in a few new domains.
inactive	0	The language is not used in any new domains.

When we assess the use of Chabu based on the parameter given in Table 19 above, although the conversion to modern religion (Christianity) and basic education are new developments in the Chabu's life, Chabu has no place in both activities, excepting for occasional mealtime prayer. Amharic and Majang are used in both domains.

Since education is an important domain in language use, besides reflecting the status, functions, and vitality of a language, it may also directly affect the language's transmission, its social functions, vitality and value (Suhua, 2010, p. 5). However, let alone Chabu to be a medium of instruction or at least to be taught as a school subject, there are no schools in almost all areas where Chabu is actively spoken. The Chabu have to walk from two to eight hours to reach the nearest school and they have to leave their villages to attend schools and stay in places where Chabu is not spoken. In the few schools that are found in areas covered by the census, the media of instruction are Amharic in Jifor and Yeri, and Majang in Gogok. Chabu doesn't seem to have any future in this domain as well. The absence of educated individuals above secondary education among the speakers of the language worsens the situation.

Radio is also being introduced in the villages of Chabu. However, the broadcast is in the dominant languages Amharic, Kafa (Kafinono), Oromo (Afan Oromo) and Shekkacho; Chabu does not seem have prospects in this domain.

Because of the domination of other languages and the diminishing role of the Chabu language, Chabu parents want their children to learn the dominant languages; 85 percent of survey questionnaire respondents chose Amharic to be the medium of instruction in their

villages. In addition, all respondents reportedly want all the dominant languages (English, Amharic, Majang and Shekkacho) to be school subjects. The reason they gave for this is that they want the coming Chabu generation to be competitive in the demanding world where Chabu hardly can help. For instance, Milkiyas Mayike, a young Chabu resident in Dushi village in SNNPR, said “I teach my child Majang and Shekkacho to make her life simple and to enable her to easily access the available services where these languages are spoken.” (PC, April 2011)

Therefore, Chabu can be levelled as an inactive language (not used in any new domains), and hence must be assigned the lowest rank of the UNESCO measurement.

4.2.6 Availability of Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Literacy and education in a language plays an important role in social and economic development of the society and in intergenerational transmission and vitality of the language. Thus, UNESCO uses the availability of materials for language education and literacy and quality of the materials as one criterion to evaluate the level of endangerment or vitality of a language. Table 20 below shows the scale UNESCO uses for evaluating the availability of literacy materials in the language.

Table 20. UNESCO’s Scale for Evaluating Availability of Literacy Materials

Grade	Accessibility of Written Materials
5	There is an established orthography, literacy tradition with grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and everyday media. Writing in the language is used in administration and education.
4	Written materials exist, and at school, children are developing literacy in the language. Writing in the language is not used in administration.
3	Written materials exist and children may be exposed to the written form at school. Literacy is not promoted through print media.
2	Written materials exist, but they may only be useful for some members of the community; and for others, they may have a symbolic significance. Literacy education in the language is not part of the school curriculum.
1	A practical orthography is known to the community and some material is being written.
0	No orthography available to the community.

There are no written materials in Chabu language. All the respondents of the questionnaire survey have never seen their language written, and none of them ever tried to write

anything in their language. No one has done any detailed study of both the people and the language nor attempted to develop orthography. Thus, based on this factor Chabu is labelled as scale 0 (no orthograhpy).

4.2.7 Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes, Policies, and Official Status

Table 21. UNESCO’s Scale for Evaluating Governmental and Institutional Attitudes:

Degree of support	Grade	Official attitudes toward Language
<i>equal support</i>	5	All languages are protected.
<i>differentiated support</i>	4	Minority languages are protected primarily as the language of the private domains. The use of the language is prestigious.
<i>passive assimilation</i>	3	No explicit policy exists for minority languages; the dominant language prevails in the public domain.
<i>active assimilation</i>	2	Government encourages assimilation to the dominant language. There is no protection for minority languages.
<i>forced assimilation</i>	1	The dominant language is the sole official language, while non-dominant languages are neither recognized nor protected.
<i>prohibition</i>	0	Minority languages are prohibited.

The 1995 Ethiopian Constitution pays high attention to languages. The constitution introduces a federal arrangement creating nine regions based on linguistic geography, which are further divided into zones or especial woradas. In addition to recognizing all the nationalities, the constitution gives them the right to use their mother tongue in various domains by stating that “every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia has the right to speak, to write, and to develop its own language; to express, to develop, and to promote its culture; and to preserve its history”. Article 5 of the Constitution also elaborates the issue as follows:

1. All Ethiopian languages shall enjoy equal state recognition.
2. Amharic shall be the working language of the Federal Government.
3. Members of the Federation may by law determine their respective languages. (The Constitution of The Federal Democratic Republic Of Ethiopia, 1995)

In addition to the Constitution, the educational and the cultural policies of the country reflects the commitment of the Federal government. The educational policy statement on Section 3.5.1 of the Education and Training Policy (1994) reads: "Cognizant of the pedagogical advantage of the child in learning in mother tongue and the rights of nationalities to promote the use of their languages, primary education will be given in nationality languages" (Ministry of Education, 1994)

The cultural policy of the country also explains the issue as follow:

1. The languages and the culture of the nations and nationalities receive equal recognition, respect and chance to development.
2. favourable situation will be created to carry out scientific research and inventory of the languages, and other cultural affairs of the nations, and nationalities and to make them useful in development endeavour
3. providing the necessary professional assistance to the various nations, nationalities and peoples while making their choice of language (The Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture, 2003)

Based on the directives of the Constitution and language policy of the country, regional states have chosen their respective official languages for various purposes and there are more than forty languages which are currently used as media of instruction at primary school level.

However, although the constitution recognizes that 'every nation, nationality and people in Ethiopia... to speak, to write, and to develop its own language' and the National Education and Training Policy states that primary education shall be given in nationality languages, only about half of the languages of the country are privileged to be written, to be given as a school subject or serving as a medium of instruction.

For instance, according to Getachew and Derib (2006) among above 56 languages recognized by SNNPRS only 14 (Amharic, Dawro, Gamo, Gedeofa, Gofa, Hadiya, Kabena, Kafinono, Kembata, Kontigna, Korete, Sidama, Silti, Wolaita) are used as medium of instruction at primary schools in the 1st cycle (from grades 1-4) only. (Although we could not access any official document that states the fact, we have unauthorised information that tells that currently the number of the languages that are serving as media of instruction has been doubled). Even, this number doesn't show that all

the languages are provided equal opportunity and status. Moreover, contrary to the Federal Educational Policy, the medium of instruction starting from grade 5 is English and all the languages that are used as a medium of instruction up to grade 4 except Silti are offered as a subject (Heugh, et al., 2006).

This not only deviates from the constitution and educational and cultural policies, of the country, but also contradicts with the constitution of the Regional State. The Revised Constitution of the SNNP Regional State Proclamation NO. 35 2001, Article 5, reads:

1. All the languages in the Region shall enjoy equal State recognition
2. Amharic shall be the official working language of the Regional State
3. Zones and Special Woradas may determine their respective working languages in their own Councils

None of these statements violates the constitution or educational and cultural policies of the central government, but the practice in the state contradicts the spirit of it.

The same situation exists in Gambella region. Among the five recognized languages, only three are used as medium of instruction at the 1st cycle of primary schooling: Nuer, Anguak and Mejang. Moreover, “the Gambella Regional Policy does not allow for mother tongue as MOI [medium of instruction] in the 2nd cycle, it diverges considerably from the MOE [Ministry of Education] directives” (Heugh et al, 2006, p. 65). English becomes the medium of instruction starting from grade 5.

Although there is an obvious improvement after this document has been publicised, there is a huge gap yet unsolved. Thus, the implementation of the multilingual language policy has faced a very serious problem. The central government declares but does not guarantee minority languages rights. It has a strong positive attitude towards the local languages; however, on the ground, due to practical constraints, it is difficult to say there is “dramatic turnaround in the language policy in Ethiopia” (Lukáš, Ivan, (n.d.), p. 107).

When we evaluate the current EPRDF’s language policy and its implementation based on UNESCO’S parameters, the situation can be categorized under the fourth level of UNICCO’s parameters, i.e. Differentiated support (“non-dominant languages are explicitly protected by the government, but there are clear differences in the contexts in which the dominant/official language(s) and non-dominant (protected) language(s) are used”

(Brenzinger et al., 2003, p. 13). Although the Constitution and the policies of the country and the regions encourage various nationality groups to maintain and use their languages, its practicality ground is limited to private domains and there is an unwritten hierarchy of status, that governs the use of languages, the first criterion being the number of speakers.

The case of Chabu is even worse. As mentioned in the introductory section, there is no official document that mentions the name of the speakers of Chabu and the language. In the population census of the country they are counted as members of the dominant ethnic group, Majangir. They are not known as a separate ethnic group in both regions and their language is not included in the lists of the regions' languages. In short, Chabu is not officially recognized at any level. There is no visible effort to support the people to preserve their culture and language at any level.

To the contrary, some activities of the Andaracha Worada and Shekka Zone administrative bodies (whether it is intentional or not) are accelerating the endangerment of the culture and the language of the Chabu. They have started settling Shekkacho people in previously exclusively Chabu inhabited areas. The previously monolingual (where only Chabu is spoken) Chabu village, Dushi, is no more monolingual for a great number of Shekkacho people are resettled in the area by 2013. Since most of the Chabu who live in this village are bilinguals in Shekkacho, the presence of the Shekkacho in the area has altered the everyday language of the village and the use of Chabu is restricted to home base domains. The new settlers do not speak the language of the area but, to the contrary the Chabu speak the language of the new comers. Let alone when the area is dominated by the Shekkacho, the presence of one Shekkacho speaker among the Chabu causes change of the medium of communication. The fate of Jifor will be the same for it is part of the resettlement plan.

The villages, in which the Chabu language is best preserved, are located in the heart of Shekka forest, west and east of Godere River, although this is not the area that largest concentration of the Chabu people live. Most part of this area is administered by Andarach Worada and some small area is part of Yeri kebele of Gambella region. This area where the Chabu reside is very fertile and a lot of investors are taking a wide area of land in the name of cultivating coffee by pushing the Chabu back to the forest to other villages. This activity endangers the language and the culture of Chabu and their livelihood forest. We have observed that huge part of the forest we passed through, during our first field work had been cleared to cultivate coffee and the Chabu whom we met at Badi (a village which

was included in 2011 census data collection) had been moved to other villages when we went for our second field work at Jifor.

Therefore, we can conclude that the presence of favourable policy statements does nothing to guarantee the survival of Chabu. Thus, passive assimilation is undergoing.

4.2.8 Community Members’ Attitudes towards Their Own Language

Table 22. UNESCO’s Scale for Grading Community Members’ Attitudes

Grade	Community Members’ Attitudes toward Language
5	<i>All</i> members value their language and wish to see it promoted.
4	<i>Most</i> members support language maintenance.
3	<i>Many</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
2	<i>Some</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
1	Only <i>a few</i> members support language maintenance; others are indifferent or may even support language loss.
0	<i>No one</i> cares if the language is lost; all prefer to use a dominant language.

The young Chabu are ready to abandon the language and learn other languages that they consider more useful, because they lead a very traditional and difficult life, without access of education and everything necessary to lead a better life. Thinking that their language has no place outside the forest, Chabu parents also choose other languages especially Amharic, the dominant language of wider communication in the country, for their children both as a medium of instruction and as language of communication to make the future of their children better and bright. 14 respondents who chose Amharic as a medium of instruction gave their reason by saying that “Amharic is the language that allows wider communication with other language speakers and that creates better life opportunity”. To the worst, the young Chabu (especially in Gambella region) feel ashamed of speaking the language in front of speakers of other languages.

However, all the Chabu whom the researcher approached are very willing to support and to participate in the documentation of the language in every possible way. Some of them consider their participation in the documentation as blessing. Alemu Bate, an elder Chabu, said “nobody asked my ancestors what they know and think; nobody asked my parents as

well; my words are getting recorded and will be documented for posterity; thus I am a lucky person”. Most of the Chabu are eager to see their language documented and if possible written in some form. They also wish to see some teaching materials prepared in the language and on the language.

4.2.9 Type and Quality of Documentation

Table 23. UNESCO’s Scale for Grading the Amount of Documentation

Documentation	Grade	Description of Language Documentation level
<i>superlative</i>	5	There are comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive texts; constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high-quality audio and video recordings exist.
<i>good</i>	4	There are one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature, and occasionally updated every day media; adequate annotated high-quality audio and video recordings.
<i>fair</i>	3	There may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality or degree of annotation.
<i>fragmentary</i>	2	There are some grammatical sketches, word-lists, and texts useful for limited linguistic research but with inadequate coverage. Audio and video recordings may exist in varying quality, with or without any annotation.
<i>inadequate</i>	1	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists, and fragmentary texts. Audio and video recordings do not exist, are of unusable quality, or are completely un-annotated.
<i>undocumented</i>	0	No material exists.

Chabu is among the least studied and poorly documented languages of the country. Most of the materials on Chabu are fragmentary and consist of some pieces of comments in more general works. Most works on the language focus on its linguistic classification. The only descriptive works are Anbessa (1991) “A Sketch of Shabo Grammar”; (1995) “Brief phonology of Shabo (Mekeyir)” and Daniel (2000) “Shabo Pronoun”.

Moreover, to the knowledge of this researcher, there are no written texts and audiovisual recordings of natural speech in the language. Thus, Chabu’s documentation is at an inadequate level (level 1) of UNESCO’s criteria.

4.3 Summary

The following table summarises the assessment of Chabu endangerment level based on the nine UNESCO parameters followed by discussion of the summary.

Table 24 Summary of Evaluation of Chabu Based on UNESCO's Nine Factors

Factor	Grade	Description of grade level
1. Intergenerational language transmission	4 vulnerable	Most children (in the areas covered by the censuses) speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home). In some places, children do not speak Chabu but Majang.
2. Absolute number of speakers	1 critically endangered	Below 1000
3. Proportion of speakers within the reference community	3 definitively endangered	A majority speak the language.
4. Loss of domains of language use	3 dwindling domains	The language is used in home domains and for many functions, but the dominant language begins to penetrate even home domains.
5. Response to new domains and media	0 inactive	The language is not used in any new domains.
6. Materials for language education and literacy	0	No orthography available to the community.
7. Governmental and institutional language attitudes and policies	1 forced assimilation	The dominant languages Majang and Shekkacho are sole official languages, while Chabu is neither recognized nor protected.
8. Community members' attitudes	4	<i>Most</i> members support language maintenance.
9. Type and quality of documentation	1 inadequate	Only a few grammatical sketches, short word-lists. Audio and video recordings do not exist.

The survey results show that Chabu is currently spoken by a majority of (the members of) the ethnic group (at least in the villages included in the survey) and it is still used by all generations of the ethnic group and looks to be safe. However, the results indicate that the absolute number of Chabu speakers is very low to the level that threatens the language's vitality by itself (a little more than 700). If an epidemic or an unexpected ethnic clash

erupts, sickness or war can easily cause the loss of the whole community. Furthermore, the majority of speakers of Chabu live dispersed amongst other ethnic groups, mainly among the Majang and the Shekkacho, and most of them are multilingual in Majang, Shekkacho, Amharic, Oromo and/or Kafaan Languages. Thus, if a group of speakers of another language moves into the residential areas of the Chabu, their language could easily be swallowed by the dominant language. The recent action of Andaracha Worada Administration (in SNNPR) (settling Shekkacho people in Dushi and their plan to do the same in Jifor (exclusively Chabu villages)) is one instance of this danger. It would definitely affect the language use situation. Since almost all the Chabu in these villages are bilinguals in Shekkacho, the arrival of the Shekkacho in the area significantly alters the everyday use of the language in the villages and the use of Chabu would be restricted to home domains. If no measures are taken to support their language and culture, the settlement programme will put Chabu in linguistic jeopardy.

In addition, although the survey data about domains indicates that Chabu is still used widely in daily life of the Chabu in the forest (SNNPR), the public domains are dominated by Amharic, Majang and Shekkacho languages and Chabu is an inactive language that does not respond to new or emerging domains. Both in education and religion, the newly introduced domains in the area, Chabu has no place; it is dominated by the prestigious languages in the area. The teachers and other few civil servants that are assigned in Chabu areas are non-Chabu speakers and their presence in the area forces the Chabu to use other languages. The plan to expand the services also expands such influences and Chabu would probably be in severe danger everywhere it is spoken, unless considerable support in the way of vernacular literacy training is started.

As the survey shows, Chabu is a less studied and poorly documented language, mostly mentioned in wider works on classification of African languages. The only descriptive works on the language are Anbessa (1991) "A Sketch of Shabo Grammar"; (1995) "Brief Phonology of Shabo (Mekeyir)" and Daniel (2000) "Shabo Pronoun". There are no written texts and audiovisual recordings of natural speech in the language. Moreover, the language is never used in written form; there is no orthography and any literacy material.

The result also reveals that even though favourable language, educational and cultural policies which advocate the use and development of vernacular languages are available in the country, none of them protected Chabu from being threatened and marginalized. Chabu

has no official status of any kind and never been mentioned as a name of a speaker community (ethnic group) nor as the name of a language in any official documents in both regions. In the last two population censuses of the country, the Chabu were counted as Majangir or Shekkacho. Although the worada and zonal administrative bodies know of their existence, they made no visible effort to acknowledge them as a separate people or group. No support has been rendered to preserve their culture and language. To the contrary, the local officials perform some activities that accelerate the endangerment of the culture and the language of the Chabu people: they resettled a lot of Shekkachos in areas where the Chabu live and give the Chabu inhabited areas to investors. This endangers the existence of the people, their culture and their livelihood forest itself.

The survey results (on most of the factors) reveal that Chabu is a critically endangered language which scored low grades in most of the factors set as parameters and it could be lost in the near future unless some remedial actions are taken.

The relatively positive outcomes that the survey results point to are the still uninterrupted intergenerational transmission and the people's willingness to support works related to their language, culture, and economy. Though the current unfavourable living situation and the external pressure force them to consider other languages as more useful and prestigious and to believe that knowledge of Amharic and other dominant languages of the area is a vital skill for their children's future, most of the Chabu wish to see their language written and serving as a school subject. Among 20 respondents of the questionnaire only one responded that he would not attending classes if an education program in Chabu language is introduced; all the rest said they would participate. In addition, most Chabu are willing to participate in development activities in relation to their culture, language, economy and basic institutions like school and health centre. This is a suitable condition for any documentation and revitalization activity.

The survey also exhibits that the sociolinguistic situation of Chabu in the two regions is different. In SNNPR, almost all the children pick up their parent's language as a mother tongue and most of the Chabu speak their heritage language, but in Gambella, where many Chabu people reside in a predominantly Majangir society, the language is not (being) fully transmitted to children and many Chabu do not speak the language. Chabu is still regularly used in family and village level private domains in SNNPR and this region is more suitable for language and cultural documentation and revitalization (development) activities.

5 Phonology

This chapter deals with the sound patterns of Chabu and describe the phonemes of the language, the phonotactics, the major phonological process, the syllable structure, the tone pattern and the morphophonemic processes prevalent in the language. The transcription exclusively employs the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) except in the case of “*a*” that we use instead of “*æ*” to represent open central unrounded vowel for ease of writing. Long vowels are represented by phonetic symbol of the vowel and a colon (as V:) and a geminated consonant is represented by repeating a phonetic symbol (as CC).

5.1 Consonant Phonemes

Table 25. The Phonemic Chart of Chabu Consonants

Sonority			Labials	Alveolar	Retroflex	post-alveolar/ Palatal	Velar	Glottal		
Obstruent	Stops	Plo	V. less	p	t	[ʈ]		k	ʔ	
		siv	Vd.	b	d			g		
		Ejective				t̪			k̪	
		Implosive			ɓ	ɗ				
	Fricatives	Voice less		[ɸ], f	s		[ç]		h	
		Voiced					[ʒ]			
		Ejective					[ç̪]			
	Affricates	Voice less					tʃ			
		Voiced					dʒ			
		Ejective					tʃ̪			
Sonorant	Nasals		m	n		[ɲ]	ŋ			
	Liquids	Lateral		l						
		Trill			r					
	Glides			w			j			

5.1.1 Description and Exemplification of Consonants

Twenty four consonant phonemes are identified for the Chabu language. Based on their manner of articulation, we can categorize these Chabu consonants into six categories: stops, fricatives, affricates, nasals, liquids and glides. In what follows we present the description and exemplification of these consonants phonemes.

5.1.1.1 Stops

Chabu has bilabial, alveolar, velar and glottal stops. Although Anbessa (1995) claims for the presence of voiced, voiceless, ejective and implosive contrast in bilabial, alveolar and

velar positions, in the current study the four-way contrast in the stop series is found only for alveolar place of articulation. Anbessa (1991; 1995) considers [p] and [g] as independent phonemes but both segments are absent in our data. All the examples presented by Anbessa for the realisation of /p/ are pronounced with the implosive [ɓ] as shown in (3) below. Anbessa (1995) does not provide data for the occurrence of [g] and we did not come across any occurrence of it both during elicitation and in natural texts. Therefore, the bilabial ejective [pʼ] and the velar implosive [g] are not part of the phonemic inventory of Chabu.

- (3) **pilla* ‘bite’ is [ɓillá] in our data
 **hoopa* ‘sky’ is [hò:ba] in our data
 **topa* ‘coward, blunt’ is [tóbá] in our data

Distributionally, the consonants [ɓ, t and ʔ] are not attested at word-final position. According to Anbessa (1995), only [ɓ and t] are the ones that do not appear at word-final position. Nevertheless, in the 1700⁺ lexemes we encoded in our toolbox data base and in the texts we annotated, word-final occurrence of [ʔ] is observed in one discourse word (ideophone) [dʒóʔ]. [d] and [g] are also not attested word-finally in mono morphemic words; however, they occur in final position in inflected verbs as suffixes. Description of each stop and examples of possible occurrences are presented below.

/p/: A voiceless bilabial stop.

- (4) [pá:r] ‘snake’
 [pém] ‘ladder’
 [àppír] ‘fly’
 [deppú] ‘darkness, night’
 [kàsíp] ‘month, moon’
 [kùrgup] ‘kneel’

Anbessa (1991; 1995) claims that [p] is in free variation with [f]. However, a closer and repeated observation of the consultants’ lips show that the phone considered as a bilabial voiceless stop [p] that alternate with [f] is found to be the bilabial voiceless fricative [ɸ] (see (5) below). In addition, some of the examples Anbessa presents are not accepted by our consultants. Among the three lexical items Anbessa (1991) presented only one was accepted. One of the examples **afan* ~ *apan* is completely rejected as a Chabu word; the

word for dance in Chabu is [wá]. Both alternatives of the third example, *hanšip* ~ *hanšif* ‘some’ are also considered unacceptable by our consultants and corrected as [hàntʃib].

- (5) [afál] ~ [aφál] ‘hit’
 [éfi] ~ [éφi] ‘arm’
 [fúŋkà] ~ [φúŋkà] ‘ashes’
 [furo] ~ [φuro] ‘hunter dog’

The above examples were checked with our consultants and found to be an alternation between [f] and [φ]. In all elicitations we made and all texts we recorded, the speakers exclusively use the [f] or [φ] variants as shown in (6) below. Therefore, we claim that [f] does not alternate with [p] as a free variant, rather it alternates freely with [φ] in some of its occurrences.

- (6) [affál] ~ [aφφál] ‘hit’
 [éfi] ~ [éφi] ‘arm’
 [fúŋkà] ~ [φúŋkà] ‘ashes’
 [furo] ~ [φuro] ‘hunter dog’
 [úfa] ~ [úφa] ‘person’

/b/: A voiced bilabial stop.

/b/ occurs word-initially, medially and finally.

- (7) [bu] ‘leopard’
 [babé] ‘father’
 [àbburí] ‘spilt’
 [gíbbà] ‘shield’
 [báb] ‘two’
 [dírb] ‘hunt with the help of dogs’

/ɓ/: A voiced bilabial implosive.

As explained above, the bilabial implosive **ɓ** occur only at word-initial and word-medial positions.

- (8) *[bóntʃí]* ‘peel (banana)’
[bètʃá] ‘beard’
[bìbèt] ‘bamboo’
[kòbù] ‘white honey’

/t/: A voiceless alveolar stop.

The alveolar voiceless stop occurs in all positions within a word.

- (9) *[tá]* ‘I(F)’
[tájám] ‘eyebrow’
[àtti] ‘kick, stamp, trample’
[áti:ní] ‘boy, youth’
[liját] ‘swim’
[árágát] ‘to arrange, to order’

Some speakers use the retroflex [ʈ] as a variant of /t/. One of the Chabu assistants often uses [ʈ] instead of [t] while other assistants and most participants dominantly use [t].

/tʰ/: A voiceless alveolar ejective.

The voiceless alveolar ejective occurs word initially and medially, but it is attested word-finally only in one instance.

- (10) *[tʰá]* ‘eat’ (Infinitive or Imperative)
[tʰùro] ‘metal’
[tʰòto] ‘animal’
[atʰí] ‘noise, sound’
[mármítʰ] ‘wind around’

/d/: A voiced alveolar stop.

The voiced alveolar stop *d* occurs word initially and medially in underived simple words. Its word final occurrence is limited to complex constructions of imperative forms as plural marker (as in (12) below). A single instance of alternation between [d] and [tʰ] is attested in a Chabu word for ‘small’; it can be pronounced as *[kèdèbù]* or *[kètèbù]*. Since both [d] and [tʰ] are phonemes of the language and the variation is not frequent we could not identify which form is the basic and which is an allophonic occurrence.

- (11) *[déndé]* ‘uncle’
[dòŋku] ‘snore’
[addák] ‘left behind’
[hànda] ‘tongue’
- (12) *[ám-d]* ‘you (PL) come’
[no-d] ‘you (PL) go’

/d/: A voiced alveolar implosive. Occurs in all position in a word/

- (13) *[dámá]* ‘long’
[dě] ‘know’
[àdinn] ‘swelling’
[adúdí] ‘shiver, shake, tremble’
[mijád] ‘buffalo’
[ród] ‘a (deadly) poisonous snake’

/k/: A voiceless velar stop

The voiceless velar stop occurs in all position in a word.

- (14) *[kàni:]* ‘dog’
[káw] ‘tooth’
[kúrkúm] ‘backbone’
[akur] ‘groundnut’
[dʒúk] ‘god’
[dɔhòmbùk] ‘before sometime’

Even though [k] and [h] are independent phonemes of Chabu, in some instances, they alternate freely. For example [ká] and [há] are variant forms to mean ‘kill’. The words in example (15) below are other examples where [k] and [h] alternate freely.

- (15) *[ikom]* ~ *[ihom]* ‘count’
[díkì] ~ *[dihì]* ‘grind’
[kúttí] ~ *[húttí]* ‘knee’

Free variation of [k] and [h] appear either word-initially or intervocalically and it seems that /k/ is the phoneme and [h] is a lenited allophone of /k/. However, the alteration is inconsistent; in similar environment, sometimes it works and other times it does not. For example, *[há]* is a variant form of *[ká]* ‘kill’ but *[hā]* ‘meat’ is a different word (from *[há]* kill) with no variant form **[kā]*. The examples in (16) below further illustrate the inconsistency of the alteration.

- (16) [ká]/ [há] 'kill'
 *[ka] / [ha] 'meat'
 [kàmbo]/ [hàmbo] 'hunting trap'
 [kámè] / *[hámè] 'son or daughter of one's uncle or aunt'
 [kijjá]/ [hijjá] 'refuse'
 [kijá] *[hijá] 'grave'

/k/: A velar ejective.

The velar ejective occurs in all position within a word.

- (17) [kéndî] 'cold'
 [kó] 'die'
 [kaŋkúlàm] 'elbow'
 [tʃé:ká] 'hair'
 [àhak] 'produce phlegm in the mouth'
 [mítàk] 'wink'
 [winìk] 'twist'

/g/: A voiced velar stop.

The voiced velar stop g occur at word initial and medial position in monomorphemic simple words.

- (18) [gamà] 'chin, jaw'
 [gùpo] 'cloud'
 [rógá] 'star'
 [jòŋgo] 'air'

The word-final occurrence of [g] is limited to in inflected verbs as future tense marker as illustrated in (19) below.

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------|------------------|----------------|------------------------|
| (19) | <i>tá</i> | <i>ìndá-gé-t</i> | <i>nò-g</i> | 'I will go.' |
| | 1FSG | IFV-AUX-1SG | go-FUT | |
| | <i>ántf</i> | <i>ìndá-gé</i> | <i>nòtǎg</i> | 'We two male will go.' |
| | 1MDU | IFV-AUX | go-FDU-1DU-FUT | |
| | <i>janfú</i> | <i>ìndá-gé</i> | <i>ap-nò-g</i> | 'We female will go.' |
| | 1FPL | IFV-AUX | 1PL-go-FUT | |

/ʔ/: A voiceless glottal stop.

The glottal stop /ʔ/ is not attested at word initial and word final positions; the only word-final occurrence of /ʔ/ we encountered is in a discourse word [dʒoʔ] (an expression of surprise). We are not sure about its occurrence at word-initial position and it requires an experimental study. Thus, we preferred using the vowels as word-initial segments where the glottal stop [ʔ] is expected. Nevertheless, it occurs inter-vocally and serves as onset of a syllable as in (20).

- | | | |
|------|----------|--------------------------------------|
| (20) | [gaʔám] | ‘take out (from a container)’ |
| | [kitaʔa] | ‘lead, guide’ |
| | [kiʔat] | ‘swarm of bee’ |
| | [sáʔó] | ‘name of a tree’ (kərero in Amharic) |

The following sentence is taken from a tale to show the only occurrence of the glottal stop we found word-finally in a discourse word [dʒóʔ].

- (21) *táwo: tá momobèg ma funka kawtu dʒóʔ táto kawò jàŋgà* (Chabu007Sp1-011)
- | | | | | | | |
|----------------|-------------|------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>ta-o</i> | <i>ta</i> | <i>momo-be-g</i> | <i>ma</i> | <i>funka</i> | <i>kaw-ti-u</i> | <i>dʒoʔ</i> |
| 1SGF-FOC | 1SGF | live-NEG-FUT | this.M | ash | edge-ADES-FOC | IDPH |
| <i>ta-ti-o</i> | <i>kawo</i> | <i>jaŋga</i> | | | | |
| 1SGF- ADES-FOC | gun | have | | | | |
- I will not live (sit) here on ash edge. [Why?] I also have gun.

5.1.1.2 Fricatives

Chabu has bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, palatal and glottal fricatives ([ɸ], [f], [s], [ʃ], [ʒ], [ʒ] and [h]. Among these only [f], [s], and [h] have phonemic status. Voiced, palatal, fricative [ʒ] is the only voiced fricative that is attested in the language. However, in all cases of its occurrence, it appears as an allophone of [dʒ] as in example (31). The voiceless bilabial [ɸ] occurs as free variant allophone of some instances of the occurrence of the voiceless labiodentals /f/. The voiceless palatal [ʃ] and the ejective alveolar [ʃ̥] are the other fricatives that exist in the language at least phonetically. Both [ʃ] and [ʃ̥] alternate freely with some occurrences of /s/ and /tʃ/ respectively and they are allophones of these phonemes /s/ and /tʃ/.

/f/: A voiceless labiodental fricative.

The voiceless labiodental fricative occurs in all positions as in example(22), although its occurrence at word final position is limited to one lexical item in 1700⁺ lexical database used for the analysis. /f/ is in free variation with [ɸ] in some instances of its occurrence as in the examples in (5) above. /

- | | | |
|------|---------|--------------|
| (22) | [farè] | ‘be thirsty’ |
| | [fùnkà] | ‘ashes’ |
| | [éfu] | ‘arm’ |
| | [fèfa] | ‘pant’ |
| | [óf] | ‘only’ |

/s/: An alveolar voiceless fricative.

It occurs at all positions within a word as shown in (23) below. The voiceless palatal fricative [ç] freely substitute the voiceless alveolar fricative [s] in most of its occurrences as in (24). The Chabu commonly use [ç] instead of [s]. However, in all its occurrences, [ç] can be substituted by [s], but the reverse is not always true; there are occurrences of [s] in which it cannot be replaced by [ç] as in (25) and in all occurrences of /s/ at word final position. In addition, [s] also appears in a multi-functional derivational morpheme /-se/, without alternating with [ç]. Hence, we consider [ç] as an allophone of /s/. Perhaps this alternation has occurred due to the decaying of the language in which some contrasts are neutralised so that a phonemic contrast has been lost between /s/ and [ç].

- | | | |
|------|-----------|------------------|
| (23) | [sállá:] | ‘laugh’ |
| | [sitalàk] | ‘step, walk’ |
| | [ésè] | ‘name of a tree’ |
| | [saʔarse] | ‘scar’ |
| | [akus] | ‘baby slung’ |
| | [jes] | ‘stare V.’ |
-
- | | | |
|------|------------------|---|
| (24) | [bursè]~ [burfe] | ‘opening or hole on the wall of a house (window)’ |
| | [sé] ~ [fe] | ‘eye, face’ |
| | [sona]~ [fona] | ‘nose’ |
| | [sunse] ~[fuŋfe] | ‘buttock’ |

- (25) [bù:sa]~ *[bù:fa] ‘over feed, stuffed’
 [bu:sà]~ *[bu:fà] ‘flesh’
 [gósá]~ *[gófá] ‘bear (child)’
 [sitalak]~ *[fitalak] ‘3MPL’

/h/ : A voiceless glottal fricative.

The voiceless glottal fricative /h/ occurs in word-initial and medial positions. Word finally it occurs only in a temporal interrogative pronoun *hambo(h)* ‘when’ and in a discourse word *doh* (as in (27) below) roughly meaning ‘then’.

- (26) [hànda:] ‘tongue’
 [hòppu] ‘breathe’
 [áhà] ‘home’
 [hóhà] ‘yawn’
 [hambo(h)] ‘when

- (27) *doh onho fomke tawo: ta momobege ma funka kawtu*
doh onha-o fom-ke ta-wo: ta mo-mo-be-ge ma funka kaw-ti-u
 ?? she-FOC tell-?? I(F)-FOC I(F) live-PROG-NEG-FUT this ashes edge- ADD-FOC
 Then she said “I also, will not live here by the side of fire.”

5.1.1.3 Affricates

Chabu has three palatal affricates: voiceless, voiced and ejective (/tʃ/, /dʒ/ and /tʃʼ/).

/tʃ/: A voiceless palatal affricate.

The voiceless [tʃ] occurs in all position within a word.

- (28) [tʃolò] ‘green or blue’
 [tʃotò] ‘harvest season’
 [atʃin] ‘curse’
 [bitʃifà] ‘leg, foot’
 [ópòtʃ] ‘awe, reverence (for God)’
 [wé:tʃif] ‘all’

The voice less palatal affricate in some of its occurrences is in free variation with [ʃ] as in (29). And [ʃ]’s occurrence as a variant is limited and is an allophonic representation of /tʃ/’

- (29) [tʃéntʃi] ~ [ʃéntʃi] ‘blader’
 [bambatʃijé] ~ [bambaʃijé] ‘elephantiasis’

/dʒ/ : A voiced palatal affricate:

The voiced palatal affricate /dʒ/ occurs rarely and is not attested word-finally.

- (30) [dʒúhúamá] ‘navel’ * [ʒúhúamá]
 [dʒúk] ‘God’ * [ʒúk]
 [bu:dʒà] ‘angry’ * [bu:ʒà]
 [dʒidʒi] ‘nape of the neck’ * [ʒiʒi] / * [dʒiʒi] / * [ʒidʒi]

[dʒ] alternates with [ʒ] in some of its occurrence as in (31) below. [ʒ] is a variant of [dʒ].

- (31) [dʒábà] ~ [ʒaba] ‘small hoe’
 [dʒefa] ~ [ʒefa] ‘fly’
 [tadʒan] ~ [taʒan] ‘local bear made of corn’

/tʃʼ/ : A voiceless palatal ejective affricate.

- (32) [tʃám] ‘leaf’
 [tʃòto] ‘edible animal’
 [dátʃà] ‘white’
 [bètʃà] ‘beard’
 [witʃitʃ] ‘light made of bundle sticks’
 [mátʃ] ‘spy, spy on’

/tʃʼ/ has a palatal ejective fricative [ʃʼ] as a variant form in some of its occurrences as in (33) below. Anbessa (1995) describes [sʼ] as a phoneme with limited distribution. However, we question his position because, firstly, the segment he described as alveolar fricative ejective [sʼ] is better be described as post-alveolar fricative ejective [ʃʼ]. Secondly in its all limited occurrences, [ʃʼ] appear as variant of a phoneme /tʃʼ/ which has a wider distribution. Thus, in this study [sʼ] is not considered as part of the phonetic inventory of Chabu and [ʃʼ] is not considered as a phoneme.

- (33) [tʃéká] ~ [ʃéká] ‘hair, feather’
 [tʃó] ~ [ʃó] ‘child’
 [bètʃà] ~ [bèʃà] ‘beard’
 [bètʃ:è] ~ [bèʃ:è] ‘choked’

5.1.1.4 Nasals

Chabu has three nasal phonemes in bilabial, alveolar and velar places of articulations. These are /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/. All occur at word-initial, medial and final positions.

/m/: A voiced bilabial nasal.

- (34) [máttì] ‘big’
[màmàŋ] ‘village, place’
[àman] ‘catch (a falling object in air) ‘
[tàjàm] ‘eye brow’
[tá:m] ‘sit’

/n/: A voiced alveolar nasal.

- (35) [nimá] ‘neck’
[no] ‘go’
[binná] ‘draw water from container’
[ínun] ‘think’
[ólákàn] ‘twin’
[wann] ‘skin’

/ŋ/: A voiced velar nasal:

- (36) [ŋá] ‘spear (V), pierce, stab’
[ŋàdit] ‘hope’
[àŋan] ‘stir’
[tʃàŋa] ‘fish’
[jín] ‘1MPL. (I male)’
[maməŋ] ‘village, place’

The palatal nasal [ɲ] appears in some words of natural speech of Chabu speakers in an environment which does not trigger homorganic assimilation as (37). However, all [ɲ]’s in such environment can be replaced by [n] without bringing any meaning change. Moreover, [ɲ] does not appear word-finally. Its wider occurrence is preceding palatal consonants because of assimilation as in (38). Therefore, the [ɲ] in the examples in (37) can be analysed as a free variant allophone of [n].

- (37) [eːnà] ~ [é:nà] ‘squirrel’
 [pá:nà] ~ [pá:nà] ‘mortar’
 [nédã] ~ [nédã] ‘placenta’
 [nóɲétéʔát] ~ [noɲeteʔat] ‘cripple’

- (38) [héɲtʃèm] ‘lick’
 [tʃéɲtʃi] ‘bladder’
 [hèlèndʒi] ‘saliva’

5.1.1.5 Liquids

Chabu has two liquid phonemes: /l/ and /r/. Both occur in all positions within a word.

/l/: A voiced alveolar lateral.

- (39) [ladí] ‘summer’
 [lafá] ‘fear’
 [dáli] ‘bull’
 [àlam] ‘curse’
 [àbal] ‘buy’
 [úll] ‘man, male’

/r/: A voiced alveolar trill.

- (40) [rùdetí] ‘brush’
 [rógá] ‘star’
 [tʃarà] ‘red’
 [kíkkirà] ‘short’
 [díɾ] ‘forehead’
 [kór] ‘finish, complete’

5.1.1.6 Glides

Chabu has two glide phonemes: the bilabial glide /w/ and the palatal glide /j/. Both glides occur in all positions within a word.

/w/: A voiced bilabial glide.

As mentioned above there is no restriction in its distribution. Thus, occur every place within a word.

- (41) [wann] ‘skin’
 [wɔ] ‘water’
 [táwa] ‘marriage’
 [ìwor] ‘sharpen’
 [káw] ‘tooth’
 [jów] ‘get sad’

/j/ : A voiced palatal glide.

The voiced palatal glide occurs word initially, medially and finally.

- (42) [janfu] ‘1FPL(Mix)’
 [jèmba] ‘show’
 [jìja] ‘bigger brother’
 [mójé] ‘coffee’
 [táj] ‘first born child’
 [gój] ‘shave’

5.1.2 Minimal and Near Minimal Pairs

Here we present minimal or near minimal pairs to substantiate the phonemic status of the consonants given above.

Voiceless vs. Voiced

- (43) /p/ and /b/ [pá:r] ‘snake’
 [bá:r] ‘cry (for help)’
- (44) /t/ and /d/ [goddó] ‘elephant’ [adúré] ‘cat’
 [kòttò] ‘there’ [àtùle] ‘heap’
- (45) /k/ and /g/ [ko’l] ‘to run’
 [gollá] ‘to hunt (with the help of dogs)’
- (46) /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ [dʒáɲdʒá] ‘name of a tree’
 [tʃántʃàl] ‘green mamba’
- (47) /t/ and /t̥/ [tʃótò] ‘dry’
 [tʃótò] ‘animal’
- (48) /k/ and /k̥/ [ka’] ‘to kill’
 [ka] ‘to excrete, defecate’

- (49) /s/ and /s'/ [bessé] 'belly, abdomen'
 [bes's'á] 'beard' (variant of /betʃá/)
- (50) /tʃ/ and /tʃ'/ [tʃotò] 'harvest season'
 [tʃòto] 'dry'
- (51) /d/ and /t'/ [dâ] 'pick, eat cereals (chicken)'
 [tâ] 'eat'
- (52) /g/ and /k/ [go] 'hand'
 [koj] 'head'
 [ko] 'die'
- (53) /dʒ/ and /tʃ'/ [dʒo] 'crunch (eat roasted cereals)'
 [tʃò] 'child'
- (54) /p/ and /b/ [pèrkà] 'prophecy'
 [berr] 'tumour'
- (55) /b/ and /b'/ [boɲtʃá] 'spoil'
 [bóɲtʃí] 'peel'
- (56) /d/ and /d'/ [dòn] 'muscle'
 [dón] 'string'
- (57) /t/ and /d'/ [áttiní] 'boy, young, young man'
 [àdinn] 'swelling'
- (58) /t/ and /d'/ [tâ] 'eat'
 [dâ] 'cry'
- (59) /t/ and /s/ [tappá] 'to descend, go down'
 [sappá] 'to slap'
- (60) /k/ and /h/ [hí] 'move away, migrate'
 [kí] 'smil'
 [ké:dʒi] 'thin'
 [hè:dʒi] 'firewood (of small branches)'

Here we need to note that [h] also appears as free variant form of /k/ in most non-geminated occurrences of /k/, which is a weakening of /k/ to [h] when it occurs as singleton.

- (61) /t/ and /tʃ'/ [tutʃí] 'stopper'
 [tʃútʃí] 'comb of rooster'

(62)	/d/ and /dʒ/	[d̀ga]	‘chest’
		[dʒóga]	‘name of a tree’
(63)	/t/ and /tʃ/	[roto]	‘clitoris’
		[tʃoro]	‘wild animals’
(64)	/tʃ/ and [ʃ]	[iʃè]	variant of [ise] ‘get old, worn out’
		[itʃè]	‘fence, compound’
(65)	/n/ and /l/	[tuma]	‘boar (male pig)’
		[tuŋa]	‘molar’
(66)	/n/ and /r/	[dòn]	‘muscle of arm’
		[dór]	‘trunk (of tree), log’
(67)	/l/ and /r/	[dʒàl]	‘yesterday’
		[dʒar]	‘front’
(68)	/r/, /l/ and /j/	[kól]	‘to dig’
		[kór]	‘to finish’
		[koj]	‘to inter’
(69)	/b/ and /d/	[bosí]	‘be wide’
		[dosì]	‘to tread or string bid’
(70)	/p/ and /t/	[sapá]	‘to descend, go down’
		[sáttá]	‘to fish’
(71)	/b/ and /d/	[bàti]	‘cry for help’
		[dèti]	‘need, want’
(72)	/d/ and /dʒ/	[kèddi]	‘grow up’
		[ké:dʒi]	‘be thin’
(73)	/m/ and /n/	[mo]	‘sit, live’
		[no]	‘go’
(74)	/m/ and /ŋ/	[ma]	‘sibling’
		[ŋa]	‘and’
(75)	/n/ and /ŋ/	[dòn]	‘muscle’
		[dón]	‘string’

5.1.3 Gemination of Consonants Example for each segment

In Chabu, all consonants except [h], [r], and [tʃ] can be geminated. Word-initial gemination is not attested and consonant gemination is possible only in intervocalic and word-final positions. The following examples show the occurrence of geminated and non geminated segments.

(76)	ká:bá ‘many’	adinn ‘swell’
	hebba ‘bead’	afafun ‘rush’
	heddi ‘much’	anji ‘brew’
	hedebu ‘small’	anjan ‘stir’
	kikkira ‘short’	atta ‘fray’
	kokoti ‘beg’	atul
	afa ‘grandfather’	itʃe ‘fence’
	affal ‘kick, beat’	itʃfa ‘larvae’

Gemination is phonemic as illustrated in (77) below. The case of [tʃ] seems an accidental gap. In (77) below, we provide minimal pairs showing the phonemic status of gemination in Chabu.

(77)	[óttí] ‘approach, near’	[kija] ‘grave’
	[ottí] ‘love’	[kijja] ‘refuse to give’
	[kó:sá] ‘bring up’	[nenà] ‘louse’
	[kò:ssa] ‘get dirt’	[nénná] ‘forget’

5.2 Vowel Phonemes

Chabu has seven vowel phonemes. Table 26 below presents these vowels. The vowel inventory given here is different from Anbessa (1995) in the sense that the present study lacks the high central and mid central vowels [i] and [ə] identified in Anbessa’s work as phonemes.

Table 26. Inventory of Vowel Phonemes of Chabu

	Front	Central	Back
High	i i:	[ɨ]	u u:
Close Mid	e e:		o o:
Open Mid	ɛ ɛ:		ɔ ɔ:
Low		a a:	

5.2.1 Description and Exemplifications of Vowel Phonemes

/i/: A high front vowel.

The high front vowel occurs in all positions within a word.

- (78) [indi] ‘mother’
 [biti] ‘wither (plant)’
 [dʒɔlijak] ‘shell’
 [gɛ:di] ‘lazy dog’

/e/: A close-mid front vowel.

Occurs in all positions in a word.

- (79) [emaha] ‘bone’
 [heletti] ‘bird’
 [fare] ‘be thirsty’

/ɛ/: An open-mid front vowel.

The open-mid front vowel is attested in all positions within a word.

- (80) [ɛŋgeta] ‘sister in law’
 [gɛdi] ‘lazy dog’
 [gɛɾɛ] ‘stick of spear’

[ɨ]: A high central vowel.

The high central vowel attested in few instances. Because of its limited occurrence we could not tell its phonemic status.

- (81) [appir] ‘fly’
 [gɛtɨwwe] ‘turn round’
 [dʒim] ‘well’

/a/: A low central vowel.

As illustrated in (82), the low central vowel occurs in all positions within a word.

- (82) [àŋŋan] ‘stir’
[bâj] ‘monkey’
[daro] ‘dried hide’
[tá] ‘eat’

/u/: A high, back vowel. Occurs at all positions within a word. See examples in (83) below.

- (83) [umba] ‘woman, female’
[kukku] ‘2MSG (you)’
[dɛ:pu] ‘stick of hunting trap’
[gu.nɛ̀] ‘wrap up’

/o/: A close mid, back vowel.

The close mid back vowel occurs in all positions within a word as illustrated in (84) below

- (84) [bodda] ‘palm tree’
[ɔha] ‘sun’
[mo] ‘sit, live’

/ɔ/: An open mid, back vowel.

The open-mid back vowel is attested in all positions within a word as in (85) below.

- (85) [ɔhɛ́] ‘payment’
[ɔkɔn] ‘to help’
[wɔ] ‘water (N), drink (V)’

5.2.2 Vowel Co-occurrence Restrictions

As shown in Table 27, all Chabu vowels except the high central one occur in all positions; word-initially, medially and finally. The high central vowel [i] is not frequent and it does not appear at word-initial and final positions. It is attested only in three instances (presented in (81) above) word medially. In its two occurrences ([appir] and [getiwɔwɔse]) [i] seems to be serving as an epenthetic vowel to avoid impermissible sequences of consonants, but in the case of dʒim, since it is the only vocalic element that made up the syllable it is difficult to call it as epenthetic vowel. Besides, the common epenthetic vowel

is [-i-] and for the time being it is difficult to determine the occurrence of [-i-] as an epenthetic in the above seen instances. Therefore, we leave it open for further investigation.

Table 27. Distribution of Vowel Phonemes

Vowel	Word-initially	Word medially	word-finally
i	<i>Indí</i> ‘one’s own mother’ <i>ítjè</i> ‘compound/fence’	<i>gìro</i> ‘poor, lonely’ <i>hípú</i> ‘fasten, bind’ <i>dʒɔlijak</i> ‘shell’	<i>kí</i> ‘tie’ <i>ottí</i> ‘love’
e	<i>étá</i> ‘bigger sister’ <i>éfú</i> ‘arm, hand’	<i>kèmo</i> ‘tell story’ <i>mèrano</i> ‘gall bladder, bile, gall’	<i>luge</i> ‘hunt without dog’ <i>tàrrè</i> ‘bed that serves for storing maize’
ɛ	<i>é:tá</i> ‘pack’ <i>éɲgètá</i> ‘sister in law’ <i>èmàha</i> ‘bone’	<i>dɛ:ppú</i> ‘stick of hunting trap’ <i>gé:di</i> ‘lazy dog’	<i>gérè</i> ‘stick of spear’ <i>bàkè</i> ‘spear’ <i>kàkè</i> ‘grandmother’
[i]	-	[àppirr] ‘to fly’ [dʒim] ‘be well’	-
a	<i>àdinn</i> ‘swelling’ <i>áffá</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>támm</i> ‘fetch’ <i>báj</i> ‘monkey’ <i>sákí</i> ‘back’	<i>hébbá</i> ‘necklace, bracelet’ <i>étá</i> ‘elder sister’
u	<i>úll</i> ‘male, husband’ <i>útá</i> ‘roast’	<i>kùtjè</i> ‘bag’ <i>gu:nè</i> ‘wrap up’ <i>guttárè</i> ‘old person’	<i>tebbu</i> ‘menstruation’ <i>hɔppu</i> ‘breath, life’ <i>labu</i> ‘sorghum’
o	<i>ótí</i> ‘near’ <i>ottí</i> ‘love’	<i>dotfo</i> ‘ulcer (leg)’ <i>dòɲku</i> ‘snore’	<i>gifo</i> ‘door’ <i>go</i> ‘arm’
ɔ	<i>ɔkɔn</i> ‘help’ <i>ɔhe</i> ‘payment’	<i>kór</i> ‘to pass’ <i>wɔsà</i> ‘send’	<i>wɔ</i> ‘water’ <i>érkò</i> ‘name of a tree’

5.2.3 Minimal Pairs

The following (near) minimal pairs are presented to substantiate the phonemic status of Chabu vowels.

/i/ and /e/

- (86) [nima] ‘neck’
[nena] ‘louse’

/i/ and /a/

- (87) [kí] ‘tie’ [béndì] ‘father in law’
[ka] ‘defecate, excrete’ [béndà] ‘mother in law’

/e/ and /ɛ/

- (88) [gè:da] ‘pig’ [heddi] ‘many’
[gé:di] ‘lazy dog’ [hèdʒi] ‘firewood (branch)’

/e/ and /a/

- (89) [hébbá] ‘necklace, ankle ring, bracelet’ [dɛ] ‘to know’
[habba] ‘many’ [dà] ‘to cry’
[gune] ‘to wrap up’
[guna] ‘to limp’

/i/ and /a/

- (90) [bala] ‘get out’ [dā:] ‘cry’
[billa] ‘bite’ [dī:] ‘steal’

/u/ and /o/

- (91) [gùma] ‘take revenge’ [kòŋku] ‘cough’
[goma] ‘start fire’ [kòŋkò] ‘rope’

/o/ and /ɔ/

- (92) [kòndi] ‘illness, disease’ [go:dó] ‘elephant’
[kɔndi] ‘younger brother’ [gò:dò] ‘sickness’

/o/ and /a/

- (93) [ko] ‘die’ [jow] ‘get sad’
[ka] ‘defecate, excrete’ [jaw] ‘hate’

5.2.4 Vowel Length

All the vowel phonemes of Chabu have long counterparts. Anbessa (1995) described that the two mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ do not have long counterparts. Nevertheless, we have evidences that show the existence of longer counterparts of /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ as shown in (94) below. Vowel length is phonemic in the language. The examples in (95) substantiate this claim.

- (94) [gɛ:di] ‘lazy dog’ [gò:dò] ‘pain’
[kɛ:dʒi] ‘thin’ [gò:mu] ‘mountain’
[dɛ:ppú] ‘trap stick’ [hɔ:rà] ‘spide’

(95)	[dā]	‘eat (honey)’	[ɛtʰò]	‘mole’
	[dɑ:]	‘cry, weep’	[ɛ:tʰò]	‘a kind of false banana’
	[búsa]	‘muscle’	[gɛdɪ]	‘cleared land’
	[bù:sa]	‘stuffed, overfed’	[gɛ:dí]	‘lazy dog’

5.3 Phonotactics

5.3.1 Co-occurrence Restrictions at Word-initial Position

All the consonants of Chabu except the glottal stop /ʔ/ occur word-initially. There is no restriction in the occurrences of vowels except the high central vowel (i), which is not attested at word-initial and word-final positions. Every vowel can follow all the consonants word-initially and other places; the only unattested consonant vowel sequences at word-initial position are /rɛl/, /rɛ/ and /ral/.

5.3.2 Consonant Sequences

In Chabu, sequences of two consonants occur in word-medial and final positions. In the language, only sonorants and a few obstruents come as the first member of a sequence. Generally sonorants are preferred as a first member of a sequence. Among the obstruents only /f/, /k/, /p/, /s/ and /t/ occur as a first member. Some sequences appear only at a morpheme boundary (MB) while others are attested within simple underived lexical items (LX). -fs-, -ɲt-, -rw- and -tw- sequences are found in derived words only as in /fif-se/ ‘blows’, /poŋ-t(i)/ ‘at top, on’, /atfir-we/ ‘be flat’ and /get-we/ ‘be moved’. Generally, except for a few instances, sonorants appear as a first member of a sequence. The following table shows the pattern of consonant clusters.

Table 28. Possible sequences in Chabu and Their Frequency

Sequence	Frequency	Example	Sequence Situation
fs	1 ⁺	/fifse-ambu/	‘blows’ (MB)
jk	1	/wejkun/	‘seed’ (LX)
jp	1	/pajpáji/	‘papaya’ (LX)
js	1	/tʃe:jse/	‘waterfall’ (LX)
jt	1	/kojte/	‘horn (musical instrument)’ (LX)
ks	1	/dakse/	‘branch’ (LX)
	2 ⁺	/atʃakseti/	‘earlier’ (MB)

Sequence	Frequency	Example	Sequence Situation
lb	3	/kolbe/	‘handle’ LX
ld	1	/okold/	‘pumpkin’ LX
ldʻ	1	/moldā /	‘slime (organic)’ LX
lk	3	/dulkutʃf/	‘odor, smell’ LX
lm	1	/lilmoj/	‘needle’ LX
lp	1	/ulpen/	‘ostrich’ LX
ls	1	/kalse/	‘shelter’ LX
	4	/àbalsé/	‘sell’ MB
lt	3	/kilta /	‘mouse’ LX
ltʻ	1	/molta/	‘slime (organic)’ Lx
mb	26	/bambe/	‘sweet ‘potato’ LX
	26 ⁺	/tʃeɲumba/	‘play a child’ MB
mḅ	3	/umba/	‘female, woman’ LX
		[tʃʻuɲtʃʻumba]	‘suck’ LX
		/tʃʻuɲtʃʻumba/	
mdʻ	1	[endī] /emdi/	‘canoe’ LX
mp	1 ⁺	/gɔmpoŋ/	‘summit’ MB
	3	/kempu/	‘fan’ LX
ms/ [mʃ]	2	/tʃumse/	‘waist’ LX
mtʃ	1	/tʃumtʃum/	‘fold’ LX
mtʃʻ	1	[tʃʻuɲtʃʻumba]	‘suck’ LX
		/tʃʻuɲtʃʻumba/	
nd	25	/handa/	‘tongue’ LX
ndʻ	10	/menda/	‘witch’s ‘prophecy’ LX
ndʒ	10	[heleɲdʒi]	‘saliva’ LX
		/helendzi/	
ns	8	/jansid/	‘judge’ LX
	1 ⁺	/àmansé/	‘snatch, seize’ MB
nt	7	/kántè/	‘basket’ LX
ntʻ	3	/sèntà/	‘adultery’ LX
ntʃ	8	[hantʃib] /hantʃib/	‘few’ LX
ntʃʻ	8	[heɲtʃem]	‘lick’ LX
		/hentʃem/	

Sequence	Frequency	Example	Sequence Situation
ɲf	1	[kádãndàɲ] /kádãɲdãɲ/	‘hard palate’ LX
ɲf	1	[jamfu] /janfu/	‘1FPL’ (we F.) LX
ɲg	40	/sɛɲgi/	‘roast grain’ LX
ɲk	16	/dãɲka/	‘good’ LX
	8 ⁺	/tʃɲkà/ /tɲkè/	‘dawn’ ‘1SGM.GEN’ MB MB
ɲh/ɲk	1	[kɔɲhu] / [k’oɲku]	‘cough’ LX
ɲk’	17	/tʃ’oɲk’a/	‘Womb’ LX
ɲt	4 ⁺	/po:nt/	‘on’ MB
pk	2	/tʃupket /	‘shake (liquid)’ LX
ps	2	/japsuwe/	‘scorpion’ LX
pt	1	/lapte/	‘cliff, lower land’ LX
rb	3	/tarbi/	‘drum’ LX
rd	1	/durdur/	‘dust’ LX
rdʒ	2	/burdze/	‘bait’ LX
rf	1	/gorfo/	‘stomach’ LX
rg	4	/ergin/	‘bow (hunting)’ LX
rk	3	/kurkum/	‘valley’ LX
rm	1	/marmit/	‘coil (rope)’ LX
rs	2	/burse/	‘window or small hole on a wall’ LX
rt	2	/dirteti/	‘slide’ LX
	2	/kort/	‘middle’ MB
rtʃ	1	/bartʃúm/	‘stool’ LX
rʔ	2 ⁺	/atʃirʔat/	‘flat, level’ MB
rw	2 ⁺	/atʃirwe/ /appirwase/	‘(be) flatten’ ‘fly round’ MB MB
st	1	/mastot/	‘window’ LX (borrowed)
tw	1	/getwe/	‘move’ MB
wg	1	/niwgur/	‘eclipse (of moon)’ LX
wtʃ	2	/tʃáwtʃe/	‘frontier (of ethnic area)’ LX

5.4 Syllable Structure

Chabu has both open and close syllables. A syllable in Chabu comprises an onset, a nucleus and a coda. The nucleus of a syllable consists of a short or long vowel. Syllables are formulated using the maximal onsets general principle. Thus, a single consonant between vowels is the onset of the following vowel (Blevins 1995). Two adjacent consonants or a geminated consonant will be divided between syllables. The syllable template of Chabu has (C)V(V)(C)(C) pattern. CVCC and CVVCC patterns are found word-finally. The data in Table 29 below illustrate the possible syllable types in Chabu.

Table 29. Chabu Syllable Types

Syllable Types	Example 1	Example 2
V	[ɛ] ‘to marry’	[a.dá] ‘do’
VV	[i:] ‘yes’	[o:.dɛ] ‘bend’
VC	[am] ‘come’	[am.bù] ‘thing’
VCC	[ull] ‘male, husband’	
CV	[go] ‘hand’	[ba.bú.rɛ] ‘a kind of yam’
CVV	[si:] ‘fart’	[dɛ:.ppu] ‘stick of hunting trap’
CVC	[bab] ‘two’	[kúr.kúm] ‘valley’
CVVC	[ta:m] ‘sit’	[pa:r] ‘snake’
CVCC	[dirb] ‘hunt with dog’	[ta.kant] ‘under’
CVVCC	[gu:pp] ‘incubate’	[hu.wann] ‘middle of chest’

In the language, the phonemes [ɓ], [tʰ], [h], and [dʒ] do not appear at word-final position and as the first member of a sequence. Hence, they appear only on the onset position in a syllable. All the rest of the consonants can be found both at onset and coda positions among which only the sonorants [w, j, l, r, m, n, and ŋ] occur as a first member of a cluster coda. The remaining non-sonorant consonant phonemes attested at coda position occur as the only element of coda or as a second member of the cluster, but not as a first member of a cluster. The sonorants are not attested as a second member of coda except when they are geminated at word-final position. However two sonorants are part of separate syllables.

When morphemes such as /-d/ ‘2/3PL’, /-g/ ‘FUT’ or ‘-tʃ’ ‘MDU’ are suffixed to words with non-sonorant consonant terminals, [-i-] is inserted as an epenthetic vowel to avoid the occurrence of impermissible clusters within the coda.

(96) Verbs with terminal non-sonorant

Verb root	2SG.IMP	2FDU.IMP	2MDU.IMP	2PL.IMP	SG.FUT	PL.FUT
<i>atfak</i> ‘begin’	<i>atfak</i>	<i>atfakij</i>	<i>atfakitf</i>	<i>atfakid</i>	<i>atfakig</i>	<i>atfakidig</i>
<i>lijat</i> ‘sweem’	<i>lijat</i>	<i>lijatij</i>	<i>liatitf</i>	<i>lijatid</i>	<i>lijatig</i>	<i>lijatidig</i>
<i>matf</i> ‘spy’	<i>matf</i>	<i>matf’ij</i>	<i>matf’itf</i>	<i>matf’id</i>	<i>matf’ig</i>	<i>matf’idig</i>
<i>itot</i> ‘ask’	<i>itot</i>	<i>itotij</i>	<i>itotitf</i>	<i>itotid</i>	<i>itotig</i>	<i>itotidig</i>

(97) Verbs with terminal sonorant

<i>am</i> ‘come’	<i>am</i>	<i>amij</i>	<i>amtj</i>	<i>amd</i>	<i>amg</i>	<i>amdig</i>
<i>koj</i> ‘enter’	<i>koj</i>	<i>koj(i)j</i>	<i>kojtj</i>	<i>kojd</i>	<i>kojg</i>	<i>kojdig</i>
<i>inun</i> ‘think’	<i>inun</i>	<i>inunij</i>	<i>inuntj</i>	<i>inund</i>	<i>inung</i>	<i>inundig</i>

Table 30. Distribution of Syllable Type

Syllable Types	Word-initial	Gloss	Word medial	Gloss	Word-final	Gloss
v	[e.fu]	‘arm’				
CV	[no]	go	[su.ku.ma]	‘belly’	[fi.fa]	‘body’
VC	[um-6a]	‘female’				
CVC	[han.da]	‘tongue’	[ma-gaŋ-gal]	‘coagulate, clot’	[tutukan]	‘egg’
VCC	[ull]	‘man,’				
CVCC	[dirb]	‘hunt’			[ta-kant]	‘under’
CVV	[kɛ:re:]	‘time of maize’	[mon.to:le:]	‘a kind of fish’	[ɔ.mɔk.kɛ:]	‘(be) tired’
CVVC	[tfe:j.se]	‘waterfall’			[ɔ.bɔ:l]	‘hit’
	[sa:r.se]	‘scar’				
CVVCC	[wɛ:tʃʃ]	‘all’			[wɛ:tʃʃ]	‘all’

The above Table represents the possible distributions (word-initial, medial or final) of the identified syllable types.

Chabu has monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and quadric-syllabic mono morphemic words. The dominant category is disyllabic; quadri-syllabic words are the least frequent. The following examples show the various words based on the number syllables they are composed of.

(98) **Monosyllabic words**

[e] ‘marry’	[hɔ:] a kind of wild yam
[bab] two	[ta] ‘eat’
[da:] ‘cry’	[toŋŋ] ‘son’
[ham] ‘give’	[tʃall] awak

(99) **Disyllabic words**

[ka.ka] ‘cave’	[kàr.gup] ‘kneel down’
[gù.ri] ‘slaughter’	[e.tum] ‘owner’
[hít.tá] ‘stand’	[i.tʃik] ‘pour, transfer’
[joŋ.go] ‘wind, air’	[er.gin] ‘bow (hunting)’

(100) **Trisyllabic words**

[be.be.dé] ‘spring’	[mó.huŋ.gúl] ‘round’
[bon.tʃi.te] ‘escape’	[ru.dé.ti] ‘brush’
[dʒo.li.jak] ‘shell, coral’	[eŋ.ge.ti] ‘brother in law’
[gíŋ.gí.ré] ‘roll’	[áp.pá.kátt] ‘divide, separate’

(101) **Quadri-syllabic words**

[a.ge.ra.po] ‘condole, comfort’
[a.ŋa.dat.ta] ‘decorate’

5.5 Phonological Processes

It appears that homorganic nasal assimilation (HNA) is a general phonological process that operates whenever the triggering phonetic environment occurs. Although the bilabial, the alveolar and the velar nasals appear as underlying phonemes in the language, Chabu nasals except the bilabial undergo place assimilation with the consonants that go after them. This means “the nasal shares the place of articulation of the following consonant” (Katamba 1989: 90-91). See the following examples.

- (102) [sénsé]~ [fɛŋʃé] ‘nail’
[mensí]~ [meŋʃí] ‘spirit’
[súnse]~ [íŋʃe] ‘buttock’

- (103) /hentʃem/ > [héntʃém] ‘lick’
/tʃentʃi/ > [tʃéntʃi] ‘bladder’
/helendʒi/ > [hèlèndʒi] ‘saliva’

- (104) /janfu/ > [jamfu] ‘1FPL’
 /kádãndãŋ/ > [kádãndãŋ] ‘palate’

The case of the bilabial nasal is exceptional: it violates the homorganic nasal assimilation rule as in (105) below. The bilabial nasal does not undergo place assimilation within a morpheme. (See Table 28, consonant cluster).

- (105) [emdi] ‘canoe’ [tʃumtʃumba] ‘to suck’
 [kɛmtà] ‘goat’ [tʃumtʃum] ‘to fold’
 [tʃumse] ‘waist’

5.6 Morphophonemic Processes

5.6.1 Assimilation

5.6.1.1 Homorganic Nasal Assimilation

In the previous section, we have seen that Chabu nasals share place of articulation with the following consonant in the same word. Besides the phonologically conditioned homorganic nasal assimilation, there is also homorganic nasal assimilation at morpheme boundary. At morpheme boundary, word-final nasal of the preceding form assimilates in place with the initial obstruent of the following form. The homorganic nasal assimilation is persistent and consistent at a morpheme boundary, the bilabial nasal also homorganic with the consonants that go after it at morpheme boundary. Examine the following examples.

- (106) [fomm] ‘to tell’ + /-d/ ‘2/3PL’ → /fomd/ → [fond] ‘You(pl) tell’
 [am] ‘to come’ + /-d/ ‘2/3PL’ → /amd/ → [and] ‘You(PL) come’
 [fomm] ‘to tell’ + /-g/ ‘2/3PL’ → /fomg/ → [foŋg] ‘will tell’
 [am] ‘to come’ + /-g/ ‘FUT’ → /amg/ → [aŋg] ‘will come’

In the above examples /m/ occurs as [n] when followed by the voiced alveolar /d/ and as [ŋ] before the voiced velar /g/ at a morpheme boundary. As mentioned under 5.6.6 the geminated [mm] is degeminated when a consonant affixes –d and –g are suffixed to it to avoid the sequence of three consonants..

- (107) ton ‘give’ + -be ‘NEG’ → /tonbe/ → [tombe] ‘did not give’
 ann ‘1FDU’ + -ka ‘ACC’ → /annka/ → [aŋka] ‘1FDU. ACC’

In the above examples /n/ occurs as [m] before labial consonant and as [ŋ] before velar consonants.

(108)

/doŋ/ ‘string’ + *-be* ‘NEG’ → */doŋbe/* → [*dombɛ*] ‘not string’
/poŋ/ ‘top’ + *-ti* ‘ADES’ → */poŋti/* → [*pointi*] ‘on’

As the examples in (108) above demonstrate, /ŋ/ occurs as [m] before bilabial stop /b/ and as [n] before the alveolar stop /t/.

5.6.1.2 Vowel Height Harmony

The indefinite genitive marker –i and the homomorph linker –i⁶ undergoes vowel height harmony with the terminal vowels of the nouns. If the terminal vowel of a noun is –high the genitive marker (as in Table 31) or the linking vowel (as in Table 32) becomes [–e–]. After the vowel harmony, the terminal vowel is deleted.

Table 31. Examples of Vowel Height Harmony in Using the Indefinite Genitive Marker

Verb stem	gloss	derived noun	gloss
<i>dirbú</i>	‘hunting’	<i>dirbi úfà</i>	‘hunter’
<i>kòkòtí</i>	‘beggary’	<i>kòkòtí úfà</i>	‘beggar’
<i>lìját</i>	‘swimming’	<i>lìjátí úfà</i>	‘swimmer’
<i>abàl</i>	‘buying’	<i>abali úfà</i>	‘buyer’
<i>amanse</i>	‘snatching’	<i>amanse úfà</i>	‘looter’
<i>bakko</i>	‘hen’	<i>bakke tʃo</i>	‘chick’

Table 32. Examples of Vowel Height Harmony in Using the Linker

Noun	gloss	derived noun	gloss
<i>ufa</i>	‘person’	<i>ufe watto</i>	‘people’
<i>kan</i>	‘dog’	<i>kani jero</i>	‘variety of dogs’
<i>dòk’u</i>	‘house’	<i>dòk’i watto</i>	‘houses’
<i>koppa</i>	‘ape’	<i>koppe watto</i>	‘apes’
<i>komoj</i>	‘clan’	<i>komoji jero</i>	‘variety of clans’
<i>gere</i>	‘spear handle’	<i>gere watto</i>	‘spear handles’

⁶ Chabu uses a linker –i or its allomorph –e when encliticizing the number marker clitic =**watto** ‘PL’ and variety marker =**jero** to nouns.

5.6.2 Deletion of Terminal Vowel (TV)

When suffixing a vowel initial morpheme to nouns or verbs with terminal vowels, the terminal vowels of all disyllabic and trisyllabic nouns and most disyllabic and all trisyllabic verbs are deleted in order to avoid the impermissible vowel sequences.

For example, during the formation of genitive construction of indefinite possessor, when indefinite genitive marker *-i* or its allomorph *-e* is suffixed to a possessor noun with two or more syllable structure, the terminal vowel of the noun is deleted to avoid impermissible vowel sequences. The following are some examples of the case.

Table 33. Examples of Terminal Vowel Deletion

Possessor	Possessed	Genitive
<i>goddo</i> ‘elephant’	<i>kaw</i> ‘tooth’	<i>goddo-e kaw</i> > [<i>godde kaw</i>] ‘ivory’
<i>sijo</i> ‘grass’	<i>tʃ’am</i> ‘leaf’	<i>sijo-e</i> > [<i>sije tʃ’am</i>] ‘blade of grass’
<i>k’onna</i> ‘tree’	<i>go</i> ‘arm’	<i>k’onna-e go</i> > [<i>k’onne go</i>] ‘branch’

This author observed two instances that the alveolar *t* is changed to its palatal counterpart [*tʃ*] when the high front terminal vowel of a noun [*k’iti*] which follows the alveolar consonant *t* is deleted during suffixation of the genitive marker *-i/e* to the noun. Consider the examples in (109).

- (109) [*k’iti*] ‘ear’ + [*k’a*] ‘excrement’ = [*k itʃeka*] ‘ear wax’
 [*k’iti*] ‘ear’ + [*debe*] ‘absent’ = [*kitʃe debe*] ‘deaf’

The morphophonemic process undergone is first the genitive marker is suffixed to the noun creating an impermissible vowel sequence, then the voiceless alveolar stop /*t*/ is palatalized and finally the terminal mid front vowel [*i*] is deleted. When the author realized this phonological process we were finalizing the project and he could not check to see how much productive it is, he could not get other evidence from our data base (from both elicited and text data).

5.6.3 Deletion of Vowel [a] Resulting Voicing

Table 34: Deletion Followed by Voicing

Citation form	Possessive /-ke/	Accusative /-k(a)/	Focussed [-o/u]
<i>oŋŋa</i> ‘3SgF’	<i>oŋge</i>	<i>oŋga</i>	<i>oŋŋo</i>
<i>ann</i> ‘1FDU’	<i>aŋke</i>	<i>aŋka</i>	<i>annu</i>
<i>jiŋŋ</i> ‘1MPL’	<i>jiŋke</i>	<i>jiŋka</i>	<i>jiŋŋu</i>

As can be seen from Table 34 above, when the genitive and accusative morphemes *-ke* and *-k(a)* are suffixed to */ann/* and */jɪŋŋ/*, the initial segment *k* of the suffixes does not manifest voicing because of the nasal endings of the pronouns. The voicing is realized only on */oŋŋ(a)/*. Therefore, we can analyse the case that voicing of *k* is not triggered by the preceding voiced consonant *ŋ* after deletion of *a*, rather it seems because of the deleted vowel. Before the vowel is deleted, it gives its voicing feature to the voiceless velar consonant *k* and changes the consonant to its voiced counterpart *g*. this is the only explanation we could give. However, this process is not productive. We did not encounter any additional example. Thus, our argument can be debatable.

5.6.4 Insertion

5.6.4.1 Glide Insertion

In Chabu, when a vowel initial morpheme is suffixed to open monosyllabic words, based on the nature of the initial vowel of the suffix the glide *j* or *w* is inserted to avoid vowel sequences. If the initial segment of the suffix is a back rounded vowel the inserted glide is the bilabial/the round *w* (as in (110)) and elsewhere the palatal glide is inserted (as in (111) (b), (c), (d) and (e)). In (110) the glide *w* is chosen because the suffix consists of a back round vowel and in (111) the inserted glide is the palatal *j* because the suffix is composed of the front flat vowel.

- (110) *tawo ma noʔa kamodem ambuko ka* (Chabu007-Sp1- 013)
ta-w-o ma no-ʔa ka-mo-d-e-m ambu-ka-o ka
 1FSG-EPHEN-FOC this go-CVB kill-PROG-PL-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC kill
 ‘I kill the thing that they go and kill.’

When we compare the examples in (111) below, in examples (a) and (f), the past tense marker */-e/* is suffixed simply to the verb stem, because the verbs terminate with consonant phonemes, but in examples (b), (c), (d) and (e), since the verbs end with vowels [o] and [a] adding */-e/* will create impermissible vowel sequence; hence the palatal glide [j] is inserted to break the vowel sequences. When a vowel initial morpheme is suffixed to two and more syllabic words which terminate with vowel, in most cases the terminal vowels of the words is deleted to avoid impermissible vowel sequences as in (f). However, some disyllabic verbs which have onset-less first syllable and open second syllable keep their terminal

(112) <i>ull</i> ‘man’	+	<i>-we</i> ‘NOM’	=	<i>ulluwe</i> ‘manhood’
<i>ɲad</i> ‘MEDIAL’	+	<i>-ɲ</i> ‘F’	=	<i>ɲadɲ</i> ‘MED.F’
<i>nad</i> ‘MEDIAL’	+	<i>-m</i> ‘M’	=	<i>ɲadum</i> ‘MED.M’
<i>ɲatt</i> ‘DISTAL’	+	<i>-ɲ</i> ‘F’	=	<i>ɲattɲ</i> ‘DIST.F’
<i>ɲatt</i> ‘DISTAL’	+	<i>-m</i> ‘M’	=	<i>ɲattum</i> ‘DIST.M’

5.6.4.3 Insertion of [-a-]

When nouns marked for definiteness with the definite marker –e (which is obligatorily followed by a gender marker) are inflected for accusative-dative-allative and genitive cases –a- is inserted between the gender marker (ɲ ‘F’ or m ‘M’) and the initial segment of the case markers–k. The reason seems that if the two consonant segments were put consecutively, the nasal gender marker would undergo homorganic assimilation and the obligatory gender distinction in definite nouns would be neutralized or lost.

(113) <i>ufɛɲak ame</i>
<i>ufa-e-ɲ-ak</i> <i>am-e</i>
person-DEF-F-AUX come-PST
‘The woman came.’

(114) <i>polisi</i>	<i>tʃo-je-m-ak(a)</i>	<i>dɪ-jem</i>	<i>ufa-ka-k</i>	<i>utuk -e</i>
police	child-DEF-M-ACC	steal-MDEF	person-ACC-AUX	catch-PST.
‘Police caught the man who stole the child.’				

5.6.5 Elision

Elision is the omission of sounds in connected speech and it is common in Chabu. For example, the verb [*janɲa*] ‘exist, be available’ in most natural speech loses its first syllable as in (116). In (117), in the word [*silaket*], the form [*silak*] is a shortened form of /*sitalak*/ ‘you (2MPL)’: This shows that the second syllable has been deleted or dropped. The short forms resulted due to the process of elision are used in fast spontaneous speech.

(115) <i>dómumbá</i> ‘cook, boil (tr.)’	+	<i>doku</i> ‘house’	=	<i>dómbásé dökù</i> ‘kitchen’
---	---	---------------------	---	-------------------------------

(116) [<i>ahaset ufanɲa</i>]
<i>aha-set</i> <i>ufa -janɲa</i>
home-INES man-exist
There is a person in the house.

(117) [*dʒabi kussum ambukka silaket peniŋa eʃʔatidige*] (Chabu007-Sp1-002)

dʒabi kuss-um ambu-ka sitalaka-t peni-ŋa eʃʔat-d-ge
 old.times R.PST-M thing-ACC 2MPI-1SG tell-CONJ hear-2/3PL-FUT

I will tell you an old time thing, and you will hear.

(118) [*attene tiŋke idʒaganka tiŋkak idʒagambe*]

attene tiŋ-ke idʒagan-ka tiŋ-ka-k idʒagan-mb-e
 Attene 1MSG-GEN work-ACC 1MSG-DAT-AUX work-BEN-.PST

‘Attene did my work for me or on behalf of me.’

5.6.6 Degemination

A geminated terminal consonant gets de-geminated when an inflectional or derivational morpheme with initial consonant is suffixed to it as in **Error! Reference source not found.** This is due to the phonotactic constraint that forbids a sequence of three consonants in the language.

(119) [*fomm*] ‘tell’ + /-d/ ‘2/3PI’ = [*fond*] ‘you (PI) tell!’
 [*kóll*] ‘dig’ + [-se] ‘INST/‘NOM’ = [*kólsé*] ‘hoe or manner of digging’
 [*kóll*] ‘run’ + [-se] ‘INST/‘NOM’ = [*kólsé*] manner of running

5.6.7 Lenition.

When the vocative marker /-a/ is suffixed to the 2MSG and 2FSG personal pronouns ([*kukk*] and [*kung*]), the pronouns are pronounced as [*kuha*] and [*kuŋha*] respectively instead of /*kukka*/ and /*kunga*/. However, dual and plural second person pronouns [*sijak*] ‘you 2FDU’, [*tʃitʃak*] ‘you 2MDU’, [*subak*] ‘you 2FPL’ and [*sitalak*] ‘2MPL’ keep the [*k*] unchanged and read as [*sijaka*], [*tʃitʃaka*], [*subaka*] and [*sitalaka*] respectively. Therefore, the process is not consistent.

On the surface, the lenition on 2FSG personal pronoun *kuŋg* seems to occur following the process of devoicing. First, the voiced /g/ is devoiced to [*k*] and then the voiceless stop [*k*] is weakened to a fricative [*h*]. However, we take the lenition of velar segment as a proof that substantiate our suspicion that the segment originally is voiceless velar [*k*]. All the other five second person personal pronouns have the same –*k* segment which is the bound pronoun that serve in marking agreement for second person. Therefore, the basic form of 2FSG pronoun is /*kuŋk*/ and the form /*kuŋg*/ seems to be a result of voicing because of the inserted voiced –*ŋ* (feminine marker) before the voiceless velar stop.

5.7 Tone

According to Maddieson (2011, Introduction section, para. 1), all languages use pitch in their production, but, only some use it to distinguish lexical or grammatical meanings and when pitch functions to distinguish either lexical or grammatical meaning it is called tone. Thus, tone is the use of pitch in languages to distinguish lexical or grammatical meanings. In such languages tone is as important and essential as segmental phonemes. As Chabu is a tonal language like its neighbouring Nilo-Saharan languages, in this chapter we present an overview of the tonology of the language.

Chabu tone has never been treated. In the present study as well, we present a preliminary analysis of the basic features and roles of Chabu tone system. The detailed and exhaustive description of the Chabu tone system requires further study.

Chabu has three level and one contour tones; High, Mid, Low and falling, which dominantly play a lexical function. We represent high tone by (V̂), low tone by (V̇), falling tone by (V̄) and mid tone (v) unmarked ((V) stands for the vowel that bear the tone). Chabu seems to have only vowels as tone bearing units.

Vowel length does not seem to have an effect on the tone melody of the lexeme. For instance, in the verbs [tá:m] ‘to sit’ and [támm] ‘to fetch’ the melody is the same H. In fact, there are few instances where long vowels carry contour tone.

(120)	[bohê:]	‘puff adder’	M HL
	[lomî:]	‘lemon’	M HL
	[samê:]	‘shame’	M HL

5.7.1 Tone pattern in Chabu Nouns and Verbs

Monosyllabic words in Chabu are few in number. However, in monosyllabic nouns and verbs of Chabu all the three level (high, mid and low) tones are attested. In addition, a few monosyllabic words are attested with contour tone (HL). Table 35 illustrates the attested tone levels on monosyllabic nouns and verbs.

Most of the monosyllabic words have a high tone. Words with low and falling tone are infrequent. The falling tone is not attested in monosyllabic verbs.

Table 35: Tone on Monosyllabic Chabu Nouns and Verbs

Tone type	Syllabic pattern	Nouns	Verbs
H	V	-----	[é] ‘marry’
	CV	[dú] ‘breast’	[hí] ‘move away, migrate’
		[kí] ‘smile’	[wá] ‘dance’
	CVVC	[po:r] ‘pimple’	[tá:m] ‘sit’
		[tu:n] ‘spring’	
	CVC	[tòl] ‘day’	[hám] ‘give’
		[dzúk] ‘god’	[t/át] ‘cross (river)’
	VCC	[úll] ‘man, male, husband’	[ám] ‘come’
	CVCC	[dzám] ‘termite’	[dírb] ‘hunt with dogs’
		[kúrr] ‘name of a tree’	[kóll] ‘run’
HL	CV	[mâ] ‘sibling’	
	CVC	[sâŋ] ‘forest’	
	CVCC	[bêrr] ‘tumour’	-----
M	CV	[bu] ‘leopard’	[wə] ‘drink’
		[gə] ‘arm’	
	CVV	[hə:] ‘a kind of yam’	[si:] ‘fart (with small noise)’
			[da:] ‘pick, pluck (fruit)’
	CVC	[jar] ‘God’	[bin] ‘leave, drop, ignore’
		[t/ám] leaf	[kəj] ‘enter, go in’
	CVCC	[ball] cheek	[somm] ‘tell, order’
[gujj] rainstorm			
L	CV	[bè] heart	-----
	CVC	[gàl] rib	[tòl] ‘sleep’
	CVCC	-----	[dzám] ‘(be) healthy, (be) well’

The majority of Chabu words are disyllabic. Nine tonal melodies are attested for the disyllabic words; only L.H is unattested in nouns. Most melodies are attested in the frequent CV patterns (CV.CV and CV.CVC). The contour tone is attested only in the final syllable of a CV.CVV syllabic pattern. Data in Table 36 to Table 45 shows the melodies of disyllabic Chabu nouns and verbs in the frequent syllable patterns.

Table 36: Tonal Melody of V.CV Nouns and Verbs

Tone Melody	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[érɔ̃] ‘name of a tree’	[óti] ‘approach’
	[étá] ‘bigger sister’	[útá] ‘roast maize on an open fire’
HL	[áhà] ‘home, home country’	[ímè] ‘(be) late’
	[ufa] ‘person, man’	[i/e] ‘become old, be wornout’
LM	[òha] ‘day, sun’	[àbi] ‘arrived’
	[òhe] ‘payment’	[ùbi] ‘chase’

Table 37. Tonal Melody of CV.CV Nouns and Verbs

Tone Melody	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[bábú] ‘liver’	[gómá] ‘light (fire)’ :
	[dáró] ‘dried ridged hide’	[fifu] ‘blow (with mouth)’
HM	[gúni] ‘millipede’	_____
	[tʼégí] ‘goitre’	
HL	[gérè] ‘stick of spear’	[bít/à] ‘comb (hair)’
	[búbò] ‘cooking pot’	[gúnè] ‘wrap up’
H.HL		[gut/é] ‘wipe off (excreta)’
MH	[bokú] ‘soil’	[hobú] ‘boil, ferment’
	[nimá] ‘neck’	[badá] ‘cut open, chop’
MM	[guji] ‘rain storm’	-----
ML	[horà] ‘spider’	[farè] ‘be thirsty’
	[gamà] ‘chin, jaw’	[dihì] ‘grind’
LH	-----	-----
LM	[dìmu] ‘rain’	[bùlā] ‘boil out’
	[bako] chicken	[guri] ‘slaughter’
LL	[kàkà] ‘cave, den, hole’	[dʒòdʒò] ‘hasten, hurry’
	[pòdè] ‘place’	

Table 38: Tonal Melody of CV.CVV Nouns and Verbs

Tonal	Nouns	Verbs
M.HL	[lomî:] ‘lemon’	[samê:] ‘get ashamed’
	[bohê:] ‘puff adder’	[tarê:] ‘forget’
	[samê:] ‘shame’	
L.HL	[mògê:] ‘calf (of buffalo)’	[abî:] ‘arrive’
		[adâ:] ‘act, do’
		[ubî:] ‘chase’

Table 39: Tonal Melody of CVVC.CV Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[dɛːppú] ‘stick of hunting trap’	
HM	[sá:rse] ‘scar’	
HL	-----	[gí:mbà] ‘shake’
LM	[mà:tta] ‘medicine’	

Table 40: Tonal Melody of CVC.CV Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[séngí] ‘roasted grain’	[bílá] ‘bite’
	[súlló] ‘mad person’	[wóngá] ‘call’
HM	[bámbe] ‘sweet potato’	[jɔŋgá] ‘exist’
HL	[tʃòŋkà] ‘womb’	[dúkkà] ‘dip’
		[gimba] ‘shake’
MH	[bursé] ‘window, small opening on a wall’	[boŋtʃá] ‘rotten’
		[kandzà] ‘burn, blaze’
ML	[bitʃfà] ‘leg, foot’	[tʃallà] ‘(be) alert, awake’
		[binna] ‘draw (water)’
LH	-----	-----
LM	[wòkke] ‘kidney’	[dòŋku] ‘snore’
	[hànda] ‘tongue’	[golla] ‘hunt (with the help of dogs)’
LL	[kòttò] ‘girl, young woman’	

Table 41: Tonal Melody of CVV.CV Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Noun	Verb
HH	[mé:di] ‘upper grinding stone’	[ké:tí] ‘listen’
		[kó:sá] ‘bring up (child)’
HM	[tʃé:se] ‘waterfall’	-----
HL	[dɛːgò] ‘crocodile’	[bú:dzà] ‘(be) angry’
MH	-----	[gu:lá] ‘(be) heavy’
ML		[pa:ti] ‘pour (liquid in to cup)’
		[ta:bu] ‘lift up, rise up’
LM	[mè:di] ‘rust’	[bà:jo] ‘clap (hands)’
		[bù:la] ‘boil out’

Table 42. Tonal Melody of VCVC(C) Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[ákús] ‘baby sling’	[ét/át] ‘hear’
HL	[inun] ‘thought’	[ópòt/] ‘awe, reverence (for God)’
	[etum] ‘owner’	[ígòm] ‘chase’
MH	[akur] ‘groundnut’	
MM	-----	[adak] ‘leave behind’
ML	[alàm] ‘curse (said by all age)’	_____
LM	[opot/] ‘awe, reverence (for God)’	[at/ín] ‘curse (by elderly person)’
	[adìnn] ‘swelling’	[okon] ‘help’

Table 43: Tonal Melody of CV.CVCC Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[kowann] ‘wax, cocoon’	
	[huwann] ‘middle of chest’	
HL	[setoll] ‘sleep’	
	[wɔjamb] ‘alcohol (in general)’	
LM	[kidìmm] ‘nape of neck (upper part)’	[tʃokett] ‘annoy, disturb’
		[ùtʃett] ‘polish’

Table 44: Tonal Melody of CV.CVC Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Nouns	Verbs
HH	[dókún] ‘bride price’	[liját] ‘swim’
	[dúdúr] ‘dust’	[tókét] ‘sit in circle’
HM	[gédél] ‘hawk’	[tʃákam] ‘chew’
	[tʃétɔl] name of a tree	
HL	[hóròŋ] ‘pregnant’	[dětùb] ‘refuse’
	[pókòj] ‘calabash’	
MH	[mijád] ‘buffalo’	[gaɔám] ‘take out (from container)’
	[tepér] ‘ladle made of bone’	_____
ML	[mabès] ‘today’	[winìk] ‘twist’
LM	[tálal] ‘lightning’	[tákut] ‘protect, defend’
	[tùmal] ‘boar (male pig)’	
LL	[bìbèt] ‘bamboo’	[bàlàn] ‘go out, exit’
	[gùmù n] ‘owl’	[tʃàkàn] ‘hunt (while raining)’

Table 45: Tonal Melody of CVC.CVC Nouns and Verbs

Tone	Noun	Verb
HH	[bólból] ‘thigh’	
	[tíntí] ‘lizard’	
HL	[dín-dím] ‘night fall, dusk’	[sót-tòm] ‘smell’
	[bún-gù] ‘swelling, scabies’	[má-rmít] ‘Wind around’
MHL	[sillám] ‘fat’	
	[lumbân] ‘python’	
MH	[durgúm] ‘hammer’	
ML	[dongòl] ‘praying mantis’	[kurgùp] ‘kneel’
	[dow:òl] ‘war’	[dow:òl] ‘fight (in war)’
LM	[sùndum] ‘tail’	[kòŋku] ‘cough’
	[kòŋku] ‘cough’	[kèmpu] ‘fan’
LL	[dùrgùm] ‘small stream (with a lot of stone)’	
	[jòjjít] ‘dragonfly’	

5.7.2 Functions of Tone in Chabu

The attested function of tone in Chabu is lexical and the following examples illustrate this contrastive function. Probably because of the vast variety of syllabic pattern and large number of vowels in the language, it is difficult to find triplets, quadruplets and more. Therefore, we present minimal and near minimal pairs.

- (121) [áwé] ‘axe’
 [àwé] ‘plant’
- (122) [ímè] ‘year, age’
 [ímé] ‘respect’
- (123) [sòta] ‘reconcile’
 [sótta] ‘snatch, grab’
- (124) [kukku] ‘You SgM’
 [kukkù] ‘cock’s crow’
- (125) [kòndi] ‘sickness, disease, illness’
 [k’òndi] ‘younger brother’

- (126) [kòtʃí] ‘pierce, stab’
 [kotʃí] ‘carry (child on back)’
- (127) [mɛnsí] ‘spirit (of dead person), cannibal’
 [ménsí] ‘greeting’
- (128) [apù:r] ‘clear (land for planting)’
 [ápúr] ‘shell (remove the seeds of maize from the bush)’

5.7.3 Tonological Processes

Chabu nouns display a unique behaviour when modified by a demonstrative, an adjective or a genitive noun. All non-initial high, and all mid tones of a head noun drop to L tone. In other words, except the high tone of the initial syllables of the head nouns, all drop to low as in the following examples. The tone of modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives and possessive pronouns remain the same (unchanged).

- (129) [ma] ‘this’ + [bokú] ‘place’ → [ma bókù] this place
 [tíŋkè] ‘my’ + [kaké] ‘navel’ → [tíŋkè kàkè] my ankle
 [ma] ‘this’ + [ídʒágán] ‘work’ → [ma ídʒàgàn] ‘this work’
 [tíŋkè] ‘my.M’ + [dzúhúmá] ‘navel’ → [tíŋkè dzúhùmà] ‘my navel’
 [kòmasé] + [ufa] ‘person’ → [kòmasé ùfà] ‘traveller’

6 Noun and Noun inflection

In this chapter, the inflectional categories of Chabu nouns: number, gender definiteness and case will be discussed. The overview of the basic forms of Chabu nouns are presented first and then the discussion of inflection, concerning number, gender definiteness and case will follow consecutively. In this and all subsequent chapters, Chabu examples are presented in two lines when there is a difference between phonetic and phonemic forms and in one line when phonetic and phonemic forms are the same. Phonemic representations are presented with morphemic cuts.

6.1 The Forms of Chabu Nouns

Chabu nouns in their citation⁷ form terminate in vowels as in (Table 46. Column 1) and in consonants that are attested word-final position as in (Table 46. Column 2). The association of terminal vowels with noun stems seems arbitrary and only lexically determined. The terminal vowel /-i/ is optionally dropped in di and multi syllabic words.

Table 46. Terminal Vowels and Consonants of Chabu Nouns

Vowel terminal nouns	Consonant terminal nouns
<i>kà:n(i)</i> ‘dog’	<i>kàsipp</i> ‘moon’
<i>àtʃɔdd(i)</i> ‘roof’	<i>dʒâb</i> ‘tomorrow’
<i>dî:</i> ‘thief’	<i>bîbèt</i> ‘bamboo’
<i>sé</i> ‘eye’	<i>mijád</i> ‘buffalo’
<i>bàkɛ:</i> ‘spear’	<i>ditfâk</i> ‘name of a tree’
<i>gere</i> ‘stick of spear’	<i>mítàk</i> ‘wink’
<i>dogá</i> ‘chest’	<i>ákús</i> ‘baby slang’
<i>rógá</i> ‘star’	<i>durgum</i> ‘hammer’
<i>éfú</i> ‘hand’	<i>adînn</i> ‘swelling’
<i>débú</i> ‘adult male warthog’	<i>sâŋ</i> ‘forest’
<i>bogu:</i> ‘beewax’	<i>tàlal</i> ‘lightning’
<i>gìfo</i> ‘door’	<i>keppèr</i> ‘splinter, sliver’
<i>sullo:</i> ‘mad person’	<i>wángój</i> ‘jackal’
<i>dě:gɔ</i> ‘crocodile’	<i>Kaw</i> ‘tooth’

⁷ The term **citation form in this work** refers to the form of nouns cited without any nominal inflection

Chabu nouns inflect to indicate different grammatical categories such as number, gender, definiteness and case. Following, the situation of number, gender, definiteness and case in the language will be discussed.

6.2 Number

Chabu distinguishes singular, dual and plural (three and above) nouns. While both duality and plurality are morphologically or syntactically marked, singularity is unmarked.

Number in Chabu shows a great deal of interaction with gender. The interaction of number with gender is seen prominently in dual nouns. In dual nouns, number and gender are marked by portmanteau clitics =*òjjà* ‘FDU’ and =*òtʃfà* ‘MDU’. The dual feminine marker =*òjjà* also functions as diminutive. These dual markers are identical with the third person dual personal pronouns of their respective gender. Consonant segments of these clitics also serve as verbal agreement markers; *-jj* ‘FDU’ and *-tʃf* ‘MDU’.

Chabu singular nouns are unmarked. In the case of plural nouns, number is marked with portmanteau suffixes and clitics which mark gender as well. However, the verbal agreement marker /*app-*/ ‘1PL’ and /*-d*/ ‘2/3PL’ do not mark gender and the interaction of number with gender is not seen as agreement.

Plural markers in Chabu are of three kinds. These are:

- ❖ The clitic /=*òddà*/ ‘FPL’ and /=*otala*/ or /=*watto*/ ‘MPL’
- ❖ The clitic /*-da*/ ‘FPL’ and /*-tak*/ ‘MPL’
- ❖ The clitic /*-nda*/ ‘FPL’ and /*-ntak*/ or /*-likki*/ ‘MPL’
- ❖ Zero morpheme on common nouns

6.2.1 Plural Markers =*òddà* ‘FPL’ and =*otala*/ =*watto* ‘MPL’

Chabu commonly expresses plurality by syntactic means. Portmanteau clitics similar to the independent third person personal pronouns, *odda* ‘3FPL’ and *otala* ‘3MPL’ function as plural markers on indefinite nouns. =*òddà* marks feminine plurals and =*otala* marks masculine plurals. The clitics =*watto* ‘MPL’ is encliticized to masculine nouns as an alternative of =*otala* and =*watto* is the dominant and frequent of the two. When the referents are of mixed sex entities, the feminine plural marker =*òddà* is employed. The clitic =*òddà* functions also as a diminutive marker.

Most inanimate nouns are expressed in masculine gender and the clitics =*watto* is used to mark plurality of these inanimate objects. =*otala* ‘MPL’ is used with animate nouns only.

The clitic =*watto* has a different strategy of encliticization from =*otala* and =*oddà*. While =*oddà* and =*otala* are encliticized on the citation form of nouns, =*watto* requires the noun to suffix a linker *-i* or its allomorph *-e* on it. See Table 47 below.

Table 47. Encliticization of Number Markers to Chabu Nouns

Citation form	Sing.	Dual		Plural	
		Feminine	Masculine	Feminine	Masculine
ufa ‘person’	<i>ufa</i>	<i>ufa =òjjà</i>	<i>ufa =òtʃtʃà</i>	<i>ufa =òddà</i>	<i>ufe =watto/ ufa =otala</i>
kaani ‘dog’	<i>kaani</i>	<i>kaani =òjjà</i>	<i>kaani =òtʃtʃà</i>	<i>kaani =òddà</i>	<i>kaani =watto/ kaani =otala</i>
umba ‘woman’	<i>umba</i>	<i>umba =òjjà</i>		<i>umba =òddà</i>	
ull ‘man, male’	<i>ull</i>		<i>ull =òtʃtʃà</i>		<i>ulli =watto/ ull =otala</i>
mindza ‘cow’	<i>minga</i>	<i>mindze =òjjà</i>		<i>mindze =òddà</i>	
mijad ‘buffalo’	<i>mijad</i>	<i>mijadi =òjjà</i>	<i>mijedi =òtʃtʃà</i>	<i>mijadi =òddà</i>	<i>mijadi =watto/ mijadi =otala</i>
gùrùsi ‘adult femal buffalo’	<i>gurusi</i>	<i>gurusi =òjjà</i>		<i>gurusi =òddà</i>	
gejum ‘adult male buffalo’	<i>gejum</i>		<i>gejum =òtʃtʃà</i>		<i>gejumi =watto/ gejum =otala</i>
konna ‘tree	<i>konna</i>	<i>konna =òjjà ‘two small trees’</i>	<i>konna =òtʃtʃà</i>	<i>kona =òddà ‘small trees’</i>	<i>konne =watto</i>
mana ‘stone’	<i>mana</i>	<i>mana =òjjà ‘two small stones’</i>	<i>mana =òtʃtʃà</i>	<i>mana =òddà ‘small stones’</i>	<i>mane =watto</i>

6.2.2 Plural Markers /-da/ ‘FPL’ and /-tak/ ‘MPL’

Definite nouns marked with bound definite marker *-e* that are followed by the gender markers *-ŋ* ‘F’ and *-m* ‘M’ are marked for plurality by portmanteau morpheme /-*da*/ ‘FPL’ and /-*tak*/ ‘MPL’ (see Table 48, column 3). /-*da*/ ‘FPL’ and /-*tak*/ ‘MPL’ are suffixed after the bound gender markers that appear following the definite marker which is suffixed on the citation form of nouns. The terminal vowels of most di and multisyllabic nouns are deleted after the affixation of the definite marker suffix to avoid impermissible vowel sequences. A glide *-j-* is inserted before the definite marker in all monosyllabic and some disyllabic vowel terminal nouns.

Table 48. Plural Markers on Definite and Indefinite Nouns

Singular/ Citation	Indefinite plural	Definite plural
<i>bakko</i> ‘chicken’	<i>bakko</i> = <i>òddà</i> ‘hens’	<i>bako-e-η-da</i> [<i>bakenda</i>] ‘the hens’
	<i>bakko-i</i> = <i>watto</i> [bake watto] <i>bakko</i> = <i>otala</i> ‘cocks’	<i>bako-e-m-tak</i> [<i>bakentak</i>] ‘the cocks’
<i>dεppe</i> ‘lion’	<i>dεppe</i> = <i>òddà</i> ‘lionesses’	<i>dεppe-e-η-da</i> [<i>dεppenda</i>] ‘the lionesses’
	<i>dεppe-i</i> = <i>watto</i> / [<i>dεpe watto</i>] <i>dεppe</i> = <i>otala</i> ‘lions’	<i>dεppe-e-m-tak</i> [<i>dεppentak</i>] ‘the lions’
<i>dok'u</i> ‘house’	<i>doku-i</i> = <i>watto</i> [<i>doki watto</i>] ‘houses’	<i>doku-e-m-tak</i> [<i>dokentak</i>] ‘the houses’
<i>bakeε</i> ‘spear’	<i>bake-e</i> = <i>watto</i> [<i>bake watto</i>] ‘spears’	<i>bake-e-m-tak</i> [<i>bakentak</i>] ‘the spears’
<i>bu</i> ‘leopard’	<i>bu</i> = <i>òddà</i> <i>bu odda</i>	<i>bu-j-e-η-da</i> <i>bujenda</i>
	<i>bu-j-i</i> = <i>watto</i>	<i>bu-j-e -ntak</i>

(130) *ηadεm ufero bala korede, gutaremtaku* (Chabu001-007)

ηadεm ufa-i =*jero* *bala kor-d-e* *gutare-e-m-tak-u*

INVS.M person-LINK =VAR go complete-PL-PST old.man-DEF-M-PL-FOC

Those people have all died - the old men.

6.2.3 Plural Markers /-nda/ ‘FPL’ and /-ntak/ ‘MPL’ on Kinship Terms

Chabu kinship terms are pluralized by the morpheme /-nda/ ‘FPL’ and /-ntak/ ‘MPL’. The reason we took the morphemes /-nda/ and /-ntak/ (plural marker of kinship terms) as different morphemes from plural markers of definite common nouns /-da/ and /-tak/ is that /-da/ and /-tak/ always are preceded by the definite markers plus the number markers which change the terminal vowel of the stem they are affixed on. Nevertheless, /-nda/ and /-ntak/ are affixed on inherently defiant kinship terms without any change on the terminal vowels of the stem terms (Compare (131)(a) and (131)(b) below). Therefore, at list temporarily, we present /-nda/ and /-ntak/ (plural marker of kinship terms) separate from /-da/ and /-tak/.

(131)

(a) *ufa* ‘person’ → *ufentak* /*ufa -e-m-tak*/ ‘the men’

(b) *afa* ‘grandfather’ → *afantak* /*afa-ntak*/ ‘the grandfathers’

Table 49. Plural Markers /-nda/ ‘F’ and /-ntak/ ‘M’

Citation form	Indefinite Plu	Gloss	Definite Plural	Gloss
<i>kake</i>	<i>kake =oda</i>	grandmothers	<i>kake-nda</i>	the grandmothers
<i>áffá</i>	<i>áfe =watto</i> <i>afa=otala</i>	grandfathers	<i>áfa-ntak/ áfa-likki</i>	the grandfathers (our grand fathers)
<i>indi</i>	<i>indi =oda</i>	mothers	<i>indi-nda</i>	the mothers (our mothers)
<i>babe</i>	<i>babe =watto/</i> <i>babe=otala</i>	fathers	<i>babe-ntak/</i> <i>babe-likki</i>	the fathers (our fathers)
<i>ajja</i>	<i>ajja =òddà</i>	aunts	<i>ajja-nda</i>	the aunts
<i>dende</i>	<i>dende =watto/</i> <i>dende=otala</i>	uncles	<i>dende-ntak/</i> <i>dende-likki</i>	the uncels
<i>ma</i>	<i>ma =òddà</i>	sisters	<i>ma-nda</i>	the sisters
	<i>ma =watto/</i> <i>ma=otala</i>	brothers	<i>ma-ntak/</i> <i>ma-likki</i>	the brothers

Masculine kinship terms and some nouns take the clitic /=likki/ as an alternative form of /-ntak/ but the feminine plural marker /-nda/ has no alternative form (see

Table 49).

- (132) *babe-likki-u saŋ-i ufa ge-kuss e-d* (Chabu001-003)
 father-PL-FOC forest-GEN person AUX-RPST say-PL
 Our fathers were people of a forest.

6.2.4 Generic number (Common Nouns as Plural Nouns)

Chabu common nouns can be used as plural nouns and agree with plural verb forms.

- (133) *ufo indik' wongamodeŋ ijanak egedimo egediganik ed* (Chabu007-Sp1- 019)
ufa-o indik' wonga-mo-d-e-ŋ ijana-k egedimo egedigan-ik e-d
 person-FOC how call-PROG-PL-REL-F ask-ACC COND Egedigan-AUX say-PL
 If you ask how people call her, they say Egedigan.

- (134) *moho tf'abu takantu hamab komojga ed* (Chabu005-Sp1-001)
moho tf'abu takant-u hamab komoj janga e-d
 now Chabu inside-FOC how.many clans exist say-PL
 Now, how many clans do exist under Chabu?

(135) [*jinti rakatengag ed tʼab-i toŋti*] (Chabu001-017)

jɪŋ-ti rakate jaŋga-g e-d tʼabu-i toŋ-ti

1MPL-ADES problem exist-AUX say-PL Chabu-GEN son-ADES

We sons of Chabu have problems. (Lit. With us problem exists, with sons of Chabu.)

In example (133) the subject of the embedded relative clause *ufo* is a focused common noun without any number marker, but the agreement marker on the verb is the plural marker *-d*. In (134) there is no any number marker on *komoj* ‘clan’, but the question is about the number of clans which is in plural. In (135), the noun cataphorically introduced by the pronoun *jɪŋ* is *toŋ* ‘son’ which is a bare noun without any number marker, but refers the whole Chabu. These evidences show that the citation form of Chabu common nouns can stand for plural entities.

6.2.5 Less Productive Number Marking Strategies

Some less productive number marking systems are also attested in Chabu. The form *-uluk* is attested as a masculine plural marker only in one instance on the noun *toŋ* ‘son’ as *toŋuluk* ‘sons’. The word *toŋa* ‘daughter’ takes the common ‘FPL.’ marker *=òddà* and becomes *toŋa =òddà* ‘daughters’.

The dual and plural forms for the basic word *tʼo* ‘child’ are different lexical items (results of stem suppletion): *k’umbija* ‘two female children’, *k’umbitʼfa* ‘two male children’, and *k’ufa* ‘PL for more than two children of either feminine, masculine, or mixed gender’. Since gender marking for dual number is mandatory the clitic *=òtʼfà* and *=òjjà* are encliticized on the irregular dual forms as well.

6.2.6 The associative Plural Marker =jero

According to Anbessa (199, p. 378) and Schnoebelen (2009, p. 5), the common means of plural marking in Chabu is by means of *jero*, which they consider as a free morpheme meaning ‘many’. Although, *jero* is not the dominant plural marker, it is among the clitics that mark plurality. However, *jero* does not seem a simple number marker. Although *=jero* marks plurality, its main function does not seem to be marking number, rather it marks collection of variety (see Table 50). When we start dealing with number marking, most of the Chabu consultants were not able to recognize the difference between using *=jero* and *=watto* and we could not recognise it from the data. It’s one of our consultants (the late Dawit Wolde) who showed us that *=jero* is variety marker and *=watto* is plural marker.

