Documentation and Description of Hadiyya

(A Highland East Cushitic Language of Ethiopia)

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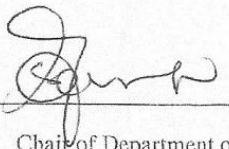
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This is to certify that the dissertation prepared by Tadesse Sibamo Garkebo, entitiled Documentation and Description of Hadiyya that is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy (in Documentary Linguistics and Culture) complies with the regulations of the university and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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Acknowledgments

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List of abbreviations and symbols

Name	Gloss
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ABL	Ablative
ABS	absolutive
ANM	abstract nominal
ABST	Abstract
ASM	additional subject morpheme
ADJZ	adjectivizing suffix
ADV	Adverb
AGN	Agentive
BEN	Benefactive
CAUS	Causative
CNJ	conjunction
CNV	converb
COM	comitative case
COMP	comparative expression
CND	conditional
COP	copula
CRD	Coordination
DAT	dative case
DEF	Definiteness
DEM	Demonstrative
DMN	Dimunitive
DST	Distal
EP	epenthetic vowel
F	Feminine
FRQ	Frequentative
GEN	Genitive
HEC	highland east cushitic
HON	Honorific
IPV	Imperfective
IMP	Imperative
INST	instrumental case
JUS	Jussive

Lit:	literal translation
LOC	locative case
LNK	Linker
M	masculine
MDC	manner deictic
MED	Medial
N	Noun
NEG	negative
NOM	Nominative
NP	noun phrase
PAS	Passive
PV	Perfective
PL	Plural
PRG	Progressive
PF	Perfect
PRX	Proximal
PURP	Purpose
QU	question particle/ interrogative
RCP	Reciprocal
REAS	Reason
REL	relative
RFX	Reflexive
SG	Singular
SIM	Simulative
TDC	temporal deictic
TV	terminal vowel of main verbs in affirmative sentences
UCND	unreal conditional marker
V	Vowel
VOC	Vocative
VP	verb phrase
VR	Verb
VN	verbal noun
WFR	word formation rule
-	morpheme boundary
=	clitic boundary
.	separation of abbreviations fused or combined in one morpheme
∅	zero morpheme
/ /	enclosed phonemic items
[ ]	enclosed phonetic items

( )	either or bracket
$\rightarrow$	becomes
*	ill formed (ungrammatical)

CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is two-folded: The first aim is providing a comprehensive documentation of Hadiyya, a Cushitic language spoken in the south west of Ethiopia, while, the second one is presenting its grammatical description.

This work has eight chapters. The first chapter, the introduction, provides basic information about the Hadiyya language and speakers, the objective and significance of the research, methodology and review of previous grammatical studies on Hadiyya.

1.1. The people

Hadiyya is a Zone in the Ethiopian Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Region (SNNPR). The Hadiyya people have their own historical origin and development. The historical background of Hadiyya has been studied by various scholars, e.g. Braukämper (2004), Haile (1973), and Lapiso (1982). The most important work is Alebachew and Samuel (2002), who give a detailed account of the political and socio-cultural history of the Hadiyya people.

According to Alebachew and Samuel (2002:14), from the 13th to the 16th centuries the Hadiyya constituted one of the most important political entities of Northeast Africa. Their coherent territorial block was then shattered by outside forces and its inhabitants were absorbed by peoples of heterogeneous ethnic stock.

As stated in Braukämper (2004:34), when Amda Seyon I (1314-44) ruled Ethiopia, the Hadiyya were conquered and became tributary to the empire, but still maintained a certain degree of political independence. Culturally, Hadiyyas must have been at a relatively high level, with remarkable agricultural production, one of the biggest armies in the region, and a well-established trading system.

Alebachew and Samuel (2002:31-41) dicuss on the otherhand, Amda Seyon's successors Dawit I (1382-1413) and Yeshak (1414-29) were engaged in permanent wars with their Islamic neighbors which involved heavy losses. After Zar'a Yakob (1434-6 mounted to the throne, the Christian Ethiopian empire reached the climax of its power and extended its political and cultural influence over large parts of today's South Ethiopia. Zar'a Yakob married the Hadiyya princess Eleni, one of the most outstanding female personalities in Ethiopian history, who until her death in 1522 played an active part in politics and cultural affairs.

As indicated in Alebachew and Samuel (2002:30-46), the Hadiyyas apparently played an important role in the Muslim armies and provoked far-reaching changes in the ethnic situation. Segments of the K'abeena and Alaaba migrated southward to what is now Sidaamaland, while other groups crossed the lowlands of the Lake region and occupied a territory east of Kambaata. The Silti, Ulbarag and related groups, which originated in the Chercher mountains, after a series of fierce battles settled in Gurageland and assimilated a considerable part of the natives from whom they adopted the cultivation of Enset.