Then others agreed in this explanation. According to Dawit =*jero* is used when the referent is a group or collection of varied entities and the variation of the members is focused. When the referent is a group of similar things or when the variation among the members of the group is not focused, =*watto* (M) or =*òddà* (F) is used to mark plurality. Hence, common nouns that are considered having referents of one breed only (that have no variety) cannot occur with =*jero*. For example, *eduga* ‘warthog’, *gòngòdži* ‘antelope’ and *mijad* ‘buffalo’ are considered have no variety and thus, do not appear with =*jero*. Whereas *ufa* ‘person’, *bu* ‘leopard’, *kaani* ‘dog’ and *bakko* ‘chicken’ are considered as varied in colour, type or breed, thus can occur with =*jero* to indicate the variety. Therefore, our position about =*jero* is that it is an associative plural marker. As it is illustrated by example (136), *komoj* ‘clan’ refers an entity that constitute people with one separate identity and people with different clans are considered as variety, thus, =*jero* instead of =*watto* is used.

- (136) *najku apakatedi ed moho ñad arin eku dzitam komojijeroko.* (Chabu005-Sp1-020)
nimbi-ku apakate-d e-d moho ñad arin eku dzita-m
 what-INS differentiate-PL say-PL now those ten and three-M
komoj=jero-k-o
 clan=VAR-ACC-FOC
 ‘How are the thirteen clans differentiated?’

Both =*watto* and =*jero* are not independent words thus, they do not have the meaning ‘many’ by their own as mentioned by Anbessa (1991) and Schnoebelen (2009). Their meaning (plurality and collectiveness or variety) is realized only when they are encliticized on nouns (see Table 50).

Table 50. Plural Marker =*watto* and Varity Marker =*jero*

Citation form	PL. (=watto)	PL. Gloss	Var. (=jero)	Var. Gloss
<i>ufa</i>	<i>ufe =watto/ ufa =otala</i>	persons	<i>ufe =jero</i>	Variety of people (eg. Of ethnic group, age)
<i>kaani</i>	<i>kaani =watto / kani =otala</i>	doges	<i>kaani =jero</i>	variety of dogs (eg. of colour)
<i>bartfum</i>	<i>bartfumi =watto</i>	seats	<i>bartfumi =jero</i>	Variety of seats (eg. size, type)
<i>hebbà</i>	<i>hebbe =watto</i>	necklaces	<i>hebbe =jero</i>	Variety of necklaces (of colour, or made of)
<i>konna</i>	<i>konne =watto</i>	trees	<i>konne =jero</i>	Variety of trees

Anbessa (1991, p. 378) also mentions that /-k/ could be a plural marker, though he admits, “ascertaining the case is difficult”. Nevertheless, we could not attest his claim and the examples he cited do not support his argument (See (137)).

(137) Anbessa (1991) examples

- a. *dokku-k-ke* *dzuku*
house –PL –GEN chief
*‘The chief’s houses’
- b. *mindza -k abije*
cow -PL arrived
*‘The cows came.’

The examples and their glosses have some problems. First the genitive marker **-ke** cannot be suffixed on the possessee as it is in the first example, but on the possessor. Second Chabu is a right headed language and the head of the noun phrase in first example is misplaced (it should have been *dzuku-ke dokku-k*). The *-k* is not accepted by consultants as plural marker. But the *-k* in the second example is accepted as an auxiliary. If we ignore the *-k*, the first example can be translated as 'the master of the house'.

There is no structural problem in the second example. The problem is only on the gloss. The auxiliary /-k/ is glossed as plural and /abije/ 'arrive' is glossed as 'come'. There is no any support from the agreement marker for the plurality of the subject. Therefore, the examples would have been as (138)(a) below to bring the glossed meaning or would have been glossed as (138)(b).

(138) Corrections on the examples

- (a)
- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>i. <i>dzuku-ke dok'u-i =watto</i>
 lord-GEN house–LINK=PL.
 ‘The lord's houses’</p> | <p>ii. <i>mindz-en-da am-d-e</i>
 cow-DEF-F-PL come-PL-Past
 ‘The cows came’</p> |
|--|--|
- (b)
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>i. <i>dokku -ke dzuku</i>
 house- GEN lord
 ‘lord of (the) house’</p> | <p>ii. <i>mindza-k abi-j-e</i>
 cow-AUX arrive-EPEN-PST
 ‘A cow arrived.’</p> |
|--|---|

6.3 Gender

Gender is a matter of agreement and the mere presence of gender marker element on the nouns themselves or the presence of category of semantic gender is insufficient to constitute a gender system in a language (Corbett, 2011, Defining the values section, para. 1). Languages can be said to have gender system only if they show some kinds of agreements with verbs, adjectives, determiners, numerals, focus particles and with anaphoric pronouns. This means, there must be evidence for gender outside the nouns themselves.

Most Chabu singular nouns are unmarked for gender either morphologically or syntactically. Moreover, even those few singular nouns identified marked for gender and nouns that inherently denote male and female entities do not show agreement with verbs in their singular forms. However, Chabu has a two-way gender system evidenced by two gender marker morphemes (*-ŋ* for feminine and *-m* for masculine that are suffixed to definite nouns, relative clause and noun modifiers other than genitives) and by demonstrative, anaphoric pronoun and number marker selection. The first is a feminine gender that consists nouns refer to female (like *umbā* ‘female, woman, wife’, *indi* ‘mother (of human)’, *lata* ‘mother (of anything)’, *kake* ‘grandmother’, *koto* ‘girl’, *mindʒa* ‘cow’) and a few entities of the solar system (*oha* ‘sun’, *kasip* ‘moon’ and *roga* ‘star’). The second is masculine gender which comprise all the rest (male animates and all inanimate except a few solar system entities).

Gender in Chabu is expressed in a variety of ways and highly connected to number and definiteness. As we have seen under 6.2. above, discussion about number involves speaking about gender; dual and plural markers inherently mark gender beside number. All definite nouns except proper names are mandatorily marked by the gender marker morpheme *-ŋ* ‘F’ or *-m* ‘M’ suffixed to the noun if there is no modifier or to the modifier if any. In the language, gender is predominantly a category of the duals. Dual nouns in Chabu are always marked for number and gender by the portmanteau clitics */=oʒj/* ‘FDU’, */=òtʃtʃà/* ‘MDU’ or variants of these clitics and agree with the verb form both in number and gender.

Chabu expresses gender by using various strategies. The attested strategies include;

- suffixing *-ŋ* ‘feminine’ and *-m* ‘masculine’
- the use of *-a* for feminine and *-i* for masculine
- the common number gender markers for masculine and *-(um)ba/fa* for feminine
- the use of dual and plural markers
- the use of demonstratives
- the use of different lexemes
- the use of attributives

6.3.1 Using the Suffixes *-ŋ* ‘Feminine’ and *-m* ‘Masculine’

All Chabu definite nouns and all modifiers except genitives are marked for gender by the morphemes *-ŋ* for feminine and *-m* for masculine. In noun phrases where a head noun appears as the only element of the phrase the gender markers are suffixed to the head noun preceded by the definite marker *-e* as in (139). But if there are modifiers in the phrase besides the head noun the gender markers as well as definite marker go back to the modifiers.

(139) Feminine definite		Masculine definite	
(a) / <i>ufa-e-ŋ</i> /	[<i>ufen</i>]	/ <i>ufa-e-m</i> /	[<i>ufem</i>]
person-DEF-F.	the woman	person-DEF-M.	the man
(b) / <i>bakko-e-ŋ</i> /	[<i>bakken</i>]	/ <i>bakko-e-m</i> /	[<i>bakkem</i>]
chicken-DEF-F	the hen	chicken-DEF-M	the cock
(c) / <i>bakε-e-ŋ</i> /	[<i>baken</i>]	/ <i>bakεε-e-m</i> /	[<i>bakem</i>]
spear-DEF-F	the spear (small)	spear-DEF-M.	the spear (big)
(d) / <i>oha-e-ŋ</i> /	[<i>ohen</i>]	-----	
sun DEF-F.	the sun		
(e) -----		/ <i>hajum-e-m</i> /	[<i>hajumem</i>]
		light-DEF-M.	the light

All modifiers of nouns except the genitives are obligatorily marked for gender whether the noun is definite or not. The difference is that in definite nouns the gender markers are preceded by the definite marker *-e* (as in (140)(d)) and in indefinite nouns the gender markers are suffixed directly to the stem of the modifier element (as in (140)(c)). It seems that in Chabu, any specification other than possession requires specifying gender (see

(140)(b), (140)(c) and (140)(d)). The strict two way gender distinction in all persons and numbers of Chabu pronouns seems to be supporting evidence.

(140)

(a) *ufa de-k am-e*
 person PRF-AUX come-PST
 ‘A person came.’

(b) *ufeŋ dek ame*
ufa-e-ŋ de-k am-e
 person-DEF-F PRF-AUX come-PST
 ‘The woman came.’

(c) *tfara-m ufa de-k am-e*
 red-M person PRF-AUX come-PST
 ‘A red man has come.’

(d) *tfarem ufa dek ame*
tfara-e-m ufa dek am-e
 red-DEF-M person PRF-AUX come-PST
 ‘The red man has come.’

6.3.2 Using Suffixes -a ‘Feminine’ and -i ‘Masculine’ on some Kinship Terms

Among Chabu kinship terms, some contrast for gender based on the vowels suffixed to the root. When /-a/ is suffixed to the root, the noun is feminine and when /-i/ is suffixed the noun is masculine as in the examples in Table 51.

Table 51. Kinship Terms with /-a/ ‘F’ and /-i/ ‘M’ Gender Markers

Feminine kinship terms	Masculine kinship terms
<i>benda</i> ‘mother-in-law’ ‘daughter-in-law’	<i>bendi</i> ‘father-in-law’ ‘son-in-law’
<i>eŋgeta</i> ‘younger sister-in-law’	<i>eŋgeti</i> ‘elder brother-in-law’
<i>konda</i> ‘younger sister’	<i>kondi</i> ‘younger brother’
<i>morgita</i> ‘elder sister-in-law’	<i>morgiti</i> ‘younger brother-in-law’

Gender agreement with singular nouns is seen when personal pronouns are employed as in ((141) and (142) below). Thus we can analyse /-a/ and /-i/ as grammatical gender markers (see Corbett 1991).

(141) *tijj-ke ɛŋɛta dɛ-k am-e oŋŋo ma maŋ-ka*
 I.M.-GEN sister-in-law PRF-AUX come-PST she this place-ABL
indage mo-mo-g
 IPFV live-PROG-FUT.
 ‘My sister in law has come. She will live here.’

(142) *tijj-ke ɛŋɛti dɛ-k am-e. ju zɔb-ka*
 IMSG-GEN brother-in-law PRF-AUX come-PST he tomorrow-ACC
inda-ge no- g
 IPFV-AUX go-FUT
 ‘My brother in law has come, he will go tomorrow.’

The suffix *-a* also is a feminine marker in *toŋ-a* ‘daughter’ that is suffixed to the masculine form *toŋ* ‘son’.

6.3.3 Gender Marking on Ethnic or Clan Names

In Chabu, unmarked ethnic or clan names are used to refer a singular masculine member. Dual and plural masculine members are referred by adding the common masculine dual and plural markers */=òtʃfà/* and */=otala or =watto/* respectively on ethnic or clan names. However, femininity is marked by adding specialized markers *[-ba]* for singulars and duals and *[-fa]* for feminine plurals on ethnic or clan names. Consider the examples in

Unlike other number markers, the feminine citizenship or clan membership marker */-ba/* is suffixed in both singular and dual nouns. In fact there is additional number marker in dual nouns. However, we cannot say *-ba* is a marker of gender alone, if that was the case we do not expect it to be changed in the plurals, but the gender marker for the plural of the same type nouns, as observed in the above table is *-fa* not *-ba*. Our suspicion for the use of *-ba* for both singular and plural feminine is that it could be because of the term Chabu ladies used to call their very close friend. The term for a very close friend among women is *injki* meaning ‘one’ which probably is used to tell a strong bond. The *-ba* marker seems originated from a word *umba* ‘female, wife’. The feminine Chabu lady is called *tʃ’amba* and this seems a reduced form of *tʃ’abu umba* by eliding the second syllable of the ethnic name *tʃ’abu*. To other ethnic group names only the second syllable of the word *umba* seems to be suffixed.

Table 52.

Unlike other number markers, the feminine citizenship or clan membership marker /-*ba*/ is suffixed in both singular and dual nouns. In fact there is additional number marker in dual nouns. However, we cannot say *-ba* is a marker of gender alone, if that was the case we do not expect it to be changed in the plurals, but the gender marker for the plural of the same type nouns, as observed in the above table is *-fa* not *-ba*. Our suspicion for the use of *-ba* for both singular and plural feminine is that it could be because of the term Chabu ladies used to call their very close friend. The term for a very close friend among women is *ijki* meaning ‘one’ which probably is used to tell a strong bond. The *-ba* marker seems originated from a word *umba* ‘female, wife’. The feminine Chabu lady is called *tʼamba* and this seems a reduced form of *tʼabu umba* by eliding the second syllable of the ethnic name *tʼabu*. To other ethnic group names only the second syllable of the word *umba* seems to be suffixed.

Table 52. Gender Marking on Ethnic or Clan Names

P.G.N.	Example	Gloss
1FSG	<i>ta tʼamba oŋŋ</i>	‘I(F) am Chabu’
1MSG	<i>tiŋŋ tʼabu ji</i>	‘I(M) am Chabu’
2FSG	<i>kunŋu amare-ba-oŋŋ</i>	You(FSG) are Amhara
2MSG	<i>kukk amare-ji</i>	‘You (MSG) are Amhara
3FSG	<i>oŋŋo oromo-ba-oŋŋ</i>	‘She is Oromo’
3MGS	<i>ju oromo-ji</i>	‘He is Oromo’
1FDU	<i>ann tʼamba =òjjà</i>	‘We(FDU) are Chabu.’
1MDU	<i>apʼtʼ tʼabu =òtʼfà</i>	‘We(MDU) are Chabu.’
2FDU	<i>sijaku nuwer-ba =òjjà</i>	‘You (FDU) are Nuer.’
2 MDU	<i>tʼitʼak nuwer =òtʼfà</i>	‘You(MDU) are Nuwer.’
3FDU	<i>oŋŋo amare-ba =òjjà</i>	‘They (FDU) are Amhara.’
3MDU	<i>otʼifo amare =òtʼfà</i>	‘They (MDU) are Amhara.’
1FPL	<i>jamfu tʼam-fa oda</i>	‘We (FPL.) are Chabu.’
1MPL	<i>jiŋŋu tʼabu =otala</i>	‘We (MPL.) are Chabu.’
2FPL	<i>subak madzangi-fa oda</i>	‘You (FPL.) are Majangir.’
2 MPL	<i>sitalak madzangi =otala</i>	‘You (MPL.) are Magangir.’
3FPL	<i>odo anuwaki-fa oda</i>	‘the (FPL.) are Anyuwak.’
3MPL	<i>otalo anuwaki =otala</i>	‘they (PL.) are Anyuwak.’

6.3.4 Dual and Plural Markers

As we discussed in 6.2, number markers in Chabu co-mark gender. Duality and plurality are marked by gender sensitive elements. The dual nouns, unlike singulars and plurals, strictly agree with the verb form (see (143) below). The dual markers /=òtʃtʃà/ ‘MDU’ and /=òjjà/ ‘FDU’ require the verb to have elements that agree with them both in number and gender obligatorily, but although the plural nouns are marked by morphemes that co-mark gender like the dual nouns, there are no gender agreement markers on the verbs (see (144)).

(143)

- (a) *umbá =òjjà am-j-e*
 woman FDU come-FDU-PST
 ‘Two women came.’
- (b) *ull =òtʃtʃà am-tʃ-e*
 man=MDU come-MDU-PST
 ‘Two men came.’
- (c) *dεppe =òjjà ko-jj-e*
 lion=FDU die-FDU-PST
 ‘Two lionesses died.’
- (d) *dεppe =òtʃtʃà ko-tʃtʃ-e*
 lion=M.DU die-MDU-PST
 ‘Two lions died.’
- (e) *bu =òddà kɔl-d-e*
 Leopard=FPL run-2/3PL-PST
 ‘Female leopards run.’
- (f) *bu =watto kɔl-d-e*
 Leopard=MPL run-2/3PL-PST
 ‘Male leopards run.’

(144)

- (a) *dεebu =watto makile ʔa-dd-e*
 male.warthog M.PL. maize eat-2/3PL-PST
 ‘Male warthogs ate maize.’

(b) *εγεε=oda* *makile* *ta-dd-e*
 female.warthog= F.PL maze eat-2/3PL-PST
 ‘Female warthogs ate maize.’

6.3.5 Demonstratives as Gender Markers

The demonstratives of Chabu we identified are sensitive to gender. The proximal demonstratives are distinct based on gender and others (medial (near to the listener), distal both to the speaker and to the hearer and imaginary (out of sight)) take the gender markers that other modifiers take and agree with the gender of the noun; thus, are evidences for Chabu gender category.

(145)
 (a) *ma* *kani* *furo* *ji*.
 this(M.) dog hunter (3M.Sg.)
 ‘This (male) dog is hunter.’

(b) *inka* *kani* *furo* *oηη*
 this(F.) dog hunter (3F.Sg.)
 ‘This (female) dog is hunter.’

(146)
 (a) *tiηη-u* *ηat-um* *tʃo-ka* *gi-t-ot*
 1MSG-FOC DIST- M child-ACC. AUX-1SG.-love.
 ‘I love that boy (male child).’

(b) *tiηη* *nad-ij* *tʃo-ka* *gi-t-ot*
 1MSG MED-F child-ACC AUX-1SG.-love.
 ‘I love that (near the listener) girl.’

6.3.6 Nouns with Default Gender

Chabu uses also different lexemes that have inherent gender based on their biological gender (sex) as in Table 53. As in the case of other singular nouns there is no verbal

agreement marker that signals the grammatical gender of these default gender nouns. However, anaphoric pronoun and number marker selection show the agreement.

Table 53. Default Gendered Nouns

Feminine		Masculine	
<i>indi</i>	‘mother (human only)’	<i>babe</i>	‘father (only human)’
<i>lata</i>	‘mother (all animate)’	<i>mat</i>	‘father (all animate)’
<i>nene</i>	‘aunt (mother’s elder sister)’	<i>kokki</i>	‘uncle (father’s) elder brother’
<i>ájjá</i>	‘aunt (mother’s younger sister)’	<i>tatta</i>	‘uncle (father’s younger brother)’
		<i>déndé</i>	‘uncle (brother of one’s mother)’
<i>kake</i>	‘grandmother’	<i>áffá</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>kake</i>	‘granddaughter’	<i>áffá</i>	‘grandson’
<i>eta</i>	‘elder sisiter’	<i>táj</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>umba</i>	‘female, woman, wife’	<i>ull</i>	‘male, man, husband’
<i>gùrùsi</i>	‘ adult femal buffalo’	<i>gejum</i>	‘adult male buffalo’
<i>egene</i>	Adult female wartho	<i>dē:bú</i>	Adult male warthog

6.3.7 Using Attributives

Gender of most Chabu animate nouns are commonly specified by using gender distinguishing modifiers. The nouns *ull* ‘male’ and *umba* ‘female’, are used to modify masculine and feminine nouns respectively based on the biological gender (sex) of the referent.

(147)

(a) *tʃo* ‘child’ *umbaŋ tʃo* ‘girl (Li. female child)’

ullum tʃo ‘boy (Lit. male Child)’

(b) *bago* ‘sheep’ *umbaŋ bago* ‘ewe (Lit. female sheep)’

ullum bago ‘ram (Lit. male sheep)’

(c) *mindza* ‘cow’ *ullum mindza* ‘ox (Lit. male cow)’

6.4 Definiteness

Definiteness marking is a strategy that languages employ to signal the common awareness of the speaker and the hearer concerning the referent or uniqueness or specificity of the entity that can be inferred from the particular context. In the other hand, in an indefinite noun phrase what is being referred might be clear to the speaker, but not to the hearer and the context might not give any hint about the referent in point (Lyons 1999, pp. 2-3).

In Chabu, only definiteness is marked. Definiteness in Chabu denotes familiarity of the referent expressed by the noun both to the speaker as well as the hearer.

“In many languages, a noun phrase may contain an element that seems to have as its sole or principal role to indicate the definiteness or indefiniteness of the noun phrase. This element may be a lexical item ...or an affix of some kind” (Lyons 1999, p. 1). Definiteness in Chabu is marked via both lexical items and affixes. Chabu uses a suffix *-e* to mark definiteness. The other strategy Chabu uses in signalling definiteness is employing */oŋŋeŋ/* ‘DEF.F’ and */jem/* ‘DEF.M’ derived by combining the third person singular pronouns with definiteness marker followed by gender marker suffixes. The imaginative demonstrative (that refers things out of sight) */ŋad/* also functions as definiteness expressing form. The third person pronouns also serve as definiteness marker by modifying a noun in the language.

6.4.1 The Use of Definite Marker –e

The basic and common definite marker in Chabu is the suffix */-e/* which is always followed by the gender marker particles */-ŋ/* for feminine and */-m/* for masculine and always appear as */-eŋ/* or */-em/* irrespective of the terminal segment of the noun as in (148) below.

(148)

(a) [*ufem ahaset balame*] ‘The man came out of the house.’

ufa-e-m aha-set bala-am-e
 person-DEF-M home-INES out-come-PST

(b) [*oheŋ balame*] ‘The sun rose/came out/.’

oha-e-ŋ balam-e
 sun-DEF-F rise-PST

(c) [*mindzeŋ koje*] ‘The cow died.’

mindza-e-ŋ koje
 cow-DEF-F die-PST

(d) [*dosem dzime*] ‘The sickness is healed./ The sick is healed.’

doso-e-m dzim-e
 sickness-DEF/REL-M. heal-PST

Dual and plural nouns also, take definiteness markers. Although dual and plural markers co mark gender, the gender markers */-ŋ/* ‘F’ or */-m/* ‘M’ obligatorily appear following the

definite marker /-e/ in definite dual and plural nouns. When dual and plural nouns take definite markers, the definite marker followed by the gender marker precedes the number marker as in (149). The template becomes NOUN-DEF-GEND-DU/PL

(149)

(a) *ufem otftfa amtfe* ‘The two men came.’
ufa-e-m =òtftfà am-tftf-e
 persone- DEF-M =MDU come-MDU-PST

(b) [*ufey ojja amje*] ‘The two women came.’
ufa-e-η =òjjà am-j-e
 persone-DEF-F=FDU come-FDU-PST

(c) [*dəpeη odda dəbek battide*] ‘The lionesses have roared.’
dəpe-e-η =òddà dəbe-k batt-d-e
 lion-DEF-M=MPL PRF-AUX roar-PL-PST

When the definite markers are suffixed to nouns with terminal vowels, the terminal vowels of the nouns are deleted as in (148) above and (150) below except in monosyllabic and some disyllabic nouns of the language. In monosyllabic nouns, a glide -j-⁸ is inserted to break the impermissible vowel sequence of the terminal vowel of the noun and the definite marker /-e/ as in (151).

(150)

(a) *kondi-e-m (kondem) dama ji*
 Younger brother-DEF-M. long 3M.Sg
 ‘The younger brother is longer.’

(b) *konda-e-η (konden) hikir onη*
 younger.Sister-DEF-F. short COPFSG
 ‘The younger sister is shorter.’

(c) [*εηγεtem budze*] ‘The elder brother-in-law was angry.’
εηγεti-e-m budza-e
 elder.brother.in.law-DEF-M angry-PST

(d) [*εηγετεη budze*] ‘The younger sister in law was angry.’

⁸ We parced the epenthetic glide -j- together with the definit marker -e as -je following the suggestion of the Leapzige glossing rule. But it does not mean -je is a different definite marker.

εηγετα-ε-η *budzα-e*
 younger.sister.in.law-DEF-M be_angry-PST

(151)

(a) *tfojeη dek bate* ‘The female child has shouted.’

tfo-je-η *de-k* *bat-e*
 child-DEF-F PRF-AUX shout-PST
 ‘The female child has shouted.’

(b) *tfo-je-m de-k bat-e* ‘The male child shouted.’

child-DEF-M PRF-AUX shout-PST

(c) *bu-je-m =watto koll-d-e* ‘The male leopards run.’

leopard-DEF-M=MPL run-2/3Pl-PST

(d) *bu-je-η =òddà koll-d-e* ‘The female leopards run.’

leopard-DEF-F=FPL run-2/3Pl-PST

6.4.2 *οηηηη* and *jem* as Definite Markers

One of the most common ways of expressing definiteness is by means of an article, which is a free form, an independent lexical item (Lyons, 1999: 63). Although, their occurrence is not as frequent as the bound definite markers, there are definite marker articles */οηηηη/* ‘F’ and */jem/* ‘M’ in Chabu. Their function is similar to the English ‘the’ except that the Chabu definite articles are gender sensitive. The articles seem formed from the third person singular pronouns *οηηα* ‘3FSG’ and *ji* ‘3MSG’ plus the definite marker and corresponding gender markers (*οηηα-ε-η* > *οηηηη* ‘DEF.F’ and *ji-e-m* > *jem* ‘DEF.M’). All singular, dual and plural nouns can take the articles based on the gender of the referent as illustrated in the following examples.

(152) *jem ufa* ‘the man’ *οηηηη umbα* ‘the woman’

jem ufa =òtftà ‘the two men’ *οηηηη umbα =òjjà* ‘the two women’

jem ufe =watto ‘the men (PL)’ *οηηηη umbα=òddà* ‘the women(PL)’

(153) *jem jongo-ka-k k'o-mo be-ne* (Chabu007-Sp3-0014)

DEF.M wind-DAT-AUX die-PROG NEG-INTER

‘Isn’t she afraid (dying) of the wind?’

6.4.3 Third Person Personal Pronouns as Definiteness Markers

The third person independent personal pronouns *oŋŋa* ‘FSG’, *ji* ‘MSG’, *ojja* ‘FDU’, *otɕɕɔ* ‘MDU’, *odda* ‘FPL’ and *otela* ‘MPL’ also serve to mark definiteness by describing or modifying a noun. When these personal pronouns precede the noun they modify, they represent the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer about the referent as in (154) below.

(154)

(a) *oŋŋ ufa/umba dek am-e*
 she person/woman PRF-AUX come- PST
 ‘The woman has come.’

(b) *ju ufa kalse-ka pala ed.*
 he person shelter-ALL go-PST say.PL
 ‘The man went to a shelter.’

(c) *ojja kanii =òjjà boka-jj-e*
 they.MDU dog MDU bark-MDU-PST
 ‘The two female dogs barked.’

(d) *otɕɕɔ kani =òtɕɕɔ bokka- tɕɕ-e*
 they.MDU dog =MDU bark-MDU-PST.
 ‘The two male dogs barked.’

(e) *odda tɕamfa=òddà-k no-dd-e*
 they(FPL) Chabu=FPL-AUX go-2/3.Pl-PST
 ‘The Chabu(FPL) went.’

(f) *otela tɕabu-i =watto de-k no-dd-e*
 they(MPL) Chabu-LINK=MPL. PRF-AUX go-2/3.Pl- Past
 ‘The Chabu (MPL) have gone.’

6.4.4 Distal Invisible Demonstrative Pronouns as Definite Markers

Although, all demonstratives “seem to be inherently definite” (Lyons 1999, p. 107), “in many languages, it is possible to use demonstrative words anaphorically to refer back to something mentioned in the preceding discourse” (Dryer 2011, Defining the value section, Para. 6) thus, we can use them to mark definiteness. Chabu imaginative demonstratives (*ɲadɛm* for masculine and *ɲadɛŋ* for feminine), serve as definite markers. Unlike other

demonstratives, which mainly express deictic distinction, these imaginative demonstratives serve as definiteness marker by denoting the referent anaphorically, and by indicating the familiarity of the referent (which is currently out of sight) for both the speaker and the hearer as in (155). Thus, they can be analysed as performing the demonstrative function. These demonstratives seem formed by suffixing the definiteness marker *-e* followed by the gender marker *-ŋ* ‘F’ or *-m* ‘M’ to the base form of the medial demonstrative pronoun *ŋad*. Thus, their derivation also tells that these demonstratives are signals of definiteness by referring the shared knowledge of the speaker and the hearer, hence mark definiteness.

(155)

(a) *ŋadem* *ufe=watto* *no-dd-e* *ne?*
 INVS.M peron=MPL. go-2/3PL-PST INTER
 ‘Did those men go?’

(b) *ŋadɛŋ* *ufe=òddà* *Yeri-ti* *dɛ-k* *am-d-e*
 INVS.F peron=FPL. Yeri-ABL PRF-AUX come-2/3PL-PST
 ‘Those women have come from Yeri.’

6.5 Case

Case is “a system of marking dependent nouns for the type of relationship they bear to their heads [verbs]” (Blake 2001, p. 1). The common means of expressing the relationship between nouns and their heads is morphological and this type of relational marking is known as grammatical case. Some languages lack morphological case, and they express the relationship “by word order and/or by morphologically and prosodically independent function words (... prepositions and postpositions), and partly also by morphological devices on the verb” (Iggesen, 2011, defining the value part, par 2).

Chabu is among the languages that use grammatical case to express noun (phrase)s relationship with their head verbs. The following table presents the summary of case marking in Chabu. The heads in the table are *tʃo* ‘Child’, *bakko* ‘chicken’, *aha* ‘home’, *doku* ‘house’, *saŋ* ‘forest’, *bake* ‘spear’, *indi* ‘mother’, *molon* ‘cabbage’ and *ha* ‘meat’.

Table 54. Summary of Chabu Case Markers

Case	Marker	Example
Nominative	Unmarked	<i>tʃo</i> ‘Child’, <i>tʃojem</i> ‘the boy’ <i>tʃojɛŋ</i> ‘the girl’
Accusative-dative	<i>-k(a)</i> ,	<i>tʃo-ka</i> , ‘child-ACC’

		<i>-ak</i>	<i>tʃojem-aka</i> ‘the child-ACC’
Genitive		<i>-ke/-sike</i> <i>-i/-e</i>	<i>tʃo-ke</i> ‘child’s’ <i>tʃojem-sike</i> ‘the child’s’ <i>bakko-i</i> > <i>bakke tʃo</i> ‘child of hen (chick)’
Spatial cases	Ablative-Adessive (source and location)	<i>-ti</i>	<i>dawiti-ti</i> ‘from Dawit’ <i>aha-ti</i> ‘at home, from home’
	Allative (destination)	<i>-k(a)</i>	<i>doku-ka</i> ‘to (towards) house’
	Inessive	<i>-set</i>	<i>doku-set</i> ‘in the house’ <i>kɔl-set</i> ‘in the middle of running’
	Path	<i>-mba</i>	<i>doku-mba</i> ‘through the house’ <i>sanj-mba</i> ‘through the forest’
Instrumental		<i>-ku</i>	<i>bake-ku</i> ‘with spear’
Comitative		<i>-ŋa</i> , (animate) <i>-ŋe</i> (inanimate)	<i>indi tʃo-ŋa</i> mother with child <i>moloŋ ha-ŋe</i> cabbage with meat

As presented in Table 54 above, Chabu has at least eight morphologically distinct cases. These are the nominative marked by zero morpheme (\emptyset), accusative-dative-allative marked with *-k(a)*; genitive marked with *-ke* or *-i/e*; instrumental marked with *-ku*; comitative marked with *-ŋa* (animate) and *-ŋe* (inanimate); ablative-adessive (motion away from a place and location at) marked with *-t(i)*; inessive (location inside) marked with *-set* and path (motion through and position by the side of) marked with *-mba*.

As can be seen from Table 54, some semantic roles or relations are marked with the same inflectional marker: direct object, indirect object and destination are marked with a morpheme *-ka*, place of departure and location at are marked with *-ti* and the possessive and the partative are marked with *-ke* or *-e/i*. According to Baerman and Brown (2011) such indistinguishable consistent merger of different function into one grammatical case with same inflectional form cannot be considered as case syncretism. “Morphological case is a combination of **form** and **function**, but distinctiveness of formal expression will be taken as basic here. But distinctiveness of formal expression will be taken as basic here. Hence, if in a language two or more unrelated functions are consistently expressed with the same marker; this is counted as only one case” (Iggesen 2011, Theoretical issues section, para. 4). For example, Krongo does not distinguish the subject and the object formally and this cannot be considered “as an example of case syncretism, but rather as a single nominative-accusative case” (Baerman and Brown, 2011, Identifying case syncretism section, para 1).

A grammatical relation is considered as a separate grammatical case if only it correlates with a formal inflectional distinction (Comrie, 1991, pp. 44-47 cited in Baerman and Brown, 2011). To talk about case syncretism therefore, there must be two or more case functions that are represented with the same inflected form in some declensions and with separate inflectional forms in another declension. Therefore, the indistinguishable merger of accusative dative and allative function in Chabu is a single Accusative-dative-allative case and so the merged functions of the ablative and the adessive functions.

According to Blake (2001, p. 119) case can be grouped into two levels; core and peripheral. Core cases are cases that encode the core grammatical relations of agent of transitive verb, subject of intransitive verb and patient of intransitive verb, which includes nominative, ergative, accusative and absolutive cases. Peripheral cases are cases that encode noncore grammatical relations, which include dative, genitive, instrumental, locative, ablative cases among others. In what follows, the two types of Chabu cases will be discussed.

6.5.1 Core Case

“core cases would be the nominative, accusative, and dative...where the cases clearly relate to argument structure, the nominative marking the subject, accusative the object and dative the recipient” (Absury 2008, p 8).

Chabu in its core case relation is an accusative case language. Accusative languages are languages in which agent of a transitive verb and subject of an intransitive verb employ the same (unmarked) form and object of a transitive verb has a different form (Blake, 2001). As Creissels (2000 p. 232) states “Among the languages that have case marking systems distinguishing the subject from the object, the most common type...is that in which the subject is unmarked for case, whereas the object takes a particular case form, called accusative”. Chabu is part of this widely attested typological group. Here in this sub section, these two core cases nominative and accusative-(dative-allative) are discussed.

6.5.1.1 Nominative Case

As mentioned above, nominative case in Chabu is unmarked. Examine the following data:

(156)	<i>polisi</i>	<i>di-je-m</i>	<i>ufa-ka-k</i>	<i>utuk-e</i>
	police	thief- DEF-M	person-ACC-AUX	catch-PST

‘Police caught the thief.’

(157) *bu mijad-ka-k kumba-je*
leopard buffalo-ACC-AUX eat(meat)-PST
‘Leopard ate buffalo.’

(158) *tfo-je-m deppe-ka-k je:*
Child-DEF-M lion-ACC-AUX saw
‘The child saw a lion.’

(159) [*kilteŋ battemkak fame*]
kilta-e-ŋ batt-e-m-ka-k sam-e
rat-DEF-F noise-DEF-M-ACC-AUX afraid-PST
‘The female rat feared the noise.’

(160) *k'idmajel astamare ji* (*astemare* is a loan word from Amharic)
Kidmael teacher 3MSG.
‘Kidmael is a teacher’

(161) [*guttare:m k'ondumoje*]
guttare-e-m-ak k'ondi-mo-je
ald.person-DEF-M-AUX be.sick-PROG-PST
‘The old man was feeling sick.’

(162) [*ma femo dek kofe*]
ma femo de-k kofa-e
this.M cloth PRF-AUX be.bad-PST
‘This cloth has become dirty.’

(163) *mat'afem t'arabedza pontinga* (*t'arabedza* is a loan word)
mat'afa-e-m t'arabedza ponti janga
book-DEF-M table on exist
‘The book is on a table.’

(164) *ji-u astamare ji or ji astemare*
3MSG-FOC teacher 3MSG 3MSG teacher
‘He is a teacher.’

(165) [*tano t'amba onŋ*] or [*ta t'amba*]

<i>ta-ŋo</i>	<i>tʃabu-</i>	<i>(um)ba oŋŋ</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tʃabu-ba</i>
1FSG-FOC	Chabu-FSG/DU		1FSG	Chabu-F

‘I(F) am Chabu.’

The semantic functions of the nominative case are heterogeneous. It expresses the actor or agent of action ((156) and (157)), the experiencer or perceiver of a situation ((158) and (159)), the entity that exists in a state ((160) and (161)), the entity that undergoes change (162), the entity that is viewed as located or moving (163) and the identity of the subject as a predicate ((164) and (165)).

In some Chabu sentence, subject (nominative) noun phrases are followed by an element *-k* as in ((166), (167), (168),) and by *[-ak]* for nouns inflected for definiteness as in ((169) and (170)) below. However, these forms are not nominative markers; rather they are short form clitics of the auxiliary *gi-/ge-* that moved left to find an element to cliticize to in the absent of aspectual or agreement markers that encliticize or procliticize on it. These clitics can also be attached to noun phrases other than the grammatical subject in the same clause alternatively.

(166) *godok noʔam bere* (Chabu007-Sp1-037)
godo-k no-ʔa-m bera-e
 elephant-AUX go-CVB-?? smell-PST
 ‘Elephant went and smelled.’

(167) *adal-gi ta-k adze* (Chabu007-Sp1-050)
 thunder-AUX I(F)-ACC disturbed
 ‘The thunder disturbed me.’

(168) *gum-k fu-j-e*
 stick-AUX fall-EPEN-PST
 ‘Walking stick failed.’

(169) *tʃo-j-e-m wɔ-ka-k tamm-e*
 child-EPHEN-DEF-M water-ACC-AUX fetch-PS

Or

tʃo-j-e-m-ak wɔ-k tamm-e
 child-EPHEN-DEF-M-AUX water-ACC fetch-PST

‘The child fetched water.’

(170) [ufeŋ dek ame]

ufa-e-ŋ de(be)-k am-e
person-DEF-F PRF-AUX come-PST

‘The woman has come.’

Or

[ufeŋak ame]

ufa-e-ŋ-ak am-e
person-DEF-F-AUX come-PST

‘The woman came.’

6.5.1.2 Accusative-Dative-Allative Case

As discussed above Chabu is an accusative nominative case language in its core case system. Accusative case system is a system in which direct objects are marked in a different way from the marking of subjects (Blake, 2001). It is true that Chabu objects are marked in different way from the subjects are marked. However, the objects of Chabu are not marked with a separate marker exclusive to them. They are marked with the same marker that marks the receiver or beneficiary and the destination noun phrases. In the language, direct object (the accusative), the indirect object (the dative) and the destination (the allative) are never distinguished formally. They are merged in to one distinct Accusative-dative-Allative grammatical case that expresses direct object (patient), indirect object (recipient), destination or goal. This means the core grammatical relation of direct object is merged with the peripheral grammatical relations of indirect object and destination; thus, the core and peripheral hierarchy level is neutralised to some degree.

The merger of the accusative, the dative and the allative can be argued as a result of the integration of the semantics of the three input categories patient, receiver and destination as goal.

The marker for accusative-dative-allative cases is *-k(a)*. The morpheme *-ka* is realized as *-ka* when followed by another morpheme (as in (171), (172), (173) and (174)) and as *-k* by dropping the final vowel in most cases where the marker is not followed by the *-k* ‘AUX’ or another suffix and becomes the final suffix on the noun or noun phrase (as in (172) and

(173)). However, sometimes even at word-final position it appears as *-ka* without dropping the final vowel (as in (175)) and this seems happened because of the longer pause.

When the *-k(a)* marker is suffixed to noun (phrases) inflected for definiteness and gender following the gender marker *-ŋ* or *-m*, it becomes *-ak* by inserting *-a-* as an epenthetic (or barrier) to avoid the homorganic nasal assimilation that would happen if *-a-* had not been occur between the nasal gender markers and the voiceless velar initial segment of the marker *-ka*. This is because, if the assimilation had been undergone, the difference between *-ŋ* ‘F’ and *-m* ‘M’ would have been neutralised for *-m* would be changed to *-ŋ* because of the velar stop *-k* and the obligatory rule of gender marking in definite nouns would have been violated. Examine the examples in ((197)-(200)) under Accusative (6.5.1.2.1)

In the glossing of example sentences/clauses throughout the dissertation, the accusative-dative-allative case is represented by the abbreviation of one of the three components of grammatical category (ACC for accusative, DAT for dative and ALL for allative) based on the function of the noun phrase only for ease of signalling the type of relationship.

(171) *ta-wo tʃamo-ka-k ta-ke ull-ka-t abal-mb-e*
 1FG-FOC shoe-ACC-AUX 1MSG-GEN husband-DAT-1SG buy-BEN-PST
 ‘I bought my husband shoes.’

(172) [*oŋŋo femok tiŋkak abalmbe*]
oŋŋa -o femo -k tiŋŋ -ka -k abal -e
 she -FOC cloth -ACC I(M)-DAT-AUX buy -PST
 ‘She bought me a cloth.’

(173) *kidmajel gum-k tiŋŋ-ka-k ham-e*
 kidmael stick-ACC 1MSG-DAT-AUX give-PST
 ‘Kidmael gave me a stick.’

(174) [*oddo femokak abale*]
odda-o femo-ka-k abal-d-e
 3FPL-FOC cloth-ACC-AUX buy-PL-PST
 ‘They bought cloth.’

(175) [*dʒabi kussum ambuka silakkat peniŋa etʃatidige*] (Chabu007-Sp1-003)
dʒabi kuss-m ambu-ka silak-ka-t peni-ŋa etʃati-d-g
 ancient.time COP.PST-M thing-ACC 2MPL-DAT-1SG tell-CONJ hear-2/3PL-FUT
 ‘I will tell you an old time thing and you will hear.’

(176) *babe-ta-k kemo-kuss-e-m walatʃe-k-o tiŋŋ de-ja* (Chabu006-Sp1-005)
 father-1SG-DAT tell-RPST-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC 1MSG know-PST
 ‘I know things that our parents had told.’

Although the accusative, the dative and the allative are part of one grammatical case category, for the purpose of detail scrutiny each semantic relation is presented separately. This is because especially to show the unique case of the subject passive verb that is marked for accusative case. The dative is discussed here under core case next to the accusative; the allative however, is discussed with other locative/special cases under 6.5.2.4.

6.5.1.2.1 Accusative

As discussed above, Chabu accusative case is marked with the suffix *-ka* as in Examples (177) - (180) below.

(177) *ju femo-ka-k ho:r-e*
 he cloth-ACC-AUX wash-PST
 ‘He washed cloth.’

(178) *tiŋŋ-u guttare=watto-ka-t woŋga-je*
 1MSG-FOC old=MPL-ACC-1SG call-PST.
 ‘I called old men.’

(179) *dawit adnaʔel-ka-k oppotʃ-e*
 Dawit Adnael-ACC-AUX thank-PST
 ‘Dawit thanked Adnael.’

(180) *timoti tʃini-m bak'eku-k bu-k ka-je*
 Timotiwos black-M spear-INS-AUX leopard-ACC kill-PST
 ‘Timotios killed a black leopard with a spear.’

As can be seen from the examples (177), (178), (179), and (180), the direct objects is marked with *-ka* in active verb clause. In addition, in clauses with passivized transitive

verb as well the object which is raised to subject position is marked for accusative case (as in (181), (182) and (183)). If the passivized verb heads a subject without accusative marker the construction tells a reflexive action where both the agent and the patient is the same entity as in Examples (181)(b), (182)and (183)(b) below. The subject of a clause with an intransitive verb is a nominative form and is different from the subject of a clause with a pasivized transitive verb which is in an accusative form. (See example (184)).

(181)

(a) *dεπε-ka-k* *ka-we*
 lion-ACC-AUX kill-PASS.PST
 A lion is killed

(b) *dεπε-k* *ka-we*
 lion-AUX kill-REFL.PST
 ‘A Lion killed itself.’

(182)

(a) *tiηη-ka-k* *wonga-we*
 1MSG-ACC-AUX call-PASS.PST
 I was called.

(b) *tiηη* *gi-t* *wonga-we*
 1.M.SG AUX-1SG call-REFL.PST
 ‘I called my self.’

(183)

(a) *bak’ε-ka-k* *seta-we*
 spear-ACC-AUX break-PASS.PST
 A spear is broken.

(b) *bak’ε-k* *seta-we*
 spear-AUX break-REFL.PST
 ‘A spear was broken by itself.’

(184) *miad’* *saj* *takantiti* *dek* *6ale*
 abuffalo forest inside-ABL PRF-AUX getout-PST
 A buffalo has came out of a forest.

Anbessa (1991) and Schnoebelen (2009) report that *-kak* is also a marker for the accusative case. However, this does not seem the case. The final *-k* in *-kak* is not part of the accusative marker rather it is a different morpheme. It can be encliticized to any noun phrase including the subject or agent (the nominative) as in (185) and the instrumental as in ((189) and (191)). Moreover, it can be also suffixed to the post positional phrase as well, as in the second alternative of (185). Only one of the available noun phrases and postpositional phrases take the auxiliary clitic morph *-k*. The remaining phrases take only their usual marker; \emptyset for the nominative, *-k(a)* for the accusative-dative-allative and *-ku* for the instrumental ((185) - (190)).

(185) *bu-k saŋ-e-m takanti am-e*
 leopard-AUX forest-DEF-M inside come-PST

OR

bu saŋ-e-m takanti-k am-e.
 leopard forest-DEF-M inside-AUX come-PST
 ‘Leopard came out of the forest.’

(186) *adnael kidmael-ka-k gum-ka ham-e*
 Adnael Kidmael-DAT-AUX walking stick-ACC give-PST
 ‘Adnael gave a stick to Kidmael.’

(187) *atene kibebe-ka appose-ka-k appo-je*
 Atene Kibebe-DAT story-ACC-AUX tell-PST
 ‘Atene told Kibebe some story.’

(188) *bu-ka-k bakε-ku ka-we*
 Leopard-ACC-AUX spear-INS kill- PASS.PST
 ‘Leopard is killed with a spear.’

(189) *bu-ka bakε-ku-k ka-we*
 Leopard-ACC spear-INS-AUX kill- PASS.PST
 ‘Leopard was killed with spear.’

(190) *tfakoj-ka-k kondo-ku ata-we*
 yam-ACC-AUX pot-INS boil-PSTS.PAST
 ‘Yam is cocked with pot.’

(191) *tfakoj-ka kondo-ku-k ata-we*
 yam-ACC pot-INS-AUX boil-PSTS.PST

‘Yam is boiled with a pot.’

The morph **-k** ‘AUX’ is not found in imperatives. In imperative sentences the auxiliary is absent and the accusative case is always marked by **-k(a)** as in ((192), (193), (194), (195) and (196)).

(192) *wo-k(a) tamm*
water-ACC fetch-IMPp.
‘Fetch water!’

(193) *ufa-k(a) ott*
person-ACC love.IMP
‘Love a person!’

(194) [*ηatiη tf'araη ufaηga wonga*]
ηatiη tf'ara-η ufa-e-η-k(a) wonga
that.F red-F person-DEF-F-ACC call.IMP
‘Call that red woman!’

(195) *tf'eta-k(a) bin-?a idzagan-ka idzagan*
play-ACC give.up.IPM-CVB work-ACC do.IMP
‘Stop playing and do some work!’

(196) (*kukke*) *fek(a) hora?a (kukke) tajambuka ta?a tawemkak apu:r*
kukk-ke fe-k(a) hora-?a kukk-ke tajambu-k(a)
2MSG-GEN face-ACC wash-CVB 2MSG-GEN food-ACC
ta-?a tawa-e-m-ka-k apu:r
eat-CVB field-DEF-M-ACC-AUX clear
‘Wash your face, eat your food and clear the field.’

Direct objects of embedded sentences are also marked the same way as objects of main clause as in ((197)- (200)).

(197) *otifo tf'o-ka goss-e-η umba-ka-k ollow-tf-e*
3MDU.FOC child-ACC bear-REL-F lady-ACC visit-M.DU-PST
‘They (M.DU) visited the lady that bore a child.’

(198) *polisi tf'o-je-m-ak(a) di-je-m ufa-ka-k utuk-e*
police child-DEF-M-ACC steal-REL-M person-ACC-AUX catch-PST.

‘Police caught the man who stole the male child.’

(199) *timoti ufa-e-m-ak(a) ka-je-m depe-ka-k ka-je*
Timotiwos person-DEF-M-ACC kill-REL-M lion-ACC-AUX kill-PST
‘Timotiwos killed the leopard that killed the man.’

(200) *aster bake-ku deppe-e-m-ak(a) ŋa-je-e-m ufa-ka-k oti-je*
Aster spear-INS lion-DEF-M-ACC spear-PST-DEF-M person-ACC-AUX love-PST
‘Aster loved the person who speared the lion with spear.’

6.5.1.2.2 Dative Case

The dative is a grammatical case that expresses “the entities that are the targets of an activity or emotion (Blake, 2001, p. 144) or “the animate RECIPIENT of some action or item” (Payne, 2006, p. 325). The dative in Chabu expresses a recipient as in (201) and (202)) or beneficiary as in ((203)- (206)). When the marker *-ka* is used to express the beneficiary, the verb also is inflected for the same. The suffix *-mbe* suffixed to verbs as in ((203), (204), (205) and (206)) is a morpheme that denotes the notion that the action is done for the benefit of or on behalf of the noun mentioned as indirect object. This means that Chabu marks the dependent as well as the head (verb) in its dative construction which expresses the beneficiary.

(201) *ŋadumantak bala kemo babe tak kemo* (Chabu006-Sp1-010)
ŋadum maŋ-tak bala kemo babe ta-k kemo
that(medial) place-PL ?? talk father I-ACC tell
‘My father told me those places.’

(202) *kidmael adna?el-ka pena-ka-k abal-mb-e*
Kidmael Adnael-DAT pen-ACC buy-TRAN-PST
‘Kidmael bought a pen for Adnael.’

(203) *ta-ŋo ta-ke ull-ka-t tʃamo-ka gi-t abal-mb-e*
1FSG-FOC 1FSG-GEN husband-DAT-1SG shoe-ACC AUX-1SG buy-BEN-PST
‘ I bought a pair of shoes for my husband.’

(204) *tinsael kibebekak gum-ka tʃota-mb-e*
Tinsael Kibebe-DAT walking.stick-ACC cut-BNF-PST
‘Tinsael cut a walking stick for Kibebe.’

(205) [tawakak oŋgat apu:rmbe]

tawa-ka-k oŋŋa-ka-t apu:r-mb-e

Field-ACC-AUX 3FSG-DAT-1SG cleared-BEN-PST

‘I cleared a plot for her.’

(206) [attene tiŋke idzaganka tiŋkak idzagambe]

attene tiŋŋ-ke idzagan-ka tiŋŋ-ka-k idzagan-mb-e

Attene 1MSG-GEN work-ACC 1MSG-DAT-AUX work-BEN-PST

‘Attene did my work for me.’

6.5.2 Peripheral cases

Under this section the peripheral cases the genitive, the instrumental, the comitative and some special cases will be discussed .

6.5.2.1 Genitive Case

A genitive case expresses a possessive relationship and some related functions (Payne 2006: 330). In Chabu, alienable and inalienable possessions and partitives are marked in the same way with morpheme *-ke* or *-i* or its allomorph *[-e]*. This agrees with Anbessa (1991) and Schnobelen (2009) finding except they take the allomorph */-e/* as the basic form of the indefinite genitive marker.

In genitive construction of Chabu, the possessor noun which is marked with the genitive markers *-ke* or *-i* comes first followed by the possessed noun as in ((207) and (208)). *-ke* is suffixed to definite nouns and *-i* is suffixed to indefinite nouns. We discuss the case of *-ke* first and proceed to the *-i*.

6.5.2.1.1 Genitive Marker *-ke*

Among the two forms of genitive markers mentioned above, *-ke* occurs with definite or specific nouns. When the genitive marker *-ke* is affixed to definite or specific nouns inflected for definiteness and gender (with *-e-ŋ* ‘DEF-F’ and *-e-m* ‘DEF-M’) it employs a complex form *-si-ke* by inserting *-si* between the gender markers and the genitive marker as in ((210) and (211)). Here *-si* seems a barrier epenthetic that is inserted to avoid the assimilation that would undergo if the *-m* ‘M’ and the velar *-k* of the Genitive marker *-ke* were come in contact which would neutralize the difference in gender marking. As discussed under (6.5.1.2), *-a* is inserted to perform the same function in the accusative-

dative-allative case that the *-si* function in the genitive. However, we could not detect the rule that govern the preference of *-a* in the accusative-dative-allative and *-si* in the genitive.

(207) *moho ma podē wetfi-ke tfowtfe-wo-k-o tinŋ dēja*
 now this place all-GEN boundary-CONJ-ACC-FOC I(M) know-PST
 ‘Now I know the boundaries of all the places as well.’ (Chabu006-Sp1-006)

(208) *tinŋ-ke wongase addisu alamu ke.* (Chabu007-Sp1-001)
 I(M)-GEN name Addisu Alemu COP
 ‘My name is Addiu Alamu.’

(209) *attene-ke mat damte*
 Attene-GEN father Damte
 ‘Attene’s father is Damte.’

(210) *tf’o-je-m-sike koji mati ji.*
 child-DEF-M-GEN scull big 3MSG.COP
 ‘The child’s head is big.’

(211) *bu-je-m-sike sense bu:dʒa ji.*
 Leopard-DEF-M-GEN claw sharp 3MSG.COP
 ‘The claw of a leopard is sharp.’

6.5.2.1.2 Genitive Marker *-i* /*-e*

Source and other indefinite genitives in Chabu are not marked with the definite genitive case marker *-ke*, but with another genitive marker *-i* or its allomorph *-e*. When a source or other indefinite genitive is formed, the marker *-i* is suffixed to the possessor, the source or origin noun which precedes the possessed or product noun. (See examples in (212) below). The terminal vowels of possessor nouns are deleted after the suffixation of the genitive marker except in the case of open monosyllabic nouns. For the discussion of phonological condition that determine the occurrence of *-i* or *-e* see 5.6.1.2 above.

(212)

<i>sijo</i> ‘grass’	+ <i>dok’u</i> ‘house’	= <i>sije dok’u</i> ‘house made of grass’
<i>sina</i> ‘honey’	+ <i>hogula</i> ‘beer’	= <i>sine hogula</i> ‘beer made of honey’
<i>bu</i> ‘leopard’	+ <i>daro</i> ‘dried skin’	= <i>buji daro</i> ‘skin of leopard’
<i>heleti</i> ‘bird’	+ <i>tf’ek’a</i> ‘feather’	= <i>heleti tf’ek’a</i> ‘bird feather’
<i>bago</i> ‘sheep’	+ <i>tf’o</i> ‘child’	= <i>bage tfo</i> ‘lamb’

However, a similar form *-i* that undergo the same vowel height harmony functions as a linker when we encliticize the plural marker =**watto** and the variety marker =**jero** to nouns (as in Table 55 below).

Table 55: Linking Elements *-i/-e*

Singular		Plural		Variety	
Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
<i>pa:r</i>	‘snake’	<i>pa:ri watto</i>	‘snakes’	<i>pa:ri jero</i>	‘varity of snakes’
<i>doku</i>	‘house’	<i>doki watto</i>	‘houses’	<i>doki jero</i>	‘varity of houses’
<i>gere</i>	‘spear handle’	<i>gere watto</i>	‘spear handles’	<i>gere jero</i>	‘varity of spear handles’
<i>ufa</i>	‘person’	<i>ufe watto</i>	‘persons’	<i>ufe jero</i>	‘people’

There is no any evidence that lead to consider this form as genitive marker. In addition, almost all genitive constructions formed with the marker *-i* seem compounds than phrases. In this case one can suspect that the *-i-* is a linker in both cases. Therefore, there are two options that the *-i* form might be. The first argument can be that the indefinite genitive marker and the linker are homomorphs which have a separate role and the other argument could be that the marker is one and the same and the constructions that we considered as indefinite genitives might be compounds with a linker. However, because of the genitive relationship of the nouns conjoined with *-i*, here the forms are considered noun phrases with genitive case.

6.5.2.2 Instrumental Case

Instrumental case is a case in which a noun is used to indicate the instrument with which an action is performed. In Chabu the morpheme *-ku* is suffixed to the noun to indicate the instrumental case. Consider examples ((213), (214) and (215)).

(213) *timoti hambo-ku-k dɛpɛ-k(a) ka-je*
 Timotiwos trap-INS-AUX lion-ACC kill-PST
 ‘Timotios killed a lion with trap.’

(214) *Sadinet kondo-ku tfakoj-ka-k ata-je*
 Sadinet pot-INS cassava-ACC-AUX cook-PST
 ‘Sadinet cooked cassava with a pot.’

(215) *otala-ke komoji-k-o nan̄ku apakated ed* (Chabu005-Sp1-021)
otala-ke komoji-k-o nimbi-ku apakate-d ed

3MPL-GEN clan-ACC-FOC what-INS differentiate-PL say-PL
 ‘With what do clans of people differentiate?’

(216) *Moho tf’awikawkuge dzab-i kuss-um ambukka*
 now Cabu.language-INS-AUX yesterday-GEN RPST-M thing-ACC
silak-ka-t peni-ŋa etf’ate-d-ig (Chabu007-Sp1-002)
 2MPL-DAT-1SG.NOM tell-CONJ listen-PL-FUT
 Now, I will tell you an old time thing in Chabu language and you will hear.

Anbessa (1991) mentions that *-uk ~ ik* is the instrumental case marker and Schnoebelen (2009) takes for granted Anbessa’s position. However, the data from current field work does not support their argument.

The negative instrumental (the abessive) is not morphological. Chabu uses the verb *debe* ‘absent’ in the place of the instrumental marker to mean in the absence of or without. The following are examples of negative instrumental or the abessive case.

(217) *ju geda-ka bake debe-k ka-je.*
 he.FOC antelope-ACC spear absent-AUX kill-PST
 ‘He killed an antelope without spear.’

(218) *oŋŋo tfakoj-k kante debe-k kante-e.*
 She.FOC yam-ACC basket absent-AUX carry-PST
 ‘She carried yam without basket.’

6.5.2.3 Comitative Case

Comitative case indicates the notion of ‘with’ or ‘accompanied by.’ In Chabu, this case is expressed by the morpheme *-ŋa* as is shown in the examples ((219)a, (220)a and (221)a below). The morph seems to be developed from the coordinative conjunction *-ŋa* meaning ‘and’. The comitative marker is suffixed only to the last (subordinate) noun phrase. However, in the case of conjunction, the conjunctive *-ŋa* is repeated after each conjoined noun phrase ((219)b, (220)b and (221)b below). The conjoined noun (phrases) can be sum up and represented by a pronoun that infers all the listed noun phrases ((219)c, (220)c and (221)c). The verbal agreement in the comitative construction is with the noun phrase without the comitative marker. In the case of conjunction the agreement is with the sum of the conjoined noun phrases or the pronoun that represent the conjoined elements.

(219)

(a) *kidmajel kibebe-ŋa-k tepi-k(a) no-je.*
Kidmael Kibebe-COM-AUX Tepi-ALL go-PST

‘Kidmael went to Tepi with Kibebe.’

(b) *kidmael-ŋa kibabe-ŋa tepi-ka-k no-tʃf-e.*
Kidmael-CONJ Kibebe-CONJ Tepi-ACC-AUX go-MDU-PST

‘Kidmael and Kibebe went to Tepi.’

(c) *kidmael-ŋa kibabe-ŋ otʃfa tepi-ka-k no-tʃf-e.*
Kidmael-CONJ Kibebe-CONJ 3MDU Tepi-ACC-AUX go-MDU-PST

‘Kidmael and Kibebe (they) went to Tepi.’

(220)

(a) *dɛpɛ-e-m bu-ŋa-k abur-e.*
lion-DEF-M leopard-COM-AUX fight-PST

‘The lion fought with a leopard.’

(b) *dɛpɛ-ŋa bu-ŋa-k abur-atʃfe-e.*
Lion-CONJ leopard-CONJ-AUX fight-MDU-PST

‘A lion and a leopard fought with each other.’

(c) *dɛpɛ-ŋa bu-ŋ otʃf a-k abur-atʃfe-e.*
Lion-CONJ leopard-CONJ 3MDU-AUX fight-MDU -PST

‘A lion and a leopard fought with each other.’

(221)

(a) *helet-e-ŋ=watto bake=watto-ŋa-k taj.ambu-ka da-mo-d*
bird-DEF-F=PL chicken=PL-COM-AUX food-ACC pick.-PROG-PL

‘The birds are eating some food with chickens.’

(b) *heleti=watto-ŋa bake=watto-ŋa tajʔambu-ka da-mo-d*
bird=PL-CONJ chicken=PL-CONJ food-ACC pick-PROG-PL

‘Birds and chickens pick some food together.’

(c) *heleti=watto-ŋa bake=watto-ŋ odda taj.ambu-ka da-mo-d*
bird=PL-CONJ chicken=PL-CONJ 3FPL food-ACC pick-PROG-PL

‘Birds and chickens pick some food together.’

The following is an illustrative example taken from natural text.

- (222) *ti-hedi-ku babe-ŋa atam sara-gitam-mo-tf-a-ku*
 I-grow-CONJ father-COM ??? travel-FRQ-PROG-MDU-1-CONJ
- babe-ta-k kemo-kuss-e-m walatfe-k-o tiŋŋ de-ja* (Chabu006-004-5)
 father-I-DAT tell-RPST-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC 1MSG know-PST
 ‘After I grew up, I know what my father had told me while I was travelling to different places with him.’

The *-ŋa* morpheme is used for animate things only. For inanimate the comitative case marker is *-ŋe* (see ex (223) and (224)).

- (223) *tajɔambu-k femo-ŋe e danka-be*
 food-ACC cloth-COM put good-NEG
 ‘Putting food items along with cloth is not good.’

- (224) *tfakoj-k ha-ŋa molon-ŋe ta gidi.*
 cassava-ACC meat-CONJ cabbage-COM eat sweet.
 ‘Eating cassava with meat and cabbage is delicious.’

Negative comitative, as it is part of the abessive (without) case, is expressed syntactically in the same way that negative instrumental case is expressed by using the inherently negative verb *debe* ‘absent’, in the place of the positive comitative case marker *-ŋa*. The meaning becomes without the expected partner.

- (225) *tiŋŋu kidmajel debe ge-t idzagan-g*
 1MSG.FOC Kidmael absent AUX-1SG work-FUT
 ‘I will do it without Kidmael.’

- (226) *oŋŋo ull debe-ge mo-mo-g*
 she.FOC husband absent-AUX live-PROG-FUT
 ‘She will be living without husband.’

6.5.2.4 Spatial Cases

In Chabu spatial case for source and location (Ablative-Adessive Case), destination (Allative case), location within (Inessive case) and path are morphologically marked.

6.5.2.4.1 Ablative-Adessive Case

Chabu shows complete merger between ablative and adessive/locative cases by marking both with the morpheme *-ti*. Ablative is a case that denotes a noun used as a place of departure or source of something as in ((227) - (231)) and adessive is a case that has the meaning of presence ‘at’ or ‘near’ a place as in examples ((232) - (235)).

(227) *kidmaʔel adnaʔel-ti pena-ka-k abal-e*
 Kidmael Adnael-ABL pen-ACC-AUX buy-PST
 ‘Kidmael bought a pen from Adnael.’

(228) (*tiŋŋ*) *jeri-ti gi-t am-e*
 (I.M) Yeri-ABL AUX-1SG come-PST
 ‘I come from Yeri.’

(229) *tiŋŋ-u attene-ti gi-t etʃat-e*
 1MSG-FOC Attene-ABL AUX-1SG hear-PST
 ‘I heard it from Attene.’

(230) *jiŋŋ-ke bakke=òddà-ti haba-ŋ tutukani=watto-ka-k app-ajeta-g*
 1MSG-GEN hen=FPL-ABL many-F egg=PL-ACC-AUX 1PL-get-FUT
 ‘We get many eggs from our hens.’

(231) *oŋŋa markos-ti-k ton-e*
 3FSG Markos-ABL-AUX take-PST
 ‘She took from Markos.’

(232) *aha-ti ufaŋga*
aha-ti ufa- janga
 home-ADD person-available
 There is person at home.

(233) [*inkum bartʃ’umti moka detmode*] (Chabu007-Sp1-07)
inki-m bartʃ’um-ti mo-ka det-mo-d-e
 same-M chair-ADD sit.INF-ACC wish-PROG-2/3PL-PST
 ‘They were wishing to sit at the same leadership position.’

(234) [*ta momobege ma funk’a kawtu*] (Chabu007-Sp1-011)

ta mo-mo-be-ge ma funk'a kaw-ti-u
 1FSG sit-PROG-NEG-FUT this.M ash mouth-ADD-FOC.
 'I will not be sitting this ash edge.'

(235) *jer-ti-k di-mu fu-m*
 Yeri-ADD-AUX rain rain-PROG.
 'It is raining at Yeri.'

(236) *tiŋŋ-ke mo-hedi maŋ-u gugam-ti* (Chabu006-Sp1- 003)
 I(M)-GEN live-grow place-FOC Gugam-ADES
 'The place where I lived and grew is Gugamo.'

6.5.2.4.2 Allative Case

Allative case is a case which expresses the notion of motion 'to' or 'towards' a place. As discussed under 6.5.1.2 the allative case in Chabu is not a separate case rather part of one grammatical case (goal) along with accusative and dative, marked with a morph –ka. Here we mention it (the allative) only for the sake of showing how the special notion destination is expressed along with direct and indirect object. The following examples illustrate how motion towards or destination is expressed the same way as accusative dative. We use the gloss 'ALL' which stand for 'allative' just to show the semantic representation of the form.

(237) *ullu san-ka no-huma-d e-d.* (Egedigan Sp1 10)
 Mann.FOC forest-ALL go-HAB.PST-2/3PL say-2/3PL
 'Men used to go to forest.'

(238) *momoge-ŋa nikote-ŋa dzifor-ka-k no-jj-e*
 Momoge-CONJ Nikote-CONJ Jifor-ALL-AUX go- F DU-PST
 'Momoge and Nikote went to Jifor.'

6.5.2.4.3 Inessive Case

In Chabu, this case indicates the location of a person or a thing within a place by suffixing a morph *-set*. *-set* is used to indicate location inside something that encloses the object. The suffixes seems formed from the word *se* 'eye' and the ablative-adessive marker *-ti* because, *se* 'eye' is used to indicate openings as in *fonase* 'nostril (lit. eye of nose)' and *kawse* 'mouth (lit. eye of tooth)'. Examples of inessive case are presented in ((239) and (240) below).

(239) *femo-ka-k aha-set e*
 cloth-ACC-AUX home-INES put

‘S/he put the cloth in the house.’

(240) *kondo-e-m-seti tfakoj-k tamm*
pot-DEF-M-INES cassava-ACC fetch.

‘Bring cassava from inside the pot.’

(241) *ɲa-seti ɲaŋga son tuket* (Chabu005-Sp2-014)
that-INES exist other remain

‘There are uncounted others among those.’

(242) *kaligimban ɲafag maŋk bali gose ben ju ufati* (Chabu005-Sp2-038 & 039)

kaligib-ɓa-ɲ ɲfa-g maŋk bali gos-e be-ne ju ufa-ti
Kalgib-FSG/DU-F person-AUX here go bear-PST NEG-INTER another person-ABL

‘A woman of Kalgibe goes and bear child. Is it not? From another person.’

6.5.2.4.4 Path

In Chabu, path case is used to indicate the location through or along which a movement is done. The marker for this case is a morph *-mba* (see (243), (244) and (245)). However the most common function of the morph *-mba* is not indicating path, but side. *X-mba* is used to mean ‘by the side of x’ as in ((246) and (247)).

(243) *ji-u [ju] saŋ-em-mba deŋ-no-j-e*
3MSG-FOC forest-DEF-Path AUX-go-EPEN-PST
He went through the forest.

(244) *wɔ gotʃe-mba kɔll-e*
Water tunnel-through run-PST
Water flew through a tunnel.

(245) *jeri-mba tiŋŋ-u inda-ge-t nono-g.*
Yeri-PATH 1MSG-FOC IPFV-AUX-1SG go.go-Fut
‘I will go through Yeri.’

(246) *tiŋŋ-ke se-mba hit*
1MSG-GEN face-SIDE stand
‘Stand in front of me. Lit (stand by the side of my face).’

(247) *oŋge saki-mba ta:m*
oŋŋa-ke saki-mba ta:m
3FSG-GEN back-SIDE sit

‘Sit behind her. (Lit. Sit by the side of her back).’

(248) [*tiŋŋu komojikomojiku gi ufo podepodemba mowe gi jikat e.* (Chabu005-Sp2-023)

tiŋŋ-u komoji ~ komoji-ku gi ufo pode-pode-mba

I(M)-FOC clan~DIST-INS AUX person-FOC place-DISTR-PATH

mo-we gi ji-ka-t e

sit-PASS AUX he-ACC-1SG tell

‘I told him that the Chabu are living by different directions clan by clan.’

7 Pronouns

In this chapter, we describe the pronoun system of Chabu focusing on personal pronouns, demonstratives and interrogative pronouns. We also examine the position of third person pronouns (whether they are part of the system of personal pronoun or part of the system of demonstrative).

7.1 Personal Pronouns

Table 56. Chabu Personal Pronouns

Person	Gender	Number		
		Singular	Dual	Plural
1 st	Feminine	<i>ta</i>	<i>ann</i>	<i>janfu</i>
	Masculine	<i>tiŋŋ/ta/ti</i>	<i>antf</i>	<i>jiŋŋ</i>
2 nd	Feminine	<i>kuŋg</i>	<i>sijak</i>	<i>subak</i>
	Masculine	<i>kukk</i>	<i>tfit/fak</i>	<i>sitalak/silak</i>
3 rd	Feminine	<i>oŋŋa</i>	<i>ojja</i>	<i>otala</i>
	Masculine	<i>ji</i>	<i>otftfa</i>	<i>odda</i>

Personal pronouns in Chabu make an eight-way distinction (three numbers namely singular, dual, and plural), three persons (first, second, third) and two genders (feminine and masculine). The singular refers to a single referent, the dual refers to two, and the plural refers more than two (Corbett, 2004, pp. 4-5).

Anbessa (1991, p. 376) presents Chabu pronouns as only singulars and plurals alone. Although in the list some dual pronouns are included they are categorized as plurals. For example, *ann* ‘1FDU’ is glossed as ‘1FPL’ and *sijaka* ‘2FDU’ is glossed as ‘2FPL’ and the ‘2FPL’ *janfu* is recognized as ‘2PL’ common. The full paradigm of Chabu pronouns is recognized in Schnoebelen (2009) (see Table 57 below). The finding of the present study presented in Table 56 above is similar with Schnoebelen’s work. However, there are a few remarks on Schnoebelen’s table. First, the first person singular feminine free pronoun is presented in Schnoebelen’s work as *tana* and this is not the free form of the pronoun but *ta*. The form *tana* seems a combination of the pronoun *ta* and the comitative marker *-ŋa* or its homomorph the bound conjunction. Second, some pronouns that start with [o] vowel (*oŋŋa* ‘3FSG’ and *otftfa* ‘3MDU’) are transcribed with [u] in Schnoebelen’s work. We tried to check several times but

could not get evidence that support Schnoebelen’s proposal in this respect. Third, *ju* is taken as alternative form of 3MSG pronoun *ji*. However, *ju* is not a single morpheme but a combination of the base 3MSG *ji* and the focus particle *-u*. Here we can see a phonological process, namely vowel deletion. The terminal vowel of the pronoun *ji* is deleted to avoid the impermissible vowel sequence. Thus, the focused 3MSG pronoun becomes *ju*. However, *ji* is the only monosyllabic word that drops its terminal vowel during affixation attested in the current study. Schnoebelen (2009: 31)’s table is presented below for comparison.

Table 57. Chabu Pronoun System as Presented in Schnoebelen 2009.

	Sg	Du	Pl
1.m	<i>tiŋŋ</i>	<i>anc</i>	<i>jiŋŋ</i>
1.f	<i>tana</i>	<i>ann</i>	<i>jafu</i>
2.m	<i>kukku</i>	<i>tfitʃak</i>	<i>ʃitalak</i>
2.f	<i>kungu</i>	<i>ʃjak</i>	<i>ʃubak</i>
3.m	<i>ju / ii</i>	<i>utʃa</i>	<i>utalo / otala</i>
3.f	<i>uŋa</i>	<i>oja</i>	<i>odda</i>

Chabu pronoun system does not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms and has no honorary/ polite pronoun. Respect is expressed by using the lexeme */gutare/* 'elder'. The term *gutare* is used only for humans and has no negative connotation.⁹ It is used to convey not only age but also respect given to the referred person. Thus, besides elders, it is applied to chiefs and newcomers to show respect.

Except the monosyllabic *ta* '1FSG' and *ji* '3MSG', all vowel terminal pronouns drop their terminal vowels in connected speech. Whenever a vocalic initial affix is suffixed to them the terminal vowels of the pronouns undergo various interactions with the initial components of the affixes. However, only the 2MPL *sitalaka* is attested having a reduced short form, *silaka*. *sitalaka* and *silaka* (the long and short forms) are used alternatively. However, in most spontaneous speech, the short form is dominant.

The first person feminine singular pronoun *ta* is sometimes used by a masculine gender speaker. In some Omotic languages such as Haro (Woldemarim, 2004), Sheko

⁹ The word for worn-out things with negative connotation is *ʃe*.

(Hellenthal, 2010) and Wolaita (Wakasa, 2008), the first person singular pronoun is *ta* or consist of *ta* in it. The following three examples (249), (250) and (251) are taken from a text to illustrate how the same person uses the two forms for 1MSG.

(249) *tiŋŋ-ke wɔŋgase tiŋŋ dawit* (Chabu006-Sp1- 001)

I(M)-GEN name I(M) Dawit

My name is Dawit (Lit. My name is I am Dawit.

(250) *tiŋ hedi-ku babe-ŋa sara-gitam-mo-tf-a-ku* (Chabu006-Sp1- 004)

I grow-ADV father-with move-FRQU-PROG-MDU-1DU-ADV

After I grew up, when I was traveling to different places with my father...

(251) *babe ta-k kemo-kuss-e-m walatfe-k-o tiŋŋ deŋa* (Chabu006-Sp1- 005)

father I-DAT tell-RPST-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC I(M) know

'I know the things that my father had told me.'

As we can see from Table 56 above, some of the pronouns have some common elements, but it does not seem they are derived from one another or inflected from the same root. The following are some of the similarities among the pronouns.

- 1FSG and 1MSG have *t-* in common, which is, as we can see later in this section, the agreement marker for 1Sg in the predicate
- All first person pronouns except 1FSG have nasal alveolar or velar segment
- The 2FSG and the 3FSG (all feminine singular pronouns except 1FSG) have nasal element.
- All second person pronouns have *-k* in common which is similar with agreement marker for second person in the predicate.
- All third person pronouns except 3MSG contain *o-* as an initial element and *-a* as terminal.
- All the feminine duals except the first person contain *j* and all masculine duals have *tf*. (*-j* and *-tf* are agreement markers in the predicate that mark dual feminine and dual masculine respectively and clitic forms similar to the third person pronouns =*ɔjjà* 'FDU' and =*otfa* 'MDU' are dual number markers in Chabu noun morphology.)

As can be observed from the table and inferred from the above analysis there seem some derivational pattern. For example if we take the third person pronouns excluding the masculine singular, the base for third person seems a discontinuous morpheme $o \sim a$. When the feminine marker $-j$, the dual feminine marker $-jj$, the dual masculine marker $-tj$ and the plural marker $-dd$ are infixed to this discontinuous morpheme, we find the respective *onja* ‘FSG’, *ojja* ‘FDU’, *otjfa* and *odda* ‘FPL’ pronouns. However, we could not trace the origin for $-tal$ of the masculine plural *otala*.

Although some patterns that indicate the high probability of some derivational history, we could not derive a solid inflectional rule that govern the production of all the pronouns and it is difficult at this point in time to analyze them into different morphemes. Although we have an intuition that most of these pronouns have some derivational etymology, at least temporarily, we preferred considering each of them as a mono morphemic words. These types of (free morph) pronouns are the most common type of pronouns in the world languages (Daniel, 2011)

The basic forms of Chabu pronouns function as nominative case and as base for the accusative-dative-allative, genitive, ablative and vocative pronouns.

7.1.1 Gender in Chabu Personal Pronouns

Gender is a prominent issue in the pronominal system of Chabu. Thus, Chabu distinguishes between feminine and masculine gender in the three persons and in singulars, duals and plurals, which is not a common feature of the Nilo-Saharan languages (Daniel, 2011; Siewierska, 2011). Hence, Chabu has a huge number of personal pronouns Schnoebelen explains the amazing nature of Chabu pronoun system as follows.

Each time we compare Shabo’s independent personal pronouns to another language, we find them to be totally different. As Ehret (1995) noted, not are the forms different in shape than Nilo-Saharan languages, but the entire system is decidedly unusual: Shabo marks gender for each person and number. This is even more extraordinary than was originally thought, since I have discovered that there are actually separate dual pronouns—and that these, too, are gendered. (2009, p.30)

Gender contrasts on personal pronouns of the language are sex-based. However, in the case of referring mixed sex duals and plurals, unlike most languages of Ethiopia probably of the world, Chabu uses the feminine gender pronouns. In dual, when one of

the two referents is feminine, the pronoun used is the feminine one. In the same manner, whenever a group referred contains even a single feminine member among many masculine, the feminine pronoun serves the purpose as in examples ((252) and (253)). This is not the case in most Nilo-Saharan languages including Majang, the dominant language in Chabu speaking area. What is more interesting is a man who talks about himself can use *ta*, the ‘1FSG’ in his speech instead of *tiŋŋ* the ‘1MSG’ as in (251) above, but not vice versa. This seems to show the power relation in Chabu community and the place given to the women. It is true that in the life style of the Chabu the female have a significant role in decision making and conflict resolution. For example, there is no marriage without the consent of the girl and there is no sex play without the consent of the woman. When men fight each other, other men cannot interfere, if they do so, they will be part of the clash immediately. It is only on the women that the culture vested a power to stand in between the fighters and to end the clash. No one could bypass the women and harm the other enemy. Moreover, women do not fear any attack from men while moving in the deep forest; men cannot beat women or force them to do anything. There is no fear of rape and other harms as well.

Although mixed entities of animate things are represented by feminine pronouns, most inanimate objects except a few solar system entities (like *oha* ‘sun’ and *kasipu* ‘moon’), places and small size objects are referred as masculine.

(252) *kidmajel-ŋa dawit-ŋa dzemanaf-ŋa sadok’-ŋa odda-k*
 Kidmael-CONJ Dawit-CONJ Jemanash-CONJ Sadok-CONJ 3FPL-AUX
am-d-e
 come-PL-PST
 ‘Kidmael, Dawit, Jemanesh and Sadok (they FPL) came.’

(253) *tiŋŋa jike umbaŋa ann jerikak nojje*
tiŋŋ-ŋa ji-ke umba-ŋa ann jeri-ka-k no-jj-e
 1MSG-CONJ 3MSG wife-CONJ 1FDU Yeri-ALL-AUX go-FDU-PST
 ‘I and his wife (we FDU) went to Yeri.’

7.1.2 Free Pronouns and Agreement Markers

Languages differ in their use of pronouns. Some use free pronouns predominantly and others replace this function by bound agreement markers. Bhat (2004) discusses this typological issue as follows:

Another important typological distinction that we need to make among languages is between those in which the primary function of personal pronouns is carried out by independent personal pronouns that occur as arguments on the one hand, and the ones in which it is carried out, instead, by bound pronouns (clitics or affixes) that occur as part of the predicate on the other. (p. 15)

Bhat calls languages of the first type free pronoun languages and languages of the second type bound pronoun languages. The following are the dominant features or tendencies of free and bound pronoun languages that Bhat (2004, pp 15-21) proposes as parameters to distinguish the two types of languages.

In free pronoun languages

- Agreement markers may or may not occur and can easily be lost, unlike independent pronouns.
- The independent personal pronouns are obligatory and consistent. The occurrence of agreement markers is non-obligatory.
- When the agreement markers occur, they may be inconsistent in that different types of paradigm may show different types of personal distinctions. They may also show mergers 'syncretisms' that do not have any functional explanation.
- Case markers that indicate the nature of their participation in events and states are also attached to these independent pronouns.
- Agreement markers partially repeat the information given by the independent pronoun.
- Agreement markers may provide information only about the most prominent participant, like the subject or agent of a clause but not about oblique participants.
- Agreement markers are combined with other elements that have more important functions to perform, such as denoting the tense, aspect, and mood of the verb.
- Paradigms of different tenses and moods may differ in showing or not showing personal distinctions or in showing only a few distinctions.

In bound pronoun languages

- Agreement markers or bound pronouns occurring in the predicate are more prominent and obligatory. They are very consistent and regularly used for denoting personal distinctions.
- Independent pronouns are used only for emphasis or contrast.
- Case role distinctions are expressed through distinctions occurring in agreement markers rather than through affixes occurring with independent pronouns.
- Affixes and clitics occurring with the predicate denote all the core arguments in them.
- some manifest gender distinction among agreement markers but not among independent personal pronouns
- The languages also allow argument-drop and at least some degree of freedom in word order.

Chabu seems a free pronoun language in which the function of personal pronoun mainly is performed by independent pronouns. Because;

1. Agreement markers (that appear in the verb) refer only to the subject of a sentence and other participants (the object, the beneficiary, the receiver ...) are not represented in the predicate, thus have to be represented by independent pronouns obligatorily.
2. Except in the agent/subject position, the independent personal pronouns are obligatory and consistent. (No agreement marker in positions other than agent/subject).
3. Even the agreement markers that refer the agent or subject do not represent the full sense of what their counter independent pronouns tell. They only partially repeat what is informed by the independent pronouns.
4. As can be observed from Table 58 below, agreement marking in the language is a bit complex and inconsistent.
 - a. Gender marking in the verb is not consistent as it is in independent personal pronouns. In singulars and in plurals, gender is not marked. Gender strictly and persistently is marked as an agreement only in duals of all persons.

- b. Person marking is also inconsistent. There is no marker for third person at all (or the marker is zero morpheme). The first and second persons that are marked for agreement are marked in different ways; only second person is marked consistently with /-k/ across number and gender but, the person markers in first person are varied based on the number of the referents (/-/ for singular /-a/ for dual and /app-/ for plural).
5. These agreement markers occur in combination with tense-aspect markers.
 6. All case relations are marked on the independent pronouns
 7. Chabu verb roots stand by themselves as free forms, without any agreement marker. These verb root forms also serve as imperative forms for 2SG. This feature of having a free verb root is also additional evidence that proves Chabu is a free pronoun language.

Table 58. Summary of Chabu Agreement Markers

Person	Gender	Number					
		Singular		Dual		Plural	
		Personal	Nominal	Personal	Nominal	Personal	Nominal
1 st	Feminine	-t	∅	-a	-j	app-	∅
	Masculine	-t	∅	-a	-tʃtʃ	app-	∅
2 nd	Feminine	-kk	∅	-kk	-j	-kk	-d
	Masculine	-kk	∅	-kk	-tʃtʃ	-kk	-d
3 rd	Feminine	∅	∅	∅	-j	∅	-d
	Masculine	∅	∅	∅	-tʃtʃ	∅	-d

Although agreement marking in the language is complex and not uniform in all persons, numbers and genders, there is distinction between personal and nominal paradigms like “most Indo-Aryan languages” ((Masica, 1991 cited in Bhat, 2004, p. 23). The first group mark person besides other things, but in the second group, there is a syncretism of persons (Bhat 2004, p. 23). **t-** '1SG', **-a/a-** '1DU', **app-** '1PL' and **kk-** 'second person' can be grouped under personal category, because they signal person and **-j** 'FDU', **-tʃtʃ** 'MDU' and **-d** '2/3 PL' can be grouped under nominal category for they hold some information related to nominal, other than person. (See the summary of agreement markers in Table 58 above and their realization in construction in Table 59 and Table 60 below)

The distinction made is rough in the sense that the markers put in one category are not uniform in what they represent. For example, when we evaluate the agreement

markers that we grouped under personal category, the markers for first person singular, dual and plural (**t-**, **-a/a-** and **app-**) can be analyzed as portmanteau morphemes that indicate person and number while the second person marker **k-** marks only person. In the same way, among the agreement markers that we identified as nominal markers, the suffixes **-j** and **-tf** are dual markers for feminine and masculine respectively; meaning the markers denote gender and number simultaneously irrespective of person difference. The suffix **-d**, on the other hand represents only plurality (number) in second and third persons.

Table 59. Chabu Agreement Markers in Remote Past and Simple Past Tenses
Gender
Verb **am** ‘come’

and Number	Remote Past Example	Gloss	Near Past Example	Gloss
First Person				
FSG	<i>ta gi-t am-kuss</i>	I (F) had come.	<i>ta gi-t am-e</i>	I (F) came.
MSG	<i>tiŋŋ gi-t am-kuss</i>	I (M) had come.	<i>tiŋŋ gi-t am-e</i>	I (M) came.
FDU	<i>an-k am-kuss-j</i>	We (FDU) had come.	<i>an-k am-j-e</i>	We (FDU) came.
MDU	<i>antf-k am-kuss-tf</i>	We (MDU) had come.	<i>antfi-k am-tf-e</i>	We (MDU) came.
FPL	<i>jamfu-k app-am-kuss</i>	We (FPL) had come.	<i>jamfu-k app-am-e</i>	We (FPL) came.
MPL	<i>jiŋŋ-k app-am-kuss</i>	We (MPL) had come.	<i>jiŋŋ-k app-am-e</i>	We (MPL) came.
Second person				
FSG	<i>kunŋu gi-k-am-kuss</i>	You (FSG) had come.	<i>kunŋu gi-k am-e</i>	You (FSG) came.
MSG	<i>kukku gi-k am-kuss</i>	You (MSG) had come.	<i>kukku gi-k am-e</i>	You (MSG) came.
FDU	<i>sijaki gi-k am-kuss-j</i>	You (FDU) had come.	<i>sijaki gi-k am-j-e</i>	You (FDU) came.
MDU	<i>tfitfaki gi-k am-kuss-tf</i>	You (MDU) had come.	<i>tfitfaki gi-k am-tf-e</i>	You (MDU) came.
FPL	<i>subaki gi-k am-kuss-d</i>	You (FPL) had come.	<i>subaki gi-k am-d-e</i>	You (FPL) came.
MPL	<i>sitalki gi-k am-kuss-d</i>	You (MPL) had come.	<i>sitalki gi-k am-d-e</i>	You (MPL) came.
Third person				
FSG	<i>oŋŋa-k am-kuss</i>	She had come.	<i>oŋŋa-k am-e</i>	She came.
MSG	<i>ji-k am-kuss</i>	He had come.	<i>ji-k am-e</i>	He came.
FDU	<i>oŋŋa-k am-kuss-j</i>	They (FDU) had come.	<i>oŋŋa-k am-ij-e</i>	They (FDU) came.
MDU	<i>otfifa-k am-kuss-tf</i>	They (MDU) had come.	<i>otfifa-k am-tf-e</i>	They (MDU) came.
FPL	<i>odda-k am-kuss-d</i>	They (FPL) had come.	<i>odda-k am-d-e</i>	They (FPL) came.
MPL	<i>otala-k am-kuss-d</i>	They (MPL) had come.	<i>otala-k am-d-e</i>	They (MPL) came.

There is a tendency of administering different affixation strategies for the two types of agreement markers. Except the first person marker for dual –a, all the markers we grouped under personal category come before the main verb as prefixes or suffixed to an auxiliary that precedes the main verb and all the nominal agreement markers occur suffixing to the main verb. Even the –a ‘1DU’ agreement marker occur before the stem in hortative mood and there it agrees with our argument of the affixation strategy of the language.

Table 60. Chabu Agreement Markers in Present and Future Tenses

Number Gender	Present prorassive		Future Tense	
	Example	Gloss	Example	Gloss
First person				
FSG	<i>ta gi-t-ij am-m(o)</i>	I (F) am coming.	<i>ta (inda)-ge-t am-g</i>	I (F) will come.
MSG	<i>tiŋŋ gi-t-ij am-m(o)</i>	I (M) am coming.	<i>tiŋŋ (inda)-ge-t am-g</i>	I (M) will come.
FDU	<i>ann gi-ŋ am-mo-j</i>	We (FDU) are coming.	<i>ann (inda)-ge am-j-a-g</i>	We (FDU) will come.
MDU	<i>antʃ gi-ŋ am-mo-tʃ</i>	We (MDU) are coming.	<i>antʃ (inda)-ge am-tʃ-a-g</i>	We (MDU) will come.
FPL	<i>jamfu apu-ŋ am-m(o)</i>	We (FPL) are coming.	<i>jamfu(inda)-ge ap-am-g</i>	We (FPL) will come.
MPL	<i>jiŋŋ apu-ŋ am-m(o)</i>	We (MPL) are coming.	<i>jiŋŋ (inda)-ge ap-am-g</i>	We (MPL) will come.
Second person				
FSG	<i>kunŋu gi-k-ij am-m(o)</i>	You (FSG) are coming.	<i>kunŋu (inda)ge-k am-g</i>	You (FSG) will come.
MSG	<i>kukku gi-k-ij am-m(o)</i>	You(MSG)are coming.	<i>kukku (inda)ge-k am-g</i>	You(MSG) will come.
FDU	<i>sijak gi-k-ij am-mo-j</i>	You (FDU) are coming.	<i>sijaki (inda)ge-k am-j-ig</i>	You(FDU) will come.
MDU	<i>tʃitʃak gi-k-ij am-mo-tʃ</i>	You(MDU) are coming.	<i>tʃitʃaki (inda)ge-k am-tʃ-ig</i>	You(MDU) will come.
FPL	<i>subaki gi-k-ij am-mo-d</i>	You (FPL) are coming.	<i>subaki (inda)ge-k am-d-ig</i>	You (FPL) will come.
MPL	<i>sitalki gi-k-ij am-mo-d</i>	You(MPL) are coming.	<i>sitalaku (inda)ge-k am-d-ig</i>	You(MPL) will come.
Third person				
FSG	<i>oŋŋa gi-ŋ am-m(o)</i>	She is coming.	<i>oŋŋa (inda)-ge am-g</i>	She will come.
MSG	<i>ji gi-ŋ am-m(o)</i>	He is coming.	<i>ju (inda)-ge am-g</i>	He will come.
FDU	<i>ojja gi-ŋ am-mo-j</i>	They (FDU) are coming	<i>ojja (inda)-ge am-j-ig</i>	They (FDU) will come.
MDU	<i>otʃʃa gi-ŋ am-mo-tʃ</i>	They (MDU) are coming	<i>otʃʃa (inda)-ge am-tʃ-ig</i>	They(MDU) will come.
FPL	<i>odda gi-ŋ am-mo-d</i>	They (FPL) are coming	<i>odda (inda)-ge am-d-ig</i>	They (FPL) will come.
MPL	<i>otala gi-ŋ am-mo-d</i>	They (MPL) are coming	<i>otala (inda)-ge am-d-ig</i>	They (MPL) will come.

As we can see from Table 59 and Table 60 above, the first person marker for dual /-a/ is not visible in paradigms other than the future. However, this can be hypothesized as the dropping of –a is because of Chabu's tendency of dropping final vowels (cf.

Chapter 4). Thus, the *-a* in the future tense is available because it is followed by the consonant future tense marker *-g(e)* and it is dropped in the remote/historic past and present tense constructions because it is the final segment of the form. In the recent past it is followed by the near past marker *-e* and is deleted to avoid the impermissible vowel sequence.

We have evidence in Table 60 that supports our argument of the deletion of word-final vowels. The /o/ on the progressive marker *-mo* is dropped when it appears as word-final segment in singulars and appears when followed by the dual and plural markers.

Although all the above-mentioned evidences support our argument that Chabu is a free pronoun language, Chabu agreement markers are obligatory and this violates Bhat's (2004, p. 16) argument that read "the occurrence of agreement markers is [...] non-obligatory in free-pronoun languages". To the contrary, if there are agreement markers, endophoric, exophoric or contextual references that make the referent known, it is possible to drop subject independent pronouns (as in (254) and (255)).

(254) *inkum bartfumti moka detmode* (Chabu007-Sp1-007)
 inki-um bartfum-ti mo-ka dèt-mo-d-e
 one-M seat-ADES sit-ACC desire-PROG-PL-PST
 They were wishing to sit on the same leadership position (Lit. seat).

(255) *depemsike batika git etfate*
 depe-e-m-sike bati-ka gi-t etfát-e
 lion-DEF-M-GEN roar-ACC AUX-1SG hear-PST
 I heard the roar of the lion.

Both examples ((254) and (255)) have no subject. In (254), the subject is elided because it is mentioned in the preceding sentences in the narrative. In example (255) the free pronoun is elided because the person marker *-t* tells that the subject is the speaker and its sex can easily be detected from the look of the speaker, so that telling the gender of the speaker is not as search important. Moreover, we have also observed a male speaker using the feminine pronoun *ta* in referring himself.

7.1.3 Case in Chabu Personal Pronouns

As mentioned above in Chapter 6, Chabu makes formal distinction between nominative, accusative-dative-allative, genitive, locative (ablative and adessive) and vocative cases. These pronouns, excepting the locatives and the vocatives, are marked the same way as Chabu nouns are marked for the similar cases. Table 61 summarizes the case marking system of Chabu pronouns.

Table 61. Summary of Case Marking in Chabu Pronouns

Person	Number	Gender	Nominative	Focused Nominative	Accusative-Dative-Allative	Genitive	Ablative	Adessive	Vocative
1 st	Singular	F	<i>ta</i>	<i>tawo</i>	<i>taka</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>tati</i>	<i>takati</i>	
		M	<i>tiŋŋ</i>	<i>tiŋŋo/tiŋŋu</i>	<i>tiŋka</i>	<i>tiŋke</i>	<i>tiŋti</i>	<i>tiŋkati</i>	
	Dual	F	<i>ann</i>	<i>annu</i>	<i>anka</i>	<i>anke</i>	<i>annti</i>	<i>ankati</i>	
		M	<i>antf</i>	<i>antfu</i>	<i>antfika</i>	<i>antfike</i>	<i>antfiti</i>	<i>antfikati</i>	
	Plural	F	<i>jiŋŋ</i>	<i>jiŋŋu</i>	<i>jiŋka</i>	<i>jiŋke</i>	<i>jiŋti</i>	<i>jiŋkati</i>	
		M	<i>janŋfu</i>	<i>janŋfo</i>	<i>janŋfuka</i>	<i>janŋfuke</i>	<i>janŋfuti</i>	<i>janŋfukati</i>	
2 nd	Singular	F	<i>kunŋ</i>	<i>kunŋu</i>	<i>kunŋa</i>	<i>kunŋe</i>	<i>kunŋuti</i>	<i>kunŋati</i>	<i>kunŋha</i>
		M	<i>kukk</i>	<i>kukku</i>	<i>kukka</i>	<i>kukke</i>	<i>kukkuti</i>	<i>kukkukati</i>	<i>kuha</i>
	Dual	F	<i>sijak(a)</i>	<i>sijaku</i>	<i>sijaka</i>	<i>sijake</i>	<i>sijakti</i>	<i>sijakati</i>	<i>sijaka</i>
		M	<i>tʃitʃak(a)</i>	<i>tʃitʃaku</i>	<i>tʃitʃaka</i>	<i>tʃitʃake</i>	<i>tʃitʃakti</i>	<i>tʃitʃakati</i>	<i>tʃitʃaka</i>
	Plural	F	<i>subak(a)</i>	<i>Subaku</i>	<i>subaka</i>	<i>subake</i>	<i>subakati</i>	<i>subakati</i>	<i>subaka</i>
		M	<i>sitalak(a)</i> <i>/silak(a)</i>	<i>sitalaku</i> <i>/silaku</i>	<i>sitalaka</i> <i>/silaka</i>	<i>sitalake</i> <i>/silake</i>	<i>sitalakati</i> <i>/silakati</i>	<i>sitalakati</i> <i>/silakati</i>	<i>sitalaka</i>
3 rd	Singular	F	<i>oŋŋa</i>	<i>oŋŋo</i>	<i>oŋŋa</i>	<i>oŋŋe</i>	<i>oŋŋati</i>	<i>oŋŋati</i>	
		M	<i>ji</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>jika</i>	<i>jike</i>	<i>jiti</i>	<i>jikati</i>	
	Dual	F	<i>ojja</i>	<i>ojjo</i>	<i>ojjaka</i>	<i>ojjake</i>	<i>ojjati</i>	<i>ojjakati</i>	
		M	<i>otʃitʃa</i>	<i>otʃitʃo</i>	<i>otʃitʃaka</i>	<i>otʃitʃake</i>	<i>otʃitʃati</i>	<i>otʃitʃakti</i>	
	Plural	F	<i>odda</i>	<i>oddo</i>	<i>oddaka</i>	<i>oddake</i>	<i>oddakati</i>	<i>oddati</i>	
		M	<i>otala</i>	<i>otalo</i>	<i>otalaka</i>	<i>otalake</i>	<i>otalakati</i>	<i>otalakati</i>	

The pronouns *sijaka* ‘2FDU’, *tʃitʃaka* ‘2MDU’, *subaka* ‘2FPL’, *sitalaka* ‘2MPL’ and *oŋŋa* ‘3FSG’ drop their terminal vowels of their citation forms when they take the case markers that have the segment [k] as an initial element (the accusative-dative-allative marker *-ka*, the genitive marker *-ke* and the locative marker *-kat(i)*). In addition, the pronouns that have final consonant [k] in their citation form or after dropping their terminal vowel drop one of the two [k]s when they take the accusative-dative-allative

marker *-ka*, the genitive marker *-ke* and the locative marker *-kat(i)*. The *[k]* in *-ka*, *-ke* and *-kat(i)* becomes voiced when they are attached to the pronouns *oŋŋa* ‘3FSG’ and *kunŋ* ‘2FSG’. (See Table 61 above.)

The nominative pronouns in Chabu are unmarked citation forms of the personal pronouns, which serve as bases in forming all other cases. The nominative pronouns occur as subjects of verbs (as in (256)). However, in most cases the focused pronouns are the ones that serve as subjects (as in (257), (258) and (259)).

(256) *tiŋŋ tʃabu* (elicited)

1MSG Chabu
‘I(M) am Chabu.’

(257) [*tato kawoŋga mako ta momobege ma funka kawtu*] (Chabu007-SP1-014)

ta-ti-o k'awo=janga mako ta momo-be-ge ma
1FSG-ADES-FOC gun=have therefore 1FSG live-NEG-FUT this
funka kaw-ti-u
ash edge-ADES-FOC

‘There is a gun with me; therefore, I will not live at this ash edge.’

(258) *tawo ta momobege ma funka kawtu* (Chabu007-SP1-011)

ta-wo ta momo-be-ge ma funka kaw-tu
1FSG-FOC 1FSG live-NEG-FUT this ash edge-ADES

‘I will not live at this ash edge.’

(259) *odo bifin igomd* (Chabu007-SP1-024)

oda-o bifin igom-d-(e)
3FP-FOC ?? follow-2/3PL-PST

‘They followed.’

The following are some examples for the merger in Chabu accusative, dative and allative pronouns.

(260) *ju tinjak afale* (elicited)

ji-o tinjak-ka-gi afal-e
3MSG-FOC 1MSG-ACC-AUX kick-PST

‘He kicked me.’

(261) [*adalgi tak adze*] (Chabu007-SP1-050)

adal-gi ta-k adza-e
thunder-AUX I(F)-ACC disturb-PST
'The thunder disturbed me.'

(262) [*jijik ijanem ufo debe*] (Chabu006-Sp1- 047)

jijik-ik ijan-e-m ufa-o debe
1MPL-ACC ask-REL-M person-FOC absent
'There is no one who thinks of us.'

(263) *dzabi kuss-um ambu-ka silakkat peniηa etfatidige* (Chabu007-Sp1-002)

dzab-i kuss-um ambu-ka silak-ka-t
ancient.time-GEN existed-REL.M thing-ACC 2MPL-DAT-1SG
peni-ηa etfati-d-g
tell-CONJ hear-2/3PL-FUT.

'I will tell you a thing that had happened during the old times and you will hear.'

(264) [*oηηo femok tiηkak abalmbe*] (elicited)

oηηa -o femo -k tiηη -ka -k abal -mb-e
she -FOC cloth -ACC I(M) -DAT-AUX buy -BEN-PST
'She bought me a cloth.'

(265) *kidma?el gum-k tiηη-ka-k ham -e*

kidmael stick-ACC 1MSG-DAT-AUX give-PST
'Kidmael gave me a stick.'

(266) *oddo kukkak node.*

odda-o kukku-ka-gi no-d-e
3FPL-FOC 2MSG-ACC-AUX go¹⁰-PL-PST
'They came to you (MSG).'

The accusative-dative-allative case marker *-ka* expresses patient (as in (260) and (261)), recipient or beneficiary (as in (175), (172) and (265)) and destination (as in (174)) semantic roles.

¹⁰ In Chabu *am* 'come' is used only for movement towards the speaker. Movement towards listener and referents other than the speaker is expressed with *no* 'go'.

Genitive pronouns in Chabu are formed by affixing the suffix *-ke* on the citation form. The other genitive marker *-i/e* is not attested with pronouns. The genitive case in Chabu refers to such notions as possession (as (267), (268) and (269)) and part whole relation (as in (270)). Both alienable and inalienable possessions are marked the same way. The following examples illustrate the occurrences of genitive pronouns in sentences.

(267) *take ne?* (Selkente 13) (a response to a question *kukke wongase nafe?*)

<i>ta-ke</i>	<i>ne</i>		<i>kukku-ke</i>	<i>wongase</i>	<i>nafe</i>
I(F)-GEN	QUS		2MSG-GEN	name	who
‘Mine? (Are you asking mine?)’			‘What is your name?’		

(268) *kukk-ke tʼo hama?*

2MSG-GEN	child	which
‘Which one is your child?’		

(269) [*kunge doku bos.*]

<i>kung-ke</i>	<i>doku</i>	<i>bos.</i>
2FSG-GEN	house	wide
‘Your (FSG) house is wide.’		

(270) [*kukke kit bosbosi*]

<i>kukku-ke</i>	<i>kit</i>	<i>bos-bos-i</i>
2MSG -GEN	ear	wide-INT (Intensity)
‘Your (MSG) ear is very big.’		

(271) *moho jiny-ke giro hed* (Chabu006-Sp1-048)

now	1MPL-GEN	problem	many
‘Now our problems are many.’			

The genitive pronoun can serve both as an attributive modifier (268) - (271)) and as head of noun phrase ((272)-(274)). When it is used as a head, it can be the subject ((272) - (273)) or the object of a sentence (274). The genitive pronoun takes the accusative marker *-ka* when it serves as an object.

(272) *kunge tʼara ji.*

<i>kungu-ke</i>	<i>tʼara</i>	<i>ji</i>
2FSG-GEN	red	3MSG.COP
‘Yours is red.’		

(273) *oda-ke tare-we*
 3FPL-GEN forget-INT:PST
 ‘Theirs (FPL) is forgotten.’

(274) *ju tinjekak tone*
ji-o tinj-ke-ka-k ton-e
 he-FOC 1MSG-GEN-ACC-AUX take-PST/
 or
jik tinjek tone
ji-k tinj-ke-ka ton-e
 3MSG-AUX 1MSG-GEN-ACC take-PST
 ‘He took mine.’

Chabu ablative pronouns, unlike ablative nouns of the language, formally distinguish source and location cases. While Chabu nouns are marked with a suffix *-ti* for both source and location exclusively, Chabu pronouns are marked by a suffix *-ti* for source and by a complex suffix *-kat* or the simple *-ti* for location alternatively. The complex morpheme *-kat* seems to be a combination of the allative marker *-ka* and the ablative-adessive marker *-t(i)*. The terminal vowel seems dropped because of its word-final occurrence.

The following table presents the ablative (source and adessive pronouns of Chabu.

Table 62. Chabu Ablative Pronouns

Source (ABL)		Adessive (ADES)	
<i>ta-ti</i>	'from me (F)'	<i>ta-kat</i>	'with me (F)'
<i>tinj-ti</i>	'from me (M)'	<i>tinj-kat</i>	'with me (M)'
<i>ann-ti</i>	'from us (FDU)'	<i>ann -kat</i>	'with us (FDU)'
<i>antʃtʃ-ti</i>	'from us (MDU)'	<i>antʃtʃ-kat</i>	'with us (MDU)'
<i>jinj-ti</i>	'from us (FPL)'	<i>jinj-kat</i>	'with us (FPL)'
<i>janfu-ti</i>	'from us (MPL)'	<i>janfu-kat</i>	'with us (MPL)'
<i>kunju-ti</i>	'from you (FSG) '	<i>kunj-kat [kunʒat]</i>	'with you (FSG) '
<i>kukku-ti</i>	'from you (MSG.)'	<i>kukk-kat [kukkat]</i>	'with you (MSG.)'
<i>sijak-ti</i>	'from you (FDU)'	<i>sijak-kat</i>	'with you (FDU)'
<i>tʃitʃak-ti</i>	'from you (MDU)'	<i>tʃitʃak-kat</i>	'with you (MDU)'
<i>subaka-ti</i>	'from you (FPL)'	<i>subaka-kat [subakat]</i>	'with you (FPL)'
<i>sitalaka-ti /silaka-ti</i>	'from you (MPL)'	<i>sitalaka-kat [sitalakat]</i> <i>/silaka-kat [silkat]</i>	'with you (MPL)'

Source (ABL)		Adessive (ADES)	
<i>oŋŋa-ndi</i>	'from her'	<i>oŋŋa-kat [oŋgat]</i>	'with her'
<i>ji-ti</i>	'from him'	<i>ji-kat</i>	'with him'
<i>ojja-ti</i>	'from them (FDU)'	<i>ojja-kat</i>	'with them (FDU)'
<i>otfifa-ti</i>	'from them (MDU)'	<i>otfifa-kat</i>	'with them (MDU)'
<i>odda-ti</i>	'from them (FPL)'	<i>odda-kat</i>	'with them (FPL)'
<i>otala-ti</i>	'from them (MPL)'	<i>otala-kat</i>	'with them (MPL)'

The following examples illustrate the occurrences of source ablative pronouns in sentences.

(275) *otaloti attene gutaremo /Jifori ufewattoti attene gutaremo*

otala-o-ti attene gutare-mo

3 MPL-FOC-ABL Attene old-PROG

'Among them Attene is the oldest.'

(276) *ju oŋŋatig abale* or *jik oŋŋati abale*

ji-o oŋŋa-ti-g(i) abal-e *ji-k oŋŋa-ti abal-e*

he-FOC 3FSG-ABL-AUX buy-PST he-AUX 3FSG-ABL buy-PST

'He bought from her.'

(277) *aster oddati femokak tone*

aster oda-ti femo-ka-(gi) abal-e

Aster 3FPL-ABL cloth-ACC-AUX take-PST

or

aster oddatig femok tone

aster odda-ti-g(i) femo-k ton-e /

Aster 3FPL-ABL-AUX cloth-ACC take-PST

'Aster took cloth from them (FPL).'

(278) [*ufem oŋŋandik sinaka abale*]

ufa-e-m oŋŋa-n-ti-k sina-ka abal-e

person-DEF-M 3FSG-FILL-ABL-AUX honey-ACC buy-PST

The man bought honey from her.

In the case of example (278), the Ablative marker *-ti* is realized as *-di* and *-n-* is inserted as a kind of linker. The occurrence of *-d* can be analyzed as voiced *-t* because of the preceding inserted nasal. Nevertheless, we could not justify the insertion of the nasal.

Although the gloss for the complex morpheme *-kat* is ‘with’, it does not mean that *-kat* is a comitative marker. *-kat* only indicates that the referent of the object noun is available near the referent of the ablative/adessive pronoun.

The following examples illustrate the occurrences of this adessive pronouns in sentences.

(279) *tato kawoŋga* (Chabu007-SP1-012)

ta-ti-o k'awo=jawŋga

I(F)-ADES-FOC gun=have

There is a gun with me.

(280) *jike pena tiŋkat*

ji-ke pena tiŋ-kat

3MSG-GEN pen 1MSG-COM ‘His pen is with me’

(281) *kunge t f'ò jikat mom*

kunŋu-ke t f'ò ji-kat mo-m(o)

2FSG-GEN child 3MSG-COM live-PRS

Your(FSG) child lives with him.

7.2 Demonstratives

As Diessel (1999, p. 2) points out, the notion of demonstrative includes deictic expressions, which are used as independent pronouns (pronominals), as modifiers of co-occurring nouns (adnominals) and location adverbs. Thus, we will address Chabu demonstratives in this broad sense that include pronominal, adnominal and adverbial demonstratives.

7.2.1 Pronominal and Adnominal Demonstratives

Chabu does not formally distinguish between pronominal and adnominal demonstratives. The two demonstrative types have the same forms. These same forms function as independent pronouns or they may co-occur with a noun.

The primary deictic distinction that demonstratives make in most languages of the world is a spatial one (Diessel, 1999, p. 36), and Chabu is member of this wider typological category. Chabu distinguishes four distance categories among which the three have spatial distinction — proximal (near to 1(speaker)), medial (near to 2

(listener)) and distal (far from both). The remaining distinction is between visible and invisible (out of sight) in the distal deictic distinction. The following table presents Chabu demonstratives.

Table 63. Chabu Pronominal Demonstratives

Proximal	Medial	Distal	Distal invisible
<i>inka</i> ‘PROX.F’	<i>ŋa/ŋa-d</i> ‘MED’	<i>ŋa-t</i> ‘DIST’	<i>ŋa-d-e-ŋ</i> ‘INVS.F’
<i>ma/moha</i> ‘PROX.M’			<i>ŋa-d-e-m</i> ‘INVS.M’

As can be observed from Table 63, except the proximal (near 1) demonstratives all are formed from a common stem *ŋa* and other affixes that refer to some distance. The suffixes that are used to form the medial and distal visible demonstratives are *-d* (as in (283)) and *-t* (as in (284) and (285)) respectively; when *-d* is suffixed to the stem the demonstrative refers the position far from a speaker and near to a listener (medial) and when *-t* is suffixed to the stem it refers to the position away from both a speaker and a listener (distal). Besides being the stem of the non-proximal demonstratives, *ŋa* serves as masculine medial (near 2) demonstrative in its free form as an alternative of *ŋad*.

The distal invisible pronominal demonstrative is formed by suffixing the definite marker *-e* to the medial (near 2) demonstrative *ŋad-* followed by the gender markers as *ŋad-e-ŋ* or *ŋad-e-m*. As the definite marker always requires gender distinction, the gender markers *-ŋ* ‘F’ as in (283) or *-m* ‘M’ as in (286) occur following the definite marker obligatorily. The definite marker seems added to mark the common understanding of the speaker and the listener about the referent situation, object or person.

(282) *tʼabu-ke tʼowtʃe ma ŋanti guntʃi-ŋa*
 Chabu-GEN boundary PROX.M there.DIST Gunchi-CONJ

miriŋ ojja-ke (Chabu006-Sp1- 007)

Mirin 3FDU-COP

Chabu's boundaries are this down at Gunchi and Mirin.

(283) *ŋadendak ofu git de ŋaseti ŋakamo ŋad nad* (Chabu006-Sp1- 078)

ŋaden-da-k of-u gi-t de ŋa-seti ŋakamo ŋad nad

INVS-F-FPL-ACC alone-FOC AUX-1SG know MEDL-INES ??? MEDL MEDL

Among that I know only those.

(284) *ɲat katfombo son ufa jaŋga afalo eddem maŋ* (Chabu006-Sp1- 076)
ɲat katfo-mba-o son ufa jaŋga afalo e-dd-e-m maŋ
 DIST half-SIDE-FOC other person exist Afalo say-PL-REL-M place
 By that other side, there are other people at a place called Affallo.

(285) *ɲat amemaka ofu ge idzagang ed* (Chabu00-021)
ɲat am-e-m-aka of-u ge idzagan-g e-d
 DIST come-REL-M-ACC alone-FOC AUX work -FUT say- PL
 He will do that he came for, that is all.

(286) *ɲadɛm ufero bala-korede gutaremtaku* (Chabu001- 006)
ɲadɛm ufa-e=jero bala-kore-d-e gutare-e-m-tak-u
 INVS.M person-LINK=VAR go-finish-PL-PST old.man-DEF-M-M.PL-FOC
 Those people have all died; the old men.

Chabu demonstratives have both exophoric and endophoric functions; exophorically by pointing at humans, places or objects as in (287) and (288) below and by referring prior shared knowledge between the speaker and the listener as in example (291) and endophorically (anaphorically) by referring what has been already mentioned linguistically as in (289) and (290) below. The invisible distal demonstrative *ɲadɛŋ* and *ɲadɛm* have referential function (see example (290)). The proximal demonstrative *ma* is also used as a discourse word (although it is a proximal demonstrative it is used to infer a distal place which the speaker is thinking of as in example (282) above, (292) and (293) below.

(287) *ɲat katfo-ti-u ɲadim jeri* (Chabu006-Sp1- 077)
 DIST half-ADES.FOC that.MEDL. M Yeri
 At that side is that Yeri.

(288) *ɲat-iŋ katfo-t-u dɛbe dzoʔu chaw-i bok'u* (Chabu006-Sp1- 080)
 DIST-F side-ADES-FOC absent ??? Chabu-GEN place
 At that other side there is no Chabu place.

(289) *ɲadumak ɲaʔak indag ihomwe ijage jert* (Chabu005-Sp1-018)
ɲad-um-ak ɲa-k inda-g ihom-we ijag-e jer-t
 MED-M-ACC MED-ACC IPFV-AUX count-PASS reject-PST Yeri-ADES
 That had been counted at Yeri, but it is rejected. (referring what the listener said in the preceding time)

(290) [*ɲadɛmak apasabeku*(AMHRIC) *moho ɲeg abiʔam ed*] Chabu001- 011
ɲadɛm-ak app-asab-e-ku moho ɲeg abi am ed
 INVS.M-ACC 1PL-think-PST-CONJ now ?? reach come say.PL
 While we were thinking that, here we are now, he arrived.

(291) *ɲadɪm penimom penijoko jɪŋŋo jɪŋŋ jowbeg ed* (Chabu001- 014)
ɲadɪm peni-mo-e-m peni-(j)o-k-o jɪŋŋ-o jɪŋŋ
 MED.M talk-PROG-REL-M talk-FOF-ACC-FOC 1MPL-FOC 1MPL
jow-be-ge ed
 hate-NEG-FUT say.PL
 We do not dislike the talk that he is talking.

(292) *ma-ti doboji k'atfo-ka ti no tʃ'abi sɛŋga chabu dɛkatʃi* (Chabu006-Sp1- 024)
ma-ti doboji k'atfo-ka ti no tʃ'abi sɛŋga tʃ'abu dɛkatʃi
 PROX.M-ABL Doboy side-ALL 1sg go Chabu search Chabu absent
 I went (at this) towards Doboy to look for Chabu, there is no Chabu.

(293) *ɲaduma eku ma he:buto dufi eddum maŋ jɛŋga* (Chabu006-Sp1- 074)
ɲadum-a eku ma he:bu-ti-o dufi e-dd-u-m maŋ jɛŋga
 MED.M-?? CONJ this up/north-ADES-FOC Dushi say-PL-REL-M place exist
 In addition to that, this down/ at the north, there is a place called Dushi.

Chabu does not distinguish between demonstrative pronouns, determiners, and identifiers; rather, it uses the same demonstrative forms for various syntactic purposes. The same demonstrative forms may function both as independent pronoun (pronominal) as in (294) – (296), as modifier (adnominal or demonstrative adjectives) (as in (297) - (299)) and as identifier demonstratives (as in (300) and (301)).

(294) *moho nambi?* ‘What is this?’
ma-ho nambi
 PROX.M.Foc what

(295) *ma-k ton*
 this(M)-ACC take
 Take this.

- (296) *iŋka tiŋŋ-ke umba*
 this.F 1MSG-GEN wife
 ‘this(F) is my wife’
- (297) *ma baŋε k'ina*
 this.M spear new
 This spear is new.
- (298) *ŋa ufa tiŋŋ-ke taji*
 that (near2.M) person 1MSG-GEN elder.brother
 ‘That (near the listener) man is my elder brother.’
- (299) *ŋadεm gutarewoto otalaŋgane?*
ŋadεm gutare=woto otala (ja)ŋga-ne?
 INVS.M old.person=MPL 3MPL available-INT
 Are those old men alive or present?
- (300) *ma daŋka / moho daŋka ji*
 this.M good / this.M.FOC good 3.MSG
 This (M) is good.
- (301) *inka daŋka / iŋko daŋka oŋŋ*
 this.F good / this.F.FOC good 3.FSG
 This (F) is good.

7.2.1.1 Gender in Chabu Pronominal Demonstratives

Chabu demonstratives distinguish gender in all deictic distinctions. In non-singular demonstratives, excepting proximal plural, gender is marked by the common number-gender markers of Chabu nouns and the singular masculine demonstratives are used as bases of inflection. The feminine form of the plural proximal is formed in different way than the others (see Table 65 below). The medial and the distal pronominal demonstratives inflect for gender and take the common gender markers *-ŋ* ‘F’ and *-m* ‘M’, but it does not seem obligatory. When the gender markers are suffixed to the demonstrative, *-i-* or *-u-* is inserted as an epenthetic vowel between the stem and the gender marker to avoid the creation of impermissible coda cluster (obstruent followed by sonorant) (see Table 64 and Examples (302) to (311) below).

Table 64. Gender Marking in Chabu Demonstratives

Number	Proximal (Near to 1)	Medial (Near to 2)	Distal visible	Distal invisible
Feminine	<i>iŋka</i>	<i>ŋaɗ-um</i>	<i>ŋat-um</i>	<i>ŋaɗ-e-m</i>
Masculine	<i>ma</i>	<i>ŋaɗ-iŋ</i>	<i>ŋat-iŋ</i>	<i>ŋaɗ-e-ŋ</i>

(302) *ŋaɗ-um maŋ-tak ɓala kemo babe ta-k* (Chabu006-Sp1- 010)

MED-M place-PL.M go tell father 1FSG-DAT

My father told me those places.

(303) *ŋat ŋa ambo ŋaɗ-iŋ ŋaɗ-iŋ-ŋa of-u* (Chabu006-Sp1- 079)

DIST that thing MED-F MED-F-CONJ alone-FOC

That thing is that and only that(F)

(304) *iŋka kani ha-ka-k ta-je*

PROX.F dog meat-ACC-AUX eat-PST

This female dog ate meat.

(305) *ma kani gongodzi-ka-k loge-e*

PROX.M dog antelope-ACC-AUX chase-PST

‘This dog run after an antelope’

(306) *ŋa ufa depe-ka-k ka-je*

MED person lion-ACC-AUX kill-PST

‘That persone (near the listener) killed a lion.’

(307) *ŋaɗ-iŋ kani boka-je*

MED.F dog bark-PST

‘That (F) dog barked.’

(308) *ŋat-um femo nafe-ke*

DIST. M cloth who-GEN

Whose cloth is that?

(309) *ŋat-iŋ umba nafeke umba oŋŋ*

DIST-F woman whose wife she

Whos wife is that woman?

(310) *ŋaɗumotala debek domadde*

ŋaɗ-um=otala debe-k doma-dd-e

MED-M=MPL ???-AUX rip-PL-PST

Those ones have ripened.

(311) *ɲad-um-da kani =watto boka-dd-e.*
 MED-F-FPL dog=PL bark-PL-PST
 ‘Those (F) dogs barked.’

7.2.1.2 Number Marking in Chabu Demonstratives

Chabu demonstratives are marked for number obligatorily when they function as an independent pronoun and optionally when they serve as modifiers. The demonstratives form their duals and plurals by suffixing the common dual and plural marker enclitics of Chabu nouns (=òjjà ‘FDU’, =òtʃtʃà ‘MDU’, =òddà/da ‘FPL’ and =otala/tak ‘MPL’) to the singular masculine demonstrative forms. Since the number markers co-mark gender, only the masculine singular forms are taken as stems for dual and plural demonstrative formation. The only exceptional case is the formation of plural proximal feminine. The plural form of the proximal feminine *ɲka* is *inda* and the two forms seem lexically distinct as a result of partial root suppletion. However, since Chabu in many cases elides some syllables of words, we suspect that the *-ka* part of *ɲka* ‘Proximal Feminine’ and *od-* part of =òddà ‘FPL’ may have been elided and formed the form *inda* ‘proximal feminine plural’ as a result of blending. The *ɲ* in *ɲka* becomes homorganic with the *d* of *odda* and this seems a sound argument than partial suppletion.

Table 65. Number Marking in Chabu Demonstratives

Gender-Number	3 rd person pronouns	Demonstratives			
		Near to 1	Near to 2	Distal visible	Distal invisible
Feminine Singular	<i>oɲɲa</i>	<i>ɲka</i>	<i>ɲad-ɲ/ ɲaʔ-ɲ</i>	<i>ɲatum</i>	<i>ɲadɛɲ/ ɲaʔem</i>
Masculine Singular	<i>ji</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>ɲa/ ɲad-im</i>	<i>ɲatum</i>	<i>ɲadɛm</i>
Feminine Dual	<i>oɲɲa</i>	<i>ma oɲɲa</i> > [<i>moɲɲa</i>]	<i>ɲa oɲɲa</i> > [<i>ɲoɲɲa</i>]	<i>ɲatumoɲɲa</i>	<i>ɲademoɲɲa</i>
Masculine Dual	<i>otʃtʃa</i>	<i>ma otʃtʃa</i> > [<i>motʃtʃa</i>]	<i>ɲa otʃtʃa</i> > [<i>ɲotʃtʃa</i>]	<i>ɲatumotʃtʃa</i>	<i>ɲadɛmotʃtʃa</i>
Feminine Plural	<i>odda</i>	[<i>inda</i>] probably <i>ɲka=odda</i>	<i>ɲadum-da</i> > <i>ɲadunda</i>	<i>ɲatum-da</i> > [<i>ɲatunda</i>]	<i>ɲadɛm-da</i> > [<i>ɲadɛnda</i>]
Masculine Plural	<i>otala</i>	<i>ma-otala</i> > [<i>motala</i>]	<i>ɲadim-otala/</i> <i>ɲadum-otala</i>	<i>ɲatum-tak</i> > [<i>ɲaduntak</i>]/ <i>ɲatum-otala</i>	<i>ɲadɛm-tak</i> > [<i>ɲadɛntak</i>]/ <i>ɲadɛm-otala</i>

The following table presents some examples of plural forms of the demonstratives functioning as identifiers.

Table 66. Examples for Dual and Plural Demonstratives

	Near to 1	Near to 2	Distal visible	Distal invisible
FSG	<i>ijko dāŋka</i> <i>/ijka-o dāŋka/</i> 'this(F)-FOC good This(F) is good.	<i>/jadīŋ-o dāŋka oŋŋ /</i> that.N2(F)-FOC good FSG That (F) is good	<i>/jatiŋ-o dāŋka oŋŋ/</i> that.Dist-FOC good FSG That (F) is good	<i>/jadē-ŋo dāŋka oŋŋ/</i> that.INVS-FOC good FSG That.Invisible (F) is good
MSG	<i>moho dāŋka</i> 'This(M)-FOC is good.	<i>/jadūmo dāŋka ji/</i> 'That(M).Foc is good.	<i>/jatūmo dāŋka ji /</i> 'that(M).Foc is good.	<i>/jadēmo dāŋka ji/</i> 'that(M).Foc is good.
FDU	<i>/mojjo dāŋka ojja/</i> These two(F) are good.	<i>/jadīmojo dāŋka ojja/</i> those two(F) are good.	<i>/jatūmojo dāŋka oŋŋ /</i> those two(F) are good.	<i>/jademojo dāŋka oŋŋ</i> those two(F) are good.
MD U	<i>/motŋfo dāŋka otŋfa/</i> These two(M) are good.	<i>/jodūmotŋfo dāŋka otŋfa/</i> those two(M) are good.	<i>/jatūmotŋfo dāŋka otŋfa</i> / those two(M) are good.	<i>/jadēmotŋfo dāŋka</i> <i>otŋfa/</i> those two(M) are good.
FPL	<i>/indo dāŋka odda/</i> these PL(F) are good	<i>/jadūmodo dāŋka odda/</i> those PL(F) are good.	<i>/jatūmo dāŋka odda/</i> those PL(F) are good.	<i>/jadēmo dāŋka odda</i> those PL(F) are good.
MPL	<i>/motalo dāŋka otala/</i> these two.M are good	<i>/jadūmotalo dāŋka otala/</i>	<i>/jatūmtako/</i> <i>/jatēmotalo/ dāŋka otala/</i>	<i>/jadētako/jadēmotal</i> <i>dāŋka otala</i>

As mentioned above, Chabu demonstratives take the number marks optionally when they serve as attributive modifiers. When the demonstratives are marked for number, only the plural marker =*watto* can optionally be encliticized to the head nouns. If the demonstratives are unmarked, the head noun is obligatorily marked. In the case of duals, only the demonstratives take the dual markers and the head nouns are optionally marked with the plural marker =*watto*. (see examples under (312) below.)

(312) proximal

<i>inka kani</i>	'this (F) dog'
<i>ma kani</i>	'this (M) dog'
<i>mojja kani / mojja kani watto</i>	'these (FDU) dogs'
<i>motŋfa kani/ motŋfa kani watto</i>	'these (MDU) dogs'
<i>inda kani/ inda kani watto</i>	'these (FPL) dogs'
<i>motala koni/ motala kani watto</i>	'these (MPL) dogs'

Medial

- ɲadɪŋ kani* ‘that (Near.2.F) dog’
ɲadum kani ‘that (Near2.M) dog’
ɲadumojja kani / ɲadumojja kani watto ‘those (N2.FDU) dogs’
ɲadumotfa kani/ ɲadumotfa kani watto ‘those (Near2 MDU) dogs’
ɲadɪŋ kani oda/ ɲadumda kani/ ɲadumda kani watto ‘those (Near2. FPL) dogs’
ɲadum kani otala/ ɲadumotal kani/ ɲadumotal kani watto ‘those (Near2. MPL) dogs’

Distal

- ɲati-ŋ kani* ‘that (FSG) dog’
ɲatu-m kani ‘that (MSG) dog’
ɲatu-mojja kani/ ɲatu-mojja kani watto ‘those (FDU.) dogs’
ɲatu-m otɕifa kani/ ɲatu-m otɕifa kani watto ‘those (MDU) dogs’
ɲati-ŋ kani odda/ ɲatu-m-dda kani/ ɲatumdda kani watto ‘those (FPL) dogs’
ɲatu-m kani otala/ ɲatu-m-otala kani/ ɲatumotala kani watto ‘those (MPL) dogs’

Distal invisible

- ɲadɛ-ŋ kani* ‘that (FSG) dog’
ɲadɛ-m kani ‘that (MSG) dog’
ɲadɛ-m=ɔjjà kani/ ɲadɛ-m=ɔjjà kani watto ‘those (FDU) dogs’
ɲadɛ-m=otfa kani/ ɲadɛ-m=otfa kani watto ‘those (MDU) dogs’
ɲadɛ-ŋ kani=ɔddà/ ɲadɛm=da kani/ ɲadɛmda kani =watto ‘those (FPL) dogs’
ɲadɛ-m kani=otala/ ɲadɛm=otal kani/ ɲadɛmotal kani =watto ‘those (MPL) dogs’

7.2.2 Adverbial Demonstratives

Adverbial demonstratives in Chabu are *maŋka* ‘here’, *ɲaŋka* ‘there, MED’, *ɲatum maŋka* ‘there, distal to 1 and 2) and *mant/ɲant* ‘distal invisible’. The adverbial demonstratives *maŋka* and *ɲaŋka* seem derived from the proximal masculine demonstrative *ma* and the common stem for the non-proximal demonstratives, *ɲa* respectively with a suffix or a complex form *-ŋka* (*-ŋ-ka*). The distal visible adverbial demonstrative *ɲatum maŋka* is a combination of masculine distal visible demonstrative and proximal adverbial demonstrative. The invisible distal adverbial demonstrative *mant* seem derived from proximal masculine demonstrative *ma* with a suffix or a complex form *-nt* (*-n/ŋ-t (i)*).

Table 67. Adverbial Demonstratives

Proximal	Medial	Distal	Distal invisible
<i>maᅇka</i>	<i>ᅇaᅇka</i>	<i>ᅇatu-m maᅇka</i>	<i>maᅇti/ᅇanti</i>

(313) *tiᅇke femo maᅇka*
 1MSG-GEN cloth here
 Here is my (M) cloth.

(314) *ta-ke femo ᅇaᅇka*
 1FSG-GEN cloth there
 There (near 2) is my (F) cloth.

(315) [*kuᅇge femo ᅇatum maᅇka*]
kuᅇgu-ke femo ᅇatum maᅇka
 2FSG-GEN cloth that here
 There (distal) is your (F) cloth.

(316) *maᅇka ε.*
 here put
 ‘Put it here.’

(317) *ᅇaᅇka ta:m* ‘Sit there.’
 there (medial (Near2)) sit

(318) *maᅇti gi-t am-e*
 there(INVS) AUX-1SG come-PST
 I came from there (INVS).

7.3 The Position of Third Person Pronouns

According to Bhat (2004, p. 5), the position of third person pronouns could be either personal pronoun or demonstrative depending on their function in a language and thus, needs to be examined separately.

In three-person languages 1 where third person pronouns are part of personal pronouns:

- Third person pronouns are different from demonstratives. They share several characteristics with first and second person pronouns, such as the occurrence of distinct plural markers and case markers. P. 14

- Third person pronouns do not show any gender distinctions (if their first and second person personal pronoun counter parts do not show this distinction).
- There is a tendency of having person-oriented deictic system p. 143
- Third person pronouns are un-analyzable stems unlike other pronouns such as demonstratives that involve the combination of deictic elements with certain general terms. p. 25

In two person languages (where third person pronouns are part of proforms of the language)

- Third person pronouns do not share with first and second person pronouns any of the characteristics that derive from their specialized function of denoting speech roles. p. 14
- They are either identical with one of the sets of demonstrative pronouns (or with all of them) or are derivationally related to them. p. 132
- Third person pronouns, unlike first and second person pronouns, show gender distinctions and distinctions for endophoric and exophoric usage. p.14
- Number markers that occur with third person pronouns are different from the ones that occur with first and second person pronouns (are the same as the ones that occur with nouns).

Chabu seems a three-person language in which third person pronouns function as proper personal pronouns because they do not have derivational relation and functional similarity with the demonstratives of the language. Chabu singular third person pronouns *onŋa* ‘3FSg’ and *ji* ‘3MSg’ have no derivational affiliation to the demonstratives *iyka* ‘PROX.FSG’, *ma* ‘PROX.MSG’, *ŋa/ ŋad* ‘MED (near to the hearer)’, and *ŋat* ‘DIST’. They also do not share roots with the demonstratives.

Nevertheless, dual and plural Chabu demonstrative pronouns are formed by encliticizing the common number marker clitics of Chabu nouns which are similar in form with the third person pronouns (=òjjà ‘FDU’, =òtʃfà ‘MDU’, =òddà ‘FPL’ and =otala ‘MPL’) on their singular counterparts (See section 7.2.1.2 above). This is the only formal relationship we observed between the third person pronouns and the

demonstratives of Chabu. Thus, this cannot be taken as evidence for the presence of derivational relationship between the two.

In addition, Chabu pronouns differentiate gender in both first, second and third person in the singulars, duals and plurals. “If a language has gender distinctions in the first person, it always has gender distinctions in the second or third person or in both” (Greenberg, 1963, p. 96). Therefore, the gender distinction that is observed in Chabu third person pronouns cannot be taken as evidence to categorize them as proforms other than personal pronoun.

Moreover, as it is discussed under 7.2 above, Chabu deictic system is person oriented, where both speech act participants are taken as reference points (near the speaker, near the addressee, far from both). According to Bhat (2004), this feature is also mostly the characteristic of three-person personal pronoun languages.

However, these third person pronouns serve some additional functions that first and second person pronouns do not, and so the demonstratives. For example, they appear as a copulative element in statements that declare the state of being of referents. Statements that express the state of being are constructed in two ways ((319)-(322)). The first way is by using the predicative adjective, noun, or other element that indicates the state without copulative form of any kind and the second is by using third person pronouns as copulative element. The latter form is constructed usually when the subject is focused.

(319) *ta bogo or ta-wo bogo oηη*
 1FSG strong I(F)-FOC strong FSG
 I (F) am strong.

(320) *kukku dama or kukku-(o) dama ji*
 2MSG long 2MSG-FOC long MSG
 You(MSG) are long

(321) *ojja astemare or ojja-(o) astamare ojja*
 3FDU teacher 3FDU-FOC teacher FDU
 They (FDU) are teachers.

(322) *jiŋŋ bogo or jiŋŋ-o bogo otala*
 1FPL strong 1MPL-FOC strong MPL
 We (FPL) are strong.

These third person pronouns are also sources of gender and number marking in Chabu nouns and demonstratives. Singularity is morphologically unmarked on Chabu nouns, and thus, the singular third person pronouns do not perform this number-gender marking function (See examples under (323) below).

- (323)
- *ufa ojja* 'women (FDU)'
 - *ufa otŋfa* 'men (MDU)'
 - *ufa odda* 'women (FPL)'
 - *ufa otala* 'men (MPL)'

Moreover, there is evidence that counter stands our argument above that consider the third person pronouns as proper personal pronouns and make us suspect them as proforms. It is their function as definite marker. These third person pronouns serve as definiteness markers by modifying a head noun as in (324) below and this function is not a function of personal pronouns. Rather it is the function of demonstratives or other definiteness marker particles.

- (324)
- */oŋŋ ufa jerikak noje/* 'That/the woman went to Yeri.'
 - */ji ufa jerikak noje/* 'That/the man went to Yeri.'
 - */ojja ufa ojja jerikak nojje/* 'Those/the two ladies went to Yeri.'
 - */otŋf ufa otŋfa jerikak notŋfe/* 'Those/the two men went to Yeri.'
 - */odda ufa odda jerikak node/* 'Those/the ladies went to Yeri.'
 - */otala ufa otala jerikak node/* 'Those/the men went to Yeri.'

Although we could not hold a firm position, majority of our evidences support the first position and third person pronouns be better considered as personal pronouns.

7.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Chabu uses a number of pronouns to form variety of interrogatives. Content interrogatives are formed by using interrogative pronouns that represent content words and polar interrogatives are formed by particles that indicate polarity. In what follows, we will see first pronouns of content interrogation and then elements of polar interrogatives

7.4.1 Content Interrogative Pronouns

Regarding interrogative pronouns Daniel (2000) has presented almost an exhaustive list of Chabu interrogative pronouns attested in the current study. However, some of the pronouns are found glossed with different meaning than we attested. Daniel's work has been reviewed in the literature review section (2.2.3 above) and here we present our findings alone.

Chabu has four basic interrogative forms. These are *nafe* 'who' *nimbi* 'what', *hama* 'which', *indik* 'how' and *hame* 'where'. There are some interrogative pronouns derived from the two productive base forms *nimbi* and *hama*. These are *nambisisom* 'why', *hamab* 'what kind, how many, how much' and *hamboh(a)* 'when'. The first three basic forms inflect for case as the nouns of the language do and form different interrogative forms. *indik* seem an indeclinable form. Table 68 presents Chabu interrogative pronouns which are used to construct content interrogative sentences.

Table 68. Chabu Interrogative Pronouns

Pronoun	Inflected form	Gloss
<i>nafe/ ne?e</i>	<i>nafe/ ne?e-Ø</i>	'who (NOM)'
	<i>nafe-ka</i>	'whom (ACC), to whom (DAT), towards whom (ALL)'
	<i>nafe-ke</i>	'whose GEN'
	<i>nafe-ku</i>	'by whom (INST)'
	<i>nafe-ŋa</i>	'with whom (COMM)'
	<i>nafe-ti</i>	'from whom (ADES)'
<i>nimbi</i>	<i>nimbi-Ø</i>	'what (NOM)'
	<i>nambi-ka</i>	'what (ACC), 'to what (DAT), ' towards what (ALL)'
	<i>nambi-ke</i>	'of what (GEN)'
	<i>nambi-ku</i>	'with what (INST)'
	<i>nambi-ŋe</i>	'with what (COM)'
	<i>nambi-ti</i>	'from what (ABL)'
<i>hame</i>	-----	'where ADES'
<i>namb-if(i)om</i>	-----	'why'
<i>hama</i>	<i>hama-Ø</i>	which
	<i>hamaka</i>	'to where (ALL)
	<i>hamake</i>	'of which (GEN)'
	<i>hamaku</i>	'with which INST'
	<i>hamaŋe</i>	'with which COM'
	<i>hamati</i>	'from which or from where (source)', where (location) or
<i>hama-b</i>	-----	what type, how much
<i>ham-boh</i>	-----	when
<i>indik</i>	<i>indik-Ø</i>	how

7.4.1.1 nafe/neʔe “Who”

nafe/neʔe ‘who’ is one of the personal pronouns that function as the interrogative word. It is inflected for case like other personal pronouns do. In Table 69, the inflection of *nafe/neʔe* is presented in contrast to *ta* ‘1FSG’ pronoun.

Table 69. Inflected Forms of *nafe/neʔe* ‘Who’

citation	Nominative	Focused Nominative	Accusative-Dative-Allative	Genitive	Ablative	Adessive
<i>nafe/neʔe</i>	<i>nafe</i> <i>/neʔe</i>	<i>nafewo</i> <i>neʔo</i>	<i>nafeka /neʔeka</i>	<i>nafeke</i> <i>neʔeke</i>	<i>nafeti</i> <i>neʔeti</i>	<i>nafeti</i> <i>neʔeti</i>
<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>tawo</i>	<i>taka</i>	<i>take</i>	<i>tati</i>	<i>takati</i>

The interrogative pronouns for whose, whom, from whom, to whom, and with whom are formed by inflecting *nafe/neʔe* with the different case markers of the language. The followings are some examples that contain *nafe/neʔe* ‘who’

- (325) *am-mo nafe* *am-e-mo nafe*
 come-PROG who come-REL-PROG who
 ‘Who is coming?’ ‘Who was coming?’

- (326) *depe-e-m-ak-o nafe ka-je*
 lion-DEF-M-ACC who kill-PST
 ‘Who killed the lion?’

- (327) *natmaʔel nafe/ne(ʔe)ka-k afal-e*
 Natnael who-ACC-AUX beat-PST
 ‘Whom did Natnael beat?’

- (328) *ʔfakoj-ka nafe-ti ton-e*
 yam-ACC who-ABL take-PST
 ‘From whom did he take yam?’

- (329) *nafe-ka ge-t ham-g*
 who-DAT AUX-1SG give-FUT
 ‘To whom shall I give?’

- (330) *matʔaf-e-m-ak-o nafe-ka gi-k ham-e*
 book-DEF-M-ACC who-DATAUX-2nd give-PST
 ‘To whom did you (SG) give the book?’

(331) *nafe pomba ti afalg*
 who on-ADES 1SG fire-FUT
 ‘At whom shall I fire (a gun)?’

(332) *kukke wongase nafe*
Kukk-ke wongase nafe
 you(MSG)-GEN name who
 ‘What is your name? (lit. Who is your name?)’

(333) *ma bangaset ge-kuss jeru moho neke ed* (Chabu006-Sp2- 002)
ma bangaset ge-kuss jeru moho ne?e-ke ed
 this.M among AUX-R.PST Yeri.FOC now who-GEN DISC
 ‘Among this, whose is Yeri?’

The focused form of the interrogative pronoun *nafe* ‘who’ alone or combined with *egemo* ‘COND’ forms an indefinite pronoun *nafejo* or *nafejo egemo* ‘anyone or anybody’ as in (334) and (335).

(334) *nafe-j/wo am-be.*
 who-FOC come-NEG
 ‘Nobody came. (Lit. Anybody/anyone did not come.)’

(335) *nafe-j/wo egemok tihj jowbege*
 who-FOC COND-ACC 1MSG hate-NEG-AUX
 ‘I do not hate anybody. (I do not hate whoever it is.)’

7.4.1.2 **nambi** ‘What’

One of the most important interrogative words in this language is *nimbi* ‘what’. It is a widely-used interrogative (or indefinite) word for a nominal that refers to one or more non-human things. The same way *nafe* serves for human, *nimbi* does for non-human things. It is inflected for case like the nouns of the language do. The following table presents the inflection of *nimbi* ‘what’.

Table 70. Inflected Forms of *nimbi* ‘What’

Citation	Nominative	ACC-DAT-ALL	Possessive	Instrumental	Comitative	Ablative-Adessive
<i>nimbi</i>	<i>nimbi</i>	<i>nimbika</i>	<i>nimbike</i>	<i>nimbiku</i>	<i>nimbiŋe</i>	<i>nimbit</i>

The examples (336) - (345) illustrate various uses of the pronoun *nambi*.

(336) *moho nimbi*
this(M) what
What is this?

(337) *sekabado takanti jangadumo nambi aŋ komoji otalaŋgane ed* (Chabu006-Sp2- 009)
sekabado takanti janga-d-um-o nambi-aŋ komoji=otala-ŋga-ne ed
sekabado inside exist-PL-REL.M.FOC what-F clan=MPL-exist-?? [DISC]
'Inside Shekabado what clans do live?'

(338) *sadok' nimbi-ka-k idzagan-e*
Sadok what-ACC-AUX work-PST
What did Sadok do/work?

(339) *nimbi-ka-k det*
What-ACC-2 want
'What do you want?'

(340) *nambi-ka ka-we*
what-ACC kill-PSS.PST
'What is killed?'

(341) *makine-ka wojambu-k abal-e*
car-DAT drink-ACC buy-PST
'S/he bought gas for the car.'

(342) *timotijos nimbi-ku-k bu-k ka-je*
Timotiyos what-INS-AUX leopard-ACC kill-PST
'With what did Timotyos kill a leopard?'

(343) *nambi-ke daro moho?*
what-GEN hide this
'What (animal's) hide is this?'

(344) *tjegib-o nambi-ke* (Chabu005-Sp2- 058)
Chagib-FOC what-GEN
'Of what is Chagib? (to ask what things are considers as seja of Chagib clan)'

- (345) *ot'alake komojiko nanju apakated ed* (Chabu005-Sp1- 021)
ot'ala-ke komoji-k-o nam(bi)-ku apakate-d e-d
 they(MPL)-GEN clan-ACC-FOC what-INS differentiate-PL say-PL
 'With what do their clans differentiate?'

The focused form of the pronoun *numbi* 'what' or the focused form combined with *egemo* 'COND' form an indefinite pronoun *nambijo* or *nambijo egemo* 'nothing' or 'whatever' as in (346) and (347).

- (346) *nambijo tiŋŋ de-be*
 what-FOC 1MSG know-NEG
 'I know nothing. (lit. I do not know anything.)'

- (347) *nambijo egemo tiŋŋ detu-be*
 what-FOC COND 1MSG want-NEG
 'I do not want anything. /I do not want whatever it is'

7.4.1.3 **nambi jefom** 'Why'

The interrogative pronoun *nambijefom/ nambijom/ nambije* 'why' is formed by combining the interrogative pronoun *nambi* 'what' with the reason conjunction *jefom* (see example (348)). In connected speech the first or the second syllable of the second constituent of the compound (*jefom*) can be elided as in (349), (350) and (351). Even as a result of maximum mother tongue fluency the second syllable of *nambi* (*bi*) could be deleted as in (352).

- (348) *jɪŋk soŋgem amboko jɪŋŋ jowbgʔa ed, nambisisom jinti rakateŋgag ʔed*
tʃ'abi toŋti (Chabu001- 015)
jɪŋŋ-k som-g-e-m ambo-k-o jɪŋŋ jow-be-ge-ʔa e-d
 1MPL-DAT tell-FUT-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC 1MPL hate-NEG-FUT-CVB say-PL
nambi-sisom jin-ti rakate (ja)ŋga-g e-d tʃ'abu-i toŋ-ti
 what- for 1MPL-ADES problem exist-FUT say-PL Chabu-GENson-ADES
 'We will not hate what he will tell us, why, there will be problem with us,
 with sons of Chabu.'

(349) *nambi-se onŋ ta:m-bo-mo*
 what-for 3FSG sit-NEG-PROG
 ‘Why she does not sit? (lit. Why she is not sitting?)’

(350) *nambi-som kukk am-be-mo*
 what-for 2MSG sit-NEG.PST-PROG
 ‘Why did not you come? (Lit. Why you were not coming.)’

(351) *kukk-u nambise iŋki-t-u jamfu-ŋa kukk am-bo*
 2MSG-FOC why one-ADES-FOC 1FPL-COM 2MSG com-NEG
 ‘Why do not you come with us?’

(352) *onŋ fondke "nanse ge kuŋg afalbe mo" (Chabu007-Sp1- 048)*
onŋ-k fom-d ke nambise ge kuŋg afalbe-mo
 she-ACC tell-d ?? why AUX 2FSG fire-NEG-PROG
 ‘Why are you not firing?’ they asked her.

7.4.1.4 *hama* ‘Which (one)’

The other common interrogative pronoun of Chabu is *hama* ‘which’. It is inflected for case like the nouns of the language do. In the following table the inflection of *nimbi* ‘what’ will be presented.

Table 71. Inflected Forms of *hama* ‘Which’

Citation	Nominative	ACC-DAT-ALL	Possessive	Instrumental	Comitative	Ablative-Adessive
<i>hama</i>	<i>hama</i>	<i>hamaka</i>	<i>hamake</i>	<i>hamaku</i>	<i>hamanje</i>	<i>hamati</i>

The following are example sentences that illustrate different functions of *hama*.

(353) *kuŋge femo hama?*
kuŋg-ke femo hama
 2FSG-GEN cloth which
 ‘Which one is her cloth?’

(354) *ma-si-ŋa ma-si-ŋ otifa-ti hama deŋa*
 this.M-??-CONJ this.M-??-CONJ 3MDU-ABL which better
 ‘From this and this (two) which one is better.’

- (355) *tʼabi jero aptamsenda pode handa handa* (Chabu006-Sp2- 004)
Chabu-i=jero app-tam-se-nda pode hama-nda hama-nda
 Chabu-LINK=VARI 1PL-sit-NOM.INST-FPL place which-FPL which-FPL
 ‘Which are the places we Chabu live?’
- (356) *moha wongawem kabale jerotu sero hansit* Chabu006-Sp2- 006
moha wonga-we-e-m kabale-e =jero-ti-u s era-o hama-sit
 now call-PSTS-REL-M kebele-LINK=VARI-ADES Shera-FOC which-insid
 ‘From the kebeles called now, in which is Shira found?’
- (357) *gugambu jike pode hamaŋka ed likisetu* Chabu005-Sp1- 026
gugamb-u ji-ke pode hama-ŋ-ka ed likisetu(AMARIC)
 Gogamb-FOC 3MSG-GEN place which-ALL say-PL end-FOC
 ‘(Up to) where is the end of Gugambo’s place.’

7.4.1.5 *hame* ‘Where’

Although *hamati* ‘from where’ and *hamaka* ‘to or towards where’ are interrogative forms of place adverb, there is another interrogative pronoun of place adverb for ‘location at’. The base of this interrogative expression is *hame*. It seems indeclinable basic form. However we can also suspect it as derived form from *hama* ‘which’ with an *-e* suffix (genitive or definiteness). But we could not find evidence to support our argument. Therefore, at list tentatively, we preferred considering *hame* ‘where’ as an indeclinable free form. The following examples show the use of *hame*.

- (358) *tiŋŋ-ke pena hame?*
 1FSG-GEN pen where
 ‘Where is my pen?’
- (359) *met fʼaf-e-m-o hame*
 book-DEF-M-FOC where
 ‘where is the book?’

7.4.1.6 *hamab* ‘What type’, ‘How many’ or ‘How much’

The word *hamab*, which is formed by the initial CV- of the question word *hama* ‘which’ is procliticized to the adjective *mab* ‘resembling’ is used to ask about types or

kinds and number or amount of entities expressed by a noun (phrase). The derived question word *hamab* denotes variety and quantity.

(360) *hamab-um kani komoj-ka ti det?*
 what.kind-M dog breed-ACC 1SG like
 ‘What type of dog do I like?’

(361) *hamabum kani komojka ki det?*
 what.kind-M dog breed-ACC 2SG like
 ‘What type of dog do you (SG) like?’

(362) *kukke hamab k'ufa nga?*
kukk-ke hamab k'ufa (ja)nga
 2MSG-GEN how.many children have
 ‘How many children do you have?’

(363) *kung-u inki-m bef hamab k'aru-ka gi-ki-η udzuhum?*
 2FSG-FOC one-M day how.much coffee-ACC AUX-2nd-PRS drink
 ‘How much coffee do you drink in a day?’

7.4.1.7 **hamboh(a)** ‘When’

The Chabu word for ‘when’ *hamboh(a)* seem a derived form. We have three proposals for the case. The first proposal is *hamboh(a)* might be formed by combining the interrogative pronoun *hama* ‘which’ and the noun *oha* ‘day or time’ as *hama oha* ‘which time’. However, we could not justify the phonological condition that triggered the occurrence of the implosive segment *-b-* in the middle of the combined entities. The second proposal is that *hamboh(a)* could be a combination of the type/kind interrogatives *hamab* ‘what type’ and the noun *oha* ‘day or time’. This seems a better option than the first to suspect the occurrence of the bilabial implosive *ɓ* from the bilabial plosive *b*. However, we could not trace the logic that changes the the bilabial plosive *b* to the implosive *ɓ*. The theird option is that *hamboh* could be could be a single morphem and this seem sound than the previous two for it does not require any explanation for the occurrence of the implosive segment. The following are illustrative examples.

(364) *hamboha ge-k bala-g*
 when AUX-2nd go-FUT
 ‘When will you go?’

7.4.1.8 *indik* ‘How’

The manner interrogative pronoun of Chabu is *indik* ‘how’. The following are examples of how the pronoun *indik* is used in a sentence.

(365) *ufo indik wongamodeŋ ijanak edigemo egedigane k'ed* (Chabu007-Sp1- 019)
ufa-o indik' wonga-mo-d-e-ŋ ijana-k edigemo egedigan k'ed
 person-FOC how call-PROG-PL-REL-F ask-2nd COND Egedigan COP
 ‘If you ask how people are calling her, it is Egedigan.’

(366) *indik'-ak atfaki ono-sa-d-e* Chabu004-Sp1- 011
 how-2 beginning introduce-RESP-PL-PST
 ‘How did you come to introduce each other at the beginning?’

7.4.2 Polar Interrogatives

Chabu forms polar interrogatives in two ways; by using proclitic *hana=* or by a suffix/clitic *-n(e)*. Both informative and permissive polar interrogatives are formed by using these two polar elements. In forming tag questions it is *-ne* that serves to construct the polarity.

7.4.2.1 Informative Polar Interrogatives

7.4.2.1.1 Polar Interrogatives Clitic *hana=*

Affirmative polar interrogatives of Chabu can be formed via a pro-clitic *hana=*. The following are some examples.

(367) *kidmajel hana-ŋ t'a-m(o)*
 Kidmael POL-PRS eat-PROG
 ‘Is Kidmael eating?’

(368) *kukk-u hana-k no-g*
 2MSG-FOC POL-2nd go-FUT
 ‘Will you go?’

(369) *Chab-i =watto eduga-k hana-η dirbu-d?*
 Chabu-LINK=PL warthog-ACC POL-PRS hunt-PL
 ‘Do the Chabu hunt for warthog?’

(370) *Chab-i =watto saη-k-o hana-η no-d*
 Chabu-LINK=PL forest-ACC-FOC POL-PRS hunt-PL
 ‘Do the Chabu go to forest?’

(371) *Kidmajel-ka matf’afu-k hana-k abal-mb-e?*
 Kidmael-DAT book-ACC POL-2nd buy-BEN-PST
 ‘Did you buy a book for Kidmael?’

7.4.2.1.2 Polar Interrogative Marker *-ne*

The polar interrogative marker *-ne* is used to construct tag questions that are asked just for approval or genuine informative polar interrogatives. The following are some examples of the use of *-ne* in constructing tag question.

(372) *ji t’o am-be-ge: am-e-ne?*
 3MSG child come-NEG-AUX.PST come-PST-POL
 ‘The/that boy did not come. Did he?’

(373) *ma tiηη-o gugambu-ti be-ne* (Chabu005-Sp2- 054)
 this 1MSG-FOC Gugambo-ADES NEG-POL
 ‘I am from Gogambu. Is it not?’

(374) *oηηe-ηa be-na-η domet-um* (Chabu007-Sp2- 013)
 she-CONJ NEG-POL-F agree-REL.M
 ‘Is not she the one who agreed?’

(375) *jem jongo-ka k’omo be-ne* (Chabu007-Sp3- 011)
 DEF wind-ACC die-PROG NEG-POL
 ‘Is not she dying of fear of the wind?’

When *-ne* is used to construct informative polar interrogative sentence, the position of the marker or the structure of sentences varies based on the tense of the verbs. In past and future tense verbs where the tense markers are suffixed directly to the verbs, the polar interrogative marker goes to the preceding component of the construction from

the verb. In present tense where the tens marker is not suffixed to the verb the polar interrogative marker is encliticized to the verb.

(376) *ju aha-seti-n tol-e?*
 he.FOC home-INES-POL sleep-PST
 ‘Did he sleep at home?’

(377) *ju aha-set toli-ne*
 he.foc home-INES sleep-POL
 ‘Does he sleep at home?’

(378) *oddo k’aruka ata-d-ine .*
 3FPL coffee-ACC-POL prepare
 ‘Do they prepare coffee?’

(379) *otifo tawa-ka-ne apur-tfi-g*
 3MDU.FOC field-ACC-POL clear-MDU-FUT
 ‘Will they (MDU) clear a farmland?’

7.4.2.2 Permissive Polar Interrogatives

The permissive polar interrogative has affirmative and negative forms. The affirmative permissive polar interrogatives are formed the same way as informative polar interrogatives are formed using the proclitic =*ha(na)* and the permissive interrogative verb has a similar form as the future form. See the following examples.

(380) *gabijo hana-t no-g?*
 market POL-1SG go-FUT
 ‘Shall I go to the market?’

(381) *kukk-u-ŋa hana-t t’a-g ?*
 2MSG-FOC-COM POL-1SG eat-FUT
 ‘May I eat with you?’

(382) *hanotfag? ‘Shall we (MDU) go?’*
 ha-no-tʃ-a-g
 POL-go-MDU-1st – FUT

7.4.2.3 Negative Polar Interrogatives

Parallel to the affirmative polar interrogatives, there are two forms of negative polar interrogatives. These are informative and permissive negative polar interrogative forms.

The informative negative polar interrogative is identified by the suffix *-ne* which occurs following the negative marker *-be*. The informative negative polar interrogative is similar with its declarative counterpart except the occurrence of polar marker *-ne* following the negative marker. Compare the following examples.

(383) *ojjo yeri-ti ojja am-be-ne-ge-e*
3FDU.FOC Yeri-ABL 3FDU come-NEG-POL-AUX-PST
'Did not they (FDU) come from Yeri?'

(384) *ojjo yeri-ti ojja am-be-ge-e*
3FDU.FOC Yeri-ABL 3FDU come-NEG-AUX-PST
'They (FDU) did not come from Yeri.'

The negative permissive interrogative is used to see if there is a change of stand from the respondent side that previously rejected or to ask the meaning the silent denote. The negative permissive interrogative is expressed via the negative marker *-be* suffixed to the verb and followed by a (negative) polar marker *-m*.

(385) *gabijo tinŋ no-be-m*
market 1MSG go-NEG-POL
'May I not go to the market?'

(386) *kukk-ŋa tinŋ t'a-be-m*
2MSG-COM 1MSG eat-NEG-POL
'May I not eat with you?'

(387) *no-tfɪf-a-be-m*
go-MDU-1DU -NEG-POL
'Shall not we go?'

8 Noun Formation

Chabu shows a productive system of noun formation. Nouns in Chabu are coined both by adding affixes to nouns, verbs or adjectives (derivation), and by combining two free forms (compounding). Word formation in Chabu operates on free forms and all compounds are formed from free bases.

8.1 Derivation

In this section, we deal with derivation of nouns. *-we* and *-se* are the productive nominative suffixes of Chabu. *-we* is suffixed on nominal bases to derive abstract nouns and *-se* is suffixed to verbal base to form various types of nouns. *-ta* is a less productive nominative suffix that is attested in one instance suffixed to verbal root and in a few instances to adjectival or inchoative verbal bases.

8.1.1 Abstract Nouns Derived from Other Nouns.

Chabu derives semantically abstract nouns by suffixing the morpheme *-we*, (a similar morpheme with Chabu passive verb marker) on concrete nouns. *-we* derived nouns have the meaning ‘NOUN-hood’. The following table presents examples of *-we* derived abstract nouns.

Table 72. We- derived abstract nouns

Concrete nouns	Gloss	Derived abstract nouns	Gloss
<i>afa</i>	grandfather	<i>afawe</i>	grand fatherhood
<i>kake</i>	grandmother	<i>kakewe</i>	grand motherhood
<i>babe</i>	father	<i>babewe</i>	fatherhood
<i>indi</i>	mother	<i>indiwe</i>	motherhood
<i>dande</i>	uncle	<i>dendewe</i>	uncle hood
<i>nenne</i>	aunt	<i>nenewe</i>	aunt hood
<i>tfo</i>	child	<i>tfove</i>	childhood
<i>ufa</i>	person	<i>ufawe</i>	manhood / human hood
<i>taji</i>	elder brother	<i>tajiwe</i>	elder brotherhood
<i>kondi</i>	younger brother	<i>k'ondiwe</i>	younger brotherhood
<i>eta</i>	elder sister	<i>etawe</i>	elder sisterhood
<i>konda</i>	younger sister	<i>k'ondawe</i>	younger sisterhood
<i>lawi</i>	slave	<i>lawiwe</i>	slavery
<i>ull</i>	male/man	<i>ulluwe</i>	maleness, manhood , brave
<i>umba</i>	female/woman	<i>umbawe</i>	femaleness/ womanhood

The following example sentences present the contextual use of these *-we* derived abstract nouns.

(388) *lawiwe kaba-ŋ rakate gi-ŋ je-mo.*
 slavery many-F problem AUX-PRS see-PROG
 ‘Slavery makes (someone) pass lots of sufferings. (Lit: Slavery is seeing lots of sufferings.)’

(389) *indiwe-ŋa babewe-ŋa gidi*
 motherhood-CONJ fatherhood-CONJ please
 ‘Motherhood and fatherhood pleases.’

(390) *ma ufake ulluwe ufak inumb*
ma ufa-ke ulluwe ufa-k inun-mb
 this person-GEN braveness person-ACC think-CAUS
 ‘This man’s braveness makes people surprise.’

8.1.2 Abstract Nominals Derived from Inchoative Verbs.

The morpheme *-we* is used to derive abstract nouns from adjectival or inchoative verbal bases. The derived nouns have the meaning ‘being Adjective’. Table 73 presents some examples of de-adjectival abstract nouns.

Table 73 Abstract nominals derived from adjectives

Adjectives	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss	Not
<i>billi</i>	(be)fat	<i>biliwe</i>	fatness	
<i>dama</i>	(be) tall	<i>damawe</i>	tallness	
<i>dzoli</i>	(be) deep	<i>dzoliwe</i>	deepness	
<i>gaga</i>	(be) moron	<i>gagawe</i>	moronness	
<i>ka:ba</i>	(be) many	<i>kabawe</i>	ampleness	* <i>ka:bawe</i>
<i>ke:dzi</i>	(be) thin	<i>kedziwe</i>	thinness	* <i>ke:d ziwe</i>
<i>kos:a</i>	(be) bad, dirty	<i>kosawe</i>	badness/dirtiness	* <i>kos:awe</i>
<i>lak`a</i>	(be) loose	<i>lak`awe</i>	looseness	
<i>mati</i>	(be) big, fat	<i>matiwe</i>	fatness/ bigness	

The following examples illustrate the use of these de-adjectival nouns in contexts.

(391) *ma ufa-ke biliwe mati-m konakak batt*
 this.M person-GEN fatness big-M tree-ACC=AUX look
 ‘This man’s fatness looks like a big tree.’

- (392) *ma gere-ke kedziwe danka-be*
 this.M spear.handle-GEN thinness good-NEG
 ‘This spear handle’s thinness is not good.’

8.1.3 De-verbala Nouns Derived with *-ta*

-ta is a nominalization that forms a de-adjectival abstract noun. The following are attested examples.

Table 74. *-ta* Derived abstract nouns

Adjective/Verb	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
<i>gidì</i>	‘(be) pleasant, sweet’	<i>gidìta</i>	‘happiness’
<i>tʃìni</i>	‘(be) black,’	<i>tʃìnta</i>	‘dusk, dark’
<i>kossa</i>	‘(be) bad’	<i>kosata</i>	‘badness, ugliness /unpleasant’

- (393) [*úfem kòsàtà úfewééʃikà gi kòsàtà*]

ufa-e-m kosata ufa-e-wetfi gi kosata
 person-DEF-M badness person-LINK-all AUX does.not.please
 The person’s badness is unpleasant to everybody.

- (394) *tínyu gidìtà*
 1MSG.FOC happy
 I am happy.

8.1.4 Abstract Nouns Derived from Color Terms

Abstract nouns are also formed by suffixing a derivational suffix *-ji* to the color terms. The derived nouns have a meaning of ‘being the color mentioned by the base lexeme’. The following table presents the color terms of Chabu and the derived abstract nouns.

Table 75. Abstract nouns derived from color terms

Color Adjective	Gloss	Abstract nouns	Gloss
<i>tʃara</i>	‘red’	<i>tʃaraji</i>	‘redness’
<i>tʃolo</i>	‘green or blue’	<i>tʃoloji</i>	‘greenness or blueness’
<i>tʃìji</i>	‘black’	<i>tʃìjiji</i>	‘blakness’
<i>dàtʃà</i>	‘white’	<i>dàtʃàji</i>	‘whiteness’
<i>dama</i>	‘yellow’	<i>damaji</i>	‘yellowness’

The following example sentences show the use of the derived abstract nouns.

(395) *Má fèmò tʃìjìjì kɪŋkà-kà batt*
 this.M cloth blackness charcoal-ACC look.like
 ‘This cloth’s blackness looks like charcoal.’

(396) *Má ùfò tʃàraji damò-kà batt*
 this.M manFOC redness blood-ACC look-like
 ‘This man’s redness looks like blood.’

8.1.5 Formation of Nouns from Verb Stems

De-verbalization /nominalization of verbs is a productive process in Chabu. A morpheme *-se* is the most productive suffix that serves to derive manner, result and instrumental nouns. The status of *-se* suffix that derive the different types of nouns seem the same morpheme but we could not justify the source of the meaning difference and we could not be sure to take it as a single morpheme as well. Below, the derivation of manner, result, instrumental, agent, gerundive, passive and passive gerundive nominals are discussed.

8.1.5.1 Manner Nominals

In Chabu, manner nominals are derived in the same way that result and instrumental nouns are formed by suffixing *-se* to verb roots,. These derived manner nominals refer to the way in which actions take place or are done or performed. *-se* derived manner nominals have the same segmental feature with result nominals derived from the same verb by suffixing *-se* and can be distinguished only from the context. Consider the following examples.

Table 76. Manner nominals

Verb	Gloss	Manner nominals	Gloss
<i>kóll</i>	dig	<i>kólsé</i>	manner of digging
<i>sára</i>	step	<i>sárasé</i>	manner of waling
<i>kóll</i>	run	<i>kólsé</i>	manner of running
<i>mo</i>	sit, live	<i>mosé</i>	manner of living
<i>t'á</i>	eat	<i>tase</i>	manner of eating

The following sentential examples illustrate the use of the derived manner nominals.

(397) *ma ufa-ke kol-se danka-be*
 this person-GEN dig-MANNER good-NEG
 ‘This person’s manner of digging is not good.’

(398) *tʃo-je-m kol-se sala-mba.*
 Child-DEF-M run-MANNER laugh-CAUS
 ‘The child’s manner of running makes some one laugh.’

8.1.5.2 Result Nominals

As can be observed from Table 77, the morpheme *-se* is suffixed to verb roots to derive result nominals, which refer to the outcomes of the actions expressed by the verbs. The following table provides some examples of such result nominals.

Table 77. *-se* Derived Result Nouns

Verb roots	Result nouns
<i>hédä</i> ‘weave’	<i>hédäse</i> ‘plait, braid’
<i>kór</i> ‘finish’	<i>kórese</i> ‘final, end’
<i>atʃifak</i> ‘begin’	<i>atʃifakse</i> ‘beginning’
<i>kor</i> ‘burn’	<i>korse</i> ‘scar’ (of fire burn)
<i>tʃota</i> ‘cut’	<i>tʃotase</i> ‘a reduced piece’
<i>bada</i> ‘cut in to two’	<i>badase</i> ‘one of the two cut pieces’
<i>dādank in</i> ‘slice’	<i>dādankinse</i> ‘slice of something’

(399) *ma tʃotase-ka nafe dull-e*
 this.M piece-ACC who throw-PST
 ‘Who threw this broken matter?’

(400) *inki dādankinse-ka ji-k ham.*
 one slice-ACC he-DAT give
 ‘Give one slice/piece to him.’

8.1.5.3 Nouns Derived from Passivised Verbs

The affix *-se* is also suffixed on passivised transitive verbs to form nouns that refer the point or the specific place on the patient of the action where the result of the action is located.

Table 78 Nouns Derived from Passivized Verbs and *-se*

Transitive verb	Passivized verb	Result point noun
<i>bada</i> ‘split or open’	<i>bàdawe</i> ‘be crack’	<i>bàdàwesé</i> ‘crack or point of the crevice, the crack of something’
<i>set à</i> ‘tear’	<i>set àwe</i> ‘be tear’	<i>set àwese</i> ‘the point where something is torn’
<i>tʃ’òta</i> ‘cut’	<i>tʃ’òtawe</i> ‘be cut’	<i>tʃ’òtawese</i> ‘the point where some thing is cut’

8.1.5.4 Derived Instrumental Nouns

Instrumental nominals are derived from verbal roots by using the same morpheme *-se*, which is used to derive manner and result nouns. The derived instrumental nouns in most cases function as attributive modifiers and they are used to form compound nouns by modifying another noun. Such derived instrumental nouns dominantly occur in noun phrases or in compounds where they are followed by other nouns performing an adjectival function (see Table 79). However, there are some instrumental nouns that function as head nouns; *wòngá-se* ‘name’ and *kolita-se* ‘small hoe’ are examples of the case. Consider the following examples in Table 79 below:

Table 79. *-se* Derived Instrumental Nouns in Compounds

Verb root	Second Components	Instrumental nominal
<i>dih/diki</i> ‘grind’	<i>mana</i> ‘stone’	<i>dikse</i> <i>mana</i> ‘grinding stone’
<i>hol:/kol:</i> ‘dig’	<i>ambu</i> ‘thing’	<i>kolse</i> <i>ambu</i> ‘digging instrument, hoe’
<i>ta:m</i> ‘sit’	”	<i>ta:mse</i> <i>ambu</i> ‘sitting material’
<i>fifu</i> ‘blow air’	”	<i>fifse</i> <i>ambu</i> ‘blowing instrument, blows’
<i>kempu</i> ‘flap’	”	<i>kempuse</i> <i>abmbo</i> ‘flapping material, fan’
<i>ata</i> ‘fry, cook’	<i>t’uro</i> ‘metal’	<i>atase</i> <i>turo</i> ‘cooking dish (literally; frying metal)’
<i>wɔ</i> ‘drink’	<i>ambu</i> ‘thing’	<i>wɔse</i> <i>ambu</i> ‘cup’
<i>t’a</i> ‘eat’	”	<i>t’ase</i> <i>ambu</i> ‘plate, spoon’
<i>tʃ’òta</i> ‘cut’	”	<i>tʃ’òtase</i> <i>ambu</i> ‘instrument that could help for cutting’
<i>wòngá</i> ‘call’		<i>wòngásé</i> ‘name’

The affix *-se* is not only affixed to verbal stems, but also affixed to nouns. Nevertheless, we could not figure out the function of *-se* derived nouns (or at least we could not discover the difference between the bare nouns and their counter *-se* derived nouns).

Table 80. -se Suffixed on Base Nouns

Noun	-se derived noun
<i>àfura</i> ‘hole’	<i>àfurasé</i> ‘hole’
<i>áhà</i> ‘home’	<i>áhasé</i> ‘home’
<i>dògá</i> ‘chest’	<i>dògasé</i> ‘chest’
<i>hólítá</i> ‘small hoe’	<i>hólításé</i> ‘small hoe’
<i>kòlá</i> ‘track, footprint’	<i>kòlasé</i> ‘track, footprint’
<i>hómá</i> ‘road’	<i>hómásé</i> ‘road, path’
<i>hèja</i> ‘wound.’	<i>hèjasé</i> ‘wound’
<i>òhá</i> ‘sun’	<i>òhasé</i> ‘time’

Among the examples in Table 80, except the case of *ohase*, all the –*se* derived nouns have the same meaning with the input nouns. *ohase* is the only meaningful derivation (a derivation that brings meaning difference) attested. *oha* ‘sun’ or ‘day’ and *ohase* time are different in meaning and here –*se* can be analyzed as a derivational morph. Although, it needs further investigation, –*se* seems an empty morph in cases other than *ohase* or probably it has become lexicalized. However, it seems that there is functional difference between the base nouns and –*se* derived ones. For example, these –*se* derived forms are the legible candidate when using these words as input in non-head position in compound formation (cf 8.3 Compounding).

The following example illustrates how the –*se* derived noun and the original input noun have the same meaning.

(401) *koma(se)-ti ka-ka ka kosata*
road-ADES excrement-ACC to.excrete bad
Excreting on the road is unpleasant.

8.1.5.5 –*ta* Nominalization

The derivational morpheme –*ta* is unproductive nominative affix in forming de-verbal nouns from action verbs. It is attested only in one instance with *holl/koll* ‘dig’. The derived noun is *holita* ‘small hoe’.

8.2 Conversion

“Although we often form new lexemes by affixation or compounding ... it is also possible to form new lexemes merely by shifting the category or part of speech of an

already existing lexeme without adding an affix. This means of word formation is often referred to as conversion or functional shift.”(Lieber, 2009, p. 49)

Conversion is a very productive word formation mechanism in Chabu. Conversion is simply shifting the category of words. In Chabu, we often find verbs and nouns, which are sources or results of conversion; base forms of Chabu verbs function as verbal nouns (cf. 8.2.1) and there are many Chabu nouns and verbs with the same segmental and supra-segmental forms when they are uttered in isolation (cf.8.2.2). In fact, when they are used in context, they show different morphophonemic feature. Since the conversion is possible in either ways, it is difficult to tell the direction of the conversion and we leave it for further study. Nonetheless, we try to discuss in the following sub sections the nouns, which share the same form with their counter verbs.

8.2.1 Verbal Noun (Infinitive/Gerundive)

Verbal nouns in Chabu are derived by means of conversion without adding any affix on the word root. The same form with word roots serve as verbal nominal (infinitive or gerund) without any derivational marker or morpheme. The following table presents verb roots and their verbal nominal forms.

Table 81. Base form as Infinitives

Verbal nominal	Gloss
<i>dǎ</i>	crying /to cry
<i>dírbú</i>	hunting/to hunt
<i>mō</i>	sitting/to sit
<i>fú</i>	raining/to rain
<i>túkú</i>	pushing/ to push
<i>wɔŋgá</i>	calling/to call
<i>billá</i>	biting to bite
<i>wɔ̄</i>	drinking/to drink
<i>kā</i>	defecating/to defecate
<i>rá</i>	eating/to eat
<i>tol</i>	sleeping/to sleep
<i>itfe</i>	fencing/to fence
<i>dammo</i>	bleeding/to bleed
<i>silla</i>	urinating/to urinate
<i>wánki</i>	whistling/to whistle

Chabu verbal nominals can serve both as a subject and as an object of a clause. The following examples illustrate contextual use of conversion infinitives or gerunds.

(402) [kukka **jeka** git ame]

kukk –ka **je-ka** gi-t am-e
 2SGM-ACC see-ACC aux-1SG come-PST
 ‘I came to see you.’

(403) ha-ka **k’umba-ka** tiŋŋ det

meat-ACC eat-INF-ACC 1SGF want
 ‘I want to eat meat.’

(404) [dóki dókù bogò]

dóku-i **dóku** bogo
 house build.GER difficult
 ‘Building a house is difficult’

(405) [komaseti sile **sila** kossa]

koma-seti sile sila kossa
 road-INES urine urinate.GER bad
 ‘Urinating (to urine) on a road is bad.’

8.2.2 Passive Gerundive

The passive forms of Chabu transitive verbs may also serve as passive gerundives. As it will be discussed in Chapter 10 the passive forms of Chabu transitive verbs are derived by suffixing the passivizer morpheme **-we** and these same forms serve as passive gerundives. The following are some examples:

Table 82. Passive Gerundives

Active Tr. verb	Passivized Tr. Verb	Verbal meaning	Nominal meaning
<i>tʃota</i>	<i>tʃotawe</i>	be cut	being cut
<i>affal</i>	<i>affalwe</i>	be bitten	being bitten
<i>ŋa</i>	<i>ŋawe</i>	be pierced	being pierced
<i>ka</i>	<i>kawe</i>	be killed	being killed

(406) *tiŋŋ affal-we detube.*
 I.M bit-PSTS like-NEG
 ‘I do not like being bitten.’

(407) *siki-ku ŋa-we haja*
 knife-INS pierce-PSTS wound
 ‘Being pierced with knife wounds (a person).’

8.2.3 Conversion Nouns

There are many conversion nouns, which look like other basic nouns. In most cases, the conversion nouns have the same segmental and prosodic forms with their verbal counterparts. Thus, we can argue that one of the two functions is a result of conversion. The direction of the conversion needs further research. However, temporarily we describe the nouns as a results of conversion. To show how productive the conversion process is, we present an extended list of examples in Table 83 below.

Table 83. Chabu Conversion Nouns

Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>adinn</i>	‘swelling’	<i>adinn</i>	‘swell’
<i>agét</i>	‘blessing’	<i>aget</i>	‘bless’
<i>agóm</i>	‘grunt’	<i>agom</i>	‘grunt’
<i>ahaki</i>	‘phlegm’	<i>ahak</i>	‘discharge phlegm’
<i>atulé</i>	‘heap’	<i>ātúl</i>	‘store (up), heap up, accumulate’
<i>átŋkán</i>	‘command’	<i>átŋkán</i>	‘order’
<i>bókka</i>	‘bark (dog)’	<i>bókka</i>	‘bark (dog)’
<i>boŋtǎ</i>	‘bad smell’	<i>boŋtǎ</i>	‘(be) rotten, spoil (food)’
<i>boŋtǎ</i>	‘crust’	<i>boŋtǎ</i>	‘strip off, peel, husk, shell’
<i>díndim</i>	‘night fall, dusk, twilight’	<i>díndim</i>	‘night fell’
<i>dammo</i>	‘blood’	<i>dammo</i>	‘bleed’
<i>dǎ</i>	‘pity, mourning’	<i>dǎ</i>	‘cry, weep’
<i>dóku</i>	‘house, hut’	<i>dóku</i>	‘build’
<i>doŋku</i>	‘snore’	<i>doŋku</i>	‘snore’
<i>dowwol</i>	‘war’	<i>dowwol</i>	‘fight (in war)’
<i>dʒoŋku</i>	‘growl of pig’	<i>dʒoŋku</i>	‘growl (pig)’
<i>gidita</i>	‘happy life’	<i>gidita</i>	‘rejoice’
<i>gune</i>	‘bundle, pack, roll’	<i>gúne</i>	‘wrap up with some kind of wrapper’
<i>giwase</i>	‘movement’	<i>giwase</i>	‘move, swing, go back and forth’
<i>gure</i>	‘speed’	<i>gure</i>	‘speed up, move faster’
<i>h/ketǎ</i>	‘music, song, hymen’	<i>h/ketǎ</i>	‘sing, play (music)’

Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss
<i>hiŋki</i>	‘labor, birth pains’	<i>hiŋki</i>	‘labor (in giving birth)’
<i>hipu</i>	‘bundle (n)’	<i>hipu</i>	‘hung (beehive)’
<i>hoppu</i>	‘breath, life, rest’	<i>hoppu</i>	‘breath, rest’
<i>h/kowe</i>	‘initiation’	<i>h/kowe</i>	‘(be) engaged, (be) betrothed’
<i>imē</i>	‘year, age’	<i>imē</i>	‘(be) late’
<i>idzagen</i>	‘work’	<i>idzagen</i>	‘work’
<i>itfe</i>	‘fence, compound’	<i>itfe</i>	‘fence in (v)’
<i>inun</i>	‘thought’	<i>inun</i>	‘think’
<i>joŋgo</i>	‘air (breathed) wind (n)’	<i>joŋgo</i>	‘blow (of wind)’
<i>kaː</i>	‘excrement, feces’	<i>kaː</i>	‘defecate, excrete’
<i>kandza</i>	‘flame, light, lamp’	<i>kandza</i>	‘burn, blaze’
<i>kanta</i>	‘load, burden’	<i>kántá</i>	‘carrying on one’s back’
<i>kakatine</i>	‘rag’	<i>kakatín</i>	‘to tear repeatedly’
<i>kata</i>	‘torn’	<i>kata</i>	‘tear’
<i>kafo</i>	‘witchcraft’	<i>kafo</i>	‘bewitch, cast spell’
<i>kí</i>	‘knot’	<i>kí</i>	‘tie (knot)’
<i>kí</i>	‘smile’	<i>kí</i>	‘smile’
<i>k/hemo</i>	‘story, history’	<i>k/hemo</i>	‘tell (story)’
<i>ko</i>	‘death’	<i>ko</i>	‘die’
<i>lasa/ lafa</i>	‘fear’	<i>lasa/ lafa</i>	‘fear’
<i>koŋku</i>	‘cough’	<i>koŋku</i>	‘cough’
<i>lutise</i>	‘pimple (of an infant)’	<i>lutise</i>	‘blink (the pimple of an infant)’
<i>mas/fet</i>	‘debt’	<i>mas/fet</i>	‘borrow’
<i>molta</i>	‘slime (organic)’	<i>molta</i>	‘(be) sticky’
<i>mohungul</i>	‘round’	<i>mohungul</i>	‘(be) round’
<i>ohe</i>	‘payment’	<i>ohe</i>	‘pay’
<i>otti</i>	‘love, affection’	<i>otti</i>	‘love’
<i>s/fen̄gi</i>	‘roasted cereal’	<i>s/fen̄gi</i>	‘roast’
<i>s/fàmē</i>	‘shame’	<i>s/fāmèmm</i>	‘get ashamed’
<i>satta</i>	‘fish trap’	<i>satta</i>	‘fish’
<i>s/filaː</i>	‘urine’	<i>s/filamm</i>	‘urinate’
<i>s/fomm</i>	‘command, instruction’	<i>s/fomm</i>	‘tell, order’
<i>tfeŋa</i>	‘game’	<i>tfeŋa</i>	‘play’
<i>tol</i>	‘day’	<i>tol</i>	‘sleep’
<i>tʃijitta</i>	‘darkness’	<i>tʃijitta</i>	‘get dark, become evening’
<i>tʃota</i>	‘circumcision’	<i>tʃota</i>	‘cut’
<i>tutʃi</i>	‘stopper, plug’	<i>tutʃi</i>	‘stop up’
<i>wa</i>	‘dance’	<i>wa</i>	‘dance’
<i>wanki</i>	‘whistle’	<i>wanki</i>	‘whistle, hiss of snake’
<i>wɔ</i>	‘water, alcohol drink’	<i>wɔ</i>	‘drink’

8.3 Compounding

Compounding is also a productive system of noun formation in Chabu. Chabu compounds are formed not only from open word types (nouns and verbs), but also involve words from a closed word class (postpositions).

In most cases, “compounding consists of the combination of two words, in which one word modifies the other, the head.” (Booij, 2007, p. 75). Most Chabu compounds are endocentric attributive compounds in which, “the referents of the compounds are the same as the referents of their heads” (Lieber, 2009, p. 48) and “the non-head acts as a modifier of the head” (Lieber, 2009, p. 47). Only a few compounds are exocentric in which “the referent of the compound as a whole is not the referent of the head” (Lieber, 2009, p. 48). Thus, in most cases, it is possible to predict the meaning of Chabu compounds from the meanings of their constituents.

Chabu compounds are right headed and a compound with XY pattern indicates a Y that has something to do with X. Following we will see different types of compounding strategies of Chabu.

8.3.1 Compounds Involving Only Nouns

Chabu forms many compound words by combining different nouns (both basic and derived): in some instances with linking elements and in other cases without linking element. Some compounding patterns are discussed below.

8.3.1.1 Noun + Noun /Juxtaposition

In Chabu, some compound nouns are formed by combining two basic nouns without any linking element maintaining the modifier head structure. Most nouns formed in this combination are endocentric. Table 84 presents some examples of compounds without linking element.

Table 84. Noun + Noun Compounds

Modifier Noun	Head Noun	Compound Noun
<i>k'oj</i> ‘head’	<i>dosò</i> ‘sickness’	<i>koj dosò</i> ‘headache’
<i>kâw</i> ‘tooth’	<i>sé</i> ‘eye’	<i>kâwsé</i> ‘mouth’
<i>sóná</i> ‘nose’	<i>sé</i> ‘eye’	<i>sóná sé</i> ‘nostrill’
<i>wɔ</i> ‘river’	<i>kâw</i> ‘tooth, edge’	<i>wɔ kâw</i> ‘river bank’

<i>kóndi</i> ‘fishhook’	<i>kónkò</i> ‘string’	<i>kóndi kónkò</i> ‘fishing line’
<i>mensi</i> ‘cannibal’	<i>kunḡu</i> ‘testicle’	<i>mensi kunḡu</i> ‘toad stool’
<i>bùre</i> ‘lake’	<i>kâw</i> ‘tooth, edge’	<i>buré kâw</i> ‘edge of lake’
<i>sé</i> ‘eye’	<i>wàdì</i> ‘dew’	<i>sé wàdì</i> ‘tears’
<i>sé</i> ‘eye’	<i>kunat</i> ‘guest’	<i>sé kunat</i> ‘pupil (of eye)’
<i>sunsé</i> ‘buttock’	<i>âfùrà</i> ‘hole’	<i>sunsé âfùrà</i> ‘anus’

The first four compounds in Table 84 are good examples for N+N compounding (without a linking element), while the rest are indistinguishable. The non-head components of the first four compounds in their citation form end with consonants or with vowels different from the genitive marker *-i* and its allomorph *-e* and their terminal segments remain unchanged in the compounds. Thus, although the two constituents have genitive relationship, it is easy to see the absence of the genitive marker. Nevertheless, in the compounds other than the first four, it is difficult to judge whether there is the genitive marker or not, because the non-head components of the compounds in their citation form terminate with vowels similar to the respective genitive markers and it is difficult to identify which vowels they represent (the original terminal vowels or the genitive markers. However, for we have no evidence in the contrary, we categorized them in N+N compound group.

mensi kungu ‘toadstool’ is an example of exocentric attributive compound derived from the combination of *mensi* ‘cannibal’ and *kungu* ‘testicle’. The meaning of the compound has nothing to do with the meanings of its constituents. *se kunat* ‘pupil (of eye)’ is also another example for partially exocentric compound formed from the combination of *se* ‘eye’ and *kunat* ‘guest’. Even though *se kunat* has relation with eye, it has nothing to do with guest.

8.3.1.2 Genitive Compounds

The compounds we put under this group differ from the preceding group by having a genitive relationship between the two components and by suffixing the indefinite genitive marker *-i* or its allomorph *-e* to the possessor noun. (See section 6.5.2.1). The following table presents examples of genitive compounds.

Table 85. Noun + LINK + Noun Compounds

Non-head noun	Head noun	Compound
<i>bóddà</i> ‘palm tree’	<i>kìti</i> ‘ear’	<i>bóde kìti</i> ‘palm branch or frond’
<i>bóddà</i> ‘palm tree’	<i>sé</i> ‘eye, seed’	<i>bóde sé</i> ‘palm nut’
<i>dogá</i> ‘chest’	<i>èmàha</i> ‘bone’	<i>doge èmàhà</i> ‘breast bone’
<i>gàl</i> ‘side of body’	<i>èmàha</i> ‘bone’	<i>gàli èmàhà</i> ‘ribs’
<i>koj</i> ‘head’	<i>èmàha</i> ‘bone’	<i>koji èmàhà</i> ‘skull’
<i>kòpu</i> ‘wing’	<i>èmàha</i> ‘bone’	<i>kopí èmàhà</i> ‘shoulder blade’
<i>kurkum</i> ‘spin’	<i>èmàha</i> ‘bone’	<i>kurkumí èmàhà</i> ‘backbone, spin’
<i>dówol</i> ‘war’	<i>úfà</i> ‘person’	<i>dówoli úfà</i> ‘warrior’
<i>dú</i> ‘breast’	<i>áhà</i> ‘home’	<i>dújí áhà</i> ‘udder’
<i>dú</i> ‘breast’	<i>wò</i> ‘water’	<i>dújí wò</i> ‘milk’
<i>dzám(é)</i> ‘termite’	<i>áhà</i> ‘home’	<i>dzámí áhà</i> ‘termite hill’
<i>godó</i> ‘elephant’	<i>kaw</i> ‘teeth’	<i>gođe kãw</i> ‘ivory, elephants tusk’
<i>hèlèti</i> ‘bird’	<i>áhà</i> ‘home’	<i>hèlèti áhà</i> ‘nest’
<i>horà</i> ‘spider’	<i>kónkò</i> ‘threads, cord’	<i>horè kónkò</i> ‘spider net’
<i>kàsip(u)</i> ‘moon’	<i>hájum</i> ‘light’	<i>kàsipi hàjùm</i> ‘moon light’
<i>kìti</i> ‘ear’	<i>ka</i> ‘excrement’	<i>kít/ékà</i> ‘earwax’
<i>h/kóll</i> ‘grave’	<i>màṅ</i> ‘place’	<i>h/kólí màṅ</i> ‘cemetery, grave yard’
<i>kungu</i> ‘scrotum’	<i>màna</i> ‘stone’	<i>kungí mànà</i> ‘testicle’
<i>màna</i> ‘stone’	<i>kùfà</i> ‘children’	<i>màné kùfà</i> ‘gravel’
<i>màna</i> ‘stone’	<i>làta</i> ‘mother’	<i>mané làtà</i> ‘lower grinding stone’
<i>merino</i> ‘gallbladder’	<i>wò</i> ‘water’	<i>merane wò</i> ‘gall, bile’
<i>mindza</i> ‘cow’	<i>duji wò</i> ‘breast milk’	<i>mindze dujwò</i> ‘cow milk’
<i>sijo</i> ‘grass’	<i>tʃám</i> ‘leaf’	<i>sije tʃám</i> ‘blade (of grass)’
<i>sona</i> ‘nose’	<i>dor</i> ‘trunk, log’	<i>soné dòr</i> ‘bridge of nose’
<i>tádʒan</i> ‘beer’	<i>dʒahí</i> ‘jar’	<i>tádʒaní dʒàhì</i> ‘beer jar’
<i>tʃúwá</i> ‘fire’	<i>kònná</i> ‘wood, tree’	<i>tʃúwé kònnà</i> ‘fire wood’
<i>tʃúwá</i> ‘fire’	<i>korse</i> ‘scar’	<i>tʃuwe korse</i> ‘scar of fire’
<i>tútúkàn</i> ‘egg’	<i>wann</i> ‘skin or shell’	<i>tútúkàni wànn</i> ‘egg shell’
<i>wò</i> ‘water’	<i>dʒahí</i> ‘pot’	<i>wòjí dʒàhì</i> ‘water pot’

8.3.1.3 N + *ambu* ‘Thing’

Unlike in other attributive endocentric compounds, in *ambu* ‘thing’ headed compounds the referents of the compounds are not exactly the same as the referent of their heads. Because, the head *ambu* ‘thing’ does not refer to a specific thing and the compounds in most cases rather refer a specific matter. One cannot easily predict the meaning of these compounds because *ambu* can refer deferent things: it can refer part of the N, the thing that decorates the N, the thing contained in the N and the

instrument that serves to perform the action (of the verb that serves as a base of a derived N). Consider the examples in the following table.

Table 86. Compounds Formed from N + ambu

N	Compound derived with ambu	Domain meaning of ambu
<i>horo</i> ‘throat’	<i>horose ambu</i> ‘Adam’s apple’	part
<i>sukumá</i> ‘belly’	<i>sukumé àmbù</i> ‘intestines’	part
<i>nimá</i> ‘neck’	<i>nimásé àmbù</i> ‘uvula’	part
<i>kéki</i> ‘lip’	<i>kéki àmbù</i> ‘lip plug’ labret, lip-disc’	decoration
<i>kíti</i> ‘ear’	<i>kíti ambu</i> ‘ear ring’	decoration
<i>áhà</i> ‘home’	<i>áhasé àmbù</i> ‘belongings’	belongings
<i>kempu</i> ‘to fan’	<i>kempuse ambu</i> ‘fan’	instrument
<i>koll</i> ‘dig’	<i>kolfe ambu</i> ‘hoe’	instrument

8.3.1.4 Compound Names for the Baby or Young of Animals (N + tʃo)

Chabu does not have basic names for young animals except for a few wild animals like *mɔge* ‘young of buffalo’. Chabu uses *tʃo* ‘child’ to form a compound name for the baby or young of most animals. *tʃo* preceded by the animal name with indefinite genitive marker means young of the animal. See the following examples.

Table 87. Compound Names for the Baby or Young of Animals

Animal Name	Gloss	Young of the animal	Gloss
<i>bágo</i>	‘sheep’	<i>báge tʃo</i>	‘lamb’
<i>bàko</i>	‘chicken’	<i>bàke tʃo</i>	‘chick’
<i>kàni</i>	‘dog’	<i>kàni tʃo</i>	‘puppy’
<i>kémta</i>	‘goat’	<i>kémte tʃo</i>	‘lamb or young of goat’
<i>matʃo</i>	‘horse’	<i>matʃe tʃo</i>	‘colt’

beseti tʃo ‘fetus’ is a compound different from the above example, even though it is formed with *tʃo* as a head constituent. To form the compound *beseti tʃo*, the lexeme *bese* ‘stomach’ suffixes the adessive-ablative marker *-ti* and then combines with *tʃo* ‘child’. The literal meaning is something like ‘child at stomach’. Here the modifier (the first component of the compound) is not animal name; rather it is body of animal. In addition, the suffixation of the ablative-adessive marker tells that the modifier component of the compound is the location of the head noun and it is true that fetus is a child at stomach. This compound is a good example for endocentric compound.

8.3.2 Compounds Having De-verbal Nouns and Base Noun as Input.

8.3.2.1 Verb-*se* (Instrumental) + Noun.

As mentioned in the derivation subsection above (cf. 8.1), Chabu instrumental nouns can be derived by suffixing the derivational morpheme *-se* to a verb root and these *-se* derived instrumental nouns serve as attributive modifiers. Chabu form compound nouns using the same pattern (in which *-se* derived nouns modify other nouns. The following are some examples.

Table 88. Verb-*se* (INST) + Noun Compounds

verb stem	gloss	noun	Gloss	Compound	Gloss	Literal meaning
<i>atá</i>	'to cook'	<i>turo</i>	'metal'	<i>atasé tũrò</i>	'cooking pot'	cooking pot
<i>díhí</i>	'to grind'	<i>màna</i>	'ston'	<i>díksé màna</i>	'grinding stone'	grinding stone
<i>gósá</i>	'to bear'	<i>áhà</i>	'home'	<i>gósásé áhà</i>	'womb'	bearing home
<i>kl</i>	'to tie'	<i>kóŋkò</i>	'string'	<i>kísé kóŋkò</i>	'rope'	ting string
<i>lũl</i>	'to saw'	<i>kóŋkò</i>	'string'	<i>lũlsé kóŋkò</i>	'threads'	sawing string
<i>rol</i>	'to sleep'	<i>dòku</i>	'house'	<i>tolse dòku</i>	'bed room'	sleeping house
<i>dómúmbá</i>	'cook,boil'	<i>dòku</i>	'house'	<i>dómbásé døkù</i>	'kitchen'	cooking house

8.3.2.2 Verb *-se* (Instrumentals) + *ambu* 'thing'

-se derived de-verbal instrumental nominals modify *ambu* 'thing' to mean any instrument that can be used to perform the action denoted by the verb. However, as it can be observed from Table 89, in some instances the same pattern forms compounds that refer specific kinds of instruments. The following table presents some examples of compounds that are formed by combining de-verbal instrumental nouns with **ambu** 'thing'.

Table 89. Verb-*se* (INST) + *ambu* 'thing'

Verb	Gloss	Compound Noun	Gloss
<i>bitfà</i>	'comb'	<i>bitfásé àmbù</i>	'comb'
<i>fífú</i>	'blow'	<i>fífsé àmbù</i>	'bellows'
<i>gómá</i>	'burn'	<i>gómásé àmbù</i>	'fire place'
<i>goji</i>	'shave'	<i>gojisé àmbù</i>	'razor'
<i>isik</i>	'sweep'	<i>isiksé àmbù</i>	'broom'
<i>kèmpu</i>	'fan'	<i>kèmpusé àmbù</i>	'fan'
<i>h/kóll</i>	'dig'	<i>kólsé àmbù</i>	'hoe'
<i>mo</i>	'sit'	<i>mosé àmbù</i>	'seat'
<i>rudét</i>	'brush one's tooth'	<i>rudétfjé àmbù</i>	'tooth stick, toothbrush'

8.3.2.3 Noun –i- Verb-se.

The main function of *-se* derived instrumental nominals is serving as attributive modifiers by preceding the modified noun and most compounds formed by using these de-verbal nominals as one of the constituents are formed in the same order. However, in a few compounds of Chabu the deverbal nouns may occur in reverse order at the position of head. Here, a genitive marker *-i/e* has to be suffixed to the preceding noun. A few examples are presented in the following table.

Table 90. Genitive Noun + Verb-se (DE-NOM) Compounds

Noun	Gloss	Verb	Gloss	Compound noun	Gloss	Literal meaning
<i>wo</i>	'water'	<i>kóll</i>	'run'	<i>wɔʒi kólsé</i>	'Canal, ditch'	Something through which water flows
<i>k'onna</i>	'tree, wood'	<i>hebelse</i>	'carry'	<i>kone hebelse</i>	'shoulder'	Something with which one can carry wood.
<i>tʃuwa</i>	'fire'	<i>kor</i>	'burn'	<i>tʃuwe korse</i>	'burn, scar of burn'	Scar of burn of fire

The first two examples in Table 90 are formed with de-verbal instrumental nouns while the last example is formed from de-verbal result noun. In the last example the meaning of the compound *tʃuwe korse* has no meaning difference from the de-verbal result noun **korse** 'burn, scar of burn'.

8.3.2.4 Noun + *débe* 'Absent'

Some body part nouns combined with the negative existential verb *débe* form compound nouns that denote human that have a body part that does not serve its function properly (or fully).

Table 91. N + *débe* 'absent' Compounds

Body part	Derived compound nouns
<i>se</i> 'eye'	<i>se débe</i> 'blind'
<i>k'iti</i> 'ear'	<i>k'itje débe</i> 'deaf'
<i>k'oj</i> 'head'	<i>k'oj débe</i> 'moron'

8.3.2.5 Verbal Nominal + - i- + Noun

Some verbal nominals inflected for genitive case combined with spatial nouns form compounds that denote the place where the action denoted by the base verb is performed.

Table 92. INF + Special N

<i>dá</i>	‘to cry (V)/ cry (N)’	<i>màṅ</i>	‘place’	<i>dáji màṅ</i> ‘place of mourning’
<i>ka</i>	‘to excrete(V)/excrement(N)’	<i>dókú</i>	‘house’	<i>kaji dókú</i> ‘toilet’
<i>ka</i>	‘to excrete(V)/excrement(N)’	<i>maṅ</i>	‘place’	<i>kaji maṅ</i> ‘any place of excretion (not proper toilet)’

8.3.2.6 Noun + Passive Gerundive

One compound, *kojí bóntfúwè* ‘bald’ has been attested with noun plus passive gerundive input.

Table 93. N+ *passive gerundive*.

Noun	<i>Passive gerundive</i> .	Compound
<i>koj</i> ‘head’	<i>bóntfúwé</i> ‘be peeled’	<i>kojibóntfúwè</i> ‘bald’

8.3.2.7 Noun + Root/Verbal Nominal

Some Chabu compounds are formed by combining nouns with verb root or verbal (process) nouns. The following table presents evidences of such compounds.

Table 94. *Noun + Verbal Nominal*.

Noun	Verbal (Process) nominal	Compound
<i>bese</i> ‘belly’	<i>tfota</i> ‘cutting’	<i>bese tfota</i> ‘stomach ache’
<i>koj</i> ‘head’	<i>kiko</i> ‘itching’	<i>koj kiko</i> ‘shame’
<i>se</i> ‘face or eye’	<i>siba</i> ‘covering’	<i>se siba</i> ‘mask’
<i>saṅ</i> ‘forest’	<i>mo(mo)</i> ‘living’	<i>santi momom</i> ‘bush dweller’

8.3.2.8 Formation of Agentive Nouns (Verbal Noun + *ufa* ‘person’)

In many languages agentive nouns are formed by suffixing some kind of derivational affixes. Chabu is not among these languages. Chabu agentive nouns are formed by combining verb roots/infinitive/action verbal nominals with a noun *ufa* ‘person’. For the verb roots and action nominals have the same form, we could not tell what the exact category of the base of agentive compounds (it needs further in-depth investigation). These compound nouns refer to the agent of the action denoted by the verb. Consider the following examples.

Table 95. Agentive Compounds Verbal + *ufa*

Verb stem	Gloss	Verbal nominal	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
<i>dirbú</i>	‘hunt’	<i>dirbú</i>	‘hunting/ to hunt’	<i>dirbí úfà</i>	‘hunter’
<i>má:tǝí</i>	‘spy’	<i>mát f’í</i>	‘spying / to spy’	<i>mt f’í úfà</i>	‘spy’
<i>ídʒágán</i>	‘work’	<i>ídʒágán</i>	‘work/ working/ to work’	<i>ídʒágání úfà</i>	‘worker’
<i>ká</i>	‘kill’	<i>ká</i>	‘killing/ to kill’	<i>káj úfà</i>	‘killer’
<i>kəkotí</i>	‘beg’	<i>kokotí</i>	‘begging/ to beg’	<i>kokotí úfà</i>	‘beggar’
<i>liját</i>	‘swim’	<i>lijat</i>	‘swimming / to swim’	<i>lijátí úfà</i>	‘swimmer’
<i>eberen</i>	‘forge’	<i>eberen</i>	forging/ to forg’	<i>eberani ufa</i>	‘blacksmith’
<i>abal</i>	‘buy’	<i>abal</i>	‘buying/ to buy’	<i>abali ufa</i>	‘buyer’
<i>amanse</i>	‘snatch’	<i>amanse</i>	‘snatching/ to snate’	<i>amanse ufa</i>	‘looter’
<i>dowal</i>	‘fight a war’	<i>dowal</i>	‘fighting/ to fight a war’	<i>dowali ufa</i>	‘warrior’
<i>koll</i>	‘run’	<i>koll</i>	‘running/ to run’	<i>koli ufa</i>	‘runner’

The following examples illustrate the use of agentive compounds formed with *ufa* ‘man’.

(408) *attene bogo-m dirbi_ufa ge-kuss*
 Attene strong-M hunter AUX-PST
 ‘Attaene was a strong/brave hunter.’

(409) *bab matfi ufe=watto kona ponti=k t’ol-tf-e*
 two spy person=PL tree on=AUX sleep-MDU-PST
 ‘Two spies spent the night on a tree.’

(410) *dowali-ufa nembijo-k-o lasa-be*
 Warrior nothing-ACC-FOC fear-NEG
 ‘A warrior does not fear anything’.

8.3.3 Compounds with Adjective and Noun Constituents

Chabu derives different compound nouns by combining adjectives with nouns in variety ways. In what follows, we briefly discuss the formation of these Compounds.

8.3.3.1 Adjective + Noun

Chabu adjectives are marked for gender obligatorily when they modify a head noun. The gender marker morphemes suffixed to the adjectives are *-ŋ* ‘feminine’ and *-m* ‘masculine’. This same pattern is followed in forming most compound nouns with

adjective and noun constituents (Table 96). However, there is at least one evidence (*kínà kàsìp* ‘new moon’) that shows the possibility of forming compounds from adjective and noun input without the gender-marking element suffixed to the adjectives. *kínà kàsìp* ‘new moon’ is a compound derived from the combination of the adjective *kínà* ‘new’ and the noun *kàsìp* ‘moon’. The gender markers (*-ŋ* or *-m*) are not suffixed to the adjective.

Table 96. Compounds Composed Of Adjectives Plus Nouns

Adjective	Noun	Result Compound
<i>kòsà</i> ‘bad’	<i>úfà</i> ‘person’	‘ <i>kosam ufa</i> ‘guilty’
<i>tʃíńí</i> ‘black’	<i>bòkù</i> ‘land’	‘ <i>tʃíńím bòkù</i> ‘fertile land’
<i>kébbà</i> ‘light (weight)’	<i>fěmo</i> ‘cloth’	‘ <i>kébbàm fěmò</i> ‘shirt’
<i>kéndì</i> ‘cold’	<i>màŋ</i> ‘place’	‘ <i>kéndìmmàŋ</i> ‘shadow’
<i>kósa</i> ‘bad’	<i>màŋ</i> ‘place’	‘ <i>kòsàmmàŋ</i> ‘hell, dwelling place of the dead’
<i>kósa</i> ‘bad’	<i>hòppù</i> ‘life’	‘ <i>kòsàm hòppù</i> ‘Satan, Devil’
<i>tʃàrà</i> ‘red’	<i>fíŋkurti</i> ‘	‘ <i>tʃàràmm fíŋkurti</i> ‘onion’
<i>dátʃà</i> ‘white’	<i>fíla</i> ‘urine’	‘ <i>dátʃàm fíla</i> ‘semen, sperm’
<i>wétʃíʃ</i> ‘all’	<i>bokù</i> ‘place’	‘ <i>wétʃíʃim bokù</i> ‘everywhere’
<i>wétʃíʃ</i> ‘all’	<i>òhasé</i> ‘day’	‘ <i>wétʃíʃíŋ òhasé</i> ‘everday’
<i>úm̀bà</i> ‘female’	<i>bàko</i> ‘chicken’	‘ <i>úm̀bàŋ bàkò</i> ‘hen’
<i>úm̀bà</i> ‘female’	<i>mà</i> ‘sibling’	‘ <i>úm̀bàŋ mà</i> ‘sister’
<i>úm̀bà</i> ‘female’	<i>tʃò</i> ‘child’	‘ <i>úm̀bàŋ tʃò</i> ‘girl, daughter’
<i>úll</i> ‘male’	<i>mà</i> ‘sibling’	‘ <i>úllum mà</i> ‘brother’
<i>úll</i> ‘male’	<i>bàko</i> ‘chicken’	‘ <i>úllum bàkò</i> ‘rooster/cock’
<i>úll</i> ‘male’	<i>míĩndzà</i> ‘cow’	‘ <i>úllum míĩndzà</i> ‘ox’
<i>úll</i> ‘male’	<i>tʃò</i> ‘child’	‘ <i>úllum tʃò/ últʃò</i> ’

The following example sentences illustrate the use of the above-mentioned forms in context.

(411) *tíŋŋ-ke ullum.bako-ka-k sasawudî t'a-je*
 I.m-GEN rooster-ACC-AUX wild.cat eat-PST
 ‘A wild cat ate my cock/rooster.’

(412) *sadinat-ke umbaŋ.bakko kaba-ŋ tutukani dē-k gos-e.*
 Sadinet-GEN hen many-F egg PRF-AUX bear-PST
 ‘Sadnet’s hen laid many eggs.’

8.3.3.2 Noun + Adj

As can be observed from Table 96, most compounds with adjective and noun inputs are formed in adj + noun order. However, some compounds are formed in the reverse order (see Table 97).

Table 97. Noun + Adjective

Noun	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss	Compound	Gloss
<i>éfi</i>	‘hand’	<i>kòsa</i>	‘bad, dirty’	<i>éfi kòsa</i>	‘menstruation’
<i>gàl</i>	‘rib’	<i>kàtɲfo</i>	‘half’	<i>gàli kàtɲfó</i>	‘one side’
<i>gati</i>	‘price’	<i>bogó</i>	‘difficult, though’	<i>gati pogò</i>	‘expensive’
<i>gati</i>	‘price’	<i>hàntɲib</i>	‘a few’	<i>gati hàntɲib</i>	‘cheap’
<i>sesá</i>	‘body’	<i>o f</i>	‘only’	<i>sesá óf</i>	‘naked’
<i>sisá</i>	‘body’	<i>súbú</i>	‘hot’	<i>sìse súbú</i>	‘fever’

8.3.3.3 Numeral + Noun

There is at list one evidence that shows the possibility of forming compounds from numeral plus noun construction. *ɲki appo* ‘word’ is formed from the numeral *ɲki* ‘one’ and from a noun *appo* ‘talk/speech’. The literal meaning is ‘one talk’.

8.3.4 Compounds Involving Demonstratives and Nouns

As mentioned in 8.3 above, not only content words but also post-positions are used to form Chabu compounds, though it is not frequent. Although, Booij (2007, p ,77) argues that function words occur in non-head position alone, the Chabu post-positions *poŋ* ‘over’ and *takan* ‘under/inside’ happen to occupy in the head position at least in one, one instances. The compound *gompoŋ* ‘summit, highest point (literally on mountain)’ and *itfe-takan* ‘courtyard’ (literally ‘inside of fence’) is formed from combination of the nouns and the postpositions.

Some Chabu demonstratives also are happen to appear as input in compound noun formation. The demonstratives are combined with *òha* ‘sun’ to form nouns that refer the time of the day.

Table 98. Compound Nouns with Demonstrative Input

Noun	Demonstrative	Post P.	Derived Compound	Literal meaning
<i>òha</i> ‘sun’	<i>mant</i> ‘here’		<i>oha mant</i> ‘morning’	sun here
<i>òha</i> ‘sun’	<i>ɲant</i> ‘there’		<i>òha ɲánt</i> ‘afternoon’	sun there
<i>òha</i> ‘sun’	<i>ma</i> ‘this’	<i>pont</i> ‘on’	<i>oha ma pont</i> ‘noon’	sun over this

9 Modifiers

This chapter describes words functioning as modifiers of nouns or verbs. Nouns can be modified in a variety of ways. These include using genitives, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, adverbials and relative clause expressions. Genitives (6.5.2.1) and demonstratives (7.2) have already been addressed and relative clauses will be discussed under Syntax (11.2.2.3); thus, they will not be addressed here. Only adjectives, numerals and adverbials will be treated here. We will examine each of these noun modifiers in the given order.

9.1 Adjectives

The majority of Chabu adjectives have identical phonological structure with their verbal counterparts and we can consider them as part of the same category with the verbs or as results of conversions of the verbs as shown in (Table 99). However, for the ease of description we use the term conversion to refer to these adjectives. Some Chabu adjectives are derived from verb roots by suffixing a derivational morpheme *-at*. A few adjectives are also formed by adding an affix (clitic) *-(ŋ)ga* (which originated from the existential verb *jaŋga* ‘exist’) to nouns. All the three types of adjectives are directly related to verbs in origin. Therefore, Chabu adjectives do not constitute a separate coherent word class. They seem to be predominantly part of verbal lexical category of the language.

Unlike Chabu nouns, Chabu adjectives repeat themselves to show the high intensity of the quality or feature they denote and this is also a feature of Chabu verbs. Chabu adjectives are not marked for focus except when they function as the only element of a noun phrase.

Chabu adjectives precede the nouns they modify. Semantic categories expressed by adjectives include dimension, color, age, value, physical property and human propensity of the referent.

The semantic relationship between “conversion” adjectives and their verbal counterparts is that the adjectives denote states while their verbal counterparts denote change of state ‘become adjective (inchoative)’. The semantic relationship of the *-at* derived adjectives with their verbal counterparts is different from that the conversion

adjectives have; *-at* derived adjectives denote results of the action that the verbs denote. *-(ŋ)ga* derived adjectives modify head nouns that have the quality of the noun to which *-ŋga* is suffixed. Following we will discuss the three types respectively.

9.1.1 Conversion Adjectives

Most Chabu adjectives have corresponding verbs. The majority of these adjectives are conversions from their verbal counterparts (or in the alternative analysis, the forms belonging to one category function flexibly as verbs or as adjectives). The following table shows forms that function both as adjectives and as verbs.

Table 99. Converted Adjectives

Verbs	Adjectives
<i>bog:ò</i> ‘be hard’	<i>bog:ò</i> ‘strong’
<i>boŋfá</i> ‘be rotten, spoil (food)’	<i>boŋfá</i> ‘rotten’
<i>bu:džà</i> ‘be sharp’	<i>bu:džà</i> ‘sharp’
<i>bu:džà</i> ‘be angry’	<i>bu:džà</i> ‘hot tempered, angry’
<i>bosí</i> ‘be wide’	<i>bosí</i> ‘wide’
<i>dómá</i> ‘be ripe’	<i>dómá</i> ‘ripe, cocked’
<i>fonkà</i> ‘(be) light (not heavy)’	<i>fonkà</i> ‘light (weight)’
<i>gájé</i> ‘be enough’	<i>gájé</i> ‘enough’
<i>gani</i> ‘(be) rich’	<i>gani</i> ‘rich’
<i>gidí</i> ‘to please’	<i>gidí</i> ‘sweet, pleasant’
<i>gu:lá</i> ‘(be) heavy’	<i>gu:lá</i> ‘heavy’
<i>há:bá</i> ‘be abundant’	<i>há:bá</i> ‘many’
<i>ise/ ife</i> ‘get old (materials), (be) worn out’	<i>ise/ ife</i> ‘old, worn out’
<i>ketfà</i> ‘(be) rough’	<i>ketfà</i> ‘rough’
<i>kawan</i> ‘fill’	<i>kawan</i> ‘whole, full’
<i>kebà</i> ‘(be) light’	<i>kebà</i> ‘light (cloth)’
<i>kikkira</i> ‘(be) short’	<i>kikkira</i> ‘short’
<i>keddi/ eddi</i> ‘grow up’	<i>keddi/ he ddi</i> ‘much’
<i>ké:dzi</i> ‘(be) thin’	<i>ké:dzi</i> ‘thin’
<i>kendí</i> ‘get cold’	<i>kendí</i> ‘cold’
<i>molta</i> ‘(be) sticky’	<i>molta</i> ‘gum’
<i>mundí</i> ‘(be) wet’	<i>mundí</i> ‘wet’
<i>ódě</i> ‘(be) crook’	<i>ódě</i> ‘bend, crook, curve’
<i>ótí</i> ‘approach’	<i>ótí</i> ‘near’
<i>ruťi</i> ‘(be) smooth, (be) slippery’	<i>ruťi</i> ‘smooth, slippery’
<i>t’oto</i> ‘(be) dry’	<i>t’oto</i> ‘dry’
<i>sú:bú/ fú:bú</i> ‘be hot’	<i>sú:bú/ fú:bú</i> ‘hot, warm’
<i>róbá</i> ‘(be) blunt, dull’	<i>róbá</i> ‘blunt, dull’
<i>t’ündě</i> ‘(be) narrow’	<i>t’ündě</i> ‘narrow’
<i>òmòkamba</i> ‘(be) defeated’	<i>òmòkamba</i> ‘tiresome’
<i>sétakan</i> ‘(be) straight’	<i>sétakan</i> ‘straight’

The following examples illustrate the use of Chabu adjectives and their verbal counterparts.

- (413)
- (a) *ha-k* *bont f'-e*
 meat-AUX be.rotten-PST
 'The meat became rotten.'
- (b) *ju* *bontf'a-m* *ha-k* *ta-je*
 he:FOC rotten-M meat-ACC eat-PST
 'He ate rotten meat'

- (414)
- (a) *tiŋke femok munde*
tiŋ-ke *femo-k* *mundi-e*
 1MSG-GEN cloth-AUX be.wet-PST
 'My cloth got wet.'
- (b) *tiŋ-ke* *femo* *mundi*
 1MSG-GEN cloth wet
 'My cloth is wet'

According to Gil (2011, Introduction section, para 2): Adjectives may occur

either as predicates... or [as modifiers] within noun phrases. However, in some cases, when the noun is either unimportant or is reconstructible from the discourse, it is absent from the construction, and, as a result, the adjective remains as the main lexical item within the noun phrase, denoting the understood object.

Chabu conversion adjectives occur as predicate (as in (415) and (416) below), as attributive (as in (417) and (418)) and as the main lexical item representing the subject or the object (as in (420), (421) and (422) below). When they function as predicate, they occur without any marker. However, when they occur as attributives, they take the gender suffixes *-ŋ* 'F' and *-m* 'M' (as in (413)(b) above, (417), (418), and (422) below). When they appear independently without the (understood) head noun as the main and only element in a noun phrase position, they always take the focus particle *-o* (as in (421) below) and mean "the 'adjective' one" a case marker, if any, is suffixed after the focus marker.

(415) *attene-ke gere dama ji*
 Attene-GEN spear.handle long COP
 ‘Attene’s spear handle is long.’

(416) *kukke kaw datf`a*
kukku-ke kaw datf`a
 2M.SG-GEN tooth white
 ‘Your tooth is white.’

(417) *sadok tfara-m pena-ka-k abal-e*
 Sadok red-M pen-ACC-AUX buy-PST
 ‘Sadok bought a red pen.’

(418) *kaba-m ufo debe (Chabu001-005)*
 many-M person absent
 ‘There were no many people.’