In the present day, the Hadiyya speaking people mainly live in the Hadiyya zone of the Southern Nation Nationalities and People's Regional (SNNPR) State. The Hadiyya zone is located in the northern part of the Southern region of Ethiopia to the west of rift valley which divides the central Ethiopia highlands, between $7°$ and $8°$ N $37°$ and $38°$ E. Its total area is about 3850.2 sq. km. Topographically the zone lies with in an elevation range of 1500 to 3000 meters above sea level. The slope in general declines east to west with most drainage being direct to the Gibe River. The highest point is the Shonkolla mountain with the height of 3000 above sea level. The zone has three agro-ecological zones Dega (23.7%), Weynadega (64.7) & Kolla (11.6%). As in other places in Ethiopia, in any of the three regions, there are two seasons, a dry season, bille, (roughly from October to April) and a rainy season, hagayye, (roughly from June to September).
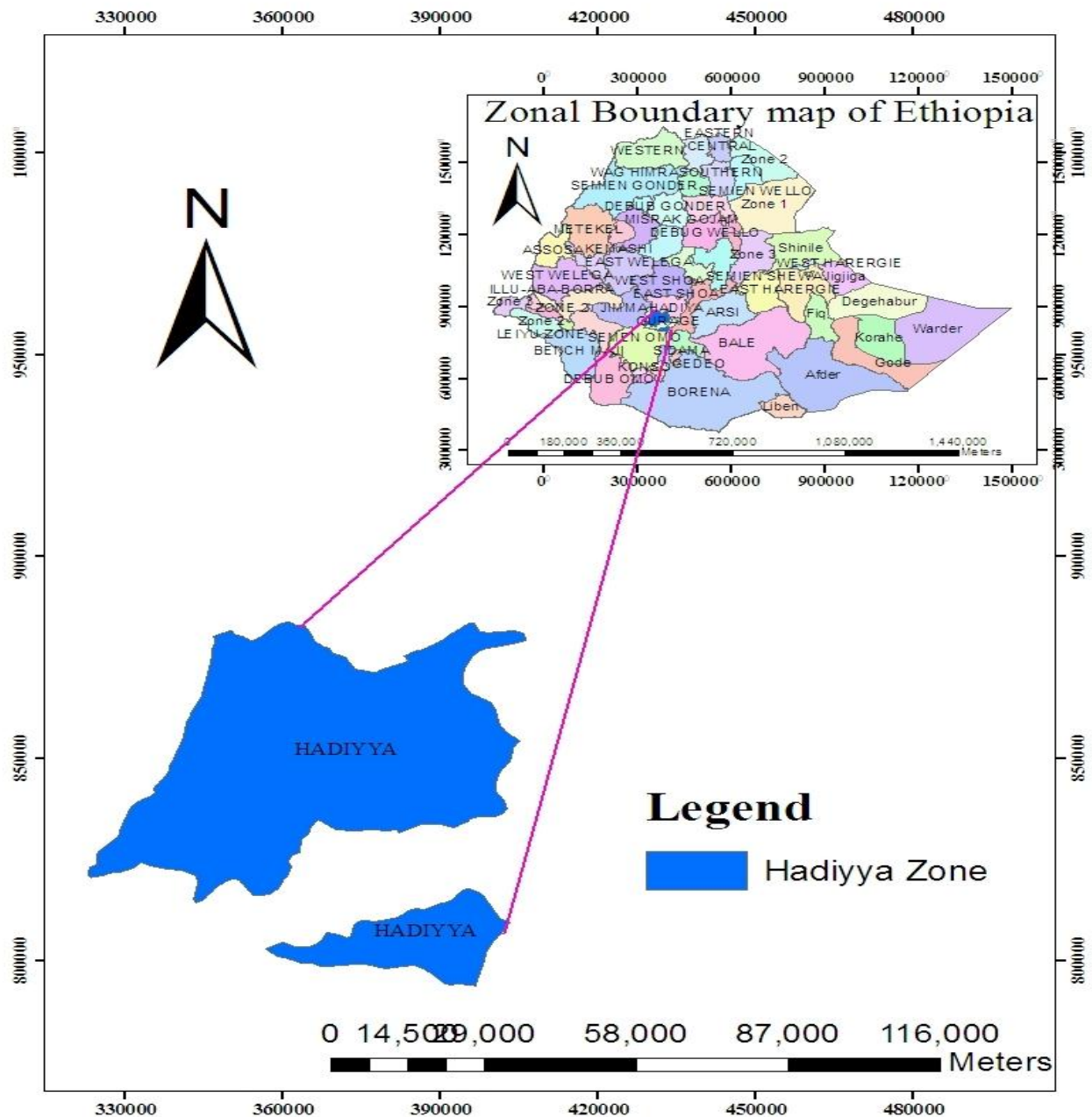
Regional Map of Ethiopia

Hosaana, (Waachamo, the term still used by Hadiyyas instead of *Hosaana)* the major capital of Hadiyya, is the administrative and trading center of the zone. The town is located in the north centre of the Hadiyya zone at a distance of 232 km south of Addis Ababa & 160 km west of Awassa town.

According to the SNNPR's Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (2010:12), in 1910 *Hosaana* became the administrative center of the province of Kambaata, following Angacha. The town was occupied by the Italians on 11 February 1937. By 1958 *Hosaana* was one of 27 places in Ethiopia ranked as First Class Township. *Hosaana* currently is one of the 22 model towns to which

due emphasis is given by the regional state. It is also among the nineteen reform cities of the SNNPR selected as strategically center for development in the region.

As stated in a May 24, 2010 World Bank memorandum, *Hosaana* town has tortuous land and is situated at an elevation of 1500 meters above sea level. The annual average temperature of the town is 14.4°Cand the average annual rainfall is 1331.6 mm. Topographically it has a latitude and longitude of 7°33′N 37°51′E7.55°N 37.85°E. Its proximity to Addis Ababa, Welkite, Butajira and Sooddo towns is a good opportunity for the future development of the town. *Hosaana* has an access road that links the town with Addis Ababa, Awassa, Wolayitta Sooddo, Butajira, Durame, Welkite and the woreda towns of the Hadiyya zone. Gimbicho, where I conducted fieldwork, is about 32km southeast of *Hosaana.*

The SNNPR's Bureau of Finance and Economic Development (2010:13) points out that *Hosaana* town is among the few towns in the region that has good infrastructure facilities such as; high-powered electricity & pipe water supply, modern telephone & banking facilities, educational, health and other services. There are various ethnic and religious groups residing in *Hosaana*. The prominent ethnic groups are Hadiyya, Amhara, Kambaata, and Gurage. Among these ethnic groups, Hadiyya is the most dominant ethnic group in the town.

The Hadiyya zone is geographically bounded in the North by Silti and Gurage, in the south by Wolayitta, in the south east by Kambaata, by Tambaaro in the south west and in the west by Omo river which separates it from Oromia region and the Yem Special Woreda. The woreda of Badawacho is an exclave separated from the rest of the zone by Alaaba woreda and Kambaata Tambaaro zone.