(419) *dzarijem kemosekka sitalaket peniηa etfatedig*
dzari-e-m kemose-kka sitalaka-ka-t peni-ηa etfate-d-ig
 former- DEF-M story-ACC 2MPL-DAT-1SG tell-CONJ listen-PL-FUT
 ‘I will tell you an old time story and you will listen.’

(420) *damo nak egemo ma doki ofod kukk onob*
dama-o nak egemo ma dok u-i ofodi kukku ono-be
 tall-FOC NEG COND this house-LINK roof 2MSG reach-NEG
 ‘Even if you are tall, you cannot reach the roof of this house.’

(421) *tfaro tiηke ji*
tfara-o tiηke ji
 red-FOC I(M)-GEN DENOM.COP
 ‘The red one is mine.’

(422) *wetfem takantu hikiro danka*
wetfi-e-m takant-u hikira-o danka
 all-DEF-M inside-FOC short-FOC good
 ‘Among all, the short one is good.’

The following are examples of focused adjectives that appear as the only element in noun phrase position.

Table 100. Focused Adjectives

<i>tʃi</i> ni ‘black’	<i>tʃi</i> no ‘the black one’
<i>tʃa</i> ra ‘red, brown’	<i>tʃa</i> ro ‘the red one’
<i>da</i> tʃa ‘white’	<i>da</i> tʃo ‘the white one’
<i>tʃo</i> lo ‘green, blue’	<i>tʃo</i> lo ‘the green one, the blue one’
<i>da</i> ma ‘yellow’	<i>da</i> mo ‘the yellow one’
<i>da</i> ma ‘long’	<i>da</i> mo ‘the long one’
<i>bo</i> si ‘wide’	<i>bo</i> so ‘the wide one’
<i>hi</i> kira ‘short’	<i>hi</i> kiro ‘the short one’

When used attributively as modifier of a head noun, Chabu conversion adjectives are obligatorily marked with gender marker affixes *-ŋ* ‘F’ or *-m* ‘M’. These gender marker affixes are also suffixed obligatorily to all definite nouns and relative clauses marked with the definite marker and relativizer morpheme *-e*.

(423)

(a) *bontʃa*m ha ‘rotten meat’

bontʃa-m ha

rotten-M meat

(b) *bontʃe*m ha ‘the rotten meat’

bontʃa-e-m ha

rotten-DEF.M meat

(424)

(a) *ʃi*niŋ bu ‘black female leopard’

*ʃi*ni-ŋ bu

black-F leopard

(b) *ʃi*neŋ bu ‘the black female leopard’

*ʃi*ni-e-ŋ bu

black-DEF.F leopard

- (425)
- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| (a) | <i>mat-i-ŋ</i> | <i>ufa-k</i> | <i>am-e</i> | ‘A big woman came.’ |
| | Big-EPEN-F | person-AUX | come-PST | |
| (b) | <i>mat-e-ŋ</i> | <i>ufa-k</i> | <i>am-e</i> | ‘The big woman came.’ |
| | big-DEF-F | person-AUX | come-PST | |

When Chabu definite nouns that are marked for definiteness with the definite marker *-e* are modified by adjectives, the definite marker *-e* moves to the modifier adjectives and is mandatorily followed by the gender marker *-ŋ* or *-m*. Whenever a definite marker is attached to vowel terminal adjectives the terminal vowels are deleted. The following examples show the use of attributive adjectives in definite and indefinite noun phrases and the movement of the definite marker. Compare the following triplet examples.

- (426)
- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| (a) | <i>tf'ojem dek ame.</i> | | | |
| | <i>t f'ò-j-e-m</i> | <i>dè-k</i> | <i>am-e</i> | |
| | child-EPN-DEF.M | PRF-AUX | come-PST | |
| | ‘The male child has come.’ | | | |
| (b) | <i>kedebum tf'o dek ame.</i> | | | |
| | <i>kedebu-m</i> | <i>tf'ò</i> | <i>dè-k</i> | <i>am-e</i> |
| | small-M | child | PRF-AUX | come-PST |
| | ‘A small male child has come.’ | | | |
| (c) | <i>kedebem tf'o dekame.</i> | | | |
| | <i>kedebu-e-m</i> | <i>tf'ò</i> | <i>dè-k</i> | <i>am-e</i> |
| | small-DEF-M | child | PRF-AUX | come-PST |
| | ‘The small male child has come.’ | | | |

- (427)
- | | | | |
|-----|------------------------|-------------|----------------|
| (a) | <i>kaney dekbokaje</i> | | |
| | <i>kani-e-ŋ</i> | <i>dè-k</i> | <i>boka-je</i> |
| | dog-DEF-F | PRF-AUX | bark-EPN -PST |
| | The female dog barked. | | |

(b) *furo-η kani de-k boka-je*
 hunter-F dog PRF-AUX bark-PST
 ‘A female hunter dog barked.’

(c) *fureη kani dekbokaje*
furo-e-η kani de-k boka-j-e
 hunter-DEF-F dog PRF-AUX bark-EPN -PST
 ‘The female hunter dog barked.’

There are times when adjectives agree in number with their heads in a noun phrase. However, number markers also alternatively can move to the attributive adjectives from the head noun. Some number marker morphemes show rigidity in remaining attached with the head noun while others show flexibility by moving to the modifier. =*watto* ‘PL’ and =*jero* ‘VARIETY’ are encliticized to the head noun. Whereas the number marker clitics identical to the third person pronouns =*òjjà*, =*òtʃfà*, =*òddà* and =*otala* alternatively encliticized to the head or to the modifiers that precede the head. When these plural markers are encliticized on the modifier, the head noun optionally takes the plural number marker =*wotto*. See the following table that shows how *tʃiɲiη/m bu* ‘black leopard’ and *kedebuη/m tʃo* ‘small child’ are marked for number.

Table 101. Number Marking in Chabu Attributive Adjectives

Gender	Singular	Dual	Plural
F	<i>tʃiɲiη bu</i>	<i>tʃiɲiη bu ojja</i>	<i>tʃiɲiη buj odda</i>
		<i>tʃiɲiη ojja bu(ji watto)</i>	<i>tʃiɲiη odda bu(ji watto)</i>
	<i>kedebuη tʃo</i>	<i>kedebuη kumbija</i>	<i>kedebuη k'ufa</i>
		<i>kedebuη ojja kumbija</i>	<i>kedebuη odda k'ufa</i>
M	<i>tʃiɲim bu</i>	<i>tʃiɲim bu otʃifa</i>	<i>tʃiɲim bujiwatto/otala</i>
		<i>tʃiɲim otʃifa bu(ji watto)</i>	<i>tʃiɲiem otala bu(ji watto)</i>
	<i>kedebum tʃo</i>	<i>kedebum kumbitʃifa</i>	<i>kedebum kufa</i>
		<i>kedebum otʃifa kumbitʃifa</i>	<i>kedebum otala k'ufa</i>

Although there are times when these conversion adjectives are marked for number, their frequent occurrence is in their singular forms without any number marker. Therefore, number agreement of adjectives with their head nouns is not mandatory.

The following sentences illustrate the contextual use of these singular forms of conversion adjectives with plural and dual nouns.

(428) *dāmem ufe watto dowolkak node*

dama-e-m *ufe=watto* *dowol-ka-k* *no-d-e*
 long-DEF.M person=PL war-ACC-AUX go-PL-PST
 ‘The tall men went to war.’

(429) *tf’areη ufe ojja dek amije*

tf’ara-e-η *ufe=ōjjà* *de-k* *am-ij-e*
 red-DEF-F person=FDU PRF-AUX come-FDU-PST
 ‘Two red women have come.’

These conversion adjectives undergo reduplication to show higher intensity or degree of the character they denote.

(430) *bosi-bosum kiti* ‘very wide ear’

dāma-dāmam ufa ‘very tall person’

dʒoli-dʒolum bure ‘very deep water well’

Attributive nouns *ull* ‘male’ and *umba* ‘female’ behave like adjectives of conversion by using the gender marker morphemes when they function attributively. The feminine gender marker *-η* is suffixed to the semantically feminine attributive *umba* and the masculine gender marker *-m* is suffixed to the semantically masculine attributive *ull*.

Table 102. The Use of Attributive Nouns *umba* and *ull*

Feminine	Gloss	Masculine	Gloss
<i>umbāη bako</i>	‘hen’	<i>ullum bako</i>	‘cock’
<i>umbāη bago</i>	‘female sheep’	<i>ullum bago</i>	‘male sheep’
<i>umbāη dēpe</i>	‘lioness’	<i>ullum dēpe</i>	‘lion’
<i>umbāη kani</i>	‘bitch’	<i>ullum kani</i>	‘male dog’
<i>umbāη gedda</i>	‘female pig’	<i>ullum gedda</i>	‘male pig’
<i>umbāη goηgodzi</i>	‘female Gazelle’	<i>ullum goηgodzi</i>	‘male gazelle’
<i>umbāη eduga</i>	‘female warthog’	<i>ullum eduga</i>	‘male warthog’
<i>umbāη ufa</i>	‘woman’	<i>ullum ufa</i>	‘man’
<i>umbāη menḡa</i>	‘female antelope’	<i>ullum menḡa</i>	‘male antelope’

9.1.2 -at Adjectivization

Chabu derives state adjectives by suffixing *-at* on verb stems. The *-at* morpheme can be suffixed to both intransitive and (active or passive) transitive verb stems.

Table 103. *-at* Derived Result Nouns

Base Verb	Gloss			Derived Result Nominals	
<i>a:tta</i>	'fry'			<i>a:tta?at</i>	'fried'
<i>abal</i>	'buy'			<i>abal?at</i>	'bought'
<i>abalse</i>	'sell'			<i>abalse?at</i>	'sold thing'
<i>aget</i>	'bless'			<i>aget?at</i>	'blessed'
<i>añadatta</i>	'decorate'			<i>añadatta?at</i>	'decorated'
<i>appakatte</i>	'divide, scatter'			<i>appakatte?at</i>	'divided, scattered'
<i>ápúr</i>	'shell'			<i>ápúr ?at</i>	'shelled'
<i>aragat</i>	'arrange'			<i>aragat?at</i>	'arranged'
<i>àtūl</i>	'store, heap up'			<i>àtūl?at</i>	'stored, heap'
<i>bada</i>	'cut open'			<i>bada?at</i>	'opened'
<i>dē</i>	'know'			<i>dē?at</i>	'known'
<i>dókú</i>	'build a house'			<i>dókú?at</i>	'built'
<i>dúga</i>	'hide'			<i>dúga?at</i>	'hidden'
<i>dúll</i>	'throw'			<i>dúll?at</i>	'thrown'
<i>kō</i>	'die'			<i>k'ō?at</i>	'dead'
<i>nónét</i>	'make cripple'			<i>nónété?át</i>	'cripple'
<i>tfo ket</i>	'damage'			<i>tfo kete?a t</i>	'damaged'
<i>t'ol</i>	'sleep'			<i>t'ol?at</i> <i>t'ol?at tfo</i>	'sleeping' 'sleeping child'
<i>finà</i>	'tie, lock (tr.)'	<i>finawé</i>	'be locked (PASS)'	<i>finawé?át</i>	'tuft, lock'
<i>seta</i>	'break (tr.)'	<i>setawe</i>	'be broken (PASS)'	<i>setawe?at</i>	'broken'
<i>tʃota</i>	'cut (tr.)'	<i>tʃòtàwe</i>	'be cut (PASS.)'	<i>tʃotawe?at</i>	'piece'

The *-at* derived adjectives function as attributive modifiers. They qualify the head noun in the noun phrase. Unlike conversion adjectives, *-at* derived adjectives do not occur without the head noun as the only element of the noun phrase; they always occur with the noun that they qualify. In addition, they do not take the gender markers that the conversion adjectives take. They also do not undergo reduplication.

Table 104. Attributive Function of *-at* Derived Nominals

<i>finawé?át tʃ'èkà</i>	'locked hair'
<i>nónété?át úfa</i>	'a cripple person'
<i>tʃòtàwè?at koŋko</i>	'piece of string'

The following contextual examples further illustrate the use of these derived adjectives.

(431) *k'oʔat bu homaseti ŋga*
k'o-at bu homase-ti janga
 die- ADJ leopard road-ADES exist
 'There is a dead leopard on the road.'

(432) *sadinat-ke fina-we-ʔat tʃeka gidɪ*
 Sadinet-GEN lock-PASS-ADJ hair pleasant
 'Sadnet's locked hair is beautiful.'

9.1.3 =(ŋ)gà Adjectivization

By encliticizing =(ŋ)gà onto noun stems Chabu derives quality adjectives. The form =gà is encliticized onto consonant terminal nouns for it is not allowed to have three consonant sequencing, and =ŋgà is encliticized onto vowel terminal nouns. $N_1=(\eta)ga$ N_2 means 'N₂ that has the quality or feature of N₁'. Thus, the clitic =(ŋ)gà seems to be a reduced form of the verb *janga* 'exist'. Adjectives formed by the clitic =(ŋ)ga take the gender markers –ŋ feminine or –m masculine obligatorily when they function as attributive modifiers based on the gender of the head noun.

Table 105. Adjectives Formed by the Clitic =(ŋ)ga

Noun	Gloss	Derived Adjective	Gloss
<i>betʃa</i>	'beard'	<i>betʃaŋgam ufa</i>	'a man with beard'
<i>kare/karuɟ</i>	'horn'	<i>kareŋgaŋ bago</i>	'a female sheep with horn'
<i>usuti</i>	'fart'	<i>usutiŋgam ufa</i>	'a man who has a habit of farting'
<i>inun</i>	'thought'	<i>inungam ufa</i>	'wise person'
<i>Sétòl</i>	'sleep'	<i>sétòlgàm ufa</i>	'a sleepy man'

9.1.4 Less Productive Adjective Formations

9.1.4.1 –set Adjectivization

Some adjectives in Chabu are formed by adding a suffix identical to the inessive case marker *-set* on verbal stems. The semantic relationship between *-set* derived adjectives and their verbal counterparts is similar with *-at* derived adjectives relation with their verbal counterparts; thus, the adjectives denote the result while their verbal counterparts denote the action.

Table 106. Adjectives Derived by Adding a Suffix *-set*

Verb stems		<i>-set</i> derived adjectives	
<i>atamba</i>	‘open’	<i>àtèmbasét</i>	‘open’
<i>siba</i>	‘close’	<i>sibaset</i>	‘closed’
<i>atfak</i>	‘begin’	<i>atfakset</i>	‘beginning’
<i>kor</i>	‘finish’	<i>korset</i>	‘end, final’

9.1.4.2 *-we* Adjectivization

There are some less productive suffixes that are used in forming adjectives. For example *-we* a homo-morph with the passivizer morpheme is added to a noun or a verb in order to form an adjective. This same element is attested in the formation of abstract nouns that refer “statehood” from concrete nouns (like *babewe* ‘fatherhood’ from **babe** ‘father’). The following are some examples of adjectives derived by *-we*.

Table 107. *-we* Derived Adjectives

Noun or Verb	Derived Adjective
<i>dé</i> ‘knowledge or know’	<i>dewe</i> ‘intelligent’
<i>giro</i> ‘be poor’	<i>girowe</i> ‘sad’
<i>ull</i> ‘man or male’	<i>ulluwe</i> ‘brave or showy’

9.2 Numerals

This section examines Chabu numerals. Numerals can modify nouns by indicating quantity. They can also be used pronominally.

Chabu formerly used to use a two-base numeral system. However, currently the Chabu use a base five numeral system which is largely influenced by the Majang numeral system. Only few elderly people remember the old Chabu system. In what follows, we shall see the old Chabu system first and then proceed to the current dominantly borrowed system.

9.2.1 Chabu Old Numeral System

Table 108. Old Cardinal Numbers of Chabu

Cardinal	Literal meaning	Gloss
<i>ijki</i>	one	one
<i>bab</i>	two	two
<i>bab eku ijki</i>	two and one	three
<i>bab eku bab</i>	two and two	four
<i>efi tfumtsum</i>	(folded hand) fist	five
<i>efi tfumtsum eku ijki</i>	fist and one	six
<i>efi tfumtsum eku bab</i>	fist and two	seven
<i>efi tfumtsum eku bab eku ijki</i>	fist and two and one	eight
<i>efi tfumtsum eku bab eku bab</i>	fist and two and two	nine
<i>bab e/if</i>	two hand	ten
<i>bab ef eku ijki</i>	two hand and one	eleven
<i>bab ef eku bab</i>	two hand and two	twelve
<i>bab ef eku bab eku ijki</i>	two hand and two and one	thirteen
<i>bab ef eku bab eku bab</i>	two hand and two and two	fourteen
<i>bab ef eku efi tfumtsum</i>	two hand and fist	fifteen
<i>bab ef eku efi tfumtsum eku ijki</i>	two hand and fist and one	sixteen
<i>bab ef eku efi tfumtsum eku bab</i>	two hand and fist and two	seventeen
<i>bab ef eku efi tfumtsum eku bab eku ijki</i>	two hand and fist and two and one	eighteen
<i>bab ef eku ifi tfumtsum eku bab eku bab</i>	two hand and fist and two and two	nineteen
<i>ink ufe kor</i>	one person complete	twenty
<i>ink ufe kor eku bab ef</i>	one person complete and two hand	thirty
<i>bab ufe kor</i>	two person complete	forty
<i>bab ufe kor eku bab ef</i>	two person complete and two hand	fifty
<i>bab eku ijki ufe kor</i>	two and one person complete	sixty
<i>bab eku ijki ufe kor eku bab ef</i>	two and one person complete and two hand	seventy
<i>bab eku bab ufe kor</i>	two and two person complete	eighty
<i>bab eku bab ufe kor eku bab ef</i>	two and two person complete and two hand	ninety

Chabu's tradition of counting was used to be done by sitting face to face and touching the fingers and the toes of the people in conversation. According to my consultants, there was no such thing that involves counting on a regular basis. Thus, the Chabu did not use their number system frequently and they hardly counted more than forty (*bab ufe kor* 'two complete persons'). The evidence for this is that the Chabu cannot tell

ages above six years. The ages of children up to six years also are calculated by counting the summer (*lađi*) and winter (*tfitfa*) seasons the child has lived.

As can be observed from Table 108 above, Chabu's original number system is base two, base five, base ten and base twenty. Simple lexical items are used only for numerals one and two. Numerals three and four are formed by combining the two simple forms. *efi tfumtfum* literally means 'fist' represents the five fingers on one hand. Numbers six to nine are the combinations of (*efi tfumtfum*) 'five' and the numbers for one to four. Ten is '*bab ef*' 'two hands' and the numbers from eleven to nineteen are combinations of *bab ef* and the numbers for one to nine. Twenty is *inđki ufe kor* 'one person complete' and multiples of twenty up to eighty are count persons. Inserting the coordinator *eku* to connect each constituent to form a larger numeral is the pattern. Table 108 summarizes the former Chabu cardinal numbers.

According to Anbessa and Unseth (1989), Chabu's *inđki* is "strikingly similar to the Lowland East Cushitic Afar *tneki* and Saho *inik*" (p. 410).

9.2.2 Chabu's Current Numeral System

The current Chabu number system dominantly follows the Majang number system. Although, in most cases, it retains the two lexical numerals *inđki* 'one' and *bab* 'two' that are bases of the traditional number system, it has lost its base two system and has followed the base five number system of Majang. The Chabuses do not use a uniform counting system currently. Some use Majang counting system, by adding only *inđki* 'one', *bab* 'two' and *inđki ufe kor* 'twenty' from the traditional Chabu number system. Some others use some more elements from the original Chabu numeral system like *efi tfumtfum* 'five' and *bab ef* 'ten' and the coordinator *eku*. However, in some instances a few people are observed using exclusively Majang counting system. The number system of Chabu stated in Anbessa and Uhseth (1989) and Anbessa (1991) are among the alternatives of current Chabu numeral system. However, the influence of Majang seems stronger currently than the time Anbessa collected his data. For example, the number for ten, in Anbessa's work is '*bab if*' which is part of the original Chabu number system, but in our field trips we observed the Chabu using the Majang *arin* more frequently than *bab if*. In addition, six and seven in Anbessa's data are combination of the Majang number *tu:l* 'five' and the Chabu numbers *inđki* 'one' and *bab* 'two' respectively. But we observed the Chabu using the full Majang version of

the numbers *tula um* ‘six’ and *tula pe* ‘seven’. This seems that the Chabu number system is moving to fully assimilate to the Majang system.

Table 109 presents some of the alternative numeral systems the Chabu are using currently.

The number system of Chabu stated in Anbessa and Uhseth (1989) and Anbessa (1991) are among the alternatives of current Chabu numeral system. However, the influence of Majang seems stronger currently than the time Anbessa collected his data. For example, the number for ten, in Anbessa’s work is ‘*bab if*’ which is part of the original Chabu number system, but in our field trips we observed the Chabu using the Majang *arin* more frequently than *bab if*. In addition, six and seven in Anbessa’s data are combination of the Majang number *tu:l* ‘five’ and the Chabu numbers *iniki* ‘one’ and *bab* ‘two’ respectively. But we observed the Chabu using the full Majang version of the numbers *tula um* ‘six’ and *tula pe* ‘seven’. This seems that the Chabu number system is moving to fully assimilate to the Majang system.

Table 109. Current Cardinal Numbers of Chabu

	Alternatives of currently functioning Chabu Cardinal numbers				Majang
one	<i>iniki</i>				<i>umun</i>
two	<i>bab</i>				<i>pej</i>
three	<i>dzita</i>				<i>dzit</i>
four	<i>aŋan</i>				<i>aŋan</i>
five	<i>efi tŋumtŋum</i>				<i>tu:l</i>
six	<i>efi tŋumtŋum eku inki</i>	<i>tu:l eku inki</i>	<i>tula inki</i>	<i>tula um</i>	<i>tula um</i>
seven	<i>efi tŋumtŋum eku bab</i>	<i>tu:l eku bab</i>	<i>tula bab</i>	<i>tula peej</i>	<i>tula pej</i>
eight	<i>efi tŋumtŋum eku dzita</i>	<i>tu:l eku dzita</i>	<i>tula dzit</i>	<i>tula dzit</i>	<i>tula dzit</i>
nine	<i>efi tŋumtŋum eku aŋan</i>	<i>tu:l eku aŋan</i>	<i>tula aŋan</i>	<i>tula aŋan</i>	<i>tula aŋan</i>
ten	<i>babif</i>	<i>arin/babif</i>	<i>arin/babif</i>	<i>arin</i>	<i>arin</i>

The numerals from ‘eleven’ to ‘nineteen’ are derived by combining the numeral ‘ten’ with ‘one’ to ‘nine’ respectively and the two constituents are connected by a coordinator element *eku*. Chabu numerals from thirteen to nineteen differ from the Majang equivalents by the use of their respective connectors. The following table shows the numerals ten to nineteen that the Chabu currently use in comparison with their Majang equivalents.

Table 110. Cardinals from 11 to 19

	More Majang dominated	Less Majang dominated	Majang
eleven	<i>arin eku iŋki</i>	<i>babif eku iŋki</i> ‘two hand and one’	<i>arin a umuŋ</i>
twelve	<i>arin eku bab</i>	<i>babif eku bab</i> ‘two hand and two’	<i>arin a pej</i>
thirteen	<i>arin eku dzita</i>	<i>babif eku dzita</i> ‘two hand and three’	<i>arin a dzit</i>
fourteen	<i>arin eku aŋan</i>	<i>babif eku aŋan</i> ‘two hand and four’	<i>arin a aŋan</i>
fifteen	<i>arin eku tu:l</i>	<i>babif eku efi tŋuŋtŋum</i> ‘two hand fist’	<i>arin a tu:l</i>
sixteen	<i>arin eku tula um</i>	<i>babif eku efi tŋumtŋum eku inki</i>	<i>arin a tula um</i>
seventeen	<i>arin eku tula pej</i>	<i>babif eku efi tŋumtŋum eku bab</i>	<i>arin a tula pej</i>
eighteen	<i>arin eku tula dzit</i>	<i>babif eku efi tŋumtŋum eku dzita</i>	<i>arin a tula dzit</i>
nineteen	<i>arin eku tula aŋan</i>	<i>babif eku efi tŋumtŋum eku aŋan</i>	<i>arin a tula aŋan</i>

Although, the current number system of Chabu is Majang origin (or that of the Surmic group), the system uses the traditional Chabu numerals for multiples of twenty which are based on counting humans in representing the fingers and the toes a person has (as presented in Table 111).

Table 111. Multiples of Twenty Cardinals

Current Chabu Cardinals	Majang Cardinals	Gloss
<i>ink ufe kor</i> ‘one persone complete’	<i>rumerdit</i>	twenty
<i>bab ufe kor</i> ‘two person complete’	<i>pole dzopej</i>	forty
<i>dzita ufe kor</i> ‘three person complete’	<i>pole dzodzite</i>	seventy
<i>aŋan ufe kor</i> ‘four person complete’	<i>pole dzo aŋan</i>	eighty

Numerals referring to cardinals between multiples of twenty constitute the combination of multiples of twenty followed by the numerals one to nineteen. The two constituents are connected by the coordinator element *eku*.

Table 112. Cardinals between Multiples of Twenty

Current Chabu Cardinal numbers	Majang Cardinal numbers	Gloss
<i>iŋk ufe kor eku iŋki</i> one person complete and one	<i>rumerdit a umuŋ</i>	twenty one
<i>iŋk ufe kor eku bab</i> one person complete and two	<i>rumerdit a pej</i>	twenty two
<i>ink ufe kor eku arin</i> one and ten	<i>rumedit a arin</i>	thirty

Current Chabu Cardinal numbers	Majang Cardinal numbers	Gloss
<i>ink ufe kor eku arin eku dzit</i>	<i>rumedit a arin a dzit</i>	thirty three
<i>bab ufe kor eku aṅan</i> two person complete and four	<i>pole d3o pej a aṅan</i>	forty four
<i>bab ufe kor eku arin</i> two person complete and ten	<i>pole d3o ppe a arin</i>	fifty
<i>bab ufe kor eku arin eku tul</i> two person complete and ten and five	<i>pole d3o ppe a arin a tul</i>	fifty five
<i>dzita ufe kor eku tula um</i> three person complete and six	<i>pole d3o dzite a tula um</i>	sixty six
<i>dzita ufe kor eku arin</i> three person complete and ten	<i>pole d3o dzite a arin</i>	seventy
<i>dzita ufe kor eku arin eku tula pe</i> three person complete and seven	<i>pole d3o dzite a arin a tula pe</i>	seventy seven
<i>aṅan ufe kor eku tula dzit</i> four person complete and eight	<i>pole d3o aṅan a tula dzit</i>	eighty eight
<i>aṅan ufe kor eku arin</i> four person complete and ten	<i>pole d3o aṅan a arin</i>	ninety
<i>aṅan ufe kor eku arin eku tula aṅan</i> four person complete and 10 and nine	<i>pole d3o aṅan a arin a tul a aṅan</i>	ninety nine

Words for hundred and thousand are borrowings from Cushitic languages especially Oromo by changing the terminal vowel a to e. Numerals referring to multiples of ‘hundred’ constitute the numeral from ‘one’ to ‘nine’ followed by ‘hundred’ which is the reverse order of Majang system. Multiples of thousand also are derived in the same way.

Table 113. Numerals for Hundred and Thousand

Current Chabu numerals	Majang numerals	Gloss
<i>dibe</i>	<i>pele</i>	hundred
<i>bab dibe</i>	<i>dibe e pe</i>	two hundred
<i>dzita dibe</i>	<i>dibe e dzit</i>	three hundred
<i>aṅan dibe</i>	<i>dibe e aṅan</i>	four hundred
<i>tul dibe</i>	<i>dibe e tul</i>	five hundred
<i>kume</i>	<i>kume</i>	thousand

<i>tula um kume</i>	<i>kume e tula umun</i>	six thousand
<i>tulape kume</i>	<i>kume e tula pej</i>	seven thousand
<i>tuladzit kume</i>	<i>kume e tuladzit</i>	eight thousand
<i>arin kume</i>	<i>kume e arin</i>	ten thousand

The following is an illustrative example extracted from text.

- (433) *ɲad' arin eku dzita-e-m komoji* (Chabu 005-Sp2-)
that ten and three-DEF-M clan
‘those thirteen clans.’

Cardinal numerals inflect for definiteness and case when they occur at the right edge as a head of a noun phrase, otherwise, they do not inflect for case. When they modify a head noun, they inflect only for definiteness and gender and the head noun is marked for case. Unless they are marked for definiteness with the definite marker –e, they do not inflect for gender. If they are marked for definiteness, they are obligatorily marked for gender. The following are examples.

- (434) *bab-e-m ufe =watto de-k no-tf-e*
two-DEF-M person =PL PRF-AUX go-M.DU- PST

OR

- bab-e-m ufa de-k no-tf-e*
two-DEF-M person PRF-AUX go-MDU-PST
‘The two men have gone.’

- (435) [*dziteɲ kani odakak wongaje*]
dzita-e-ɲ kani=oda-ka-k wongga-je
three-DEF-F dog=F.PL-ACC-AUX call-PST
‘S/he called the three dogs.’

- (436) *tu:l-k tam* ‘Bring five!’
five-ACC bring

- (437) *bab-e-m-ka ton* ‘Give the two!’
two-DEF-M-DAT give

- (438) *iŋki-ku tfota* ‘Cut with one!’

one-INS cut

Numerals that have vowel endings delete their final vowel when the definite marker *-e* is suffixed to them as in ((435)).

When numerals above one are used as modifiers of the head noun, plural marking on the head noun is optional as in (434). However, even when the nouns are unmarked for number, number is marked on the verb with the dual or plural agreement markers based on the number of the referents.

Ordinal numerals are formed by adding the third person singular masculine pronoun *ji* before the cardinal number and by suffixing the focus particle *-o/u* to the cardinal numerals.

Table 114. Chabu Ordinals

Cardinal number	Ordinal number	Gloss
<i>iŋki</i>	<i>ji iŋku</i>	the first
<i>bab</i>	<i>ji babu</i>	the second
<i>dʒita</i>	<i>ji dʒito</i>	the third
<i>aŋan</i>	<i>ji aŋnu</i>	the fourth
<i>tu:l</i>	<i>ji tu:lu</i>	the fifth
<i>tula um</i>	<i>ji tula umu</i>	the sixth
<i>tula pe:j</i>	<i>ji tula peju</i>	the seventh
<i>tula dʒita</i>	<i>ji tula dʒitu</i>	the eighth
<i>tula aŋan</i>	<i>ji tula aŋanu</i>	the ninth
<i>arin</i>	<i>ji arinu</i>	the tenth

9.3 Adverbials

Under this section, we will address adverbs of time, location and manner. Adverbs modify verbs and verb phrases. The attested Chabu adverbials are shown in the following lists based on their type.

9.3.1 Time Adverbs.

Table 115. Time Adverbs with Reference to the Day of Speaking as Deictic Centre

Adverb	Gloss
<i>dʒali dʒalka</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>dʒal</i>	‘yesterday, in the past’
<i>mabis</i>	‘today, this days’
<i>dʒab</i>	‘tomorrow, in the future’

<i>besik</i>	‘the day after tomorrow’
<i>besik besiku</i>	‘two days after tomorrow’
<i>dzar</i>	‘old times, ancient’
<i>isaka</i>	‘during ancient time’

Reduplication does not seem a productive means of adverbial formation in Chabu. However, there are some evidences that show the potential use of reduplication. Two adverbial nominals formed by reduplication process from other nouns are attested. The nouns we attested as result of this process are *dzali dzal* and *besik besiku*. *dzali~dzal* ‘the day before yesterday’ is derived by duplicating the word *dzal* ‘yesterday’ and *besik~besiku* ‘two day after tomorrow’ is derived by duplicating *befiku* ‘the day after tomorrow’. In both cases, the reduplication is a complete reduplication in which the root of the input word repeats itself.

Table 116. Time adverbs with the time of speaking as deictic centre

Adverb	Gloss
<i>dohumbuk</i>	‘earlier today’
<i>moho</i>	‘now’
<i>dohimbit</i>	‘later today’

Table 117. Time adverbs with time of action as deictic centre

Adverb	Gloss
<i>boni</i>	‘before’
<i>bedoko</i>	‘until’
<i>isibetu</i>	‘immediately’
<i>gisati</i>	‘after’

Table 118. Lexemes for Day, Week, Month and Year

<i>toll</i>	‘day’
<i>gabijo</i>	‘week’
<i>kasipu</i>	‘month’
<i>ime</i>	‘year (age)’

Table 119. Lexemes Related to Times of the Day

Adverb	Gloss
<i>tʃiŋka</i>	‘down, morning’
<i>oha ma pont</i>	‘noon Lit. sun this top’
<i>oha ŋant</i>	‘afternoon Lit. sun there’
<i>dindim</i>	‘nightfall, dusk’
<i>depu</i>	‘evening’
<i>kobun</i>	‘midnight’

An adverbial clause of time does not seem to have specific position in a clause. Thus, it seems that it modifies the whole clause not the verb or the verb phrase.

(439) *dʒab* *tiŋŋu* *addisabe-ka* *ge-t* *bala-g*
tomorrow 1MSG Addis.Ababa-ACC AUX-1SG go-FUT
‘I will go to Addis Ababa by tomorrow.’

Example (439) can be spoken in the following three alternative ways.

- a. *tiŋŋu dʒab addisabeka getbalag*
- OR
- b. *tiŋŋu addisabeka dʒab getbalag*
- OR
- c. *tiŋŋu addisabeka getbalag dʒab*

9.3.2 Frequency Adverbs

<i>goroto</i>	‘never’
<i>iŋkise</i>	‘once’
<i>iŋk iŋk ohaset</i>	‘some days’ ‘Lit. one one day’
<i>iŋk iŋkse</i>	‘sometimes’ ‘Lit. one one time’
<i>itʃibu</i>	‘every other day’
<i>habaŋ ohaset</i>	‘many days’
<i>habaŋ tol</i>	‘many days’
<i>wetʃiŋ ohaset</i>	‘every day’
<i>wetʃiŋ tol</i>	‘every day’

9.3.3 Spatial Adverbs

Besides adverbial demonstratives there are a few lexical items that serve as spatial adverbs.

<i>dʒart</i>	‘infront’
<i>giʃat</i>	‘at the back, after’
<i>hebu</i>	‘down, south’
<i>ŋan</i>	‘up, north’
<i>maŋka</i>	‘here’
<i>mant/ŋant</i>	‘there (INVS)’
<i>ŋaŋka</i>	‘there (MED/PROX 2)’
<i>ŋatum maŋka</i>	‘there (DIST)’

9.3.4 Manner Adverbs

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

<i>dʒodʒo</i>	‘quickly, fast’
<i>mandi</i>	‘really, truly’
<i>motʃofe</i>	‘without taking much time’

dowwo ‘well’, *daŋka* ‘good’ and the noun *diga* ‘peace’ function adverbially especially in optative sentences that express blessings and farewell greetings. The following are examples of such use of these words.

Table 120. Chabu Optative Expressions

Verb	Optative expressions	Gloss
<i>appo</i>	<i>dowo ap:o</i>	‘speak well./may your talk be pleasant’
<i>sara</i>	<i>dowo sara</i>	‘go well/ may your travel be safe and pleasant’
<i>t’ol</i>	<i>dowo t’ol</i>	‘sleep well’
<i>t’ol</i>	<i>daŋkak t’ol</i>	‘sleep good’
<i>t’ol</i>	<i>digak t’ol</i>	‘sleep in peace/ good night.’
<i>dʒowu</i>	<i>dowo dʒow</i>	‘return well.’ /may you return well.’

10 The Verb in Chabu

Chabu has mainly suffixal and partially prefixal morphology that allows concatenation of two and more morphemes in a verb stem. Verb roots in this language are of two types. The majority of verb roots are free morphs that stand on their own and serve as infinitives. A few verbs of Chabu have bound roots, which need the causative marker – *mba* or the passive marker –*we* to stand as transitive or intransitive verb stem respectively.

Verb stem in Chabu can be formed from a verb root alone or a verb root plus derivational affixes. To form a complex verb stem, the derivational morphemes are suffixed to the root. Different inflectional morphemes can be added either to the root or to the stem. Deletion of the final vowel of the verb root and eliding of some segment are common phenomena in the language.

In this Chapter, we explore the structure of verb roots (10.1), inflection of verbs (10.2), verb stem formation (10.3) copula construction (10.4) and existential/ possessive verbs (10.5).

10.1 Verb Root

10.1.1 Terminal Vowels and Consonants of Verb Roots

Chabu verbs start and end in a vowel or in a consonant. However, the majority ends in a vowel; verb roots that end in a consonant are less than a quarter. All Chabu consonants that are attested at word-final position and all vowel phonemes of the language appear as terminal segments of verbs. In some cases geminated consonants also occur at word-final position in verb roots.

Chabu terminal vowels of most bi and tri syllabic verbs get deleted when an affix with a vocalic initial segment is suffixed to the verb to avoid the impermissible vowel sequence. Terminal vowels of monosyllabic and some di and multisyllabic verbs remain undeleted when a vowel initial affix is suffixed to the verb and a glide –*j*- is inserted to avoid the impermissible vowel sequence. The same process occurs in forming imperative for

second person singular. Terminal vowels of most verbs with two or more syllables drop their final vowels. Examples of Chabu terminal vowels and consonants are presented below.

(440) Verbs that End with Vowels

<i>k'i</i>	'tie (knot)'	<i>tappalá</i>	'vomit'
<i>dí:</i>	'steal'	<i>adá</i>	'cook, prepare'
<i>dé</i>	'know'	<i>ātfū</i>	'sow, plant'
<i>oppe:</i>	'be drunk'	<i>fu:</i>	'fall (itr)'
<i>ε:</i>	'put, marry'	<i>mo</i>	'sit'
<i>εγεεε</i>	'gnaw'	<i>soso</i>	'whisper'
<i>dâ:</i>	'cry, weep'	<i>wɔ</i>	'drink'

(441) Verbs that End with Consonants

<i>kurgup</i>	'kneel'	<i>am</i>	'come'
<i>dirb</i>	'hunt with dogs'	<i>ta:m</i>	'sit'
<i>tʃet</i>	'cross (river)'	<i>tamm</i>	'fetch, bring'
<i>tadzett</i>	'strain (food)'	<i>sôn</i>	'pull things up'
<i>mármít</i>	'wind around'	<i>adînn</i>	'swell (itr)'
<i>àdak</i>	'leave behind'	<i>kaway</i>	'fill'
<i>mitak</i>	'wink'	<i>tol</i>	'sleep'
<i>hadúad</i>	'shiver (of pain or cold)'	<i>tʃall</i>	'wake up (itr)'
<i>ópòtʃ</i>	'awe, reverence (for God)'	<i>appirr</i>	'fly'
<i>matʃ</i>	'spy, spy on'	<i>ápúr</i>	'shell'
<i>sibataf</i>	'return (soil in to a hole)'	<i>jaw</i>	'hate'
<i>jes</i>	'stare'	<i>koj</i>	'enter, go in'

As mentioned above, verbs which end in vowels in their basic forms, except the monosyllabic and a few disyllabic ones, lose their terminal vowels when vowel initial affixes like the past tense marker-*e* are suffixed to them. The monosyllabic and the disyllabic verbs that keep their terminal vowels insert glides between the terminal

vowels and the suffixes. We can thus categorize the basic verbs in to three types based on their suffixation strategy.

Table 121. Suffixation Strategy of Chabu Verbs

Type		Examples	
		basic form	past form
Consonant terminal		<i>am</i> ‘come’	<i>ame</i>
		<i>ta:m</i> ‘sit’	<i>ta:me</i>
		<i>àbbal</i> ‘buy’	<i>abbale</i>
		<i>maset</i> ‘borrow’	<i>masete</i>
Vowel terminal	mono-syllabic	<i>mo</i> ‘live’	<i>moje</i>
		<i>no</i> ‘go’	<i>noje</i>
	disyllabic requiring glide	<i>ada</i> ‘prepare’	<i>adaje</i>
	disyllabic eliding and multi-syllabic	<i>kafa</i> ‘tear (tr.)’	<i>kate</i>
		<i>loga</i> ‘follow’	<i>loge</i>
		<i>balano</i> ‘go out, exit’	<i>balane</i>

10.1.2 Structure of Verb Roots

Chabu has monosyllabic, disyllabic, tri-syllabic and few quatri-syllabic verb roots. The majority of the verb roots are disyllabic, followed by tri-syllabic ones. The possible CV structures of Chabu verb roots with illustrative examples are presented below:

(442) V

ε ‘put, marry’

e ‘say’

(443) VC

am ‘come’

et ‘put in’

(444) CV(V)

dâ: ‘cry, weep’

dzo ‘crunch’

kí ‘move away, migrate’

wɔ ‘drink’

dî: ‘steal’

(445) CV(V)C

bal ‘go’

dzar ‘overtake, pass (tr.)’

gup ‘incubate, set (on eggs)’

saj/ faj ‘cease, stop’

sôn ‘pull things up’

tfów ‘knead’

ta:m ‘sit, land, alight’

- (446) CVC₁C₁
džimm ‘(be) healthy, (be) well’
dull ‘throw, discard’
kóll ‘dig, cultivate, farm’
fomm ‘tell, order’
tʃall ‘wake up (itr)’
- (447) CVC₁C₂
dirb ‘hunt with dogs’
- (448) VCV
ako ‘quench, extinguish’
ebe ‘peel (with knife)’
eta ‘pour’
imē ‘(be) late’
ubi ‘chase, run after’
- (449) VCCV(V)
idda ‘test (with tip of tongue)’
ollo ‘visit (a person, farm land)’
ūkkú ‘smoke (fish)’
unsi ‘blow nose’
àttī: ‘kick, stamp, trample’
oppe: ‘be drunk’
- (450) VCV(V)C 33
àbal ‘buy’
àdak ‘leave behind’
ahak ‘send phlegm’
aget ‘bless’
ago:m ‘grunt’
āpù:r ‘clear (land for planting)’
eber ‘burst’
- (451) VC₁C₁VC
affal ‘kick, hit, beat’
aŋŋan ‘stir’
atʃʃak ‘begin’
ōb:ōl ‘hit’
- (452) VCVC₁C₁
adinn ‘swell (itr)’
- (453) VC₁C₁VC₁C₁
appirr ‘fly’
- (454) CV(V)CV(V)
dìhì/ diki ‘grind’
heja ‘to cut, to wound’
jeta ‘get, obtain’
loga ‘follow’
bà:jō ‘clap (hands)’
ko:sa ‘bring up (a child)’
pa:tì ‘pour (liquid in to a cup)’
ta:bù ‘raise, lift’
təji: ‘stumble’
bà:lā: ‘belch’
ta:re: ‘forget’
- (455) CV(V)C₁C₁V
dukka ‘dip’
hoppu ‘breath’
meddī ‘get sad’
ni:tʃʃa ‘threaten’
wo:nna ‘alter, change (tr.)’

(456) CVC₁C₂V

boɲtʃi ‘strip off, peel, husk’
hambo/kambo ‘set trap, trap’
kempu ‘flap (like the wings)’
kumba ‘eat (meat or cabbage)’
lapte ‘dive, sink, drown’
senɣa ‘look for, search’
tundi ‘bend down, stoop’

(457) VCVC₁C₂V

àbalsé ‘sell’

(458) CVCVC

hadud ‘palpitate (of heart)’
hebel ‘carry on shoulder’
mitak ‘wink’
ɲadit ‘believe, trust, hope’
tʃakan ‘hunt (while raining)’

(459) CVC₁C₁VC

dettub ‘refuse’
dowwol ‘fight (in war)’

(460) CVC₁C₂VC

kolʔam ‘flow’
mármít ‘wind around’
tʃúmtʃum ‘to coil, to fold’

(461) CVCVCC

setoll/fetoll ‘sleep’
tʃokett ‘spoil, annoy, disturb’

(462) VCV(V)CV

ātījá ‘lead, guide (the way)’

εgege ‘gnaw’

elebu ‘shadow, track’
imeno ‘spend time, be late’
odoti ‘harvest (maize)’
ōdzo.ǎí ‘go together’

(463) VCVC₁C₁V(V)

asutta ‘hang up’
oɲonno ‘bow (as in greeting)’
omokke: ‘be tired’

(464) VCVCVC

afafun ‘rush’
aragat ‘arranged, ordered’
eweker ‘scratch’
otontom ‘hatch’

(465) VCCVCVC

appakat ‘separate, scatter’
ekkekem ‘peck or kick with beak’

(466) CVCVCV

dzudzuku ‘capsize’
kijate ‘belt, fasten with a belt’
matino ‘bake’
tagana ‘lie (on the back)’
watʃani ‘splash, sprinkle’

(467) CVC₁C₁VCV

tappalá ‘vomit’
huppuna ‘perspire, sweat’
kikkira ‘(be) short’

(468) CVC₁C₂VCV

dirteti ‘slide’

gingire ‘roll’

kendise ‘revive, get well’

(469) CVCVCCV

dawatte ‘sit together’

tuketti ‘join, put together’

(470) CV(V)CV(V)CV

bontfi:te ‘escape’

ko:kóti ‘beg’

(471) CVCVC₁C₂VC

dadankin ‘slice (bread, meat)’

mohungul ‘(be) round’

(472) VCVCVCV

agarapo ‘condole, comfort’

ebetata ‘fetch firewood’

anadata ‘decorate’

10.2 Verb Inflection

This section explores the inflectional morphology of Chabu verbs. The inflectional categories of number, gender, person, tense, aspect and mood are addressed under this topic. Chabu employs a strategy of affixing agreement morphemes (person, gender and number markers) to the main or auxiliary verb. Chabu morphologically marks both tense and aspect. The language has four tenses (remote past, past, present and future) and three grammatical aspects: (progressive, habitual and perfect-imperfect). The tense and aspect morphemes are added either to the main verb or to an auxiliary. There are distinct imperative, hortative, jessive, and optative moods in Chabu. These moods have affirmative and negative forms that contrast paradigmatically. Below each of the grammatical categories will be discussed in some detail.

10.2.1 Person, Gender and Number

Chabu verbs display agreement with their subject noun phrases via the pronominal affixes attached to the stem or to an auxiliary. Schnoebelen (2009, pp. 48 – 51) identifies almost all the verbal agreement markers that Chabu uses. The *-t* ‘1SG’, the *app-* ‘1PL’, the *-dd* ‘PL’, the *-k* ‘2nd person’ and the *-tf* ‘DU’ are Chabu agreement markers presented in an Appendix E where Schnoebelen analyzed Chabu verbs (p. 48-51). Among these only *-tf* is found to be under analyzed as ‘DU’ but it also co mark masculinity of the two entities. Probably this is because he does not recognize *-jj* ‘FDU’, the feminine counterpart of the morpheme *-tftf* ‘MDU’. The current study adds *-jj* as ‘FDU’ and *-a* ‘1DU’ verbal agreement markers and

adds the masculine content to the analysis of *-tʃtʃ* and describes it as ‘MDU’ verbal agreement marker.

Some of the agreement marking elements seem to have originated from or are bound forms of independent personal pronouns. For detailed discussion of the agreement markers see 7.1.2 above. Table 122 compares subject agreement markers on verbs and their independent pronoun counterparts.

Table 122. Person, Number and Gender Markers

Person	Number	Gender	Free Pronoun	Person markers	number marker
1	singular	Feminine	<i>ta</i>	-t	-t
		Masculine	<i>tiiŋŋ</i>	-t	-t
	Dual	Feminine	<i>ann</i>	-a	-jj
		Masculine	<i>antʃ</i>	-a	-tʃtʃ
	Plural	Feminine	<i>janfu</i>	app-	app-
		Masculine	<i>jiŋŋ</i>	app-	app-
2	singular	Feminine	<i>kunɡu</i>	-kk	∅
		Masculine	<i>kukku</i>	-kk	∅
	Dual	Feminine	<i>sijaka</i>	-kk	-jj
		Masculine	<i>tʃitʃaka</i>	-kk	-tʃtʃ
	Plural	Feminine	<i>subaka</i>	-kk	-dd
		Masculine	<i>sitalaka</i>	-kk	-dd
3	singular	Feminine	<i>ji</i>	∅	∅
		Masculine	<i>oŋŋa</i>	∅	∅
	Dual	Feminine	<i>ojja</i>	∅	-jj
		Masculine	<i>otʃtʃa</i>	∅	-tʃtʃ
	Plural	Feminine	<i>odda</i>	∅	-dd
		Masculine	<i>otala</i>	∅	-dd

Unlike Anbessa’s (1991: 381) claim, that says, “singular persons are marked by the *g(V)(C)* complex”, singular persons except the first person are unmarked and the *g(V)* complex is common for all persons, genders and numbers. Therefore, the *g(V)* has nothing to do with number.

Second and third person singulars are unmarked. Duality is marked with the above-mentioned fusional morphemes that mark gender as well, */-jj/* for feminine and */-tʃtʃ/* for masculine.

Plurality is marked in different ways in first person on one hand and in the second and third person on the other. Plurality for first person is marked with a fusional morpheme /*app-*/ that co-mark person and this agrees with Anbessa's (1991) and Schnoebelen's (2009) findings. Second and third person plurals are marked via a suffix /*-dd*/ that is suffixed on the main verb. Anbessa (1991) claims *-tʃiʃ* as plural marker for second person, but *-tʃiʃ* as mentioned above is dual marker for masculine in all persons. Infact, *-dd* seems to have connection with the third person feminine plural independent pronoun *odda* and this could be the reason that Anbessa considered it as plural marker only for third person. However, it functions as plural agreement marker for both second and third persons. Anbessa farther claims that plural is marked by *-k ~ -g* for all persons. Nevertheless, *-k ~ g(V)* seem the auxiliary verb that occur with all singular, dual and plural persons. *-k* in most cases appears when there is no person, tense or aspect markers that stand with the auxiliary. When *-tt* (1SG), *-kk* '2nd person' or *-ŋ* 'PRS' are available in the construction, the auxiliary *ge/i-* appear to suffix the markers. The last example in the following data presented in Anbessa (1991, p. 380) is a good examples for the occurrence of the auxiliary *-k ~ g(V)* with singular nouns.

(473)

1SG	<i>dɛbe</i>	<i>gi-t</i>	<i>ta-j(e) / hit-e</i>
	PRF	AUX-1SG	eat-PST/stand-PST
	'I have eaten/ stood.'		
2SG	<i>dɛbe</i>	<i>gi-kk</i>	<i>taj/ hitte</i>
	PRF	AUX-2	eat-PST/stand-PST
	'You (SG) have eaten/ stood.'		
3SG	<i>dɛbe-k</i>	<i>ta-j(e)/hit-e</i>	
	PRF-AUX	eat-PST/stand-PST	
	'S/he has eaten/ stood.'		

For further information and Detailed examples that illustrate the occurrences of Chabu agreement markers, see section 7.1.2 and Table 59 and Table 60 in Chapter Seven.

10.2.2 Tense and Aspect

In this section, we examine the two conceptually close grammatical issues; tense and aspect. Tense "locates the situation somewhere on the time line, necessarily in relation to some other

specified point or segment of the line” while Aspect refers to “the internal temporal contour of a situation” (Comrie 1985, p. 6).

Chabu marks both tense and aspect morphologically, although tense plays a larger role. Concerning tense and aspect of Chabu, Anbessa (1991, p. 381) recognizes four markers that he categorized them as aspectual markers: *-gg* as imperfect, *-j ~ -e* as perfect, *-kuss* as present perfect and *-n* as continuous tense markers. Schnoebelen (2009), identified some different aspectual markers and puts the three morphemes Anbessa identified as tense markers. The whole tense-aspect markers Schnoebelen (2009, pp. 48-51) identified are *ge* and *indage* ‘FUT’, *n* ‘PRS’ and *y ~ e* ‘PST’ as tense markers and *mo* ‘PROG’ and *debe* ‘PRF’ as aspect markers.

All the four markers that Anbessa identified are attested by the current study but all are found to be tense markers. Although Schnoebelen does not recognize the historic or remote past marker *-kuss*, his analysis agrees with the findings of the current study in putting the remaining three markers Anbessa identified as tense markers. These markers are taken as tense marker rather than aspect because they occur in both static and progressive aspect. If *-e* had been perfect marker it would not be occur with the progressive marker *mo* in past progressive aspect. The concept of future tense is carried by two entities in positive statements, by the future form of the auxiliary **ge-** and by the future tense marker **-g(e)**. The future form of the auxiliary ‘**ge**’ and the future marker **-g(e)** occur in the same affirmative statement as separate morphemes, in different positions. The future marker is always suffixed to the main verb. The auxiliary occurs preceding the main verb and suffixes agreement markers *-t* ‘1SG’ and *-k* ‘second person’, present tense marker *-ŋ* and the perfect aspect marker **de(be)-**. See the following two examples.

(474) *tiŋŋu dzab addisabe-ka (indā)-ge-t no-g*
 1MSG.FOC tomorrow Addis.Ababa-ALL (IPFV)-AUX-1SG go-FUT

‘I will go to Addis Ababa tomorrow.’

(475) *tiŋŋu dzal addisabe-ti (indā)-gi-t am-e*
 1MSG.FOC yesterday Addis.Ababa-ABL IPFV-AUX-1SG come-PST

‘I came from Addis Ababa Yesterday.’

The second future marker of Schnoebelen, *-ik* is not attested in the current study. The example Schnoebelen presented to illustrate the case is defective. See the following Schnoebelen's example.

(476) **makile damaɔo inda-ge* *hɛ-di-k**
 corn tall IPFV-AUX grow-PL-FUT.PL
 'The corn will grow tall.'

Here we see two problems. First the Chabu word for the verb 'grow' is *hɛdi ~ kɛdi*. Therefore, the *di* Schnoebelen analyzed as plural marker is part of the verb root. Second, Chabu tense markers do not show alternation based on number, person and gender but only based on tense. If a verb in future tense is used with plural subject, it takes both the plural agreement marker *-dd* and the future marker *-g* as in (477). The *ik* in Schnoebelen example could be a transcription mistake of the future marker *-g(e)*.

(477) *jamfu-ke kufa inda-ge kɛd-di-g*
 1FPL-GEN children IPFV-AUX grow-PL-FUT
 'Our children will grow.'

Hence, four different morphologically distinct tenses have been identified for Chabu. These four tenses are morphologically marked, remote past with *-kuss*, near past with *-e*, present tense with *-ŋ* and future tense with *-g*. All the tense markers, except *-ŋ*, are suffixed to the verb stem. The present tense marker *-ŋ* is suffixed to the auxiliary that precede the verb. Chabu verbs also distinguish between progressive and non-progressive aspects. The non-progressive aspect is unmarked and the progressive is marked in two ways; the first is by *-mo* (which seem the verb to sit) and the second is by the help of the inessive case marker *-set* 'in'. In what follows, tense and aspect categories of Chabu will be discussed in some detail.

10.2.2.1 Remote Past Tense

According to Dahl and Velupillai (2011c) making additional grammatical distinction within the past time reference is a common feature of world languages. Chabu shares this common feature and distinguishes between remote past and simple past morphologically. The remote past which is marked by a morpheme *-kuss* is used to tell legendary past events as well as

events or actions that had been but no longer exist. The remote past tense marker *-kuss* is directly suffixed to the verb stem. The remote past tense is not a substitute for time adverbs, but is a different tense that occur with or without other temporal indicators (Dahl and Velupillai, 2011c). Consider the following examples.

(478) *inkise adisabe-ka inda-ge-t no-kuss.*
 once Addis.Ababa-ALL IPFV-AUX-1MSG go-RPST
 ‘I had gone to Addis once.’

(479) *dzaru babentak mabuk mokussud*
dzar-u babe-ntak mab-u gi mo-kuss-d
 ald.times-FOC father-PL like.this-FOC AUX live-RPST-PL
 ‘During the old times, our parents lived like this.’

(480) *mabu gu apizagankuss*
mab-u gi-u app-izagan-kuss
 like.this-FOC AUX-FOC 1PL-work-RPST
 ‘We had worked like this.’

Besides remote past actions, past state of being also is expressed by the help of the remote past marker *-kuss* in the place of copula (without copulative verb).

(481) *ju astamere-kuss*
 he.FOC teacher-RPST
 ‘He was a teacher.’

(482) *otalo dirb-i ufa=otala (ge-)kuss*
 3MPL.FOC hunt-GEN person=MPL (AUX-)RPST
 ‘They were hunters.’

10.2.2.2 Simple Past

Simple past in Chabu is represented by a morpheme *-e*, which in most cases appears as a final suffix on the verb. The simple past is used to speak of actions that have been completed preceding the speaking time. Unlike the remote past marker *-kuss* the simple past marker *-e*

allows other affixes like agreement markers to precede it in suffixation to the verb stem (as in ex. (485)).

(483) *moha git t'aj(e)*

moha *gi-t* *t'a-je*
 now AUX-1SG eat-PST

'I ate now (just before a few minutes).'

(484) *kidma?el boni abi?am-be-ku tiŋ-ke idzagan-ka gi-t kor-e*

Kidmael befor reach-NEG-TADV 1MSG-GEN work-ACC AUX-1SG finish-PST

'Before Kidmael arrived, I finished my work.'

(485) *ajnatŋa dawitŋa otŋfa tawe apurg dek atfakitf(e)*

ajnat-ŋa *dawit-ŋa* *otŋfa* *tawa-e* *apur-k* *de-k*
 Aynet-CONJ Dawit-CONJ 3MDU plot-LINK clear-INF-ACC PRF-AUX

atfaki-tf-e

start-M.DU-PST

'Aynet and Dawit (they) have started clearing a plot.'

(486) *sadok dok'i dok'u debe-k kor-e*

Sadok hous-LINK build-INF PRF-AUX finish-PST

'Sadok has finished building a house.'

(487) *ŋadēmanŋkè sánkà bálad(e) (Chabu007-Sp1-015)*

ŋadēmanŋke saŋ-ka *bala-d-e*
 then forest-ALL go-2/3PL-PST

'Then, they went to the forest.'

(488) *òŋŋèŋ ikòkòmè gínè (Chabu007-Sp1- 030)*

oŋŋa-e-ŋ *ikokom-e* *gin-e*
 3FSG-DEF-F prepare-PST kneel-PST

'She got ready and kneeled/ squatted.'

- (489) *inkùm inkùm bàrtfùm̀tì mòkà d̀étmòde* (Chabu007-Sp1- 007)
ìjki-m ìjki-um bertfum-ti mo-ka d̀et-mo-d-e
 one-M one-M chair-ABL sit-ACC desire-PROG-PL-PST
 ‘They desired to hold the same chair (position).’

10.2.2.3 Present Tense

Present tense in Chabu is expressed by the help of a suffix *-ŋ* that in most cases is attached to the auxiliary *gi-*. Schnoebelen (2009) claims that the present tense appears only in progressive aspect as present continuous. However, to the contrary of Schnoebelen’s claim, Chabu has simple present tense that occurs without the progressive marker. Anbessa (1991) analyzes this simple present tense form as progressive aspect and Schnoebelen Comments that he could not attest the form. Nevertheless, a simple present tense construction is available in Chabu and is used to tell the natural truth ((490) and (491)), present habitual ((492) and (493)) and an event that overlaps with the speech time ((494)) and (495). When the simple present tense is constructed, both the present marker *-ŋ* and the auxiliary *gi* can optionally be dropped and the bare infinitive expresses the present tense (as in (492) b).

- (490) *oha oha.balamse-ka gi-ŋ balam-ʔa oha.kojise-ka-k no-ʔa-ŋ koj*
 sun east-ALL AUX-PRS rise-CVB west-ALL-AUX go-CVB-PRS enter
 ‘The sun rises in the east, (and) sets in the west.’

- (491) *dìmu ladì-ka gi-ŋ fu*
 rain summer-ACC AUX-PRS rain
 ‘Rain rains in summer.’

(492)

- a. *tìŋŋ kungà gitiŋ ott* or b. *tìŋŋ kungat ot*
tìŋŋ kungu-ka gi-t-iŋ ott *tìŋŋ kungu-ka-t ott*
 I(M) 2FSG-ACC AUX-1SG-PRS love I(M) 2FSG-ACC-1SG love
 ‘I love you.’

- (493) *ju wetfim bef dzab tʃ'ijka giŋ tʃ'al*
ji-o wetfi-m bef dzab tʃ'ijka gi-ŋ tʃ'al
 he-FOC all-M day morning early AUX-PRS rise
 ‘He everyday gets up early in the morning.’

(494) *moho sadinat gi-ŋ am*
 now Sadinat AUX-PRS come.
 ‘Here Sadinat comes.’

(495) *ma-siŋa ma-siŋa otʃtʃa hama deʒa-s?*
 this-CONJ this-CONJ 3MPL which better-PL
 ‘Among these two which one is better?’

When the focus of the speaker is the situation during the time of speaking than the time span the action takes, the simple present tense is used to express the situation at the time of speaking. In most cases, it is formed without special marker by using bare verb root forms like the imperative verbs. However, in dual and plural form, there are special types of agreement markers *-t* for feminine and *-s* for masculine (as in (495) above), peculiar to the structure and that need further scrutiny. Since the agreement marker for singular subject is zero morpheme, singular verbs occur in their bare root or citation form. Consider the following examples.

(496) *igo:mm ʒagé nò jèdikù mehe kittàs godo* (Chabu007-Sp1-026)
igo:m-ʒa-ge no je-d-ku mehe kitta-s godo
 follow-CVB-?? go see-2/3PL-T.ADV [DISCORSE] stand-M.PL elephant
 ‘When they go following and see, elephants stand there.’

(497) *ŋak seŋga-mo-je-ŋ-nda umba ŋo odda ta:m-at*
 that search-PROG-DEF-F-FPL woman that.FOC 3FPL sit-FPL
 ‘Those women I am looking for are over there (Lit. that), they sit.’

(498) *ufa-e-ŋ tete-ti kita-t nambika det-de-ko*
 persone-DEF-F outside-ADES stand-FPL what-ACC want-PL-??
tiŋŋ de-be
 1MSG know-NEG
 ‘The women stand outside; I do not know what they want.’

(499) *tʃoj-e-m tol bat ekin.*
 child-DEF-M sleep cry NEG.
 ‘The child is sleeping, do not shout.’

10.2.2.4 The Future Tense

The fourth Chabu tense is the future tense. Chabu formally distinguish between definite future and indefinite future. In the definite future, the speaker has no doubt of the occurrence of the action, but in the indefinite future, the speaker is not certain about the occurrence of the situation but only tells the presence of probability of the situation to occurrence.

10.2.2.4.1 Definite Future Tense

Definite future tense is formed by suffixing the future marker *-g(e)* after the number markers that are suffixed to the stem or directly to the verb stem in the absence of number markers. Consider the following examples.

- (500) *dzàbì kúsùm àmbùkka silàkkàt pénìṅà étfátidigè* (Chabu007-Sp1-002)
dzabi kuss-um ambu-kka sitalak-ka-t peni-ṅa etfati-di-ge
 old.time existed-DEF-M thing-ACC 2MPL-DAT-1SG tell--CONJ listen-PL-FUT
 ‘I will tale you a thing happened during an old times and you will hear me.’

- (501) *tawo ma noṅa kamodem ambuko ka amṅage inḱitti appemoge inḱim bartfumti*
 (Egedigan 3)
ta-wo ma no-ṅa ka-mo-d-e-m ambu-ka-o ka
 1FSG-FOC this go-CVB kill-PROG-2/3PL.-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC kill
am-ṅa-ge inḱi-ti appe-mo-ge inḱi-m bartfum-ti
 come-CVB-FUT one-ADES 1PL-sit-FUT one-M seat-ADES
 ‘I also will come killing the thing that they go and kill, and we will sit together on same chair (position).’

As discussed above, in addition to the morphological marker *-g(e)*, in affirmative declarative sentences the auxiliary used for future tense is also different from the other tenses. In future tense construction, the vowel *-i* in the auxiliary *gi-* of non-future construction is changed to *-e* and the form of the auxiliary becomes *ge-*. The following sentences illustrate the future form of the auxiliary.

- (502) *ṅa-t am-e-m-aka ofu ge idzagan-g ed*
 that-ADES come-REL-M-ACC alone.FOC AUX work-FUT ***
 ‘He will do what he came for alone.’

(503) *indage onget hamg*
inda-ge onna-ka-t ham-g
 IPFV-AUX she-DAT-1SG give-FUT
 ‘I will give her.’

(504) *manka-ti ge-t no-g/*
 here-ALL AUX-1SG go-FUT
 ‘I will go from here.’

(505) *moha ge-kk no-d-ig /*
 now AUX-2 go-PL-FUT
 ‘You (PL) will go now.’

(506) *moha ge-Ø kor-g*
 now AUX.FUT-3SG finish-FUT
 ‘S/he will finish it now.’

(507) *tiηη-ηa kukk-ηa antf attene-ka ge no-g*
 1MSG-CONJ 2MSG-CONJ 1MDU Attene-ALL AUX go-FUT
 ‘I and you, we will go to Attene.’

10.2.2.4.2 Indefinite Future Tense

Chabu indefinite future tense is differentiated from the definite future by having the alternative conjunction *o* ‘or’. When the alternative marker *o* precedes the definite future construction, the construction becomes indefinite. The following are illustrative examples:

(508) *o indage-t am-g.*
 PROB IPFV-AUX-1SG come-FUT
 ‘I may come.’

(509) *otalo o inda-ge no-d-ig*
 3MPL.FOC PROB IPFV-AUX go-PL-FUT
 ‘They may go.’

10.2.2.5 The Progressive/ Non-progressive Aspect

Chabu does not have a perfective imperfective aspectual manifestation. The commonly manifested aspectual contrast on Chabu verb stems is between progressive and non-progressive. The non-progressive, stative aspect, which implies no change over time, is unmarked or marked by a zero morpheme. The progressive aspect that implies an ongoing, dynamic process is encoded by a suffix *-mo* that is suffixed directly on the verb stem. Other suffixes like number and tense markers occur following it. The progressive marker *-mo* is similar with the verb to sit *mo* and this goes in line with Booji (2007, p. 201)'s claim that says "Progressive aspect may ... be expressed by using postural verbs such as 'to sit' and 'to stand' in coordination with a main verb...".

10.2.2.5.1 Past Progressive

The past tense appears in a progressive aspect with the progressive marker *-mo* besides the past tense marker to express a past continuous action.

(510) *bab satiti atfake tawoka git apurmoje*

bab sati-ti atfak-e tawa-o-ka gi-t apur-mo-je
two o'clock-ABL start-PST plot-FOC-ACC AUX-1MSG clear-PROG-PST
'I was clearing the plot since 2 o'clock.'

(511) *on̄gat won̄gamokuk hetf'amoje*

on̄ga-ka-t won̄ga-mo-ku-k hetf'a-mo-je
she-ACC-1SG call-PROG-T.ADV-AUX sing-PROG-PST
'When I was calling her, she was singing.'

(512) *in̄kum in̄kum bartfumti moka detmode*

in̄ki-m in̄ki-m bertfum-ti mo-ka det-mo-d-e
one-M one-M chair-ABL sit-ACC desire-PROG-2/3PL-PST
'They were wishing to hold the one and same chair (position).'

10.2.2.5.2 Present Progressive

Present continuous actions are expressed by the progressive marker *-mo* suffixed on the main verb stem and the present marker *-ŋ* suffixed on the auxiliary *degi-* or *gi-*. The present marker suffix and its host, the auxiliary can be optionally dropped (as in Example (515)). The absence

of remote past, near past and the future markers allow the free form to be understood as present and the presence of the progressive marker *-mo* tells the continuous aspect of the action referred by the verb. When the progressive marker becomes the final suffix of the construction, it drops the final vowel and stand as *-m* (as in (516) and (517)).

(513) *moho apu-ŋ mo-m(o)*
 now 1PL-PRS live-PROG
 ‘Now we are living.’

(514) *otalo hospital-ti gi-ŋ idzagan-mo-d /*
 MPL.FOC hospital-ADES AUX-PRS work-PROG_PL
 ‘They work in the hospital (Lit. they are working in the hospital).’

(515) *kidmajel kita-m(o)*
 Kidmael stand-PROG
 ‘Kidmael is standing.’

(516) *tijŋ kukka gitiŋ nonom*
tijŋ kukku-ka gi-t-iŋ no=no-m
 1MSG 2MSG-ALL AUX-1SG-PRS go=go-PROG
 ‘I am coming to you.’

(517) *sadok dok’i dok’u debe giŋ korum*
sadok dok’u-i dok’u debe gi-ŋ kor-umo
 Sadok house-link build.INF PRF AUX-PRS finish-PROG
 ‘Sadok has been finishing building a house.’

There is a special type of progressive aspect with the inessive case marker **-set** and it tells that the subject is in the middle of performing the action referred by the verb.

(518) *ufem moho kolset*
ufa-e-m moho koll-set
 person-DEF-M now run-INES
 ‘The man is in the middle of digging now.’

- (519) *godo=òddà kòll-set.*
 elephant=FPL run-INES
 ‘Elephants are in running.’

10.2.2.6 Habitual Aspect

Chabu expresses habitual aspect in different way than the progressive. In fact the two are different “... in that progressive refers to actual events, whereas habitual expresses the general truth that some event takes place from time to time. Habitual does not refer to any specific events.” (Payne 1997, 240). The present habitual and the past habitual in the language are expressed differently. Present habitual is expressed using simple present tense (520) and (521)) where as past habitual is expressed by using a special morpheme *-huma* and a copula like element *edd* as in (522) and (523). *e* is the verb for ‘say’ and *edd* is the verb plus the plural agreement marker *-dd*.

- (520) *sâη noʔà ha:kâη kà ànd* (Chabu007-Sp1-010)

saη no-ʔa ha-ka-η ka-ʔa am-d
 forest go-CVB meat-ACC-PRS kill-CVB come-PL
 ‘They go to forest, kill meat (animals) and come.’

- (521) *Chabi=watto eduga-ka gi-η dirbu-d.*

Chbu=PL warhog-ACC AUX-PRS hunt-PL
 ‘The Chabus hunt for warhog.’

- (522) *dzarú úmbo: fùmètètìη mòhumà ʔèdd úllo* (Chabu007-Sp1-006)

dzar-u umba-o: fumete-ti mo-huma e-dd
 old.times-FOC woman-FOC position-ADES sit-HAB.PST say-PL
 ‘During the old times, women used to sit in leadership position.’

- (523) *úllú sâηkà nohúmàd edd* (Chabu007-Sp1-009)

ull-u saη-ka no-homa-d e-dd
 male-FOC forest-ALL go-HAB.PST-2/3PL say-PL
 ‘Men used to go to the forest.’

10.2.2.7 Perfect Aspect

Although it needs further investigation Chabu seems to have a perfect aspect form which is formed by the help of the particle *dēbe* or its short form *dē*, which contrast with *inda* or an empty morpheme that forms the imperfect aspect. This form is attested in Schnoebelen (2009) work as perfect marker and our finding also agrees with it.

- (524)
- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (a) | <i>(tiŋŋ)</i> | <i>(inda)-gi-t</i> | <i>kol-kuss</i> | ‘I dug (RPST).’ |
| | | 1MSG IPFV-AUX-1SG | dig-RPST | |
| (b) | <i>(tiŋŋ)</i> | <i>dē(be)-gi-t</i> | <i>kol-kuss</i> | ‘I had dug.’ |
| | | 1MSG PRF-AUX-1SG | dig-RPST | |
- (525)
- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------------|---------------|---------------|
| (a) | <i>(kukk)</i> | <i>(inda)-gi-kk</i> | <i>kol-je</i> | ‘You dug.’ |
| | | 2MSG IPFV-AUX-2 | dig-PST | |
| (b) | <i>(kukk)</i> | <i>dē(be)-gi-kk</i> | <i>kolje</i> | ‘I have dug.’ |
| | | 2MSG PRF-AUX-2 | dig-PST | |
- (526)
- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------|-----------------------|---------------|------------------------|
| (a) | <i>(ta)</i> | <i>(inda)-gi-t-iŋ</i> | <i>kol-mo</i> | ‘I am digging.’ |
| | | 1FSG IPFV-AUX-1SG-PRS | dig-PROG | |
| (b) | <i>(ta)</i> | <i>dē(be)-gi-t-iŋ</i> | <i>kol-mo</i> | ‘I have been digging.’ |
| | | 1FSG PRF-AUX-1SG-PRS | dig-PROG | |
- (527) *dēpe-ka dē-gi-t ka-je; tiŋŋ-ka ime-d-ig-e-m-ka*
lion-ACC PRF-AUX-1SG kill-PST 1MSG-ACC respect-PL-FUT-REL-M-ACC
gi-t det
AUX-1SG wish
‘I have killed a lion, I want you to respect me.’
- (528) *dok’u-k dēbe-gi-t dok’-e, moho dīmu tiŋŋ lasa-be-ge*
house-ACC PRF-NFUT-1SG build-PST now rain 1MSG fear-NEG-FUT
I have built a house, now I do not afraid of rain.’

- (529) *godo* *dēbe* *kol-kuss* *oŋŋ* *e-dd-(e)*
 elephant PRF run-RPST she tell-PL-PST
 ‘They told her that the elephants had already run.’

10.2.3 Mood

Mood is a grammatical category of verbs, which is related to the relationship of a verb with reality and speaker's attitude (Gadilia, 2007, p. 1). It “describes the actuality of an event. For instance, a language may use morphology to distinguish between actual and non-actual events by having a realis and an irrealis mood. The indicative mood is typically the mood for realis, whereas subjunctive and imperative forms denote some sort of nonactuality” (Booij 2007, p.137). As the focus of mood is the speaker's attitude, it hardly affects the situation described by the verb. Thus, it is less relevant to the verb than aspect and tense (Bybee 1985, p. 22).

Chabu does not have special suffixes that distinguish the realis and irrealis moods. However, there are some morphologically contrastive moods (especially variety of directive moods) and we will discuss them as follows.

10.2.3.1 Declarative Mood

There is no special declarative suffix in Chabu declarative sentences. Thus, we can say that declarative in Chabu is unmarked. Verbs in declarative utterances are mostly found with tense and aspect markers. In addition to the tense and aspect markers auxiliaries *ge* and *gi* or their devoiced short form (*-k*) could be included.

- (530) *ju* *indā-ge* *am-g.* ‘He will come.’
 he:FOC IPFV-AUX come-FUT
- (531) *oddo* *gi-ŋ* *am-mo* ‘They are coming.’
 they(F) AUX-PRS come-PROG
- (532) *tiŋŋ gi-t* *no-je.* ‘I came’
 I(M) AUX-1SG go-PST
- (533) *subaku* *gi-kk* *am-kussi-d* ‘You had come.’
 you(PL).FOC AUX-2 come.RPST.PL

10.2.3.2 Directive Mood

The directive mood (imperative, hortative, jussive and optative) “have to do with the expressions of a wish of the speaker about a future state of affairs” (Auwera, Dobrushina and Goussev 2011, Imperative and hortative section, para 1). However, as Auwera and Dobrushina et al. further elaborate, unlike the optatives, the imperatives and hortatives “convey an appeal to the addressee(s) to help make the future state of affairs true” (Ibid). In the case of optatives, the addressee can do nothing to control the state of affair or to help it happen. If the addressees are in control of the desired state of affairs the mood is imperative and if they are not it is hortative (Ibid.). Following we will discuss the situation of imperative, hortative, jussive and optative in Chabu.

10.2.3.2.1 The Imperative Mood

Imperative mood expresses direct commands, requests and prohibitions (Gadilia, 2007, p. 2). According to Anbessa (1991, p. 381), Chabu “second person singular imperative is an uninflected root and therefore functions as a citation form” and it is true that Chabu, in most cases, uses the citation form of verbs (bare root/stem) to express affirmative imperative action. Employing a bare stem as an imperative second singular is a feature of many languages (Auwera and Lejeune, Pappuswamy and Goussev 2011; Bybee, 1985; Gadilia, 2007). However, some Chabu verbs drop their terminal vowel to form imperative mood. As mentioned under 5.6.2 above, dropping word-final vowels is a common phenomenon in Chabu. Thus, most verb roots with two or more syllables that terminate in vowels drop their final vowels while forming the singular imperative form.

Dual and plural imperatives suffix the common number markers (*-jj* for dual feminine, *-tʃtʃ* for dual masculine and *-dd* for plural) on the verb stem. When an imperative sentence expresses (orders) a sequence of actions, only the last verb appears in imperative form and takes the agreement markers; all other verbs take shape of a converb. Examples are provided below.

Table 123. The Imperative Mood

Verb root	Imperatives				Gloss
	2SG	2FDU	2MDU	2PL	
<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>amj</i>	<i>amtʃ</i>	<i>amd</i>	come
<i>jdʒagan</i>	<i>idʒagan</i>	<i>idʒaganij</i>	<i>idʒagantʃ</i>	<i>jdʒagand</i>	work
<i>koll</i>	<i>koll</i>	<i>kollij</i>	<i>koltʃ</i>	<i>kold</i>	run
<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>noj</i>	<i>notʃ</i>	<i>nod</i>	go
<i>seta</i>	<i>set</i>	<i>setaj</i>	<i>setatʃ</i>	<i>setad</i>	break
<i>hetfa</i>	<i>hetʃ</i>	<i>hetʃaj</i>	<i>hetʃatʃ</i>	<i>hetʃad</i>	dance
<i>bina</i>	<i>bin</i>	<i>binajj</i>	<i>binatʃtʃ</i>	<i>binad</i>	leave
<i>gama</i>	<i>gamm</i>	<i>gammajj</i>	<i>gamatʃtʃ</i>	<i>gamad</i>	undress
<i>ganno</i>	<i>gann</i>	<i>gannojj</i>	<i>gannotʃtʃ</i>	<i>gannod</i>	pickup
<i>goji</i>	<i>goj</i>	<i>gojijj</i>	<i>gojitʃtʃ</i>	<i>gojid</i>	shave
<i>kuma</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>kumajj</i>	<i>kumatʃtʃ</i>	<i>kumad</i>	be feel
<i>sappa</i>	<i>sapp</i>	<i>sappajj</i>	<i>sappatʃtʃ</i>	<i>sappad</i>	descend

The following are illustrative contextual examples.

(534) *no-ʔa wɔ-k tamm-d*
 go-CVB water-ACC fetch-PL
 ‘(You PL) Go and fetch water.’

(535) *dzodzo sara-tʃtʃ*
 fast step-MDU
 ‘(You MDU) Walk fast.’

(536) *ta:m-ʔa karu-k ata-j*
 sit-CVB coffee-ACC cook-FDU
 ‘(You FDU) sit and make coffee.’

(537) *saŋ no-ʔa geda-k ka-ʔa-k am-d*
 forest go-CVB pig-ACC kill-CVB-AUX come-PL
 ‘(You(PL)) go to the forest, kill pig and come.’

10.2.3.2.2 The Prohibitive Mood

Chabu imperatives show polarity and have a negative counterpart, the prohibitive. Chabu prohibitive uses the verbal construction of the imperative with a special negative marker *-ekin* which is different from the negative marker in declaratives (*-be*). The prohibitive has a meaning ‘do not do’. See the following examples.

(538) *no-ekin*

go-PROH

‘Do not go!’

(539) *koma-set ka-?ekin*

road-in excrete-PROH

‘Do not excrete on the road!’

10.2.3.2.3 The Hortative Mood

Hortative mood is used to express insistence, imploring, self-encouragement, wish, desire, intent, command, purpose or consequence (Gadilia, 2007, p. 2). Expressions that have verbs in hortative mood convey a desire or wish of the speaker that person(s) other than the address would help the future state of affair to happen. Those who are expected to control the situation in hortative mood are first persons or third person referents.

Chabu hortatives have two different forms based on the agents of the state or action. When the agent is first person, the hortative mood is expressed by the same form that imperative is expressed. The only difference is that the former occurs in first person and the latter in second person. However, Chabu hortative in third person is marked by a prefix *bin-*, which is peculiar to the case. This third person hortative is called jussive (Gadilia, 2007) thus, we will see it separately in the following section. Here in this section, let us see the case of first person hortative. See the data in Table 124 below.

Table 124. Verbs in Hortative Mood

Verb root	Hortative in singular		Hortative in duals and plurals			
	1SG	Gloss	1FDU	1MDU	1PL	Gloss
<i>idzagan</i>	<i>tiʔidzagan</i>	<i>let me work</i>	<i>idzaganij</i>	<i>aʔidzaganɬʃ</i>	<i>apidzagan</i>	<i>let us work</i>
<i>koll</i>	<i>tikoll</i>	<i>let me run</i>	<i>akollij</i>	<i>akɔɬɬʃ</i>	<i>apkoll</i>	<i>let us run</i>
<i>no</i>	<i>tino</i>	<i>let me go</i>	<i>anoj</i>	<i>anotɬʃ</i>	<i>apno</i>	<i>let us go</i>
<i>seta</i>	<i>tisetʃ</i>	<i>let me break</i>	<i>asetaj</i>	<i>asetatɬʃ</i>	<i>apsetʃ</i>	<i>let us break</i>
<i>hetʃa</i>	<i>tihetʃʰ</i>	<i>let me dance</i>	<i>ahetʃʰaj</i>	<i>ahetʃatɬʃ</i>	<i>aphetʃʰ</i>	<i>let us dance</i>
<i>bina</i>	<i>tibin</i>	<i>let me leave</i>	<i>abinaj</i>	<i>abinatɬʃ</i>	<i>apbin</i>	<i>let us leave</i>
<i>gama</i>	<i>tigaʔamm</i>	<i>let me undress</i>	<i>agammaj</i>	<i>agamatɬʃ</i>	<i>apgamm</i>	<i>let us undress</i>
<i>ganno</i>	<i>tigann</i>	<i>let me pickup</i>	<i>agannoj</i>	<i>agannotɬʃ</i>	<i>apgann</i>	<i>let us pickup</i>
<i>goji</i>	<i>tigoj</i>	<i>let me shave</i>	<i>agojij</i>	<i>agojitɬʃ</i>	<i>apgoj</i>	<i>let us shave</i>
<i>kuma</i>	<i>tikum</i>	<i>let me be feel</i>	<i>akumaj</i>	<i>akumatɬʃ</i>	<i>apkum</i>	<i>let us be feel</i>
<i>sappa</i>	<i>tisapp</i>	<i>let me descend</i>	<i>asappaj</i>	<i>asappatɬʃ</i>	<i>apsapp</i>	<i>let us descend</i>

The following contextual examples further illustrate the hortative case.

(540) *poŋ-bala app-no-ʔa-k apur*
 up-stand 1PL-go-CVB-AUX clear (farm land)
 ‘Get up, let us (PL) go and clear (farm land)’.

(541) *a-ʔidzagan-ij*
 1DU-work –FDU
 ‘Let us (FDU) work.’

(542) *isa ma-k kol-ʔa-ʔe ŋatummaŋ-k no-ʔa a-kol-tɬʃ*
 first this-ACC dig-CVB-?? that place-ACC go-CVB 1DU-dig-MDU
 ‘First, let us (MDU) dig this and then go there and dig.’

The first person dual marker /a/ in the hortative preceeds the verb unlike in the case of the declarative sentences where it occurs after the verb following the number gender markers –*jj* or –*tɬʃ*. If this has not been the case, the hortatives would be of the same form as their imperative counterparts in second person and ambiguity would have been occure.

10.2.3.2.4 The Jussive (Third Person Hortative)

Jussive mood according to Gadilia (2007, p. 2) is “a directive mood that signals a speaker’s command, permission or agreement that the proposition expressed by his or her utterance be brought about”. Moreover, according to him, Jussive is variants of or similar to hortatory mood. Their difference is based on the persons they are presented in; “cohortative occurs in the first person and the jussive in the second and the third persons.” (Ibid).

The Jussive or third person hortative in Chabu is marked by *bin-*, which can contrast paradigmatically with the imperative form or the first person hortative. Neither the speaker nor the addressee has the power to control what will happen but a third party which also could be a supernatural force.

Table 125. Jussives

Verb root	Singular		Plural	
	Optative	Gloss	Optative	Gloss
<i>no</i>	<i>binno</i>	let her/him go	<i>bin nod</i>	let them go
<i>am</i>	<i>binam</i>	let her/him come	<i>bin amd</i>	let them come
<i>bina</i>	<i>binbin</i>	let her/him leave	<i>binbind</i>	let them leave
<i>gama</i>	<i>bingamm</i>	let her/him be undress	<i>bin gamad</i>	let them be undress
<i>ganno</i>	<i>bingan</i>	let her/him pickup	<i>binganod</i>	let them pickup
<i>goji</i>	<i>bingoj</i>	let her/him shave	<i>bingojid</i>	let them shave
<i>koll</i>	<i>binkoll</i>	let her/him run	<i>bin kold</i>	let them run
<i>kuma</i>	<i>binkum</i>	let her/him be feel	<i>binkumad</i>	let them be feel
<i>lul</i>	<i>binlul</i>	let her/him saw	<i>binluld</i>	let them saw
<i>ɲa</i>	<i>binɲa</i>	let her/him spear	<i>binɲad</i>	let them spear
<i>sappa</i>	<i>binsapp</i>	let her/him descend	<i>binsappad</i>	let them descend

(543) *Jer bin-okon*

God JUS-help

‘Let God helps (you).’

(544) *Dzuk bin opotf.*

God JUS= thank

‘Let God be blessed.’

(545) *ifàbòn má àdàl bìn béfà* (Chabu007-Sp1-043)
 wait this(M) tunder JUS-pass
 ‘Wait, let the tunder pass first.’

(546) *ony bin-am*
 she JUS-come
 ‘Let she come.’

10.2.3.2.5 The Optative Mood

Optative mood is a mood that expresses desire, wish, or hope (Gadilia, 2007, p. 2). ‘It expresses a wish of the speaker, but there is no appeal to the addressee to make it true’ (Auwera & Dobrushin, et al. 2011, Imperative and Hortative section, Para. 2).

As can be observed from Table 126 below. Chabu uses the prefixe *ki-* to form affirmative optative verb and *enak-* to form negative optative verb. An affirmative optative can convey semantically positive or negative statement based on the inherent semantic content of the verb. Likewise, a negative optative can convey negative or positive meaning, which is the opposite of the inherent meaning the verb conveys. The following table presents some examples.

Table 126. Optative Mood with *ki-* and *enak-*

Verb	Affirmative optative		Negative optatives	
	Positive semantic content		Negative Semantic content	
	Optaive	Gloss	Optaive	Gloss
<i>dzim</i> ‘well’	<i>kidzim</i>	‘(May you) get well!’	<i>enak dzim</i>	‘(May you) remain unhealed!’
<i>idzagan</i> ‘work’	<i>ki?idzagan</i>	‘(May you) be successful!’	<i>enak idzagan</i>	‘(May you) be unsuccessful!’
<i>kedig</i> ‘grow’	<i>kikedig</i>	‘(May you) grow well or prosper!’	<i>enak kedig</i>	‘May you not grow!’
<i>gosa</i> ‘bear’	<i>kigosa</i>	‘(May you) have children!’	<i>denak gosag</i>	‘May you not have children!’
<i>omokebe</i> ‘defeat’	<i>kiomokebe</i>	‘May you defeat!’	<i>enak omokebe</i>	‘May you not defeat!’

Verb	Affirmative optative		Negative optatives	
	Positive semantic content		Negative Semantic content	
	Optaive	Gloss	Optaive	Gloss
	Negative semantic content		Positive semantic content	
duro ‘leper’	<i>kiduro</i>	‘(May you) be leper!’		
<i>omoke</i> ‘be defeated’	<i>kiomok</i>	‘(May you) be defeated!’	<i>ejak omoke</i>	‘May you not be defeated!’
<i>ko</i>	<i>kiko</i>	‘(May you) die!’	<i>denak k’o</i>	‘Be alive!/ May you not die!’
<i>kond</i>	<i>kikond</i>	‘(May you) be sick!’	<i>denak k’ondo</i>	‘Be well!/ May you not get sick!’

(547) *dankaj umba-ka ki-?e*
good –F. wife-ACC OPT-marry
‘May you marry good wife.’

Another type of optative expression is constructed by using the imperative form of the verb preceded by the adverbs *dowwo* ‘well’ or *dankaj* ‘good’ or by the noun *diga* ‘peace’. Such optative expressions convey blessings and farewell greetings.

Table 127. Chabu Optative Expressions with *dowo* and *dankaj*

Verb	Optative expressions	Gloss
<i>appo</i>	<i>dowo appo</i>	‘speak well./may your talk be pleasant’
<i>sara</i>	<i>dowo sara</i>	‘go well/ may your travel be safe and pleasant’
<i>t’ol</i>	<i>dowo t’ol</i>	‘sleep well’
<i>t’ol</i>	<i>dankaj t’ol</i>	‘sleep good’
<i>t’ol</i>	<i>digak t’ol</i>	‘sleep in peace/ good night.’
<i>dzowu</i>	<i>dowo dzowu</i>	‘return well.’ /may you return well.’

10.3 Verb Stem Formation

In this section, different verb derivation processes of Chabu are discussed. Verb derivation in Chabu is productive. Different types of verbs are derived from verbal roots through affixation. Most derived verbs are formed from verb roots. Verb stem formation in Chabu

displays suffixation of derivational morphemes to verb roots and partial root reduplication in some cases of frequentative formation. Chabu also derives directional verbs that indicate the direction of motion (upward, downward or toward) morphologically by suffixing *-alla*, *afa* and *-ta* respectively to motion verbs.

10.3.1 Verbs and Their Arguments

The process of verb stem formation in Chabu is highly related to the argument structure of the base verb, thus, we briefly overview the argument structure of Chabu verbs here. Chabu verbs can be categorized into intransitive (one place argument) verbs and transitive (two or three place argument) verbs.

10.3.1.1 Intransitive (One Place Argument) Verbs

Intransitive verbs are verbs with a single argument “that evoke scenes that require only one participant” (Payne, 2006, p 107). They include verbs such as *am* ‘come’, *no* ‘go’, *ta:m* ‘sit’, *kaβu* ‘sleep’, *appir* ‘fly’ and *k'o* ‘die’ which occur with a subject that could be an agent (as in example (548)), an experiencer (as in example (549)) or a patient (as in example (550)). Such verbs may be accompanied by a circumstantial complement as in (548) - (550) below.

(548) *gutare-e-m ahs-set-ik bal-e.*
 old.man-DEF-M home-INES exit-PST
 ‘The old man went out of the house.’

(549) *tf'o-je-m koŋk-e*
 child-DEF-M cough-PST
 ‘The child coughed.’

(550) *koma-set bu-je-ŋ de-k k'o-je*
 road-in leopard-DEF-F PRF-AUX die-PST
 ‘A female leopard has died on the road.’

10.3.1.2 Transitive Verbs

Transitive verbs are two place or three place argument verbs “that evoke scenes that require more than one participant” (Payne 2006, p. 108). Transitive verbs of Chabu can be divided in

to two; mono-transitive and ditransitive. In what follows we will see the two types of transitive verbs.

Mono-Transitive Verbs

These are simple transitive verbs which commonly occur with two arguments: a subject and a single direct object often occur overtly. The subject is in unmarked nominative form and the object noun is marked by the accusative-dative-allative case marker *-k(a)*. Some of the verbs that are categorized in this sub-class are *abal* ‘buy’, *ata* ‘cook’, *set’a* ‘break’ and *t’a* ‘eat’.

(551) *ju depe-ka-k ka-je*
 he.FOC lion-ACC-AUX kill-PST
 He killed a lion.

(552) *adisajel tf’amo-ka-k abal-e*
 Addisael shoes-ACC-AUX buy-PST
 Addisaje bought shoes.

These inherently mono transitive verbs can add a beneficiary or malefactive argument and become di-transitive. However, when these mono transitive verbs add a beneficiary argument the verb stem adds the transitivity morpheme *-mb*.

(553) *addisajel ji-ke umba-ka-k tf’amo-k abal-mb-e*
 Addisael he-GEN wife-DAT-AUX shoes-ACC buy-BEN-PST
 Addisael bought shoes for his wife.

Three Place (Di-Transitive) Verbs

Verbs in this group commonly take three arguments. They include *ham* ‘give’, *fom* ‘tell’, *maset* ‘borrow’ and *jemba* ‘show’.

(554) *umbo tf’o-je-m-ka t’ajambu-ka ham-e*
 woman.FOC child-DEF-M-DAT food-ACC give-PST
 ‘The woman gave the child some food.’

(555) *dzari-je-m kemose-ka silaka-ti peni-ŋa etʃ'eti-d-ig*
 ancient-DEF-M story-ACC 2MPL.DAT-1AG tell-CONJ listen-PL-FUT
 I am going to tell you a story of an old time and you will listen.

10.3.2 Valence Increasing Stem Formation

The morpheme *-mba* is the main valence increasing suffix. When the morph *-mba* is suffixed to an intransitive verb, it changes the verb into a transitive one and when it is suffixed to a mono transitive verb, it changes the verb into a causative verb by adding a causer argument or in to a di-transitive verb that expresses ‘the action done for the benefit of the dative noun’ by adding a beneficiary argument. In both cases, the suffixation of the morpheme results in change of argument-structure. The other valence increasing morpheme is *-se* which contrast with the function of *-mba* by changing a mono-transitive verb to a negative causative verb by adding a causer argument.

10.3.2.1 Causativization

Chabu forms a causative verb stem by suffixing the valence increasing morphem *-mba* on to a transitive verb. “The derived causative verbs take a subject that mentions the causer, in addition to the NPs required by the base verb” (Booij 2007:60). Consider the following examples.

(556) *tʃ'ojem matikak sedemmbe*
tʃ'o-j-e-m mati-ka-k sedem-mba-e
 child-EPEN-DEF-M father-ACC-AUX insult-CAUS-PST
 ‘The boy made his father be insulted (by someone).’

(557) *attene kibabaka gum-k hambe*
attene kibaba-ka gum-k ham-mba-e
 Attene Kibebe-DAT stick-ACC give-CAUS-PST
 ‘Attene made someone give stick to Kibebe.’

(558) *efremŋa natnaʔelŋa otʃʃaka git rodijasambe* (ref/ REC.003)
efrem-ŋa natnaʔel-ŋa otʃʃa-ka gi-t rodija-sa-mba-e
 Ephrem-CONJ Natnael-CONJ 3DuM-ACC AUX-1SG quarrel -RECP-CAUS -PST
 ‘I made Ephrem and Nathanael quarrel each other.’

There is also a lexical causative verb *adar* ‘do’. When this verb is used as the main verb, its subject is the causer of the embedded subordinate verb action. Consider the following example.

(559) *babem mojjà k'òndaña etaña ojja jesisa fom get adarg*

bab-e-m ma=òjjà k'ònda-ña eta-ña ojja jes-
isa

two-DEF-M this=FDU younger.sister-CONJ elder.sister-CONJ 3FDU stare-RECP

fom ge-t adar-g

(REASON) FUT-1SG do-FUT

‘I will make the two sisters see each other.’

10.3.2.2 Pro-Construction /Deriving a Di-Transitive Verb From a Mono-Transitive

Pro-Construction (beneficative) verb stem is a stem that shows the action done on behalf or for the benefit of the person or object referred by the dative noun (phrase). When the valence increasing morpheme *-mba* is suffixed to a mono transitive verb like *abal* ‘buy’, the new verb stem requires a new beneficiary argument. The form of a pro-Construction verb stem is similar with the form of causative transitive verb stem and is a bit confusing for it is difficult to differentiate the two formally. However, in both cases there is an increase in valence: in the case of causative verbs, the added argument is causer (subject), and in pro-Constructions, the added noun phrase is the beneficiary of the action in dative case. Consider the following examples:

Table 128. For or Pro Construction

Transitive verb	Gloss	<i>-mba</i>	Gloss1 Causative	Gloss 2 pro action
<i>abbal</i>	buy	<i>abalumba</i>	make someone buy	buy for
<i>apu:r</i>	clear land	<i>apurumba</i>	make someone clear	clear for
<i>dhi</i>	grind	<i>dihimba</i>	make someone grind	grind for
<i>adît</i>	winnow	<i>adîtumba</i>	make someone winnow	winnow for
<i>t'ak'ò</i>	pound/ pestle	<i>t'ak'òmba</i>	make someone pound	pound for/pestle for

The following sentential examples further illustrate the ‘pro’ function of *-mba*.

(560) *ju tawakak oŋg apurmbe*

ji-o tawa-ka-k oŋŋa-k apur-mbe
 he-FOC field-ACC-AUX she-DAT clear-PRO
 ‘He cleared the farm for her.’

(561) *otalo tʃ’ojeŋkak femok abalmbade*

otala-o tʃ’o-j-e-ŋ-ka-k femo-k abali-mba-d-e
 3MPL-FOC child-DEF-F-DAT-AUX cloth-ACC buy-BEN-PL-PST
 ‘They bought cloth for the girl.’

These two examples are different from the examples of causative construction in that the subjects of these sentences are not the causers, rather the agents of the actions.

10.3.2.3 Transitivity of Intransitive Verbs /Causativization /

“Causativisation of intransitive verbs (transitivisation) shows distinctive properties from that of transitive verbs” (Booij 2007:60). When the valence increasing morpheme *-mba* is suffixed to an intransitive Chabu verb, it converts the verb into a transitive one. Thus, causativisation in Chabu changes an intransitive verb in to transitive by adding an agent argument and requires re-categorizing the verb as a transitive one (see Table 129 below)

Table 129. Causativization of Intransitive Verbs

Verb root	Gloss	Causative verb stem	Gloss
<i>bat</i>	be similar	<i>batumba</i>	forge
<i>fu:</i>	fall	<i>fu.mba</i>	knock down
<i>maset</i>	borrow	<i>masetumba</i>	lend
<i>omoke</i>	be tired	<i>omokemba</i>	make tired
<i>sapa</i>	descend	<i>sapumba</i>	bring down
<i>sefa</i>	pant	<i>sefamba</i>	make exhaust and pant
<i>tamare (loan from Amharic)</i>	learn	<i>tamaremba</i>	teach
<i>tiki</i>	draw near	<i>tikimba</i>	bring closer
<i>tʃeŋa</i>	play (itr.)	<i>tʃeŋumba</i>	play (a child) tr.

As can be observed from Table 129 above, the causative verb stems are derived by adding the suffix *-mba* to the verb root. The causative suffix is realized as *-umba* when the verb root ends in consonant or low vowel *a*. The reason for the first case is clear that *-u-* is inserted to avoid the occurrence of impermissible three consonant clusters. But we could not justify the deletion *a* of the low vowel or its change to a high back vowel *u*. It needs further investigation.

The following sentence (562) further illustrates the transitive nature of *-mba* derived verbs.

(562) *tiŋ-ke mobajel-k kidmajel-ka gi-t maset-umb-e.*
 1MSG-GEN cell phone-ACC Kidmael-DAT AUX-1SG borrow-CAUS-PST
 ‘I lend my mobil to Kidmael.’

The same element that Chabu used to transitive stems (the suffix *-mba*) also transitive inchoative adjectival verbs. Table 130 shows some examples.

Table 130. Transitive of Inchoative Adjectival Verbs

Inchoative Adjective	Gloss	Transitive adjectival verb	Gloss
<i>setakan</i>	straight/ become straight	<i>setakamba</i>	straighten
<i>gidi</i>	happy/ become happy	<i>gidumba</i>	please
<i>budza</i>	angry/become angry	<i>budzamba</i>	annoy
<i>laka</i>	loose/ become loose	<i>lakumba</i>	make loose
<i>kikkira</i>	short/ become short	<i>kikkirumba</i>	make short

10.3.2.4 Causitivation of Bound Verbs

Chabu has a few bound transitive verbs, which need to suffix the causative marker *-mba* or the passive/ reflexive marker *-we* to serve as transitive or as passive/reflexive verb stem respectively. Therefore, these verbs take the causative morpheme to perform as active transitive verb. Table 131 below presents the attested bound verbs with their *-mba* derived active transitive verbs.

Table 131. Transitivity of Bound Verbs

Verb root	Gloss	Derived tr. verb	Gloss
<i>are-</i>	smear	<i>are-mba</i>	smear
<i>eta-</i>	dress	<i>eta-we-mba</i>	dress (tr.)
<i>ate-</i>	open	<i>ate-mba</i>	open , uncover
<i>get-</i>	move, turn	<i>get-umba</i>	move or turn (tr.)
<i>geget-</i>	move around	<i>geget-umba</i>	move continuously(tr.)

The following example illustrates the use of causitivated bound verb serving as active transitive verb.

(563) *take k'ufaka dankam femoka get etambag*
 1FSG-GEN children-DAT good-M cloth-ACC AUX-1SG dress-CAUS-FUT
 I will dress my children good clothes.

10.3.2.5 Deriving a Transitive Verb From Noun

Here we discuss a single case of the noun *du* 'breast'. In one instance the same causative morpheme is attested attached to a noun *du* 'breast' to form a derived transitive verb 'suckle or nurse'. Thus, *-mba* seem to have a potential of driving transitive verbs from non-verbal stems.

10.3.2.6 Malefactive –se (Action Against).

The malefactive *-se* is suffixed in the place of the causative/ pro marker *-mba* when the consequence of the caused action is negative or when the action is done for the disadvantage of (or to harm) the person or the object denoted by the dative noun phrase. Example (564) and (565) illustrate the case. In example (564), the action is caused by the speaker and he and his friend have lost their cloth because of the speaker's action; but in (565) the long woman laughed to embarrass the short woman.

(564) *antfi-ke-e-m femo-ka tiŋŋ-k utuk-se-d-e*
 2MDU-GEN-DEF-M cloth-ACC 1MSG-AUX take-NEG.CAUS-PL-PST
 'I made our cloth be taken (by them).'

(565) *damenɨ ufa kikireɨ ufaŋka salase*
dama-e-ɨ ufa kikira-e-ɨ ufa-ŋka sala-se-e
 long-DEF-F person short-DEF-F person-DAT laugh-NEG.CAUS-PST
 ‘The long women laughed at the short woman.’

(566) *otɬifo ongek femoka kat’asetɬife*
otɬifa-o oŋŋa-ke femo-ka kat’a-se-tɬife
 3MDU.FOC she-GEN cloth-ACC tear-MAL-MDU-PST
 They(MDU) tore her cloth (against her).

10.3.3 Valence Decreasing Verb Stem Formation

The morpheme *-we* is the main valence decreasing suffix in Chabu. When *-we* is suffixed to a transitive verb that require at least double argument, it makes the verb to require only a single argument the original agent or the original object (patient). When the only argument with *-we* derived verb stem is an agent in a nominative case, the new construction is a reflexive one, and when the argument is the original patient in an accusative case, the new construction is a passive one. The other valence decreasing morpheme is the reciprocal *-sa*. In what follows we will discuss these valence decreasing verb stem formation processes in some detail.

10.3.3.1 Passivization(of Transitive Verbs)

Passive is a construction where the object of a sentence is raised to subject position and the agent is demoted to oblique case or deleted. The passivizer morpheme in Chabu is *-we*. Although Schnoebelen (2009) claims that the passivizer morpheme is only *-w* our data doesn’t prove that. Whenever the passive construction appears (whether in the future, present, past, or converb), it appears with *-we*. The shape of the passive morpheme does not alternate. The morpheme is suffixed to a transitive verb to form the passive counterpart of the verb. However, *-we* derived verbs are not always passive verbs. The same *-we* functions to form reflexive verbs as well. Thus, the *-we* derived verb can be a passive or a reflexive verb based on the context. The status of *-we* derived verb is determined from the context by looking the subject. In passive construction, the promoted subject is always marked for accusative case. Unless the subject is marked with the accusative marker, the structure is reflexive, not simple passive (for the discussion of reflexives see 10.3.3.3). Never the less in both cases *-we*

functions as valence decreasing morpheme; in passive by deleting the agent and in reflexive by using the same entity as an agent and as a patient. Table 132 below presents some examples of derived passive stems:

Table 132. Examples of Passivized Transitive Verbs

Verb root	Gloss	Passivised form	Gloss
<i>hora</i>	wash	<i>horawe</i>	be washed
<i>affal</i>	kick	<i>affalwe</i>	be beaten
<i>atʃifir</i>	make flat	<i>atʃifirwe</i>	be flatten
<i>eta</i>	dress	<i>etawe</i>	be dressed
<i>ʃina</i>	tie/coil	<i>ʃinawe</i>	be tied/ be coiled
<i>kata</i>	tear	<i>katawe</i>	be torn
<i>seta</i>	break	<i>setawe</i>	be broken
<i>tʃota</i>	cut	<i>tʃotawe</i>	be cut

Passivaization in Chabu promotes an object of a transitive verb into a subject state and demotes the subject to an oblique case. In most cases, the demoted subject is omitted from the structure, it only occurs in a few instances. When it occurs in a construction, it is introduced by the instrumental case marker *-ku*. Consider the following illustrative structures.

(567) *tiŋŋ-ke efu-ka-k setta-we-ʔa ge-kuss*
 1MSG-GEN hand-ACC-AUX break-PASS-CVB AUX-RPST
 ‘My hand had been broken.’

(568) *kebele-ke ʃum-ka-k wonga-we-je*
 Kebele-GEN leader-ACC-AUX call-PASS-PST
 ‘The Kebele chairman was called.’

(569) *tangi-ka-k kasa-we-je*
 tangi-ACC-AUX prepare-PASS-PST
 ‘Tangi is prepared.’

(570) *gongodzidak kaniku utukwej*
gongodzi-ka-k kani-ku utuku-we-je
 warthog-ACC-AUX dog-INS take-PASS-PST
 Warthog is caught by dogs.

(571) *depe-ka ge ka-we-g*
 lion-ACC AUX kill-PASS-FUT
 ‘Lion will be killed’

10.3.3.2 Passivisation of Bound Verbs

The bound verbs of Chabu take the passiveser morpheme *-we* to form a passive verb stems or a reflexive verb. Examine the following data in Table 133.

Table 133. Intertransitive Verbs from Bound Root

Verb root	Gloss	Derived	Form Gloss
<i>are-</i>	smear	<i>are-we</i>	smear one self
<i>eta-</i>	dress	<i>eta-we</i>	be dressed
<i>ate-</i>	open	<i>ate-we</i>	be open
<i>getu-</i>	move, turn	<i>getu-we</i>	move, turn (itr)
<i>gegetu-</i>	move around	<i>gegetu-we</i>	move around (itr.)

Example (572) shows the use of *-we* derived passive verb stem from a bound root. Compare this example with exaple (563) above.

(572) *femok eta-we:*
 cloth-ACC dress-PASS.PST
 ‘The cloth is being dressed.’

10.3.3.3 Reflexives

Chabu uses both morphological and analytic types of reflexive constructions. Although the focus of this section is the verbal derivation, we will discuss here both reflexive types (morphological refelexives which are phenoninon of verbal derivation and analytic reflexives formed with the help of pronouns) for the sack of comparision.

10.3.3.3.1 Morphological Reflexive in Chabu

The morphological reflexive is formed by suffixing the passivizer morpheme *-we* to the transitive verb. Unlike in the case of passive formation, the morphological reflexive uses the subject in a nominative case. Therefore, a passive verb with a nominative subject forms a

morphological reflexive and a passive verb with an accusative subject form a passive construction. Compare the examples in (573) and (574).

(573)

(a) *bu-k ka-we-j(e)*
 leopard.NOM-AUX kill-REFL-PST
 ‘A leopard killed it self.’

(b) *bu-ka-k ka-we-j(e)*
 leopard-ACC-AUX kill-PASS-PST
 ‘A leopard was killed (by somebody).’

(574)

(a) *tiŋŋ-u gi-t woŋga-we-j(e)*
 1MSG-FOC AUX-1SG call-REFL-PST
 ‘I called myself.’

(b) *tiŋŋ-ka-k woŋga-we-j(e)*
 1MSG-ACC-AUX call-PASS-PST
 ‘I was called.’

The following is an example of morphological reflexive construction from a text that explains the clans of Chabu.

(575) *ŋad somwe mab ke moho mab-um komoji ek' otalak desewemo naŋku ed*
 (Chabu005-Sp1-022)

ŋad som-we m mab ke moho mabum komoji ek' otala-k
 that tell-PASS.PST like ?? now like-M clan ?? 3MPL-AUX
de-se-we-mo nimbi-ku ed
 know-INS-REFL-PROG what-INS

‘With what things do these said clans’ men associate (identify) themselves?’

As already discussed under section 10.3.3.2 passivisation of bound morphem a bound verb that suffixes a morphem –*we* serves as a reflexive verb based on the form of the subject. If the subject is in nominative case the construction and the verb are reflexives, and if the subject

holds an accusative marker suffixed on it the construction is a passive one. The following example shows the reflexive use of *-we* derived verb stem.

- (576) *ma jemo eta-we-ʔa addisabe-ka ge-t no-g*
 this(M) cloth dress-REFL-CVB Addis.Ababa-ALL AUX-1SG go-FUT
 I will dressed myself this cloth and go to Addis Ababa.

10.3.3.3.2 Analytic Reflexive

The analytic reflexive in Chabu is expressed by the help of reflexive nouns *ʃifa* ‘body’ and *etum* ‘self’. This is an analytic reflexive because reflexivity is expressed via a separate word that is distinct from the verb (Payne, 2006, p. 243).

As Payne (2006 p. 244) discusses “from a purely syntactic point of view, the analytic reflexive construction ... is not a valence-decreasing construction. This is because there are still two syntactic arguments [... the subject and the reflexive word]. We may want to say, however, that this clause is semantically intransitive because the two syntactic arguments refer to a single entity.” The following are examples of the reflexive constructions.

- (577) *kidmajel sisa -ka-k apotf-e*
 Kidmael body-ACC-AUX thank-PST
 ‘Kidmael thanked himself.’

- (578) *ju ji-ke sisa kebeleke fumi ada-we:*
 he.FOC he-GEN body kebele-GEN chairman make-PASS.PST
 ‘He made himself chairman of the Kebele.’

In limited cases Chabu employs ‘extended use of reflexive... to indicate a special kind of emphasis’ (Payne 2006:245) by repeating the subject in an intransitive construction. Consider the following examples.

- (579) *kukku kukk debe-ge*
 you.FOC you absent-AUX
 ‘You yourself were not present.’

(580) *ta-wo ta kondi-kuss*
 I(F)-FOC I(F) sick-RPST
 ‘I myself was sick.’

(581) *oŋŋ-o oŋŋa ge konfiransi no-g*
 she-FOC she AUX conference go-FUT
 ‘She herself will go to the conference.’

These focus reflexive constructions are possible only in sentences with intransitive verbs. It is not observed in transitive constructions. Consider the following translations of paired English sentences; A. (the reflexive) and B. (the plain) are translated in one and the same plain statement in Chabu.

(582) A. ‘You yourself is an amusing woman.’
 B. ‘You are an amusing woman.’
kunŋo be-ka gi-ŋ bant f’um ufa oŋŋ.
 2FSG.FOC heart-ACC aux-PRS please person FSG.

(583) A. He has asked me myself.
 B. He asked me.
ju tiŋŋ-ka-k iŋan-e
 he.FOC I(M)-ACC-AUX ask-PST

The passive reflexive in Chabu is constructed in the same way as the active reflexive is formed and it is an analytic one. The passive reflexive construction involves a passive verb marked with the passivizer *-we* and a reflexive pronoun *etum* ‘self’. Consider the following examples:

(584) *bakem etum setaweŋ*
bake-e-m etum seta-we-e
 spear-DEF-M self break-PASS-PST
 ‘The spear broke itself.’

(585) *budzem otala ufa etumbilik kawede*

budza-em=otala ufa etum-biliki ka-we-d-e
angry-MDEF=MPL person self-MPL kill-PASS-PL-PST
'The angry men killed themselves.'

10.3.3.4 The Reciprocal

Chabu reciprocals are morphological. Chabu reciprocal verbs are derived by suffixing the affix *-sa* on the stems of the verbs. "A prototypical reciprocal clause is one in which two participants equally act upon each other, i.e., both are AGENT and PATIENT" (Payne 2006, p. 244). The following examples show how Chabu reciprocal verbs form prototypical reciprocal clauses.

(586) *ufe watto ηasade*

ufa-e=watto ηa-sa-d-e
Person-LINK =PL spear -RECP-2/3PL-PST
'Men speared each other.'

(587) *etimbilikk affalasade*

etimbi-likk affal-sa-d-e
relative-PL shoot-RECP -2/3PL-PST
'The relatives fought each other.'

(588) *babem mojja k'ondana etana ojja jesisa fom get adarg*

bab-e-m ma=òjjà k'onda-ηa eta-ηa ojja
two-DEF-M this=FDU younger.sister-CONJ elder.sister-CONJ 3FDU

jes-i-sa fom ge-t adar-g
stare-EPENT-RECP reason AUX-1SG do-FUT
'I will make the two sisters see each other.'

(589) *otftfa-k ka-sa-tftf-e*

3MDU-AUX kill-RECP-MDU-PST
'They (MDU) killed each other.'

(590) *ojja-k oti-sa-jj-e*
 3FDU-AUX love-RECP-FDU-PST
 ‘They (FDU) loved each other.’

(591) *etumfa apotis*
etum-fa app-oti-s(a)
 self-FPL we(PL)-love –RECP
 ‘Let us love one another.’

(592) *subake etumfak okonosadig dan̄ka*
subaka-ke etum-fa-k okono-sa-d-ig dan̄ka
 2FPL-GEN self-FPL-ACC help-RECP-PL-FUT good.
 ‘Your helping each other is good.’

There are also lexical reciprocals in Chabu. “Lexical reciprocals are verbs for which reciprocity is a built-in component of their meaning” (Payne 2006, p. 244). An example of these type of verbs is *gi* ‘fight’.

(593) *kebede-ŋa ajele-ŋa ot̄sifa dek gi-t̄fif-e*
 Kebede-and Ayele-and they(MDU) AUX fight-MDU-PST
 ‘Kebede and Ayele have fought each other.’

10.3.4 The Frequentative

In this section, we deal with the construction of frequentative or distributive verbs. In Chabu, frequentative verbs are constructed through reduplication and by using the suffix *–gitam*. Such verbs add a notion of plurality or distributiveness to the predicate.

10.3.4.1 Reduplication

The type of reduplication attested is partial reduplication of two kinds; one is internal-reduplication that repeats the second CV and the other is ‘pre-reduplication’ that repeats the first (leftmost) CV. However, in the second case in addition to the reduplication there is suffixation of the morpheme *–in* on the stem. In both cases reduplication indicates the repetition of the actions.

In the examples given in Table 134 below, the reduplication is done on the second CV except for *gegetwe* and *gegetumba*. The reduplication on *gegetwe* and *gegetumba* is on the first CV, because the root for both stems is a monosyllabic bound form *get-*. The intransitive and transitive stems are formed by suffixing the passiviser *-we* and the causative *-mba* respectively on the bound root.

Table 134. Frequentatives that Involve Reduplication of the Second

Verb	Gloss	Frequentative	Gloss
<i>afal</i>	‘whip with whip’	<i>a~fa~fal</i>	‘whip repeatedly’
<i>arum</i>	‘pierce with knife’	<i>a~ru~rum</i>	‘pierce or stab repeatedly’
<i>ati</i>	‘kick with foot’	<i>a~ti~ti</i>	‘kick repeatedly’
<i>ekem</i>	‘cut with knife’	<i>e~ke~kem</i>	‘cut repeatedly’
<i>get-we</i>	‘turn round (itr.)’	<i>ge~get-we</i>	‘turn round repeatedly (itr.)’
<i>get-umba</i>	‘turn round (tran.)’	<i>ge~get-umba</i>	‘turn round repeatedly (tran.)’
<i>obol</i>	‘kick with stick’	<i>o~bo~bol</i>	‘bit repeatedly’
<i>tekem</i>	‘stump on’	<i>te~ke~kem</i>	‘stump repeatedly’
<i>utuk</i>	‘touch’	<i>u~tu~tuk</i>	‘touch repeatedly’

Although in *gegetwe* and *gegetumba* the repeated CV is the first one, it is not the same as the second type. Because it does not involve the suffixation of *-in* as in the second type of reduplication that undergo reduplication on the first CV followed by suffixation of the morphem *-in*. Compare with the following examples.

Table 135. Examples of Frequentative Verb Stem that Involve 1st CV Reduplication

Verb	Gloss	Frequentative	Gloss
<i>bada</i>	‘cut open’	<i>ba~badin</i>	‘slice in to smaller pieces’
<i>kata</i>	‘tear’	<i>ka~katin</i>	‘tear repeatedly in to smaller pieces’
<i>seta</i>	‘break’	<i>se~setin</i>	‘break repeatedly in to smaller pieces’
<i>tʃota</i>	‘cut’	<i>tʃo~tʃotin</i>	‘cut repeatedly in to smaller pieces’

In the above examples, the reduplication is done by repeating the first CV followed by suffixation of *-in*. A verb formed via the second type of reduplication tells not only the repetition of the action, but also the separation of the receiver of the action in to different smaller pieces because of the repeated actions. Probably this second meaning (the separation of the object in to pieces) is carried out by the final suffix *-in*.

The second type of reduplication is applicable only to verbs that express what Jessen (2014, p. 67) calls "events involving material destruction".

10.3.4.2 The Use of *-gitam*

The morpheme *-gitam* is suffixed to a root (stem) verb to show the repetition of the action the verb denote. Nevertheless, the action does not occur in the same place but in different places. *-gitam* is suffixed to transitive verbs to show that the action is done repeatedly in different places either by the same person in consecutive times or by different people at the same time. The following table presents some examples of *-gitam* derived verb stems.

Table 136. Examples of *-gitam* Derived Frequentative Verb Stems

Verb	Gloss	Frequentative	Gloss
<i>atul</i>	'heap'	<i>atulgitam</i>	'heap or collect here and there'
<i>da</i>	'to pick'	<i>dagitam</i>	'pick from here and there'
<i>dirbu</i>	'hunt'	<i>dirbugitam</i>	'hunt in different places'
<i>doku</i>	'build a house'	<i>dokugitam</i>	'build a house here and there'
<i>koll</i>	'dig'	<i>kolgitam</i>	'dig here and there'
<i>kita</i>	'stand'	<i>kitagitam</i>	'stand here and there'

(594) *ɲadamba isa appakatasaʔa attagita:md* (Chabu046)

ɲadam-mba isa appakat-sa-ʔa atta-gita:m-d
 that-side wait divide-RES-CVB cook-FREQ-PL

'First, you share among each other and then cook it (in different house).'

10.3.5 The Infinitive Form

Two kinds of infinitive verbs are identified in Chabu. The first type is simple and the second is complex. The first type comprises verbs that stand free in their root form and the second is a set of a few forms derived from verbs that have bound roots. Verbs with free root construct their infinitives simply by conversion (without adding any morpheme). Nevertheless, verbs with bound root form their infinitives by suffixing the causative or passive marker morphemes. The two types of infinitives (the simplex and the complex) have no functional difference; both serve as complements of other verbs.

- (595) *[inkùm inkùm bàrtfùm̀tì mòkà d̀étmòdde]* (Chabu007-Sp1-007)
in̩ki-u-m in̩ki-u-m bartf'um-ti mo-ka d̀et-mo-d-e
 one-FOC-M one-FOC-M seat-ADES to.sit-ACC desir-PROG-PL-PST
 ‘They were aspiring to hold the one and the only chair or position.’
- (596) *ju addisabe-k no-ka-k d̀et*
 he.FOC Addis.Ababa-ACC go-ACC-AUX wish
 ‘He wants to go to Addis Ababa.’
- (597) *budeni t̩a-ka ji ott*
 enjera eat.INF/eating-ACC he love
 ‘He likes to eat/ eating enjera.’
- (598) *tiŋko are-we tiŋŋ-ka-k gidi-mba*
 mud smear-PASS.INF I.M-ACC-AUX please-CAUS
 ‘To smear/smearing mud on my body pleases me.’
- (599) *daŋka-m femo-k eta-we git ott*
 good-M cloth-ACC dress-PASS AUX-1SG love
 ‘I love to wear/wearing a beautiful cloth.’
- (600) *tawo take tʃ'o daŋkam femo etamba git ott*
 1FSG-FOC 1FSG-GEN child good-M cloth-ACC dress-CAUS AUX-1SG love
 ‘I love to dress my child a beautiful cloth.’

10.3.6 Converb Formation

Chabu uses the morpheme *-ʔa* in forming converb. Converb is “a nonfinite verb form whose main function is to mark adverbial subordination” (Haspelmath 1995: 3). Chabu converb is not inflected for person, number, aspect or tense and it does not form a sentence on its own but subordinates to the main verb. When there is multiple converbs in a clause, one of the clauses hold the auxiliary and the second final takes the personal agreement suffixes *-t* ‘1SG’ and the *-kk* ‘2SG/DU/PL’ as in (605) **Error! Reference source not found.** As mentioned in previous sections, the third person is unmarked and the first person dual and plural markers are affixed to the main verb. When the 1SG agreement marker *-t* is suffixed to the second final

converb in the absence of the auxiliary, the vowel *-a* of the converb changes to *e* (as in (605)). Why this change has occurred is not clear for the time being.

Chabu converb encode events viewed as the first stages of a complex event whose final stage is encoded by an independent verb form, as in the following examples.

(601) *Addisabek no?a get aŋg*

Addisabe-k no-?a ge-t am-g
 Addis.Abab-ALL go-CVB AUX-1SG com-FUT

‘I will go to Addis and come.’/ Having gone to Addis I will come.

(602) *saŋ no?a hakaŋ ka?a and* (chabu007-Sp- 10)

saŋ no-?a ha-ka-ŋ ka -?a am-d
 forest go-CVB meat-ACC-PRS kill-CVB come-3PL

‘Having gone to the forest and killed animal they come.

(603) *tawo ma no?a kamodem ambuko no?a ka am?age inkitti appemoge inkim bartfumti*
 (Chabu007- Sp1- 13)

tá-wò ma no-?a ka-mo-d-e-m ambu-ka-o ka
 1FSG-FOC this go-CVB kill-PROG-PL-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC kill

am-?a=ge inki.tti appe-mo-ge inku-m bartfum-ti
 come-CVB=AUX together 1PL-sit-FUT same-M seat-ADES

‘Having gone, killed and came the things that they go and kill, we will sit together on that same chair.’

(604) *aha-ka dzow-?a=ge tam-?a karu ata of*

home-ACC return-CVB=AUX sit-CVB coffee cook only

‘Having return home, sit and prepare coffee alone.’

(605) *mitik ata?age karuk ata?et kukat koromohung*

miti-k ata-?a=ge karu-k ata-?e-t
 cassava-ACC cook-CVB=AUX coffe-ACC cook-CVB-1SG

kuk-ka-t koro-mo-hum-g
 2MSG-ACC-1SG wait-PROG-HAB-FUT

‘Having cooked cassava and prepared coffee, I will be waiting for you.’

10.3.7 Motion Verbs

Motion verbs are verbs that express motion event that include a dynamic action of displacement of an object or a static situation of continuation of staying in a location (Talmy 1985: 85). According to Talmy (1985; 2000, p, 25) the basic motion event is analysed as having four components; Figure, an object moving or located with respect to another object; Ground, the reference object with respect to which the figure is moving or located; Path, the direction or path the figure follows with respect to the ground; and Motion, the movement or state in which the figure is in with respect to ground.

Talmy categorises motion verbs in to two groups based on how they encode path in expression of motion events (1985; 2000). Slobin (1996, p. 196)) explains the two types as follows

Languages that characteristically map the core schema into the verb will be said to have framing verb and to be verb framed languages. ... On the other hand, languages that characteristically map the core schema onto the satellite will be said to have a framing satellite and to be satellite-framed languages....

Beavers, Levin and Tham further elaborate the two categories as follows:

In S(atellite)-framed languages manner is characteristically encoded in the verb and path in a satellite to the verb, where satellites subsume primarily particles and verb affixes. Conversely, in V(erb)-framed languages, path is characteristically encoded in the verb, with manner encoded via a separate adjunct clause or a satellite. (Beavers et al, 2009, pp2-3).

Recently some modifications have been made on the categories because Talmy's categories do not address all the ways language encode path and manner in expressions of motion. Slobin (2004, p. 249) added a third category named equipollently –framed languages. These languages according to him use strategies

- MANNER VERB + PATH VERB: serial-verb languages
- [MANNER + PATH]_{VERB}: bipartite verb languages
- MANNER PREVERB + PATH PREVERB + VERB:

Fortis (2010), by adding three additional categories makes the partition six. These are

Split system

Equipollent

Parallel system

Generic Framing system

Chabu seems employ the features of the three categories Slobin (2004) proposed (V-framed system as in examples (606) and (607), S-framed system as in (608), (609) and (610) and Equipollent system as in (611)).

There are many verbs like *ball* ‘go out/exit’, *et* ‘put in’, *gaɔam* ‘take out’, *gera* ‘climb up a tree’, *koj* ‘go in/enter’, *kor* ‘pass by’, *okotom* ‘ascend, go up, climb a mountain’, *ono* ‘reach (to touch)’, *sapa* ‘descend, go down’, *tiki* ‘draw near’, *son* ‘pull things up ward (to a tree or roof), *tʃet* ‘cross (river)’ that conflate path with motion. By using these verbs Chabu show a feature of verb framing languages that express path in the main verb as example.

(606) *Sadnet aha-seti de-k bal-e*
Sadinet home-INES PRF-AUX exit-PST
‘Sadinet went out of the house.’

(607) *tʃ’ojem konna dek gere*
tʃ’ojem konna de-k gera-e
child-DEF-M tree PRF-AUX ascend-PST
‘The child climbed to a tree.’

(608) *ma sanduk’a-k riketi-ka t’uk’i-ta*
this.M box-ACC wall-ALL push-DEST
‘Push the box toward the wall.’

(609) *onat-alla ge-get-umba ata* (Chabu046)
spread-up FREQ-move-CAUS cook
‘You spread the meat up on the bed, move it around repeatedly and roast.’

Chabu also shows what Forties called double framing tendency by using an inherently directional verb with the directional morphemes as in example (610) that mix the features of V framing and S framing languages.

(610) *gutare=watto gomu-ti sapa-fa-d-e*
 old.men=PL mountain-ABL descend-down-PL-PST
 ‘Old men descended down from a mountain.’

The other means that Chabu employ is a feature of equipollently framing languages by using manner conflating motion verbs with path conflating verbs within the construction.

(611) *ufem kɔlka dokuti koje*
ufa-e-m kɔl-kan dok'u-ka koj-e
 person-DEF-M run-MAN house-ALL enter-PST
 ‘The man entered (at) a house running.’

Since our data is not collected to do an intensive semantic analysis on motion verbs and to categorize the language based path framing, here we simply present some derivational/inflectional feature of motion verbs in the language.

10.3.7.1 The Use of Directional Morphemes

Deriving directional motion verbs with directional affixes is common. Slobin (2004) explains the situation as follows:

Mayan languages are characterized by the use of directional morphemes that combine with path verbs to provide more specific path information, as well as with manner verbs These morphemes are derived from path verbs, but function in a fashion that may be compared to path satellites in S-languages. They have meanings such as ‘away from’, ‘toward’, ‘up’, ‘down’, ‘in’, ‘out’, and so forth. p. 20)

Chabu uses three different directional morphemes to form directional verb stems that provide specific path; *-alla*, *-afa* and *-ta*. *-alla* derived verbs tell the motion is done from a lower elevation to a higher elevation (up) and *-afa* derived verbs tell the motion is done from a higher position to a lower position (down). *-ta* is used to form verb stems that specify the destination to(ward). However, unlike Slobin's argument these three morphemes have no derivational etymology from any verbal source as far as we observed. The following tables present examples of derived directional verbs.

Table 137. Afixation of -alla and -afa (Elivational Morphems)

Root	Gloss	Upward action	Downward action
<i>dull</i>	throw	<i>dullalla</i>	<i>dullafa</i>
<i>son</i>	(pull up or send downwith a rope)	<i>sonalla</i> (pull up)	<i>sonafa</i> (send down)
<i>gera</i>	climb a tree	<i>geralla</i>	-
<i>okotom</i>	climb a mountain	<i>okotomalla</i>	-
<i>sapa</i>	descend (from a tree or mountain)	-	<i>sapafa</i>
<i>abuti</i>	spill	-	<i>abutafa</i>
<i>helendzi</i>	spit	<i>helendzijalla</i>	<i>helendzifa</i>

As it can be observed from Table 137 above inherently directional verbs like *gera* ‘climb (a tree)’, *okotom* ‘climb (a mountain)’ *sapa* ‘descend (from tree or mountain)’ also take their respective derivational morphemes of direction.

The following example taken from an old man’s narration of the hunting process illustrate the contextual use of these verbs.

- (612) *da-afa kor-ʔa kenken tʃota am* (Chabu046)
 collect-down finish-CVB carrying.stick cut come
 ‘Finishing collecting down (the roasted meat from the roasting bed to the ground),
 you cut and bring carrying stick.’

Another directional morpheme Chabu employ to express destination or direction toward is –*ta*. –*ta* is suffixed to verbs that encode caused motions to express the entended goal or target. The flowing table presents -ta derived directional mtionverbs.

Table 138. -ta Derived Directional Verbs

<i>batti</i>	shout, cry out, cry for help	<i>batita</i>	shout (at sn or sth)
<i>binna</i>	draw, fetch water	<i>binàta</i>	draw (towards container)
<i>ebet’e</i>	collect fire wood	<i>ebetata</i>	fetch and put firewood in fire
<i>fátta</i>	crawl (human child)	<i>fátata</i>	stalk
<i>fikka</i>	pull	<i>fikata</i>	pull and draw nearer
<i>kussi</i>	spit	<i>kusita</i>	spit saliva repeatedly onto a sick as a medicine.
<i>bin</i>	leave (place), drop (for a time)	<i>binatá</i>	leave (place) (to)wards

The following example farther illustrate the use of *-ta* derived directional verb in context.

(613) *tfo-je-m-ka bati-ta-ekin*

Child-DEF-M-ALL shout-DIR-IMP.NEG

‘Do not shout at the child.’

10.3.7.2 The Use of *-wase*

The morphemes *-wase* is suffixed to a verb to show a multi directional continuous motion. It shows an uninterrupted (repeated) movement done repeatedly here and there or back and forth. Consider the following examples.

Table 139. Examples of *-wase* Derived Frequentative Verb Stems

Verb	Gloss	Frequentative	Gloss
<i>apir</i>	fly	<i>apirwase</i>	‘fly here and there’
<i>gi</i>	‘move one’s shoulder’	<i>giwase</i>	‘swing back and forth’
<i>kokot</i>	‘beg’	<i>kokotwasw</i>	‘beg here and there’
<i>kɔl</i>	‘run’	<i>kɔlwase</i>	‘run here and there’

10.3.7.3 The Use of *-ndzi*

There is a type of derivation of special type that enables forming a motion verb from a dynamic action verbs and some other types of verbs. It involves suffixation of the morpheme *-ndzi* that shows an uninterrupted action done while walking or traveling. *-ndzi* derived verbs do not indicate the repetition of the action, rather they tell the continuity of the action while walking. If *-ndzi* is suffixed on a verb, the action the verb denotes is done continuously in a kind of locomotion like walking.

Table 140. Examples of *-ndzi* Dirived Verb Sems

Verb	Gloss	Frequentative	Gloss
<i>apo</i>	‘talk’	<i>apondzi</i>	‘go talking’
<i>bati</i>	‘cry for help’	<i>batindzi</i>	‘go crying’
<i>fika</i>	‘pull’	<i>fikandzi</i>	‘drag, go puling something’
<i>ta</i>	‘eat’	<i>tandzi</i>	‘travel eating’
<i>tuku</i>	‘push’	<i>tukundzi</i>	‘go pushing’

(614) *tʃuwa saŋ-ka t'a-ndz-e*
 fire forest-ACC eat-MOT-PST
 'Fire went burning the forest.'

(615) *ŋad-um-ak-ak tuket-ta dzoʔak dama-ndz* (Chabu005-Sp2-032)
 MED-M-ACC-AUX follow-DEST INTERJ be.long.MOT
 'Following that, it goes being long.'

(616) *mo-ndz-e tuket tuket-indz-e* (Chabu005-Sp2-041)
 live-MOT-PST follow follow-MOT-PST
 'Went living, went continuing.'

10.3.7.4 Derivation of Itive and Ventive Serial Motion Verbs

An itive verb expresses movement toward the speaker and a ventive verb expresses motion away from a deictic center speaker (Nicolle, 2007). The verbs *no* 'go' and *am* 'come' are the basic sources of itive and ventive verbs of Chabu; *am* 'come' always tells movement only towards the speaker; any movement towards any destination other than the speaker is *no* 'go'. The following example illustrates the case.

(617) *kukku-ka ge-t no-g*
 2MSG-ALL AUX-1SG go-FUT
 'I will come to you.' (Lit I will go to you.)'

"In languages that allow Serial Verb Constructions, come and go often occur to express direction/purpose" (Brandner and Salzmann, 2009, p. 81). Chabu is among the languages that allow serial verb construction and likewise, forms serial verbs that have directional orientation by using the verbs *no* 'go' and *am* 'come'. A serial verb with the verb *am* 'Come' tells that the movement is towards the speaker (deictic center 1) and a serial verb with *no* tells a movement away from the speaker or towards listener (deictic center 2) which is distant from the speaker. Thus, the verbs *no* 'go' and *am* 'come' are sources of itive and ventive serial verbs respectively. "Although itive and ventive markers are often derived from verbs meaning 'go' and 'come', they must be accompanied by a motion verb such as 'jump', 'move', 'throw' or 'drive'" (Nicolle, 2007, p. 59). Chabu also follows this strategy and forms itive and ventive serial verbs by combining *no* 'go' or *am* 'come' with other motion verbs.

(618) *bu saŋ takant-u bal am-e*
 leopard forest insid-FOC go.out come-PST
 ‘A leopard came out of the forest.’

10.4 Copula Constructions

In this section, we deal with Chabu copula construction. We will try to discuss present (tenseless), past and future copula clauses as well as negative and interrogative copular constructions. In Chabu, the way in which tense is shown in copula constructions is different from it appears in the other types of sentences discussed in the previous sections. Tense in copula constructions of the language shows only a three-way distinction: past, present and future. The copula is used for equation or identification, and locating: it asserts that the subject and copula complement are equative and/or identify the same referent or the subject is located at the place where the copula complement refers. In the following table, we present an overview of the elements that mark equitive, attributive, and locative expressions.

Table 141. Summary of Copulative Elements

Copula	Affirmative			Negative		
	Tense less	Past	Future	Present	Past	Future
Equative/ Attributive/ Locative	= <i>ke/ke</i> = <i>Ø</i> / <i>ji</i> <i>o ŋ</i> <i>otʃiʃa</i> <i>ojja</i> <i>otala</i> <i>odda</i>	<i>ge-kuss</i>	- <i>ge</i>	- <i>be</i>	- <i>be ge-kuss</i>	- <i>bege</i>

10.4.1 Present Copula Clauses.

Present / tense-less equative, attributive or locative copulative clauses are constructed in three different ways. The first type is constructed by using a copula element *ke*. The second type is formed by using third person pronouns as copulative element. The third type is constructed with the subject and the complement alone, without any overt copular element. In the affirmative, the copula subject and copula complement occur in S+C order (in most cases

(624) *dòtʃf àgí oŋg fondké ùfal gékùsse*" (Chabu007-Sp1-034)

dòtʃf-ʔa-gi oŋga-ka fom-d =ke afal ge-kuss
squat-CVB-AUX 3FSG-DAT tell-PL =COP fire AUX-STRONG.IMP
Having squatted, they shouted to her ‘please shoot.’

(625) *oŋŋo fom=ké ‘ifà bòn má àdàl bìn-béfà*’ (Chabu007-Sp1-043)

she.FOC tell=COP wait before this thunder JUS-pass
‘Wait, let the thunder stop first’ she responded.’

(626) *oŋg fond ke nasegekuŋ afalbemo* (Chabu007-Sp1-047)

oŋŋ-k fom-d ke nase-ge kuŋg afal-be-mo
3FSG.ACC tell-PL ?? why-AUX 2KSG fire-NEG-PROG
‘Why you are not firing?’ they asked her.’

(627) *oŋg fond ke ‘afal ge-kusse moha*’ (Chabu007-Sp1-042)

oŋŋ-k fom-d =ke afal ge-kusse moha
3FSG.ACC tell-PL ?? fire AUX-STRONG.IMP now
‘Shoot now!!!’ they told her.

/ke/ also occur with the verb of possession or existence, here it does not have a copulative function (see example (628)).

(628) *ho: kawoŋga ke* ‘Yes, she has a gun.’

ho: kawo janga =ke
yes gun have ??

10.4.1.2 Third Person Pronouns as Copulative Elements

Third person pronouns of Chabu are the main copula elements that help to construct copula clauses. These third person pronouns agree in number and gender with the subject noun but not in person. See the examples in the following table with *dirbi ufa* ‘hunter’ as copula predicate.

Table 142. Third Person Pronouns as Copulative Elements

Copula Constructions	Gloss
<i>ta dirbi ufa oṅṅ</i>	I (F) am hunter.
<i>tiṅṅ dirbi ufa ji</i>	I (M) am hunter.
<i>kungu dirbi ufa oṅṅ</i>	You (FSG) is hunter.
<i>kukku dirbi ufa ji</i>	You (MSG) is hunter.
<i>o ṅa dirbi ufa oṅṅ</i>	She is hunter.
<i>ji dirbi ufa ji</i>	He is hunter.
<i>ann dirbi ufa ojja</i>	We (FDU) are hunters.
<i>ant f dirbi ufa otṣṣa</i>	We (MDU) are hunters.
<i>sijaka dirbi ufa ojja</i>	You (FDU) are hunters.
<i>tṣṣaka dirbi ufa otṣṣa</i>	You are (MDU) hunters.
<i>ojja dirbi ufa ojja</i>	They (FDU) are hunters.
<i>otṣṣa dirbi ufa otṣṣa</i>	They (MDU) are hunters.
<i>janfu dirbi ufa odḁa</i>	We (FPL) are hunters.
<i>jiṅṅ dirbi ufa otala</i>	W (MPL) are hunters.
<i>subaka dirbi ufa odḁa</i>	You (FPL) are hunters.
<i>sitalaka dirbi ufa otala</i>	You (MPL) are hunters.
<i>odḁa dirbi ufa odḁa</i>	They (FPL) are hunters.
<i>otala dirbi ufa otala</i>	They (MPL) are hunters.

These third person pronouns do not occur only with human referents but also with referents of anything else ((629)-(632)). When a proper noun is used as a subject of copula clause, a pronoun that refers to the subject is inserted as a repeated subject ((633)). Nevertheless, when proper noun is a complement of the copula clause meaning in introducing names of individuals as the English ‘He is Kebede.’, in most instances the copulative pronoun is unavailable ((634)).

(629) Má kàni furò ji
 this(M) dog hunter COP.MSG
 ‘ This(M) dog is hunter.’

(630) iṅkà kàni furò oṅṅ
 this(F) dog hunter COP.FSG
 ‘This(F) dog is hunter.’

- (631) *t'à* *dàŋkà* *ji*
 food/eating good COP.MSG
 'Food or eating is good.'
- (632) *Má* *kuk-ke kossa* *ji*
 this(M) 2MSG-GEN mistake COP.MSG
 'This is your (own) mistake.'
- (633) *kidmael* *ju* *tʃabu ufa* *ji*
 Kidmael he.FOC Chabu person COP.MSG
 'Kidmael is Chabu.' Lit. 'Kidmael, he is Chabu.'
- (634) *onyo* *sadinat*
 she.FOC sadinet.
 'She is Sadinet'.

10.4.1.3 Copula Construction Without Copulative Elements

As mentioned above, most Chabu copulative clauses are constructed without any copulative element. In other words, copula sentences are verb less. Only the subject and the compliment appear as complete copulative sentence. In copula construction, the copula subject occurs preceding the copula complement. Most locational copula clauses are constructed without any copulative element (as in (637) and (638)).

- (635) *t'ŋke* *wongase* *tiŋŋ* *dawit*
 my name I(M) Dawit
 'my name is Dawit' or 'I am Dawit' Lit ' my name I Dawit'
- (636) *ju dirbi ufa*
ji-o *dirbi* *ufa*
 he-FOC hunter person 'He is hunter.'
- (637) *tiŋŋ-ke femo mehe.*
 1MSG-GEN cloth here
 Here is my cloth.

(638) *madama* *ɲa-k* *dɛt-mo-jem* *amb*
 here that-ACC want-PROG-REL thing
 Here are the things you are looking for.

10.4.2 Tense and Copulative Constructions

In Chabu, the way in which tense is shown in copula constructions is different from non-copula sentences. Copula constructions in the language simply show a three-way tense distinction: past, present and future. Present tense is unmarked, future tense is marked by the same future marker *-ge* which function the same in verbal sentence types and past tense in copula sentences is marked by the historic past markers *-kuss*. In most copula constructions, the copula subject occurs preceding the copula complement. Thus, the tense markers occur following the final component of the copula complement. Consider the following examples:

- (639)
- (a) *dʒabu* *dɛŋka-m* *ohase-ge*
 tomorrow good-M day-FUT
 ‘Tomorrow will be a bright/nice day.’
- (b) *mabif* *dɛŋka-m* *ohase*
 today good-M day
 ‘Today is bright day’
- (c) *dʒal* *dɛŋkam* *ohase-kuss*
 yesterday good-M day-PST
 ‘Yesterday was a bright day’
- (640)
- (a) *oŋŋo* *akimi-ge* ‘She will be a Doctor.’
 she.FOC doctor-FUT
- (b) *oŋŋo* *akimi (oŋŋ)* ‘She is a doctor.’
 she.FOC doctor 3FSG
- (c) *oŋŋo* *akim-kuss* ‘She was a doctor.’
 she.FOC doctor-PST

(641) *hadzum walatfit billa ḡadam wétfù* (Kuruch-17)
hadzi -e-m walat fe-ti billa ḡadam wet fi -o
 rear-REL-M time-ADES bit that all-FOC
 ‘What he reared, all those are biters.’

(642) *babeliku saḡi ufa gekuss ed* (Chabu001-003)
babe-liki-o saḡi-ufa ge-kuss ed
 father-MPL-FOC forest-person ***-PST ***
 ‘Our fathers were men of forest.’

(643) *kemoḡe mabef bedoku* (Chabu007-Sp1-061)
 history today until
 ‘This is a story until now.’

10.4.3 Negation and Copulative Constructions

In negative copula construction, the common verbal negative marker *-be* is suffixed to the final component of the copula complement.

(644) *ma kani-be* ‘This is not a dog.’
 this(M) dog-NEG

(645) *ju dirb-i ufa-be* ‘He is not a hunter.’
 he.FOC hunting-GEN person-NEG

(646) *kukku gani-be-ge kukk ope ufa.*
 you(MSg) rich-NEG-FUT you drunker person
 ‘You will not be rich, you are drunker.’

10.4.4 Interrogatives in Copula Sentences

Chabu copula interrogative sentences can be constructed by adding the interrogative element *-ne* on the declarative (both affirmative and negative) copula sentences. To construct affirmative interrogative copula, the base is the affirmative copula statement and for the negative interrogative, the base is the negative statement. If the interrogative is in an affirmative form, the answer is expected to be in negative form and vice-versa.

Table 143. Interrogatives in Copula Constructions

Base form	Interrogative	Response
<i>ju dirbi.ufa</i> he.FOC hunter 'He is a hunter'	<i>ju dirbi.ufa ne</i> he hunter INTR 'Is he a hunter?'	<i>dirbi.ufa be . Or i: dirbi.ufa ji</i> hunter NEG yes hunter COP is not a hunter Yes, he is a hunter.
<i>ma kani-be</i> this.M dog-NEG This is not a dog.	<i>ma kani bene</i> This.M dog NEG-INTR Is this not a dog?	<i>i: kani (ji)</i> yes dog COP Yes, it is a dog

10.5 Existential/ Possessive Verbs

Under this section, we briefly discuss existential and possessive predication. Chabu has two separate existential verbs. The one is the affirmative verb *janga* 'exist/ posses' and the other is the negative verb *debe* 'not exist/ not posses'. Both function as main verbs; however, the negative verb functions as perfect aspect marker as well. The affirmative existential clauses assert the presence of something but the negatives deny its existence or presence.

Although Anbessa (1991) discusses that *debe* may be a copula in present continuous tense, both the affirmative *janga* and the negative *debe* occur in three tenses like copula (state) constructions of the language. The present is unmarked, the past is marked with *-kuss* and the future with *-g(e)*. The following table summerises the paradigm of the verbs related to tense.

Table 144. Tense Paradigm in Existential Copula Construction

	Affirmative			Negative		
	Tense less	Past	Future	Non-past	Past	future
Existential/ Possessive	<i>janga</i>	<i>jangakuss</i>	<i>jangage</i>	<i>debe</i>	<i>debekuss</i>	<i>debege</i>

The following examples further illustrate the tense paradigm of the affirmative and negative existential verb tenses.

- (647) *dzalu kaba-ŋ tʃote-jero (ja)ngakuss saŋ takant-u*
 old.times many-F animal-VAR exist-PST forest inside-FOC
 'There were varieties of animals in the forest.'

- (648) *aha takant ufaŋga*
aha takant ufa janga
 home inside person exist
 ‘There is person in the house.’
- (649) *moho Chawi takantu hamab komoji ga ed*
moho Chawi takan –ti-o hamab komoj janga ed
 now Chabu.place in-ADES-FOC how.much clan exist ??
 ‘Now howmany clans do exist in Chabu?’
- (650) *ŋa janga ambuko silaka of ada*
ŋa janga ambu-ka-o silak-ka ada of
 that exist thing-ACC-FOC you(MPL)-DAT cook alone
 ‘Prepare that available thing for you alone.’
- (651) *tiŋŋ-kat kedeb tʃam janga.*
 1MSG-ADES a.few dollar exist
 ‘There is some money with me.’
- (652) *dzabu-to rakate janga-ge*
 tomorrow-also problem exist-FUT
 ‘Tomorrow also, there will be problem.’
- (653) *poŋ komo poŋ komo debe ge-kuss ed*
 up road up road absent AUX-PST ??
 ‘There were no roads here and there.’
- (654) *kaba-m ufo debe*
 many-M person absent
 ‘There are no many people.’
- (655) *akimi.doku debe*
 health.centre absent
 ‘There is no health center.’
- (656) *ma-k abalse tʃam debe*
 this-ACC buy money absent
 ‘There is no money to buy this.’

(657) *dzabu rakate debe-ge*
 tomorrow problem absent-FUT
 ‘There will not be problem tomorrow.’

The possessive clause also uses the verb *jan̄ga* ‘exist’ and *debe* ‘not exist’ with the possessed and possessor noun phrases. The verbs in the possessive clauses inflect in the same way they inflect in the existential clause and occur in three tenses; past ((658)), present ((659) and (660)) and future tenses ((661)).

(658) *umbato kawun̄gakuss ulto* (Chabu007-Sp1)
umba-ti-o kawo-jan̄ga-kuss ull-ti-o
 femal-ADES-FOC gun-exist male-ADES-FOC
 ‘Women also have gun, men as well.’ Lit. ‘There were gun with the women, with the men as well.’

(659) *tato kawon̄ga* (Chabu007-Sp1-012)
ta-ti-o kawo -jan̄ga
 1FSG-ADES-FOC gun-have
 ‘I also have gun.’ Lit. ‘There is gun with me.’

(660) *ho: kawo jan̄ga=ke* (Chabu007-Sp1-033 (respose for question))
 yes gun exist=??
 ‘Yes, (she) has a gun.’

(661) *dzabu tin̄n-ke kaba-n̄ tʃam jan̄ga-ge*
 tomorrow I(M)-GEN many-F birr have-FUT
 ‘Tomorrow I will have a lot of money.’

In possessive predication, the possessor NP occurs as the subject of the predicate and the possessum occurs as complement, but both are unmarked for case. The possessum always is the immediate precedent of the verb. The subject or possessor can be the first or the last component of the clause but it cannot appear between the possessum and the verb as in ((662) and (663) below). It seems that word order is strict to show the grammatical relation of the constituents of the possessive clauses.

(662) *ho: oηηo kawoηga* 'Yes, she has gun.'
yes she.FOC gun exist

Or

(663) *ho: kawoηga oηηo* 'Yes, she has gun.'
yes gun exist she.FOC

11 Syntax

This section presents a sketch of the syntax of Chabu. Overview of constituent ordering in main clause and different types of phrases are treated first. Then, the syntax of clauses is addressed. Finally, negative and interrogative clauses of the language are described in this chapter.

11.1 Constituent Order

Linguistic constructions above words level (especially clauses), are representations or linguistic expression of propositions in which human beings “mentally combine and manipulate concepts in chunks involving one or two conceptual entities and a relation, activity, or property concerning them” (Payne, 1997, p.71); thus, such linguistic constructions tend to consist of nouns and a predicating element, either a nominal/adjectival/stative element, or a verb. Languages order these constituents of constructions of propositional representations in varied ways. Under this subtopic we will describe briefly how Chabu orders these constituents in constructing phrases and clauses.

11.1.1 Main Clause

Although, it is difficult to determine the constituent order of unwritten languages from natural data full of sentences that contain neither emphasis nor afterthought (Ahland, 2012), the frequent word order of Chabu sentences observed is SV with intransitive verbs (as in the example ((664), (665) and (666)) and SOV with transitive verbs (as in (667) and (668)) as it is the case in most Ethiopian languages. Since Chabu is a post positional language, this goes in line with the observation of Greenberg (1963) that says the word order in post positional languages is SV or SOV. The following examples demonstrate the frequent word order of simple transitive and intransitive clauses.

(664) *oŋo* *dē-k* *am-e*
she:FOC PRF-AUX com-PST
'She has come.'

(665) *depe-e-m kɔll-e*
 lion-DEF-M run-PST
 ‘The lion ran.’

(666) *dimu ladi-ka gi-ŋ fu*
 rain summer-ALL AUX-PRS rain
 ‘Rain rains in the summer

(667) *tiŋ kuŋga git ott* ‘I love her.’
tiŋ kuŋg-ka gi-t ott/
 1MSG2 FSG-ACC AUX-1SG love

(668) *katʃfo ʃatʃale=woto Chawi kaw-k of gi-ŋ apo-d*
 half children=PL Chabu.place language-ACC alone AUX-PRS speak-2/3PL
 ‘Some of the children speak Chabu alone.’

As illustrated by the above examples, in most common Chabu sentences:

- Subjects precede their predicate verbs.
- Objects precede their predicate verbs.
- Subjects precede the object in the same clause

In bi-transitive sentences, frequently the indirect object precedes the direct object.

(669) *t imoti nikote-ka-k tawa-k apur-mbe*
 Timotiyos Nikote-DAT-AUX farm-ACC clear-BEN:PST
 ‘Timotiyos cleared a farm for Nikote.’

(670) *tiŋ-u kidmael-ka-k matʃʼafu-k gi-t abal-mbe*
 1MSG-FOC Kidmael-DAT-AUX book-ACC AUX-1SG buy-BEN:PST
 ‘I bought a book for kidmael.’

Although this SOV word order is the basic form in Chabu, it is not a ridged word order. Chabu allows considerable flexibility of ordering constituents. Perhaps this is because of the rich morphological case marking system of the language. With the exception of the nominative, most basic constituents are morphologically marked for case. The following pairs of examples illustrate the flexible constituent ordering of Chabu sentences.

- (671) *dɛpɛ* *ufa-ka-k* *ka-je/* S O V
lion person-ACC-AUX kill-PST/
OR
ufa-ka-k *dɛpɛ* *ka-je* OSV
person-ACC-AUX lion kill-PST
‘Lion killed a person.’
- (672) *tinsael* *gum-k* *kibebe-ka-k* *ham-e* / S O₁ O₂ V
Tinsael stick-ACC Kibebe-DAT-AUX give-PST
OR
kibebe-ka *tinsael* *gum-ka-k* *ham-e* O₁ S O₂ V
Kibebe-DAT Tinsael waking.stick-ACC-AUX give-PST
‘Tinsael gave Kibebe a walking stick.’
- (673) *miti-ka* *kondo-ku-k* *ata-we* S(O) I V
yam-ACC pot-INS-AUX cook-PSIV.PST
OR
kondo-ku-k *miti-ka* *ata-we* I S(O) V
pot-INS-AUX yam-ACC cook-PASS.PST
‘Yam is boiled in a pot.’
- (674) *oha* *ohe.balamse-ka* *gi-ŋ* *balʔam* S AD AUX V
sun east-ALL AUX-PRS come.out
OR
ohe.balamse-ka *gi-ŋ* *oha* *palʔam* ADV AUX S V
east-ALL AUX-PRS sun come.out
‘The sun rises in the east’
- (675) *ladi-ka* *gi* *dimu-ŋ* *fu*
summer-ALL AUX rain-PRS rain
‘In the summer rain rains.’

As illustrated by the above examples, the order of a subject, a direct object, an indirect object and an instrumental noun phrases flexibly alter in Chabu. In addition, the clause-level elements of adverbials and auxiliaries seem freely move between the verb and the nominal

elements. It is not only the order of the noun phrases of various functions that alter, but also verbs can be positioned in places that verbs of SOV languages would not be expected. The following examples illustrate this fact.

(676) *oŋg fondke ufo* (Chabu007-Sp1)

oŋa-ka fom-d-ke ufa-o
 she-DAT tell-2/3PL- ?? person-FOC
 ‘Persons (contextually the men) told her.’

(677) *bera-kan koll-e godo* (Chabu007-Sp1)

smell- ADV run-PST elephant.NOM:FOC
 ‘The elephants run smelling and roaring.’

(678) *saŋka baladenfiko no?a jed gode kimbaseka* (Chabu007-Sp1)

saŋ-ka bala-d-e-ŋ-fik-o no-?a je-d godo-e kimbase-ka
 forest-ALL go-PL-REL-F-SUBO-FOC go-CVB see.PL elephant-GEN track-ACC
 ‘When they travel to the forest they go and see track of elephant.’

In example (675) the adverb and the auxiliary preceded the subject while the verb follows it. In (676) the verb moved left and preceded the direct object; in (677) the subject left its left most position and went to the right most position where we expect the verb and the verb preceded the subject; in (678) the object of the main clause became the final element of the construction preceded by the verb. Therefore, it seems that every ordering of S, O and V could be possible at least in casual speech.

We can explain Chabu’s flexibility as a result of the rich case marking system it employs that tells the grammatical relation which makes the constituent ordering less relevant concerning denoting relations. However, as Payne (1997) discusses the order of constituents in flexible constituent order languages is governed by principles other than grammatical relations such as pragmatic factors. Therefore, probably the situation of Chabu flexibility could be also explained by factors other than grammatical relations such as pragmatics. However, such issue requires further investigation.

11.1.2 Noun Phrase

Noun phrase in Chabu can be composed of a head noun alone or a head noun plus determiners (as in (679), (680), and (683)), attributive adjectives (as in (680) and (681)), genitives (as in (679), (682), (683) and (684)), numerals (as in (685)), or/and relative clauses (as in (686), (687) and (688) below).

(679) *ɲadɪŋ koto sadok-ke umba oŋ*
 Distal.F.SG girl Sadok'-GEN wife 3FSG
 'That (near the hearer) young woman is Sadok's wife.'

(680) *ma mati-m dok'u nafe-ke?*
 PROX.M.SG big-M house who-GEN
 'Whose is this big house?'

(681) *mat-e-m konna de-k fu-je*
 big-DEF-M tree PRF-AUX fall-PST
 'The big tree has fallen.'

(682) *attene-ke bake de-k set'a-we*
 Attene-GEN spear PRF-AUX break-PAS.PST
 'Attene's spear has been broken.'

(683) *depemsike batika git etf'ate*
depe-e-m-sike bat-ka gi-t et f'at-e
 lion-DEF-M-GEN roar-ACC AUX-1SG hear-PST
 'I heard the roar of the lion.'

(684) *t'uro dzahi tin-ke jaŋga.*
t'uro-e dzahi tin-ke jaŋga.
 Metal-GEN jar 1MSG-GEN exist
 'I have metal jar.' (Lit : My metal jar exists.)'

(685) *babufe=watto am-tf-e*
 two person=PL come-MDU-PST
 'Two persons are coming.'

(686) *k ìti bos-bosu-m ufa jaŋga ed*
 ear wide-REDUP-M person exist ??
 ‘There was a person with very wide ears.’

(687) *bu ka-je-m ufa debe-k am-e*
 leopard kill-REL.M person PRF-AUX come-PST
 ‘The man who killed a leopard has come.’

(688) *aha takan-t jaŋg-e-m kani nafe-ke*
 home under/in-ALL exist-REL-M dog who-GEN
 ‘Whose is the dog inside the house?’

As can be observed from the above examples, the order of head nouns and other constituents of the noun phrase that modify the head noun is strict in that the modifiers (except the bound definite article *-e* precede the head noun; all the demonstratives, the numerals, the possessive nouns, the adjectives and relative clauses are always positioned preceding the head noun. Reversing this order leads to an ungrammatical structure. In example (684), the noun is situated before the adjective in the modifying copula clause. However, this does not violate our observation that the modifier precedes the head. In this example the adjective does not function as attributive modifier, rather it functions as the complement of the embedded copula clause */ufake kiti bosbosi/* ‘the man’s ear is very wide’. Thus, the subject of the main clause is modified by the relativized nominal clause and this goes in line with our assumption that modifiers in Chabu noun phrase always precede the head.

It can be also noted from examples ((679), (680) and (681) above) that whether the noun is definite or indefinite, the adjectives that modify the head noun (excepting numerals) are always marked for gender. The gender markers *-ŋ* ‘feminine’ and *-m* ‘masculine’ are suffixed to the adjectives that serve as modifier in noun phrases based on the gender of the referent (as in (681) above and (694) and (694) below).

As examples (682) and (683) illustrate, the nominal that expresses a possessor precedes the possessum.

The definite article *-e* is suffixed to the left most component of the noun phrase other than demonstrative pronouns (see examples (681) and **Error! Reference source not found.**). If the head noun is the only component of the phrase, the definite marker is suffixed to the head noun itself as in (689) and (690).

(689) *kan-e-η-ojja* *gi-η* *boka-mo-j*
 dog -DEF-F-FDU AUX-PRS bark-PROG-FDU
 ‘The two female dog are barking.’

(690) *t fo-je-m* *dē-k* *t ’oll-e*
 Child-DEF-M PRF-AUX sleep-PST
 ‘The Child has slept.’

Unless cardinal numbers or other quantifiers modify the head, the preferred position of number markers (except the plural marker =*wotto* and variety marker =*jero*) is the left most component of the phrase (as in (691)(a), (692)(a) and (693)). When cardinal numbers or quantifiers are used as modifiers, the number markers are optionally suffixed to the head noun (as in (691)(b), (692)(b) and (694)). The number marker =*wotto* and variety marker =*jero* are always suffixed to the head noun (695). When *bab* ‘two’ is used as modifier of a head noun, the optional number agreement marker on the head is the plural marker =*wotto* instead of the dual markers =*òjjà* ‘FDU’ and =*òtftfà* ‘MDU’. See the following examples.

(691)
 (a) *mati-m-otftfa* *ufa* *am-tf-e*
 big-M-MDU person come-DU-PST
 OR.
 (b) *bab mati-m* *ufe (=wotto)* *am-tf-e*
 two big-M person =PL come-PST
 ‘Two big men came.’

(692)
 (a) *mati-m=otala* *ufa* *am-d-e*
 big-M=PL person come-PL-PST
 ‘Big men came.’

(b) *kaba-m* *mati-m ufe(=wotto)* *am-d-e*
 many-M big-M person(=PL) come-PL-PST
 ‘Many big men came.’

(693) *onyo* *k'ond-e-m-otfifa* *gutare-ka-k* *akimi-je*
 she.FOC sick-DEF-M-MDU old.person-ACC-AUX medicate- PST
 ‘She medicated the two sick old men.’

(694) *bab-e-m* *k'ondu-m* *gutare(=watto)* *hospitali-ka* *ge-no-tfifi-g*
 two-DEF-M sick-M old.person(=PL) hospital-ACC AUX-go-MDU-FUT
 ‘The two sick old men will go to hospital.’

(695) *budz-e-m* *ufe=watto-k* *gi-d-e*.
 angry-DEF-M person=PL-AUX fight-PL-PST
 ‘The angry men fought each other.’

When a sequence of adjectives occurs in the same NP, a quantifier adjective precedes manner, size, and other type of adjectives. The order of adjectives other than the quantifiers does not seem to be restricted.

(696) *kaba-m* *mati-mati-m* *k'onne=watto* *de-k* *fu-d-e*
 many-M big-big-M tre=PL PRF-AUX fall-PL-PST
 ‘Many very big trees have been fallen.’

(697) *tfar-e-η* *furo-η* *kani=òddà* *gongodzi-ka-k* *utuk-d-e*
 red-DEF-F hunter-F dog=FPL warhog-ACC-AUX catch-PL-PST
 ‘The red hunter (female) dogs caught a warhog.’

OR

(698) *fur-e-m* *tfara-m* *kani=watto* *gongodzi-ka-k* *utuk-d-e*
 hunter-DEF-M red -M dog=FPL warhog-ACC-AUX catch-PL-PST
 ‘The red hunter (male) dogs caught a warhog.’

11.1.3 Verb Phrase

A verb phrase is a phrase headed by a verb. A verb phrase can comprise a head verb and other constituents. The head verb is the mandatory component of the verb phrase and the type and

number of other constituents depends on the nature of the verb. The following examples illustrate some of Chabu verb phrase structures.

- (699) *am* ! 'come'
- (700) *tiŋ gi-t am-e* 'I came.'
 I(M) AUX-1SG come-PST
- (701) *dʒodʒ am-d.* 'Come fast!'
 fast come-PL
- (702) *depe-e-m ji ufa-k ka-je*
 lion-DEF-M he person-ACC kill-PST
 'The lion killed the/that person.'
- (703) *timotiwos bu-k kambo-ku-k utuk-e*
 Timotiwos leopard-ACC trap-INS-AUX take-PST
 'Timotiwos caught a leopard with a hunting trap.'
- (704) *adisajel sadinat-ka-k femo-k abal-mb-e*
 Addisael Sadinet-DAT-AUX cloth-ACC buy-BEN-PST
 Addisael bought cloth for Sadinet.
- (705) *kunɡu dʒab tʃiŋka gifor-ka ge-k no-g*
 2FSG tomorrow early.morning Gifor-ABL AUX-2 go-FUT
 'You will go to Gifor tomorrow in the morning.'

The above examples illustrate some of the different kinds of verb phrases in Chabu. In some cases, the verb phrase is composed of only the head verb (as in (699)). In other cases, it may include an auxiliary (as in (700)) or/and a noun phrase (as in (702), (703) and (704)) or/and an adverb (as in (701) and (705)) besides the verb.

Chabu auxiliary *gi/ge* hosts the present tense suffix *-ŋ*, the imperfect and perfect aspect markers *inda-* 'IMPER' and *de(be)-* 'PRF' and some person agreement markers of a subject in declarative sentences. The present tense marker *-ŋ*, the first person singular marker *-t* and the second person marker *-kk* are suffixed to the auxiliary. The two aspect markers *inda-* 'IMPER' and *de(be)-* 'PRF' are prefixed to the auxiliary.

The third person subjects are unmarked for person agreement in Chabu verb clauses and the markers for first person dual and plural subjects are affixed to the main verb. If the present tense marker or the person markers that could be suffixed onto the auxiliary are absent, the auxiliary in most cases drops its vocalic component and becomes devoiced. Then it moves left and enclisised to one of the noun phrases in the clause including the agent or subject outside the verb phrase (see examples (700) and **Error! Reference source not found.**).

Since these elements appear in verb-phrases of declarative sentences to host some of the verbal inflectional forms and they are distinct from the verbs that express the main lexical content, we called them “auxiliary”. See (Payne, 1997, p. 85) on the details.

11.1.4 Postpositional Phrase (or Locative Noun Phrases)

In its addposition usage, Chabu prefers postpositions to preposition. Thus, Chabu prepositional phrase is a right headed phrase. Tentatively, we postulate that Chabu has postpositional phrases that serve only as place adverbs that tell relative position. This is because the postpositions we attested are location and direction oriented forms derived from nouns inflected for location with locative case marked suffix *-ti*. These are *pon* ‘on’, *takant* ‘under/in’ and *funfet* ‘under (tree or mountain)’. See the following list of derived postpositions and their source nouns

Table 145. Derivation of Prepositions

Noun	Derived postposition	Gloss
<i>pon</i> ‘top’	<i>pon-ti</i>	‘on’
<i>takay</i> ‘bottom’	<i>takan-ti</i>	‘under or in (fence compound)’
<i>funfe</i> ‘buttock’	<i>funfe-ti</i>	‘under (tree or mountain)’

It is not as such clear whether these forms are proper postpositions or nouns inflected for locative cases that function as locative postpositions. This ambiguity is not unexpected because grammatical case marking and use of addposition are “two categories [that] describe extremes of a continuum” (Payne, 1997, p. 100) and addpositions can be derived from nouns (ibid (p. 87)). However, here, they are presented as postpositions and the discussion or description of postpositional phrases proceeds based on this assumption.

Since Chabu is a case marking language, most constituent relations are marked by the use of grammatical case markers and it seems that the use of ad positions is limited to marking relative positions.

The postpositional phrases precede the verb in the same clause. The following are examples of the postpositional phrases in some contexts.

(706) *k'on-e-m ponti heleti-ŋga*
 tree-DEF-M on bird-exist
 'There is bird on the tree.'

(707) *t'arabeza takanti e:t*
 table under put
 'Put under the table.'

(708) *bu-je-m-o saŋ takanti-k am-e*
 leopard-DEF-M-FOC forest under/in-ELL come-PST
 'The leopard came out of the forest.'

(709) *k'ondo set gaʔam*
 pot in take.out
 'Take out from a pot.'

(710) *ufe-nda kon-e-m funfeti hopu-d-mo*
 person-FPL tree-DEF-M under rest-2/3PL-PROG
 'Women/people are resting under the tree.'

11.1.5 Comparative Constructions

Comparatives are constructions in which two items are compared based on some kind of quality. Chabu forms comparative constructions by the help of the source/ablative case marker *-ti* suffixed to the standard noun against which the subject of the clause is compared. The following are examples of a comparative clause.

(711) *tfojeŋak latendi gure*
tfo-je-ŋ-ak lati-e-ŋ-ti gure
 child -DEF-F-AUX mother-DEF-F-ABL fast
 ‘The girl is faster than her mother (or the mother).’

(712) *jer-ti dzifor-g tfund(i)*
 Yeri- ABL Gifor-AUX wide
 ‘Gifor is narrower than Yeri.’

(713) *itobija takanti gabjio-ti adisaba-k bos(i)*
 Ethiopia in towns-ABL Addis.Ababa-AUX wide
 ‘Addis Ababa is the widest of all the towns in Ethiopia.’

(714) *dzifor-i ufa-ti attene gutare-mo*
 Gifor-GEN person-ABL Attene old-PROG
 ‘Attene is the oldest man from the residents of Gifor.’

According to Payne (1997), the crucial elements of comparative construction are standard, marker and quality besides the subject. Standard is a noun phrase against which the subject of the clause is compared; marker is a special particle or an affix that signals that the clause is a comparative construction; and quality is an adjective by which the subject is compared with the standard (Payne, 1997, pp. 88-89).

As can be observed from the above examples, the ablative marker *-ti*, suffixed to the standard or object of comparison is the marker that signals Chabu comparison clause. The auxiliary in such comparative clause is suffixed to the subject of comparison not to the standard or object noun phrase. The quality of comparison is expressed by an adjective and this goes in line with Payne’s argument. However, it is also possible to consider the units that express the quality of comparison in the above Chabu comparison clauses as inchoative verbs (as it is the case in Amharic). In fact, Amharic uses two different structures; the first is when it uses the adjectives as quality element, it uses the verb to be in addition to the adjective, and the second when it uses the inchoative verbs it uses the future tense to express the present state comparison. But, in Chabu the same phonological form is analyzed as two different grammatical forms. Therefore, all the above examples can be analyzed as verbal clauses with

inchoative verb or verb less adjectival clauses. Therefore, the following English translation could be taken as alternative literal translations of the above examples. (Some of the English translations are problematic because, some of the adjectives have no inchoative verbal counterparts as presented here and the English simple present tense does not function to signal comparison.)

- (Ex.(711)) The girl fasts* than her mother (the mother).
 (Ex.(712)) Gifor narrows* than Yeri.
 (Ex.(713)) Addis Ababa widens* than the towns of Ethiopia.
 (Ex.(714)) Among residents of Gifor Attene is olding*.

The order of the subject and the standard is flexible. For the standard is marked with the source marker *-ti*, the alteration of the order does not bring any grammatical or semantic difference. Nevertheless, the quality adjectives or inchoative verbs are obligatorily the final elements of the clause.

However, both the relative order of the subject and the standard and the use of adjectives as the only units of quality expression seem to be strict in positive comparison clauses. See the following examples:

(715) *kebede dawiti-k mab uluwe (ji)*
 Kebede Dawit-ACC like brave 3MSG
 ‘Kebede is brave like (as brave as) Dawit.’

(716) *tfo-je-m mati-ke-k mab dama (ji)*
 child-DEF-M father-GEN-ACC like long 3MSG
 ‘The boy is tall like his father (as tall as his father).’

As illustrated in the above examples, positive comparison clause is formed by the help of comparison particle *mab* ‘like’. In addition, the noun phrase that serves as an object or standard of comparison is marked with the accusative marker *-k(a)*. In constituent ordering, the subject of the clause precedes the object or standard which is followed by the comparison particle *mab* and then by the quality adjective. Third person pronouns can optionally serve as copulative element in such positive comparison clause.

11.2 The Syntax of Clauses

Under this topic, different kinds of Chabu clauses (simple and complex) are briefly described.

11.2.1 Nominal Clauses

11.2.1.1 Predicate Nominal And Related Clauses

In this section we discuss about copula clauses that express the notions of proper inclusion and equation as well as nominal clauses in affirmative and negative constructions.

Payne (1997) notes that predicate nominal clauses are clauses that express the notions of proper inclusion and equation and he defines the two notions (proper inclusion and equation) as follows:

Proper inclusion is when a specific entity is asserted to be among the class of items specified in the nominal predicate.... Usually the subject of a predicate nominal clause indicating proper inclusion is specific ..., and the nominal predicate is non-specific.

Equative clauses are those which assert that a particular entity (the subject of the clause) is identical to the entity specified in the predicate nominal.... Most languages make no grammatical distinction between proper inclusion and equative clauses, though they may' (Payne, 1997, p. 114).

Chabu is among the languages which allow verbless copula construction. However, Chabu is not among the languages that completely lack copula elements. It is in an intermediate position because it allows a nominal clause construction without an overt copula element in some conditions and it requires an overt copula element in other conditions. The common condition that languages make a split between constructions with overt copula element and those lacking it is based on present and nonpresent tense distinction (Stassen, 2011). Chabu follows this strategy of splitting by using the auxiliary *ge* in nonpresent copulative clause. However, missing the copula element in the present tense is not consistent. It optionally uses the third person pronouns as copulative elements in present predicative nominal clauses.

Chabu constructs three types of predicative nominals. The first type is constructed without any copulative element. The tenseless (present) predicate nominals in Chabu can be

constructed without copulative element and Chabu proper inclusion and equative clauses in the present tense can be constructed with a subject (patient of state) and a predicate noun (phrase) or an adjective alone (see the examples in (717), (718), (719) and (721)a). Some present predicative nominal clauses are also constructed by using the third person pronouns (“**pro-copula**”) as copulative element or “as linker between subject and predicate nominal” (Stassen, 2011, Types of copular items section, para. 1) as in (720) and (721)b. The occurrence of the third person pronouns seems obligatory when the subject is focused.

(717) *t'á dɔŋka*
 food good
 ‘Food/eating is good.’

(718) *ma kuk-ke kossa*
 PROX.M 2SGM-GEN bad
 ‘This is your own mistake’

(719) *inka penise dʒari-kus-e-m-sike digoj*
 Prox.F speech old.times-RPST-REL-M-GEN greeting
 ‘This speech is of the old times greeting.’

(720) *inka kani furo oŋ*
 PROX.F dog hunter 3SGF
 ‘This(F) dog is a hunter.’

(721)

(a) *ji ul:uwe*
 he brave
 or

(b) *ju ullwe ji*
 he.FOC brave 3MSG
 ‘He is brave/ showy.’

Tensed (non present) Chabu predicative nominal clauses are formed by the help of the auxiliary *-ge* suffixed to a predicate noun phrase or an adjective. In the past tense, in addition to the auxiliary *-ge*, the remote past marker of action verbs *-kus* is suffixed to the auxiliary as

past tense marker. For proper inclusion and equation are states that can be explained in present, past and future alone, and the tenses in copulative sentences are only future, present, and past. There is no progressive aspect and further distinction in the past time reference.

(722) *dzabu* *dan̄ka-m* *ohase-ge*
 tomorrow good-M day-COP
 ‘Tomorrow will be a bright day.’

(723) *mabif* *dan̄ka-m* *ohase-Ø*
 today good-M day-PRS
 ‘Today is a bright day.’

(724) *dzal* *dankam* *ohase-ge-kus*
 today good-M day-COP-PST
 ‘Yesterday was a bright day.’

Negative predicative clauses are formed by suffixing the negative marker *-be* on the predicative element. The negative marker is suffixed directly to the head of the predicative noun phrase or the adjective. Consider the following examples:

(725) *ju* *polisi-be-ge*
 he:FOC police-NEG-COP
 ‘He will not be a police.’

(726) *ju* *polisi-be* *ji*
 he:FOC police-NEG 3MSG
 ‘He is not a police.’

(727) *ju* *polisi-be-ge-kus*
 he: police-NEG-COP-PST
 ‘He was not a police.’

Chabu predicate adjectives (attributive clauses) and location clauses follow the same principle as predicate nominals of the language. The following are illustrative examples.

(728) *ma* *t f'ò* *dama* (*ji*)
 this(M) child tall (3MSG)
 ‘This (M) child is tall.’

(729) *tiŋ-ke dɔk ù bosì gekus*
 1MSG-GEN house wide COP.PST
 ‘My house was wide.’

(730) *otalo konne funfeti*
 3MPL:FOC tree under
 ‘They are under the tree.’

(731) *matʃaf-e-m-o tarabeza ponti*
 book-DEF-M-FOC table on
 ‘The book is on a table.’

11.2.1.2 Existential and Possessive Nominal Clauses

Existential and possessive nominal clauses are formed with an existential copulative verb *jaŋga* ‘exist’. In all tenses of existential and possessive nominal clause constructions the occurrence of the copula is obligatory. If the copula is missing, the construction becomes ungrammatical. Tensed existential or possessive clauses are marked in the same way as tensed predicative nominal clauses are marked except for the absence of the auxiliary *ge* in the existential or possessive past tense.

(732) *aha set ufa jaŋga*
 home inside person exist
 ‘There is a person in the house.’

(733) *jeri-ti dɪmu jaŋga-kuss*
 Yeri-ADES rain exist-PST
 ‘There was rain at Yeri.’

(734) *dzabu tadʒan jaŋga-ge*
 tomorrow local_beer exist-COP
 ‘There will be local beer tomorrow.’

The possessive nominal clause is constructed by using the existential verb *jaŋga* in different way than the existential clause. In possessive clause, the possessed noun modified by the

possessor marked with a genitive case marker suffix *-ke* stands as the subject of the existential verb.

(735) *onje tf'am janga*
 she :GEN dollar/birr exist.
 'She has money. (Lit : Her birr exists.)'

(736) *adisajel-ke umba-η tf'o janga*
 Addisael-GEN female-F child exist
 'Addisael has a female child. (Lit. Addisael's female child exists.)'

As already been discussed in Chapter 10 above, negative existential and possessive nominal clauses are formed by using a different negative existential verb *dēbe* 'absent' in the place of *janga* 'exist'. Except for the change of the verb, the negative existential clause is formed in the same way as its affirmative counterpart is formed. Tenses are also marked in the same way in the affirmative and the negative constructions.

(737) *aha takanti ufa dēbe*
 home inside person absent
 'There is no person in the house.'

(738) *tiη-ke tf'am dēbe*
 1MSG-GEN dollar absent
 'I do not have money. (Litt My money is absent.)'

11.2.1.3 Clauses of Becoming

Clauses of "becoming X" are constructed by using inchoative verbs. As discussed in 9.1.1, all Chabu adjectives have verbal counterparts. In constructions where change of a subject to a different state (Y is becoming X) is expressed, and if X is an adjective, inchoative verbs that have the same segmental structure with their adjectival counterparts serve in explaining the change without any adjectival predicate. The inchoative verbs take tense and aspect markers in the same way as the action verbs of the language do. We use verbless sentences when we talk of the state of the subject and we use the inchoative verbs when we talk of the changing of a state (becoming Adjective).

(739) tʃ'o-je-m-sike sise wɔn dʌtʃtʃa-je.
 Child-DEF-M-GEN body skin become_white-PST
 'The child's skin became white.'

(740) dzemanaf adʌ-je-m ŋilan dɛ-k gid-e
 Jemanash cook-REL-M porridge PRF-AUX be_sweet-PST
 'The porridge Jemanash cooked has been sweet.'

Some of Chabu nouns do not have corresponding inchoative verbs. If the state to be changed in to is among the nominal category represented by such nouns, a special copulative verb *tuna* 'become' is used to form a becoming clause. Some Omotic languages use this *tuna* as an inchoative verb of becoming (Hellenthal, 2010) and in the case of Chabu, it could be a borrowing.

(741) *kidmael-k* *k'bele-e-m-sike* *fumi* *tune*
 Kidmael-AUX kebele-DEF-M-GEN Chairman become:PST
 'Kidmael became chairman of the kebele.'

11.2.2 Multi-clause Constructions

As Payne (2006) discusses every language combines basic clauses to form more complex structures in different ways. In this section we will discuss serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, converbs, relative clauses, and coordination construction types that involve combinations of clauses as manifested in Chabu language.

11.2.2.1 Serial Verbs

"A serial verb construction contains two or more verb roots neither that are compounded ...nor members of separate clauses." (Payne, 2006, p. 288). Serial verbs express various faces of one complex event. According to Payne, the difference of a prototypical serial verb from a coordinate clause construction is that in serial verb construction:

1. There is only one subject.
2. The tense/aspect marking is done only on one verb.
3. The intonation is characteristic of a single clause. (Payne, 2006, p. 289)

Chabu exhibit serial verbs that fulfill the criteria discussed by Payne. Most of them are formed using a movement verb as first component and the verbs **am** ‘come’ or **no** ‘go’ as a second component of the serial.

- (742) *bala* ‘exit’ + *am* ‘come’ → *bala am* ‘come out’
bala ‘exit’ + *no* ‘go’ → *bala no* ‘go out’
bala ‘exit’ + *kɔr* ‘finished’ → *bala kɔr* ‘all dead’
kɔll ‘run’ + *am* ‘come’ → *kɔll am* ‘flow’
abi ‘reach’ + *am* ‘come’ → *abi am* ‘(come) reach’
sapa ‘descend’ + *am* ‘come’ → *sapa am* ‘descend’ towards the speaker

The following examples illustrate Chabu serial verb constructions.

- (743) *oŋ-o* *doku-ti-g* *bala am-e*
she-FOC house-ELL-AUX **exit come-PST**
‘She came out of a house (towards the speaker who is outside the house.)’

- (744) *ju* *aha* *seti-g* *bala no-e*
He:FOC home insid-ELL **exit go-PST.**
‘He went out of the house (away from the speaker who is in the house.)’

- (745) *kopa* *konna* *ponti-ti-g* *sapa am-e*
ape tree on-ELL-AUX **descend come-PST**
‘The ape descended from a tree (down towards the speaker).’

- (746) *noʔa-k* *abal* *am-e*
go-CVB-AUX **buy** **come-PST**
‘He went bought and came’

- (747) *baj-e-m* *doku* *ponti-ka-k* *gera* *no-mo-je*
Monkey-DEF-M house on-ALL-AUX **ascend** **go-PROG-PST**
‘The monkey was ascending on top of the house (away from the ground where the speaker was).’

(748) *tiŋ abi ʔam-sik ju t`a-j ambu-ka t`a-mo-j(e).*
 1MSG reach come-ADV he.FOC food-LINK thing-ACC eat-PROG-PST
 ‘When I arrived, he was eating some food.’

(749) *ta-wo ma no-ʔa ka-mo-d-e-m ambu-k-o*
 1FSG-FOC this.M go-CVB kill-PROG-PL-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC

no-ʔa ka am-ʔa-ge inkitt appe-mo-ge (Chabu007-Sp1-013)

go-CVB kill come-CVB-AUX together 1PL-sit-FUT

‘I also will go and kill the thing which they go and kill and come and sit together.’

(750) *igo:m- aʔ-ge no je-di-ku mehe kitta-s godo* (Chabu001-SP1-026)

follow-CVB-AUX go see-PL-T.ADV here stand-MPL.PRES elephant

‘When they go and see, the elephants have stood there.’

In the above examples, there is only one subject in each clause. In addition, tense, aspect and number markers are suffixed to only the second verb in the clause. In fact there is a helping auxiliary that precedes the first verb which hosts some person, tense and aspect markers. However, the auxiliary and the markers attached to the auxiliary do not repeat themselves before the second verb.

As can be seen from the above examples, most Chabu serial verb constructions place the two verbs that constitute the serial in successive, adjacent position as compounded entities.

The negative Chabu serial verbs are formed with the negative marker *-be* suffixed to the second verb. Example follows.

(751) *moha bedoko abal am-be-ge:*
 now until buy come-NEG-PST

‘S/he did not come buying until now.’

11.2.2.2 Complement Clause

Chabu forms complement clauses that serve as a subject (as in (752) and (753)) or as an object (as in (754), (755), (756), (757), (758), (759), and (760)) argument of another verb of the main (matrix) clause. Main (matrix) clause according to Payne is “a clause that has another clause (a complement clause) as one of its core arguments” (2006, p. 291). Only infinite verbs, especially infinitives serve as head of complement clauses in both subject and object position and the object complement phrase is marked with the accusative marker *-ka*. An embedded object of the complement clause is also marked for accusative case as in (757).

(752) *t'a* *daŋka*
eat.INF good
'Eating is good'

(753) *boŋtʃ'a-m* *ha-k* *t'a* *kossa*
rotten-M meat-ACC eat bad
'Eating rotten meat is bad.'

(754) *tepi no-ka* *tiŋ* *dɛt*
Tepi go-ACC 1MSG wish
'I want to go to Tepi.'

(755) *doki* *dok'u-ka-k* *ji inun-be*
house build-ACC-AUX he think-NEG
'He does not think to build a house.'

(756) *koma-ti* *file* *fila* *daŋka-be*
road -LOC urine urinate good-NEG
'Urinating/to urinate on a road is not good'

(757) *kuk-ak* *je-ka* *gi-t* *dɛt*
you(MSG)-ACC see-ACC AUX-1SG wish
'I want to see you.'

(758) *dirbu-ka-k saŋ-k no-je*
 hunt-ACC-AUX forest-ALL go-PST
 ‘He went to the forest for hunting.’

(759) *maŋka momo-k-o tiŋ dɛtu-b*
 here live-ACC-FOC I.M wish-NEG
 ‘I do not like living here.’

(760) *iŋkum iŋkum bartfumti moka dɛtmode* (Egedigan Sp- 07)
iŋku-m iŋkiu-m bertfum-ti mo-ka dɛt-mo-d-e
 one-M one-M chair-ADES sit-ACC desire-PROG-2/3PL-PST
 ‘They were eager to hold the one and only chair (position).’

11.2.2.3 Relative Clause

Chabu does not use a free relative pronoun in constructing relative clause. Relative clause in the language is marked with the forms *-eŋ* ‘feminine’ or *-em* ‘masculine’ suffixed to the relative verb in agreement with the gender of the relativised head noun. However, as *-ŋ* ‘feminine’ and *-m* ‘masculine’ are gender markers that are suffixed to most noun modifiers, we can argue that the relativizer morpheme is similar with definiteness marker morpheme which is *-e*. In fact, it is always followed by *-ŋ* ‘feminine’ or *-m* ‘masculine’ in agreement with the gender of the head noun. Gender of a relativized noun is obligatorily marked on the relative verb. Using *-e* as a relativizer particle is a feature of some Omotic languages like Haro (Woldemariam, 2004, p. 102).

Chabu relative clause serves as noun modifier in a noun phrase. When serving attributively, the relative clause always precedes its head noun. The following are illustrative examples:

(761) *tawoka oŋgat apurmben umbo dɛk koje*
tawo-ka oŋŋa-ka-t apur-mba-e-ŋ umba-o dɛ-k k’o-je
 farm-ACC she-DAT-1SG clear-BEN-REL-F woman-FOC PRF-AUX die-PST
 ‘The woman for whom I cleared a farm has died.’

(762) *ŋadama ŋa-k dɛt-mo-e-m ambu-ka* (Chabu007-Sp1-020)
 there that-ACC look.for-PROG-REL-M thing-ACC

‘There is the thing that you are looking for.’

(763) *k'atfɔ tɔfatɔle apo-mo-d-e-m-o tɔʔawi kaw-ku of*
half children peak-PROG-PL-REL-M-FOC Chabu language-INS alone

‘Some of the children are speaking in Chabu language alone.’

(764) *tɔʔo-je-m-ka obol-e-m ufa-ka polici utuk-e.*
child-DEF-M-ACC beat-REL-M person-ACC police catch-PST

‘Police caught the man who beat the child.’

(765) *ɲadɛm penimojem penjoko jɲo jɲ jowbege ed* (Chabu001-014)

ɲadɛm peni-mo-je-m penijo-k-o jɲ-o jɲ jow-be-ge ed
INVS.M talk-PROG-REL-M talk-ACC-FOC 1MPL.FOC 1MPL dislike-NEG-FUT ??

‘We will not dislike the talk that he is talking.’

(766) *jɲk sonɟem amboko jɲ jowbege?a ed* (Chabu001-015)

jɲ-k som-g-e-m ambo-k-o jɲ jow-be-ge-?a ed
1MPL-DAT tell-FUT-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC 1MPL dislike-NEG-FUT-?? ??

‘We will not oppose what he will tell us.’

(767) *babe-ntak kemo-kus-e-m walatɔfɛ-ka tɲ deɟa* (Chabu005-SP1-004)

father-MPL tell-RPST-REL-M thing-ACC 1MSG know

‘I know the things that our fathers were talking.’

(768) *kidmajel ji-ke femo-k ɲa-we-e-m gutare-ka-k ton-e*

Kidmael 3MSG-GEN cloth-ACC spear-PASS-REL-M old.person-DAT-AUX give-PST

‘Kidmael gave his cloth to the person who was speared.’

As can be observed from the examples, Chabu uses the same relativization strategy for nouns that occur both in subject and object (direct and indirect) position. The relativized (head) nouns of sentences (761), (762) and (763) are the subject of the clause, of sentences (762) and (763) are subjects of a nominative (copula) clauses. The relative clause in sentences (764), (765), (766) and (767) are modifiers of the object nouns of the constructions. The relativised noun in (768) is the dative.

(769) *kond-e-m ufa-ka gi-t dzim-mb-e*
 sick-REL-M person-ACC AUX-1SG heal-CAUS-PST
 ‘I healed (made well) the man who was sick.’

(770) Aster *bake-ku ŋa-je-m ufa-ka gi akimi-je*
 Aster spear-INS pierce-REL-M persone-ACC AUX treat-PST
 ‘Aster medicated the man who was speared with spear.’

Chabu relative clauses can stand in noun phrase position without their head nouns.

(771) *bu-ka ka-je-m debek ame.*
 Leopard-ACC kill-REL-M PRF-AUX come-PST
 ‘Who killed a leopard has come.’

(772) *tf'am-ka di-je-m-ka-k utuk-uwe-j(e)*
 Money-ACC steal-REL-M-ACC-AUX catch-PASS-PST
 ‘Who stolen money is caught.’

To form a negative relative clause Chabu adds the common negative marker of declarative sentences **-be** on the verb stem before the relativizer morpheme **-e** (see example (773)).

(773) *tawa apu:r-be-e-m ufa-k am-e*
 farm clear-NEG-REL-M person-AUX come-PST
 ‘The man who did not clear a farm came.’

11.2.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses are clauses that serve as adverb by modifying a verb phrase or a whole clause. They are not arguments of a clause, but modifiers that add information on an already complete proposition. “The kinds of information embodied in adverbial clauses are the same kinds of information expressed by adverbs, e.g., time, place, manner, purpose, reason, condition, etc.” (Payne, 1997, p. 317). We will discuss some of them in brief.

11.2.3.1 Time Clause

A clause that functions as time adverb in Chabu is marked by a morpheme *-sik* or *-k* suffixed to the verb and it precedes the main clause in the same construction. As discussed in Chapter

9, *boni* ‘before’, *dɜart* ‘after’ and other time adverbs also help in forming adverbial clauses of time besides the *-sik* morpheme (see 9.3.1.). The *-k* morph is used as a dependent clause marker when a time adverb like *boni* and *dɜart* are used to tell the time. The focus particle *-o* is always suffixed to *-sik*.

(774) *oŋa abiʔam-siko ju t'aj_ambu-ka-k t'a-mo-j.*
 she reach-ADV he.FOC food-ACC-AUX eat-PROG-PST
 ‘When she arrived, he was eating some food.’

(775) *kabu-m-fik-o dɜame ji-ke-m tʔota ji kiti katʔfo-k* (Kuruchi 7)
 sleep-PROG-ADV.FOC ant he-GEN-M cut that ear half-ACC
 ‘While he was sleeping, ant cut his one (side) ear.’

(776) *kidmajel boni abʔam-be-k-o dawit wetʔtʃi-m t'aj.ambu-ka de-gi t'a-je*
 Kidmael befor come-NEG-ADV-FOC Dawit all-M food-ACC PRF-AUX eat-PST
 ‘Dawit had eaten all the food before Kidmael reached.’

(777) *dawit dɜart adisabe-ka no-je-k-o adisajel no-je*
 Dawit subsequent Addis.Ababa-ALL go-PST-ADV-FOC Adisael go-PST
 ‘Adisael went to Addis Ababa after Dawit went there.’

11.2.3.2 Reason Clause

Chabu uses the reason conjunction *fifom* or its shortened form *=fom* to mark a reason clause. The reason clause precedes the main clause in a complex sentence.

(778) *tʃamo debe siʃom kona tiŋ-k ŋa-je*
 shoe absent REASON wood 1MSG-ACC pierce-PST
 ‘For (the reason) I do not have shoe, wood wounded me.’

(779) *ufa ta=fom ji mo-b*
 person eat=REASON 3MSG live-NEG

‘Man should not live to eat.’

- (780) *Addisabe-ka no-ji fijom de-gi-t ekukum-e.*
Addis.Ababa-ALL go-LINK REASON PRF-AUX-1SG prepare-PST
‘I have prepared myself to go to Addis Ababa.’

11.2.3.3 Manner Clause

Manner clause in Chabu is formed by an infinitive verb followed by the morpheme *-kan*.

- (781) *bera-kan kol-e godo.*
smell-ADV run-PST elephant
‘The elephant run smelling.’

- (782) *ufo kol-kan no-je*
Persone:FOC run-MAN go-PST
‘A person went running.’

11.2.3.4 Purpose Clause

Chabu purpose clauses are formed by affixing the accusative-dative marker *-ka* to the infinitive/gerundive form of a verb.

- (783) *ma pòdè hópu-ka dāṅká.*
this.M place rest-ACC good
This place is good for rest/ for resting.

- (784) *dirbu-ka saṅ-ka-k no-je*
hunt-ACC forest-ALL-AUX go-PST
‘He went to the forest to hunt/ for hunting.’

As the free translation of example (783)) illustrates in the case of using verbs which have identical conversion nouns (or whose root serve both as a verb or noun flexibly based on the context) the reason clause can be alternatively understood as reason noun phrase.

11.2.3.5 Conditional Clause

Chabu conditional clauses are characterized by having the morpheme =*egemo* as a final element of the clause preceded by the verb of the clause (as in (785) and (786)). If the conditional clause have some time concept the time adverbial clause marker *-sik* follows the form =*egem* (as in (787) and (788)). The negative conditional clause which has the meaning of “even if/though” is formed by adding the particle =*ηak* before the conditional marker =*egem* (as in (789)). The conditional marker always is followed by the focus particle *-o*. When the adverbial suffix *-sik* is suffixed to the conditional marker, the focus particle follows the adverbial suffix.

(785) *ufo indik wonga-mo-d-e-η iηana-k egemo Egedigane-ke e-d*
 person:FOC how call-PROG-PL-REL-F ask-ACC COND egedigan-COP Say-PL
 ‘If you ask how people call (her), it is Egedigan.’

(786) *siki-ku ηa-we egem-o k'o-ji k'o*
 knife-INS pierc-PASS COND-FOC death-LINK die
 ‘If someone is pierced with knife, he dies. (Litt if pierced with knife death dies.)’

(787) *sukare moji-ηa tomata-we egem-sik-o kueti.*
 Sugar salt-COM mix-PASS COND-T.ADV-FOC sour
 ‘When sugar is mixed with salt, it becomes soar.’

(788) *hikra-m ufa damam ufa-ηa inkiti hita-t egem-sik-o*
 Short-M person long-M person-COM together stand-FPL COND-ADV-FOC
kor-ka gi-η hikira
 complete-ALL AUX-PRS become.short

‘When a short man stands along with a long man, he becomes more (completely) short.’

(789) *damo nak egemo ma doki ofod kuk onob*
dama-o nak egemo ma dok ù-i ofodì kuku ono-be
 long-FOC NEG COND this house-LINK roof 2MSG reach-NEG
 ‘Even though you are tall, you cannot reach the roof of this house.’

SUMMARY

Under this chapter we recapitulate the main findings of the project. As it has been stated in the introductory chapter, the main goal of the present study is documenting, assessing the endangerment situation and describing the grammar of Chabu. Towards this end, the study presents the assessment result of Chabu vitality and a description of various aspects of the grammar of the language. These are summarised here as follows.

In the introduction most remarkable is the nomenclature of the language and the people. The name “Shabo” is found to be a name only in the literature. Chabu is found to be a self name and we introduce the self name Chabu to the linguistic community. .

According to the survey result: the small size of the absolute number of Chabu speakers (a little more than 700), the enclave situation of these small size Chabu speakers by Majang and Shekkacho Speakers, the multilingual (at list bilingual) situation of almost all Chabu speakers in Majang, Shekkacho, Amharic, Oromo and/or Kefa languages, the language inactive status in public and newly emerging domains, the absence of orthography, comprehensive description and literacy materials, its lack of official status of any kind at any level and the absence of any effort to implement the favourable policies in the favour of the Chabu are found to be signals of the critically endangered situation of the language.

The only positive situations of the language situation observed are the uninterrupted intergenerational transmission in the villages included in the survey and the presence of favourable language, educational and cultural policies which advocate the use and development of vernacular languages. However, these attested positive situations do not guaranty the vitality of the language for two main reasons, the first one is the resettlement programme affects the language use. And the second one is the state of the unimplemented available favourable constitutional statements and policies. Thus, the survey result concludes that Chabu is a seriously endangered language which scored lower grades in most of the factors set as parameters and as a result, it could be lost in the near future unless some remedial actions are taken.

In the examination of Chabu phonology, twenty four consonant phonemes, including two implosives and three ejectives are identified. It also has seven vowel phonemes. Consonant gemination and Vowel lengthening are found to be phonemic. Except the glottal stop /ʔ/, all Chabu consonant phonemes appear word initially and medially. The phonemes /b/, /t/ and /dʒ/ are missing at word final position and the word final occurrence of /ʔ/, /f/ and /h/ is limited. The segment [d] and [g] do not occur word finally in simple words, but only in complex words as inflectional suffixes. Only sonorants and a few obstruents come at the first position of a cluster. The sonorants do not occur as a second member of coda except only when they are geminated at word final position. Three level lexical tones are attested.

Chabu nouns inflect for number, gender, definiteness and case. The language distinguishes singular, dual and plural (three and above) nouns. While duality and plurality are morphologically marked, singularity is unmarked. Chabu has a two-way ('feminine' and 'masculine') gender system. Gender is predominantly a category of dual nouns which are always marked for number and gender and agree with the verbal forms. Definiteness is marked via lexical items and affixes. Including the unmarked nominative, Chabu has eight morphologically distinct cases; the accusative-dative-allative marked with *-k(a)*, the genitive marked with *-ke* or *-i/e*, the ablative-adessive marked with *-t(i)*, the instrumental marked with *-ku*, the comitative marked with *-ŋa* or *-ŋe*, the inessive marked with *-set* and the path marked with *-mba*.

Chabu pronoun system distinguishes gender in all the three persons in singular, dual and plural and has about 18 pronouns. Though gender contrast in pronoun system of the language is sex-based, when referring to mixed sex duals and plurals, unlike most languages of Ethiopia probably of the world, Chabu uses the feminine gender pronouns. Chabu agreement markers (bound pronouns) refer only to the nominative, for other cases the independent personal pronouns are obligatory. The agreement markers do not present full information that their counter independent pronouns tell and are inconsistent in denoting number person and gender. They occur in combination with tense-aspect markers. There is distinction between personal (person plus (number or Gender)) and nominal (mark number and/or gender) paradigms. Concerning Chabu demonstrative system, it is person oriented (both speaker and listener are deictic centers) and distinguishes four distance categories among which the three

have spatial distinction. The remaining distinction is between visible and invisible. The demonstratives inflect for gender and number in all deictic distinctions. Adverbial demonstratives are derived from the demonstratives by suffixing spatial case markers.

Chabu has productive systems of noun formation via derivation, conversion and compounding. In noun derivation *-we* and *-se* are the productive nominative suffixes of Chabu. *-we* is suffixed on nominal bases to derive abstract nouns and *-se* is suffixed to verbal base to form various types of nouns. Conversion is also attested and is very productive. There are nouns and verbs with the same segmental and supra-segmental forms when they are uttered in isolation. In Chabu most of the compounds are formed with entities which have genitive relationship with an indefinite genitive marker *-i/e*.

All Chabu adjectives are derived forms from verbal source; some by suffixing the derivational morpheme *-at* to verb stems, some others as a result of conversion and a few by combining quality nouns with the verb *janga* ‘exist’. As a result of this, adjective does not seem to be a separate word class. Unlike Chabu nouns, Chabu conversion adjectives repeat themselves to show the high intensity of the quality or feature they denote and this is also a feature of Chabu verbs. Even though the Chabu has an indigenous numeral system, the speakers currently use a system largely influenced by the Majang numeral system. Only few elderly people remember the old Chabu system. Both systems are based on counting body parts (fingers and toes).

The verb inflection of Chabu is the other most fascinating subject of the grammar of the language. It has mainly suffixal morphology that allows concatenation of two and more morphemes in a verb stem. Chabu verbs inflect for person, gender, number, tense, aspect and mood by affixing suffixes and prefixes to the main verb or to the auxiliary. The language has four tenses: remote past marked with */-kuss/*, past with */-e/*, present optionally with */-ŋ/* and future with */-g(e)/* and three morphologically marked grammatical aspects: perfect */de(be)-/*, progressive */-mo/* and past habitual */huma/*. Variety of directive moods are also attested. Imperative and hortative are unmarked, whereas prohibitive is marked with */-ekin/*, jussive with */bin-/* and affirmative optative with */ki-/* and negative optative with */enak-/*.

Verb stem formation in Chabu displays suffixation of derivational morphemes to verb roots and partial root reduplication in some cases of frequentative formation. The morpheme *-mba*

is the main valence increasing suffix that changes argument-structure by forming a causative and beneficiary verb stems. The same morpheme is attested suffixing to intransitive verbs to make them transitive. Chabu is also attested forming separate negative causative verb stem by using a separate valence increasing suffix *-se*. In its valence decreasing verb stem formation strategy Chabu uses the morpheme *-we* to derive a passive and a reflexive stem and the morpheme *-sa* to derive a reciprocal verb stem. The frequentative verb stems are formed in two ways; by partial reduplication of the verb root and by using a suffix *-gitam*. Verbs derived with *-gitma* do not indicate simple repetition of an action but also indicate that the action is performed in different places by the same subject or different subjects. Chabu also derives directional verbs that indicate the direction of motion upward, downward or toward morphologically by suffixing *-alla*, *afa* and *-ta* respectively to motion verbs.

Although, Chabu shows a great deal of flexibility, the frequent word orders of Chabu sentences are attested to be SV with intransitive verbs and SOV with transitive verbs and this is typical for post positional languages (Greenberg (1963) like Chabu. Commonly subjects and objects precede verbs and subjects appear before objects in the same clause. The indirect object also precedes the direct object. The order of adjectives other than the quantifiers does not seem to be restricted. Verb phrase in Chabu can be composed of only the head verb or it may include an auxiliary or a noun phrase or an adverb besides the verb. Chabu also uses auxiliary verb *gi/ge* that hosts the present tense suffix *-ŋ*, the aspect marker *de(be)*- ‘PRF’ and personal agreement markers *-t* ‘1SG’ and *-k* ‘second person’.

Chabu form nominal clauses in various ways; by using the copula *ke*, without any copulative element and by using the third person pronouns as copulative elements in present predicative nominal clauses. Tensed (non present) Chabu predicative nominal clauses are formed by the help of the auxiliary *-ge* suffixed to a predicate noun phrase or adjective. In the past tense, in addition to the auxiliary *-ge*, the remote past marker *-kus* is suffixed to the auxiliary as past tense marker. Negative predicative clauses are formed by suffixing the negative marker *-be* on the predicative elements.

Existential and possessive nominal clauses are formed with an existential copulative verb *janga* ‘exist’. Negative existential and possessive nominal clauses are formed by using a different negative existential verb *debe* ‘absent’ in the place of *janga* ‘exist’.

Concerning multi clausal construction, Chabu forms serial verbs, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, converbs, relative clauses, and coordination construction. Chabu serial verbs in most cases are formed using a movement verb as first component and the verbs *am* ‘come’ or *no* ‘go’ as a second component in successive, adjacent position to provide directional orientation for the motion (ventive and intive respectively). Chabu relative clause is marked with *-e* ‘REL’ which is suffixed to the relativized verb and followed by the gender marker morpheme *-ŋ* ‘F’ or *-m* ‘M’ in agreement with the gender of the relativized head noun. Adverbial clauses of various types are attested.

Adverbial phrases in Chabu are formed both by the help of independent adverbs and by bound adverbial markers. Adverbial clauses that are attested constructed by the use of bound adverbial markers are time clause with *-siko* or *-ko* suffixed to the verb that precedes the main clause, reason clause with *fifom* or *=fom*, manner clause with *-kan* and purpose clauses with the accusative marker *-ka* to the infinitive/gerundive form of a verb. Chabu conditional clauses are constructed by using the morpheme *=egem-o* as a final element of the clause preceded by the verb of the clause. If the conditional clause has some time concept the time adverbial clause marker *-sik* follows the form *=egem*. The negative conditional clause which has the meaning of “even if/though” is formed by adding the particle *=ŋak* before the conditional marker *=egem*. Chabu uses the morpheme *-ʔa* suffixed to the verb in forming converb construction. Chabu converbs does not inflect for person, number, aspect or tense and it subordinates to the main verb.

Suggestions

Chabu is an isolate language with lots of linguistic and historical importance. However, it is on the verge of extinction because of multiple factors including lack of recognition. Therefore we need to prevent the language from extinction. Turin, Mark, 2015 discusses why we should prevent and preserve endangered languages as follows.

There are 4 solid reasons for supporting, preserving, and documenting endangered languages. First, each and every language is a celebration of the rich cultural diversity of our planet; second, each language is an expression of a unique ethnic, social, regional or cultural identity and world view; third, language is the repository of the history and beliefs of a people; and finally, every language encodes a particular subset of fragile human knowledge about agriculture, botany, medicine, and ecology. (The need to prevent language death section para. 1)

Hence, we would suggest the following points as recommendations.

- The Chabu and their heritage language need to be recognised by regional states of Gambella and SNNP and by the federal government of the country as stated in the cultural policies of the regional states and the Nation and should be given the chance to develop.
- The language and the culture of the community need to be protected. Different strategies should be designed to salvage, preserve and promote the language and the culture of the speaker community by concerned bodies of the regional administrative states in particular, and by the policy makers in general. In this regard, the impositions and ruining strategies of settling other language speakers in exclusively Chabu speaking communities should legally be prevented by employing protection of human rights approach. And favourable situation should be created to carry out scientific research and revitalization activity to make the Chabus useful in the development of the nation.
- The Chabus' livelihood forest needs to be protected. Shekka forest is the blood and soul of Chabu's life and of great importance for the citizens of the nation in general. But, in the name of investment it has been destroyed in irreversible situation. The outcome of the investment in this area is insignificant as compared to the permanent damage it causes on the forest. Therefore the concerned offices of the regional states and the federal government should legally prevent the forest for the betterment of the Chabu and the future generation of the nation at large.
- The linguistic community should do a more comprehensive documentation and description of the language and a revitalization activity of some kind that could enhance the vitality of the language.

REFERENCES

- Absury, Anna. (2008). *The Morphosyntax of Case and Adpositions*. Janskerkhof 13, 3512 BL Utrecht, The Netherlands: LOT
- Ahland, M. B. (2012). *A grammar of Northern Malo (Màwésaasè)* (Doctoral dissertation): University of Oregon.
- Anbessa Teferr. (1991). "A Sketch of Shabo Grammar." In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *Proceedings of the 4th Annual Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Colloquium (Nilo-Saharan Linguistic Analysis and Documentation 7)* (pp. 371-387). Hamburg, Helmut Buske Verlag..
- _____ (1995). Brief phonology of Shabo (Mekeyir). In Nicolai R. & Rottland F. (Eds.), *Fifth Nilo-Saharan Linguistics Colloquium* (pp.169-193). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Anbessa Teferra & Unseth, Peter. (1989). "Toward the classification of Shabo (Mikeyir)". In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *Topics in Nilo-Saharan linguistics. Nilo-Saharan 3*(pp. 405-418). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Austin, Peter K. (2006). Data and language documentation. In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus Himmelmann and Ulrike Mosel (Eds.), *Fundamentals of language documentation* (pp. 87-112). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- _____ (2007). Training for language documentation: The SOAS experience. Endangered Languages Academic Programme, Department of Linguistics, SOAS, University of London .
- _____ (2008). "Language documentation and language description": Training for language documentationn at 3L Summer School 23rd June 2008. ELAP, Department of Linguistics: SOAS, University of London.
- Austin, Peter K. & Grenobl, Lenore A. (2007). Current trends in language documentation. *Language Documentation and Description* 4. London: SOAS.
- Auwers, Johan van der and Lejeune Lud. (2011). The morphological imperative. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, Chapter 66. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/1> Accessed on 2013-07-27.

- Auwers, Johan van der, Ludo Lejeune, Umarani Pappuswamy and Valentin Goussev. (2011). The Morphological Imperative. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 70. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/70> Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Auwers, Johan van der, Nina Dobrushina & Valentin Goussev. (2011). Imperative-Hortative Systems. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.), *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 72. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/72> Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Baerman, M. and Brown, D. (2011). "Case Syncretism." In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.), *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 28. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/28>. Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Beavers, John, Levin, Beth and Tham, Shiao Wei. (2009). The typology of motion expressions revisited. *J. Linguistics*. Cambridge University Press doi:10.1017/S0022226709990272
- Bender, M. L. (1975). The Ehiopian Nilo-Saharan. Addis Ababa. Institute of Ethiopian Studies: AAU. (Unpublished Manuscript).
- Bender, M. L. (1977). The Surma Language Group: A Preliminary Report. *Studies in African Linguistics, Suppliment 7*, 11 – 21. Retrieved from <http://journals.linguisticsociety.org/elaugue/sal/article/download/1515/1515-2615-1-PB.pdf>
- Bender, M. L. (1983). Remnant languages of Ethiopia and Sudan. In M. L. Bender, ed. *Nilo-Saharan Language Studies* (pp. 336-354). Africa Studies Center, Michigan State University: East Lansing,
- Bhat, D.N.S. (2004). *Pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Blake, B. J. (2001). *Case* (2nd edn.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Blažek, Václav. (nd). The first comparative dictionary of Nilo-Saharan: [Review of a book *A historical-comparative reconstruction of Nilo-Saharan*, by Christopher Ehret (2001)]. Retrieved from <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.459.2628&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Blevins, Juliette. (1995). The Syllable in Phonological Theory, in J. Goldsmith (ed.), *The Handbook of Phonological Theory*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 206–244.
- Booij, Geert. (2007). *The grammar of words: An introduction to linguistic morphology*. (2nd edn). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Booij, Geert. (2005). *The grammar of words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bouchard, Denis (2002). *Adjectives, number and interfaces: Why languages vary*. Amsterdam: Elsevier Science Ltd
- Bowden, John and Kathy Romanovsky. (2007). Rapid Rural Appraisal. Presentation at the International Conference on Austronesian Endangered Languages Documentation. Taiwan.
<https://www.iisd.org/casl/CASLGuide/RapidRuralAppraisal.htm>
- Brandner, Ellen & Salzmann, Martin. (2009) Crossing the Lake: motion verb constructions in Bodensee-Alemannic and Swiss German. *Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 48, 81-113. Center for Language and Cognition Groningen. <http://gagl.eldoc.ub.rug.nl>
- Brenzinger, M., Yamamoto A., Aikawa N., Koundioubia D., Minasyan A., Dwyer A., Grinevald C., Krauss M., Miyaoka O., Sakiyama O., Smeets R., & Zepeda O., (2003). *Language vitality and endangerment: Document submitted to the UNESCO Ad Hoc Expert Group Meeting on Endangered Languages*. <http://www.unesco.org/culture/en/endangeredlanguages>
- Brenzinger, Matthias. (1992). *Language death: Factual and theoretical explorations with special reference to East Africa*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Bybee. 1995. *Morphology: A Study of the Relation Between Meaning and Form*. Amsterdam : JOHN BENJAMINS PUBLISHING COMPANY.
- Comrie, Bernard. (1985). *Tense*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- _____ (1991). "Form and function in identifying cases". In Plank, Frans (Ed.), *Paradigms: The economy of inflection* (pp. 41-56). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Constitution of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. (1995). Proclamation No. 1/1995. Federal Negarit Gazeta of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, August 21, 1995, Addis Ababa .
- Corbett, Greville G. (2004). *Number*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Corbett, Greville G. (2011). Number of Genders. In *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/30> Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Creissels, Denis. 2000. Typology. In Heine, Bernd and Nurse, Derek (Eds.), *African Languages: an Introduction* (pp. 231-258). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crowley, Terry. (2007). *Field linguistics: A beginners guide*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Crystal, D. (2000). *Language Death*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Czaykowska-Higgins, Ewa (2009). Research Models, Community Engagement, and Linguistic Fieldwork: Reflections on Working within Canadian Indigenous Communities. *Journal of language documentation & conservation*, 3(1), 15-50.
- Dahl, Östen and Velupillai, Viveka. (2011a). perfective/imperfective Aspect Consonant Inventories. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.) *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, Chapter 65. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/1> Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Dahl, Östen and Velupillai, Viveka. (2011b). General introduction. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.) *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, Chapter Tense and Aspect. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/1> Accessed on 2014-02-07.
- Dahl, Östen and Velupillai, Viveka. (2011c). "The past tense". In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.) *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, Chapter 66. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/1> Accessed on 2013-07-27.

- Daniel Abera. (2000). Shabo pronouns. In Baye Yimam, R. Pankhurst, D. Chapple, Yonas Admassu, A. Pankhurst and Birhanu Tefera (Eds.), *Proceeding of the XIVth international conference of Ethiopian studies: Vol. 3. Ethiopian studies at the end of thesecond Millennium* (pp. 1692-1704). Addis Ababa. IES:AAU.
- Daniel, Michael. (2011). "Plurality in independent personal pronouns." In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.) *The world atlas of language structures online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/35>, Accessed on 2013-12-14
- Diessel, Holger. (1999). *Demonstratives: Form, function, and grammaticalization*. Amsterdamm: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Dryer, Matthew S. (2006). Descriptive theories, explanatory theories, and basic linguistic theory. In Felix Ameka, Alan Dench, and Nicholas Evans (Eds), *Catching Languages: the standing challenge of grammar writing* (pp. 207-234). Berlin: Mount de Gruyter.
- _____ (2011). Definite Articles. In *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/37>, Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.). (2011). In *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. Available online at <http://wals.info/> Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Ehret, C. (n.d.) "Implications of African language family histories for human history". Retrieved Oct. 21, 2009, From <https://www.yumpu.com/en/document/view/34285796/implications-of-african-language-family-histories-for-human-history->
- Ehret, C. (1995). "Do Krongo and Shabo being in Nilo-Saharan?" In R. Nicolaï, & F. Rottland (Ed.), *Fifth Nilo-Saharan linguistics colloquium* (pp. 389-402). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Ethiopian Evangelical Church Mekaneyesys Illubabor Bethel Synod; Development and Social Service Commission. (2011). Shabuye sang development project Gambela Regional State, Gambella Zone, Metti (Unpublished Project plan.)

- Fishman, Joshua A. (1972.) Domains and the relationship between micro- and macrosociolinguistics. In J. Gumperz and D. Hymes, eds. *Directions in sociolinguistics: The ethnography of speaking* (pp. 407-434). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, [originally 1971, several reprints].
- Fishman, J. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. (Multilingual Matters series 76), Clevedon, United Kingdom.
- Fleming, Harold C. 1983. Surma etymologies. In Vossen, Rainer and Bechhaus-Gerst, Marianne (Eds.), *Nilotic studies: proceedings of the international symposium on languages and history of the Nilotic peoples* (pp. 523-555). Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Fleming, H. (1991). "Shabo: presentation of data and preliminary classification". In M. L. Bender (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Fourth Nilo-Saharan Conference* (pp.). Hamburg: Helmut Buske.
- Fortis, Jean-Michel. (2010). Space in Language. Leipzig Summer School 2010 - PART III. Retrieved from http://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/conference/2010_summerschool/pdf/course_materials/Fortis_3.MOTION%20EVENTS.pdf
- Gadilia, Ketevan. (2007). "The mood in the book of Genesis (1:3-28): jussive, cohortative and imperative". (Georgian, Ossetic, Kumik) (Moscow, IBT) www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/conference/07.../pdf/talk/Gadilia_talk.pdf
- Getachew Anteneh and Derib Ado (2006) Language Policy in Ethiopia: History and Current Trends. *Ethiopian Journal of Education and Science*, 2(1), 37-62.
- Gil, David. (2011) "Adjectives without Nouns." In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.). *The world atlas of language structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/61>, Accessed on 2013-12-14)
- Gippert, Jost, Himmelman, Nikolaus P. & Mosel, Ulrike (Eds.) (2006). *Essentials of language documentation (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, 178.)* Berlin Mouton de Gruyter.