Hadiyya one of the most populous zones in the SNNPR state. According to the information of the Commission for Population and Housing Census of Ethiopia (2008), Hadiyya Zone has a population of 1.35 million and and it has a population density of 366 inhabitants per km2. The five largest ethnic groups reported in Hadiyya were the Hadiyya (78.16%), the Silte (10.13%), the Kambaata (2.22%), the Soddo Gurage (1.8%), and the Amhara (1.63%); all other ethnic groups made up 6.06% of the population. The zone is structured in to 11 woredas (districts), including *Hosaana town.* The woreda population distribution of Hadiyya Zone in 2007 is the following:

Table 1: *The population distribution of Hadiyya zone*

No.	Woreda	Capital	Population
1	*Anleemo*	*Fonk'o*	92,414
2	*Duuna*	*Ansho*	142,587
3	*East Badawwaacho*	*Shone*	155,216
4	*Gibe*	*Hommacho*	120,602
5	*Gombora*	*Habicho*	108,714
6	*Hosaana*	*Hosaana* (Zone Capital)	54,231
7	*Leemo*	*Hosaana*	126,060
8	*Misha*	*Moorsuuto*	145,623
9	*Shaashoogo*	*Bonnosha*	114,680
10	*Sooro*	*Gimbicho*	205,152
11	*West Badawaacho*	*Danema*	88,956
	Total		1,354,235
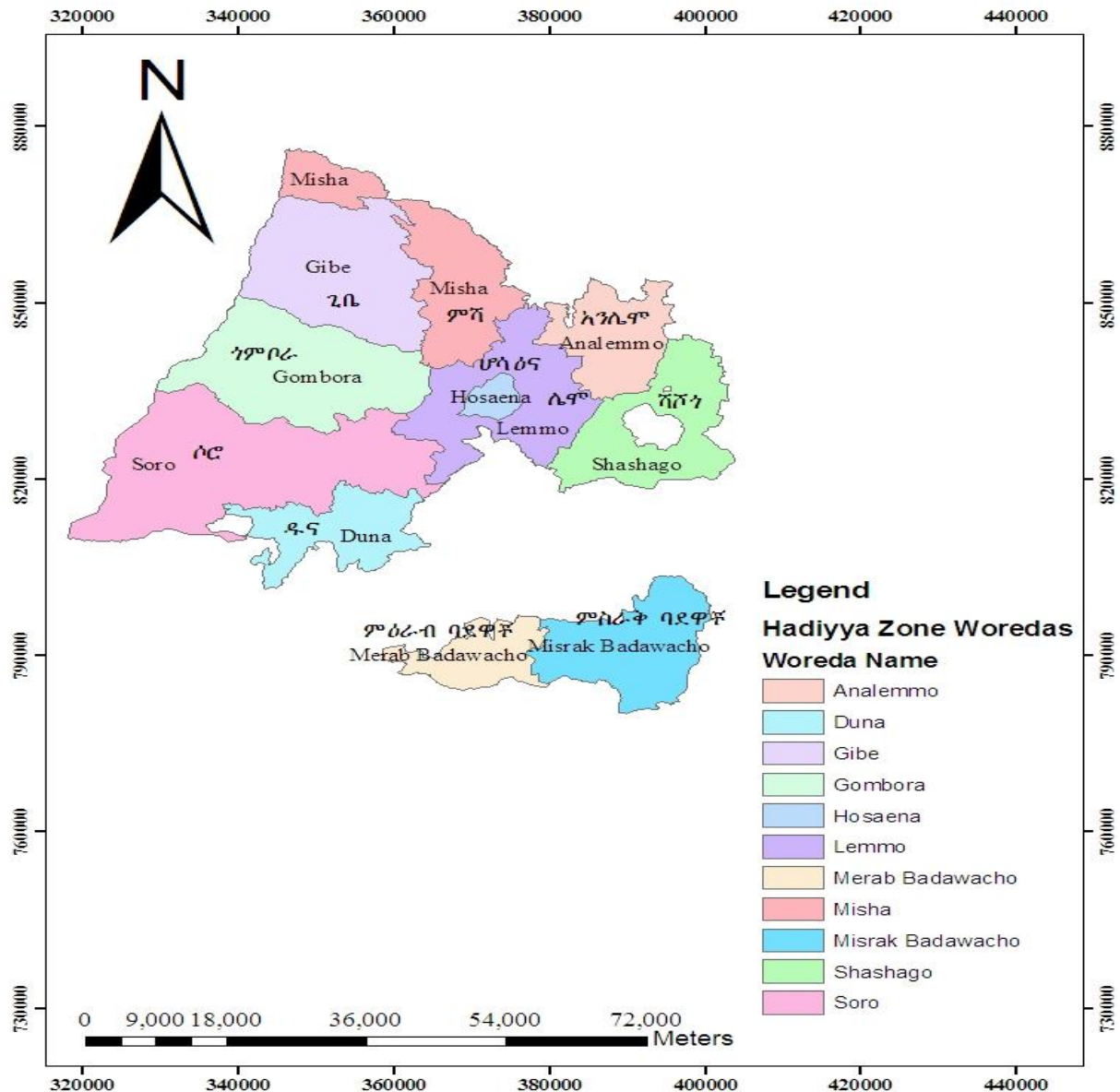
Zonal Map of Hadiyya

Out of the total population mentioned above, 1,284366 (95%) people speak the language as mother tongue. With regard to the number of the ethnic groups, it is one of the 10 major languages of Ethiopia, according to the Commission report.

Most Hadiyya people speak one or two languages next to their mother tongue. Among the second languages spoken by Hadiyya native speakers, the most common one is Amharic, the official national language of Ethiopia (spoken by 605,740 Hadiyya native speakers); and the second most common one is Kambaata (spoken by 39,212 Hadiyya native speakers). Since the lingua franca

language is Amharic in the region they often use Amharic to communicate with the other communities.

Sim (1989:4) and Samuel (2009:1-2), note that Hadiyya is spoken not only by native speakers, but also by the majority of the Kambaata, Gurage, Alaaba and Wolayitta ethnic groups as their second language. In addition to this, these neighboring groups use the language for naming their children, folklore, and different kinds of songs. From this we recognize that Hadiyya is important both linguistically and culturally to the neighboring ethnic groups.