- Greenberg, J. H. (1963). "Some universals of grammar with particular reference to the order of meaningful elements", in J. H. Greenberg (Ed.), *Universals of Language* (pp. 73 – 113). Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Haspelmath, Martin (1995) "The converb as a cross-linguistically valid category". in Haspelmath, Martin and Ekkehard König (Eds.), *Converbs in cross-linguistic perspective: Structure and meaning of adverbial verb forms — Adverbial participles, gerunds* (pp. 1–55). Berlin/ New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Headland, Thomas N. 2003. Thirty Endangered Languages in the Philippines. Work Papers of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, University of North Dakota Session, 47 <http://www.und.edu/dept/linguistics/wp/2003Headland.PDF>
- Hellenthal, Anneke Christine (2010). A grammar of Sheko. PhD dissertation, Leiden University.
- Heugh, K., Benson, C., Birhanu Bogale & Mekonnen Alemu Gebreyohanis. (2006). Study on medium of instruction in primary schools in Ethiopia: Final report. Commissioned by the Ministry of Education. Ministry of Education: Addis Ababa.
- Himmelmann, Nikolaus P. (2006). Language documentation what is it and what is it good for? In Jost Gippert, Nikolaus Himmelmann N. P. and Ulrike Mosel. (Eds.), *Essentials of language documentation (Trends in Linguistics. Studies and Monographs, 178)* (pp. 1-30). Berlin Mouton de Gruyter.
- Hirut Woldemariam. (2004). A grammar of Haro with comparative notes on the Omoto linguistic group. PHD Dissertation, Addis Ababa University School of Graduate Studies.
- Iggesen, Oliver A.. (2011). *Number of cases*. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.), *The World atlas of language structures Online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library, chapter 49. Available online at <http://wals.info> chapter 49. Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- Jessen, Moiken (2014) *Semantic Categories in the Domain of Motion Verbs by Adult speakers of Danish, German, and Turkish*. (Doctoral dissertation). <http://static.sdu.dk/mediafiles/6/C/D/%7B6CDDFC9B-5A44-4233-B910-3BC8B021FD97%7DMJ.pdf>

- Jukes, Anthony. (2008) A balancing act: community interests and language documentation. In Clare Stark (Ed.), *Globalization & Languages: Building on Our Rich Heritage*. Endangered Languages Academic Programme, SOAS, London. archive.unu.edu/globalization/2008/files/UNU-UNESCO_Jukes_PPT.pdf
- Katamba. (1989). *An Introduction to Phonology*. New York: Longman.
- Krauss, Michael E. (1992). The world's languages in crisis. *Language* 68 4-10.
- Leonard, W. Y. (2008). When is an "extinct language" not extinct? Miami, a formerly sleeping language. In K. King, N. Schilling-Estes, L. Fogle, J. J. Lou, & B. Soukup (Eds.), *Sustaining linguistic diversity: Endangered and minority languages and language varieties* (pp. 23-33). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Lewis, M. Paul (Ed.). (2009). *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*, (6th ed.). Dallas, Tex.: SIL International. Online versionn <http://www.ethnologue.com/>
- Lewis, M.P. & Simons, G.F., (2009). *Assessing endangerment: Expanding Fishman's GIDS*. A paper submitted September 2009 to the *Revue Roumaine de Linguistique* for the special issue on endangered languages. Publication: http://www.lingv.ro/resources/scm_images/RRL-02-2010-Lewis.pdf . Retrieved june 16, 2010.
- Lieber, Rochelle. (2009). *Introducing morphology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lukáš, Ivan, (2007). Language policy and process of nation-building in Ethiopia. *Language Policy*, 1, pp. 103 – 110. Retrieved from alppi.vedeckecasopisy.cz/publicFiles/00109.pdf
- Lyons, Christopher. (1999). *Definiteness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Maddieson, Ian. (2011). Tone. In *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. <http://wals.info/Chapter/13>. Accessed on 2013-07-27.
- MoE (Ministry of Education of Ethiopia). April 1994. *Education and Training Policy*. Addis Ababa: St. George Printing Press.

- Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture. (2003). *The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia Cultural Policy*. Addis Ababa: Birhanena Selam Printing Enterprize.
- Miyaoka, Osahito. (2004). "Endangered languages: The crumbling of the ecosystem of language and culture". *ABD*, 34(2), 3-5. Osaka Gakuin University. Retrieved Oct. 31, 2009 from http://www.elpr.bun.kyoto-u.ac.jp/index_e.html.
- Miyaoka, Osahito. (n.d.) "Endangered languages: The Crumbling of the linguistic ecosystem". Retrieved October 28, 2009, from Osaka Gakuin University: www.accu.or.jp/appreb/09/pdf34-2/34-2P003-005
- Nathan, David. (2008). "Minding our words: Audio responsibilities". *Taiwan Journal of Linguistics*, 6(2), 59-77.
- National Geographic Mission Programs. (n.d.). "Disappearing languages: Enduring voices- documenting the planets endangered languages". Retrieved May 16, 2009, from <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/mission/enduringvoices/index.html>
- Newman, Paul. (2013). Fieldwork in relation to endangered languages. [Video]. Seminar presented at SOAS on Oct. 15, 2013. The Huns Rausing Endangered Languages Project: School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). Accessed from <http://www.hrelp.org/news/>
- Nicolle, Steve. (2007). The grammaticalization of tense markers : A pragmatic reanalysis. *Cahiers Chronos* 17, 47-65. Accessed from www.semanticsarchive.net/Archive/ji3OTBhN.
- Payne, Thomas. E. (1997). *Describing morphosyntax: A guide for field linguists*. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.
- Payne, Thomas. E. (2006). *Exploring language structure: A student's guide*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Price, David S. & Donohue, Mark. (2009) "Report on the Ansum survey": West Yapen Island Papua, Indonesia SIL Electronic Survey Report 2009-001.
- Revised Constitution, of the Southern, Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State. (2001). Proclamation NO. 35 2001.

- Rijkhoff, J. (2002). *The Noun Phrase*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Schnoebelen, Tyler (2009) “(Un)classifying Shabo: Phylogenetic methods and results”. *Language Documentation & Linguistic Theory* 2. Stanford University.
- Siewierska, Anna. (2011). “Gender distinctions in independent personal pronouns”. In Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (Eds.). *The world atlas of language structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology. (Available online at <http://wals.info/chapter/35>, Accessed on 2013-12-14
- Slobin, Dan I. (1996). Two ways to travel: Verbs of motion in English and Spanish. In Masayoshi Shibatani & Sandra A. Thompson (Eds.), *Grammatical constructions: Their form and meaning* (pp. 195–219). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Slobin, Dan I. (2004). The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events. In S. Strömquist & L. Verhoeven (Eds.), *Relating events in narrative, Vol. 2: Typological and contextual perspectives*, (pp. 219-257). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Stassen, L. (2011). “Zero copula for predicate nominals.” In M. S. Dryer, & M. S. Dryer (Ed.). *The world atlas of language structures online*. Munich: Max Planck Digital Library. Retrieved August 25, 2014, from <http://wals.info/chapter/1>
- Suhua, Hu. (2010). “Assessment of the social functions and vitality of the Yi language from the perspective of its domains of use”. Institute for Chinese Minority Languages, Minzu University of China: Harvard-Yenching Institute, Department of Linguistics, Harvard University.
- Talmy, Leonard. (1985). Lexicalization patterns: Semantic structure in lexical forms. In Timothy Shopen (Ed.), *Language typology and syntactic description*, vol. 3: Grammatical categories and the lexicon (pp. 57–149). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Talmy, Leonard. (2000). *Toward a cognitive semantics*, vol. 2: Typology and process in concept structuring. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Tehan, T. & Nahhas, R. (2008). *Mpi present and future: Reversing language shift*. Retrieved from <http://sealang.net/sala/archives/pdf8/tehan2008mpi.pdf>
- The Istrian Vlashki Language Documentation Project. (2005) retrieved from http://www.istro-romanian.net/articles/art051021_ProjectDescription.
- The NWO Advisory Committee on Endangered Language Research. (2000). *Endangered language research in the Netherlands: An overview and proposals*. Retrieved on October 21, 2009, From [http://www.nwo.nl/files.nsf/pages/NWOP_62UJQP/\\$file/GW%20Programmatekst%20ELP%202004](http://www.nwo.nl/files.nsf/pages/NWOP_62UJQP/$file/GW%20Programmatekst%20ELP%202004).
- Tsunoda, Tasaku. (2002). "Language revitalization: revival of Warrungu (Australia) and maintenance of Maori (New Zealand)". [\[総括班\]](#) [\[B01班\]](#) 現地コラム 1] 02/27, 2002. Retrieved from <http://www.sgu.ac.jp/com/ksasaki/kaken/essay/essay-tsn.htm>
- Turin, Mark. (2005). "Language Endangerment and Linguistic Rights in the Himalayas: A Case Study from Nepal." *Mountain Research and Development* 25(1), 4-9. Retrieved from [http://dx.doi.org/10.1659/0276-4741\(2005\)025\[0004:LEALRI\]2.0.CO;2](http://dx.doi.org/10.1659/0276-4741(2005)025[0004:LEALRI]2.0.CO;2)
- UNESCO. (2005). "Shabo" (IDD 10389). Africa: Geographical navigation. Retrieved October 24, 2009, from <http://www.unesco.org/webworld/babel/atlas>
- Unseth, Peter (1984). "Shabo (Mekeyir): A first discussion of classification and vocabulary". In *Language Mecellanea 11: Institute of Ethiopian Studies, Addis Ababa University* [Unpublished manuscript].
- Wakasa, Motomichi. (2008). *Descriptive study of the modern Wolaytta language (Doctoral Dissertation)*. The University of Tokyo.
- Woodbury, Tony. (2003). Defining documentary linguistics. *Language documentation and description*. Vol. 1, 35-51. SOAS: University of London.

Appendix A- Annotated Natural Texts

Appendix A1- Chabu001.eaf

Ref Chabu001- 001

tx peni egemo
w peni egemo
ge talk COND
ft If it is a talk,

Ref Chabu001- 002

tx peniko dʒaru ɖebe gekus ed
w peni-k-o dʒar-u ɖebe-ge-kus ed
ge talk-ACC-FOC old.time-FOC absent-AUX-R.PST say.PL
ft there had not been talk known during the old times.

Ref Chabu001- 003

tx babeliku saŋi ufa gekus ed
w babe-lik-u saŋ-i ufa ge-kus ed
ge father-PL-FOC forest-GEN person AUX-R.PST say.PL
ft Our fathers were persons of the forest.

Ref Chabu001- 004

tx ma poŋko ma poŋko komo ɖebe gekus ed
w ma poŋ-k-o ma poŋ-k-o koma-o
ge this(M) top-ALL-FOC this(M) top-ALL-FOC road-FOC

w ɖebe ge-kus e.d
ge absent AUX-R.PST say.PL
ft There were no roads this side and that side . (by pointing at the directions)

Ref Chabu001- 005

tx kabam ufo ɖebe
w kaba-m ufo ɖebe
ge many-M person.FOC absent
ft There were no many people.

Ref Chabu001- 006

tx ɲadəm ufero ɓala-korede gutaremtaku
w ɲadəm ufa-e-jaro ɓala kor-d-e
ge DIST.INVS.M person-LINK-VAR go finish-PL-PST
w gutare-e-m-tak-u
ge old.man-DEF-M-M.PL-FOC
ft Those people have all died, the old men.

Ref Chabu001- 007

tx ɲadəmaŋk aɓalʔa hedʔa amʔa
w ɲadəmaŋk aɓal-ʔa hed-ʔa am-ʔa
ge then stand.up-CVB grow-CVB come-CVB
ft Then we grew up.

Ref Chabu001- 008

tx moho appumomo
w moho app-u mo-mo
ge now 1PL-FOC sit- PROG
ft Now we are living.

Ref Chabu001- 009

tx appu appomomsiko
w app-u appo-mo-e-m-sik-o
ge 1PL- FOC talk-PROG-REL-M-ACC-FOC
ft What we are talking is,

Ref Chabu001- 010

tx hamati kononj jɪŋk iɲanadige
w hama-ti kononj jɪŋ-k iɲana-d-ige
ge where-ABL ??? 1MPL-DAT ask-PL-FUT
ft from where will they ask us?

Ref Chabu001- 011

tx ɲadəmak appasabeku
w ɲadəm-ak app-asab-e-ku
ge DIST. INVS.M-ACC 1PL-think-PST-CONJ
ft While we think of that,

Ref Chabu001- 012

tx moho ηeg abi?am ed
w moho ηeg abi -am-e ed
ge now ??? reach-come-PST say.PL
ft now, here we are, he came.

Ref Chabu001- 013

tx ηadumak abi?amemako
w ηadum-ak abi.am-e-m-ak-o
ge MED.M-ACC reach.come-REL-M-ACC-FOC
ft That he came for,

Ref Chabu001- 014

tx ηadim penimom penijoko jinjo jin jowbeg ed
w ηadim peni-mo-e-m peni-jo-k-o jinjo
ge MED.M talk-PROG-REL-M talk-FOC-ACC-FOC 1MPL-FOC
w jow-be-g e-dd
ge hate-NEG-FUT say-PL
ft we do not dislike what he is talking.

Ref Chabu001- 015

tx jinik songem amboko jin jowbeg?a ed
w jin-k som-g-e-m ambo-k-o jin jow-be-ge-?a e-dd
ge 1MPL-DAT tell-FUT-REL-M thing -ACC-FOC 1PL hate-NEG-FUT say-PL
ft We do not dislike thing that he will tell us

Ref Chabu001- 016

tx nambisisom
w nimbi sisom
ge what reason
ft Why?

Ref Chabu001- 017

tx jinti rakateηgag ?ed tʃabi tonʃi
w jin-ti rakate =ηga-g ed tʃab-i tonʃ-ti
ge 1MPL-ADES problem exist-FUT say.PL tʃabu GEN son-ADES
ft We do have problems, we sons of Chabu.

Ref Chabu001- 018

tx akemi dɔk'u dɛbe
w akemi.dɔk'u dɛbe
ge health.centre absent
ft There is no Clinic.

Ref Chabu001- 019

tx ufo jiŋka dɛkatf' ed
w ufa-o jiŋ-ka dɛ-katf' ed
ge person-FOC 1MPL-ACC know-NEG say.PL
ft People do not know us.

Ref Chabu001- 020

tx moho malsijoku kabako jika hambege?a ed
w moho malsi-jo-k-u kaba-k-o ji-ka ham-be-ge-?a e-dd
ge now answer-FOC-ACC-FOC many-ACC-FOC he-DAT give-NEG-FUT-?? Say-PL
ft Now, it is not to give him much answer.

Ref Chabu001- 021

tx ŋat amemaka ofu ge idzagang ed
w ŋat am-e-m-aka of-u ge idzagan-g ed
ge that.DIST come-REL-M-ACC alone-FOC AUX work-FUT say.PL
ft He will do what he came for.

Ref Chabu001- 022

tx ŋadumak of tiŋu isatiŋ somom
w ŋadum-ak of tiŋ-u isa ti-ŋ som-mo
ge that.MED.M-ACC alon I.M-FOC first 1SG-PRS tell-PROG
ft It is only this that I am telling first.

Appendix-A2 chabu005.eaf

Chabu005-Sp1- 001

tx moho tʃabu takantu hamab komoji ga ed
W moho tʃabu takant-u hamab komoj janga e-dd
ge now Chabu inside-FOC how.many clan exist say-PL
ft How many clans are there among Chabu ?

Chabu005-Sp2- 001

tx komoju
w komoj-u
ge clan FOC
ft clan?

Chabu005-Sp1- 002

tx iji
W iji
ge INTERJ
ft yes.

Chabu005-Sp2- 002

tx moho chaw tuma komojiko ka:ba jimano
w moho chawi tuma komoj-ik-o ka:ba jimano
ge now place.of.Chabu on kclan-ACC-FOC many a.lot
ft Now the clans in Chabu place are many, a lot.

Chabu005-Sp2- 003

tx o:
w o:
ge or
ft or

Chabu005-Sp2- 004

tx moho gugamb
w moho gugamb
ge now Gugamb
ft Gogambo,

Chabu005-Sp1- 003

tx ei gugambu
W ei gugamb-u
ge [HESITATION] Gugamb FOC
ft ... Gugamb

Chabu005-Sp2- 005

tx dumabu
w dumab-u
ge Dumab FOC
ft the Dumab

Chabu005-Sp1- 004

tx dumab
W dumab
ge Dumab
ft Dumab

Chabu005-Sp2- 006

tx gojobu
w gojob-u
ge Goyub FOC
ft the Goyub

Chabu005-Sp1- 005

tx gojobu
W gojob-u
ge Goyub FOC
ft the Goyub

Chabu005-Sp2- 007

tx tfegibu
w tfegib-u
ge Chagib FOC
ft the Chagib

Chabu005-Sp1- 006

tx tfegib
W tfegib
ge Chagib
ft Chagib

Chabu005-Sp2- 008

tx gundubu
w gundub-u
ge Gundub FOC
ft the Gundub

Chabu005-Sp1- 007

tx gundub
W gundub
ge Gundub
ft Gundub

Chabu005-Sp2- 009

tx butfubu
w butfub-u
ge Buchub FOC
ft the Buchub

Chabu005-Sp1- 008

tx butfubu
W butfubu
ge Buchub
ft Buchub

Chabu005-Sp2- 010

tx ijabu
w ijab-u
ge Iyab FOC
tx the Iyabu

Chabu005-Sp1- 009

tx ijab
W ijab
ge Iyab
ft Iyab

Chabu005-Sp2- 011

tx kalgibu
w kalgib-u
ge Kalgib FOC
ft the Kalgib

Chabu005-Sp1- 010

tx kalgib
W kalgib
ge Kalgib
ft Kalgib

Chabu005-Sp2- 012

tx sibu
w sib-u
ge Sib FOC
ft the Sib

Chabu005-Sp1- 011

tx sib
W sib
ge Sib
ft Sib

Chabu005-Sp2- 013

tx gideb
w gideb
ge Gidheb
ft Gidhib

Chabu005-Sp1- 012

tx gideb
W gideb
ge Gidheb
ft Gidhib

Chabu005-Sp2- 014

tx ηaseti jaŋg son tuket
w ηa-seti jaŋg son tuket
ge that INES exist another additional
ft Among these, there are others remaining.

Chabu005-Sp2- 015

tx tfokab
w tfokab
ge Chokab
ft Chokab

Chabu005-Sp1- 013

tx tfokab
W tfokab
ge Chokab
ft Chokab

Chabu005-Sp2- 016

tx butfubu
w butsub-u
ge Buchub FOC
ft the Buchub

Chabu005-Sp1- 014

tx dek' wongawe:
W de-k wonga-we:
ge PERF-AUX call-PASS.PST
ft It has been called.

Chabu005-Sp2- 017

tx ijji
w ijji
ge INTERJ
ft Yes

Chabu005-Sp2- 018

tx gojibu
w gojib-u
ge Goyib FOC
ft the Goyib

Chabu005-Sp1- 015

tx gojib
W gojib
ge Goyib
ft Goyib

Chabu005-Sp1- 016

tx gojibu
W gojibu
ge Goyib
ft Goyib

Chabu005-Sp2- 019

tx gogubu
w gogub-u
ge Gogub FOC
ft The Gogub

Chabu005-Sp1- 017

tx gogubu
W gogub-u
ge Gogub FOC
ft the Gogub

Chabu005-Sp2- 020

tx ɓantfejer
w ɓantfejer
ge Phanchayer
ft Phanchayer

Chabu005-Sp1- 018

tx ɲaɗumak ɲaʔak' indaɗ ihomwejage jert indag getumbawe
W ɲaɗ-um-ak ɲa-k inda-g ihom-we-ʔa-ge jer-t inda-g
ge MED-M ACC MED-ALL IMP-AUX count-PASS-CVB-AUX Yeri-ADES IMP AUX

W getu-mba-we:
ge return-CAUS-PASS.PST
ft That was counted at Yeri but, it is rejected (as not Chabu)

Chabu005-Sp2- 021

tx iji
w iji
ge INTERJ
ft Yes

Chabu005-Sp2- 022

tx madʒaŋ ke
w madʒaŋ ke
ge Majang COP
ft It is Majang.

Chabu005-Sp1- 019

tx madʒaŋg ɲaɖumo
W madʒaŋg ɲaɖ-um-o
ge Majang MED M FOC
ft That is Majang.

Chabu005-Sp1- 020

tx naŋku apakatedi ed moho ɲaɖ arin eku dʒitam komoji jeroke naŋku eɖ otalak jiɖe
W nambi-ku apakat-id moho ɲaɖ arin eku dʒitam komoj-i-jero-k-o
ge what INST differentiate PL now MED ten and three clan VAR ACC FOC

W nambi-ku ed otala-k ji-ɖe
ge what INST say.PL 3MSG AUX 3MSG know
ft With what do the 13 clans differentiate? By what do the clans of people known.

Chabu005-Sp2- 023

tx ɲaɖ arin eku dʒitam komoj
w ɲaɖ arin eku dʒita-m komoj
ge MED ten and three M clan
ft Those 13 clans.

Chabu005-Sp1- 021

tx ot'alake komojiko naŋku appakattid ed
W otala-ke komoji-k-o nambi-ku appakatt-id ed
ge 3MPL GEN clan ACC foc what INST differentiate PL say.PL
ft With what do the people's clan differentiate?

Chabu005-Sp1- 022

tx ɲaɖ somwe mab ke moho mabum komoji ek' otalak ɖesewemo naŋku ed
W ɲaɖ som-we mab ke moho mab-um komoj ek'a otala-k
ge MED tell PASS like COP now like M clan INTERJ 3MPL ACC

W ɖe-se-we-mo nambi-ku
ge know INST PASS PROG what INST say.PL
ft As what has been said now, what are the thing that members of a clan are known for?

Chabu005-Sp2- 024

tx mafatu
w mafa-ti-u
ge Masha-ADES FOC
ft at Masha

Chabu005-Sp2- 025

tx appakatte nambi dzo? komojike
w appakatte nambi dzo? komoji-ke
ge differentiate what INTERJ clan COP
ft What a difference? Is it of clans?

Chabu005-Sp2- 026

tx moho jike komjike ηadi jike komoji
w moho ji-ke komj ke ηad' ji-ke komoj
ge PROX.M he GEN clan COP MED he GEN clan
ft This clan's from that clan

Chabu005-Sp2- 027

tx moho jike komoj
w moho ji-ke komoj
ge PROX.M he GEN clan
ft his clan

Chabu005-Sp2- 028

tx moho jike komoj emanɲk
w moho ji-ke komoj emanɲk
ge PROX.M he GEN clan ??
ft His clan ??

Chabu005-Sp2- 029

tx atule ofu atule mo
w atule of-u atule mo
ge assemble alon-FOC assemble live/sit
ft Assemble and live together.

Chabu005-Sp2- 030

tx ɲadɪmanke noʔa komojika hedisemo ɲadɪm komojika ɲada noʔua habasemo hamabum egemo
w ɲadɪmanke no-ʔa komoj-ka hedi-se-mo ɲad-um komoj-ka ɲad-amo haba-se-mo
ge then go CVB clan ACC many INST MED M clan ACC MED many INST

w hamab-um egemo
ge how.much-M CONJ
ft Then, having gone they multiply and increase the number of their clan to whatever amount.

Chabu005-Sp2- 031

tx juŋga dumambe umbaŋ bala o gugambut noʔ gose
w ju oŋga dumab-e umba-ŋa bala o gugamb-ut
ge different 3FSG Dumab-GEN woman-COM go.out PROB Gogamguti-ADES

w no-ʔa gos-e
ge go CVB bear-PST
ft One Dumab lady may go to Gugamb and get child.

Chabu005-Sp2- 032

tx dzoʔ ɲadumo gugamb oŋgeŋ lato ɲadjemaŋk ɲadumakak tuketa dzoʔak dɪmandz
w dzoʔ ɲad-um-o gugamb oŋa-ke-ŋ lata-o ɲademaŋke
ge INTERJ MED M FOC Gugamb she GEN F mother FOC then

w ɲad-um-ak-ak tuketta dzoʔak dɪma-ndz
ge MED M ACC AUX follow INTERJ be long-MOV
ft Her mother is gugamb, then following that it goes long.

Chabu005-Sp2- 033

tx o hamab mogemo kaligimba oŋa juka noʔu kalgbuka tawwote
w o hamab mo-gemo kaligib-mba oŋa ju-ka no-ʔa
ge PROB how.much sit COND Kalgib-FSG/DU she another ALL go CVB

w Kalgbu-ka tawwo-te
ge Kalgib ACC marry-??
ft A Kalgib woman may go to another place and marry a Kalgib man.

Chabu005-Sp2- 034

tx oŋo kalgimba oŋ oŋa ge ulumaka no?a tawote
w oŋa-o kalgi-mba oŋ oŋa ge ull-um-aka no-?a tawo-te
ge she FOC Kalgib FSG/DUD COP she AUX husband M ACC go CVB marry ??
ft She is Kalgib. She go and marry a husband.

Chabu005-Sp2- 035

tx ŋademaŋkeg jikomoji ŋat dzartemsikak ofum nom
w ŋademaŋke ji komoj ŋat dzart-e-m-sika-k of-um no-m
ge then he clan DIST front DEF M ALL AUX alone M go PROG
ft Then, the clan will go forward (will grow).

Chabu005-Sp2- 036

tx ulumsikak
w ull-um-sika-k
ge husband-M-ACC-AUX
ft towards the male.

Chabu005-Sp2- 037

tx ji tuketu eŋkajeŋŋa
w ji tuket-u eŋka-je-ŋ-ŋa
ge he following-FOC same-DEF-FEM-COM
ft The next is the same

Chabu005-Sp2- 038

tx kaligimba ufag maŋk baŋi gose ben
w kaligib-mba ufa-g maŋk baŋ-e gos-e be-ne
ge Kalgib FSG/DU person AUX here go PST bear past NEG-INTR
ft The Kalgib lady goes from here and give birth.

Chabu005-Sp2- 039

tx ju ufat
w ju ufa-t
ge another person-ABL
ft from another person

Chabu005-Sp2- 040

tx ji tukatu matuma adzeke mabe mab
w ji tukat-u ma-tuma adze-ke mab-e mab
ge he follow FOC this ?? thing GEN look (N) -GEN looks
ft What follows is the same. (Lit. what follows looks like the look of this thing.)'

Chabu005-Sp2- 041

tx mondze tuket tuketindze
w mo-ndz-e tuket tuketi-ndz-e
ge live-MOT-PST follow follow-MOT-PST
ft It went living. It went continuing.

Chabu005-Sp2- 042

tx ji komoju eŋkaŋa e?a hadzi no?a apakate maŋkak no adzigitame
w ji komoj-u eŋka-ŋa e?a hadzi no-?a apakat-e maŋka-k no-?a
ge he clan FOC same-COM ?? multiply go CVB separated here ALL go CVB

w adzi-gitam-e
ge dispersed-FREQ-PST
ft The clan is the same but when they went multiplying they dispersed to different places.

Chabu005-Sp1- 023

tx e:: moho ŋadək isibak somwemabu tiŋu komoj komojku gi ufo podpodeмба mowe gi jikat e
W e:: moho ŋad-ak isa-baks som-we mab-u tiŋ-u komoj komoj-ku
ge now MED ACC first ?? tell PASS like FOC 1MSG FOC clan clan INST

W gi ufo pode pode-mba mo-we gi ji-ka-t e
ge ACC person.FOC place place side live-PASS AUX he-DAT-1SG told
ft Just like what has been said now, I have told him that the Chabu are living in different places
clan by clan.

Chabu005-Sp1- 024

tx moha mabes bedoku ŋadem komoji wetfu ŋada wongawem
W moha mabis bedoku ŋadem komoj-GEN wetf-u ŋad wonga-we-e-m
ge now today until INVS.M clan-GEN all FOC MED call PASS REL M
ft Until today all the clans call themselves with that.

Chabu005-Sp1- 025

tx podmba nambi mogitamd ed wawo jikakusum komojitina mom moho
W pod-mba nambi mo-gitam-d ed wawo ji-ka-kus-um
ge place side what sit/live FREQ PL say.PL ?? he ACC R.PST M
W komoji-ti-na mo-m moho
ge clan ADES
ft Where do they live, do they live clan by clan?

Chabu005-Sp1- 026

tx gugambu jike podfe hamaŋka ed likisetu
W gugamb-u ji-ke podfe hama-ŋ-ka ed liki-set-u
ge Gugamb FOC he GEN place which F ALL say.PL boundary INES FOC
ft Where is the exact place of the Gogamb.

Chabu005-Sp1- 027

tx ɲadɛmakak dɛgem ɲa dʒar momodɛm komoji ɲadɛmsitu ke
W ɲadɛmaka-k dɛ-ge-em ke ɲa dʒar mo-mo-d-e-m komoj
ge then know AUX REL M COP MED before live PROG PL REL M clan
W ɲadɛm-siti-u ke
ge INVS.M-ADES-FOC COP
ft Those are the known places where the clans were living in the past.

Chabu005-Sp2- 043

tx dʒoʔ ji komojitu ɲadabu ofuke atʃatʃa ofu
w dʒoʔ ji komoj-ti-u ɲadɛm mab-u of-u ke atʃatʃa
ge INTERJ he clan ADES FOC INVS.M like FOC only FOC COP individually
w of-u
ge only FOC
ft It is like that, They live, separately each clan in different place.

Chabu005-Sp2- 044

tx atʃatʃa ofu mohune maŋ
w atʃatʃa of-u mo-hune maŋ
ge separatly only FOC live ?? place
ft They used to live in separate places.

Chabu005-Sp1- 028

tx ɲaɗ ufaejero ɲaɗa modum wetʃu komojinga ufero ofuke sant tʃot'o
k'atʃʃoko ɲadim ambibullo

W ɲaɗ ufa-e=jero ɲaɗ mo-d-e-m wetʃ-u komoj -jaŋga
ge MED person-LINK-VAR MED live-REL-M all FOC clan exist

W ufa-e-jero of-u ke saŋ-t tʃʷot'o k'atʃʃo ɲaɗem
ge person-LINK-VAR alone-FOC COP forest ADES animal half INVS

W ambu-i =bullo
ge things-LINK =PL

ft Those people live only where people of their clan live, where at one side animals of the forest exist.

Chabu005-Sp1- 029

tx komojinga ofu ke

W komoji jaŋga of-u ke
ge clan exist alone-FOC COP

ft Only where there clan exists.

Chabu005-Sp2- 045

tx ji gorotu

w ji gorotu

ge he INTERJ

ft It is true.

Chabu005-Sp1- 030

tx e:: komojinga ofu bene ed

W e:: komoji jaŋga of-u be-ne ed
ge [HESITATION] clan exist alone-FOC NEG-INTR say.PL

ft Only where their clan exists. It is not?

Chabu005-Sp2- 046

tx komojɲgak dzo?
w komoji jaŋga ke dzo?
ge clan exist COP INTERJ
ft Where the clan exist?

Chabu005-Sp1- 031

tx hi moho dumabuŋa dumabuŋo sojiŋo otisa dohu jaŋgag dohu komojasaŋgag ed
W hii moho dumabu-ŋa dumab-uŋa-o soji-ŋa-o oti-sa
ge now Dumab-CONJ dumab-CONJ-FOC identifier-CONJ-FOC close-RECP

W dohu jaŋga-g dohu komoj-asa jaŋga-g ed
ge INTERJ exist FUT INTERJ clan-REC exist-FUT say.pl
ft Do Dumab and the thing that identifies Dumab have some kind of relationship or kinship?

Chabu005-Sp1- 032

tx mohu ŋaisibuka arneku zita woŋgawem ambiwetfi ke komojiko ŋadab kuku deja ne ed
W mohu ŋa-isibu-ka arin eku jita woŋga-we-e-m ambi wetfi ke
ge now MED-??-ACC ten and three cal-PASS- REL-M thing all COP

W komoj-k--o ŋadaem mab kuku deja-ne ed
ge clan-ACC-FOC INVS.M like 2MSG know-NEG say.PL
ft Do you know things that are associated to each of the 13 mentioned clans.

Chabu005-Sp1- 033

tx dzo? dek egemo wetfa ŋad arneku dzitam bedoko
W dzo? de-k egemo wetfa ŋad arin eku dzita-m bedoko
ge INTERJ know-ACC COND all MED ten and three-M until
ft If you know up to those all 13.

Chabu005-Sp2- 047

tx ?eh seja
w ?eh seja
ge ?? identifier
ft Clan identifier

Chabu005-Sp2- 048

tx sijike sija sija walatfege ben
w sija-ka sija sija walatfe-ge be-n
ge clan.identifier-ACC identifier REDUP things-AUX NEG-INTR
ft those things related to clans,

Chabu005-Sp1- 034

tx ji seja sija
W ji seja sija
ge yes Clan identifier REDUP
ft yes, clan associated things

Chabu005-Sp2- 049

tx tfegeben
w tfegeb-e-ŋ
ge Chagib DEF-F
ft the Chegib

Chabu005-Sp1- 035

tx iji sije walatfek
W i:: sija-e walatfe-k
ge identifier-GEN things-ACC
ft Things associated with clans

Chabu005-Sp2- 050

tx sija walatfekeko somko tin deja hantfibko
w sija walatfe-ke-k-o som-k-o tin deja hantfib-k-o
ge clan.identifier things-COP-ACC-FOC tell-ACC-FOC 1MSG know a.few-ACC-FOC
ft Things that are associated with each Chabu clans that I know and I can tell are a few.

Chabu005-Sp2- 051

tx dumabu soji
w dumab-u soji
ge Dumab-FOC bee
ft Dumab is bee.

Chabu005-Sp2- 052

tx gi ewe bene
w gi e-we be-ne
ge AUX say-PASS NEG-INTR
ft It has been said, Is it not?

Chabu005-Sp1- 036

tx ihh
W ihh
ge [HESITATION]

Chabu005-Sp2- 053

tx ihh
w ihh
ge [HESITATION]

Chabu005-Sp2- 054

tx ma tiŋo gugambutie bene
w ma tiŋ-o gugamb-u-ti be-ne
ge PROX.M 1MSG-FOC Gugamb-FOC-ABL NEG-INTR
ft I am from Gugamb. Is it not?

Chabu005-Sp1- 037

tx uhh
W uhh
ge [HESITATION]

Chabu005-Sp2- 055

tx kopako tiŋ oleti
w kopa-k-o tiŋ oleti
ge ape-ACC-FOC 1MSG able
ft I know ape.

Chabu005-Sp2- 056

tx sija
w sija
ge clan identifier
ft things associated with the clans

Chabu005-Sp2- 057

tx huu
w huu
ge [HESITATION]

Chabu005-Sp2- 058

tx tʃegibo nambi ke
w tʃegib-o nambi ke
ge Chagib-FOC what COP
ft What is Chagib?

Chabu005-Sp2- 059

tx laʃu-k-o ji oleti tʃalle
w laʃu-k-o ji olet tʃelle
ge sorghum-ACC-FOC he able well
ft It is sorghum, I know it well,.

Chabu005-Sp2- 060

tx hii
w hii
ge [HESITATION]

Chabu005-Sp2- 061

tx gundubo nambika
w gundub-o nambi-ka
ge Gundub-FOC what-ACC
ft What are Gunudubs?

Chabu005-Sp2- 062

tx tʃuwa-ntak be-ne
w tʃuwa-ntak be-ne
ge fire-MPL NEG-INTR
ft They are fires. Is it not?

Chabu005-Sp2- 063

tx bake
w bake
ge spear
ft spear

Chabu005-Sp2- 064

tx ji: bak'ε t'a egemo otala kusitako gedzeretagemo kusitak otala olet
w ji bak'ε t'a egemo otala kusi-ta-k-o gedzere t'a
ge he spear cut/wound COND 3MPL spit-DEST-PROB machete wound
w gemo kusi-ta-k otala olet
ge COND spit-DEST-ALL 3MPL able
ft If people are wounded with machete they (members of Gundub) spit their saliva at
the wound and heal.

Chabu005-Sp2- 065

tx gundubu
w gundub-u
ge Gundud-FOC
ft Gundub

Chabu005-Sp2- 066

tx gojobuke mijadi
w gojob-u-ke mijadi
ge Goyob-FOC-COP buffalo
ft Gundub's is buffalo.

Chabu005-Sp2- 067

tx huu

w huu

ge [HESITATION]

Chabu005-Sp2- 068

tx ηadum wottoko indāgit dē

w ηad-um =wotto-k-o indā-gi-t dē

ge MED-M =PL-ACC-FOC IMP-AUX-1SG know

ft Those are what I know.

Appendix-A3 chabu006

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 001

tx tiŋke woŋgase tiŋ dawit
W tiŋ-ke woŋgase tiŋ dawit
ge 1MSG GEN name 1MSG Dawit
ft My name is Dawit (Lit. My name is I am Dawit.)

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 002

tx dawit loŋge ke
W dawit loŋge ke
ge Dawit Longe COP
ft Dawit Longe

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 003

tx tiŋke mohedi maŋu gugamti
W tiŋ-ke mo -hedi maŋ-u gugam-ti
ge 1MSG GEN live grow place FOC Gogamo ADES
ft The place where I lived and grew is Gugamo

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 004

tx tihediku babeŋa (*atam) saragitammotʃaku
W ti-hedi-ku babe-ŋa (*atam) sara-gitam-mo-tʃa-ku
ge 1SG grow ADV father COM ??? travel FREQ PROG MDU ADV
ft After I grew up, I moved to different places with my father.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 005

tx babe tak kemokusem walatʃeko tiŋ deŋa
W babe ta-k kemo-kus-e-m walatʃe-ka-o
ge father 1SG DAT narrate R.PST REL M things ACC FOC

W tiŋ deŋa
ge 1MSG know
ft I know the things that my father had told me.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 006

tx moho ma podè wetʃike ʃfowtʃewoko tiŋ deʒa
W moho ma podè wetʃi-ke ʃfowtʃe-wo-ka-o tiŋ deʒa
ge now this place all GEN boundary FOC ACC FOC 1MSG know
ft Now I know the boundaries of all the places as well.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 007

tx maʃeka ʒala moho chabuke ʃfowtʃe ma ŋanti guntʃiŋa miriŋ ojake daritigi edè
W maʃe-ka ʒala moho ʃʷabu-ke ʃfowtʃe ma ŋanti
ge Mash ALL leave now Chabu GEN boundary PROX.M there

W guntʃi-ŋa miri-ŋ oja-ke
ge Gunchi CONJ Mirin (Godere river) CONJ 3FSG GEN

W dari-ti-gi edd
ge end ADES AUX say.PL
ft Chabu's boundary is starting from here up to Gunchi and Mirin (Names of rivers) the two are ends.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 008

tx eka tak ʒala: kemo mati hamati chabuke moje maŋu ʃʷabi ʃʷukato
W eka ta-k ʒala: kemo ma-ti hama-ti
ge [DISCOURSE] 1SG GEN go narrate PROX.M ABL which ADES

W ʃʷabu-ke mo-je-m maŋ-u ʃʷabu-i ʃʷukato
ge Chabu GEN live REL M place FOC Chabu GEN end
ft That is all, I will begin to speak from here, from the place where the Chabu live, Chabu's end.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 009

tx banne edum maŋ baleŋa
W banne edd-um maŋ bale-ŋa
ge Banne say.pl REL.M place Bale COM
ft the place called Banne with Bale

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 010

tx ɲadum mantak bala kemo babe tak kemo
W ɲadum maŋ-ntak bala kemo babe ta-k kemo
ge MED.M place PL go tell father 1SG DAT tell
ft My father told me those.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 011

tx ma baŋgafeko gugamɲa iŋkamuɲɲa
W ma baŋgafe-ka-o gugam-ɲa iŋka-m-uɲa
ge PROX.M in the middle ACC FOC Gugam CONJ PROX.F ?? CONJ
ft in the middle of this there are Gogamo and this place.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 012

tx tak kemoje?a moho babe bal doguku
W ta-k kemo-je moho babe bala dogu-ku
ge 1SG DAT tell PST now father go forgotten ADV
ft My father died after telling me

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 013

tx ɲadem poŋka bala apumomo tiŋ. tiŋ sarawemo tiŋ sarawemo
W ɲadem poŋ-ka bala apu-mo-mo tiŋ-o. tiŋ
ge INVIS.M top ALL go 1PL sit PROG 1MSG FOC 1MSG

W sara-we-mo tiŋ sara-we-mo
ge travel PASS ?? 1MSG travel PASS PROG
ft I live on that. I go and come go and come.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 014

tx ufe bok'ko tiŋ nokatfi
W ufa-e bok'u-ka-o tiŋ no-katfi
ge person GEN place ALL FOC 1MSG go NEG
ft I dont go to other peoples place.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 015

tx babe kemem waltfekʔa tiŋ dētumo
W babe kemo-e-m waltfe-ka tiŋ dēt-um-o
ge father tell rEL M thing ACC 1MSG wish REL FOC
ft What I want is what my father told me.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 016

tx oŋeŋ wougase oŋ kajarebe
W oŋe-ŋ wougase oŋ kajare-be
ge F name 3FSM change NEG
ft Her name is not been changed.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 017

tx iŋkadanŋ poŋka of jiŋki woŋgambe
W iŋka-oda-ŋ poŋka of jiŋ-ka woŋga-mbe
ge PROX.F FPL F place alon 1MPL ACC call CAUS
ft He called for us only this place.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 018

tx tiŋ ŋome ke iŋkadanŋagi dohu tʃʷabi tʃukato
W tiŋ ŋome ke iŋka-da-ŋa-gi dohu tʃʷabu-i
ge 1MSG lett ?? PROX.F FPL F AUX [DISCOURSE] Chabu GEN

W tʃukato
ge end
ft I told that this is the end of Chabu.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 019

tx ŋadēmʔaŋke bala hed:a
W ŋadēmʔaŋke bala hedda
ge then go grow
ft Starting from there I grew

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 020

tx chabuko balati fɛŋga
W tʃʷabu-ka-o bala-ti fɛŋga
ge Chabu ACC FOC go 1SG search
ft I went and looked for Chabu

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 021

tx makat kor makat kor tʃʷabu dɛbpar
W ma-ka-t kor ma-ka-t kor tʃʷabu dɛbe-par
ge here ALL 1SG finish here ALL 1SG finish Chabu absent ??
ft I finished (looking) here and there, there is no Chabu.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 022

tx madzɔŋkat koje tʃʷabi komoji sɛŋga
W madzɔŋ-kat koj-e chab-i komoj sɛŋga
ge Majang ALL 1SG go PST Chbu GEN trib search
ft I entered to Majang to look for the Chabu clan

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 023

tx ŋa duʃi kətʃo-kati no tʃʷabi komoji dɛkka-tʃi
W ŋa duʃi kətʃo-ka-ti no chab-i komoj dɛ-k:tʃi
ge MED Dushi half ALL 1SG go Chabu GEN tribe KNOW NEG
ft I went towards Dushi, there is no Chabu clan.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 024

tx mati doboji k'atʃokət'i no tʃʷabu dɛkatʃi tʃʷabi sɛŋga
W ma-ti doboji k'atʃo-kət'i no tʃʷabu dɛ-katʃi
ge prox.M 1SG Dobby half ALL 1SG go Chabu know-NEG

W tʃʷabu-i sɛŋga
ge Chabu search
ft I went towards Dobby to look for Chabu, Chabu is not known.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 025

tx getuwe?a tidzo?am maŋko tʃabi tʃukato inka ŋadajem?aŋka balati jeta?am gugamt'i

W getuwe-?a ti-dzo?-am maŋ-ko chab-i tʃukato iŋka

ge return CVB 1SSG com here FOC Chabu GEN end PROX.F

W ŋadajemaŋka bala-ti jeta am gugam-ti

ge then go 1SG find come Gugamo ADES

ft When I came back, I found the end of Chabu at this place at Gogamo.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 026

tx gugamti bala baneka tʃabi tʃukata

W gugam-ti bala bane-ka chab-i tʃukata

ge Gugam ADES go BANE ALL Chabu GEN end

ft Starting from Gogamo to Bane is the boundary of Chabu.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 027

tx ŋadenda tʃabi tʃukatako odaki bala seŋga?e?a

W ŋaden-?da chab-i tʃukata-ka-o oda-k bala seŋga-?e-?a

ge INVS.F FPL Chabu GEN END ALL FOC 3FPL ALL go look ?? CVB

ft I went and looked for those half of Chabu ends.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 028

tx tiʃom moho tiŋ saramobege?a moge dzo? et moge

W ti-ʃom moho tiŋ sara-mo-be-ge-?a mo-ge

ge 1SG tell now 1MSG travel PROG NEG FUT CVB live FUT

W dzo? ti-mo-ge

ge [DISCOURSE] 1SG live FUT

ft I said now I will not wandering but I will live.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 029

tx babe bale fɔmemabuk chabe komojo dɛbe sɛngaeʔati ikijemaŋko

W babe bale fɔme-mab-uk tʃʌbu komoj-o dɛbe sɛnga-ti

ge father went tell like ADV Chabu trib FOC PERF search 1SG

W ikije maŋ-ka-o

ge ??? place ACC FOC

ft Since I could not find Chabu like my father told me.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 030

tx moho mo ofu

W moho mo of-u

ge now live alone FOC

ft Now, living alone.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 031

tx ek'a moho t'ij momo

W ek'a moho tij mo-mo

ge [DISCOURSE] now 1MSG live PROG

ft That is all, now I am living.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 032

tx ti k'etimoku tʃʌbi komoju moho dɛbpar

W ti k'eti-mo-ku tʃʌbu-i komoj-u moho dɛbe-par

ge 1SG hear PROG ADV Chabu GEN trib FOC now

ft When I was listening that there is no Chabu clan.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 033

tx madzangɔ dʒoʔ apnogemo madzangɔ jij injkiŋ boritu jij tumʔasi mokatʃ

W madzang-o dʒoʔ app-no gemo madzang-o jij injki-ŋ

ge Majang FOC [DISCOURSE] 1PL go COND Majang FOC 1MPL one F

W bori-ti-u jij tuma-sa mo-katʃ

ge place ADES FOC 1PLM mix REC live NEG

ft If we go to the Magangir we and Majangir cannot live together in one place.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 034

tx jiŋ moko jiŋ mowa eku jiŋke damoj otisabe
W jiŋ moʔa-ka-o jiŋ mo-we eku jiŋ-ke damo
ge 1MPL live ACC FOC 1MPL live PASS and 1MPL GEN blood

W oti-sa-be
ge close REC NEG
ft We live our life, but our blood is not close (we are not relatives).

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 035

tx e dzoʔ jowi-sa-be
W e dzoʔ jowi-sa-be
ge say [DISC] hate REC NEG
ft It does not mean we hate one another.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 036

tx jiŋoka otala hambe dzoʔ otalakem saŋoko
W jiŋ-o-ka otala ham-be dzoʔ ot'ala-ke-e-m saŋ-o-ka-o
ge 1MPL-FOC-ACC 3MPL give-NEG [DISC] 3MPL-GEN-DEF-M forest-FOC-ACC-FOC
ft They do not give us their forest.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 037

tx otala jiŋk kojimba katʃi
W otala jiŋ-k koji-mba katʃi
ge 3MSG 1MPL ACC go CAUS NEG
ft They do not make us leave.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 038

tx moho otalo amdigemo jiŋo dzou jiŋ otalaki kimba katʃ
W moho otalo am-d egemo jiŋ-o dzou jiŋ
ge now 3MPL come PL COND 1MPL FOC [DISCOURSE] 1MPL
W otala-k koj-mba katʃ
ge 3MPL-ACC inter CAUS NEG
ft Now when they come, we do not make them leave.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 039

tx dʒaro dʒou tʃʰabi komoju madʒaŋi bokuko nomodoʔa bukege

W dʒaro dʒou tʃʰabu-i komoj-u madʒaŋ-i

ge in the past [DISCOURSE] Chabu trib FOC Majang GEN

W boku-ka-o no-mo doja -be-ke-ge

ge place ALL FOC go PROG accustomed NEG ?? ??

ft In the past the Chabu were not accustomed to going to the Majangir Place.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 040

tx huu chaboo

W huu tʃʰabu

ge [PAUSE] Chabu

ft Chabu [FALSESTART]

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 041

tx madʒaŋgo mako moje dojabege kus

W madʒaŋg-o ma-ka-o mo-je doja-be-ge kus

ge Majang FOC PROX ACC FOC live PST accustomed NEG AUX R.PSST

ft The Majangir do not accustomed to coming here

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 042

tx jiŋo jiŋke kojiku app-uŋ-mo eka maka

W jiŋ-o jiŋ-ke koji-ku app-uŋ-mo eka

ge 1MPL FOC 1MPL GEN enter AUX 1PL PRS live [DISCOURSE]

W ma-ka

ge PROX-ACC

ft We live here by our own, that is all.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 043

tx moho inonagi mohu apum momo

W moho inun-ak mo app-uŋ-mo-mo

ge now think AUX live 1PL PRS LIVE PROG

ft Now we are living thinking what comes next.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 044

tx ma poŋka mo apmomosiko jinke rakate pogo
W ma poŋ-ka mo appuŋ-mo-mo-sika-o jin-ke
ge this top ALL live 1PL PRS live PROG ACC FOC 1MPL GEN

W rakate pogo
ge problem heavy
ft When we are living our life on this place, our problem is very demanding.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 045

tx wosiŋa mato jinke dari tema
W wosi-ŋa ma-ti-o jin-ke dari tema
ge Shekacho CONJ PROX ABL FOC 1MPL GEN frontier far
ft Our boundary is far from Shekkacho

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 046

tx mato madzaŋŋa jinke dari tema
W ma-ti- o madzaŋ-ŋa jin-ke dari tema
ge PROX ABL FOC Majang COM 1MPL GEN frontier far
ft From this Magangir also our boundary is very far.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 047

tx jiŋk iŋanem ufo dɛbe
W jiŋ-k iŋan-e-m ufa-o dɛbe
ge 1MPL ACC think REL M person FOC absent
ft There is no one who thinks of us.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 048

tx moho jiŋke giro hedi
W moho jiŋ-ke giro hedi
ge now 1MPL GEN sadness many
ft Now our sadness is much.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 049

tx moho ŋaʔumako
W moho ŋaʔumak-o
ge now that is it FOC
ft Now it is like that.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 050

tx jɪŋke rakateko moho konŋ apsoweamgem siko
W jɪŋ-ke rakate-ka-o moho kon app sowem egemsiko
ge 1MPL GEN problem ACC FOC now ?? ?? COND (WHEN)
ft Now our problems???.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 051

tx ma apuŋ dɛtemom ufero
W ma app-uŋ dɛt-e-m kufa-e-jero
ge PROX.M 1MPL PRS want REL M children LINK VAR
ft This people who look for

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 052

tx tamare ekoŋoŋ dʒimɔ egem
W tamare ekoŋ dʒim-d egem
ge student ?? heal PL
ft If the students are healed,

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 053

tx jɪŋokoŋa apdʒim ek'a makak appuŋ iuunam mo mo
W jɪŋ-o-ka-o-ŋa ap-dʒim eka maka ge
ge 1MPL FOC ACC FOC CONJ 1PL heal [DISCOURSE] here AUX

W app-inonam mo mo
ge 1PL think live PROG
ft we also be healed and live thinking

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 054

tx ek'a amʔaka gitiŋsom tiŋu:

W ek'a am-aka gi-ti-ŋ som tiŋ-u

ge [DISCOURSE] come ACC AUX 1SG PRS tell 1mSG FOC

ft Since he came, I will tell him.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 055

tx haʔamʔage/ŋaʔumageji/

W ŋadum-ʔa-ge

ge MED-M CON AUX

ft It will be like that.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 001

tx hei mohou ŋak penem tariki wetʃu gidi gi edd tʃʰabuke ŋant ramakset atʃk'a maʔa ge

W hei moho: ŋa-k peni-e-m tariki wetʃu gidi

ge [HESITATION] now that ACC tell REL M story all pleasant

W gi edd tʃʰabu-ke ŋant ramakset atʃaka maʔa ge

ge AUX say.PL Chabu GEN there ?? begin PROX.M AUX

ft All the story told now are pleasant.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 002

tx mabaŋgaset gekus [HESITAtTION] jeru moho neke edd

W ma baŋgaset ge-kus [HESITAtTION] jeri-u moho

ge PROX in the middle AUX-R.PST YERI FOC now

W neʔe-ke edd

ge who GEN say.PL

ft Among this whose is Yeri?

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 056

tx hu tʃʰabe podʔeku
W hu chab-i podɛ eku
ge [PAUSE] Chabu GEN place AND
ft the place of Chabu

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 057

tx jero ŋatum ufero iŋkam eku
W jeri-o ŋatum ufe-jero-wo iŋka-m eku
ge Yeri FOC DIST person LINK variety FOC same M and
ft Yeri, those people are the same.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 058

tx jij mat ma baŋgasek gosawem uferoka git some ji bok'u
W jij ma-ti ma baŋgase-k gosa-we-e-m
ge 1MPL PROX.M ADES PROX.M MIDDLE AUX bear PASS REL M ACC

W ufa-e-jero-ka gi-t some ji bok'u
ge person link VAR AUX 1SG tell 3MSG place
ft I told that this place is the place in where our father (those people) were born.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 059

tx darŋga bok'u
W dar -jaŋga bok'u
ge frontier exist place
ft the place available at the boundary

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 060

tx ɲatum ufero ɲake tʃabu edʒou ji tʃabu ɲka-ma

W ɲatum ufa-e-jero-wo ɲa-ke tʃabu edʒou ji tʃabu ɲka-m

ge DIST.M person LINK -VAR FOC CONJ COP Chabu [DISC] 3MSG Chabu same M

ft Those people are Chabu of that place. Chabu is one.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 003

tx iji

W iji

ft [APPROVAL]

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 061

tx moho maseti pala o

W moho mase-ti pala o

ge now Masha ADES go PROB

ft Now probably we go to Masha

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 062

tx ɲako jɲ no kojibe ɲatiɲ saɲko

W ɲa-k-o jɲ no koj-be ɲatiɲ saɲ-k-o

ge MED ALL F 1MPL go enter NEG DIST.F forest ALL FOC

ft We do not enter that forest.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 063

tx ma ɲat ufero ɓalamo

W ma ɲat ufa-e-jero-wo ɓal-mo

ge PROX DIST person LINK VAR FOC go PROG

ft From where those people came

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 064

tx ma saɲko otala kojibe jɲ otalak sombe ap-egemo

W ma saɲ-ka-o otala koji-be jɲ otala-k som-be ap egemo

ge PROX.M forest ALL FOC 3MPL leave NEG 1MPL 3MPL DAT tell NEG 1PL COND

ft If we do not tell them those people of the forest

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 065

tx ji sab tʃʷabi saŋu iŋkuma
W ji sab tʃʷabu-i saŋ-u iŋki-um
ge 3MSG ?? Chabu GEN forest FOC one M
ft The forest of Chabu is the same (one).

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 066

tx ŋatuŋ kʷatʃo tʃʷabi saŋ
W ŋatum kʷatʃo chab-i saŋ
ge DIST half Chabu GEN forest
ft That half is Chabu forest.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 067

tx ŋa ke tʃʷabi saŋ
W ŋa ke tʃʷabu-i saŋ
ge MED GEN Chabu GEN forst
ft That is Chabu's forest.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 004

tx tʃʷabi jero ap tamsenda pođe handa handa
W tʃʷabu-i jero app tamse-nda pode hama-nda hama-nda
ge Chabu LINK VAR 1PL living FPL place which FPL which FPL
ft Which are the places where the Chabu live?

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 069

tx ji tʃʷabu mosemaŋu
W ji tʃʷabu mose maŋ-u
ge 3MSG Chabu living place FOC
ft the place where the Chabu live

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 005

tx i::m

W i::m

ft [APPROVAL]

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 070

tx ma ɲan boddema edum maɲ jaŋgag edd

W ma ɲan bode-ma e-d-um maɲ jaŋga-g edd

ge PROX south Bode say.PL REL place exist FUT say.PL

ft In the north (down) there is a place called Bodde.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 071

tx i:: ma bok'u edd

W i:: ma bok'u edd

ge [HESITATION] PROX.M place say.PL

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 072

tx manti ju maɲ jaŋga edd hantʃib hantʃibum ufero ufa-e-jero

W manti ju maɲ jaŋga edd hantʃib hantʃib-um person LINK VAR

ge here another place exist say.PL a few a few M

ft There other places where small number of people live in each.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 073

tx di edu maŋka

W di edd-um maŋ-ka

ge Di say.PL REL place ACC

ft At a place called Di.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 074

tx ɲaduma eku ma he:buto:

W ɲaduma eku ma he:bu-ti-o

ge MED.M and PROX north ADES FOC

ft in addition to that, here in the upper side (north)

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 075

tx duʃi eddu maŋ jaŋga
W duʃi edd-um maŋ jaŋga
ge Dushi say.PL REL place exist
ft there is a place called Dushi.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 076

tx ŋat katʃombo son ufa jaŋga afalo eddu maŋ
W ŋat katʃo-mba-o son ufa jaŋga afalo edd-um maŋ
ge DIST half SIDE FOC other person exist Afalo say REL
ft By that other side there are other people at a place called Affallo.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 077

tx ŋat katʃotu ŋaim jeri
W ŋa-ti kʼatʃo-ti-u ŋadɛm jeri
ge MED ADES half FOC INVS Yeri
ft This half are of that Yeri.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 078

tx ŋadɛn-dak ofu git dɛ ŋaseti ŋadka mo ŋadʼnad
W ŋadɛŋ-da-k of-u gi-t dɛ ŋa-seti ŋa-ka mo ŋadʼnad
ge INVS FPL ACC alone FOC AUX 1SG know MED INES MED ACC live MeD MED
ft I know only those.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 079

tx ŋat ambo ŋadɪŋ ŋaddiŋa ofu
W ŋat ŋa ambo ŋadɪŋ ŋadɪŋ-ŋa ofu
ge DIST MED things MED.F MED.F CONJ alone FOC
ft that thing is that is all.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 080

tx ɲatɪŋ katʃotu dɛbe dʒou tʃʷabi bok'u
W ɲatɪŋ katʃo-ti-u dɛbe dʒou chab-i bok'u
ge DISTAL.F half ades FOC absent ? Chabu GEN place
ft By the other side there is no Chabu place

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 006

tx a:: moha woŋgawem kabale jerotu sero hansit sera-o hama-set
W a:: moha woŋga-we-em kabale jero-ti-u Shera FOC which INES
ge [HESITATION] now call PASS REL M localities BAR ADES FOC
ft Among those mentioned localities where does Shira belong.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 007

tx sera, sera kabale hansiti ?ed
W sera sera kabale hama-set edd
ge Shera Shera locality which INES say.PL
ft Where is sira kebele

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 081

tx mafetig edd
W mafɛ-ti-g edd
ge Masha ADES FUT say.PL
ft It is masha.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 082

tx deberedzejit
W deberedzejit
Ft Debrezeyit

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 008

tx e:: deberedzejitti
W e:: deberedzajitti
ge Deberezeyiti

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 009

tx sekabado takanti jaŋga edumo nambi aŋ komoji otalaŋga edd
W sekabado takanti jaŋga edd-u mo nambi aŋ komoj
ge Shekabado in exist say.PL FOC live whay ??? trib
W otala-jaŋga edd
ge 3MPL exist say
ft What clan (ethnic group) are those people who are living in Shekkabado?

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 083

tx madzaŋu debe tʃabu ofu gi edd
W madzaŋg-u debe tʃabu of-u gi edd
ge Majang FOC absent Chabu alone FOC AUX say.PL
ft There is no Majang, only Chabu.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 084

tx debredzejititu tʃukata ŋadmako wofina ofu
W debredzejit-it-u tʃukata ŋadema-k-o wofi-ŋa of-u
ge Debrezeyit –ADES-FOC frontier INVS- ACC-FOC Shekacho-COM alone-FOC
ft At end of Debrezeyit are Shekkacho only.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 010

tx ji sekabado takantatu
W ji sekabado takant-ati-u
ge 3MSG Shekabado in-ADES-foc
ft In Shekabado,

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 085

tx jakabadotu wosi ofu
W jakabado-t-u wosi of-u
ge Shekabado-ADES-FOC Shekkacho alone-FOC
ft At Shekabado there are only Shekkacho.

Ref Chsbu006-Sp2- 011

tx maŋk otalaŋgan ekamaŋ wawoka t'ek'emeŋjom daŋkako ji iŋanakam abim
W maŋk otala-jaŋgan eka-maŋ wawo-ka t'ek'eme-ŋjom
ge here 3MPL-exist ??-place thing-ACC benefit-reason

W daŋka-k-o ji iŋana-ka-m abi-am
ge good-ACC-FOC 3MSG ask-ACC-M reach-come
ft Here telling places where people live, that he arrived to ask is good for some benefits.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 086

tx debe moho tʃabu ŋadaŋda ofu ge edd
W debe moho tʃabu ŋad-nda of-u ge e-dd
ge absent now Chabu MED-FPL alone-FOC FUT say-PL
ft That is all, Chabu's are only those.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 087

tx ma wetʃu oŋko woŋig edd dokedotʃ edu maŋk
W ma wetʃ-u oŋ-ka-o woŋi-g e-dd-e-m dokedotʃ
ge PROX.M all-FOC ??-ALL-FOC Shekkacho-FUT say-PL-REL-M Dokedochi

W e-d-um maŋ-k
ge say-PL-REL place-ALL
ft These all are those Shekkacho's, a place called Dokedoch.

Ref Chabu006-Sp1- 088

tx fera wofike aha of ged

W fera wofī-ke aha of ge e-dd

ge Shera Shekkacho-GEN home alone AUX say-PL

ft Shera is home of Shekkacho alone

Appendix -A 4 Chabu007.eaf

Chabu007-Sp1- 001

tx a:: tiŋke woŋgase addisu alamuke
W a:: tiŋ-ke woŋgase addisu alamu ke
ge [hesitation] 1MSG-GEN name Addisu Alemu COP
ft [hesitation] My name is Addisu Alemu.

Chabu007-Sp1- 002

tx moho tʃawi kawkuge silakkat: dʒabi kusum ambukka silakkat peniŋa etʃatidig
W moho tʃawi kaw-ku-ge silaka-tt dʒab-i
ge now Chabu.place Language-INST-AUX 2MPL-1SG old.time-GEN

W kus-um ambu-ka sitlak-ka-t peni-ŋa etʃat-id-ig
ge existed-M thing- ACC 2MPL-DAT-1SG tell-and hear-PL-FUT
ft Now, I will tell you a things of old time in Chabu language and you listen.

Chabu007-Sp2- 001

tx hi::
ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 003

tx dʒari-je-m kemose-kka
W dʒari-je-m kemose-kka
ge ancient-DEF-M story-ACC
ft An ancient story.

Chabu007-Sp2- 002

tx dʒaŋka
W dʒaŋka
ge good
ft ok

Chabu007-Sp1- 004

tx bisi-gi ed isaka

W bisi-gi e-d isaka

ge ??-AUX say-PL old.time

ft During the old times it had been said like this.

Chabu007-Sp1- 005

tx i::

ft [PAUSE]

Chabu007-Sp1- 006

tx ufo d3aru umbo fumetetiŋ mohuma ʔedd ullo

W ufa-o d3ar-u umba-o fumete-ti-giŋ mo-huma e-d ul:-o

ge man-FOC old.times-FOC woman-FOC position-LOC sit-HAB

say PL male FOC

ft During the old times, women used to sit in leadership position with men. (Lit. persons old times, female in position sit with male)

Chabu007-Sp2- 003

tx i::

ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 007

tx inkum inkum bartfumti moka detmode

W inki-m inki-m bertfum-ti mo-ka det-mo-d-e

ge one M one M chair ABL sit ACC desire IPFV 2/3PL PST

ft They were eager to hold the one chair (position)

Chabu007-Sp1- 008

tx umbato kawuŋga ullto

W mba-ti-o kawo janga ull-ti-o

ge female-ADES-FOC gun have male- ADES-FOC

ft There is a gun with the women, with men as well.

Chabu007-Sp1- 009

tx eko:: ṅademaṅke ul:u saṅka nohumad ?edd
W eko: ṅadamaṅke ull-u saṅ-ka no-homa-d ed
ge and then male-FOC forest-DAT go-HABI.PST-PL say'PL
ft The men used to go to the forest.

Chabu007-Sp2- 004

tx i:
ft hi [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 010

tx saṅ no?a hakaṅ ka and
W saṅ nono-?a ha-ka-ṅ ka am-d
ge forest go-CVB meat-ACC-?? kill come-PL
ft They go to the forest, kill meat (animals) and come.

Chabu007-Sp1- 011

tx dōh oṅo fomke:: "tawo: ta momobege ma fuṅk'a kawtu"
W dōh oṅa-o fom-ke ta-wo ta mo-mo-be-ge ma
ge INTERJ 3FSG-FOC tell-?? 1FSG-FOC 1FSG live-PROG-NEG-FUT this

W fuṅk'a kaw-ti-u
ge ash edge-ADES-FOC
ft Then she told " I also will not live here at ash edge.

Chabu007-Sp1- 012

tx dʒo? tato kawoṅga mako ta momobege ma fuṅk'a kawtu"
W dʒo? ta-ti-o kawo -ṅga mako ta mo-mo-be-ge ma
ge INTERJ 1FSG-ADES-FOC gun-have therefore 1FSG sit-PROG-NEG-FUT this

W fuṅk'a kaw-ti-u
ge ash edge-LOC-FOC
ft I also have a gun, therefore I will not be sitting here on ash edge.

Chabu007-Sp1- 013

tx tawo ma no?a ka modem ambuko ka am?age no?a ka am?age am?a inkitt
ap:emoge inkim bartfumti"

W ta-wo ma no-?a ka-mo-d-e-m ambu-ka-o ka
ge 1FSG-FOC this go-CVB kill-PROG-PL-REL-M thing-ACC-FOC kill

W am-?a-ge no-?a ka am-?a-ge am-?a inki-tti
ge come-CVB-FUT go-CVB kill come-CVB-FUT come=CVB one-ADES

W ap:-e-mo-ge inki-m bartfum-ti
ge 1PL-??-sit-FUT one-M seat-ADES

ft I will go to the forest and kill what they [the males)go and kill come then we will
sit together on that one chair.

Chabu007-Sp2- 005

tx i:

ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp2- 006

tx h:

ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 014

tx eko ɲademaŋke dɔk oŋgu fomdike "iɟfi (AM) dɔŋka tʃal:e"

W eku ɲademaŋke dɔk oŋa-k fom-d-ke iɟfi dɔŋka tʃel:e
ge and then INTERJ 3FSG-ACC tell-PL-??? ok good very

ft And then they told her that it is ok.

Chabu007-Sp1- 015

tx ɲademaŋke saŋka balad

W ɲademaŋke saŋ-ka bala-d
ge then forest-ALL go-3PL

ft Then they went to the forest.

Chabu007-Sp1- 016

tx saŋka ɓaladeŋfiko noʔa jed godde kimbaseka
W saŋ-ka ɓala-d-e-ŋ-fiko no-ʔa je-d goddo-e kimbase-ka
ge forest-ALL go-PL-REL-F-ADV go-CVB see-PL elephant-GEN track-ACC
ft While they were travelling to the forest, they saw tracks of elephants.

Chabu007-Sp2- 007

tx i:ké
ft [ADMIRATION]

Chabu007-Sp3- 003

tx i::kè
ft [ADMIRATION]

Chabu007-Sp1- 017

tx de:j
ge [DISCOURSE]

Chabu007-Sp2- 008

tx ihi
ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 018

tx oŋg ʃondke ufo
W oŋa-ka ʃom-d-ke ufa-o
ge she-DAT tell-PL-?? person-FOC
ft The men told her.

Chabu007-Sp1- 019

tx ufo indik' woŋgamodiŋ ijanakk edigemo Egedigane ked
W ufa-o indik' woŋga-mo-d-e-ŋ ijana e-d egemo
ge person-FOC how call-PROG-PL-REL-F ask say.PL COND

W egedigan-e ke e-d
ge Egedigan-VOC COP say 2/3PL
ft If you ask me how the men name her, it is Egedigan.

Chabu007-Sp2- 009

tx i::

ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 020

tx [INCOMPREHENSIBLE BECAUSE OF MULTIPLE OVERLAPS]

Chabu007-Sp1- 021

tx onɔŋ ʃondke "egedigane maɖama ŋak ɖetmojem amb"

W onɔ-ka ʃom-d-ke egedigan-e maɖama ŋa-k

ge she-DAT tell-PL?? Egedigan-VOC here that-ACC

W ɖet-mo-je-m ambu

ge look.for-PROG-REL-M thing

ft "Dear Egedigan, here is the thing you are looking for" they told her.

Chabu007-Sp2- 010

tx kimbase

W kimbase

ge track

ft track

Chabu007-Sp1- 022

tx imm:

ge [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 023

tx ke aha:: moha keʔe

W ke aha moha ke-ʔe

ge ?? ?? now COP- ??

ft "It is just now"

Chabu007-Sp1- 024

tx odo biʃiŋ igomm:d

W oda-o biʃiŋ igom-d

ge 3PLF(Mix) FOC ??? follow 2/3PL

ft They followed.

Chabu007-Sp3- 005

tx e:
W e:
ge INTERJ
ft Yes,

Chabu007-Sp1- 025

tx otalo dzarti
W otala-o dzar-ti
ge 3MPL front LOC
ft They(M) (the men) in front.

Chabu007-Sp1- 026

tx igo:mm ?age no jediku mehe kittas godo
W igo:mm-?a-ge no je-d-ku mehe kitta-s godo
ge follow-CVB -AUX go see-3PL-ADV her.it.is stand-?? elephant
ft When they go following [the track], they saw elephants standing there.

Chabu007-Sp2- 011

tx i:
W i:
ge INTRJ
ft Yes

Chabu007-Sp3- 006

tx ihi
ft [APPROVAL]

Chabu007-Sp1- 027

tx dök oŋg fomdke "egedigane madamake ŋadēmak dētem amb"
W dök oŋa-k fom-d-ke egedigane madama-k-e
ge ʔ?? 3FSG- ACC tell-PL-?? Egedigan here-COP

W ŋadē-ak dēt-e-m amb
ge INVS- ACC desire-REL-M thing
ft "Dear Egedigan, here is the thing that you were looking for" they told her.

Chabu007-Sp4- 001

tx á:hà?
ft wow! [ADMIRATION]

Chabu007-Sp1- 028

tx ìmm:
ft [ADMIRATION]

Chabu007-Sp1- 029

tx oŋg edke "dánkake"
W oŋa-k e-d-ke dánka-ke
ge she ACC tell 2/3PL.NOM ??? PST good COP
ft They told her.

Chabu007-Sp1- 030

tx oŋgaŋ ikokome gine
W oŋa-k-an ikokom-e gin-e
ge 3FSG AUX ??? prepare PST kneel PST
ft She got ready and kneeled down.

Chabu007-Sp2- 013

tx oŋeŋa benaŋ dometum
W oŋa-eŋa be-ne-ŋ domet-um
ge 3FSG-COM not-INTR-F agree-REL
ft Is not she the one agreed

Chabu007-Sp1- 031

tx oŋeŋa kan dometmo
W oŋa-ŋa kan dometmo
ge she-COM ADV agree
ft It is because they agreed with her.

Chabu007-Sp1- 032

tx ikokome?a oŋgaŋ dotʃtʃ
W ikokome-?a oŋa-kan dotʃtʃ
ge prepare-CVB 3FSG-ADV squat
ft She got ready and squat down

Chabu007-Sp3- 007

tx k'awoŋga oŋke?
W kawo jaŋga oŋa-ke-?
ge gun available 3FSG GEN
ft Does she have gun?

Chabu007-Sp1- 033

tx ho:: kawuŋgake
W ho:: kawo-jaŋga-ke
ge yes gun have ???
ft Yes, she has gun.

Chabu007-Sp1- 034

tx dotʃʃagi oŋg ʃondke "afalge kuse"
W dotʃʃi-ʔa-gi oŋa-k ʃom-d-ke afal ge- kuse
ge squat-CVB-AUX 3FSG-ACC tell-3PL ?? shoot AUX- R.PST/strong IMP
ft After she sat on her heels they said her " why do not you fire?"

Chabu007-Sp1- 035

tx afalge
W afal-ge
ft fire!

Chabu007-Sp1- 036

tx ŋadimaŋke mo afalbe oŋo mo eku
W ŋadimaŋke mo-ʔa afal-be oŋa-o mo-eku
ge then sit CVB fire not she FOC sit and
ft while she was sitting without firing

Chabu007-Sp2- 015

tx i:
W i:
ge INTERJ
ft Yes.

Chabu007-Sp1- 037

tx ma ufa naŋka kukatt soŋge gine godoka noʔam bire
W ma ufa nambi-ka kuk-ka-t som-ge gine godo-k
ge PROX.M man what-ACC 2MSG-DAT-1SG tell-FUT ??? elephant-AUX

W no-ʔa-m bera-e
ge go-CVB-??? smell.with.noise-PST
ft You person [referring to Philipos, the active listener] what shall I tell you? The
elephants recognized human smell and went roared.

Chabu007-Sp3- 008

tx ʔalake
W ʔal:a-ke
ge go ???
ft it went

Chabu007-Sp2- 016

tx bere
W bera-e
ge smell with noise PST
ft did they smell and roar?

Chabu007-Sp1- 038

tx berake
W bera-ke
ge smell and roard ???
ft smelled and roar

Chabu007-Sp1- 039

tx berakan kol:e godo
W bera-kan kol:-e godo
ge smell and roar ??? run PST elephant
ft The elephants run smelling and roaring.

Chabu007-Sp3- 009

tx wo:h

W wo:

ge INTERJ

Chabu007-Sp1- 040

tx i:m

Chabu007-Sp1- 041

tx oŋoŋ eber adalkeŋfika

W oŋ-ka-oŋ eber adal-keŋfeka

ge 3FSG DAT ?? blast thunder-[COPLEX]

ft It seems to her a blast of thunder.

Chabu007-Sp1- 042

tx oŋg ŋonde "afalge kuse moha"

W oŋa-k ŋom-d afal-ge kuse moha

ge 3FSG-ACC tell-PL fire FUT STRONG.IMP now

ft "pleas, shoot now" they told her.

Chabu007-Sp3- 010

tx Chabu007-Sp3- 010

W i:ke

ft INTERJ

Chabu007-Sp2- 017

tx e:ke:

W e:ke:

ge INTERJ

Chabu007-Sp1- 043

tx ke:: oŋo fomke "ifabon ma adal bin-befa"
W ke:: oŋa-o fom-ke ifa-bon ma adal bin-befa
ge ?? she-FOC tell-?? wait-before this thunder JUS-pass
ft She responded, "wait, let the thunder stop first."

Chabu007-Sp1- 044

tx adal befa ŋa getafelg
W adal befa ŋa ge-t afal-g
ge thunder pass CONJ AUX 1SG fire FUT
ft I will fire after the tender passed.

Chabu007-Sp2- 018

tx dzo hamaŋko etʃatumodum adasege
W dzo hamaŋ-ka-o etʃat-homa-d-um adā-se-ge
ge [DISCOURSE] where-ALL-FOC hear neg 3PL PROG action NOM AUX
ft It is an act that they (the women) never heard anywhere.

Chabu007-Sp1- 045

tx hamaŋkage
W hamaŋ-ka-ge
ge where ALL AUX
ft no where?

Chabu007-Sp1- 046

tx ŋadema korkugi
W ŋadema kor-kugi
ge that complete after
ft when it stops

Chabu007-Sp1- 047

tx e:: oŋg fonda "nasige kuŋg afalbe mo"
W e:: oŋa-ka fom-d-ke nambse ge kuŋg afal-be- mo
ge [PAUSE] she-DAT tell-PL-?? why AUX 2FSG fire-NEG-PROG
ft "Why were you not firing?" they asked her.

Chabu007-Sp3- 011

tx jem jonḡoka k'pmo bene
W jem jonḡo-ka-k ko-mo be-ne?
ge the wind ACC AUX die PROG NEG-INTR
ft Is not she dying of fear of the wind?

Chabu007-Sp2- 019

tx aha
ge Yes

Chabu007-Sp1- 048

tx "naḡfege kuḡ afalbemo"
W naḡfege kuḡ afal-be-mo?
ge why 2FSG fir (gun) NEG COT
ft why do not you shoot?

Chabu007-Sp1- 049

tx ke:: indik
W ke:: indik
ft how was it? they asked her.

Chabu007-Sp1- 050

tx ke:: adalgi taka adze
W ke:: adal-gi ta-ka adz-e
ge ?? thunder-AUX 1FSG-ACC disturb-PST
ft The thunder disturbed me.

Chabu007-Sp1- 051

tx kaman godo
W kama-n godo
ge ??? ??? elephant
ft this elephant

Chabu007-Sp1- 052

tx godo dēbe kɔlkus oŋ ʔedd
W godo dēbe-k kɔl-kus oŋ e-dde
ge elephant ??? AUX run R.PST 3FSG tell 2/3PL.NOM PST
ft They told her that the elephants had already run

Chabu007-Sp3- 012

tx Chabu007-Sp3- 012
W him

Chabu007-Sp1- 053

tx k'aman godo adali dzarne adali gifati ŋakɔl:e oŋo eka fi inane
W k'a-ma-n godo adali dzar-ne adali gif-a-ti ŋa-kɔl:-e
ge ?? elephant thunder before thunder after LOC ??? run PST

W oŋa-o eka biŋi inan-e
ge 3FSG FOC like this ??? ask PST
ft The woman asked whether the elephant run before the thunder or after the
thunder.

Chabu007-Sp2- 020

tx i:hi:: maɖima beraka etʃatʔa
W i:hi:: maɖijem bera-ka etʃat-ʔa
ge That noise of smelling ACC hear Con
ft Yes, hearing that noise

Chabu007-Sp1- 054

tx beraka etʃatake jem beraka etʃatakan somo oŋo
W bera-ka etʃet-a-ke jem bera-ka
ge smelling nose ACC hear CVB ??? MDFF elephants noise of smelling ACC
ft She is talking about the elephants noise that she heard.
W etʃet-a-kan som-mo ike
ge hear CVB ??? tell PROG yes

Chabu007-Sp2- 021

tx ʃ[incomprehensible) eberka ijage oŋo
W ʃ[incomprehensible) eber-ka ijage oŋo
ge noise ACC think she
ft She thought that it was thunder.

Chabu007-Sp4- 002

tx i::

Chabu007-Sp2- 022

tx ihi

Chabu007-Sp1- 055

tx be:raka eʃʃatəŋ fomokke "adali dʒarna kol:e adali giʃane"
W be:ra-ka eʃʃat-aŋ fom-mo -kke adali dʒar-na kol:-de adali
ge smell ACC V CONJ tell PROG ??? thunder befor Q 3PL thunder
ft Hearing the noise of the elephants she said "did they run before the thunder or
after?"
W giʃa-ne
ge after Q

Chabu007-Sp1- 056

tx oŋg fonde adalbe berak beraje
W oŋa-k fom-d-e adal-be bera -k bera-je
ge 3Sg ACC tell 3PL PST thunder not smell AUX smell EPH PST
ft "There was no thunder, it was the noise of the elephants while they were noise of
elephant's smelling" they told her.

Chabu007-Sp2- 023

tx (incomprehensible)

Chabu007-Sp2- 024

tx ŋadəmm: adalka betum
W ŋadəmm: adal-ka bet-um
ge that thunger ACC resumable
ft looks like thunder

Chabu007-Sp1- 057

tx godogi bire ŋa adalk batumo

W godo-k bira-e ŋa adal-k bat-umo

ge elephant-AUX smell- PST and thunder ACC look-PROG

ft It is the elephants noise that seemed thunder.

Chabu007-Sp1- 058

tx indije: ŋab egemo ahaka of dzowage taken tʃuwa kawti no moʔage

karuka of atta silakatin ham

W indije:: ŋa-b egemo aha-ka of dzow-ʔa-ge

ge What? that-so COND home-ALL only return -CVB-AUX

W ta-ke-e-m tʃuwa kaw-ti no mo-ʔage karu-ka

ge 1FSG-GEN-DEF-M fire edge ADES go sit-CVB coffee-ACC

W of atta silak-ka-ti ham

ge only prepare 2MPL-DAT-1SG give

ft What! If that is so, I have to return home, sit by the fire, prepare karu, and serve you, that is all.

Chabu007-Sp2- 025

tx ije::

W ije::

ge (approval)

Chabu007-Sp4- 003

tx hamm

W hamm

ft give

Chabu007-Sp3- 013

tx Chabu007-Sp3- 013

W ham

Chabu007-Sp1- 059

tx ɲa jaŋga ambukko: silak of aɗa dʒataŋo ahak of takem funk'a kawka
gitɲdʒow

W ɲa jaŋga ambu-kka-o silak of aɗa-dd dʒo-taŋo aha-k of
ge that exist thing ACC FOC 2MPL only do 3PL, 1FSG home ALL only

W ta-ke-m funk'a kaw-ka gi-t-iŋ dʒow
ge 1FSG-GEN-M ash edge-to AUX-1-PRS Return
ft Now, you do what is available there, I return to my ash.

Chabu007-Sp2- 026

tx ta:mʔa kare atta of

W ta:m-ʔa karu-e atta of
ge sit CVB coffee-LINK prepare only
ft I sit and prepare coffee that is all.

Chabu007-Sp1- 060

tx oŋge ta:m kare atta of eka

W oŋa -ke ta:m karu-e atta of eka
ge 3FSG- GEN sit coffee-LINK prepare only [DISCOURSE]
ft Her [job] is sitting and preparing karu, that is all.

Chabu007-Sp2- 027

tx [laughed)

W [laughed)

Chabu007-Sp3- 014

tx Chabu007-Sp3- 014

W (incomprehensible)

Chabu007-Sp1- 061

tx kemoʃe mabeʃ bedoku

W kemoʃe mabeʃ bedoku
ge story today until
ft This is a story told until now.

Chabu007-Sp4- 004

tx (INCOMPREHENSIBLE)

Chabu007-Sp3- 015

tx mabif bedoko

W mabif bedoko

ge today until

ft until today

Chabu007-Sp4- 005

tx mabif bedoko

W mabif bedoko

ge today until

ft until today

Chabu007-Sp2- 028

tx mabes bedoka moho k'aruka oŋo tʃuwa set moʔan ta:mʔa idʒagana ata
nambitakan idʒagen femo ŋaʔ mabem walatʃtʃe bene

W mabes bedoka moho k'aru-ka oŋa-o tʃuwa-set mo-ʔa-ŋ

ge today until now coffee-ACC 3FSG-FOC fire-INES sit-CVB-PRS

W ta:m-ʔa idʒagan-ʔa ata nambi-tak-ka-ŋ idʒagan-ʃe-mo

ge sit-CVB work CVB cook what-MPL-ACC-PRS work -INST-PROG

W ŋa-ʔa mab-e-m walatʃtʃe be -ne-g

ge MED-?? like-DEF-M reason not-NEG-FUT

ft Is that not why she sits by the fire and cook things until now?

Chabu007-Sp1- 062

tx i: ke ŋaduma ke

W INTERJ COP MED COP

Chabu007-Sp2- 029

tx ŋademsiti oŋgano loset kusuduma

W ŋadem-siti oŋa-ka-no loset kusu-d-e-m

ge INVS- ADES 3FSG ACC ??? defeat RPST-PL-REL-M

ft It is with that, that they had defeated her.

Chabu007-Sp1- 063

tx ηαδum ηαδum ηαδum

W ηαδum ηαδum ηαδum ηαδum

ge MED.M MED.M MED.M MED.M

ft That is it, that is it, that is it.

Appendix-A5 Chabu046

- Ref Chabu046- 001
tx kanika git dirbu kuse tin
w kani-ka gi-t dirbu kuse tin
ge dog ACC aux 1sg train-hunting R.PST 1MSG
ft I had trained a dog hunting.
- Ref Chabu046- 002
tx kanikati dirbu?age
w kani-ka-ti dirbu-?a-ge
ge dog ACC-1SG train CVB AUX
ft after I trained a dog
- Ref Chabu046- 003
tx kanika dirbu?age furumba age
w kani-ka dirbu-?a-ge furo-umba-?a-ge
ge dog train CVB AUX hunter (skilled) CAUS CVB AUX
ft after having trained dogs and make them hunter
- Ref Chabu046- 004
tx kani dirbu ju-mba ufa egemo kabadi e?oma
w kani dirbu ju-mba ufa egemo [kabadi e?oma
ge dog hunt another SID person COND difficult ??
ft Training dogs in new place is very difficult.
- Ref Chabu046- 005
tx kaniko utukumba?age
w kani-ku-o utuk-umba-?a-ge
ge dog INST FOC catch CAUS CVB AUX
ft after you made the dogs catch animal
- Ref Chabu046- 006
tx utuk-umba-?a-ge isa no am
w utuk-umba-?a-ge isa no am
ge catch CAUS CVB AUX first go
ft train the dog first and go for hunting

Ref Chabu046- 007
tx utukumba?a utukumba?a
w utuk-umba-?a utuk-umba-?a
ge cach CAUS CVB catch CAUS CVB
ft having made the dogs catch, made catch

Ref Chabu046- 008
tx ongatum golla
w onga-t-um golla
ge ?? hunt
ft you hunt with them

Ref Chabu046- 009
tx ongatum golla
w onga-tum golla
ge ?? hunt
ft you hunt with them (dog)

Ref Chabu046- 010
tx gola?a
w golla-?a
ge hunt CVB
ft Having hunted with dog

Ref Chabu046- 011
tx dirb?a kol?a tinj ka
w dirb-?a kol-?a tinj ka
ge hunt CVB run CVB 1MSG kill
ft Having hunted and run I kill.

Ref Chabu046- 012

tx koll kaʔa
w kol ka-ʔa
ge run kill CVB
ft Having run and kill

Ref Chabu046- 013

tx tʃʷaka keppu keppu go:ma
w tʃʷa-ka keppu keppu go:ma
ge fire ACC fire starting stick rub (to start fire) fire
ft You start fire and burn.

Ref Chabu046- 014

tx tʃʷwak ebetʷata keppu go:ma ebetʷata
w tʃʷwa-k ebetʷa-ta keppu go:ma ebetʷa-ta
ge fire ALL put fire wood DEST fire starting stick burn fire wood DEST
ft You start fire fetch and put fire wood

Ref Chabu046- 015

tx kʷasik kʷasik ŋahuma kʷasik e::si o::natala
w kʷasi-k kʷasi-k ŋa-huma kʷasik e::si
ge roasting bed ACC roasting bed ACC pierce-?? roasting bed build

w o::na-ta-lla
ge spread DEST up
ft You build roasting bed cut and spread up the meat on the bed

Ref Chabu046- 016

tx onatalla gegetumbaʷata
w o:na-ta-lla ge-get-umba ata
ge spread DEST up REDUP move around CAUS cook
ft spread and move around

Ref Chabu046- 017

tx doma korŋa
w doma kor-ŋa
ge roast complete-Conj
ft After it is cooked well,

Ref Chabu046- 018

tx kosoŋo pari t'a
w kosoŋo pari t'a
ge intestine ?? eat
ft you eat the internal parts

Ref Chabu046- 019

tx dafa korʔa kenken tʃ'ota am
w da-fa kor-ʔa kenken tʃ'ota am
ge collect down complete CVB caring stick cut come
ft Having finished collecting the meat down, you cut stick for carrier
and come

Ref Chabu046- 020

tx hamabu egemo inki ufa ge inki jige kenken tʃ'ota am
w hamabu egemo inki ufa ge inki ji-ge kenken tʃ'ota am
ge how much COND one person AUX one he AUX carrying stick cut come
ft Whatever their number is one person cut and bring sticks for
carrying the meet.

Ref Chabu046- 021

tx esi hi::pita
w esi hi::pi-ta
ge order tie DEST
ft You put it in order and wrap it tightly.

Ref Chabu046- 022

tx kantamba ɓala kanta kukem bak'eka uttuku
w kanta-mba ɓala kanta kuk-ke-m bak'e-ka uttuk-u
ge carry (on back) CAUS go carry you GEN M spear ACC catch FOC
ft you prepare carrying belt, stand and carry, take your spear.

Ref Chabu046- 023

tx kanu gifati
w kani-u gifa-ti
ge dog FOC behind ABL
ft The dogs follow from the back.

Ref Chabu046- 024

tx teman egemo madamaŋka-n egemo miriŋa ɲada sepa ami mamō teman egemo
gaʔam ek'a
w tema-ŋ egemo madamanka-ŋ egemo miriŋ-ŋa ɲada sepa
ge far FEM COND there F COND Godere river CONJ that hill
w am-e-m-o tema-ŋ egemo gaʔam ek'a
ge come REL M FOC far F COND bring DICOURSE
ft even if it is far, even it is that (far place), even if it is as
far as the sloppy hill near Mirin (name of river), you carry and go.

Ref Chabu046- 025

tx deppa deppa
w deppa deppa
ge become dark become dark
ft when it get dark

Ref Chabu046- 026

tx am ek'a amʔakin ba:r amʔakin ba:r komati
w am ek'a am-ʔa-kin ba:r am-ʔa-kin ba:r koma-ti
ge come DISCOURSE come CVB ADV cry come CVB ADV shout road ADES
ft You come and cry for help on the road.

Ref Chabu046- 027

tx amʔakin ba:r ufemak okondi debe git kakus doh
w am-ʔa-kin ba:r ufa-e-m-ak okon-d debe gi-t
ge come CVB ADV cry person DEF M AUX help PL PER AUX 1SG
w ka-kus doh
ge kill R.PST DISCORSE
ft when you come and cray for help (someone says) help the man,
it seems he had killed.

Ref Chabu046- 028

tx ufo kɔllʔa ʃalanodin kantaka getumbano ufo okonosa apakatasa
kantadin dʒo kukemo bak'ɛ hebel gifati
w ufa-o kɔll-ʔa ʃala no-d-in kanta-ka get-umba no ufa-o
ge person FOC run CVB exit carry ACC return CAUS go person FOC
w okono-sa apakata-sa kanta-d-in dʒo kuk-ke-m bak'ɛ hebel
ge help REC shar REC carry PL 2MSG GEN M spear carry
w gifa-ti
ge behind ABL

ft People come running You give your luggage for them. When they help each other, share between them and carry , you carry your spear on your shoulder and follow them.

Ref Chabu046- 029

tx gifat gifat gifati dʒoʔa abiamdi am jik eno
w gifa-t gifa-t gifa-ti dʒo-ʔa abi am-di am
ge behind ABL behind ABL behind ABL return CVB reach come PL come
w ji-k e-no
ge 3MSG ACC put go
ft You follow ing form the back when you reach you come put it

Ref Chabu046- 030

tx erkitasa
w erkita-sa
ge share REC
ft share

Ref Chabu046- 031

tx matum ahako, matum ahako matum ahako matum ahako mako mako
w ma-t-u aha-ka-o ma-t-u aha-ka-o
ge PROX.M ADES FOC house DAT FOC PROX.M ADES FOC house DAT FOC
w ma-t-u aha-ka-o ma-t-u aha-ka-o
ge DIST ADES FOC house DAT FOC PROX.M ADES FOC house DAT FOC PROX.M
w ma-ka-o ma-ka-o
ge DAT-FOC PROX.M DAT-FOC
ft for this house, for that house, for that house, for this for that.

Ref Chabu046- 032

tx kuke maŋkao kedebaka adak
w kuk-ke maŋ-ka-o kedeba-ka adak
ge 2MPL GEN place DAT FOC small ACC remain
ft for you house a little will be left.

Ref Chabu046- 033

tx ɲadajmba isa appakatasa?a attagita:mdi
w ɲadum-mba isa appakat-asa-?a atta-gita:m-d
ge MED SID first share REC CVB cook diferent places PL
ft first they shar by that place and cook in each of the house.

Ref Chabu046- 034

tx e dzo dzabu egemo ju ufa egem biŋeno
w e dzo dzab-u egemo ju ufa egem bin-no
ge ?? ?? tomorrow FOC COND another person COND JUS go
ft even twomorrow let another persone go

Ref Chabu046- 035

tx befiko egemo bala woŋga
w befiko egemo bala woŋga
ge after tomorrow COND go Call
ft even after twomorrow you get up, call the dogs

Ref Chabu046- 036

tx awakasa bala hantfiba ufa egemo nadajmabu
w awaka-sa bala hantfiba ufa egemo nadem mabu
ge call REC go a few persons COND INVS like
ft call one another and go, if they are few person it is like this.

Ref Chabu046- 037

tx kɔl?a noka?a ɲadajimabu k'asik ada tʃ'uwa goma
w kɔl-?a no ka-?a ɲadem mab-u k'asi-k
ge run-CVB go kill CVB INVS like FOC roasting bed ACC
W ada tʃ'uwa goma
ge prepare fire burn
ft run, go then prepare roasting bed, start fire

- Ref Chabu046- 038
tx o:nata?alla domanj n̄adadajimab dafa
w o:na-ta-alla doma-n̄ n̄adem-mab da-fa
ge spread DEST up cooked PRS INVS like collect down
ft spread up on the bed then take down
- Ref Chabu046- 039
tx n̄ademsiko ufanga bab o dzita erkitasa kakantin
w n̄adem-sika-o ufa janga bab o dzita erkita-sa
ge INVS ACC FOC person exist two PROB three share REC

W ka-kant-in
Ge REDUP carry PRS
ft at this time there are two or three persons, thuse, they share
and each one carry.
- Ref Chabu046- 040
tx ongaken sara am n̄adajimabu am?akun baar am
w onga-ken sara am n̄adajimabu baar am
ge travel come then shout come
ft You travel back , then travling you shout for help.
- Ref Chabu046- 041
tx am baar am?a debek kuk etf'etwe afuk'a nono n̄asi no okon amdin
dzo?a erkitasa
w am baar am-?a debe-k kuk etf'et-we afuk'a
ge come shout come CVB PERF AUX 2MSG hear PASS ??

w no-no n̄asi no okon am-d-in dzo-?a erkita-sa
ge go go ?? no help come PL PRS return CVB share REC
ft You shout for help coming. When you have been heard people
come rushing. They come and help, shar among themselves and
return.
- Ref Chabu046- 042
tx erkitasa?a dzo?a debegekin:: ata nugitamde
w erkita-sa-?a dzo-?a debe-ge-k-in ata nu-gitam-d
ge share REC CVB RETURN CVB PER AUX 2ND PRS cook ?? FREQ PL
ft After you have shared between yourselves, you each cook in
each house.
- Ref Chabu046- 043
tx atanugitam?ag k'umba?ag
w ata-nu-gitam-?a-g k'umba-?a-g
ge cook ?? FREQ CVB FUT eat-meat CVB FUT
ft will cook in each house and will eat

Ref Chabu046- 044
 tx dzabu nadajimabe befikumbo tʃ'inka amdige sarawe amdige
 w dzabu nadem mab befik-u mab-o tʃ'inka
 ge tomorrow INVS like after tomorrow FOC like this FOC morning

 w am-di-ge sara-we am-di-ge
 ge come PL FUT sara PASS come PL FOUT ft Tomorrow like this,
 after tomorrow as well, will come in the morning, go to the
 forest and come.

Ref Chabu046- 045
 tx ɲadajimab dʒoʔ bala sara dʒoʔ otatti dʒoʔ dɛbɛk no and
 w ɲadɛm mab dʒoʔ bala sara dʒoʔ ott-ta-ti dʒoʔ
 ge INVS like ?? go travel ?? near DEST ADES ??
 W debe-k no am-d
 Ge PERF- AUX go come-PL
 ft like this get up go near go and return.

Ref Chabu046- 046

 tx no dʒoʔamʔak erkitasaʔ no dʒo t'a ke maŋka kalseka
 w no dʒo- am-ʔa-k erkita-sa no dʒo t'a ke maŋ-ka
 ge go return come CVB ADV share REC go return eat COP place ACC

 w kalse-ka
 ge shelter ACC
 ft aftr they go and come they share and eat.

Ref Chabu046- 047
 tx kalseka * * *apuno gomak
 w kalse-ka ??? apu-no goma-k
 ge shelter ACC 1PL go burn
 ft we go to our shelter and preper fire

Ref Chabu046- 048

 tx kalsek ji mana maŋkabe gefa otinu gumat goma
 w kalse-k ji-maŋ-o maŋka-be gefa oti-nu
 ge shelter ACC he place FOC here NEG Gemadaro close
 w [INCOPREHENDABLE] goma
 ge burn
 ft The place of the shelter is not here (is far) a place near to Gemadaro start fire.

Ref Chabu046- 049

tx gomaʔa matu dʒo ka am
w goma-ʔa ma-tI-u dʒo ka am
ge burn CVB PROX. ADES FOC return kill come
ft Aftre you starte fire, you return here kill and come.

Ref Chabu046- 050

tx kasiʔeʔa ŋako owombano-mo-ʔa ŋako t'amo ŋako owombanomo mako
erkitumba mako erkitumba dʒoʔa jitsʃ'araka
w kasa-ʔe-ʔa ŋa-ko owo-mba no-mo-ʔa ŋa-ka-o t'amo
ge roast??-CVB MED-ACC-FOC go sit CVB that ACC FOC eat PROG
w ŋa-ka-o owo-mba no-mo ma-ka-o erkitu-mba
ge that ACC FOC give CAUS go SIT this ACC FOC share CAUS
w ma-ka-o erkit-umba dʒo-ʔa ji tʃ'ara-ka
ge this ACC FOC distribut CAUS return CVB he red ACC
ft you roast on the roasting bed, distributing it, eating it, distributing it, you share for this share
for that for the red people (Shekacho)

Ref Chabu046- 051

tx owomano ek'a
w owo-mano ek'a
ge distribut-?? [DISCOURSE]
ft That is all you distribute.

Ref Chabu046- 052

tx ahakusmak ahakusumatu dʒo waltika adamohund adamohund waltika
w aha-kus-um-ak aha-kus-uma-ti-u dʒo walti-ka ada-mo-hun-d ada-mo-
hun-d walti-ka
ft at home alcohol has been prepared.

Ref Chabu046- 053

tx waltik admohund abiamʔa debek atatahunde
w walti-k ada-mo-hun-d abl-am-ʔa debe-k atata-hun-de
ft while you reach alcohol has been prepared, it already has been boiled (put on fire to boil)

Ref Chabu046- 054

tx ma atamodumo dek bala kojnode dzo? san kuhajema balak wonga
w ma ata-mo-d-um-o de-k bala koj no-d-e dzo?
ge PROX.M prepare PROG PL FOC PER AUX go inter go PL ???
w san kuha-je-ma bala-k wonga
ge forest you ?? ??go
ft when they (the females) prepare the alcohol, (you) get out,
call dogs and go to forest.

Ref Chabu046- 055

tx isibetu afalafatʃʃe debek kakantin bal amʔa
w isibetu afal-afa-tʃʃ-e debe-k ka-kat'-in bal-am-ʔa
ge immediate hunt-down-MDU-PST PERF-AUX REDUP-tear -EXTRACT go come CV
ft immediately they.DU hunt and will have been cut in to pieces and come

Ref Chabu046- 056

tx ufo erkitasano atta
w ufa-o erkita-sa no atta
ge person FOC share REC go cook
ft the people share and cook

Ref Chabu046- 057

tx tazanko dzab dindimako omtʃetʃe etad
w tazan-ka-o dzab dindim-aka-o mtʃetʃe eta-d
ge beer ACC FOC tomorrow night ACC FOC yeast put PL
ft In your beer you add (yeast) tomorrow night without waiting long

Ref Chabu046- 058

tx tazani kobumo::
w tazani kobu-mo::
ge beer ferment PROG
ft local beer is fermenting

Appendix B Chabu word list

Appendix B1 Chabu English word list

A - a

- ábá** *N.* name of a tree.
àbal *V.* buy.
àbalsé *V.* sell.
àbi *V.* arrive.
abukádó *N.* avocado.
abur *V.* fight (animals).
àbutí *V (tr).* spill (liquid). *Syn:* **watftjanni**.
abut'ita *V.* strain.
àdǎ *V.* act, do. *Syn:* **idzagen**.
àdak *V.* leave behind.
adinn *V.* swell (intr).
adinn *N.* swelling.
adit *V.* winnow, throw in air (grain).
adudi *V.* shiver, shake, tremble.
adure *N.* cat.
adzaje *V.* lean against (intr).
adze *V.* shock (tr).
adzule *N.* vulture.
afa *N.* 1) grandfather. 2) grandchild.
afafun *V.* rush. *Syn:* **d3od3o**.
afafunobe *V.* get calm.
afalafa *V.* kill a pray within a few hours of searching for pray.
afalasa *N.* fight (in quarrel). *Variant:* **fa**.
affal *V.* kick, hit, beat, shoot. *Syn:* **gi**.
afuk'a *V.* rush.
afura *N.* small hall.
afurase *N.* hole.
agádé *N.* sugar cane.
agale *V.* be let.
agarapo *V.* condole, comfort.
aget *V.* bless.
ageti *N.* blessing.
ago:m *N.* grunt.
ago:m *Syn:* **sefamba** *V.* 1) grunt (with pain). 2) grunt (from effort) similar in Majang..
agutǎ *V.* (be) hide. *Syn:* **dfugawe**.
aha *Variant:* **aka**. *Syn:* **dfoku**. *N.* 1) home, hut, house. 2) home country, ethnic area.
ahak' *V.* send phlegm.
ahakí *N.* phlegm. *Syn:* **batf'i**.
ahase ambo *N.* belongings.
ahola *V.* argue.
ajja *N.* aunt (sister of one's father).
ako *V.* quench, extinguish.
akumé *N.* Negotiation of abduction.
akur *N.* groundnut, peanut.
akus *N.* baby sling lost.
alam *N.* curse (said by all age).
alamu *N (P).* Alamu Proper name.
albi *N.* black and white male dog.
am *V.* come.
ama *N.* friend (male to male). *Syn:* **sam**.
aman *V.* catch (object in air).
amanse *V.* snatch, seize.
ambu *N.* thing.
aṅadatta *V.* decorate.
ananasi *N.* pineapple.
aṅi *V.* brew (alcohol).
aṅi *N.* newly brewed (alcohol).
ann *PRON.* we (FDU or Mixed).
aṅṅan *V.* stir.
ansana *N.* lightning (only the spark).
antǎi *PRON.* we (MDU).
appakat *V.* divide, separate (tr).
appakat *V.* scatter (int).
appir *V.* fly.
appirwase *V.* soar (fly round).
appo *V.* speak, talk, chat.
appo:se *N.* speech, discourse.
appotǎi (Majang) *V.* thank.
áppúr *V.* shell (remove the seeds of maize from the bush).
àpǔ:r *V.* clear (land for planting).
aragat *V.* arranged, ordered.
arakan *N.* pus.
aremba *V.* smear (tr).
arewe *V.* apply ointment on one's own body.

arum *N.* ostrich.
ase *N.* leftovers. *Variant:* **afe**.
asutta *V.* hang up.
atase turo *N.* metal pot.
atemba *V (tr).* open, uncover ,.
atemba *V.* stretch (animal hide under the sun).
atembaset *ADJ.* open.
atewe *V (int).* be open , be uncovered.
ati *ADJ.* scarce. *Variant:* (**not adi**).
ati *N.* noise, sound.
áti *N.* razor. *Syn:* **gojise?amb**.
atijá *V.* lead, guide (the way). *Syn:* **eberan**.
áti:ni *N.* boy, young, young man.
atfatfa *Adv.* individually, separatly.
átfidán *V.* hollow out (log).
átfikán *N.* command. *Syn:* **somm**.
átfikán *V.* order (someone to do something), tell.
Syn: **some**.
atjin *V.* curse (by alderly members).
atjin *N.* curse (by elderly members).
atfir *V.* flatten.

atfirwe *V (int).* (be) flatten.
atfir?at *N/ADJ.* flatten.
atftjak *V.* begin.
atftjakseti *N.* beginning.
atftjakseti *N.* early. *Variant:* **atftjakseti**.
atfu *V.* sow, plant.
atta *V.* fry.
àtti: *V.* kick, stamp (with foot), trample.
atubu *V.* soak.
ātūl *V (tr).* 1) store (up), heap up, accumulate.
 2) assemble, meet together, gather.
atule *N.* heap.
atule?at *Adj.* crowd.
atut *V.* stretch a mat.
atuti ambu *N.* mat.
awák *V.* call (to go together).
awakasá *V.* call one another.
áwé *N.* axe.
àwē *V.* transplant.

B - b

bab *Quan.* two.
babadinn *V.* slice (sweet potato, chekoy, babure).
babe *N.* one's own father.
babu *N.* liver.
babure *N.* a kind of yam with edible tuber.
bada *V.* 1) cut open (fruit) , chop into pieces (wood).
 2) chop into pieces (wood).
badawese *N.* crevice.
bade *N.* a kind of yam (which produce only one big tuber).
bagetfo *N.* lamb.
bago *N.* sheep.
bà:jō *V.* clap (hands).
bakε *N.* spear, lance (spear).
baketfo *N.* chick.
bakko *N.* chicken.
bà:lā: *V.* belch.
balano *V.* get out, exit (from where the speaker is available).
bala?am *V.* come out, exit (towards the speaker).
ball *N.* cheek.
balla *V (int).* rise up.

ballo *N.* "Y" shaped or forked stick.
bambale *N.* a tree lain to one position.
bambatfije *N.* elephantiasis.
bambe *N.* sweet potato.
bambije *N.* Mother gongodzi.
bambo *N.* cliff.
bandange *N.* agama lizard (red-headed).
bangase *N.* crossroads, intersection. *Variant:*
bangafe.
bangi *N.* autumn.
bánoj *N.* locust.
barbaro *N.* pepper (green) (Majang).
ba:ro *N.* omen.
bartfum *N.* stool.
batfatfa *N.* gill.
batji *N.* nasal mucus, snot.
batftji *N.* vagina.
batt *V.* be similar, be alike.
batti *V.* shout, cry out, cry for help. *Syn:* **bar**.
battita *V.* shout at (someone or something).
batumba 1) *V.* make similar.
-be *SUFF.* NEG (in non-imperative constructions). **ju**

- ambege** He will not come.
- be** *N.* heart. *Syn:* **ludise**.
- bebede** *N.* spring.
- bedan** *N.* beam, rafter.
- bedoko** *POSTP.* since.
- behi** *V.* singe. *Variant:* **beki**.
- bej** *N.* monkey.
- beket** *N.* monitor lizard (small crocodile like reptile).
- bel** *V.* cut (trunk with an ax).
- belanti** *N.* black and white female dog.
- belti** *ADJ.* sweet. *Syn:* **gidi**.
- benda** *N.* mother in law.
- bendi** *N.* father in law.
- bero** *N.* bed.
- berr** *N.* tumor.
- bej^oa** *N.* beard. *Syn:* **petja**.
- bej^ee** *V.* choke. *Syn:* **betje**.
- bese tʃota** *N.* stomach ache, upset stomach.
- beseti tʃo** *N.* fetus.
- befikbefiko** *N.* two day after tomorrow.
- besiku** *N.* day after tomorrow. *Variant:* **befiko**.
- be:sse** *N.* belly, abdomen. *Syn:* **sukuma**.
- betja** *N.* beard. *Syn:* **bej^oa**.
- betto** *N.* small long tailed aquatic creatures.
- bibet** *N.* bamboo.
- bili** *ADJ.* fat. *Syn:* **tʃi:mi**.
- bilingira** *N.* mud wasp.
- billa** *V.* 1) bite. 2) bite (snake).
- billa** *Adj.* biter.
- binatá** *Syn:* **sa**. *V.* leave (place), drope (for a time being).
- bínàta** *V.* draw towards (container).
- bínin** *N.* leech.
- binn** *Syn:* **sa**. *V.* leave (place), drope (for a time being).
- binnà** *V.* draw (water from container), fetch (water from river),.
- bifi** *V.* wither (plant) (be) shriveled, (be) wrinkled (fruit).
- bitja** *V.* comb.
- bitfase?ambu** *N.* comb.
- bittja1** *N.* leg, foot.
- bittja2** *N.* stem, stalk (of maize, millet, etc).
- boba** *N.* name of a tree.
- bodda** *N.* Palm tree.
- bodde k iti** *N.* palm branch, frond.
- boddesse** *N.* palm nut.
- bodo** *N.* current (river, stream).
- bogo** *V.* stutter.
- ɓogo** *V.* (be) hard.
- ɓogo** *ADJ.* strong.
- ɓogomba** *V.* harden.
- ɓogu:** *N.* beeswax, bee-bread.
- ɓogum** *N.* bark of baboon.
- bohe** *N.* puff adder.
- bokka** *N.* bark (dogs).
- bokka** *V.* bark (dog).
- ɓokorijan** *N.* tortoise.
- boku** *N.* dirt, soil.
- boku** *N.* floor.
- boku1** *N.* place.
- boku2** *N.* ground, land.
- ɓola** *V.* open way.
- ɓolata** *V.* pierce.
- bolbol** *N.* calf (the muscular back part of the shank).
- bolbolve** *N.* pit (of snake or mouse). *Syn:* **gotfise**, **lapse**.
- boli** *N.* large reed like grass.
- bombom** *N.* army ant, soldier ant.
- ɓongita** *N.* great grandparent.
- ɓongita affa** *N.* great grandfather.
- ɓongita kake** *N.* great grandmother, ancestor.
- boni** *ADV.* yet.
- ɓonku** *N.* soup, broth.
- ɓonsa** *N.* a gras with bamboo like structure. *Variant:* **ɓonja**.
- ɓonja** *Syn:* **ɓonku**. *N.* a grass with bamboo like structure .
- ɓontja** *V.* (be) rotten, spoil (food) (intr).
- ɓontja** *ADJ.* rotten.
- ɓontja** *N.* bad smell. *Syn:* **dullukuttj**.
- ɓontji** *Syn:* **?ebe**. *V.* 1) strip off (bark), peel (without knife, ex banana). 2) husk (corn). 3) shell (groundnuts, beans).
- ɓontji** *N.* crust, peel, rind. *Syn:* **tfoto**.
- ɓontji:te** *V.* escape.
- bori** *N.* an old farm land.
- borki** *N.* red and white female dog.
- ɓorodza** *N.* grasshopper.
- bosi** *V.* (be) wide.
- bosi** *ADJ.* wide.
- bosumb** *V.* enlarge. *Variant:* **bofumb**.
- bu** *N.* leopard.
- bu`la** *V.* boil.

bubo *N.* cooking pot (earthenware). *Syn:* **winat, lewe.**
bu:dza *V.* angry.
bu:dza *ADJ.* hot tempered, angry.
bu:dza *ADJ.* sharp.
bu:dza *V.* (be) sharp.
budzamba *V.* annoy, disturb. *Syn:* **tfokate.**
budzub *N.* Name for one of Chabu clans.
bulbutfi *N.* black fish (medium size).
búllo *Variant:* **wé:tfjfi.** *ADJ.* the whole. *Syn:* **búllo.**
bululu *N.* dung beetle.
bundar *N.* name of a tree.
buṅgul *N.* swelling because of hit or bite scabies (the itch) or.
burdze *N.* bait.
burdzo *N.* small grasshopper like animals.

bure *N.* ocean, sea, lake.
burekaw *N.* beach.
burtukane *N.* orange.
buruse *N.* window, small opening on a wall of a house for the purpose of lighting and ventilation.
Variant: **burufe.**
burutfo *N.* splinter, sliver. *Syn:* **képpér.**
būsà *N.* flesh.
bù:sā *N.* stuffed, overfed.
butfa *N.* silk, hair (of maize).
butfi *V.* harvest, dig up (potatoes).
butfu *V.* pluck (feather).
butfuni *N.* jigger.

D - d

-d *NUM.* Marker for 2/3PL.
da *V.* pick, pluck (fruit).
da *V.* peck (tr). *Syn:* **ekem.**
dá *V.* eat (honey).
ḍā: *N.* pity, mourning. *Syn:* **giruwe:.**
ḍā: *V.* cry, weep.
ḍaḍaṅkin *V.* slice (bread, meat), split (string).
dagitam *V.* gather.
daguse *N.* millet.
ḍaji meṅ *N.* place of mourning.
dakse *N.* "Y" shaped area of a tree where branches start.
dale *N.* pot of kutfijo (a pot for holding water to transmit the smok to the pipe).
dali *N.* hump (of ox).
dama *N.* yellow.
ḍama *ADJ.* long.
ḍama *V.* (be) long (be) long.
dammo *N.* blood.
dammo *V.* bleed.
damumba *V.* lengthen.
da:na: *N.* beehive.
ḍaṅka *ADJ.* good, ok.
ḍankam boku *ADJ.* fertile soil. *Syn:* **tfjinim(boku).**
ḍankam ufa *ADJ.* innocent.
daro *N.* skin (animal), dried ridged hide.
ḍatfa *ADJ.* white.
ḍa:tfam jilla *N.* semen. *Syn:* **tfontu namom silla.**

ḍawatte *V.* sit together.
ḍe *N.* thigh.
ḍe: *V.* know.
ḍébbe *ADJ.* (be) empty. *Syn:* **jabam.**
ḍébbe *V.* absent. *Syn:* **ḡabube.**
ḍébèkòré *V (tr).* finish. *Syn:* **kur.**
ḍébèkòrèj *V.* used up.
ḍébú *N.* Adult male warthog.
ḍèbù *V.* cut (branch of tree).
dedebeni *N.* cockroach.
ḍe:go *N.* crocodile.
ḍeja *Adj.* better.
deki *N.* porcupine.
dek'k'a *N.* name of a tree.
deleketf *N.* rabbit.
dembalaṅ *N.* name of a tree.
dende *N.* uncle (brother of one's mother). *Variant:* **esum.**
denki *V.* squeak (trees, wheel).
ḍépē: *N.* lion.
deppú *V.* get dark.
deppú *N.* night. *Syn:* **dindim.**
ḍé:ppú *N.* stick of hunting trap.
détí *V.* need.
détube *V.* refuse.
ḍewe *N.* knowledge, wisdom, intelligent.
ḍéwe *ADJ.* intelligent, wise. *Syn:* **ḍewe.**
ḍewebbe *ADJ.* stupid, moron. *Syn:* **gaga.**

dewebbe *V.* (be) dizzy.
dewemba *V.* teach. *Syn:* tamarejemba.
dī: *V.* steal.
dī: *N.* thief. *Variant:* dījem ufa.
dì:bá *N.* name of a tree.
diga *N.* peace.
dihì *V.* grind. *Variant:* diki.
dikilam *N.* heel.
díksé mànà *N.* grinding stone. *Variant:* dikje mana, dihsé mana.
dīmu *N.* rain.
dindim *N.* night fall, dusk, twilight (after sunset). *Syn:* deppu.
dindim *V.* become nightfall. *Syn:* deppu.
díndimi fáji?àmbò *N.* evening meal.
dīngī *N.* penis.
dīngi làkà *ADJ.* impotent.
dīppét *V.* strain (food). *Syn:* tádzét.
dī:r *N.* forehead.
dirb *V.* hunt with dogs. *Syn:* golla, luge, tʃakan.
dī:ri tʃonawe *ADJ.* wrinkle (on skin).
dirteti *V.* slide.
dítʃak *N.* name of a tree.
dobe *N.* ringworm, lipracy.
dòga *N.* chest. *Syn:* dògasé.
dogase *N.* chest. *Syn:* doga.
doge emaha *N.* breastbone.
dogu 1) *V.* miss, lost.
dogu 2) *V.* (be) lost (on ones way).
dohimbit *N.* later today.
dohumbuk *N.* earlier today.
dojja *V.* domesticate, tame, adapt.
dok a *N.* name of a tree.
dokit *N.* plaster, Construction.
dokka *N.* name of a tree.
doku *N.* house, hut. *Syn:* aha₁.
doku *V.* build.
dokun *N.* brideprice (for bride's family).
doma *V.* (be) ripe. *Syn:* deg:aje, debeg:aje.
doma *ADJ.* ripe, cocked.
dombase doku *N.* kitchen.
domet *V.* agree.
dómumba *V.* cook.
dòn *N.* muscle of arm. *Syn:* bùsá. *Variant:* dònsé.
dón *N.* string.
dondiya *N.* butterfly.
donḡol *N.* praying mantis.

donḡke *N.* guinea corn.
donḡku *N.* snore.
donḡku *V.* snore.
dər *N.* trunk, log(of tree).
dosi *V.* string, thread (beads) (string heb:as). *Variant:* dofi.
dosso *N.* pain.
dossomba *V.* hurt, give pain.
dótʃò *N.* (leg) ulcer.
dótʃtʃī *V.* squat.
dowwol *N.* war.
dowwol *V.* fight (in war). *Syn:* ḡasa.
dowwoli ufa *N.* Warrior.
dowwoli ufewetʃ *N.* army.
du *N.* breast.
dubano *N.* corpse, dead. *Syn:* hop deb.
dúbbī *N.*
dubʃaj *N.* red and white male dog.
dudur *N.* dust.
duga *V* (tr). hide.
dugawe *V.* (be) hide itr. *Syn:* agutʃe.
duji aha *N.* udder.
dujiwo *N.* milk.
dukka *V.* dip.
dulafa *V.* drop (tr), take off (ones carrying).
dulkutʃtʃ *N.* mucus.
dull *V.* throw, throw away, discard, throw out.
dullukutʃtʃ *N.* smell. *Syn:* bontʃa (m), fatam.
dumab *N.* Chabu clan "attributed to bee".
dumba *V.* nurse, suckle(baby).
dumutun *N.* flying ant.
dundum *N.* arm (as a measurement). *Variant:* efi dundum.
dunedi *N.* hyena.
dunḡ *N.* brain. *Syn:* koji dunku.
dunḡkuj *N.* black female dog.
durgum *N.* hammer.
duro *N.* leper.
dutʃi *V.* carry on, hand.
dzàb *N.* tomorrow.
dzaba *N.* name of a tree.
dzábá *N.* hoe. *Syn:* kótóʃ.
dzabi fáji?ambu *N.* breakfast. *Variant:* zabi fáji?amb.
dzábù *N.* cooking stone.
dzāhi *N.* ceramic, pottery.
dzahi hede ufa *N.* potter.

dzajiti *N.* oil (Amharic origion).
dzàl *N.* yesterday.
dzalidzalka *N.* the day before yesterday.
dzámē *N.* machete, cutlass. *Syn:* **gadzare**.
dzami aha *N.* termite hill.
dzamm *N.* termite.
dzapdza *N.* name of a tree.
dzar *N.* front (of something).
dzar *V.* overtake, pass (tr). *Variant:* **zar**.
dzar *ADV.* old time. *Syn:* **isak**.
dzarijam tfo *N.* first born.
dzarpaj *N.* one side red one side white male dog.
dzart *N.* before. *Variant:* **masi zart**.
dzar?e sara *V.* steer.
dzefa *N.* fly. *Variant:* **zefa**.
dzələl *N.* mushroom (with thin stem).
dzidzi *N.* nape of the neck.
dzimba *V.* heal , cure.
dzimm *V.* (be) healthy, (be) well. *Syn:* **kendise**.
dzima *N.* healthy, well.

dzo *V.* crunch.
dzodzo *V.* hasten, hurry. *Syn:* **afafun, gure**.
dzodzo *ADV.* hurry. *Syn:* **afafuno, gure**.
dzógà *N.* name of a tree.
dzoli *V.* (be) deep.
dzoli *ADJ.* deep.
dzoliyak *N.* shall of snail.
dzolumba *V.* deepen.
dzoma *N.* name of a tree.
dzomba 1) *V.* return (tr) give back. 2) reply, answer.
dzongku *N.* growl of pig.
dzongku *V.* growl (pig).
dzowu *V.* return, go back.
dzudzuku *V.* capsize.
dzuhuma *N.* navel. *Variant:* **dzuhuma**.
dzuk *N.* god.
dzuk *N.* God (supreme being).
dzuk(u) *N.* master.

E - e

e *V.* say.
é *V.* marry.
é *V.* put.
ebe 1) *V.* sharpen. 2) peel (with knife eg potato).
eber *V.* burst.
eberan *V.* hammer (metal or stone), make (metal things by hammering).
eberani ufa *N.* blacksmith.
ebeta *V.* fetch (fire wood from field).
ebetata *V.* fetch and put firewood in fire.
ebete konna *N.* fire wood.
eduga *N.* warthog.
edzom *N.* hippopotamus.
efi lata *N.* thumb.
efi murese *N.* wrist.
efi toŋa *N.* fingers other than thumb.
efi tfumtfume *N.* fist.
efikossa *N.* menstrual period. *Syn:* **tebbu**.
efifak *N.* back of palm. *Syn:* **efifak**.
efu *N.* arm, hand. *Syn:* **go**.
egεεε *V.* gnaw.
εεεε *N.* Adult female warthog.

-e/je *SUFF.* relativizer (REL).
-ekin *MOOD.* prohibitive (PROH). **amekin** Do not come.
ekkekem 1) *V.* peck (tr) or kick with beak. *Syn:* **da**. 2) hit with knife or sword.
eku *CONJ.* and. *Syn:* **-ŋa**.
elebu *V.* shadow, track.
emaha *Variant:* **emaka**. *N.* bone.
emaha of *N.* skeleton.
emdī *N.* canoe.
eja *N.* squirrel.
endo *N.* red female dog.
engeta *N.* sister in law.
engeti *N.* brother in law.
enka *ADJ.* same, similar.
enko *N.* name of a tree from which a tanŋi blanket.
ergin *N.* bow (hunting).
ese *N.* name of a tree.
ese *V.* bake.
esem *V.* bump, knock against. *Variant:* **efem**.
esum *N.* uncle (elder brother of mother). *Variant:* **dende**.
e:t *V.* put in.

eta *N.* bigger sister.
ɛta 1) *V.* pour.
ɛta *N.* pack.
ɛta 2) *V.* pack.
ɛtawe *V.* wear clothes.
ɛtawemba *V.* dress.
etimbilik *N.* inhabitant, resident.
et'o *N.* name of a tree.
etʃet *V.* hear. *Syn:* **keti**.
etʃete *V (tr).* obey an order or advice. *Syn:* **keti**.

etʃeti *N.* hearing. *Syn:* **keti**.
etʃo *N.* mole.
ɛ:tʃo *N.* a kind of false banana (inedible) Shekkacho origin.
etum 1) *N.* relative. 2) — *N.* resident, occupier. 3) owner. 4) — *N.* self.
ewekwer *V.* scratch.

F - f

fá:ki *V.* spread out (maize) (tr).
falli *V.* create, make.
fare *V.* be thirsty.
fátata *V.* stalk.
fátta 1) *V.* crawl (human child). 2) slither (snake) , crawl (lizard).
fifseʔambu *N.* blows.
fifu 1) *V.* blow (with mouth).
fifu 2) *V.* blow (horn).
fifu *V.* blow away (intr). *Syn:* **jongo**.
fikata *V.* 1) pull and draw nearer. *Syn:* **fikka**.
fikka *V.* 1) pull. *Syn:* **fikata**.
fikkandzi *V.* drag.
filil *N.* insect.

fina 1) *V.* coil (a rope). 2) tie up.
finawe *V.* tie up (one's own hair).
finaweat tʃeke *N.* tuft, lock (of hair). *Variant:* **finaweat ʃeke**.
fitʃi *V.* squeeze, wring out.
foŋka *ADJ.* light (weight).
foŋka *V.* (be) light (not heavy).
fu: 1) *V.* fall (intr). 2) rain.
fumba *V.* knock down, knock over (an object).
fuŋka *N.* ashes.
furo *N.* hunter dog.
fútʃa *V.* pluck (feathers).

G - g

-g *TENS.* FUT.
gabijo *N.* market (Borrowing from Amharic).
gabijo *N.* week (Borrowing from Amharic).
gaga *ADJ.* stupid, moron. *Syn:* **ɖewebe**.
gagamba *V.* deceive.
gaje 1) *V.* enough.
gaje *ADJ.* enough.
gaji *N.* sting.
gal *N.* side of the body/waist. *Syn:* **gal emaha**.
galaptʃa *N.* stork (marabou). *Syn:* **ʃagi**.
gale *N.* giraffe.
gali emaha *N.* rib. *Syn:* **gal**.
gali katʃo *N.* side (of body).
galikatʃo *N.* side (of something).

gā:mà *N.* chin, jaw.
gāmmá 1) *V.* undress.
ganba *V.* lie (on one's side). *Syn:* **tagana, hubu**.
ganda *N.* snail.
gā:nì *V.* (be) rich.
gā:nì *ADJ.* rich.
ga:nó *V.* pick up.
garetti *N.* Father antelope.
gassa *V.* copulate, have sexual intercourse. *Syn:* **umbage gassa**. *Variant:* **gajfa**.
gatʃe 1) *N.* (facial) incision(s), tattoo(s) (beauty spots on faces of Chabu ladies).
gatʃe 2) *N.* mould (pottery).
gatti *N.* price.
gatti bogo *N.* expensive (price).

gatti hantfibu *N.* inexpensive, cheap (price).
gaʔam *V.* take out (from container).
gaʔamse *V.* unload.
-ge *TNS/ASPECT.* FUT.
gəbɛ *N.* garden.
geda *N.* pig.
gedel *N.* hawk.
gédí *N.* lazy dog.
gēdì *N.* cleared land.
gegetumba *V.* Move (tr). 2) knead.
gegetuwe *V.* go round, detour.
gejum *N.* Adult male buffalo.
gelteni *N.* name of a tree.
gera *V.* climb (a tree).
gerapdzise *N.* ladder.
gərɛ *N.* stick of spear.
gergawo *N.* bedbug.
gesso *N.* long bed for storing maze. *Syn:* takapu.
Variant: **geffo**.
getfo *V.* (be) proud.
getumba *V.* turnover (tr).
getiwe 1) *V (intr).* move. 2) turn round.
gi *N.* fishing net made of wood. *Syn:* hambo.
gi *V.* fight. *Syn:* affal.
gibba *N.* shield.
gidak *N.* shoot (new plant).
gidi 1) *ADJ.* sweet. 2) pleasant.
gidi *V.* be pleased.
gidi *V.* be sweet.
gidib *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to ant".
gidita *V.* rejoice.
gidita *N.* happy life.
gidumba *V.* please, satisfy.
gifo *N.* door. *Syn:* kokotfe.
gifo *V.* shut, close.
gimba *V.* shake (tr).
gimu *N.* wine made of lokoj (palm) tree bark.
gindab *N.* adult male leopard.
gingire *V.* roll.
giro *ADJ.* poor, lonely.
giro *V.* (be) poor, lack.
girowe *ADJ.* sad.
gisa *N.* behind. *Syn:* saki. *Variant:* gifa.
gifati *AD.P.* after.
giso *V.* surround. *Variant:* gifo.
giti *V.* scrap, make smooth. Action)
gifi *ADJ.* wet.

giwase *V.* 1) move. *Variant:* giwafe. 2) movement.
giwafe 2) *V.* swing (v), go back and forth.
go *N.* arm, hand (from shoulder to finger tip). *Syn:* efu.
go 2) *N.* branch (of tree).
gobbo *N.* name of a tree.
godekaw *N.* elephant's tusk.
gō:dó *N.* elephant.
gòdò *N.* pain (as a result of hit by person or other things).
godze *N.* name of a tree.
gogijo *V.* wail, ululate (at funeral).
gogub *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to spear".
goji *V.* shave.
gojise ʔambu *N.* razor. *Syn:* ati.
golla *V.* hunt with dogs. *Syn:* dirb, luge, tʃakan.
golla (ufa) *N.* hunter.
goma *V.* light (fire).
goma *N.* name of a tree.
gomase ʔambu *N.* fireplace. *Variant:* gomafeʔmbo.
gomo *N.* birdlime (adhesive to catch birds).
gomponj *N.* summit, highest point.
gomu *N.* mountain.
gonjo *N.* snail.
gongodzi *N.* antelope.
gorfo *N.* stomach.
goroto *ADV.* never.
gosa *N.* give birth. *Variant:* gofa.
gosa *V.* *Variant:* gofa. 1) bear(child), give birth. 2) lay (eggs).
gosano *V.* miscarriage. *Syn:* papale.
gosase ʔaha *N.* womb. *Syn:* tʃonka.
gòta *V.* burn. *Syn:* goma.
go:ti *N.* on the other side of fire.
gotfi *N.* hole.
gugamb *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to ape".
gujj *N.* rainstorm. *Syn:* wer.
gu:la *V.* (be) heavy.
gu:la *ADJ.* heavy.
gum *N.* club, cudgel, cane, walking stick.
gúmá *V.* take revenge (Majang origin).
gùmà *N.* thunder.
gumab *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to leopard and ant".
gumi *N.* big golden deadly snake.
gumun *N.* owl.

guna *V.* limp.
gundub *N.* name for one of Chabu clans.
gune *N.* bundle, pack, roll. *Syn:* **hipu** ₁.
gúne *V.* wrap up (piece of cloth, paper or leaf). *Syn:*
hípú, tǫm̄tsum.
guni *N.* millipede.
gunfa *V.* growl (buffalo).
gu:pp *V.* incubate, sit (on eggs).
guppo *N.* cloud.

gure *ADJ.* fast.
gure *N.* speed.
gure *V.* speed up, move faster. *Syn:* **afafun, dzodzo.**
guri *V.* slaughter, kill (animal for butchering).
gursi *N.* Heifer of buffalo.
gutare *V.* grow old. *Syn:* **ife.**
gutare *N.* old person.
gutǫ *V.* wipe off (excreta).

H - h

hà *N.* meat.
ha:ba *V.* be abundant. *Variant:* **ka:ba.**
ha:ba *Syn:* **heddi.** *Variant:* **ka:ba.** *ADJ.* many.
habaŋ ohaset *ADV.* often. *Syn:* **habaŋ ǫl.** *Variant:*
kabaŋ ohaset.
habaŋ ǫl *ADV.* often, usually. *Variant:* **Kabaŋ ǫl,**
haba ohaset.
habu *Variant:* **kabu.** *V (int).* lie down.
haduǫ ₁ *V.* palpitate (of heart).
haduǫ ₂ *V.* shiver (of pain or cold).
hadzi *V.* multiply (hen).
hagale *V.* carry on one's shoulder or waist with a
string or belt.
hagale siki *N.* sword.
hajum *N.* sunshine.
hali *V.* sprout.
ham *V.* give.
hambo *N.* hunting trap (made of string and big
stick). *Syn:* **gi.** *Variant:* **kambo.**
hambo *V.* set trap, trap (animal). *Variant:* **kambo.**
handa: *N.* tongue.
hantǫ *ADJ.* few, little.
hantǫbumba *V.* subtract, decrease (the amount or
number of something).
hebba ₁ *N.* bead. ₂ necklace, ankle ring, bangle.
he:bbu *ADV.* Spatially from a lower to a higher, up
position. *Ant:* **ŋan.**
he:bbu *Ant:* **ŋan.** *N.* north.
hebel *V.* carry on shoulder.
hebelse *N.* sholder, the place where we carry things.
hedfa *V.* weave, do (pottery or any kind of handcraft).
hedfase *N.* plait, braid (hair).
heddi *Syn:* **ha:ba.** *ADJ.* many.
heddi *V.* grow. *Variant:* **kedde.**

hedebu *ADJ.* small (size). *Syn:* **hantǫ.** *Variant:*
hefebu/kefebu/kedebu.
hediki *Variant:* . *N.* hiccough.
hè:dzī *N.* Firewood (branch).
heja *V.* wound.
hejjese *N.* wound, cut. *Variant:* .
helepdzi *N.* saliva.
helepdzinno *V.* spit.
heletti *N.* bird.
heletti aha *N.* nest.
heptǫm *V.* lick. *Variant:* **(henǫm rejected by**
Aynet and Kidmael _{24,01,12}).
hepu *Variant:* **kepu.** *N.* two sticks which help to start
fire.
he:r *N.* vein, tendon. *Variant:* **ke:r.**
hetǫ *N.* music, song, hymen. *Variant:* **ketǫ.**
hetǫ *V.* sing, play (music). *Variant:* **ketǫ.**
hí *Variant:* **kí.** *V.* move away, migrate.
hijja *Variant:* **kijja.** *V.* refuse to give. *Variant:* **hijja.**
hikira *Variant:* **kikira.** *ADJ.* dwarf. *Variant:*
kikiram ufa.
hiŋkí *N.* labor, birth pains.
hiŋkí *V.* labor (in giving birth).
hipu *N.* bundle (n). *Syn:* **gune.**
hipu *V.* hung (beehive).
hípú *V.* fasten, bind (load), (only with string or rope
without wrapping materials). *Syn:* **gúne.**
hí:rā *N.* sand. *Variant:* **kí:rā.**
hita?atin dujiwo *N.* curdled milk. *Variant:*
kita?atin dujiwo.
hitta *V.* coagulate, clot. *Variant:* **kitta.**
hitta *Variant:* **kitta.** *V.* stand.
hò: *N.* a kind of Wild yam. *Variant:* **kò:.**
hoba *N.* sky.

hoba *V.* smoke (cigarette, pipe or kutfijo).
hobu *V.* fermented. *Variant:* **kobu**.
hobu 2) *V.* evaporate. *Variant:* **kobu**.
hobumba *V.* boil (water), bubble up. *Variant:* **koɓumba**.
hogula *N.* mead, honey beer.
hoha *V.* yawn.
hoki *Variant:* **koki**. *N.* uncle (brother of one's father).
holimaŋ *N.* cemetery. *Variant:* **kolima**.
holita *V.* weeding with the help of hoe. *Variant:* **kolita**.
holitase ambu *N.* hoe. *Variant:* **kolitase ambu**.
hóll *Variant:* **kóll**. *V.* dig, cultivate, farm.
hōll *N.* funeral (at occasion of death). *Variant:* **kōll**.
holse?ambo *N.* big hoe. *Variant:* **kolse?ambo**.
holut *N.* a kind of bird with white chest and red back
homa *V.* travel. *Variant:* **koma**.
homase *N.* path, road. *Syn:* **homa**. *Variant:* **komase**.
homase ufa *N.* traveler. *Variant:* **komase ufa**.
hondi *N.* name of a tree. *Variant:* **kondi**.
hoptfi *N.* mosquito.
hoppu *N.* breath. 2)
— *N.* life. 3)
— *N.* rest.

hoppu 1) *V.* breath. 2) rest.
hoppu *V.* throb with pain.
hoppunga?ambu *ADJ.* alive. *Syn:* **kobbe**.
hopu ɗebe *V.* dead, lost his life. *Syn:* **ko**.
hora *V.* wash (clothes, utensils). *Variant:* **kora**.
hōrà *N.* spider. *Variant:* **kōrà**.
horawe *V.* bathe, wash oneself body.
hore konku *N.* spider's web. *Variant:* **kore konku**.
horo *N.* throat. *Variant:* **koro**.
horon *N.* pregnant. *Variant:* **koron**.
horose amba *N.* voice box, larynx, Adams apple.
Variant: **Korose amba**.
horumba *V (tr).* help someone wash.
howe *N.* initiation. *Variant:* **kowe**.
howe *V.* (be) engaged, (be) betrothed. *Variant:* **kowe**.
hubatto *N.* intestinal worm.
hubu *V.* lie (in one's chust). *Syn:* **tagana, ganba**.
huma *V.* get full, be sated. *Variant:* **kuma**.
hùŋgù *N.* testicle. *Variant:* **kùŋgù**.
huppunna *V.* perspire, sweat.
hutti *N.* knee. *Syn:* **kutti**.
huwann *N.* middle of chest. *Variant:* **kuwann**.

I - i

-i *LINK.* LINK. *Variant:* **-e**.
i: *INTERJ.* yes.
idda *V.* test (with tip of tongue). *Syn:* **lelem**.
idzagen *N.* work.
idzagen *V.* work.
idzom *N.* hippopotamus.
igom *V.* chase.
ihom *Variant:* **ikom**. *V.* add.
ijab *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to buffalo".
ijaŋŋ *V.* announce.
ijaŋŋ *N.* announcement.
ikokom 1) *V.* order, arrange, rearrange, organise.
2) mend, repair.
ímē *V.* (be) late.
ímē *N.* year.
īmē *N.* awe, reverence (for God).
imeno *V.* spend time, pass time, late.
imi?i?o *ADV.* late.

i: mm: *DISCORSE.* HESITATION.
iŋanna *V.* ask, request.
iŋanna *N.* question, request.
indi *N.* one's own mother. *Syn:* **lata**.
ink ink ohasetu *) ADV.* sometimes.
ink inkse *) ADV.* sometimes.
iŋka *DEM.* this F.
iŋki *N.* one.
iŋki *N.* friend (female to female).
inki apo *N.* word.
inkise *ADV.* once.
iŋkit *CONJ.* together.
inun *V.* think.
inun *N.* thought.
inungam *ADJ.* wise.
ipere 2) *V.* rape.
ipere 1) *V.* threaten, loot, rob.
iraso *N.* leader, King.

isabon *V.* wait. *Syn:* **kor**.
isa:ka *N.* in the past, old times, ancient. *Syn:* **dzar**.
Variant: **ijfa:ka**.
isaken adase *N.* tradition, custom.
ise *Variant:* **ife**. *V.* get old (materials), (be) worn out.
ise *Variant:* **ife**. *ADJ.* old (materials), worn out.
isibetu *ADV.* immediately.
isiki *Variant:* **ifiki**. *V.* sweep.
ifikfe?ambo *Variant:* **isikse ambo**. *N.* broom.
itott *V.* explain, advise. *Variant:* **itutt**.

itfe *N.* fence, compound.
itfe *V.* fence in (v).
itfe takant *N.* courtyard.
itfibu *ADV.* every other day.
itfik *V.* pour, transfer.
itftja *N.* larvae.
itute *V.* teach. *Syn:* **temaremba**.
iwor *V.* sharpen (knife, ax).

J - j

-j- (*from:* **-j-**) *EPENTH.* EPENTH.
jabak takmo *V.* i am not ok.
jabam *ADJ.* (be) empty. *Syn:* **debe**.
jaban *N.* white male dog.
janfu *PRON.* we (FPL or Mix).
jannga 1) *V.* present, exist, available.
jannga 2) *V.* have, possess.
jara *V (tr).* scatter (things).
jaw *V.* hate.
jemba *V.* show, indicate, point (with a finger).
jembatano *V.* send (something to someone).
jer *N.* God (supreme being).
=jero *NUM.* marker for variety.
jes *Variant:* **jesi (inf)** (no variant with [f. *V.* stare).
jeta 1) *V.* get, obtain, find. 2) choose.

ji *PRON.* he (3MSG).
ji *DEM.* definite masculine singular (DEF MSG).
ji:dza *N.* sorrow.
jija *N.* bigger brother(s) or son(s) of ones dende, koki, tata (father's brothers).
jimanno *Adj.* a lot. *Syn:* **ha:ba**.
jin *PRON.* we (MPL).
jojjit *N.* dragonfly.
jongo *N.* air (breathed) wind (n).
jongo *V.* blow (of wind). *Syn:* **fifu**.
ju *PRON.* he (focused). *Syn:* **ji**.
ju *PRON.* another.
ju ambesi *ADV.* once.

K - k

-ka *CASE.* marker for accusative-dative-allative case (ACC, DAT or ALL).
kaː *N.* excrement, faeces.
kaː *V.* defecate, excrete.
ka *Variant:* **há**. *V.* murder, kill.
kabu *Variant:* **habu**. *V.* lay down.
kada *N.* light.
kadaŋdaŋ *N.* palate.
kagin *N.* arrow.
k'aj doku *N.* latrine, toilet.
kak *V.* cackle (as of chicken).
kaka *N.* cave, den, lair, hole.
kakatin *V.* tear repeatedly.

kakafine *N.* rag.
kake 1) *N.* grandmother. 2) granddaughter.
kako *N.* duck.
kako *N.* ring (finger).
kalbi *N.* character, behavior, manner, conduct.
kalgib *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to snake".
kalse *N.* shelter in the bush or farming place without walls or a house with only two side walls. *Syn:* **aha, doku**. *Variant:* **kalfe**.
kamatrika *N.* huk.
kambo *N.* trap, hunting net.
kame *N.* son or daughter of one's aja, dende and nine.
kanda *V.* carry on ones shoulder with belt like gun.

- Syn:* **hebelse**.
- k'andza** *V.* burn (intr), blaze.
- k'andza** 1) *N.* flame. 2) light, lamp.
- kaṅga** *V.* straddle.
- kā:nì** *N.* dog.
- kani tjo** *N.* puppy.
- kaṅkulam** *N.* elbow.
- kanta** 1) *N.* load, burden.
- kántá** *V.* Carrying on back with belt or basket.
- kantamba** *V.* load.
- kāntè** *N.* basket.
- karas** *N.* name of a tree.
- k'arfo** *ADJ.* strong.
- k'aru** *N.* Chabu hot drink from coffee leaf and small paper.
- karuj** *N.* horn.
- kasip** *N.* month. *Variant:* **kafip, kasipu, kafipu.**
- kasip** 1) *N.* moon. *Variant:* **kafip, kasipu, kafipu.**
- kasipi hajum** *N.* moonlight.
- kafa** *N.* torn.
- kafa** *V.* tear (tr).
- kafama** *N.* diarrhea.
- katame** *N.* town, city (borrowing Amharic).
- kafawe** *V (int).* (be) torn.
- kafo** *N.* witchcraft.
- kafo** *V.* bewitch, cast spell.
- kafo** *N.* sorcerer, witch.
- katfa** *N.* fatty layer of stomach.
- katftjo** *ADJ.* half, some, part.
- katftjo** *N.* one side.
- kaw** 1) *N.* tooth.
- kaw** 2) *N.* beak, bill of birds.
- kaw** *N.* language.
- kawaṅ** *V.* fill. *Variant:* .
- kawaṅ** *ADJ.* whole, full. *Variant:* .
- kawse** *N.* mouth. *Variant:* **kawfe.**
- kawwo** *N.* gun.
- ke** *CASE.* possessor or genitive marker (GEN).
- keba** *ADJ.* light.
- keba** *V.* (be) light.
- kebam semo** *N.* shirt (light cloth). *Variant:* **kebam femo.**
- keddi** *Variant:* **heddi.** *ADJ.* much. *Syn:* **kaba.**
- keddi** *Variant:* **heddi.** *V.* grow up.
- keddumba** *Variant:* **heddumba.** *V.* increased.
- kedebu** *ADJ.* small (size). *Syn:* **hantfib.** *Variant:* **kefebu/hedeu/hefebu/**
- kedebumba** *V.* decrease (the size of something).
Syn: **hantfibumba.**
- ke'dzi** *Variant:* . *ADJ.* thin.
- ke'dzi** *V.* (be) thin.
- kejan** *N.* name of a tree.
- keki** *N.* lip.
- keki?ambu** *N.* labret, lip plug, lip disk.
- keleṅkoj** *N.* kingfisher.
- keli** *V.* leak (v).
- kemo** *Variant:* **hemo.** *V.* tell.
- kemo** *Variant:* **hemo.** 1) *N.* story, history. 2) gossip.
- kemose** *N.* story.
- kempu** *V.* flap (like the wings).
- kempu** *N.* fan.
- kempuse?amba** *N.* fan.
- kemta** *N.* goat.
- kemte tjo** *N.* kid (young of goat).
- kendi** *ADJ.* cold. *Syn:* **kende.**
- kendi** *V.* get cold.
- kendise** *V.* revive, get well.
- kendumaṅ** *N.* shadow.
- kendumba** 1) *V.* cool, make cool. 2) resolve, settle (dispute).
- kengetfe** *N.* tobacco pipe.
- kénté** *N.* bush country, rural area.
- kenfetf** *N.* little finger.
- képpér** *N.* splinter, sliver. *Syn:* **burutfo.**
- ke:re:** *N.* time of maize.
- kerumba** *Variant:* . *V.* appease, pacify, soothe, calm down.
- ke:ti** *V.* listen (with attention).
- ketfa** *ADJ.* rough.
- ketfa** *V.* (be) rough.
- keweti** *V.* paddle.
- kí** *N.* knot.
- kí** *V.* tie (knot).
- kí** *N.* smile. *Variant:* --.
- kí** *V.* smile. *Variant:* --.
- kidimm** *Variant:* . *N.* nape of neck (upper part).
- kíjá** *N.* grave. *Variant:* **No hija.**
- kíjate** *V.* tie kepu and knife on waist.
- kikirumba** *V (tr).* make short.
- kikkira** *ADJ.* short.
- kikkira** *V.* (be) short.
- kíko** *N.* itching.
- kíkowe** *V.* scratch, scrape (with the fingers).
- kilkil** *V.* tickle.

kilta *Variant: No hilta.* *N.* rat, mouse.
kimbase *N.* track.
kína apose *N.* news.
kína kasip *N.* new moon.
kĩŋkĩ *N.* charcoal.
kínna 1) *ADJ.* new. 2) unripe (food, fruit or vegetable).
kísekoŋko *N.* strap. *Variant: kífekoŋko.*
kĩsí *N.* pocket. *Variant: kífi.*
kítati *N.* punishment (Amharic origin).
kítí *N.* ear.
kíti bolatta *V.* pierce (ears).
kíti?ambu *N.* ear ring.
kítse debe *ADJ.* deaf (mute) person.
kítseka *N.* earwax.
ko *V.* die. *Syn: dekoji.*
ko *N.* death.
kobba *N.* name of a tree.
kobbe *ADJ.* alive, not dead. *Syn: hoppun gam.*
kóbìn *N.* Midnight (especially after 1:00Am).
kóbú *V.* swallow.
kōbù *N.* white honey.
kóddi *V.* roll (paper or piece of cloth). *Syn: mármít, tǔmtǔm.*
koj *V.* enter.
koj bontǔje *N.* bald.
koj doŋso *N.* headache.
koj ponti esi *V.* carry on head.
kojak *N.* flock of birds.
koji *N.* head.
ko:ǰi *N.* bridge.
koji emaha *N.* skull.
kojja *N.* name of a tree.
kojkiko *N.* shame. *Syn: fame.*
kojte *N.* horn (musical instrument).
koko *N.* crow.
kokótí *V.* 1) beg (for money). 2) plead, implore, beg for forgiveness.
kokótí *N.* beggar.
kokotse 1) *N.* doorway. *Syn: gifo.* 2) room (counted by number of the doors).
kokowatfa *N.* guinea fowl.
kolase *N.* track (animal), footprint (human).
kólbé *Variant: . N.* handle.
kolum wə *N.* brook, stream.
kol?am *V.* flow.
komajin *N.* string stick. *Variant: .*
komi *N.* rabbit, hare.
komoj *N.* clan, tribe, ethnic group, breed.
kóndi *N.* fishhook.
kòndi *N.* illness, disease.
kòndi *ADJ.* sick, ill.
kōndi *N.* younger brother.
kondi koŋko *N.* fishing line.
kone hebelse *N.* shoulder.
koŋko 1) *N.* rope. *Variant: .*
koŋko 2) *N.* vine.
koŋku *V.* cough.
koŋku *N.* cough.
konna 1) *N.* tree.
konna 2) *N.* wood.
konnosatse *V.* meet, encounter.
kopa *N.* baboon.
kopi emaha *Variant: ----.* *N.* shoulder blade.
koppu *N.* light made of a bundle of sticks used for defending bees.
kopu *N.* wing.
kor *V (tr).* finish, complete. *Syn: debekurej.*
kór *V.* pass by.
ko:r *ADP.* middle, between.
koriti 2) *N.* fruit.
koriti 1) *N.* vegetable.
korkodzijan *N.* patella (A small flat triangular bone in front of the knee that protects the knee joint). *Syn: kutti korkodzijan.*
koro 1) *V.* look at, watch, look after. 2) herd, (cattle, sheep).
koro *V.* wait.
korse *N.* scar (of fire burn).
kort *ADP.* in the middle.
ko:sa *V.* bring up (a child). *Syn: v.*
kosam hoppu *N.* ghost (visible apparition).
kosam maŋ *N.* hell, dwelling place of the dead (spiritual).
kosam ufa *ADJ.* guilty.
kosobo *N.* internal parts (liver, pancreas, intestine).
kossa *ADJ.* dirty, rubbish, bad, evil. *Variant: koffa.*
kota?at wə *N.* riverbed (dry).
kōtǰi *V.* carry (child) on back.
kōtǰi *V.* pierce, stab (wood on the ground).
kotǰjo *N.* tobacco pipe gajja. *Syn: kengetse.*
kòttò *N.* girl, young woman, virgin.
kóttój *N.* hoe. *Syn: dzábá.*
kowann *N.* cocoon.

kowetti *ADJ.* sour.
kowetti *N.* taste.
koʔat *ADJ.* dead.
-ku *CASE.* INS.
kufo *N.* crop (of bird).
kub:uni *N.* mushroom.
kudugum *N.* spine.
kufa *N.* children (Pl of tʃo).
kufesemo *N.* baby sling lost. *Syn:* akus. *Variant:* kufefemo.
kuj *N.* herd (cattle, sheep, buffalo).
kūkk *PRON.* you (SgM).
kuku *N.* fish bone.
kuku 1) *N.* thorn, palm needle.
kūkù *V.* crow (a rooster).
kukum *V.* carry (in arms), on lap.
kukum 1) *V.* embrace, hug.
kulubi *N.* garlic.
kumba *V.* eat (meat or cabbage).
kumbi *N.* elephant's trunk.
kumbija *N.* two female children.
kumbitʃfa *N.* (two male children).

kunat *N.* guest, visitor.
kuḡimana *N.* testicle.
kuḡu *N.* scrotum.
kúḡ *PRON.* you (SgF).
kunsi *V.* start to (be) rotten, start to be spoil (food) (intr). *Variant:* kunfi.
kurese *N.* end.
kurgup *V.* kneel.
kurkum *N.* backbone, spine. *Syn:* kurkum emaha.
kurkum 2) *N.* valley.
kurkum emaha *N.* backbone, spine. *Syn:* kurkum.
kuro *N.* donkey (Shekacho word).
kúrr *N.* name of a tree.
kuruti *N.* foam.
-kus *SUFF.* R PST.
kusi *V.* caress.
kusita *V.* spit saliva repeatedly as a medicine.
kutʃe *N.* bag.
kutʃjo *N.* canabash pot with a long tube for smoking tobacco vapour.

L - 1

labu *N.* sorghum (dry season).
ladi *N.* summer, rainy season.
laka 1) *ADJ.* (be) loose, slack. 2) soft.
laka *V.* (be) loose, slack. 2) soft.
la:ki *N.* drought, famine.
lakumba 1) *V (tr).* make loosen. 2) soften.
lalabe *N.* speech.
lallabe tʃilam *Adj.* eloquent.
lajoji *N.* slave, servant. *Syn:* lajoj ufa.
lapse *N.* low elevation land that hold rain water.
lapte 1) *V.* dive. 2) sink, drown.
lasa *V.* fear. *Variant:* lafa.
lasa *N.* fear. *Variant:* lafa.
lata *N.* mother. *Syn:* indi.
ledzan *N.* bracelet, ankle ring, bangle.
lelem *V.* test (with tip of tongue). *Syn:* idda.
le:wè *N.* big cooking pot (that have no cover (earthenware) without. *Syn:* bubo, winat.
lijet *V.* swim.

lilmoj *N.* needle.
loga *V.* follow.
lókke *N.* bowl (made of earthenware or clay).
lokko *N.* wolf.
lokoj *N.* name of a tree.
lōmi: *N.* lemon.
loset *V.* conquer, defeat.
lowanni *V.* accompany, send off.
lowwitʃje *N.* thatch, roof of a hut, covering grass.
luge *V.* hunt only with spear during dry season. *Syn:* tʃakan, goll, dirb.
lul *V.* sew.
lulsekonko *N.* thread (n).
lumbaḡ *N.* python.
lundise *N.* heart. *Variant:* lundife.
lutise *V.* blink (the pimple of an infant).
lutise *N.* pimple (of an infant).

M - m

- ma:** *DEM.* this M. *Variant:* **moho**.
- má** *N.* sibling.
- mab** *ADV.* like this.
- mabare** *N.* feast. *Syn:* **mabare tazen**.
- mabes** *N.* today. *Variant:* **mabef**.
- magangal** *N.* coagulated blood. *Syn:* **kitta**.
- make** *N.* flower.
- makeŋkeretfa** *N.* chameleon.
- mākilé** *N.* maize, corn.
- mamaŋ** *N.* village.
- mana** *N.* stone.
- manaʔof (boku)** *ADJ.* barren (of land).
- mandá** *N.* dream.
- mandá** *V.* dream. 2) prophesy.
- mandare** *N.* camp, encampment.
- mandi** *ADV.* really, truly.
- mane kufa** *N.* gravel.
- mane lata** *N.* lower grinding stone.
- mànggà** *N.* name of a tree.
- maŋka** *DEM.* here.
- maŋka gitije** *V.* I saw it here.
- mant** *DEM.* there (INVS).
- mármif** *V.* Wind around. *Syn:* **kóddi**.
- maset** *N.* debt. *Variant:* **maset**.
- maset** *V.* borrow. *Variant:* **maset**.
- masetumba** *V.* lend.
- masi zart** *N.* before.
- masik** *N.* at this time.
- mat** *N.* father (including animals). *Syn:* **babe**.
- matake** *N.* cup.
- matara** *N.* upper part of the calabash smoking pot where fire is put.
- má:ti** *N.* father.
- má:ti** *ADJ.* big, huge.
- matim ufa** *N.* adult.
- matino** *V.* bake.
- matf** *V.* spy, spy on.
- matfe tfo** *N.* colt.
- matfi** *N.* a tree with hollo that serve as a beehive.
- matfine** *ADJ.* barren woman (may be borrowed from Oromo).
- matfiufa** *N.* spy.
- matfo** *N.* horse (Shekkacho word).
- matta** *N.* Medicine.
- ma:tta** *N.* medicine.
- matte tʃ'ota** *N.* medicine man.
- matte tʃote ufa** *N.* medicine man.
- meddi** *V.* be sad.
- mé:di** *N.* upper grinding stone.
- mé:di** *N.* children whose two lower front teeth are recently removed.
- mè:di** *N.* rust.
- melesi** *V.* be hungry.
- mendi**
- méngá** *N.* antelope.
- ménsi** *V.* greet (by waving hand). *Variant:* **meŋfi**.
- mēnsi** *N.* cannibal, spirit (of dead person) (INVS). *Variant:* **meŋfi**.
- mēnsi kùngù** *N.* mushroom (inedible with a powder which has bad smell).
- meranewə** *N.* bile, gall.
- merano** *N.* gall bladder.
- mijad** *N.* buffalo.
- mindza** *N.* cow (female).
- mindza dujiwo** *N.* milk (cow's).
- mintfi** *Adj.* false.
- mífàk** *N.* wink.
- mífàk** *V.* wink.
- mit:o** *N.* red pepper, hot pepper.
- mo** 1) *V.* sit.
- məgɛ:** *N.* calf or bull (of buffalo).
- mogoj** *N.* namesake.
- moha** *ADV.* now. *Syn:* **masi**. *Variant:* **moho**.
- moho** *ADV.* now. *Variant:* **moha**.
- mòhō** *DEM.* this. *Variant:* **ma:**.
- mohungul** *N.* round.
- mohungul** *V.* (be) round.
- moji** *N.* salt.
- moko** *V.* smoke.
- molon** *N.* cabbage.
- molfa** *V.* (be) sticky.
- molfa** *N.* slime (organic).
- molfa** *ADJ.* gum.
- momo** 2) *V.* live, dwell, inhabit (similar to sit).
- mōntó:le:** *N.* kind of fish (with long mouth).
- montfam**
- moseamb** *N.* chair.

mòtšòtše *ADV.* without taking much time.
muje *N.* coffee.
munda *V.* fell asleep.
mundi *ADJ.* (be) wet.
mundi *V.* (be) wet.

munsam *V.* smile. *Variant:* **muɲfam**.
murese *N.* forearm, wrist. *Variant:* **ifi murese**.
muzije *N.* banana, plantain.

N - n

-ŋ *TENSE.* marker for present tense.
ŋa *V.* spear, stab, pierce, wound.
ŋa *DEM.* that M(near the listener). *Syn:* **ŋadim**.
=ŋa *CONJ.* and. *Syn:* **eko**.
ŋadem *DEM.* that M (INVS).
ŋaden *DEM.* that M (INVS).
ŋadim *DEM.* that M (near the listener). *Variant:* **ŋadum**.
ŋadin *DEM.* that F(near the listener).
ŋadit *V.* believe, trust, hope.
ŋadum *DEM.* that M (near the listener). *Variant:* **ŋadum**.
nafe *PRON.* who.
naki *N.* name for the other wife of ones husband (vocative).
nakije *N.* two or more wives of the same persone, polygamy.
nambijo *PRON.* nothing.
ŋan *Ant:* **he:bbu**. *N.* south.
ŋan *ADJ.* down, extending or moving from a higher to a lower place Spatially from a higher to a lower level or position. *Ant:* **he:bbu**.
ŋan *V.* extending or moving from a higher to a lower place Spatially from a higher to a lower level or position. *Ant:* **he:bbu**.
naŋa *N.* calf of warthog.
ŋaŋka *DEM.* over there.
ŋaŋka *DEM.* there (Proximal 2).
ŋanti *ADV.* there.
narato *N.* small drum.
nari *N.* jaw (of tooth).

ŋasa *V.* fight a war. *Syn:* **dowal**. *Variant:* **No nafa**.
ŋasa *N.* war. *Syn:* **dowal**. *Variant:* **No nafa**.
nasi *N.* bread. *Syn:* **ŋilan**.
naŋale *N.* cloth worn by a woman (Amha).
ŋatin *DEM.* that F (distal to the listener).
ŋatum *DEM.* that M (distal to the listener).
ŋatum maŋka *DEM.* there (Distal from the listener).
peda *N.* umbilical cord.
ŋejo *N.* nobody.
ŋejo?egemo *N.* everything.
nena *N.* louse.
nenna *V.* forget.
ŋetene *N.* the last child of a family.
ŋewedza *N.* newly brewed (alcohol), fermenting alcohol.
ŋilan *N.* bread, enjera. *Variant:* **ŋasi**.
nima *N.* neck.
nimase ambo *N.* uvula.
nime gula *V.* hesitate. *Syn:* **nime k'o**.
nime kikramba *ADJ.* hunchback.
nime k'o *V.* hesitete. *Syn:* **nime gula**.
nine *N.* aunt (older sister of one's mother).
ni:tftfa *V.* threaten.
niwgur *N.* eclipse of moon.
no *V.* go. *Syn:* **bal**.
popet *V (tr).* cripple.
poŋete?at *N.* cripple.

O - o

òbbòl *V.* hit.
obo *V.* say goodbye.
ódá *PRON.* they (PIF or Mix).

=odda *NUM-GEN.* FPL.
ode *ADJ.* bend, crook, curve. *Syn:* **tunde**.
ode *V.* (be) crook.

odoti *V.* harvest (maize).
ōdzo:ḏí *V.* go together.
of *ADJ.* only.
ofundo *N.* earthworm.
ogare *V.* cut (hair).
oha *N.* day.
oha *N.* sun.
ohabalamse *Ant:* **ohakojise**. *N.* east.
ohakojise *Ant:* **ohabalamse**. *N.* west.
ohamapont *N.* noon.
ohaṅant *N.* afternoon.
ohase *N.* time.
ohe *N.* payment.
ohe *V.* pay (for goods, services, etc).
ojja *PRON.* they (FDU or Mix).
=ojja *NUM-GEN.* Marker for feminine dual.
ójjákáná *CONJ.* perhaps.
okon *V.* help.
okotom *V.* ascend, go up, climb a mountain.
olakan *N.* twin (cognate to Majang olakanak). *Syn:*
babk ufa.
oleti *V.* able.
ol:o *V.* visit (a person, farm land, and a place suspected
of having some problem).
omata *N.* ring finger, middle finger.
omokemba *ADJ.* tiresome.

omokemba *V.* (be) defeated.
omokembak tonde *N.* war prisoner, captive.
omokke: *V.* be tired.
oṅ *DEF.* DEF F.
oṅa *PRON.* she.
o:na *V.* cut in to pieces and put.
ono *V.* reach.
oṅon *V.* hum (by moving one's body as dancing),
shiver (by force of spirit).
oṅonno *V.* bow (as in greeting).
oppal *N.* paddle.
oppe: *V.* be drunk.
oromasa *V.* be equal.
otala *PRON.* they (PIM).
=otala *NUM-GEN.* F PL.
oti *ADJ.* near.
oti *V.* approach (v).
oto *V.* finish (feeding). *Syn:* **kor**.
otontom *V.* hatch.
otfisa *N.* agreement.
ōtfōdī *N.* roof.
otftja *PRON.* they (Dual Masculine).
=otftja *NUM-GEN.* marker for MDU.
otti *V.* love.
otti *N.* love, affection.

P - p

pādì *N.* fig tree, fig.
pajpaje *N.* pawpaw, papaya.
pajute ufa *N.* midwife.
pakatsoj *N.* hip.
palame *V.* haggle, negotiate or offer price. *Syn:*
jommm.
papa *N.* mortar, pounding pot.
papale *V.* miscarriage (Majang related). *Syn:*
gosano.
papi *N.* name of a tree.
pa:ṛ *N.* snake.
parit *V.* taste (inside one's mouth).
pa:ṛi *V.* pour, draw (water or other liquid in to cup).
paton *N.* desert.
pelepele *N.* spark.
pem 1) *N.* ladder. 2) bed for observing crop.
peni *V.* tell, narrate.

pereṅdži *N.* white man.
perka *N.* prophecy, vision (of witch person).
pir *N.* relatively higher I.
pira *N.* family, relative.
piriṅ *N.* Fish wing, fin.
pirpoṅ *N.* island.
pode *N.* place.
pokoj *N.* calabash.
po:mba *N.* top, upper side, outer side. *Ant:* **tàkamba**.
po:ṅ *Ant:* **takán**. *Variant:* **po:nt**. *POSTP.* on, out.
po:nt *Ant:* **takánt**. *Variant:* **po:ṅ**. *POP.* onto.
po:r *N.* pimple.
puka *N.* abscess (of lap).
pūṅgul *N.* small swelling.
pupú:tà *N.* bruise.
pupú:tà *V.* the fly of bat with noise.

R - r

- radan** *N.* story, tale.
rebi *N.* red male dog.
rikket *N.* wall.
ritʃit *V (int).* (make) tight.
ritʃiteʔat *ADJ.* 1) tight.
rod *N.* deadly snake (considered blind and which die after biting a person or animal).
rode *V.* quarrel, argue, nag.
rodijasa *N.* fight, quarrel, arguing, nagging (each other).
- rōgā** *N.* star.
rudeti *V.* brush.
rudetfeʔambu *N.* tooth stick, toothbrush.
rukutfe *N.* fork.
rungum *N.* spoon (traditional).
rutʃi *V.* (be) smooth. 2) (be) slippery. *Syn:* **dirtetti**.
rutʃi 1) *ADJ.* smooth. 2) slippery.

S - s

- sá** *V.* leave, give up, abandon, desert (forgood). *Syn:* **binn**. *Variant:* **No ja**.
sa:ba *N.* name of a tree.
sadzi *N.* tarantula. *Variant:* **fadzi**.
saj 1) *V.* cease, give up. *Variant:* **faj**.
saki *N.* back (side). *Variant:* **faki**.
sāllā *V.* laugh. *Variant:* **no falla**.
sam *N.* friend. *Syn:* **ama, pira**. *Variant:* **jam**.
sambaran *N.* name of a tree. *Variant:* **jambaran**.
sāmè: *V.* get ashamed. *Variant:* **fame:**.
sàmē: *Variant:* **fame:**. *N.* shame.
saŋ *N.* forest. *Variant:* **faŋ**.
santi momom *N.* bush dweller. *Syn:* **fanti momom**.
sapa *V.* descend (from tree, mountain, bed, roof).
sapumba *V.* bring down.
sara 1) *V.* step. *Syn:* **balla**. 2) travel, go on a trip.
sara *N.* journey, trip. *Syn:* **balla**.
sarawe *V.* wander.
sa:rse *N.* scar.
sasa *V.* divorce.
sasawudī *N.* wild cat. *Variant:* **fafawudī**.
satta *N.* fish trap.
satta *V.* fish (v).
satte ufa *N.* fisherman.
saʔkoll ubijasa *V.* evade.
saʔo *N.* name of a tree. *Variant:* **faʔo**.
se2 1) *N.* kernel (of corn, maize). *Variant:* **je**. 2) stone, pit.
se1 1) *Variant:* **je**. *N.* eye. 2) face.
se3 *N.* fermented (alcohol). *Variant:* **je**.
-se *NOM.* derivational morpheme.
se wonn *Variant:* **je wonn**. *N.* eyelid.
seddem *N.* insult.
seddem *V.* insult.
sedebe *Variant:* **fedebe**. *N.* blind.
sefa *V.* pant or exhaustion from stepping up hills or mountains. *Syn:* **omoke**. *Variant:* **sefa**.
sefamba *Variant:* **sefemba**. *V.* exhausted (from effort). *Syn:* **omokemba**.
seja *Variant:* **sije**. *N.* Chabu clans related things.
sejiwebbe *Variant:* **je jiwebbe**. *ADJ.* myopic, short sighted.
sejkunat *Variant:* **sejkunat**. *N.* pupil (of eye).
se:laka *N.* calf (of leg), The part of the leg between the knee and the ankle.
semo *Variant:* **femo**. *N.* article of clothing, clothes.
seŋga *V.* look for, search.
seŋgi *Variant:* **fengi**. *N.* roasted cereal.
seŋgi *V.* roast. *Variant:* **fengi**.
sense *N.* *Variant:* **seŋse, seŋse**. 1) fingernail. 2) hoof of animals, claw of birds.
sentā *N.* adultery.
sesa of *N.* (be) naked. *Variant:* **sefa of**.
sesiba *N.* mask.
=set *CASE.* at, in.
sefa *V (tr).* break. *Variant:* **sefa**.
setakan *V.* (be) straight.

setakan *ADJ.* straight.
setakanba *V.* straighten.
setano *N.* demon, evil spirit.
setolgam *Variant: fetolgam. ADJ.* sleepy.
setoll *Variant: fetoll. N.* sleep.
setfeka *Variant: sef'eka, fetfeka. N.* eyelash.
sett *ADP.* in, at (house, market).
se:wàdī *Variant: je:wadī. N.* tears.
sewwu *N.* ant.
si: *V.* fart, break wind (with small noise). *Syn: usuti, toka. Variant: ji:*
sib *N.* Name of Chabu clan "attributed to snake and spear".
siba *V.* close, shut, cover (tr). *Variant: jiba.*
sibataf *V.* return (soil in to a hole). *Variant: jibataf.*
sijaka *Variant: fijaka. PRON.* you (Dual Feminine or Mixed).
sije *N.* things that are related to each clan. *Variant: seja.*
sije tamba *V.* feed (grass to animals).
sije tjam *N.* blade (of grass).
sijo *N.* grass. *Variant: fijo.*
siki *N.* knife. *Variant: fiki.*
silaka *PRON.* you (Plural Masculine). *Variant: sitalaka.*
silla: *Variant: jilla:.* *V.* urinate.
silla: *N.* urine. *Variant: jilla:.*
sinna *N.* honey.
sisa *N.* body. *Variant: fija.*
 — *PRON.* self.
sise subu *N.* fever.
sise subu *V (Idiom).* (be) please. *Variant: fife fu:be.*
sise subu *V.* be hot (of person). *Variant: fife fu:be.*
sise tfeka *N.* hair of body. *Variant: fife f'eka.*
sise wetftf *N.* (all) body. *Variant: fise wetftf.*
siso *N.* drizzle. *Variant: fijo.*
 =**fijom** *POP.* for (the sake of).
sitalaka *Variant: jitalaka, silaka. PRON.* you (Plural

Masculine).
so *V.* unwrap. *Variant: fo.*
soj *N.* bee. *Variant: foj.*
sombal *N.* pipe (tube) of kotfio.
sombo *N.* lung. *Variant: fombo.*
somm *Variant: fomm. N.* command, instruction. *Syn: atfikan.*
somm *Variant: fomm. 1) V.* tell. 2) order. *Syn: atfikan.*
són *N.* others.
sôn *V.* pull things up ward (on to a tree or roof of a house).
sona *N.* nose. *Variant: fona.*
sonase *N.* opening of nose. *Variant: fonase.*
sonedor *N.* bridge of nose. *Variant: fonedor.*
soro *N.* hat. *Variant: foro.*
sose *N.* meaning.
soso *V.* whisper.
sòtā *V.* reconcile.
sotamba *V.* compromise.
sotja *N.* weed.
sotja *N.* weeds.
sóttā *N.* plunder.
sottom *V.* smell.
subaka *PRON.* you (Plural Feminine or Mix).
su:bu *V.* be hot. *Variant: fu:bu.*
su:bu 2 *ADJ.* hot, warm. *Variant: fu:bu.*
sukuma *N.* belly. *Syn: fe:sse.*
sukume ?ambu *N.* intestines.
sullo: *N.* mad person.
sundum *N.* tail.
sunse *N.* buttock. *Variant: funje.*
sunse *POP.* under (tree). *Syn: takant. Variant: funje.*
sunse afure *N.* anus. *Variant: funje afura.*
sure *N.* trousers (Amharic Origin).

T - t

-t *CASE.* ABL.
fa *V.* eat.
tā *PRON.* 1MSG (1 Feminine).
tabafa *V.* lower (tr).
tabe *N.* white female dog.

ta:bù *V.* raise, lift.
tadzan *N.* beer (traditional).
tadzání dzàhì *N.* big pot (for water). *Syn: zahi.*
Variant: tazani dzahi.
tádžet *V.* strain (food). *Syn: díppét.*

taga *N.* camel (Majang word).
tagana *V.* lie (on the back). *Syn:* ganba, hubu.
tagon *N.* bride, groom.
taj adá *V.* prepare (food to cook).
tajam *N.* eyebrow.
tajiambu *N.* food.
-tak *SUFF.* Pl. *Syn:* =wotto, =jaro.
tàkàmba *Ant:* pomba. *N.* bottom, inner side.
takán *Ant:* po:ŋ. *Variant:* takánt. *POSTP.* under, inside.
takánt *Variant:* takán. *POSTP.* under, inside.
takapú *N.* long bed near a roof in Chabus' house for storing maize. *Syn:* geffo.
take *PRON.* my (feminine).
fako *V.* pound.
fako *V.* castrate.
fako *V.* crush (tr).
takut *V.* protect, defend.
talade *N.* rock (large).
talal *N.* lightning.
tálló *N.* swarm.
ta:m 2) *V.* land, alight.
ta:m 1) *V.* sit.
tàmare *V.* learn.
tamaremba *V.* teach. *Syn:* itute.
tambo *N.* tobacco.
tamm *V.* fetch, bring.
tandara *N.* bat.
fapdʒi *V.* spread (fire).
tanɣì *N.* robe (man's gown), Cloth made of erk'o tree.
tappà *V.* slap.
tappalá *V.* vomit.
tarbi *N.* big drum.
ta:re: *V.* forget.
tarre *N.* bed that serves for storing maize (outside a house). *Syn:* takapu, geffo.
tato *N.* king, master, boss, chief, headman.
tawwa *N.* field (with plant on it). *Syn:* tfompe.
tawwo *V.* marry.
tawwo *N.* marriage (state of wedlock), wedding (ceremony).
fèbʒu *N.* menstrual period (taboo). *Syn:* efikossa.
téj *N.* elder brother.
tekan *N.* relative by blood.
tekit *N.* fish dam.
temá *ADJ.* far.
teper *N.* ladle.

tete *N.* front of a house.
tetekan *N.* color.
tétʃí *V.* test, try, measure, weigh.
-ti *CASE.* ABL.
tiki *V.* draw near (Int).
tikimbà *V.* brought close.
tikiʔam *V.* approach, be close.
tikoje *N.* guinea fowl.
timatim *N.* tomato.
tíŋ *PRON.* I (Masculine).
tingina *N.* ford (The shallow area of a river or stream where it can be crossed without bridge).
tíŋkè *PRON.* my (masculine).
fínko *N.* mud.
tintil *N.* root.
tiwete *Syn:* tʃidi. *N.* black male dog.
-to *Conj.* as well.
foʒa *ADJ.* blunt, dull.
foʒa *V.* (be) blunt, dull.
foʒune *N.* bare, show (teeth).
toburo *N.* well.
toburo *N.* flood.
fɔʒi: *V.* stumble.
foka *V.* fart, break wind (with big noise). *Syn:* si, usuti.
toket *V.* sit in circle.
tokka *V.* transplant.
fol *V.* sleep. *Syn:* munda. *Variant:* setol.
fol *N.* day.
foʒe doku *N.* bedroom.
tompos *N.* enemy.
tón *V.* take, carry away.
topitiʔa *ADV.* again.
foro *N.* flea.
foʒi *N.* rainbow. *Variant:* foʒi.
foʒi *N.* ameba.
toti *V.* stretch (animal hide under the sun).
fofo *N.* clitoris.
tʃa *V.* eat or chew sugarcane.
tʃagib *N.* name of Chabu clan "attributed to dog and cannibal".
tʃagule *N.* centipede.
tʃaj *V.* flee, run away. *Syn:* ki.
tʃakam *V.* chew. *Variant:* ʃakam.
tʃakan *V.* hunt (while raining). *Syn:* golla, luge.
tʃall(a) *V.* wake up, (be) alert, awake. *Variant:* ʃalla.
tʃaluwe *V.* revive, look around. *Syn:* kendise.

- tʃam** *Variant:* ʃ. *N.* leaf.
- tʃam** 2) *N.* paper money.
- tʃamo** *N.* shoe, sandal (Amharic Origin).
- tʃaŋa** *N.* fish.
- tʃantʃal** *N.* green mamba.
- tʃáppátan** *N.* porridge, pap, mushy food.
- tʃa:ppu** *N.* ice.
- tʃa:ra** *ADJ.* red.
- tʃa:ra** 2) *N.* yolk (of egg).
- tʃarem ʃinkurtti** *N.* onion.
- tʃati** *N.* name of a tree.
- tʃatʃon** *N.* maggot (in rotten meat).
- tʃawa** *N.* promise, oath.
- tʃáwtʃé** *N.* boundary (of field), frontier (of ethnic area).
- tʃegi** *N.* hip. *Variant:* tʃegise.
- tʃegi:** *N.* goiter. *Variant:* ʃegi:.
- tʃeka** *N.* hair of human, fur of animals, feather of birds. *Variant:* ʃeka.
- tʃeki** *V.* search food on the ground. *Syn:* da.
- tʃelaka** *N.* shin.
- tʃè:llā** *N.* bush.
- tʃemba** *V.* sneeze. *Variant:* ʃempa.
- tʃemije** *N.* name of a tree.
- tʃeŋŋa** *N.* game.
- tʃeŋŋa** *V.* play.
- tʃentʃi** *N.* bladder. *Variant:* ʃentʃi [ʃeptʃi].
- tʃeŋumba** *V.* play a child.
- tʃe:se** *N.* waterfall. *Variant:* tʃe:ʃe.
- tʃet** *V.* cross (river).
- tʃetəl** *N.* name of a tree.
- tʃetʃelè** *N.* baby.
- tʃetʃo** *N.* light made of wax and wood. *Syn:* wutʃitʃ.
- tʃidi** *Syn:* tiwete. *N.* black male dog.
- tʃiki** *Ant:* gidi. *ADJ.* bitter.
- tʃilam** *N.* fat. *Variant:* tʃilam.
- tʃimbu** *N.* smoke.
- tʃime** *N.* odour. *Syn:* dulkutʃtʃ.
- tʃiŋim(boku)** *ADJ.* fertile soil. *Syn:* dānkam(boku).
- tʃiŋita** *V.* get dark, become evening.
- tʃiŋitta** *N.* darkness.
- tʃiŋka** *N.* antenna.
- tʃiŋka** *N.* dawn.
- tʃiŋŋi:** *ADJ.* black. *Syn:* ʃip:i:.
- tʃintʃil** *N.* lizard.
- tʃitʃa** *N.* winter, dry season.
- tʃitʃáká** *PRON.* you (Dual Masculine).
- tʃitʃoku** *V.* jump.
- tʃo:** *N.* child (only for SG). *Variant:* s'o:.
- tʃobatʃe** *N.* armpit. *Variant:* ʃ'obatʃe.
- tʃodoko** *N.* mother leopard.
- tʃohu** *V.* pray.
- tʃojni** *N.* spirit.
- tʃokab** *N.* Name of Chabu clan "attributed to fire".
- tʃokata** *ADJ.* end /half.
- tʃokatá** *ADV.* at end.
- tʃoketeʔat** *N.* blight.
- tʃoketeʔat** *Adj.* damaged. 2) blight.
- tʃokett** 1) *V.* destroy, spoil, damage, ruin. 2) annoy, disturb. *Syn:* búdzāmbà.
- tʃokona** *V.* rustle (leaves).
- tʃokore** *N.* rattle (musical instrument).
- tʃolo** *ADJ.* green, blue.
- tʃombal** *N.* reed.
- tʃomoj** *N.* name of a tree.
- tʃompe** *N.* field (without plant on it). *Syn:* tawwa.
- tʃona** *V.* cut into pieces(tr), (chopping onion). *Syn:* tʃota.
- tʃonda** *N.* bone marrow. *Variant:* ʃ'onda.
- tʃoŋgi** *N.* big fish.
- tʃoŋgu** *N.* flute.
- tʃoŋka** *Variant:* ʃ'oŋka. *N.* womb. *Syn:* gosase aha.
- tʃontunamom silla** *N.* semen. *Syn:* dā:tʃam filla.
- tʃope** *N.* gizzard.
- tʃota** *V.* cut.
- tʃota** *N.* circumcision.
- tʃotaka** *N.* north or south.
- tʃotásé** *N.* piece, result of cut. *Variant:* túruŋgi.
- tʃotawe** *ADJ.* piece. *Variant:* tʃotaweʔat.
- tʃotaweʔat** *N.* piece.
- tʃoto** *N.* harvest season.
- tʃoto** *ADJ.* dry.
- tʃoto** *V.* (be) dry.
- tʃoto** *N.* Animal, wild animal (edible).
- tʃotomba** *V.* dry out (clothes).
- tʃów** *V.* knead.
- tʃowej** *N.* bread (made from dough of corn flour).
- tʃuboj** *N.* clay.
- tʃukat** *N.* end.
- tʃumba** *V.* kiss.
- tʃumbó** *ADJ.* small.
- tʃumse** *Variant:* ʃ'umse, tʃumʃe. *N.* waist. *Syn:* galikatʃo.
- tʃúmtʃum** *V.* coil (a rop or string). *Syn:* kóddi.

tfumtfumba *V.* suck. *Variant:* f^oumf^oumba.
tfunde *V.* (be) narrow.
tfunde *ADJ.* narrow.
tfuntfum *V.* fold.
tfupket *V.* shake (tr).
tfutji *N.* crest (of bird), comb (of chicken).
tfuwa *N.* fire.
tfuwekonna *N.* Firewood (log).
tfuwwe korse *N.* burn.
tuket *ADJ.* next, second.
tuketti *V.* join things that fall apart.
tuku *N.* sow (female pig).
ťuku *V.* push.
tuma *V.* mix.
tumal *N.* boar (male pig).

tumamba *V.* mix.
tu:n *N.* spring. *Variant:* tu:n.
tujan *N.* molar.
tundi *V.* bend down, stoop (the degree of the bending is more than "odè"). *Syn:* o:de.
tunkife *N.* knot (in wood), joint.
ťuro *N.* matal.
túrungi *N.* piece, result of cut. *Variant:* tfotásé.
tutji *N.* stopper, plug.
tutji *V.* stop up.
tutukan *N.* egg.
tutukani wan *N.* eggshell.
tu:tuku *N.* stump.

U - u

ubi: *V.* chase, run after, drive away. *Variant:*
ubijasa.
ude *N.* pestle, pounding stick.
ufa *N.* person, man. *Syn:* **upa.**
ufewetfj *Quant.* everybody.
ugo *N.* dove.
ūkkú *V.* smoke (fish).
ull 1) *N.* husband. 2)
— *N.* man, male.
ull bak:o *N.* rooster (cock).
ull mijdza *N.* ox.
ull tfo *N.* boy.
ulluwe *ADJ.* brave.
ulu:ma *N.* brother.
umba *N.* 1) woman, female. 2) wife.
umba tfo *N.* girl.
umbaj bakko *N.* hen.

umbaj ma *N.* sister.
umbo *N.* bubble.
updzum *N.* bark of pig.
unsi *V.* blow nose.
uppo *N.* mould.
usurani *N.* caterpillar.
usutti *N.* fart. *Syn:* **si, łoka.**
uta *V.* burn the upper part.
uta *V.* harvest, collect (honey from hive).
útī *N.* flour.
utjet *V.* polish, rub, paint. *Syn:* **aremba.**
utuk *V (tr).* touch, feel (active).
utuk *Da Ad* *V.* take, accept, receive.
ututuk *V (tr).* touch repeatedly.

W - w

wa *N.* dance.
wa *V.* dance.
wadi *N.* dew.
wajab *N.* name of one of Chabu clans.
walatfe *N.* season.
walatfe *N.* reason.

walatjitu *N.* by the time. *Syn:* **ohase.**
walkadin *N.* fish-scale.
wanga *N.* frog, toad.
wangi *N.* red fish.
wangoj *N.* jackal.
wanki *V.* whistle. 2) hiss.

wanki *N.* whistle.
wann 1) *N.* skin (of human). 2) hide (of animal).
 3) skin (of fruit), shell (of groundnut), corn husk
 (n). 4) bark (of tree).
wara *N.* crab.
waretti *V.* invite.
warke *N.* gold.
warko *N.* a kind of bird with a long beak that eat
 bees.
waso *N.* name of a tree. *Variant:* **wafo**.
watoto *N.* piglet.
watfani *V.* splash, sprinkle. *Syn:* **abuti**.
wekun *N.* seed.
wen *N.* name of a tree.
wer *N.* harmattan, tornado.
wetfimboku ponka *N.* everywhere.
wetfiŋ ohase *ADV.* always.
wɛ:tftfi *ADJ.* all. *Syn:* **búllo**.
winatti *N.* cooking pot (earthenware). *Syn:* **bubo**,
lewe.
winik *V.* twist.
winik' *V.* twist.
wɔ *V.* drink.
wɔ 1) *N.* water.

wɔ 2) *Variant:* **wɔjambu**. *N.* alcohol drink.
wɔ 3) *N.* river.
wɔjambu *N.* alcohol (in general). *Variant:* **wɔ**.
wɔji dzahi *N.* pot (for water). *Syn:* **taɜani dzahi**.
wɔjidzahi *N.* bucket, pail (new usage). *Variant:*
wɔjizahi.
wɔjkolse *N.* ditch.
wɔkaw *N.* river bank.
wokke *N.* kidney. *Syn:* **tɕumse**.
wɔ:nasa *N.* barter, exchange (of goods).
wɔŋga *V.* call.
wɔŋgase *N.* name.
wɔ:nna *V.* alter, change (tr).
worbabiso *N.* moth.
wori *N.* money.
wɔsa *V.* send (someone to do something).
wosa?at *Adj.* messenger.
=wotto *NUM.* PL. *Syn:* **-jaro**.
wujja *N.* Mat made of sticks.
wupi *N.* name of a tree.
wutftɕ *N.* light made by firing bundle of wood. *Syn:*
tɕetfo.

Appendix B2: Chabu Amharic word List

A - a

- ábá** ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
àbal ግ. ዝ.
àbalsé ግ. ሸጠ.
àbi ግ. ደረሰ.
abukádó ስ. አቮካዶ.
abur ግ. ተጣላ (እንሰሳ ከእንሰሳ).
àbutí ተመሳሳይ: **watjtfanni**. ግ. አፈሰሰ ፣ ደፋ.
abut'ita ግ. አጠለሰ.
àdā ተመሳሳይ: **idzagen**. ግ. አደረገ፣ ሰራ.
àdak ግ. ቀረ፣ ወደ ሁዋላ ቀረ.
adinn ግ. አበጠ.
adinn ስ. አብጠት.
adit ግ. አነፊሰ ፣ አዘራ.
adudi ግ. ተንቀጠቀጠ.
adure ስ. ድመት.
adzaje ግ. ተደገፊ.
adze ግ. አስደነገጠ.
adzule ስ. ጆሬ አጥራ ፣ ጥንብ አንግ.
afa ስ.
 — አይት.
 — የልጅ ልጅ.
afafun ተመሳሳይ: **d3od3o**. ግ. ተጣደፈ፣ ቸኮላ.
afafunobe ግ. ረጋ አለ፣ ተረጋጋ.
afalafa ግ. በአጭር ጊዜ ማደገ.
afalasa ተለዋጭ: **ja**. ስ. ድብድብ.
affal ተመሳሳይ: **gi**. ግ. መታ፣ ደበደበ፣ ተኩሰ.
afuk'a ግ. ተጣደፈ.
afura ስ. ቀዳዳ፣ ሸንቆር.
afurase ስ. ቀዳዳ፣ ክፍተት.
agádé ስ. ሸንኩራ አገዳ.
agale ስ. ዘገዩ.
agarapo ግ. አጽናፍ.
aget ግ. መረቀ.
ageti ስ. ምርቃት.
ago:m ስ. የማቃሰት ድምፅ.
ago:m 1) ግ. አቃሰተ. 2) አቃሰተ. ተመሳሳይ: **jefamba**.
agutjé ተመሳሳይ: **dugawe**. ግ. ተደበቀ፣ ተሸሸገ.
aha ተለዋጭ: **aka**. ተመሳሳይ: **doku**.
 — ስ. ጎጆ, (የራስ ቤት). 2) ሀገር፣ መኖሪያ ቤት.
ahak' ግ. ሀኪታውን ተፋ/ ሀኪ አለ.
ahakí ተመሳሳይ: **batj'i**. ስ. ሀኪታ.
ahase ambo ስ. ንብረት ፣ ጓዝ.
ahola ግ. ትኩረት፣ ተጨቃጨቃ፣ ተቀማማ፣ ተናጠቀ.
ajja ስ. አክሰት (የአባት እህት).
ako ግ. አጠፋ.
akumé ስ. እርቅ (የጠላቅ).
akur ስ. አቸሎኒ.
akus ስ. አንቀልባ (የልጆች ማዘፀ).
alam ስ. እርግማን ፣ መቅሠፍት.
alamu ስ. አለሙ.
albi ስ. ጥቁርና ነጭ ወንድ-ውሻ.
am ግ. መጣ.
ama ተመሳሳይ: **sam**. ስ. ጓደኛ.
aman ግ. ቀለበ.
amanse ግ. መነተፈ.
ambu ስ. ነገር.
añadatta ግ. አሰጠ.
ananasi ስ. አናናስ.
añi ግ. ጠነሰሰ፣ ጠመቀ.
añi ስ. ጥንሰሰ.
ann ተስም. 1 ጥንድ እንስትወይም ቅልቅል (አኛ).
aññan ግ. አማሰለ.
ansana ስ. የመብረቅ ብልጭታ.
antjī ተስም. 1 ጥንድ ተባእት (አኛ).
appakat ግ. ከፈለ.
appakat ግ. ተበተነ፣ ተለያየ.
appir ግ. በረረ.
appirwase ግ. አንገረገረ.
appo ግ. ተናገረ.
appo:se ስ. ንግግር.
appotjī (Majang) ግ. አመሰገኑ.
áppúr ግ. ፈለፈለ.
àpú:r ግ. መነጠረ.
aragat ግ. አስናዳ፣ አዘጋጀ፣ አስተካከለ.
arakan ስ. መግል.
aremba ግ. ቀባ.
arewe ግ. ተቀባ.
arum ስ. ሰገን.
ase ተለዋጭ: **afe**. ስ. ትራፊ (የምግብ).
asutta ግ. ሰቀለ.
atase furo ስ. ብረት ደስት.
atembera ግ. ከፈተ፣ ገለጠ.
atembera ግ. ዘረጋ (የታጠፈ ነገር).
atembaset ቅ. ክፍት.

atewe ግ. ተከፈተ፣ ተገለጠ.
ati ተለዋጭ፡ (not adi). ቅ. ገበያ እንደሌለ ማይገኝ፣ ብርቅ.
ati ስ. ድምፅ ፣ ጫጫታ.
áti ተመሳሳይ፡ gojise?amb. ስ. ምላጭ.
atijá ተመሳሳይ፡ eberan. ግ. መራ.
áti.ni ስ. ወጣት፣ ጉብል፣ ጎረምሳ.
atfatfa ተ. ግሰ. ለብቻ፣ በግል.
átfidán ግ. ቦረቦረ ፣ አጎደጎደ.
átfikán ተመሳሳይ፡ somm. ስ. ትእዛዝ.
átfikán ተመሳሳይ፡ some. ግ. አዘዘ.
atfin ግ. ረገመ (ሸማግሌ ወይም አሮጊት).
atfin ስ. እርግማን.
atfir ግ. ደለደለ.
atfirwe ግ. ደልዳላ ሆነ፣ ተስተካከለ.
atfir?at ቅ. ደልዳላ፣ የተስተካከለ.
atftjak ግ. ጀመረ.

atftjakseti ስ. መጀመሪያ.
atftjakseti ተለዋጭ፡ atftjakseti. ስ. ቀደም ብሎ.
atfu ግ. ዘራ.
atta ግ. ቀቀለ.
àtti: ግ. ረገጠ.
atubu ግ. ዘፈዘፈ.
ātūl 1) ግ. ሰበሰበ፣ አከማቸ፣ ከመረ፣ ቁለለ. 2) ተሰበሰበ.
atule ስ. ቁልል ፣ ከምር ፣ ከምችት.
atule?at ቅ. ስብስብ.
atut ግ. ማንጠፍ፣ መዘርጋት.
atuti ambu ስ. ምንጣፍ.
awák ግ. ጠራ (አብሮ ለምመሄድ).
awakasá ግ. ተጠራራ.
áwé ስ. ምሳር፣ መጥርቢያ.
àwē ግ. አዛውሮ ተከለ.

B - b

bab ቅ. ሁለት.
babadinn ግ. ቆራሪስ (ድንች፣ ሚቲ፣ ጎደሬ፣ ባቡሬ).
babe ስ. አባት (የሰው ብቻ).
babu ስ. ጉብት.
babure ስ. ስሩ የሚበላ የተክል አይነት፣ አንጮቴ.
bada ግ. ከፊለ፣ ፈነከተ (ፍራፍሬ). 2) ሰነጠቀ፣ ፈለጠ (አንጨት).
badawese ስ. ሰንጥቅ ፣ ጎቅ.
bade ስ. ስሩ የሚበላ የተክል አይነት.
bagetfjo ስ. የበግ ጠቦት.
bago ስ. በግ.
bà:jō ግ. አጨበጨበ.
bakε ስ. ጦር.
baketfjo ስ. ጫጨቱት.
bakko ስ. ዶሮ.
bà:lā: ግ. አገሳ.
balano ስ. ወጣ (ተናጋሪው ካለበት ቦታ ወደ ውጪ).
bala?am ስ. ወጣ (ወደ ተናጋሪው).
ball ስ. ጉንጭ.
balla ግ. ተነሳ ሄደ.
ballo ስ. ባለ.
bambale ስ. ወደ አንድ ወገን ያጋደለ ዛፍ.
bambatfije ስ. ዝሆኔ በሽታ.
bambe ስ. ስኳር ድንች.
bambije ስ. እናት ድኩላ.
bambo ስ. ገደል.
bandange ስ. ጭንቅላቱ ቀይ ጀርባው ሰማያዊ እንሸላሊት መሳይ አንሰሳ.

bangase ተለዋጭ፡ bangafe. ስ. መስቀለኛ መንገድ.
bangi ስ. በልግ.
bánoj ስ. አንበጣ.
barbaro ስ. ቃሪያ.
ba:ro ስ. ገድ ፣ የገድ ምልክት.
bartfum ስ. ዱካ፣ በርጨጭማ.
batfatfa ስ. ሰንጥብ.
batfj ስ. ጎፍጥ.
batfjfi ስ. እምስ.
batt ግ. መሰለ.
batti ተመሳሳይ፡ bar. ግ. ጮኸ፣ ድምፅ አሰማ፣ አኑ አለ.
batfita ግ. ጮኸ፣ ድምፅ አሰማ.
batumba 1) ግ. ቀረጸ፣ አስመሰለ.
-be ju ambege ቅጥያ. አሉታ አመልካች.
be ተመሳሳይ፡ ludise. ስ. ልብ.
bebede ስ. ፀደይ.
bedfan ስ. ወራጅ፣ አውታር.
bedoko መዋ. ኩ•• ጀምሮ.
behi ተለዋጭ፡ beki. ግ. ለበበለ.
bej ስ. ጦጣ.
beket ስ. እዞ መሰል ትንሽ እንሰሳ.
bel ግ. ቆረጠ (ዛፍን በፋስ).
belanti ስ. ጥቁርና ነጭ ሴት ውሻ.
belti ተመሳሳይ፡ gidi. ቅ. ጣፋጭ.
βenda ስ. አማት (ሴት).
βendi ስ. አማት (ወንድ).
bero ስ. አልጋ.

berr ስ. ኪንታሮት፣ እጠ.
bej'a ተመሳሳይ: petja. ስ. ጊም.
bej'e ተመሳሳይ: betje. ግ. ታኅቀ.
bese tʃota ስ. የሆድ ቁርጠት.
beseti tʃo ስ. ፅንሰ.
befikbefiko ስ. ከነገወዲያ ወዲያ.
besiku ተለዋጭ: befiko. ስ. ከነገ ወዲያ.
be:sse ተመሳሳይ: sukuma. ስ. ሆድ.
betja ተመሳሳይ: bej'a. ስ. ጊም.
betto ስ. የውሃናት.
bibet ስ. ቀርከህ፣ መቃ.
bilī ተመሳሳይ: tji:mi. ቅ. ወፍራም.
bilingira ስ. ተርብ.
billa 1) ግ. ነሐሰ. 2) ነሐሰ (አባብ).
billa ቅ. ተናካሽ.
binatá ተመሳሳይ: sa. ግ. ለቀቀ፣ ተወ (ለጊዜው).
bínàta ግ. ቀዳ፣ አንቆረቆረ (ወደ እ.ቃ).
bínān ስ. አልቅት.
binn ተመሳሳይ: saʔa. ግ. ለቀቀ፣ ተወ (ለጊዜው).
bínnà ግ. ቀዳ (ውሃ).
biti ግ. ጠወለገ (ተክል)፣ ተኩማተረ (ፍራፍሬ).
bitja ግ. አበጠረ (ፀጉር).
bitjaseʔambu ስ. ሚዶ፣ መበጠሪያ.
bittja1 ስ. አግር.
bittja2 ስ. አገዳ (የበቆሎ፣ የማሽላ፣ ወዘተርፈ).
boba ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
bodda ስ. ዘምባባ.
bodde k'iti ስ. የዘንባባ ዝንጣፊ.
boddese ስ. የዘንባባ ፍሬ.
bodo ስ. ፈረሰኛ ውሃ.
bogo ግ. ተንተባተብ፣ ተኮላተፈ.
bogo ግ. ጠነከረ.
bogo ቅ. ጠንካራ.
bogomba ግ. አጠነከረ.
bogu: ስ. ሰም (የንብ).
bogum ስ. የዘንጀሮ ጩኸት.
bohe ስ. እጭር ወፍራም እባብ መሰል እንሰሳ.
bokka ስ. የውሻ ጩኸት.
bokka ግ. ጭኸ (ውሻ).
bokorijan ስ. ኤሊ.
boku ስ. አፈር.
boku ስ. ወለል.
boku1 ስ. ቦታ.
boku2 ስ. መሬት.
bola ግ. በ ሳ ፣ መ ተ ሳ ለ ፊ ያ አ በ ጀ.
bolata ግ. መባሳት፣ መውጋት.

bolbol ስ. ታፋ.
bolbolse ተመሳሳይ: gotjise, lapse. ስ. የአይጥ ወይም የ እባብ ጉርጓድ.
boli ስ. ቀሰም.
bombom ስ. ቀይ ጉንዳን.
boŋgita ስ. ቅድመ አይት.
boŋgita affa ስ. ወንድ ቅድመ አይት.
boŋgita kake ስ. ሴት ቅድመ አይት.
boni ተ. ግሰ. ገፍ.
boŋku ስ. መረቅ፣ ሾርባ.
bonsa ተለዋጭ: boŋja. ስ. ሙጃ.
boŋja ተመሳሳይ: boŋku. ስ. ሙጃ.
boŋtja ግ. በሰበሰ.
boŋtja ቅ. በሰበሰ.
boŋtja ተመሳሳይ: dullukutjtf. ስ. መጥፎ ጠረን፣ ሽታ (ግማት).
boŋtji V. 1) ተመሳሳይ: ʔebe. — ግ. ላጠ ፣ ቀረፈ. 2) ሽለቀቀ (በቆሎ). 3) ፈለፈለ.
boŋtji ተመሳሳይ: tʃoto. ስ. ቅርፊት፣ ልጣጭ.
fontji:te ግ. አመለጠ.
bori ስ. የድሮ እርሻ.
borki ስ. ቀይና ነጭ ሴት ውሻ.
borodza ስ. ፊንግ.
bosi ግ. ሰፋ.
bosi ቅ. ሰፊ.
bosumb ተለዋጭ: bofumb. ግ. አሰፋ.
bu ስ. ኑባር.
bu la ግ. ገፊሰ.
bubo ተመሳሳይ: winat, lewe. ስ. ሸክላ ድስት.
bu:dza ግ. ተናደደ.
bu:dza ቅ. ተናዳጅ፣ ተቆጨ.
bu:dza ቅ. ሰል፣ ሾፊ.
bu:dza ግ. ሰላ፣ ሾሊ.
budzamba ተመሳሳይ: tʃokate. ግ. አናደደ.
budzub ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
bulbutji ስ. የአሳ እይነት (ጥቁር መካከለኛ መጠን ያለው).
búllo ተለዋጭ: 'wé:tʃtji. ተመሳሳይ: búllo. ቅ. በሙሉ፣ አጠቃላይ፣ ሁሉም.
bululu ስ. ጥንዚዛ.
bundar ስ. ዋንዛ.
buŋgul ስ. በተባይ ንክሻ ወይም በምትብ ምክንያት የሚፈጠር እብጠት፣
burdze ስ. ዓሣ ለማጥመድ ማጥመጃው ላይ የሚደረግ ምግብ.
burdzo ስ. ፊንግ (ትንንሾት).
bure ስ. ሐይቅ፣ ባህር፣ ውቅያኖስ.
burekaw ስ. የባህር ዳርቻ.
burtukane ስ. ብርቱካን.
buruse ተለዋጭ: burufe. ስ. መስኮት፣ ፉካ.

burutfo ተመሳሳይ: képpér. ስ. ስንጥር፣ ስባሪ.
būsà ስ. ስጋ (ለስላሳው የሰው ወይም የእንስሳት አካል).
bù:sā ስ. ቁንጣን.
butf'a ስ. ጉትዬ (የበቆሎራሱ).

butfi ግ. ነቀለ (ድንች፣ ስኳር ድንች፣ ጎደሬ).
butfu ግ. ነጨ (የዶሮ ላባ).
butfuni ስ. ሞያለ/ሙጅሌ.

D - d

-d NUM.
da ግ. ለቀመ ፣ ሰበሰበ(ፍራፍሬ).
da ተመሳሳይ: ekem. ግ. ለቀመ (የፈሰሰ ወይም የተዘራ ጥሬ).
dá ግ. በላ (ማር).
ďâ: ተመሳሳይ: giruwe:.. ስ. ሀዘን፣ ለቅሳ.
ďâ: ግ. አለቀሰ፣ አዘኔ.
ďadaŋkin ግ. መተረ ፣ ቆራረጠ (ዳቦ፣ ስጋ).
dagitam ግ. ሰበሰበ፣ ለቀመ (ጭራሮ፣ ጎመን የመሳሰሉትን).
daguse ስ. ዳጉሳ.
ďaji meŋ ስ. ልቅሶ ቤት፣ ሀዘን ቤት.
dakse ስ. የቅርንጫፍ መለያያ የባላ ቅርፅ ያለው ቦታ.
dale ስ. የጋያ ማሰሮ.
dali ስ. ሻኛ.
dama ስ. ቢጫ.
ďama ቅ. ረጅም.
ďama ግ. ረዘመ.
dammo ስ. ደም.
dammo ግ. ደማ.
damumba ግ. አረዘመ.
da:na: ስ. ቀፎ.
ďaŋka ቅ. ጥሩ፣ መልካም፣ እሺ.
ďankam boku ተመሳሳይ: tĵinim(boku). ቅ. ለም ፣ ለምለም.
ďaŋkam ufa ቅ. ንጹብ ፣ ወንጀል ወይም ጥፋት የሌለበት.
daro ስ. ደረቅ ቆዳ አገዛዝ.
ďatf'a ቅ. ኮጭ.
ďa:tĵam ĵilla ተመሳሳይ: tĵontu namom silla. ስ. የዘር ፈሳሽ.
ďawatte ግ. እብሮ ተቀመጠ.
ďe ስ. ጭን.
ďe: ግ. አወቀ.
ďébbé ተመሳሳይ: jabam. ቅ. ባዶ.
ďébbé ተመሳሳይ: ŋabube. አሉታ. የለም፣ አይደለም.
ďébĕkórĕ ተመሳሳይ: kur. ግ. ጨረሰ.
ďébĕkòrĕj ግ. አለቀ.
ďébú ስ. ወንድ ክርክር.
ďĕbù ግ. የዛፍ ቅርንጫፍ መመልመል፣ መቆራረጥ.
dedefeni ስ. በረሮ.
ďĕ:go ስ. አዞ.

ďeja ቅ. የተሻለ፣ ትሩ.
dekí ስ. ጃርት.
dek'k'a ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
deleketf ስ. ጥንቻል.
dembalaŋ ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
dende ተለዋጭ: esum. ስ. አነት (የእናት ወንድሜ ብቻ).
denkí ግ. ሲጢጥ አሰ.
ďĕpĕ: ስ. አንበሳ.
deppú ግ. ጨለመ.
deppú ተመሳሳይ: dindim. ስ. ማታ.
ďĕ:ppú ስ. የወጥመድ እንጨት.
ďĕtí ግ. ፈለገ፣ ሻተ፣ አሰኘው.
ďĕtube ግ. እምቢ አለ፣ ተቃወመ.
ďĕwe ስ. እውቀት፣ ጥበብ፣ ብልሀት.
ďĕwe ተመሳሳይ: ĕewe. ቅ. ብልህ፣ አዋቂ፣ ጠቢብ.
ďĕwebbe ተመሳሳይ: gaga. ቅ. ደደብ.
ďĕwebbe ግ. ነፈዘ፣ ተደበተ፣ ጀዘበ.
ďĕwemba ተመሳሳይ: tamarejмба. ግ. አሳወቀ.
ďi: ግ. ሰረቀ.
ďi: ተለዋጭ: ďijem ufa. ስ. ሌባ.
ďi:bá ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
ďiga ስ. ሰላም.
ďihì ተለዋጭ: ďiki. ግ. ፊጨ.
ďikilam ስ. ተረከዝ.
ďiksé mànà ተለዋጭ: ďikfe mana, ďihse mana. ስ. የድንጋይ ወፍሬጭ.
ďimu ስ. ዝናብ.
ďindim ተመሳሳይ: deppu. ስ. ምሽት፣ ላይን ሲይዝ.
ďindim ተመሳሳይ: deppu. ግ. መሸ.
ďíndimi tájijàmbò ስ. አራት.
ďīŋgī ስ. ቁላ.
ďīŋgi làkà ቅ. ለወሲብ የደከመ፣ ስንፈተ ወሲብ.
ďíppĕt ተመሳሳይ: tádzĕt. ግ. አጠለለ (በማጥለፅ).
ďi:r ስ. ግንባር.
ďirb ተመሳሳይ: golla, luge, tĵakan. ግ. አደኔ (በውሻ በመታገዝ).
ďi:ri tĵonawe ቅ. ሽብሽብ (ግንባር).
ďirteti ግ. ተንሸራተተ.
ďitfak ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.

dobe ስ. የሰጋ ደዋ፥ ቁምጥና(ፀያፍ).
dòga ተመሳሳይ: **dògasé**. ስ. ደረት.
dogase ተመሳሳይ: **doga**. ስ. ደረት.
doge emaha ስ. የደረት አጥንት፥ ፍርምባ.
dogu 1) ግ. ጠፋ (ለሰው ለእቃ).
dogu 2) ግ. መንገድ ሳተ (በጉዞ).
dohimbit ስ. በኋላ.
dohumbuk ስ. ቅድም.
dojja ግ. አላመደ ፣ ለማዳ.
dok a ስ. ዋርካ.
dokit ስ. ልሰን ፣ ምርጊት.
dokka ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
doku ተመሳሳይ: **aha**₁. ስ. ቤት፥ ጎጆ.
doku ግ. ቤት ሰራ.
dokun ስ. ጥሎሽ.
doma ተመሳሳይ: **deg:aje**, **debeg:aje**. ግ. በሰለ፥ ደረሰ.
dōma ቅ. በሰለ.
dombase doku ስ. ወጥቤት ፣ ማድቤት.
domet ግ. ተስማማ.
dōmumba ግ. አበሰለ.
dòn ተመሳሳይ: **bùsá**. ተለዋጭ: **dònsé**. ስ. ጡንቻ (የእጅ).
dónj ስ. ሀረግ፥ ሲባጎ.
dondiya ስ. ቢራቢሮ.
doṅgol ስ. የማሪያም ፈረስ.
doṅke ስ. ዘንጋዳ.
doṅku ስ. ኩርፊያ.
doṅku ግ. አንኳረፊ.
dōr ስ. ግንድ (የዛፍ).
dosi ተለዋጭ: **doṣi**. ግ. ሰካ.
dosso ስ. ህመም፥ ስቃይ.
dossomba ግ. ጎዳ.
dōtjō ስ. የቆላ ቁሰል.
dōtjṣi ግ. ቁጢጥ አለ.
dowwol ስ. ጦርነት.
dowwol ተመሳሳይ: **ṅasa**. ግ. ተዋጋ (ጦርነት).
dowwoli ufa ስ. ጦረኛ፥ ተዋጊ.
dowwoli ufewetj ስ. የጦር ሰራዊት.
du ስ. ጡት.
dubano ተመሳሳይ: **hop deb**. ስ. ሬሳ ፣ በድን.
dúbbī ስ. ነቀዝ.
dubfaj ስ. ቀይና ነጭ ወንድ ውሻ.
dudur ስ. አባራ.
duga ግ. ደበቀ፥ ሸሽጎ.
dugawe ተመሳሳይ: **agutjé**. ግ. ተደበቀ.
duji aha ስ. ግት.
dujiwo ስ. ወተት.

dukka ግ. አጠቀሰ፥ ነከረ.
dulafa ግ. ጣለ፥ አራገፊ፥ አወረደ (የተሸከመውን ሸክም).
dulkutjṣj ስ. ጎፍጥ፤.
dull ግ. ጣለ፥ ወረወረ፥ አስወገደ.
dullukutjṣj ተመሳሳይ: **bontja (m)**, **fatam**. ስ. ሽታ፥ ጠረጎ.
dumab ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
dumba ግ. አጠባቻ.
dumutun ስ. ክረምት አግቢ.
dundum ተለዋጭ: **efi dundum**. ስ. ክንድ (ርዝመት መለኪያ).
dunedi ስ. ጅብ.
dunṅk ተመሳሳይ: **Koji dunku**. ስ. አንጎል.
dunṅkuj ስ. ጥቁር ሴር ውሻ.
durgum ስ. መዶሻ.
duro ስ. ቆማጣ.
dutjṣi ግ. በእጅ ማንጠልጠል.
dzàb ስ. ነገ.
dzaba ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
dzábá ተመሳሳይ: **kótój**. ስ. መኮትኮቻ፥ ዛቢያ.
dzabi fajijambu ተለዋጭ: **zabi fajijamb**. ስ. ቁርስ.
dzābù ስ. ምጣድ.
dzāhi ስ. ሸክላ.
dzahi hede ufa ስ. ሸክላ ሰራ.
dzajiti ስ. ዘይት.
dzàl ስ. ጎላንት.
dzalidzalka ስ. ከትላንትና ወዲያ.
dzámē ተመሳሳይ: **gadzare**. ስ. ቆንጩራ፥ ገጅራ.
dzami aha ስ. ኩይሳ.
dzamm ስ. ምስጥ.
dzandza ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
dzar ስ. (ከ)ፊት.
dzar ተለዋጭ: **zar**. ግ. ቀደመ፥ አለፈ.
dzar ተመሳሳይ: **isak**. ተግ. ድር፥ ጥንት.
dzarijam tjō ስ. በኩር.
dzarpaj ስ. ባንድ በኩል ቀይ ባንድ በኩል ነጭ ወንድ ውሻ.
dzart ተለዋጭ: **masi zart**. ስ. ከ በፊት.
dzarʔe sara ግ. መራ.
dzefa ተለዋጭ: **zefa**. ስ. ዝንብ.
dzēlel ስ. የጅብ ጥላ.
dzidzi ስ. ማጅራት.
dzimba ግ. አዳኔ.
dzimm ተመሳሳይ: **kendise**. ግ. ተሻለ፥ ዳኔ.
dzima ስ. ጤናማ.
dzō ግ. ቆረጠመ.
dzodzo ተመሳሳይ: **afafun, gure**. ግ. ቶሎቶሎ.
dzodzo ተመሳሳይ: **afafuno, gure**. ተግ. ቶሎቶሎ.

dzógà ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
dzoli ግ. ጥልቅ ሆኑ.
dzoli ቅ. ጥልቅ.
dzoliyak ስ. ዛጎል.
dzol:lumba ግ. ጥልቅ አይደረገ.
dzoma ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
dzomba 1) ግ. መለሰ. 2) መልስ ሰጠ.
dzongku ስ. ጨህት (የአሳማ).

dzongku ግ. አጎረመረመ (አሳማ).
dzowu ግ. ተመለሰ.
dzudzuku ስ. በታንኳ ተገለበጠ.
dzuhuma ተለዋጭ: dzuhuma. ስ. እንብርት.
dzuk ስ. አምላክ.
dzuk ስ. አምላክ፣ እግዚአብሔር.
dzuk(u) ስ. ጌታ.

E - e

e ግ. አለ.
é ግ. አገባ (ሚስት).
é ግ. አስቀመጠ.
ebe 1) ግ. አሾላ (እንጨት). 2) ፋቀ(በቢላዋ ለምሳሌ ድንቻ).
eber ግ. ፈኑዳ.
eberan ግ. ቀጠቀጠ፣ ሰራ(ጨቤ፣ ጦር፣ ገጅራ).
eberani ufa ስ. ቀጥቃጭ፣ ብረት ሰራተኛ.
ebetá ግ. ለቀመ (ማገዶ እንጨት ከጫካ).
ebetata ግ. በተጣደ ነገር ስር ማገዶ መጨመር.
ebeté konna ስ. የማገዶ እንጨት.
eduga ስ. ከርከሮ ፣ አራዎ.
edzom ስ. ጉማሬ.
efi lata ስ. አውራ ጣት.
efi murese ስ. እንባር መዋደ፣ ሰአት መዋደ.
efi toña ስ. ሌባ ጣት.
efi tfumtfume ስ. ቡጢ.
efikossa ተመሳሳይ: **tebbu**. ስ. የወር አበባ.
efifak ተመሳሳይ: **efifak**. ስ. አይበሉባ፣ የመዳፍ ጀርባ.
efu ተመሳሳይ: **go**. ስ. እጅ (ከመታጠፊያው በላይ፣ መዳፍና ጣቶችን የያዘ).
egεge ግ. ጋጠ.
εgeνε ስ. ሴት ከርከሮ.
-e/je SUFF.
-ekin amekin ቅጥያ. አሉታ አመልካች (በትእዛዝ ጊዜ).
εkkεkεm 1) ተመሳሳይ: **da**. ግ. ነቆረ. 2) ወጋ.
eku ተመሳሳይ: **-ña**. መ ግ. አኖ.
elebu ግ. አድብቶ መከተል.
emaha ተለዋጭ: **emaka**. ስ. አጥንት.
emaha of ስ. አፅም.
emdi ስ. ታንኳ.
epa ስ. ሸኮኮ.

endo ስ. ቀይ ሴት ውሻ.
engeta ስ. ምራት (የወንድም ሚስት ፣ የሚስት አህት፣ የባል አህት).
engeti ስ. ዋርሳ (የአህት ባል፣ የሚስት ወንድም፣ የባል ወንድም).
enka ቅ. ተመሳሳይ፣ አንድ አይነት.
enko ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
ergin ስ. ቀስት፣ ወስፊንጥር.
ese ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
ese ግ. ጋገረ.
esem ተለዋጭ: **efem**. ግ. ገጨ.
esum ተለዋጭ: **dende**. ስ. አንት (የእናት ወንድሜ ብቻ).
e:t ግ. አስገባ፣ ጨምር.
eta ስ. ታላቅ አህት.
eta 1) ግ. አንቆረቆረ.
eta ስ. መጠረፍ፣ መሸከፍ፣ መጨመር፣ መክተት (ምሳ: ውሃ ወደ ብረትድስት፣ ልብስ ወደ ሻንጣ••).
eta 2) ሻ. መጠረፍ፣ መሸከፍ፣ መጨመር፣ መክተት (ምሳ: ውሃ ወደ ብረትድስት፣ ልብስ ወደ ሻንጣ••).
etawe ግ. ለበሰ.
etawemba ግ. አለበሰ.
etimbilik ስ. ነዋሪ.
et'o ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
etj'et ተመሳሳይ: **keti**. ግ. ሰማ.
etjete ተመሳሳይ: **keti**. ግ. ታዘዘ.
etjeti ተመሳሳይ: **keti**. ስ. መስማት.
etjfo ስ. ፍልፈል.
ε:tjfo ስ. የማይበላ የእንሰት ዘር.
etum 1) ስ. ዘመድ. 2) — N. ኗሪ. 3) ባለቤት ፣ ባለ ሀብት. 4) — N. እራስ (እኔ ራሴ).
ewekwer ግ. ሟጠጠ፣ ፈቀፈቀ.