Quite a large number of Hadiyya ethnic groups also live outside their home villages due to looking for jobs and trading to different towns. A large number of Hadiyyas were resettled to areas in the west of Ethiopia due to the villagization program of Derg regime. There are also enclaves of Hadiyya population in neighboring areas, of which the best known are in Bale and Arsi zones. As indicated in Haile (1973:11), Alebachew and Samuel (2002:46-53) they left their home areas because of the expansion of population and growing scarcity of agricultural land. These groups are reported to have shifted to the surrounding Oromo language.

By occupation, the majority of Hadiyya people are agro-pastoralists. Most of the Hadiyya farmers use oxen for farming. Enset (Ventricosum), also known as false banana, is the most common plant out of which the stable food of the area is made. Enset does not only provide the people food but also used as fodder (animal food). Its fiber is used for ropes. Its leaves are used for wrapping food or cooking ingredients, for mattresses, for pillows, for mats, and for bags; Enset leaves are also laid on a clay container (shaate'e) for waasa (inset food) and waasa is served on the leaves. *(See also a link of appendix 'E' for other photographs).*

Figure 01: Enset plant

The people do not rely on Enset alone. They also cultivate many other crops like maize, wheat, barely, t'eff (Eragrostis abyssinica), potato, sugar cane and grow various kinds of vegetables and fruits (cabbages, sweet potatoes, tomatoes, cucumbers, pumpkins, oranges, lemons, bananas, avocados, etc.)

Besides farming, cows, goats, sheep, horses, donkeys, mules, chickens are among the domestic animals the Hadiyya people breed. Quite a few are engaged in trade and government jobs.

The traditional Hadiyya houses have round shapes.Their walls are made of wooden beams and mud. The roof is coverd with dry grass (*hukk'a*). Most Hadiyya houses have three partitions: the front room (*gat'aa*), the backroom which is used as a kitchen (kosha), and the cattle-pen (gaadira for cows, gola for horses and donkeys, orodo for sheep and goats). The cattle area of a house is separated from the human area of the house with a wooden fence, to which the cattle are tied at night. In some Hadiyya houses, there is a chicken house high up on the wall.

Figure 02: Hadiyya house

With regard to religious composition, both Christian and Muslim religious groups exist. Orthodox, Protestant and Catholic Christians are included within the Christian domain. Of these religious groups, according to Samuel (2009:3-4), the Protestant evangelism has spread widely in the zone. One of the traditional belief systems of Hadiyya, *Fandaannano*, can hardly be found in the present day.

The people have various traditional and cultural performances affinities with neighbouring groups among which wedding, marriage, meskel, hunting, circumcision ceremonies, and burial customs of their chiefs, resemble those of the other neighbouring people such as the Kambaata, Gurage, Wolayitta and Alaaba.

There are five modes of marriage in Hadiyya culture. One of them is called *Heerancha*. *Heerancha* is a type of marriage in which, once the girl and the boy fell in love one another, the girl will go to his house, with out her parent's knowledge and resume a marriage life with him. A second one, *gosano* (abduction), is to take away the girl out of her free will and forcefully. *Gosano* (abduction) is very much unacceptable in Hadiyya's tradition. This traditional mode of marriage is becoming less common these days. A third one, *Lago*, is a the type of marriage in which the widow will get married with her late husband's brother or another close relative to her deceased husband. Illigene is another mode of marriage in Hadiyya culture. This type of marriage is carried out when the parents of the girl conspire secretly with the parents of the boy and agreed on the fact that the boy will abduct and take the girl away. According to Hadiyya's tradition, the fifth type of marriage is called *Ladiisha*. *Ladiisha* is the most respected and sought after (preferable) marriage of all them (the above listed). Because, after the girl and the boy fell in love and agreed to get married, both sides of parents know about it and agree on.

1.2. Language

According to Grimes (2000) and the web version of Ethnologue, the Cushitic language family is divided into four groups, Central Cushitic, East Cushitic, North Cushitic, and South Cushitic. One of the branches of the East Cushitic language group is the Highland East Cushitic language group. Though there are seven languages (Alaaba, Burji, Gedeo, Hadiyya, Kambaata, Libido, Sidaama) listed in the sources mentioned above, as Highland East Cushitic languages, only five of them are

usually labeled as Highland East Cushitic languages in the literature (e.g. Fleming and Bender 1976, Hudson 1976), where Libido is treated as a dialect of Hadiyya and Alaaba as a dialect of Kambaata. Hudson (1976:236-246) provides a summary of the debates and controversies over the classification of Highland East Cushitic languages, especially the status of Burji.