F - f

fá:kí ግ. አሰጣ.

falli ግ. ፈጠረ.

fare ግ. ተጠማ.
fátata ግ. አደባ ፣ አድፍጦ ተከተሏ.
fátta 1) ግ. ዳኸ. 2) ተሳቦ፣ ተሸሎከሎከ.
fifse?ambu ስ. ወናፍ.
fifu 1) ግ. ነፋ.
fifu 2) ግ. ዋሽንት ነፋ.
fifu ተመሳሳይ: **jongo**. ግ. ነፊሰ.
fikata V. 1) ተመሳሳይ: **fikka**.
 — ግ. ሰቦ አሰጠጋ.
fikka V. 1) ተመሳሳይ: **fikata**.
 — ግ. ሳቦ.
fikkandzi ግ. ጐተተ.
filil ስ. ተባይ ፣ ነፍሳት.

fin 1) ግ. ገመደ. 2) ቆጣጠረ፣ ጠቀላላ.
finawe ግ. ቆጣጠረ፣ ጠቀላላ (የራሱን ፀጉር).
finaweat tjeke ተለዋጭ: **finaweat fjeke**. ስ. የተቆጣጠር ፀጉር.
fitji ግ. ጨመቆ.
foŋka ቅ. ቀላላ.
foŋka ግ. ቀላላ.
fu: 1) ግ. ወደቀ. 2) ዘነቦ.
fumba ግ. መቶ ጣሊ.
funka ስ. አመድ.
furo ስ. አዳኝ ውሻ.
fútfa ግ. ነጨ (ላባ).

G - g

-g TENS.
gabijo ስ. ገበያ.
gabijo ስ. ሳምንት.
gaga ተመሳሳይ: **dewebe**. ቅ. ጅል.
gagamba ግ. አዋፕ፣ ሸፈጠ፣ አታላላ.
gaje 1) ግ. ቢቃ.
gaje ቅ. በቂ.
gaji ግ. ነደፈ.
gal ተመሳሳይ: **gal emaha**. ስ. ጎን፣ ወገብ.
galaptja ተመሳሳይ: **jagi**. ስ. አርኩም.
gale ስ. ቀጭኔ.
gali emaha ተመሳሳይ: **gal**. ስ. ጎድጎ.
gali katfo ስ. ጎን.
galikatfo ስ. ጎን.
gā:mà ስ. አገጭ፣ መንጋጭላ.
gāmmá 1) ግ. ልብስ አወለቀ.
ganba ተመሳሳይ: **tagana, hubu**. ግ. ተኛ (በጎኑ).
ganda ስ. ቀንዳውጣ.
gā:nì ግ. ከበረ ፣ በለጸገ.
gā:nì ቅ. ሃብታም.
ga:nó ግ. አንሳ.
garetti ስ. አባት ደኩላ.
gassa ተመሳሳይ: **umbage gassa**. ተለዋጭ: **gajfa**. ግ. ግብረሰጋ ግንኙነት ፈፀመ፣ ወሲብ ፈፀመ፣ ቦዳ.
gatje 1) ስ. ጫቡ ሴቶች ፊት ላይ ለጌጥ የሚደርግ ነጥብ ወይም ነጠብጣብ.
gatje 2) ስ. የሸከላ ቅርጽ ማውጫ (የሰው ፊትም ላይ ቅርጽ ማውጫ).
gatti ስ. ዋጋ.
gatti bogo ስ. ውድ (ዋጋ).
gatti hantjibu ስ. ርካሽ (ዋጋ).

ga?am ግ. አወጣ.
ga?amse ግ. አራገፈ (የጫነውን ወይም ሌላ ሰው የተሸከመውን).
-ge TNS/ASPECT.
gebe ስ. አታክልት ፣ ያትክልት ቦታ፣ ጓሮ፣ ማሳ.
geda ስ. አሳማ.
gedel ስ. ጭልፊት.
gēdí ስ. ሰነፍ ውሻ.
gēdi ስ. የተመነጠረ መሬት.
gegetumba ግ. አዘዋወረ፣ አንቀሳቀሰ. 2) ለወሰ.
gegetuwe ግ. ዘረ.
gejum ስ. ወንድ/ አባት ጎሽ.
gelteni ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
gera ግ. ወጣ (ዛፍ ላይ).
gerapdzise ስ. መሰላላ.
gere ስ. የጦር ዘንግ.
gergawo ስ. ትኧን.
gesso ተመሳሳይ: **takapu**. ተለዋጭ: **gefjo**. ስ. የሚጥሚ ጣ ቆጥ.
getfo ግ. ኮራ.
getumba ግ. አዞረ፣ ገለበጠ.
getiwe 1) ግ. ተዘዋወረ. 2) ዘረ.
gi ተመሳሳይ: **hambo**. ስ. ከአንጨት የሚሰራ የዓሣ መረብ.
gi ተመሳሳይ: **affal**. ግ. ተጣላ፣ ተደባደቦ.
gibba ስ. ጋሻ.
gidak ስ. ቡቃያ.
gidi 1) ቅ. ጣፋጭ. 2) አሰደሳች.
gidi ግ. ረካ፣ ተደሰተ.
gidi ግ. ጣፈጠ.
gidib ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
gidita ግ. ተደሰተ.
gidita ስ. መልካም ኑሮ.

gidumba ግ. አስደሰተ.
gifo ተመሳሳይ: kokotje. ስ. መዘጊያ፣ በር፣ ሳንቃ.
gifo ግ. ዘጋ.
gimba ግ. ወዘወዘ፣ ነቀነቀ (ለሰው ና ተክል).
gimu ስ. ከሎኮይ ዛፍ ቅርፊት የሚዘጋጅ መጠጥ.
gindab ስ. አባት ነበር.
gingire ግ. ተንከባለለ.
giro ስ. ድሃ፣ ብቸኛ (ደጋፊ የሌለው).
giro ግ. አጣ፣ ተቸገረ፣ ደኸይ.
girowe ቅ. የተከፋ.
gisa ተመሳሳይ: saki. ተለዋጭ: gifa. ስ. ኋላ፣ ጀርባ.
gifati መዋ. ከ በኋላ.
giso ተለዋጭ: gijo. ግ. ከበበ.
giti V. Action)
 — ግ. ፋቀ፣ አለሰለሰ.
giti ቅ. ርጥብ.
giwase V. 1) ተለዋጭ: giwafe.
 — ግ. ተንቀሳቀሰ፣ ተነቃነቅ. 2) እንቅስቃሴ.
giwafe 2) ግ. ተወዛወዛ.
go ተመሳሳይ: efu. ስ. ክንድ፣ እጅ (ከትከሻ እስከ ጣት ያለው የሰውነት ክፍል).
go 2) ስ. ቅርንጫፍ.
gobbo ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
godekaw ስ. የዝሆን ጥርስ.
gō:dó ስ. ዝሆን.
gòdò ስ. ቀሰል (የዱላ).
godze ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
gogijo ግ. አሪ አለ ፣ አለቀሰ (ፎካላ).
gogub ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
goji ግ. ተላጨ.
gojise ጎambu ተመሳሳይ: ati. ስ. ምላጭ.
golla ተመሳሳይ: dirb, luge, tʃakan. ግ. አደኒ.
golla (ufa) ስ. አዳኝ.
goma ግ. አያያዝ፣ አቀጣጠለ (እሳት).
goma ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
gomase ጎambu ተለዋጭ: gomafeጎmbo. ስ. ምድጃ.
gomo ስ. ኪዮ.
gomponj ስ. የተራራ ራሲ.
gomu ስ. ተራራ.
goṅgo ስ. ቀንድ አውጣ.

gongodzi ስ. ደከላ ፣ የሜዳ ፍየል.
gorfo ስ. ጨጓራ.
goroto ተግ. በጭራሽ፣ በፍፁም.
gosa ተለዋጭ: gofa. ስ. መውለድ፣ እንቁላል መጣል.
gosa V. ተለዋጭ: gofa. 1)
 — ግ. ወሊደ. 2) እንቁላል ጣለ.
gosano ተመሳሳይ: papale. ግ. አስወረደ (እርግዝና).
gosase ጎaha ተመሳሳይ: tʃonka. ስ. ማህፀን.
gòta ተመሳሳይ: goma. ግ. አቃጠለ.
go:ti ስ. ከእሳት ባሻገር.
gotʃi ስ. ጉድጓድ.
gugamb ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
gujj ተመሳሳይ: wer. ስ. ወጨፎ፣ ሀይለኛ ጎፋስ ያለው ዝናብ.
gu:la ግ. ከበደ.
gu:la ቅ. ከባድ.
gum ስ. በትር ፣ ዱላ.
gúmá ግ. ተበቀለ.
gùmà ስ. ነጐድጓድ.
gumab ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
gumi ስ. ትልቅ ወርቃማ መርዘኛ እባብ (ሲኔድፍ የሚገልጽ የሚሞት).
gumun ስ. ጉጉት.
guna ግ. አነከሰ.
gundub ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
gune ተመሳሳይ: hipu 1. ስ. ጥቅል.
gúne ተመሳሳይ: hípú, tʃúm̄tsum. ግ. ጠቅለለ (ያለ ገመድ).
guni ስ. መቶ አግር/ አባጨጓራ.
gunfa ግ. አገረመረመ (ጎሽ).
gu:pp ግ. ታቀፊች.
guppo ስ. ደመና.
gure ቅ. ፈጣን.
gure ስ. ፍጥነት.
gure ተመሳሳይ: afafun, d3od3o. ግ. ፈጠኔ.
guri ግ. አረደ.
gursi ስ. ሴት/እናት ጎሽ.
gutare ተመሳሳይ: ife. ግ. አረጅ.
gutare ስ. ሽማግሌ.
gutʃe ግ. ቂጡን ጠረገ.

H - h

hà ስ. ስጋ.
ha:ba ተለዋጭ: ka:ba. ግ. በዛ.
ha:ba ተመሳሳይ: heddi. ተለዋጭ: ka:ba. ቅ. ብዙ (ለሚቆጠር ነገር).

habaṅ ohaset ተመሳሳይ: habaṅ tól. ተለዋጭ: kabaṅ ohaset. ተግ. ብዙ ጊዜ.
habaṅ tól ተለዋጭ: Kabaṅ tól, haba ohaset. ተግ. ብዙ ጊዜ፣ አብዛኛውን ጊዜ.

habu ተለዋጭ: **kabu**. ግ. ተጋደመ፣ ተኛ.
haduf 1) ግ. መታ (ልቡ).
haduf 2) ግ. ተንቀጠቀጠ፣ ተንዘፈዘፈ. (በህመም ወይም በብርድ).
hadzi ግ. አሰፈለፈለ (ዶር).
hagale ግ. ማንገት/በትከሻ ማንጠልጠል.
hagale siki ስ. ሰይፍ፣ ጎራዴ.
hajum ስ. የፀሐይ ብርሃን.
hali ግ. በቀለ.
ham ግ. ሰጠ.
hambo ተመሳሳይ: **gi**. ተለዋጭ: **kambo**. ስ. የማደኛ ወጥመድ (እንጨትና ከሲባጎ የሚሰራ).
hambo ተለዋጭ: **kambo**. ግ. ወጥመድ አጠመደ፣ (አውሬ) በወጥመድ ያዘ.
handa: ስ. ምላሽ.
hantjib ቅ. ጥቂት (ለሚቆጠሩም ለማይቆጠሩም ነገሮች).
hantjibumba ግ. አሳከሰ፣ ቀነሰ.
hebba 1) ስ. ዶቃ. 2) ሃብል፣ አልቦ፣ ጨሌ.
he:bbu Ant: **ጎan**. ተግ. ላይ (በመሬት ላይ ያለን ክፍታ ቦታ).
he:bbu Ant: **ጎan**. ስ. ሰሜን.
hebel ግ. መሸከም (በትከሻ).
hebelse ስ. ትከሻ፣ መሸከሚያ.
hedfa ግ. ሸመነ፣ ሰራ (ሸክላ ማንኛውም አይነት የእጅ ጥበብ).
hedfase ስ. ጉንጉን (ሹሩባ).
heddi ተመሳሳይ: **ha:ba**. ቅ. ብዙ.
heddi ተለዋጭ: **kedde**. ግ. አደገ.
hedebu ተመሳሳይ: **hantjib**. ተለዋጭ: **hefebu/kefebu/kedebu**. ቅ. ትንሽ (መጠኑ ትንሽ ለሆነ ነጠላ ነገር).
hediki ተለዋጭ: . ስ. ህቅታ፣ ስርቅታ.
hè:dzi ስ. ማገዶ (ጭርሮ).
heja ግ. አቆሰለ.
hejjese ተለዋጭ: . ስ. ቁሰል.
helepdzi ስ. ምራቅ.
helepdzinno ግ. እንትፍ አለ፣ ተፋ.
heletti ስ. ወፍ.
heletti aha ስ. የወፍ ጎጆ.
heptjem ተለዋጭ: (**henj'em rejected by Aynet and Kidmael** ^{24,501,12}). ግ. ላሰ.
hepu ተለዋጭ: **kepu**. ስ. እሳት ልማደያዝ ይሚርዱ ሁለት እንጨቶች.
he:r ተለዋጭ: **ke:r**. ስ. ጅማት፣ ደም ስር.
hetfa ተለዋጭ: **ketfa**. ስ. መዝቃ፣ ዘፈን፣ መዝሙር.
hetfa ተለዋጭ: **ketfa**. ግ. ዘፈነ.
hí ተለዋጭ: **kí**. ግ. ፈለሰ፣ ቤት ለቀቀ.
hijja ተለዋጭ: **kijja**. ተለዋጭ: **hijja**. ግ. ከለከለ.
hikira ተለዋጭ: **kikira**. ተለዋጭ: **kikiram ufa**. ቅ. ድንክ.
hijki ስ. ምጥ.

hijki ስ. አማጠ.
hipu ተመሳሳይ: **gune**. ስ. ጥቅል፣ አሰር.
hipu ስ. ሰቀለ (ቀጭ).
hipú ተመሳሳይ: **gúne**. ግ. ጠቀለለ (በማሰራያ)፣ አሰረ፣ ጠረዘ.
hi:rā ተለዋጭ: **ki:rā**. ስ. አሸዋ.
hita?atin dujiwo ተለዋጭ: **kita?atin dujiwo**. ስ. እርጎ.
hitta ተለዋጭ: **kitta**. ግ. ረጋ.
hitta ተለዋጭ: **kitta**. ግ. ቆመ.
hò: ተለዋጭ: **kò:**. ስ. ከቺ.
hoba ስ. ሰማይ.
hoba ግ. አጨሰ (ሲጋራ).
hobu ተለዋጭ: **kobu**. ግ. ፈላ (ለጠላ፣ ጠጅ).
hobu 2) ተለዋጭ: **kobu**. ግ. ተነኑ.
hobumba ተለዋጭ: **kobumba**. ግ. አፈላ፣ አንተተተከ.
hogula ስ. ጠጅ.
hoha ግ. አዘጋ.
hoki ተለዋጭ: **koki**. ስ. እጎት (የአባት ወንድም).
holimaጎ ተለዋጭ: **kolima**. ስ. መካነ መቃብር.
holita ተለዋጭ: **kolita**. ግ. ከተከተ.
holitase ambu ተለዋጭ: **kolitase ambu**. ስ. መከፋፋይ.
hóll ተለዋጭ: **kóll**. ግ. ቆፈረ.
höll ተለዋጭ: **köll**. ስ. ቀብር.
holse?ambo ተለዋጭ: **kolse?ambo**. ስ. ደማ፣ መቆፈሪያ.
holut ስ. ደረትዋ ንጭ ጀርባዋ ቀይ የሆነ የወፍ አይነት.
homa ተለዋጭ: **koma**. ግ. ተጓዘ.
homase ተመሳሳይ: **homa**. ተለዋጭ: **komase**. ስ. መንገድ፣ ጎዳና.
homase ufa ተለዋጭ: **komase ufa**. ስ. መንገደኛ፣ ተጓዥ.
hondi ተለዋጭ: **kondi**. ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
hoptjfi ስ. የወባ ትንኝ.
hoppu ስ. ትንፋሽ. 2) — ስ. ህይወት. 3) — ስ. አረፍት.
hoppu 1) ግ. ተነፈሰ. 2) አረፈ.
hoppu ግ. ጠዘጠዘ.
hoppunga?ambu ተመሳሳይ: **kobbe**. ቅ. ህያው፣ በህይወት ያለ.
hopu debe ተመሳሳይ: **ko**. ስ. ሞተ፣ ህይወቱን አጣ.
hora ተለዋጭ: **kora**. ግ. አጠባ.
hōrà ተለዋጭ: **kōrà**. ስ. ሸረራት.
horawe ግ. አጠባ.
hore konku ተለዋጭ: **kore konku**. ስ. የሸረራት ድር.
horo ተለዋጭ: **koro**. ስ. ጉሮሮ.
horog ተለዋጭ: **korog**. ስ. እርጉዝ.
horose amba ተለዋጭ: **Korose amba**. ስ. ማንቁርት.
horumba ስ. አሰታጠባ.

howe ተለዋጭ፡ kowe. ስ. ማጨት.
howe ተለዋጭ፡ kowe. ግ. አጨ.
hubatto ስ. የአንጅት ትል.
hubu ተመሳሳይ፡ tagana, ganba. ግ. ተንበለበለ፣ በደረቱ ተኛ.
huma ተለዋጭ፡ kuma. ግ. ጠገቢ.

hùngù ተለዋጭ፡ kùngù. ስ. ቆለጥ.
huppunna ግ. ወዛ፣ አላቢ.
hutti ተመሳሳይ፡ kutti. ስ. ጉልበት.
huwann ተለዋጭ፡ kuwann. ስ. መሀል ደረት.

I - i

-i ተለዋጭ፡ -e. አያያዥ፡ አያያዥ.
i:: INTERJ. አዎ.
idda ተመሳሳይ፡ lelem. ግ. ቀመሰ (በምላስ ጫፍ).
idzagen ስ. ስራ.
idzagen ግ. ስራ.
idzom ስ. ጉማሬ.
igom ግ. አሳደደ ፣ አባረረ ፣ ተከታተለ.
ihom ተለዋጭ፡ ikom. ግ. ደመረ፣ ቆጠረ
ijab ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም
ijaገገ ግ. አስታወቀ.
ijaገገ ስ. ማስታወቂያ.
ikokom 1) ግ. አስተካከ. 2) ጠገኑ ፣ አበጅ.
ímē ግ. ቆየ፣ ዘገየ.
ímē ስ. ዓመት.
īmē ስ. አክብሮት ፣ ፍርሀት (የአምላክ).
imeno ግ. አሳለፈ. (ጊዜ) ፣ ዘገየ.
imiገገo ተግ. ቆይቶ ፣ ዘገይቶ.
ijanna ግ. ጠየቀ.
ijanna ስ. ጥያቄ.
indi ተመሳሳይ፡ lata. ስ. የራስ እናት.
ink ink ohasetu .) ተግ. አንዳንድ ጊዜ.
ink inkse .) ተግ. አንዳንድ ጊዜ.
ijka መ.አምር. ይህኛ.
ijki ስ. አንድ.
ijki ስ. ጓደኛ (ሴት ለሴት).
inki apo ስ. ቃል.

inkise ተግ. አንድ ጊዜ.
ijkit መ.ገምር. አንድ ላይ.
inun ግ. አሰቢ.
inun ስ. ሀሳብ.
inungam ቅ. ብልህ፣ ጠቢብ.
ipere 2) ግ. ደፈረ (ወሲብ).
ipere 1) ግ. አሰፈራራ ፣ ዘረፈ.
iraso ስ. መረ፣ ጉጉሰ.
isabon ተመሳሳይ፡ kor. ግ. ቆይ.
isa:ka ተመሳሳይ፡ dzar. ተለዋጭ፡ ijfa:ka. ስ. ድር.
isaken adfase ስ. ባህል.
ise ተለዋጭ፡ ife. ግ. አረጀ (ሰው ላልሆኑ ነገሮች).
ise ተለዋጭ፡ ife. ቅ. አሮጌ.
isibetu ተግ. ወዲያውኑ.
isiki ተለዋጭ፡ ifiki. ግ. ጠረገ.
ijikje?ambo ተለዋጭ፡ isikse ambo. ስ. መጥረጊያ.
itott ተለዋጭ፡ itutt. ግ. ገለፀ፣ አሰረዳ፣ መከረ.
itje ስ. አጥር ግቢ.
itje ስ. አጥር አጠረ.
itje takant ስ. አጥር ግቢ.
itjibu ተግ. አንድአንድ ቀን ዘሎ.
itjik ግ. መገልበጥ (ከእቃ ወደ እቃ).
itjtja ስ. እጭ.
itute ተመሳሳይ፡ temaremba. ግ. ማስተማር.
iwor ግ. ሳለ፣ ሞረደ.

J - j

-j- (dari: -j-) ስርጉት. ስርጉት.
jabak takmo ግ. ደስ አላለኝም፣ ሰላም አይሰማኝም.
jabam ተመሳሳይ፡ debe. ቅ. ባዶ.
jaban ስ. ነጭ ወንድ ውሻ.
janfu ተሰም. 1-በዙ እን(ቅልቅል).
janገa 1) ግ. አለ.
janገa 2) ግ. አለው.
jara ግ. በተነ (ለ ነገር).
jaw ግ. ጠላ.

jemba ግ. አሳየ፣ አመለከ፣ ተጠቆመ.
jembatano ግ. ላክ.
jer ስ. እግዚአብሔር.
=jero ቅጥያ. ብዙ ቁጥር አመልካች.
jes ተለዋጭ፡ jesi (inf) (no ተለዋጭ with [j]. ግ. አፈጠጠ).
jeta 1) ግ. አገኘ. 2) መረጠ.
ji ተሰም. 3 ነጠ ተባ.
ji መኣ. እምር ተባእት.
ji:dza ስ. ሀዘን.

jija ስ. ታላቅ ወንድም የአጎት (የአባት ወንድም) ልጅ.
jimanno ተመሳሳይ: ha:ba. ቅ. ብዙ.
jin ተሰም. 1 ብዙ ተባ.
jojjit ስ. የውሃ ተርብ.
jonjo ስ. አየር፣ ነፋስ.

jonjo ተመሳሳይ: fifu. ግ. ነፈስ.
ju ተመሳሳይ: ji. ተስም. 3 ነተባ.
ju መእ. ሌላ.
ju ambesi ተግ. አንድ ጊዜ.

K - k

-ka ቅጥያ. ቀጥተኛ ተሳቢ፣ ኢ-ቀጥተኛ ተሳቢ ወይም መድረሻ አመልካች.
ka: ስ. ሰገራ፣ ኩስ ፣ እቦት.
ka: ግ. አራ፣ ተፅዕኖ.
ká ተለዋጭ: há. ግ. ገደለ.
kabu ተለዋጭ: habu. ግ. ተኛ፣ ተጋደመ.
kada ስ. ብርሃን.
kadaጎጎ ስ. ላንቃ.
kagiጎ ስ. ቀሰት.
k'aj doku ስ. ሸንት ቤት.
kak ግ. አሰካካ.
kaka ስ. ዋሻ, ጉፊ.
kakafin ግ. ደጋግሞ መቅደድ.
kakafine ስ. በተቶ ፣ አራፊ ጨርቅ.
kake 1) ስ. ሴት አያት. 2) የልጅ ልጅ.
kako ስ. ዳክዩ.
kako ስ. ቀለበት.
kalbi ስ. ባህርይ፣ ፀባይ.
kalgib ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
kalse ተመሳሳይ: aha, doku. ተለዋጭ: kalje. ስ. መጠለያ፣ ጣሪያ ብቻ ወይም ከሁለት ጎን ብቻ ግርግዳ ያለው የጫካ ውስጥ ወይም የማሳ መጠበቂያ ቤት.
kamatrika ስ. መንጠቆ.
kambo ስ. ወጥመድ.
kame ስ. የአክሱቶች የአናት ወንድም ልጅ (Raja, Idende እና mine ልጅ).
kanda ተመሳሳይ: hebelse. ግ. ማንነት በትኩሻ.
kandza ግ. ነደደ ፣ ተቃጠለ.
kandza 1) ስ. ነበልባል. 2) መብራት.
kanጎa ግ. አንፈራጠጠ (አፈራጦ ቆመ).
kā:nì ስ. ውሻ.
kani tfo ስ. ቡቸላ.
kanጎulam ስ. ክርን.
kanta 1) ስ. ሸክም.
kántá ግ. አዘለ (በቅርጫት).
kantamba ግ. ጫነ፣ አሸከመ.
kāntè ስ. ቅርጫት.
karas ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
karfo ቅ. ጠንካራ.

Karu ስ. ከቡና ቅጠልና ከሚጥሚጣ የሚሰራ ትኩስ መጠጥ.
Karuj ስ. ቀንድ.
kasip ተለዋጭ: kafip, kasipu, kafipu. ስ. ወር.
kasip 1) ተለዋጭ: kafip, kasipu, kafipu. ስ. ጨረቃ.
kasipi hajum ስ. የጨረቃ ብርሃን.
kafa ስ. ቀደደ.
kafa ግ. ቀደደ.
kaጎama ስ. ተቅማጥ.
katame ስ. ከተማ.
kaጎawe ስ. ተቀደደ.
kaጎto ስ. አሰማት ፣ ጥንቁላ.
kaጎto ግ. በመተት አሰረ.
kaጎto ስ. አሰማተኛ፣ ጠንቁይ.
katja ስ. የጨግግራ ሸፋን ሞራ.
katjtjo ቅ. ግማሽ፣ ከፊል.
katjtjo ስ. አንድ-ጎን.
kaw 1) ስ. ጥርስ.
kaw 2) ስ. መንቆር፣ የወፍ አፍ.
kaw ስ. ቋንቋ.
kawaጎ ተለዋጭ: . ቅ. ሞላ.
kawaጎ ተለዋጭ: . ቅ. በሙሉ፣ ሙሉ.
kawse ተለዋጭ: kawje. ስ. አፍ.
Kawwo ስ. ጠመንጃ.
-ke ቅጥያ. አገናዛቢ.
Keba ቅ. ስስ.
Keba ግ. ሳሳ.
Kebam semo ተለዋጭ: kebam semo. ስ. ሸሚዝ.
keddi ተለዋጭ: heddi. ተመሳሳይ: kaba. ቅ. ብዙ (ለማይቆጠሩ ነገሮች).
keddi ተለዋጭ: heddi. ግ. አደገ.
keddumba ተለዋጭ: heddumba. ግ. አበዛ.
kedebu ተመሳሳይ: hantfib. ተለዋጭ: keጎebu/ hedeu/ heጎebu/. ቅ. ትንሽ (የነጠላ ነገር መጠን).
kedebumba ተመሳሳይ: hantfibumba. ግ. ቀነሰ.
ke'dzī ተለዋጭ: . ቅ. ቀጭን.
ke'dzi ግ. ቀጠኑ.
kejan ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
keki ስ. ከንፈር.

keki?ambu ስ. የከንፈር ጌጥ (ሸከላ).
keleŋkoj ስ. የአሳ አመቴ ወፍ.
keli ግ. አፈሰሰ.
kemo ተለዋጭ: hemo. ግ. ነገረ.
kemo ተለዋጭ: hemo. 1) ስ. ታሪክ. 2) ሀሜት.
kemose ስ. ታሪክ.
kempu ግ. አርገበገበ፣ አራገበ (ከንፍን).
kempu ስ. ማራገቢያ.
kempuse?amba ስ. ማራገቢያ ፣ ወናፍ.
kemta ስ. ፍየል.
kemte tjo ስ. የፍየል ግልገል.
kendi ቅ. ቀዝቃዛ.
kendi ግ. ቀዝቀዝ.
kendise ግ. ተነቃቃ፣ አንሰራራ.
kendumaj ስ. ጥላ.
kendumba ግ. 1) አቀዘቀዘ፣ አበረደ. 2) አቆመ ፣ አረገበ (ጠብን).
keŋgetje ስ. ፒፓ.
kénté ስ. ገጠር.
kenfetsj ስ. ትንጂ ጣት.
képpér ተመሳሳይ: burutjo. ስ. ፍልጥ.
ke:re: ስ. የበቆሎ ወቅት.
kerumba ግ. አረጋጋ፣ አባበለ፣ አበረደ (ጠብን ወይም ጌዴትን).
ke:ti ግ. አደመጠ.
ketja ቅ. ሻካራ.
ketja ግ. ሻከረ.
keweti ግ. ቀዘፈ.
kí ስ. ቋጠር.
kí ግ. ቋጠረ.
kí ስ. ፈገግታ.
kí ግ. ፈገግ አለ.
kidimm ስ. ማጅራት (የላይኛው ክፍል).
kíjǎ ስ. መቃብር.
kíjate ግ. ኬፑና ጨቤ በወገብ ማሰር.
kikirumba ግ. አሳጠረ.
kikkira ቅ. አጭር.
kikkira ግ. አጠረ.
kíko ስ. እከከ.
kíkowe ግ. እከከ.
kilkil ግ. ኮረኮረ.
kilta Not hilta. ስ. አይጥ.
kimbase ስ. ዱካ፣ ፋና.
kína apose ስ. ዜና.
kína kasip ስ. አዲስ ጨረቃ.
kíŋkí ስ. ከሰል.
kínna 1) ቅ. አዲስ. 2) ጥሬ (ምግብ ፣ ፍራፍሬ ፣ አትክልት).
kísekŋko ተለዋጭ: kífekŋko. ስ. ጠፍር፣ ማሰሪያ.

kísi ተለዋጭ: kífi. ስ. ኪሲ.
kítati ስ. ቅጣት.
kítí ስ. ጆሮ.
kíti bolatta ግ. ጆሮ በሳ.
kíti?ambu ስ. ጉትቻ.
kítje debe ቅ. መስማት የተሳነው፣ ደንቆሮ (ፀያፍ).
kítjeka ስ. ኩኩ (የጆሮ).
Ko ግ. ሞተ.
Ko ስ. ሞት.
kobba ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
Kobbe ተመሳሳይ: hoppun gam. ቅ. ህያው፣ ያልሞተ.
kóbìn ስ. ሌሊት (ከሰባት ሰአት በኋላ).
Kóóbú ግ. ዋጠ.
kōbù ስ. ነጭ ማር.
Kóddi ተመሳሳይ: mármít, tǔmǔtum. ግ. ጠቀለለ (ጨርቅ፣ ወረቀት ...).
koj ግ. ገቢ.
koj bontǔje ቅ. በራ.
koj dosso ስ. ራስ ምታት.
Koj ponti esi ግ. በራሱ ተሸከመ.
kojak ስ. የወፍ መንጋ.
koji ስ. ራስ፣ ጭንቅላት.
ko:ǔi ስ. ደልደይ.
Koji emaha ስ. ራስ ቅል.
kojja ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
Kojkíko ተመሳሳይ: fame. ስ. ሀፍረት፣ ውርደት.
kojte ስ. መለከት ፣ ጥሩምባ.
koko ስ. ቁራ.
kokóti ግ. ለመነ ጠየቀ.
kokóti ስ. ለማኝ.
kokotje ተመሳሳይ: gifo ስ. 1) በር. 2) ክፍል (የቤት ክፍሎች ቁጥር የሚወሰነው በበር ብዛት ነው).
kokowatsja ስ. ቆቅ.
Kolase ስ. ዱካ፣ ፈለግ፣ ፋና (የሰው፣ የእንሰሳ).
kólbé ተለዋጭ: . ስ. እጅታ.
kolum wǎ ስ. ጅረት፣ ወንዝ.
kol?am ግ. ጎረፈ፣ ፈሰሰ.
komajin ተለዋጭ: . ስ. ማማሰያ.
komi ስ. ጥንቸል.
komoj ስ. ነገድ፣ ጎሳ፣ ወገን.
kóndī ስ. አሳ ማጥመጃ መንጠቆ.
kòndi ስ. በሽታ፣ ህመም.
kòndi ቅ. በሽተኛ፣ ህመምተኛ.
kōndi ስ. ታናሽ ወንድም.
kondi koŋko ስ. የዓሣ ማጥመጃ ሲባት (ክር).
kone hebelse ስ. ትከሻ.
koŋko 1) ተለዋጭ: . ስ. ገመድ.

koŋko 2) ስ. ሐረግ.
koŋku ግ. ሳሰ (ሳል).
koŋku ስ. ሳል፣ ጉንፋን.
konna 1) ስ. ዛፍ.
konna 2) ስ. እንጨት.
konnosatje ግ. አገኛ፣ ተገኛኙ.
kopa ስ. ዝንጅሮ.
kopi emaha ተለዋጭ፡ ----- ስ. ብራኳ.
koppu ስ. ለንብ ማባረሪያ የሚዘጋጅ የተጠቀለለ የአሳት እንጨት.
kopu ስ. ክንፍ.
kor ተመሳሳይ፡ **dfebekurej**. ግ. ጨረሰ፣ ፈፀመ.
kór ግ. አለፈ.
ko`r መዋ. መሀከል፣ መሀል.
koriti 2) ስ. ፍሬ.
koriti 1) ስ. አትክልት.
korkodzijan ተመሳሳይ፡ **kutti korkodzijan**. ስ. የጉልበት ሎሚ.
koro 1) ግ. አጤነ፣ ጠበቀ፣ ተከታተለ. 2) አገደ.
koro ግ. ቆየ፣ ጠበቀ.
korse ስ. ጠባሳ (የአሳት).
kort መዋ. እመሃል.
ko:sa ተመሳሳይ፡ v. ግ. አሳደገ.
kosam hoppu ስ. ጣረሞት.
kosam maŋ ስ. ገሃነም.
kosam ufa ቅ. ጥፋተኛ.
kosobo ስ. ሆድ እቃ.
kossa ተለዋጭ፡ **koffa**. ቅ. ቆሻሻ፣ የማይረባ፣ መጥፎ፣ እኩይ.
kota?at wə ስ. ደረቅ ወንዝ.
kōtjī ግ. አዘለ.
kōtjī ግ. ተከለ፣ ቸከለ.
koŋfijo ተመሳሳይ፡ **kengetse**. ስ. ጋያ.
kòttò ስ. ልጃገረድ (ሴት ልጅ)፣ ኮረዳ.
kóttój ተመሳሳይ፡ **dzábá**. ስ. መኮትኮቻ፣ ዛቢያ.
kowann ስ. የእጭ ሸፋን.
kowetti ቅ. ሆምጣጣ.
kowetti ስ. ጣእም.
ko?at ስ. ሙት፣ በድን፣ የሞተ.
-ku ቅጥያ. መሳሪያ (ብ).
kufo ስ. ቋት (የዶሮ ወይም የወፍ).

kub:uni ስ. እንጉዳይ.
kudugum ስ. ወገብ/አከርካሪ.
kufa ስ. ልጆች.
kufesemo ተመሳሳይ፡ **akus**. ተለዋጭ፡ **kufefemo**. ስ. አንቀልባ (የልጆች ልብስ (ማዘያ)).
kuj ስ. መንጋ.
kūkk ተስም. 2 ነጠ ተባ.
kuku ስ. የግሣ አጥንት.
kuku 1) ስ. ሾህ.
kūkù ግ. ጮኸ (አውራ ዶር).
kukum ግ. አቀፈ.
kukum 1) ግ. አቀፈ.
kulubi ስ. ነጭ ሽንኩርት.
kumba ግ. መብላት (ስጋ ወይም ጎመን).
kumbi ስ. ኩንቢ.
kumbija ስ. ሴት ልጆች (ጥንድ).
kumbitstja ስ. ወንዶች ልጆች (ጥንድ).
kunat ስ. እንግዳ.
kuŋgimana ስ. ቆለጥ.
kuŋgu ስ. ቆለጥ (ከረጢቱ).
kúŋg ተስም. እሷ.
kunsi ተለዋጭ፡ **kunfi**. ግ. መበስበስ (መሸተት) ጀመረ.
kurese ስ. መጨረሻ.
kurgup ግ. ተንበረከከ.
kurkum ተመሳሳይ፡ **kurkum emaha**. ስ. አከርካሪ፣ የጀርባ አጥንት.
kurkum 2) ስ. ሸለቆ.
kurkum emaha ተመሳሳይ፡ **kurkum**. ስ. አከርካሪ፣ የጀርባ አጥንት.
kuro ስ. አሀያ.
kúrr ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
kuruti ስ. አረፋ.
-kus ቅጥያ. የሩቅ ህላፊ.
kusi ግ. ዳበሰ፣ ደባበሰ.
kusita ግ. ተፋ (ምራቁን ለመዳኒት ሰው ላይ ደጋግሞ).
kutje ስ. ቦርሳ.
kutfijo ስ. ጋያ.

L - I

labu ስ. ማሸላ.
ladi ስ. ክረምት.
laka 1) ቅ. ልል. 2) ለሰላሳ.
laka ግ. ላላ፣ ረዝቦ (ለክር፣ ለገመድ). 2) ለሰላሳ.

la:kì ስ. ድርቅ.
lakumba 1) ግ. አላላ፣ አረዝ. 2) አለሰለሰ.
lalabe ስ. ንግግር.
lallabe tfilam ቅ. አንደበተ ርቱቅ.

lanjoji ተመሳሳይ: lanjoj ufa. ስ. ባሪያ፣ አገልጋይ.
lapse ስ. ጎርጎሩ መሬት.
lapte 1) ግ. ጠለቅ. 2) ሰመጠ፣ ሰጠመ.
lasa ተለዋጭ: lafa. ግ. ፈራ.
lasa ተለዋጭ: lafa. ስ. ፍርሀት.
lata ተመሳሳይ: indi. ስ. እናት.
ledzan ስ. አምባር አልቦ.
lelem ተመሳሳይ: idda. ግ. ቀመሰ (በምላስ ጫፍ).
lewè ተመሳሳይ: bubo, winat. ስ. ትልቅ ክዳን የሌለው ሸክላ ድስት (ለጎደሬና መሰል ነገሮች መቀቀያነት የሚያገለግል).
lijet ግ. ሞኝ.
lilmoj ስ. መርፌ.
loga ግ. ተከተላ.
lókkē ስ. ጎርጎሩ (የሾርባ) ሳህን.
lokko ስ. ተከተላ.

lokoj ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
lōmi: ስ. ሎሚ.
loset ግ. ድል መታ፣ አሸነፈ.
lowanni ግ. ሸኝ.
lowwitjtje ስ. የቤት ክዳን (የሳር).
luge ተመሳሳይ: tjakan, goll, dirb. ግ. አደን (በቦጋ ጊዜ ጦር ብቻ ይገኛል).
lul ግ. ሰፋ.
lulsekonko ስ. ክር፣ ፈትል.
lumban ስ. ዘንዶ.
lundise ተለዋጭ: lundije. ስ. ልብ.
lutise ግ. የህፃን አናት ተርገበገበ.
lutise ስ. ርግብግቢት (የህፃን አናት).

M - m

ma: ተለዋጭ: moho. መኣ. ይህ.
má ስ. ወንድም ወይም አህት.
mab ተግ. እንደዚህ.
mabare ተመሳሳይ: mabare tazen. ስ. ድግሰ.
mabes ተለዋጭ: mabef. ስ. ዛሬ.
maganjal ተመሳሳይ: kitta. ስ. የረጋ ደም.
make ስ. አበባ.
makejkeretja ስ. እስሰት.
mākilé ስ. በቆሎ.
maman ስ. መንደር.
mana ስ. ድንጋይ.
manaʔof (boku) ስ. ጭንጫ.
manda ስ. ህልም.
manda ግ. አለመ. 2) ተነበየ.
mandare ስ. ሰፈር፣ መንደር.
mandi ተግ. በውነት፣ በትክክል.
mane kufa ስ. ከሬት፣ ጠጠር.
mane lata ስ. እናት (ወፍሬጫ).
màngà ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
maገka መ. አምር. እዚህ.
maገka gitije ግ. እዚህ ጋ አይቼው ነበር.
mant መ. አምር. እዚያ (የማይታይ).
mármif ተመሳሳይ: kóddi. ግ. ጠመጠመ.
maset ተለዋጭ: mafet. ስ. ብድር.
maset ተለዋጭ: mafet. ግ. ተብድረ.
masetumba ግ. አብደረ.
masi zart ተ/ግ. ካሁን በፊት.
masik መዋ. በዚህ.

mat ተመሳሳይ: babe. ስ. አባት (የሰው እና የእንስሳት).
matake ስ. ስኒ፣ ኩባያ.
matara ስ. የጋዳ አንገት (አሳት ማስቀመጫው ክፍል).
má:ti ስ. አባት.
má:ti ቅ. ትልቅ፣ ግዙፍ.
matim ufa ስ. አዋቂ (በአድራሻ).
matino ግ. ጋገረ.
matj ግ. ሰለለ.
matje tjo ስ. የፈረስ ውርንጭ.
matji ስ. ንቦች ማር የሚሰሩበት የተባረባረ ግንድ.
matjine ቅ. መካን.
matjiufa ስ. ሰላይ.
matjo ስ. ፈረስ.
matta ስ. መድሃኒት.
ma:tta ስ. መድሃኒት.
matte tjo'ta ስ. መድሀኒተኛ/ ቅጠል በግሸ.
matte tjo'te ufa ስ. መድሃኒተኛ.
meddi ግ. ተከፋ.
mé:di ስ. መጅ.
mé:di ስ. ሁለቱ ይስርኞቹ ይፈት ጥርሶቻቸው በቅርብ የተነቀሉላቸው ልጆች.
mè:di ስ. ዝገት.
melesi ግ. ራብው.
mendi
méngá ስ. ሚዳቋ.
ménsi ተለዋጭ: mejsi. ግ. አውለበለበ.
mēnsi ተለዋጭ: mejsi. ስ. የሞተ ሰው መንፈስ.
mēnsi kùngù ስ. ያሮጊት ፈስ.

meranewo ስ. ሀሞት.
merano ስ. የሀሞት ከረጢት.
mijad ስ. ጎሽ.
mindza ስ. ላም.
mindza dujiwo ስ. የከብት ወተት.
mintji ቅ. ወሸት.
mítàk ስ. ጥቅሻ.
mítàk ገ. ጠቀሰ.
mit'o ስ. በርበሬ.
mo 1) ግ. ተቀመጠ.
mogε: ስ. የጎሽ ጥጃ ወይ ኮርማ (የጎሽ).
mogoj ስ. ሞክሼ.
moha ተመሳሳይ: masi. ተለዋጭ: moho. ተግ. አሁን.
moho ተለዋጭ: moha. ተ. ግሰ. አሁን.
mòhō ተለዋጭ: ma. መኣ. ይህ.
mohungul ስ. ድቡልቡል.
mohungul ግ. ከብ ሆነ: ድቡልቡል ሆኑ.
moji ስ. ጨው.
moko ግ. ጨሰ.

molon ስ. ጎመን.
molfa ግ. አጣበቆ.
molfa ስ. ዝልግልግ.
molfa ስ. ሙጫ.
momo 2) ግ. ኖረ.
mōntó:le: ስ. የአሳ አይነት (ቀጭንና ረዥም አፍና ሰውነት ያለው).
montsam
moseamb ስ. ወንበር: መቀመጫ.
mòtjōtje ተግ. ሳይዘገይ.
muje ስ. ቡና.
munda ግ. አንቀላፋ.
mundi ቅ. አርጥብ.
mundi ግ. ረጠብ.
munsam ተለዋጭ: mujfam. ግ. ፈገገ.
murese ተለዋጭ: ifi murese. ስ. ታች ክንድ.
muzije ስ. ሙዝ.

N - n

-ገ TENSE.

ገa ግ. ወጋ: አቆሰለ.
ገa ተመሳሳይ: ገadim. መ. አምር. እሱ (አድማጭ አጠገብ).
=ገa ተመሳሳይ: eko. መ. ግ. እና.
ገadem መ. አምር. ያ (የማናየው).
ገaden መ. አምር. ያፎ (የማትታየው).
ገadim ተለዋጭ: ገadum. መ. አምር. እሱ (አድማጭ አጠገብ).
ገadin መ. አምር. እሱ (አድማጭ አጠገብ).
ገadit ግ. አመኔ, ተሰፋ አደረገ.
ገadum ተለዋጭ: ገadum. መ. አምር. እሱ (አድማጭ አጠገብ).
nafe መጠ ተ ስም. ማን.
ገaki ስ. ጣውንት(የባልን ሌላዋን ሚስት ለመጥራት).
ገakije ስ. የአንድ ሰው ሚስቶች (ሁለትና ከዚያ በላይ).
nambijo ስ. ምንም.
ገan Ant: he:bbu. ስ. ደቡብ.
ገan Ant: he:bbu. ቅ. ታች/ዝቅተኛ ቦታ.
ገan Ant: he:bbu. ግ. ወረደ ከከፍታ ወደ ዝቅታ ቦታ.
ገana ስ. የክርክር ጥጃ.
ገanገka መኣ. እዛጋ.
ገanገka መ. አምር. እሱ ጋ (አድማጭ አጠገብ).
ገanti መኣ. እዚያ.
ገarato ስ. አታሞ.
ገari ስ. ድድ.
ገasa ተመሳሳይ: dowal. ተለዋጭ: No nafa. ግ. ተዋጋ.

ገasa ተመሳሳይ: dowal. ተለዋጭ: No nafa. ስ. ጦርነት: ውጊያ.
nasi ተመሳሳይ: ገilan. ስ. ዳቦ.
nafale ስ. ነጠላ.
ገatin መ. አምር. ያፎ (ሩቅ).
ገatum መ. አምር. ያ (ሩቅ).
ገatum maገka መ. አምር. እዚያ (ሩቅ).
ገedfa ስ. እንግዲ ልጅ: እትብት.
ገejo ስ. ማንም.
ገejo?egemo ስ. ማንኛውም ነገር.
nena ስ. ቅማል.
nenna ግ. ረሳ (በፊት የሚያውቀውን ሰው: መንገድ: ቦታ).
ገetene ስ. የመጨረሻ ልጅ.
ገewedza ስ. ድፍድፍ.
ገilan ተለዋጭ: ገasi. ስ. እንጀራ: ዳቦ.
nima ስ. አንገት.
nimase ambo ስ. እንጥል.
nime gula ተመሳሳይ: nime k'o. ግ. አመነታ: መወሰን አቃተው.
nime kikramba ስ. መግገዕ.
nime k'o ተመሳሳይ: nime gula. ግ. አመነታ: መወሰን አቃተው.
nine ስ. አከሰት (የእናት እህት).
ni:tftja ግ. ዛተ: አሰፈራራ.
niwgur ስ. የጨረቃ ግርዶሽ.

no ተመሳሳይ፡ bal. ግ. ሄደ.
nojet ግ. ማሸመድመድ.

nojete?at ስ. አክለ ስንኩል፣ ሸባ(ፀያፍ).

O - o

ōbbōl ግ. መታ.
obo ግ. ተሰናበተ.
ódá ተሰም. 3 ብዙ እጃቸው (ልጅ).
ode ተመሳሳይ፡ tunde. ቅ. ጠማማ፣ ጎባጣ.
ode ግ. ተጣመመ፣ ጎበጠ.
odoti ግ. አመረተ (የበቆሎ ምርት ሰበሰበ).
ōdzo:đí ግ. አብሮ ሄደ (ተጓዘ).
of ቅ. ብቻ.
ofundo ስ. የመሬት ትል.
ogare ግ. ቆረጠ ፣ አስተካከለ.
oha ስ. ቀን.
oha ስ. ፀሐይ.
ohabalamse Ant: ohakojise. ስ. ምስራቅ.
ohakojise Ant: ohabalamse. ስ. ምእራብ.
ohamapont ስ. ቀትር ፣ እኩለ ቀን.
ohaጋant ስ. ከሰዓት በኋላ.
ohase ስ. ጊዜ.
ohe ስ. ክፍያ.
ohe ግ. ከፊለ.
ojja ተሰም. 3 ጥንድ እጃቸው (ልጅ).
=ojja ቅጥያ. አንስታይ ይታያል ምርት አመልካች.
ójjákáná መዋ. ምናልባት.
okon ግ. ረዳ.
okotom ግ. ወደ ላይ ሄደ ፣ ወጣ.
olakan ተመሳሳይ፡ babk ufa. ስ. መንታ.
oleti ግ. ቻለ.
ol:o ግ. መጎብኘት (ሰውን፣ ማሳን፣ ችግር እንዳለበት የተጠረጠረን ቦታ).

omata ስ. ቀለበት ጣት፣ ማህል ጣት.
omokemba ቅ. አድካሚ.
omokemba ግ. ድል ሆነ ፣ ተሸነፈ.
omokembak tonde ስ. ምርኮኛ.
omokke: ግ. ደከመ.
oግ መእ. እምር እንስት.
oገa ተሰም. 3 ነጠላ እን.
o:na ግ. ከተፈ.
ono ግ. ደረሰ (ለመንካት).
oገon ግ. አንጎራጎራ (ሰውነቱን በጭፈራ መልክ እያንቀሳቀሰ) ፣ ተንቀጠቀጠ (በውቃቢ ምክንያት).
oገonno ግ. እጅ ነሳ፣ ሰገደ፣ ተሳለመ.
oppal ስ. መቅዘፊያ.
oppe: ግ. ሰከረ.
oromasa ግ. አቻ ሆነ፣ እኩል ሆነ.
otala ተሰም. 3 ብዙ ተባ.
=otala ቅጥያ. ተባእታይ ይታያል የበዙ ቁጥር አመልካች.
oti ቅ. ቅርብ.
oti ግ. ደረሰበት ፣ ቀረበ.
oto ተመሳሳይ፡ kor. ግ. ጨረሰ (ምግብ በልቶ).
otontom ግ. ፈለፈለች.
otfisa ስ. ስምምነት.
ōtjōdī ስ. ጣራ ፣ ጣሪያ.
otjtja ተሰም. 3 ጥንድ ተባ.
=otjtja ቅጥያ. ተባእታይ ይታያል የጥንድ ቁጥር አመልካች.
otti ግ. ወደደ፣ አፈቀረ.
otti ስ. ፍቅር.

P - p

pādi ስ. የሸላ ዛፍ፣ የሸላ ፍሬ.
pajpaje ስ. ፓፓያ.
pajute ufa ስ. አዋላጅ.
pakatsoj ስ. ዳሌ.
palame ተመሳሳይ፡ fomm. ግ. ተከራከረ፣ ዋጋ ነገረ.
papa ስ. ሙቀጫ.
papale ተመሳሳይ፡ gosano. ግ. አሰወረደ (አርግዘኛ).
papi ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
pa:r ስ. አባብ.
parit ግ. ቀመሰ (አፉ ውሰጥ አስገብቶ).

pa:ti ግ. ቀዳ (ወደ ብርጭቆ ወይም ኩባያ).
paton ስ. ምድረ በዳ.
pelepele ስ. ፍንጣራ.
pem 1) ስ. መሰላል. 2) ቆጥ.
peni ግ. ነገረ.
perepdzi ስ. ፈረንጅ.
perka ስ. ትንቢት፣ ራላይ (የቃሊቻ ንግር).
pir ስ. ጉብታ፣ ከፍታ ቦታ.
pira ስ. ቤተሰብ፣ ዘመድ.
pirig ስ. የአሳ ክንፍ.

pirponj ስ. ደሴት.
pode ስ. አገር፣ ቦታ.
pokoj ስ. ቅል.
po:mba *Ant: takamba.* ስ. ላይኛ፣ ውጫኛ.
po:ገ *Ant: takán.* ተለዋጭ: **po:nt.** መዋ. ላይ.
po:nt *Ant: takánt.* ተለዋጭ: **po:ገ.** መዋ. ከ-ለይ.

po:r ስ. ብጉር.
puka ስ. አባጭ.
pungul ስ. ኪንታሮት.
pupú:tà ስ. ሰንበር.
pupú:tà ግ. የለሊት ወፍ ድምፅ ያለው በረራ.

R - r

radan ስ. ተረት፣ ታሪክ.
rebi ስ. ቀይ ወንድ ውሻ.
rikket ስ. ግድግዳ.
ritjít ግ. አጠባቀቅ አከረረ፣ ወጠረ.
ritjíte?at *ADJ.* 1)
 — ቅ. ጥብቅ.
rod ስ. አይኑ የማይይ መርዘኛ እባብ (ሲኒድፍ የሚገልፍ የሚሞት).
rode ግ. ተጨቃጨቅ፣ ተነታረክ፣ ተከራከረ.
rodijasa ስ. ጠብ፣ ጭቅጭቅ፣ ክርክር.

rōgā ስ. ኮከብ.
rudeti ግ. ቦረሽ (ጥርስ፣ ጫማ፣ ልብስ (በብሩሽ ወይም በሳሙና).
rudetfe?ambu ግ. የጥርስ መፋቂያ.
rukutje ስ. መገንጠያ፣ መንታ መንገድ.
run gum ስ. የእንጨት ማንኪያ.
rutjī ግ. ለሰለሰ. 2) አዳላጠ፣ ዳለጠ. ተመሳሳይ: **dirtetti.**
rutjī 1) ቅ. ለሰላሳ. 2) አሙላጭላጭ፣ አዳላጭ.

S - s

sá ተመሳሳይ: **binn.** ተለዋጭ: **No ja.** ግ. ለቀቀ፣ ተወ (አስከምጨረሽ).
sa:bā ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
sadzi ተለዋጭ: **jadzi.** ስ. ትልቅ መርዘኛ ሽሪሪት.
saj 1) ተለዋጭ: **faj.** ግ. አቋረጠ፣ አቆመ.
saki ተለዋጭ: **faki.** ስ. ጀርባ.
sällā ተለዋጭ: **no jalla.** ግ. ሳቀ.
sam ተመሳሳይ: **ama, pira.** ተለዋጭ: **fam.** ስ. ጓደኛ.
sambaran ተለዋጭ: **fambaran.** ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
sāmè: ተለዋጭ: **fame:** ግ. ማፈር.
sàmē: ተለዋጭ: **fame:** ስ. ሀፍረት.
saገ ተለዋጭ: **faገ.** ስ. ጫካ.
santi momom ተመሳሳይ: **fanti momom.** ስ. የጫካ ፈራ.
sapa ግ. ወረደ (ከዛፍ ከመኪና፣ ከአልጋ፣ ከቆጥ).
sapumba ግ. አወረደ (ሰውን ከከፍታ ቦታ ወደ ዝቅታ ወይም ከሰለጣን).
sara 1) ተመሳሳይ: **balla.** ግ. ተራመደ. 2) ተጓዘ.
sara ተመሳሳይ: **balla.** ስ. ጉዞ.
sarawe ግ. ተዘዋወረ.
sa:rse ስ. ጠባሳ.
sasa ግ. ፊታ (ሚስቱን).
sasawudī ተለዋጭ: **fajawudī.** ስ. አውሬ ድመት (ሽለምጥማጥ).
satta ስ. የዓሣ ወጥመድ፣ ዓሣ ማጥመጃ.
satta ግ. ዓሣ አጠመደ.

satte ufa ስ. አሳ አጥማጅ.
sa?koll ubijasa ግ. አመለጠ.
sa?o ተለዋጭ: **ja?o.** ስ. ቀረር.
se2 1) ተለዋጭ: **je.** ስ. ፍሬ. 2) የፍራፍሬ ድንጋይ.
se1 1) ተለዋጭ: **je.** ስ. አይን. 2) ፊት.
se3 ተለዋጭ: **je.** ስ. የፈላ (ለመጠጣት የደረሰ) አልኮል.
-se *NOM.*
se wonn ተለዋጭ: **je wonn.** ስ. የአይን ቆብ.
seddem ስ. ስድብ.
seddem ግ. ስደብ.
sedebe ተለዋጭ: **fedebe.** ስ. አይነ ስውር፣ እውር(ፀያፍ).
sefa ተመሳሳይ: **omoke.** ተለዋጭ: **fefa.** ግ. አለከለከ.
sefamba ተለዋጭ: **fefamba.** ተመሳሳይ: **omokemba.** ግ. ደከመ.
seja ተለዋጭ: **sije.** ስ. የጫቡ ጎሳዎች መለያ ነገሮች.
sejiwebbe ተለዋጭ: **je jiwebbe.** ቅ. አይኑ በርቀት የማይይ.
sejkunat ተለዋጭ: **fejgunat.** ስ. (የአይን) ብሌን.
se:laka ስ. ባት.
semo ተለዋጭ: **femo.** ስ. ልብስ፣ ጨርቅ.
seገga ግ. ፈለገ.
seገgi ተለዋጭ: **fengi.** ስ. ቆሎ.
seገgi ተለዋጭ: **fengi.** ግ. ቆላ.
sense *N.* ተለዋጭ: **fejse, sepje.** 1)
 — ስ. ጥፍር. 2) ሸኮና፣ የወፍ ጥፍር.
sentá ስ. ዝሙት.

sesa of ተለዋጭ፡ jefa of. ስ. ራቁት፣ እርቃነ ስጋ ራቁቱን ነው።
sesiba ስ. ሸፋን.
=set መዋ. በ.
setá ተለዋጭ፡ setá. ግ. ሰበረ.
setakan ግ. ቀጥተኛ ሆነ፣ ቀጥ አለ.
setakan ቅ. ቀጥተኛ፣ ቀጥ ያለ.
setakanba ግ. አስተካከለ፣ ቀጥ አደረገ.
setano ስ. ሰይጣን፣ ጋንኤል፣ ርኩሰ መንፈስ.
setfolgam ተለዋጭ፡ setfolgam. ግ. እንቅልፋም.
setoll ተለዋጭ፡ setoll. ስ. እንቅልፍ.
setfeka ተለዋጭ፡ setfeka, setfeka. ስ. የአይን ሸፋል.
sett መዋ. እ--ውሰጥ.
se:wàdì ተለዋጭ፡ se:wadì. ስ. እንባ.
sewwu ስ. ጉንዳን.
si: ተመሳሳይ፡ usuti, toka. ተለዋጭ፡ si:. ግ. ፈሳ.
sib ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
siba ተለዋጭ፡ siba. ግ. ዘጋ፣ ከደነ፣ ሸፈነ.
sibataf ተለዋጭ፡ sibataf. ግ. አፈር መለሰ (ወደጉድጓድ).
sijaka ተለዋጭ፡ sijaka. ተሰም. 2 ጥንድ እንቅልቅል).
sije ተለዋጭ፡ seja. ስ. ከየንዳንዱ የጫቡ ጎሳ ጋር ዝምድና ያላቸው ነገሮች.
sije tamba ግ. አበላ.
sije tjam ስ. የሳር ቅጠል.
sijo ተለዋጭ፡ sijo. ስ. ሳር.
siki ተለዋጭ፡ siki. ስ. ቢላዋ.
silaka ተለዋጭ፡ sitalaka. ተሰም. 2 ብዙ ተባ.
silla: ተለዋጭ፡ silla:. ግ. ሸኛ.
silla: ተለዋጭ፡ silla:. ስ. ሸንት.
sinna ስ. ማር.
sisa ተለዋጭ፡ sija. ስ. አካል፣ ሰውነት.
 — ተ.ሰም. አራስ.
sise subu ስ. ትኩሳት.
sise subu ተለዋጭ፡ sise fu:be. ግ (ፈሊጥ). ተደሰተ.
sise subu ተለዋጭ፡ sise fu:be. ግ. ሞቀ፣ ፈጅ፣ ሰውነቱ አተኮሰ.
sise tjeke ተለዋጭ፡ sise f'eka. ስ. የገላ ፀጉር.
sise wetftj ተለዋጭ፡ sise wetftj. ስ. መላ አካል.
siso ተለዋጭ፡ sijo. ስ. ካፊያ.

=sifjom መዋ. ስለ (ለ ሲባል).
sitalaka ተለዋጭ፡ sitalaka, silaka. ተሰም. 2 ብዙ ተባ.
so ተለዋጭ፡ fo. ግ. ከፈተ፣ ተረተረ (ጥቅል ነገር)፣ ፊታ.
soj ተለዋጭ፡ foj. ስ. ንብ.
sombal ስ. የጋያ ሸንቦቆ.
sombo ተለዋጭ፡ sombo. ስ. ሳንባ.
somm ተለዋጭ፡ somm. ተመሳሳይ፡ atfikan. ስ. ትእዛዝ.
somm ተለዋጭ፡ somm. 1) ግ. ነገር. 2) አዘዘ. ተመሳሳይ፡ atfikan.
són ስ. ሌሎች.
sôn ግ. ጎተተ (ወደ ላይ ወደ ዛፍ ወደ ጣሪያ).
sona ተለዋጭ፡ fona. ስ. አፍንጫ.
sonase ተለዋጭ፡ fonase. ስ. የአፍንጫ ቀዳዳ.
sonedor ተለዋጭ፡ sonedor. ስ. መነፅር መዋያ.
soro ተለዋጭ፡ foro. ስ. ባርኔጣ.
sose ስ. ትርጉም፣ ፍቺ.
soso ግ. አንሸካሽከ.
sòtā ግ. ታረቀ.
sotamba ግ. አስታረቀ፣ ገላገ፣ አሰማማ.
sotja ስ. አረም.
sotja ስ. አረም.
sóttā ስ. ዘረፋ.
sottom ግ. አሸተተ.
subaka ተሰም. እናንተ (ብዙ እንስት ወይም ቅልቅል).
su:bu ተለዋጭ፡ fu:bu. ግ. ሞቀ.
su:bu 2 ተለዋጭ፡ fu:bu. ቅ. መቅ፣ ትኩሳ.
sukuma ተመሳሳይ፡ be:sse. ስ. ሆድ.
sukume ?ambu ስ. አንጅት.
sullo: ስ. አብድ.
sundum ስ. ጅራት፣ ጭራ.
sunse ተለዋጭ፡ sunje. ስ. ቂጥ.
sunse ተመሳሳይ፡ takant. ተለዋጭ፡ sunje. መዋ. ስር (ዛፍ ስር).
sunse afure ተለዋጭ፡ sunje afura. ስ. መርጥ.
sure ስ. ሱሪ.

T - t

-t CASE.
ta ግ. በላ.
tā ተሰም. 1 ነጠላ እንስት (እኔ እንስት).
tabafa ግ. አወረደ ፣ ዝቅ አደረገ.
tabe ስ. ነጭ ሴት ውሻ.
ta:bù ግ. አነሣ.

tadzan ስ. ጠላ.
tadzání dzàhì ተመሳሳይ፡ zahi. ተለዋጭ፡ tazani dzahi. ስ. ጋን.
tádžet ተመሳሳይ፡ díppét. ግ. አጠለለ (በማጥለያ).
taga ስ. ግመል.
tagana ተመሳሳይ፡ ganba, hubu. ግ. ተንጋለለ፣ ተኛ (በጀርባ).

tagon ስ. ሙሽራ.
ťaj adá ግ. ምግብ ሠራ.
tajam ስ. ቅንድብ.
ťajambu ስ. ምግብ.
-tak ተመሳሳይ: =wotto, =jaro. ቅጥዶ. በዙ.
tàkàmba Ant: pomba. ስ. ስረኛ፣ ውሰጠኛ.
takán Ant: po:ገ. ተለዋጭ: takánt. መዋ. ታች.
takánt ተለዋጭ: takán. መዋ. ስር፣ ውስጥ.
takapú ተመሳሳይ: geffjo. ስ. የቤት ውስጥ የበቆሎ ማከማቻ ቆጥ.
take ተ ስም. የእኔ (እንስት).
ťako ግ. ሸክሸክ፣ ወቀጠ፣ ቀጠቀጠ.
ťako ግ. ኮላሽ (ኩብት).
ťako ግ. ወቀጠ.
takut ግ. ተከላከለ.
talade ስ. ቋጥኝ፣ አለት.
talal ስ. ሙብረቅ.
tálló ስ. የንብ መንጋ.
ta:m 2) ግ. አረፈ.
ta:m 1) ግ. ተቀመጠ.
tàmare ግ. ተማረ.
tamaremba ተመሳሳይ: itute. ግ. አስተማረ.
tambo ስ. ትምባሆ.
tamm ግ. አመጣ.
tandara ስ. የሌሊት ወፍ.
ťapdzì ግ. ተዛመተ.
tanjì ስ. ጋቢ.
tappà ግ. በጥሬ መታ፣ ፀፋ.
tappalá ግ. አስመለሰ፣ አስታወከ(ፀያፍ).
tarbi ስ. ከበሮ.
ta:re: ግ. ረሳ.
tarre ተመሳሳይ: takapu, geffjo. ስ. የበቆሎ ማስቀመጫ ቆጥ.
tato ስ. ንጉስ፣ አለቀ፣ ጌታ.
tawwa ተመሳሳይ: tfompe. ስ. ማሳ፣ እርሻ፣ በሰብል የተሸፈነ.
tawwo ግ. ሰረገ.
tawwo ስ. ጋብቻ፣ ሠርግ.
ťebbu ተመሳሳይ: efikossa. ስ. የወር አበባ.
téj ስ. ታላቅ ወንድም.
tekan ስ. ዘመድ.
tekit ስ. የአሳ ግድብ.
temá ቅ. ሩቅ.
teper ስ. ጭልፋ.
tete ስ. ደጃፍ.
tetekan ስ. ቀለም.
tétjì ግ. ሞከረ፣ ለካ፣ መዘኑ.
-ti CASE.
tiki ግ. ተጠጋ.

tíkimbà ግ. አሰጠጋ.
tiki?am ግ. ተጠጋ.
tikoje ስ. ሽግግራ.
timatim ስ. ቲማቲም.
ťínj ተስም. 1 ነጠላ ተባእት (እኔ ተባእት).
ťingina ስ. መልካ.
ťínjkè ተ ስም. የኔ (ወንድ)/የእኔ.
ťinko ስ. ጭቃ.
tintil ስ. ሥር.
tiwete ተመሳሳይ: tfidi. ስ. ጥቁር ወንድ ውሻ.
-to መ/ግምር. እንዲሁም.
ťoba ቅ. ደንዝ፣ ዱልዱም.
ťoba ግ. ደንዝ፣ ዶሊዶመ.
ťobune ግ. አጉረመረመ.
toburo ስ. ኩሬ.
toburo ስ. ጎርፍ.
ťoji: ግ. ተደናቀፈ.
ťoka ተመሳሳይ: si, usuti. ግ. ፈሳ፣ አንዛረጠ.
toket ግ. በከብ ተቀመጠ.
tokka ግ. አዛውሮ ተከለ.
ťol ተመሳሳይ: munda. ተለዋጭ: setol. ግ. ተኛ.
ťol ስ. ቀን.
ťolfe dokú ስ. መኝታ ቤት.
tompos ስ. ጠላት.
tón ግ. ወሰደ.
topiti?a ተግ. እንደገና.
ťoro ስ. ቁንጫ.
ťosi ተለዋጭ: tofi. ስ. ቀስተ ደመና.
ťosi ስ. አጫባ፣ ጃርዲያ.
toti ግ. ወጠረ፣ ዘረጋ (ለቆጭ).
ťóto ስ. ቂንጥር.
ťj'a ግ. በላ ሸንኮራ አገዳ.
ťjagib ስ. የጫቡ አንድ ጎሳ ስም.
ťjagule ስ. ሀምሳ አግር.
ťjaj ተመሳሳይ: ki. ግ. ሸሸ.
ťjakam ተለዋጭ: f'akam. ግ. አኘከ፣ አላመጠ.
ťjakan ተመሳሳይ: golla, luge. ግ. ኢደነ (በዝናብ ጊዜ).
ťfall(a) ተለዋጭ: f'alla. ግ. ኒቃ፣ ተነሳ.
ťjaluwe ተመሳሳይ: kendise. ግ. ዙሪያውን ቃኝ, ተነቃቃ፣ አንሰራራ.
ťjam ተለዋጭ: ፡ ስ. ቅጠል.
ťjam 2) ስ. ብር.
ťjamo ስ. ጫማ.
ťjana ስ. አሳ.
ťfantjal ስ. አረንጓዴ የዛፍ አባብ.
ťjappátan ስ. ገንፎ.
ťja:ppu ስ. በረዶ.

tfa:ra ቅ. ቀይ.
tfa:ra 2) ስ. የእንቁላል አስኳል.
tfarem jinkurti ስ. ቀይ ሸንኩርት.
tjati ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
tjatfon ስ. የስጋ ትል.
tjawa ስ. ቃልኪዳን፣ መሃላ.
tjáwtjé ስ. ወሰን፣ ደንበር.
tjégi ተለዋጭ፡ tjegise. ስ. ሙሀሂት.
tjégi: ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ስ. እንቅርት.
tjeka ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ስ. ፀጉር.
tjeki ተመሳሳይ፡ da. ግ. ጫረ (መሬት).
tjelaka ስ. መሀል አገዳ.
tjê:llā ስ. ቁጥቋጥ.
tjemba ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ግ. አነጠሳ.
tjemije ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
tjēŋŋa ስ. ጨዋታ.
tjēŋŋa ግ. ተጫወተ.
tjentfi ተለዋጭ፡ jentfi [septfi]. ስ. ፊኛ.
tjējumba ግ. ማጫወት.
tje:se ተለዋጭ፡ tje:je. ስ. ጁጁቴ.
tjet ግ. ተሻገረ (ወንዝ).
tjetəl ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
tjetjelè ስ. ህፃን.
tjetfo ተመሳሳይ፡ wutjtj. ስ. ከእንጨትና ከሰም የሚዘጋጅ መብራት.
tjidi ተመሳሳይ፡ tiwete. ስ. ጥቁር ወንድ ውሻ.
tjiki Ant: gidi. ስ. መራራ.
tjilam ተለዋጭ፡ tjilam. ስ. ጮማ.
tjimbū ስ. ጢሰ/ጭሰ.
tjime ተመሳሳይ፡ dulkutjtj. ስ. መአዛ.
tjijim(boku) ተመሳሳይ፡ dānkam(boku). ቅ. ለም ፣ ለምለም.
tjijita ግ. ጨለመ.
tjijitta ስ. ጭለማ.
tjiŋka ስ. የነፍሳት አንቴና.
tjiŋka ስ. ንጋት.
tjiŋni: ቅ. ጥቁር. ተመሳሳይ፡ ፓጅጅጅ.
tjintjil ስ. እንሸላሊት.
tjittja ስ. ቢጋ.
tjítjáká ተሰም. እናንተ (ሁለት ወንዶች).
tjítjoku ግ. ዘለሊ.
tjjo: ተለዋጭ፡ s'jo. ስ. ልጅ.
tjjobatje ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ስ. ብብት.
tjodoko ስ. እናት ነበር.
tjohu ግ. ጸለዩ.
tjojni ስ. መንፈስ.
tjokab ስ. የአንድ የጫቡ ጎሳ ስም.

tjokata ቅ. መጨረሻ.
tjokatá ተግ. መጨረሻ.
tjokete?at ስ. የተበላሸ.
tjokete?at ቅ. ብልሹ፣ የተበላሸ. 2) የተበላሸ.
tjokett 1) ግ. አበላሸ. 2) ረበሸ. ተመሳሳይ፡ búdzāmbà.
tjokona ግ. ተንከብረውሽ.
tjokore ስ. መንቀጫቀጭ.
tjolo ቅ. አረንጓዴ፣ ሰማያዊ.
tjombal ስ. ሸምባቆ፣ ሸመል፣ መቃ.
tjomoj ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
tjompe ተመሳሳይ፡ tawwa. ስ. ማሳ ፣ ሜዳ ፣ እርሻ (በሰብል ያልተሸፈነ).
tjona ተመሳሳይ፡ tjota. ግ. ከተፈ፣ ቆራረጠ፣ ከተከተ.
tjonda ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ስ. ቅልጥም፣ መቅኔ.
tjongi ስ. ምሽገልግ አሳ.
tjongu ስ. ዋሽንት.
tjōŋka ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ተመሳሳይ፡ gosase aha. ስ. ማህፀን.
tjontunamom silla ተመሳሳይ፡ dā:tjam jilla. ስ. የዘር ፈሳሽ.
tjope ስ. መቆይሻ.
tjota ግ. ቆረጠ.
tjota ስ. ግርዛት ፣ ግዝረት.
tjotaka ስ. ሰሜንና ደቡብ.
tjotásé ተለዋጭ፡ túrunጅ. ስ. ቁራጭ.
tjotawe ተለዋጭ፡ tjotawe?at. ቅ. ቁራጭ.
tjotawe?at ቅ. ቁራጭ.
tjoto ስ. መሽር ፣ የአዝመራ ወቅት.
tjoto ቅ. ደረቅ.
tjoto ግ. ደረቀ.
tjoto ስ. የዱር እንሰሳ (ስጋቸው የሚበላ).
tjotomba ግ. አደረቀ.
tjów ግ. ለወሰ ፣ አቦካ.
tjowej ስ. በሎ ዳቦ.
tjuboj ስ. ሸክላ.
tjukat ስ. ዳር.
tjumba ግ. ሳም.
tjumbó ቅ. ትንሽ.
tjūmse ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ, tjumje. ተመሳሳይ፡ galikatjo. ስ. ጎን፣ ኩላሊት.
tjúmtjum ተመሳሳይ፡ kóddi. ግ. ጠቀለለ (ገመድ ወይም ሀረግን).
tjúmtjumba ተለዋጭ፡ ፓጅጅጅ. ግ. ጠባ.
tjunde ግ. ጠበቢ.
tjunde ቅ. ጠባብ.
tjuntjum ግ. አጠፊ.
tjupket ግ. በጠበጠ፣ ወዘወዘ፣ ነቀነቀ (ለፈሳሽ).
tjutji ስ. ቁንጮ/ጉትዩ.

tjuwa ስ. አሳት.
tjuwekonna ስ. ማገዶ (ግንድ).
tjuwwe korse ስ. ቃጠሎ፣ የተቃጠለ ሰውነት.
tuket ቅ. ቀጣይ፣ ተከታይ.
tuketti ግ. ቀጠለ፣ አይያዝ.
tuku ስ. ሴት አሳማ.
tuku ግ. ገፋ.
tuma ግ. ቀላቀለ ፣ አቀላቀለ.
tumal ስ. ወንድ አሳማ.
tumamba ግ. አቀላቀለ.
tu:n ተለዋጭ፡ **tu:n** ስ. ምንጭ.

tujan ስ. መንጋጋ ጥርስ.
tundi ተመሳሳይ፡ **o:de** ግ. (በጣም) አጎነበሰ.
tunkife ስ. አይን (የአንጨት)፣ አገጣጠሚያ (የሰውነት)፣ አንጓ.
turo ስ. ብረት.
túrungì ተለዋጭ፡ **tjotásé** ስ. ቁራጭ.
tutji ስ. መውተፊያ ፣ ውታፍ ፣ ቡሽ.
tutji ግ. ወተፊ ፣ ደፊኑ.
tutukan ስ. አንቁላል.
tutukani wan ስ. የአንቁላል ቅርፊት.
tu:tuku ስ. ጉቶ.

U - u

ubi: ተለዋጭ፡ **ubijasa** ግ. አባረረ.
ude ስ. ዘነዘና.
ufa ተመሳሳይ፡ **upa** ስ. ሰው፣ ወንድ.
ufewetjtfj ስ. ሁሉም ሰው.
ugo ስ. ርግብ.
ūkkú ግ. በጠስ አጠኑ.
ull 1) N. 2)
 — ስ. ሰው፣ ወንድ.
ull bak:o ስ. አውራ ዶሮ.
ull mijdza ስ. በፊ.
ull tjo ስ. ልጅ (ውንድ).
ulluwe ቅ. ጀግና፣ ቆራጥ.
ulu:ma ስ. ወንድም.
umba N. 1) 2) ሚስት፣ ሴት፣ ሴትዮ፣ አንስት.
umba tjo ስ. ልጅ (ሴት).
umbanj bakko ስ. ሴት ዶሮ.

umbanj ma ስ. አህት.
umbo ስ. አረፋ.
updzum ስ. የአሳማ ድምፅ.
unsi ግ. ተናፈጠ.
uppo ስ. ሸጋታ.
usurani ስ. አባ ጨንፌ.
usutti ተመሳሳይ፡ **si, toka** ስ. ፊስ.
uta ግ. ጠበሰ.
uta ግ. ቆረጠ (ማር).
útí ስ. ዱቄት.
utjet ግ. ወለወለ፣ አለሰለሰ, አሸ, ቀባ. ተመሳሳይ፡ **aremba**.
utuk ግ. ነካ፣ ያዘ.
utuk Da Ad) ግ. ተቀበለ ፣ ወሰደ.
ututuk ግ. ነካካ.

W - w

wa ስ. ዳንስ፣ ጭፈራ.
wa ግ. ደንስ፣ ጨፈረ.
wadí ስ. ጤዛ.
wajab ስ. የአንድ የጫቡ ጎሳ ስም.
walatje ስ. ወራት ፣ ወቅት.
walatje ስ. ምክንያት.
walatjitu ተመሳሳይ፡ **ohase** ስ. ጊዜ.
walkadin ስ. የዓሣ ቅርፊት.
wanja ስ. አንቁራሪት፣ ጉርጥ.
wangi ስ. ቀይ አሳ.
wangoj ስ. ቀበሮ.
wanki ግ. አፏጨ. 2) አፏጨ (አባብ).
wanki ስ. ፉጨት.
wann 1) ስ. ቆዳ (የሰው). 2) የአንስሳ ቆዳ. 3) የፍራፍሬ ቆዳ

ወይም ቅርፊት፣ የገውዝ ቅርፊት፣ የበቆሎ ላንፋ. 4) ልጣጭ ፣ ቅርፊት (የዛፍ).
wara ግ. ጎርምጥ.
waretti ግ. ጋበዘ.
warke ስ. ወርቅ.
warko ስ. ንቦች የምትባላ ባለ ትልቅ መንቁር ወፍ.
waso ተለዋጭ፡ **wajo** ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
watoto ስ. የአሳማ ግልግል.
watjani ተመሳሳይ፡ **abuti** ግ. አርከፊከፊ፣ ረጨ፣ አራገፊ. (አርጥብ ነገርን).
wekun ስ. ዘር ፣ ፍሬ.
wen ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
wer ስ. ዐውሎ ነፋስ.
wetjimboku ponka ስ. የትም.

wetfiŋ ohase ተግ. ሁልጊዜ.
wɛ:tʃtʃi ተመሳሳይ: búllo. ቅ. በሙሉ፣ አጠቃላይ፣ ሁሉም.
winatti ተመሳሳይ: bubo, lewe. ስ. ሸክላ ድሰት.
winik' ግ. ጠመዘዘ.
winik' ግ. ተንነበስ ታጠፈ.
wɔ ግ. ጠጣ.
wɔ 1) ስ. ውሃ.
wɔ 2) ተለዋጭ: wɔjambu. ስ. መጠጥ (አልኮል).
wɔ 3) ስ. ወንዝ.
wɔjambu ተለዋጭ: wɔ. ስ. አልኮል.
wɔji dzahi ተመሳሳይ: tazani dzahi. ስ. ጋን፣ እንሰራ፣ ገንቢ.
wɔjidzahi ተለዋጭ: wɔjizahi. ስ. ባልዲ (አዲስ).
wɔjkolse ስ. ቦይ.
wɔkaw ስ. የወንዝ ዳርቻ.
wokke ተመሳሳይ: tʃumse. ስ. ኩላሊት.
wo:nasa ስ. እቃን በእቃ ይምልዋወጥ ንግድ.
wɔŋga ግ. ጠራ.
wɔŋgase ስ. ስም.
wo:nna ግ. ለወጠ፣ ቀየረ.
worbabiso ስ. የእሳት እራጥ.
wori ስ. ገንዘብ.
wɔsa ግ. ላኪ.
wosaʔat ቅ. ተላላኪ.
=wotto ተመሳሳይ: -jaro. ቅጥያ. ብዙ ቁጥር.
wujja ስ. ልምራጮችን በሀረግ በማያያዝ የሚሰራ የጫቦቶች መገኛ ተምንጣፍ.
wupi ስ. የዛፍ አይነት.
wutʃitʃ ተመሳሳይ: tʃetʃo. ስ. የችቦ መብራት

Appendix C Metadata

Appendix C1 Metadata of Sample of Collected Chabu Data

Filename	Identifier	Participant(s)	Title	Genre	Date of Rec/	Location of Rec	Device of Rec	Description the file
chabu001.wav	chabu001	P03	Discussion on The Project	G01	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Dawit Longe explains his felling about the project and welcomes the researcher
chabu001.eaf	chabu001	P03					ELAN	
chabu002.mpeg2	chabu002	P02, As01	Discussion on The Project	G01	12,11,10	Jifor	SVC	Alemu explains the names of Chabu clans and their Soj (identification)
chabu002.wav	chabu002	P02,As01		G01	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	
chabu003.wav	chabu003	P02, As02	Chabu's origin	G02	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Dawit interviews Alemu about the origin place of Chabu and Alemu replies
chabu004.wav	chabu004	P02, As03	Marriage in Chabu 1	G03	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Dawit interviews Alemu how he took his wife and Alemu replies
chabu004.eaf							ELAN	Transcription alone.
chabu005.wav	chabu005	P02, As04	Chabu clans	G02	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Alemu tells Dawit the names of Chabu clans and their Soj(identification)
chabu005.eaf							ELAN	Annotation
chabu006.wav	chabu006	P03	The place of Chabu	G02	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Dawit Longe tells Dawit wolde where the Chabu live
chabu006.eaf							ELAN	Annotation
chabu007.eaf	chabu007	P13, P16, P03, P10	Egedigan and Her Rebellion against Men	G04	12,11,10	Jifor	ELAN	Annotation
chabu007.wav						Jifor	M661	Adisael tells a tale about the woman who tried to Challenge the position of men and how she was defatted
chabu007.MPG							SVC	
chabu008.wav	chabu008	P13, P16, P03, P10	The Man and The Dog	G04	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Adisael tells a tale about how an innocent dog saved a man who treated it badly
chabu008.eaf							ELAN	Transcription alone.
chabu009.wav	chabu009	P16, P13, P03, P10	Goat and sheep	G04	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Philipos tells his friends a tale about how a goat and a sheep deceived all the big animals that

Filename	Identifier	Participant(s)	Title	Genre	Date of Rec/	Location of Rec	Device of Rec	Description the file
								came to eat them.
chabu009.eaf							ELAN	Transcription alone.
chabu010.wav	chabu010	P16, P13, P03, P10	The Snake Wongalo and the Pregnant woman	G04	12,11,10	Jifor	M661	Philipos tells his friends a tale about how a snake named wongalo swallowed all the people except a pregnant woman and how she saved the others.
SVC								
M661								
chabu011.wav	chabu011	P16, P13, P03, P10	Dropya, the Snake and the Elephant	G04	12,11,10	Jifor	SVC	Philipos tells his friends a tale about a man called Dropia who punished an elephant that ignored the snakes advice
M661								
chabu012.wav	chabu012	P16, P13, P03, P10	The Antelopes and The Lion	G04	12,13,10	Jifor	M661	Philipos tells his friends a tale about two antelopes that systematically saved themselves from lions.
chabu013.wav	chabu013	P05	Discussion on The Project	G01	12,13,10	Jifor	M661	Community elders discussion about the importance of the project and their critical situation
chabu014.wav	chabu014	P06 P09	Discussion on The Project	G01	12,13,10	Jifor	M661	Community elders discussion about the importance of the project and their critical situation
chabu015.wav	chabu015	P01	Hunting the Common Practice	G04	12,13,10	Jifor	M661	Attene narrates the crowd how the Chabu used to hunt Animals
chabu016.wav	chabu016	P09	Marriage in Chabu	G08	12,13,10	Jifor	M661	
chabu017.wav	chabu017	P10	Food	G09	12,13,10	Jifor	M661	Ephrem Longe explains how the Chabu feed themselves.
chabu018.wav	chabu018	Village representative s	Meeting	G01	12,14,10	Jifor	M661	G4 Village representatives complain against the locality leaders' act that they try to stop every developmental activity that could be done for the Chabu by anybody.
chabu019.wav	chabu019	P02	God's	G02/G04	12,14,10	Jifor	M661	Alemu tells the crowd about how God Shared things for ethnic groups and why the Chabu

Filename	Identifier	Participant(s)	Title	Genre	Date of Rec/	Location of Rec	Device of Rec	Description the file
								became hunters.
chabu020.wav	chabu020	P03	Chabu life	G02	12,14,10	Jifor	M661	Alemu tells the crowd about life of the Chabu.
chabu021.wav	chabu021	P13 P12	Riddle	G06	12,21,10	Jifor	M661	Adisael asks Dawit some riddles and Dawit tries to answer
chabu022.wav	chabu022	P13 P13	Riddle	G06	12,21,10	Jifor	M661	
chabu023.wav	chabu023	G4 youth	Friend Tomposo	G07	12,21,10	Dembel, Shira	M661	G4 Youth playing the cultural song that pries a robber Known as Tomposo samo (Lit enemy friend)
chabu023.mpg							SVC	
chabu024.wav	chabu024	G4 youth	Woyawoya wosege	G07	12,21,10	Jifor	M661	G4 Youth playing the cultural song that asks one group to take a person from the other group.
chabu025.wav	chabu025	G4 Children	Chakicheka bocheko	G07	12,21,10	Jifor	M661	G4 children Play the rhyme chekicheka bocheko
chabu026.wav	chabu026	Denbel villagers	Wolde the Spirit	G09	12,22,10	Jifor	M661	Dembel Villagers simulating how the sprit called Wolde is entertained
chabu027.wav	chabu027	Denbel villagers	You liars	G07	12,22,10	Jifor	M661	Dembel Villagers sing a cultural song in which the women insult the men as liar.
chabu028.wav	chabu028	Denbel villagers	let us fight the gomo tree	G07	12,22,10	Jifor	M661	Dembel Villagers sing a cultural song Come and let us fight the gomo tree
chabu029.wav	chabu029	Denbel villagers	search for the Gabe play	G07	12,22,10	Jifor	M661	Dembel Villagers sing a cultural song I will go to search for the Gabe play
chabu031.wav	chabu031	Denbel villagers	Alcohol killed a person	G07	12,22,10	Jifor	M661	Dembel Villagers sing a cultural song in which they comment on the negative impact of alcohol
chabu031.mpg							SVC	
chabu031.eaf							ELAN	A few seconds sample annotation
chabu032.wav	chabu032	Denbel villagers	Chakicheka bocheko	G07	12,22,10	Jifor	M661	Dembel villagers play the children rhyme chekicheka bocheko.
chabu033.wav	chabu033	Jifor youth	Gabe 1	G07	12,23,10	Jifor	M661	Jifor youth play their maze harvest time gabe play.
chabu033.mpg							SVC	
chabu034.wav	chabu034	Jifor youth	Gabe 2	G07	12,23,10	Jifor	SVC	
chabu034.mpg							M661	

Filename	Identifier	Participant(s)	Title	Genre	Date of Rec/	Location of Rec	Device of Rec	Description the file
chabu035.wav	chabu035	P17	Gabe practice (Explanation)	G10	12,23,10	Jifor	M661	Dawit Wolde interviews Markos why and when the Gabe ceremony is practiced
chabu036.wav	chabu036	P02	Greeting in Chabu during old times	G11	12,23,10	Jifor	M661	Alemu explains the traditional Chabu greeting system
chabu036.mpeg2							SVC	
chabu036.eaf							EAF	
chabu037.wav	chabu037	P04	Question about the result of the study	G1	12,11,10	Jifor	SVC	Esmael asks how the Chabu receive the study result.
chabu037.jpg								
chabu038.wav	chabu038	P02	Spear in Chabu life	G02	12,23,10	Jifor	M661	Alemu explains how spear is important in Chabu life
chabu039.wav	chabu039	P01	The lazy man and his strong friend	G04	12,24,10	Jifor	M661	Attene narrates a tale about friends who used to live together and prepare tazen in kalse
chabu040.wav	chabu040	P01	Hunting with gomo trap	G04	12,24,10	Jifor	M661	Attene explain how gomo is used in trapping animals and how the meat is shared
chabu041.wav	chabu041	P01	Attenes life	G03	12,24,10	Jifor	M661	Dawit is interviewing Attene about his life and Attene responds
chabu042.wav	chabu042	P28	Traditional greeting	G11	03, 26,11	Dushi, Gaj	M661	Ato Kifle explains the traditional way of greeting and systems of counting
chabu043.wav	chabu043	P28	Chabus life in the three regimes	G02	03, 26,11	Dushi, Gaj	M661	Ato Kifle explains the current counting system and the less functionality of number in traditional life of Chabu
chabu044.wav	chabu044	P28	The goat and the Sheep	G04	03, 26,11	Dushi, Gaj	M661	Ato Kifle narrates a tale about the 12 people who travelled to the father of knowledge and the ape they met on their way.
chabu045.wav	chabu045	P28	The Current Number	G11	03, 26,11	Dushi, Gaj	M661	Ato Kifle explains the current counting system and the less functionality of number in traditional life of Chabu
chabu046.wav	chabu046	P01	Hunting with the help of dog	G05	12,16,10	Jifor	M661	Attene Damte is narrating how hunting is performed
chabu046.mp4							SVC	

Filename	Identifier	Participant(s)	Title	Genre	Date of Rec/	Location of Rec	Device of Rec	Description the file
chabu046.eaf							Elan	Annotation
chabu047.mp4	chabu047	P42	When I was born	G03	20,01,12	Jifor	SVC	Selkente introduces herself and tries to tell the time she was born. /Annotation/
chabu047.eaf							ELAN	
chabu058.jpg	chabu058	P4, P21 and P46	Tengi mat/blanket	G10	22,12,10	Jifor	SVC	Three Chabu youth prepares [tanɟi] mat from [erk'o] tree
chabu085.jpg	chabu085	P32	pottery	G10	26,03,11	Dushi	SVC	Yoana prepares a pot by brining clay soil from a far
chabu098.jpg	chabu098	Men of Dembel	Eating wild yam	G09	26,01,12	Jifor	SVC	Men of Dembel found their favourite [ko] wild yam while they were simulating hunting and turned the planned hunting to ko festival .
chabu123	Chabu123	P37	[tʃapatan]	G09	04,02,12	Jifor	SVC	Sadinet is preparing [porridge from a kind of yam called miti.
chabu124	Chabu124	P38	[ɲilan]	G9	05,02,12	Jifor	SVC	Jemanesh is preparing corn bread after a tedious work.
chabu126.jpg	chabu126	P24 & P25	Coffee preparation	G09	07,02,12	Jifor	SVC	Adnael brought the coffe plant leaf and Tenigish preparing the hot [k'aru]

Appendix C2 Participant Information and Code

Code	Name Of participant	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Religion	Educ. Level	Mother Tongue	Others language s/he speak	L1 Choice	Place of resident	
P01	Attene Dmte	M	80+	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P02	Alemu Bate	M	70+	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P03	Dawit Longe	m	46	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P04	Esmael Yatolak	m	32	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P05	Yohannis Nadew	M	70	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P06	Awatin Agarasho	M	65+	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P07	Woldanke Agerasho	M	70	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P08	Sergewa Agerasho	M		Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P09	Lamge Longe	M	60	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P10	Ephrem Longe	M	60	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P11	Alemitu Longe	F	45	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P12	Dawit Wolde Blen	M	38	Married	Protestant	7	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu	Yeri	Yeri
P13	Adisael Alemu Bate	M	35	Married	Protestant	5	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P14	Yordanos Yatolak,	M	30	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P15	Yishak Arte'et Achem	M	38	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P16	Philiose Arte'et Acham	M	34	Married	Protestant	5	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P17	Marikos Attene Damte	M	34	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P18	Aynet Mengesha	M	35	Married	Protestant	5	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P19	Timotiwos Lewer Acham	M	34	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P20	Kibrom Acham	M	45	Married	Cultural	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P21	Isrom Geman	M	32	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
P22	Tiyora Kifle	F	30	Single	Protestant	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P23	Getinet Kibrom	M	30	Single	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera
P24	Tinigish Gebrel	F	40	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Dembel	Shera

Code	Name Of participant	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Religion	Educ. Level	Mother Tongue	Others language s/he speak	L1 Choice	in	Place of resident
P25	Adnael Marito	M	30	Single	Protestant	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Dembel Shera
P26	Salma Gones	F	48	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Dembel Shera
P27	Metisa Yatolak	F	18	Single	Protestant	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Jifor Shera
P28	Kifle Deneke	M	48	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang	Chbu		bagi Gaji
P29	Sise Damte	F	50	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Suni Yeri
P30	Nikote Nyakijak,	F	55	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Dushi Gaji
P31	Momoge Finjan	F	55	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Dushi Gaji
P32	Yowna Alemu Bate	F	38	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Dushi Gaji
P33	Wolde Blen Lengino	M	70	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Suni Yeri
P34	Kasahun Gudata	M	47	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Suni Yeri
P35	Michel Bilen Lengino	M	32	Single	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Suni Yeri
P36	Arte'et Acham	M	65	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Gugamo Shera
P37	Sadinet Elo	F	30	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Jifor Shera
P38	Jemanesh Lesokin	F	28	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Jifor Shera
P39	Sadok Koko	M	37	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Jifor Shera
P40	Ephrem Bekele	M	26	Single	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Jifor Shera
P41	Muse Bobodin	M	35	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu		Yeri Yeri
P42	Selkente Achame Durand	F	50	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Gugamo Shera
P43	Mangeno	M	45	Married	Cultural	0	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu		Badi Gaji
P44	Kidmael Kiraris	M	26	Single	Protestant	8	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu		Yeri Yeri
P45	Alemayehu Artet	M	30	Married	Protestant	5	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu		Dembel Shera
P46	Amanuel Erkena	M	29	M	Protestant	3	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic			

Appendix C 3 Assistants Code and Information

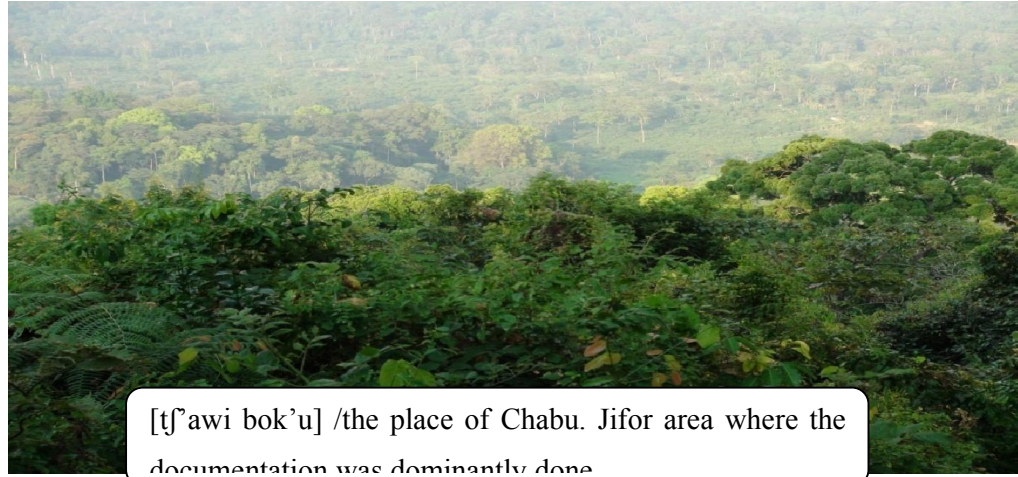
The following natives of Chabu have participated in collecting censes data, interviewing others, video and audio recording and in annotating the data and metadata assignment

Code	Name Of the Assistant	Gender	Age	Marital Status	Religion	Educ. Level	Mother Tongue	Others language s/he speak			
As01	Dawit Wolde Blen	M	38	Married	Protestant	7	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu	Yeri	Yeri
As02	Kidmael Kiraris	M	26	Single	Protestant	8	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu	Yeri	Yeri
As03	Adisael Alemu Bate	M	35	Married	Protestant	5	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
As04	Timotiwos Lewer Acham	M	34	Married	Protestant	4	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco	Chbu	Jifor	Shera
As05	Alemayehu Artet Acham	M	30	Married	Protestant	5	Chabu	Majang, Shekkaco, Amharic	Chbu	Dembel	Shera

Cods of Genres of recordings

Code	Genre Type
G01	Discussion
G02	Ethnic history
G03	Personal experience/History
G04	Tale
G05	Hunting
G06	Riddle
G07	Song
G08	Marriage
G09	Food and Feeding
G10	Traditional practices
G11	Speech Act

AppendixD_photo-documentation
AppendixD1_sample-photos



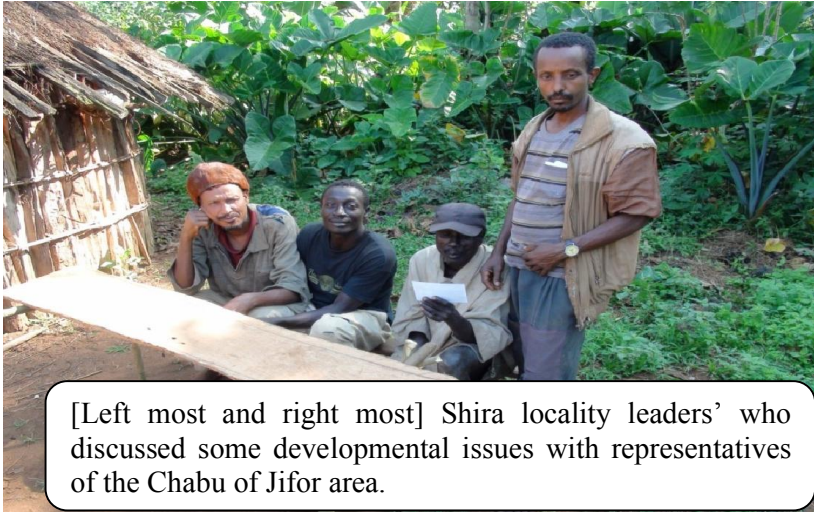
[tʃʷawi bok'u] /the place of Chabu. Jifor area where the documentation was dominantly done



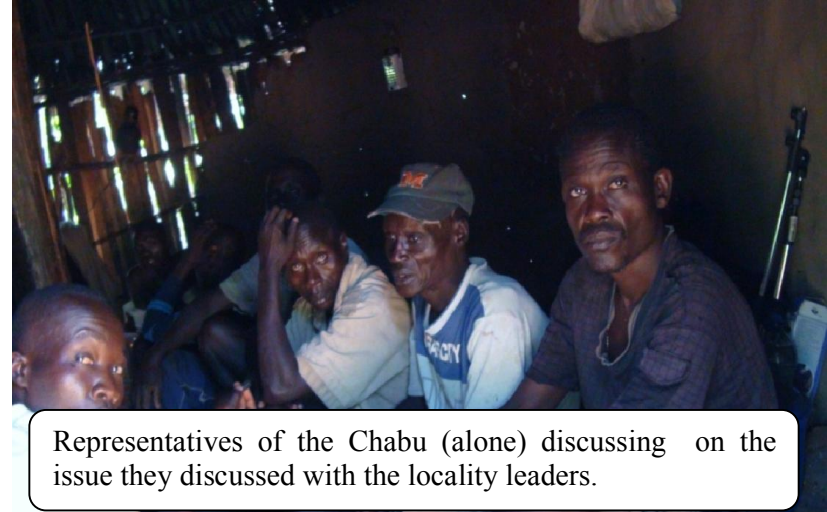
Partial view of Chabu elders of Jifor area who discussed the importance of the project and their current situation.



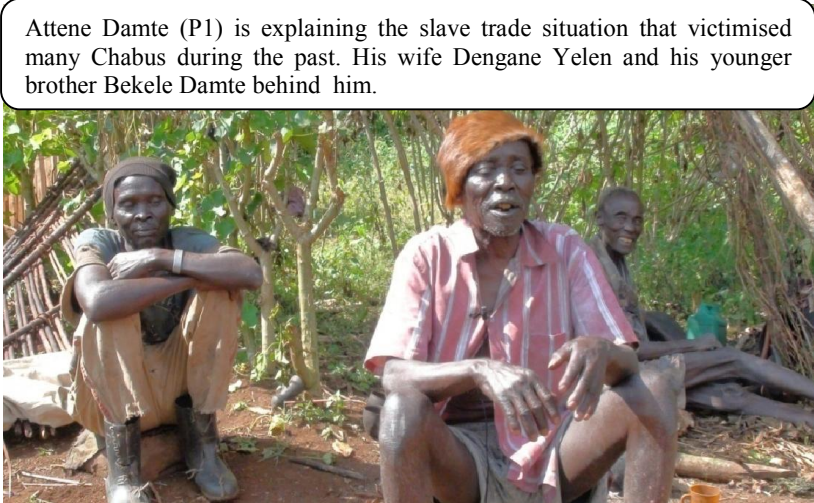
From left to right P18, P16, p13 and P3 telling tells and participate as listeners.



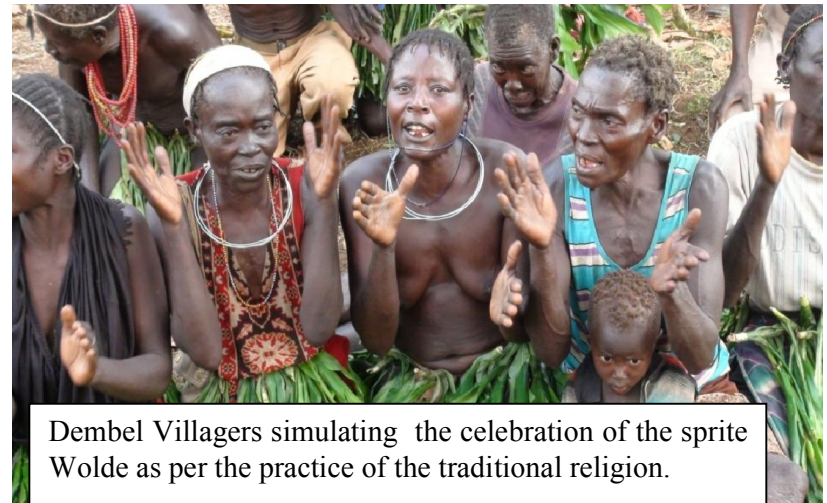
[Left most and right most] Shira locality leaders' who discussed some developmental issues with representatives of the Chabu of Jifor area.



Representatives of the Chabu (alone) discussing on the issue they discussed with the locality leaders.



Attene Damte (P1) is explaining the slave trade situation that victimised many Chabus during the past. His wife Dengane Yelen and his younger brother Bekele Damte behind him.



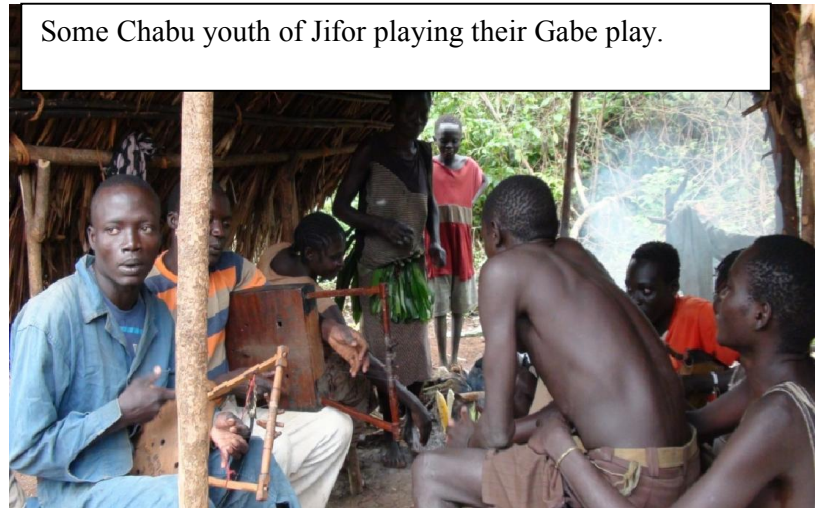
Dembel Villagers simulating the celebration of the sprite Wolde as per the practice of the traditional religion.



Dembel villagers playing a cultural song



Residents of Dembel village in their traditional cloth



Some Chabu youth of Jifor playing their Gabe play.



As2 is interviewing As1 the endangerment level assessment survey questioner as part of a training.



As2 transcribing some of the recorded texts.



Some Chabu store maize for the next plantation as



Most Chicken houses in Chabu are hung on strings.



The false banana “enset” grows as tall as the trees of the area. Dushi



Sadok Koko is coming from hunting [he carries half part of a pig he hunted.





Yohanis Nadew (P05) in the traditional clothing of Chabu

Wolde Blen (P33) left and Kassahun Gudeta (P34) participants from Suni of Yeri.





Chabu men from Jifor, Dembel and Gogemo gathered to drink a local bear [tadzán] prepared at Selkente's (P42) house.



Dawit Wolde (As01) asking his mother Sise Damte P29 the endangerment survey questioner



Nikote (P30 left) and Momoge (P31 right) the active participants in the documentation process at Dushi telling a story.

Appendix D. 2 Sample photo documentation of the Chabu's day to day activities

Chabu058 [tengi kasa] Tangi mat preparation.

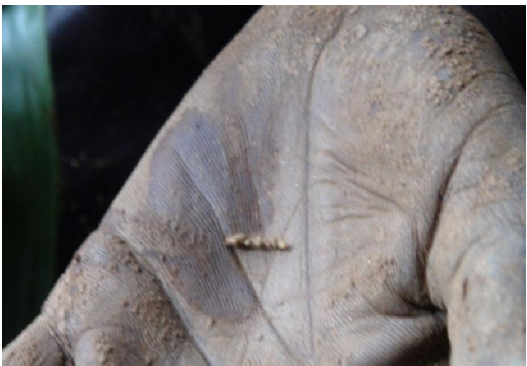




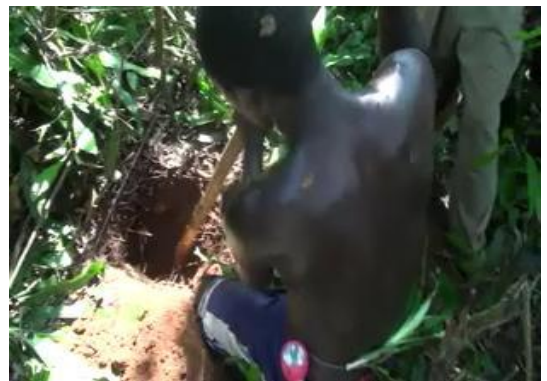
Chabu085 [tʃuɓɔj aɗa]/pottery







Chabu098- [koka t'a]/ eating the wild yam ko









chaubu123 [ts'apatan ada] /Porridge of a yam [mitti]





Chabu124 -[nilan afa] Preparation of corn bread /







Chabu126 [k'aru atat]/ Preparation of Chabu Hot coffee





DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation hereby submitted for the degree of Philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture at Addis Ababa University is my own work and has not been previously submitted to any other University for any degree. To the best of my knowledge, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

Name of the candidate: Kibebe Tsehay

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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

Advisor's Name: Dr. Moges Yigezu

Signature: _____

Date: _____