The position of Hadiyya within the branch of Cushitic is shown in the following family tree:

```
                          ┌──────── Nothern                          ┌── Burji
                          │                                          │
                          │                       ┌─── Lowland       ├── Gedeo
                          │                       │                  │
Cushitic ─────────────────┼──── Eastern ──────────┼── Highland ──────┤     Hadiyya
                          │                       │                  │    /
                          │                       └─── Dullay        │   Libido
                          │                                          │
                          ├──── Central                              │   Kambaata
                          │                                          │  /
                          │                                          ├─ Alaaba
                          │                                          │  \
                          └──────── South                            │   K'abeena
                                                                     │
                                                                     └── Sidaama
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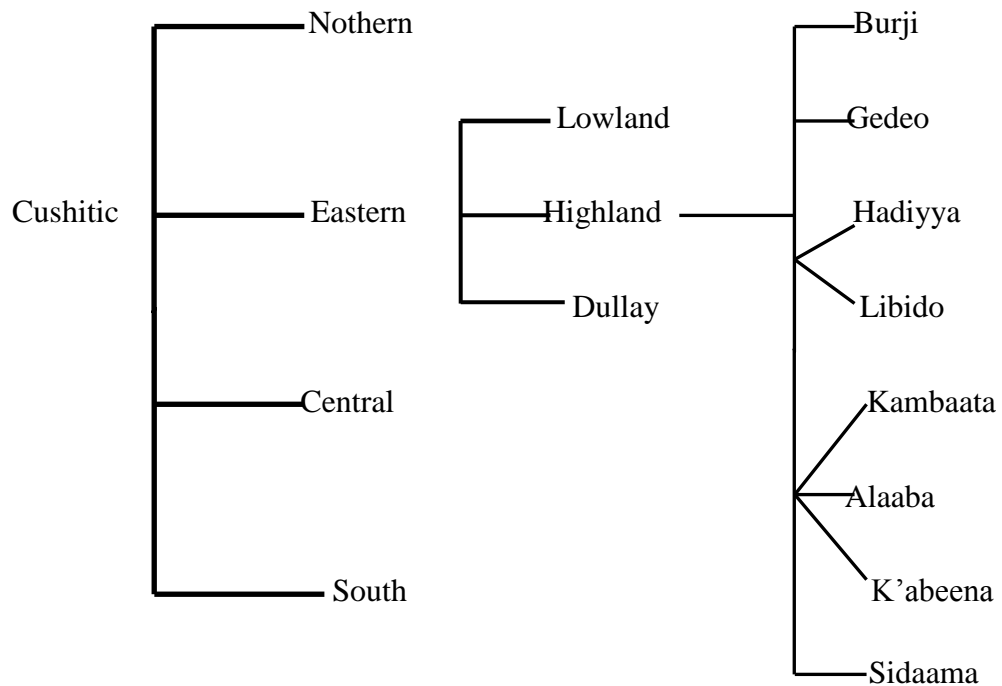
(Adapted from, Grimes 2000, Treis 2008:4 and the web version of Ethnologue)

Scholars usually refer to both the people and the language as Hadiyya. Most of the speakers of the language, however, refer to their ethnic group as Hadiyya and to their language as Hadiyyisa, which includes the derivational formative literally 'like/as Hadiyya', i.e. 'the Hadiyya language'. For instance they say: *neese Hadiyya* 'We are Hadiyyas' and *nị suumị hadiyyisa* 'Our language is Hadiyyisa''. It is also referred to as *hadiyyị suume* (Lit: mouth of Hadiyya) or *hadiyyị sagara* (Lit: voice of Hadiyya). Since the term Hadiyya is widely used in linguistic literature to denote the language, I adopted this term throughout this study.

As stated by various researchers (Haile 1973:10, Desta 1989:6, Hudson 1976:233), Hadiyya consists of four identified dialects: *Leemo, Badawacho, Shashogo and Sooro.* Conforming this fact, Haile (1973:10) writes, Hadiyyas themselves recognize the speech areas of Sooro to the south west of Hosaana and extending south in to Omo Shalako (currently Tambaaro) wereda, the Baadawacho are contiguous to Kambaata on the latter's southern boundary, Shaashoogo in the low-lying eastern parts around Doisha and the lake and marsh of Booyyo west of Billaatte river and the dialect of

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Leemo is spoken about Hosaana, covers both the Leemo and Misha weredas. However, there is no significant difference among these dialectal variations as far as I know. What is said for any of these dialects holds also for other Hadiyya areas. Sim (1989:4) also says, "Hadiyya is linguistically very uniform without serious dialect differences." Physically, except the Badawacho dialect, which is surrounded by Alaaba, Kambaata and Wolayitta peoples, all the varieties of the Hadiyya language are situated near or around the town of *Hosaana*.

Hadiyya is primarily a spoken language and does not have its own writing system. However, in the mid 1970's, the Derg regime of Ethiopia began to promote the introduction of the Ge'ez-based, Ethiopic writing system into the languages spoken all over the country including Hadiyya.

The instruction of language at school in the Hadiyya zone was Amharic until 1994. When the new government permitted the use of local languages for education; since then, the language of instruction has been Hadiyya. The new government started to permit the speakers of non-Semitic languages to develop their own writing systems. After this change (since1992), the Hadiyya people chose to employ a Latin based orthography for language of primary education and for administrative and judicial matters.

As in other places in Ethiopia, primary education is provided for children of about 7-14 years old. It is divided into two phases, first-fourth grades and fifth-eighth grades, and children are expected to complete at least the first phase. According to a May 24, 2010 World Bank memorandum, 94% of all eligible children are enrolled in primary school, and 31% in secondary schools of Hadiyya zone.

Apart from serving as a medium of instruction in elementary schools (from grade 1-6) currently, Hadiyya is also being taught as a subject in Teachers Training Institute found in the zone. In addition, the language is taught as a subject in junior high schools (from grade 7-10).

1.3. Review of previous works

Hadiyya is a language whose grammar is not studied comprehensively. Earlier works have not attempted towards broader description of its phonology, morphology and syntax. For instance, full grammatical description of Sidaama, Alaaba, Kambaata and K'abeena is conducted at PhD level by Anbessa (2000), Schneider-Blum (2007), Treis (2008) and Crass (2005) respectively. But on Hadiyya until now, no modern linguistic description is done as far as I know.

Even though until now there is no modern linguistic description and no good documentation, few studies are conducted on some aspects of the grammar. Sim (1989)'s study is only the most detailed

theoretical works ever done on Hadiyya language. The basic intention of Sim is to adopt a mono-stratal frame work, framed interms of the mathematical operation of unification; namely Head-driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG). In his purely notional analysis, he made an attempt to propose several revisions of the formalism.

Sim is interested in testing syntactic theory. Thus, the detailed focus of Sim's study concentrates on clause chaining (serialisation) and other aspects of clausal coordination, including switch reference, mechanisms of subordination and canonical coordination to bring together some of the major theoretical suggestions. As Sim himself (1989:6) states, his study chooses to address the theoretical audiences.

Sim (1985) has also presented the verb morphophonemic of Hadiyya, in the monograph entitled: The Verb Morphophonemics of Highland East Cushitic Languages. In this monograph, Sim offered data on phonological notes, canonical forms of the root, simple stem verb paradigms, morphophonemic processes in simple stem verbs and derived stem verbs. The monograph does not offer any explanation, except a few remarks and footnotes. What we find in the monograph is only data presentation.

Different unpublished BA and MA theses have also been conducted on the language. For instance a senior essay on Hadiyya Verb Morphology written by Moges (1984), Hadiyya phonology by Haileyesus (1984) and Nominalization Pattern in Hadiyya by Desta (1989) were presented to the department of Linguistics and Philology at Addis Ababa University. The writer of this thesis himself has written an MA thesis entitled "The Morphology of Hadiyya" in 2007.

One of the pioneer and prominent publications which contains original information on the group of Highland East Cushitic languages is Grover Hudson's (1976) comparative and descriptive work on Highland East Cushitic. Hudson offered a general and comprehensive introduction. He covers some essential phonological, morphological and syntactic properties of these languages, including Hadiyya. Hudson's work is very helpful to descriptive study especially for the comparative study of Highland East Cushitic languages.

Stinson, (1976) published an article on the grammar of Hadiyya. Though it is very short, Stinson (1976) provides some introductory information on the phonological, morphological and syntactic aspects of the language.

As already mentioned, Hadiyya has been designated as instructional medium in the zone. However; it lacks sufficient recording and description. Reference materials on the language are extremely limited in number. Regarding to the status of language, Hadiyya is not an endangered language. Even though endangerment is a major reason for getting involved in language documentation, there are also other importances such as empowering undocumented languages, language planning decisions, preparing educational materials or analyzing a set of problems in syntactic theory. I, therefore, hope this study will contribute as a base for teaching materials and pedagogical grammar.

In view of this and since no work of either length or depth is available on the documentation and description of the language, it is the main intention of this study to provide a comprehensive grammatical description and a documentation account on the cultural issues which are crucial for the analysis of linguistic features on Hadiyya language.

1.4. Objective of the study

The research project has two major objectives. The first is to give a thorough description of Hadiyya grammar as complete as possible. The second is to document some aspects of cultural genres and day to day communicative events of the speech community.

In order to achieve the above mentioned general objectives the researcher proposes the following specific objectives:

a) to record oral texts from a range of speech varieties and discourse types using audio and video recorders and assign metadata for each unit of recording;

b) to transcribe and translate collected linguistic materials; (in collaboration with members of the speaker community);

c) to annotate and analyse samples of the collected linguistic materials;

d) to make a phonological, morphological and syntactic description and analysis of the language.

1.5. Significance of the study

The study will serve to collect and preserve (document and archive) cultural linguistic practices and traditions of the speech community for future use.

Since this study is based on synchronic data collected from native speakers, it will contribute to the discovery and preservation of linguistic facts of Highland East Cushitic language studies in general and that of Hadiyya in particular. Since it is a descriptive work it can be used as a ground for linguists interested in testing syntactic theories. More specifically, the study may serve as a valuable

source for those linguists who have an interest in comparative linguistics, linguistic universals, language typology, etc.

As mentioned earlier, though Hadiyya has been designated as instructional medium in the zone, reference materials on the language are almost non-existent. This study will be used as a resource material for preparing teaching materials and pedagogical grammars on Hadiyya. Thus, the output of this paper will contribute to the ongoing vernacular education in the Hadiyya zone. Apart from its pedagogical importance, it will also provide facts to policy makers and language planners.

1.6. Methodology

Since the present work is a documentation-based descriptive grammar with the aim of giving a comprehensive description of Hadiyya, Basic Linguistic theory, as advocated by Dixon (1997), is employed. Such theory refers to the theoretical framework that is most widely employed in language description, particularly grammatical descriptions of entire languages. As Dixon (1997:23) states, "Basic Linguistic Theory aspires at describing each language in its own terms, rather than imposing on individual languages, in contrast to traditional grammar and many recent theorethical frame works."

Secondly, ethnography, the method which is used to understand individuals' and/or groups' behaviors within the framework of their environment and experiences, as stated in Pooly (2009:31) will be employed to perform the overall research activities. Harrison (2005:22) says an ethnographic method nowadays is used by many linguists even for grammatical description of a language.

To make the documentation a good representative, a possible kind and amount of data have been collected from the following data types: elicited and non-elicited discourse data: natural environment, social stratification, agriculture, tales, riddles; ceremonial speech: (marriage, death); dialogue, interview data: unmonitored recording during interview; utterances elicited for distributional and other structural linguistic analysis; utterances elicited for specific phonetic documentation purposes.

As a qualitative research which is concerned with ethnographic data this study involves a range of methods: participant and non-participant observation, interview, elicitation, and collective discussions which involve audio and/or video recording and questionnaire have been implemented.

Data collection included three periods of fieldwork in the Hadiyya zone. The first fieldwork was conducted during the period between February 2010 to March 2010.

I selected all my informants based on the information from the people themselves. Purposeful sampling is employed to select culturally knowledgeable and linguistically able informants (consultants). My main research assistant (linguistic consultant) was Alebachew Kemiso, 33 years old, and was brought up in Wagabata Village in the Duuna woreda (district) of the Hadiyya zone. He spoke mainly Hadiyya and sometimes Amharic with his family members. He communicates with his friends and neighbors only in Hadiyya. I have had consultation sessions with Alebachew regularly to collect Hadiyya data. He worked with me during all my fieldworks. His talent helped me a lot to collect the necessary data for my analysis. Other highly involved people in my research (men and women) were Wondimu Abule 35, Tesfaye Woldemeskel 50, Eersiido Antese 39, Samuel Handamo 31, Rahel Goobe 25, and Gennet Giirsiido 45. All of the informants speak the Sooro dialect and have completed grade 12; some of them have attended Universities.

During my first visit initial data were collected. The basic wordlist and some preliminary grammatical data were collected in that very first fieldwork on Hadiyya. For the phonological and some morphological description I have collected about 2328 basic words based on the swadesh and SIL Comparative African Word List. Some other Hadiyya words are also included in the list. All the words are glossed and transcribed phonemically.

The second and the longest period of fieldwork was conducted from June 2010 to August 2010. During this period the relevant data with respect to verbal morphology and syntactic properties were collected. For the morphological and syntactic structure of the language, 545 sentences were collected using the common elicitation method. The linguistic data is elicited by using linguistic questionnaire. Mainly, questionnaire outlined by Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992), is used. The non-linguistic information is collected by using participant observation and interviewing. An attempt is used to adapt the sentences of the questionnaires to the Hadiyya context. Regarding to the collection of the sentences an attempt is made to cover all the elements of the language. In addition, five texts of different genres including 54 riddles and 145 proverbs were collected and transcribed.

The third period of fieldwork was conducted between March and May 2011. During this period I collected audio and video data of different genres. Apart from riddles and proverbs, texts of other genres, i.e. audio data like folktales and different narratives were included in my corpus using

digital recorder. In addition to riddles and proverbs, five texts have been collected. With regard to video data, the mournig ceremony of Hadiyya was recorded using handycam.

All the sentential examples, proverbs, riddles and basic words in this study are structured and ordered in light of Hadiyya orthography as follows:

Table 2: *The Latin based Hadiyya orthography*

	Alphabetical order		Phonemes
	Lower case	Upper case	
1	a	A	/a/
2	b	B	/b/
3	c	C	/tʃʼ/
4	d	D	/d/
5	e	E	/e/
6	f	F	/f/
7	g	G	/g/
8	h	H	/h/
9	i	I	/i/
10	j	J	/dʒ/
11	k	K	/k/
12	l	L	/l/
13	m	M	/m/
14	n	N	/n/
15	o	O	/o/
16	q	Q	/kʼ/
17	r	R	/r/
18	s	S	/s/
19	t	T	/t/
20	u	U	/u/
21	w	W	/w/
22	x	X	/tʼ/
23	y	Y	/j/
24	z	Z	/z/
25	ch	CH	/tʃ/
26	ph	PH	/Pʼ/
27	sh	SH	/ʃ/
28	'	'	/ʔ/

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 captured through audio and video recording. An audio, video and pictorial data were collected using

digital modern ICT to avoid the later digitalisation, to increase the quality of the corpus and to facilitate editing and archiving.

All analogue audio-visual recordings and field notes or other texts written on paper have been encoded and transferred in to the digital domain as computer files. The digitalisation activity has been done as soon as possible after recording. However, most of the audio and video recordings have been done using digital modern ICT and can be transferred to computers without a separate capture process. The captured data has also been converted into the appropriate file formats: audio to WAV files and video to MPEG2 files for better data interchange and ease of archiving.

All the documented data have been copied on CDROM, DVD, flash memory and external hard disk and put in different places for backups.

The capturing and analyses have been been done by the help of the following data (video and audio) recording (acquisition), importing, transferring, converting, editing, annotating, describing and analyzing tools:

- Audacity for digitalising and editing audio materials,
- Hand break for video conversion,
- Virtual dub1 for **video** editing ,
- WeSay for lexical entry database
- **ELAN 4.0.1**. for sound alignment, multi tier annotation and multimedia presentation.

For effective and comprehensive description and documentation, multimedia technique has been used. Himmelmann (2006:366-367) for instance, states the following concerning the importance of multimedia: "A single media may not provide a comprehensive record of the linguistic structures and practices in use in the community. In other words, a data obtained through a single media does not contain all the information one needs to answer all the questions of current interest. Because each kind of recording equipment has its strength and weaknesses of usability, convenience, accuracy, expense, power requirement and recording media and format".

In this study, therefore, the data gathered through direct or indirect observation including photographing, audio and video recordings, note taking, interviewing and group discussion is analyzed qualitatively by focusing on the main elements in the performance of the cultural activities and communicative events. Based on the linguistic corpus from different sources structural analysis

and description of Hadiyya grammar will take place. The cultural description will give a lot of insight for the linguistic description.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

This chapter identifies and describes the speech sounds of Hadiyya. Moreover, common phonological processes operating in the system, syllable structure and co-occurrence restrictions of segments in the language are treated. The transcription largely employs the IPA conventions as revised in 1993.

2.1. Consonant phonemes

Hadiyya has 23 consonant phonemes which are shown in Table 3.

Table 3: *Consonant phonemes*

Point of articulation ➜ Manner of articulation ⬇	Labial	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives Voiceless			t		k	ʔ
Voiced	b		d		g	
Fricative Voiceless		f	s	ʃ		h
Voiced			z			
Affricate Voiceless				tʃ		
Voiced				dʒ		
Ejective	p'		t'	tʃʼ	k'	
Nasal	m		n			
Lateral approximant			l			
Trill			r			
Approximant	w			j		

The contrasting consonant phonemes are identified based on following suspicious minimal pairs.

Table 4: *Contrasting consonant phonemes*

Contrasting phonemes	Word initially		Word medially	
/b/ vs /d/	[*bíra*] [*díra*]	'money' 'dust'	[*duúba*] [*duúda*]	'cloud' 'deaf'
/tʃ'/ Vs /ʃ/	[*tʃ'iíla*] [*ʃiíla*]	'child' 'thin'	[*wítʃ'a*] [*wíʃa*]	'slim' 'dog'
/tʃ/ vs /tʃ'/	[*tʃíro*] [*tʃ'íro*]	'movement' 'urine'	[*kotʃéʔe*] [*kotʃ'éʔe*]	'type of meal' 'tortoise'
/g/ vs /dʒ/	[*gíbba*] [*dʒíbba*]	'antelope' 'mat'	[*gogaálla*] [*godʒaálla*]	'dry' 'harmful'
/k/ vs /g/	[*kóra*] [*góra*]	'tick' 'type of thorn'	[*ʔaggiíʃʃa*] [*ʔakkiíʃʃa*]	'lending' 'smoking'
/k/ vs /k'/	[*koóra*] [*k'oóra*]	'saddle' 'clever'	[*t'iikkóʔo*] [*t'iikk'óʔo*]	'ox' 'competition'
/m/ vs /n/	[*meéta*] [*neéta*]	'flat timber' 'net'	[*danaáno*] [*danaámo*]	'distribution' 'good'
/k'/ vs /g/	[*k'óta*] [*góta*]	'broken' 'hyena'	[*ʔákk'a*] [*ʔágga*]	'flood' 'drink(N)'
/r/ vs /l/	___	___	[*salaata*] [*saraata*]	'midday' 'hair'
/s/ vs /z/	[*muúsa*] [*muúza*]	'broken' 'banana'	[*seéta*] [*zeéta*]	'sister in law' 'place name'
/s/ vs /ʃ/	[*súro*] [*ʃúro*]	'umbilical cord' 'eye brow'	[*ʔúsa*] [*ʔúʃa*]	'rope' 'oral literature'
/t/ vs /d/	[*túma*] [*dúma*]	'garlic' 'partition'	[*k'oóta*] [*k'oóda*]	'marriage gift' 'share'
/t/ vs /t'/	[*tíga*] [*t'íga*]	'huge' 'number'	[*k'óta*] [*k'ót'a*]	'broken' 'up stair'
/w/ vs /j/	[*waáʔa*] [*jaáʔa*]	'God' 'congress'	[*geewwóʔo*] [*geejjóʔo*]	'cold' 'cottage'
/ʔ/ vs /h/	[*ʔeéra*] [*heéra*]	'mineral water' 'all'	[*fiiʔíma*] [*fiihímma*]	'sweeping' 'sipping'

Except /l/ and /r/, all the consonants are clearly phonemic, contrasting in word initial and in itervocallic positions.

Hadiyya lacks p, v, ʒ, and s'. In loanwords p is usually replaced by b or f, v by b, ʒ by dʒ, and s' by t', correspondingly or are sometimes found in free variation. Thus, English politics, police,

television, university, and Amharic *s'əlot* 'pray' are pronounced in Hadiyya as *bolotíka, folísa, telebidʒiína, t'aaloóta, junbersiteéʔe*, respectively.

In general, based on their manner of articulation, consonants can be categorized into six categories: stops, fricatives, affricates, ejectives, nasals, liquids, and approximants.

2.1.1. The distribution of consonant phonemes

Except /r/ and /p'/, all the consonant phonemes occur word initially. Consonants do not appear word finally. Thus, there are only vowel-final words in Hadiyya. The distribution of each consonant phoneme is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: *The distribution of consonant phonemes*

Consonants	Initial		Medial		Final
b	*bagádo*	'spear'	*dambalák'a*	'sea'	-
tʃ'	*tʃ'oróʔo*	'noise'	*wótʃ'a*	'affair'	-
tʃ	*tʃaréʔe*	'bird'	*ʔoráttʃo*	'body'	-
d	*dak'ájje*	'field'	*gaádo*	'battle'	-
f	*foóre*	'soul'	*háfa*	'shade'	-
g	*gúnda*	'short'	*múga*	'stick'	-
h	*hít'e*	'grass'	*lóho*	'six'	-
dʒ	*dʒábbo*	'disease'	*gaándʒe*	'neck'	-
k	*kína*	'stone'	*hínka*	'which'	-
l	*leéʃa*	'corpse'	*wíʔlo*	'mourning'	-
m	*mára*	'pus'	*hiímo*	'night'	-
n	*nígga*	'muscle'	*wóna*	'elder'	-
p'	-	-	*k'up'áʔa*	'ring'	-
k'	*k'étt'a*	'leather'	*mak'ulánta*	'knife'	-
r	-	-	*hára*	'mud'	-
s	*sáne*	'nose'	*ʔisẹ*	'she'	-
ʃ	*ʃaʃʃá ra*	'sand'	*kófa*	'kitchen'	-
t	*túma*	'garlic'	*máto*	'one'	-
t'	*t'eéna*	'rain'	*gá t'a*	'floor'	-
w	*wóda*	'arm'	*k'áwwa*	'foolish'	-
j	*jabúro*	'lip'	*ʔíjje*	'load'	-
z	*zerétta*	'seed'	*hiínza*	'old'	-
ʔ	*ʔánga*	'hand'	*waáʔa*	'God'	-

The bilabial ejective /p'/ and the voiced alveolar fricative /z/, occur very rarely. The infrequent distribution of these phonemes is a common feature of HEC languages, (Anbessa, 2000:13, Schneider-Blum, 2007:15, Treis, 2008:46). The voiceless palatal affricate, /tʃ/ has also a defective

distribution word initially. My corpus contains only eight instances of /tʃ/ at word initial position. However, it is frequently attested at a word medial position.

2.1.2. Gemination

Consonant gemination is phonemic. The consonant phonemes, except the glottal stop /ʔ/, the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, the alveolar flap /r/ and the alveolar fricative /z/, occur both short and long intervocalically. Word initial gemination is not attested. Stinson (1976:149) says that in Hadiyya all consonants occur in both short and long form. However, he has not given any example to illustrate gemination. His claim does not seem to be true because the four consonants mentioned above occur only ungeminated.

The pairs of examples in Table 6 show some of the short and long consonant contrasts.

Table 6: *Contrasts of short and long consonants*

b vs bb	[*gurúbo*]	'talk'	[*gurúbbo*]	'knee'
d vs dd	[*sáde*]	'thirty'	[s*ádde*]	'type of grass'
f vs ff	[*gafímma*]	'boiling'	[*gaffímma*]	'sitting'
g vs gg	[*ʔagána*]	'moon'	[*ʔaggánna*]	history'
l vs ll	[*kalóʔo*]	'grazing land '	[*kallóʔo*]	'Christmas'
n vs nn	[*wonána*]	'storage'	[*wonnánna*]	'digging tool made of sharpened wood'
s vs ss	[*dása*]	'slow'	[*dássa*]	'crash'
t vs tt	[*gootóʔo*]	'tool'	[*goottóʔo*]	'small'
t' vs tt'	[*t'aát'*a]	'cover'	[*t'aátt'*a]	'ready'
p' vs pp'	[*lap'ímma*]	'lying'	[*lapp'ímma*]	'painting'

Intervocalically */w/* and */j/* occur only in their geminated form. The gemination of these phonemes is not predicted on any phonological principle. The voiceless palatal affricate, */tʃ/,* has also been found in geminate form word medially. However it occurs only as short when it is followed by sonorants. Consider the following examples in (1).

(1)	short /tʃ/		long /ttʃ/	
	mántʃo	'a man'	*giíttʃo*	'clan'
	túntʃo	'a garlic'	*búttʃa*	'soil'
	ʔambúltʃo	'a ram'	*heéttʃo*	'rope'

With regard to gemination there are significant differences between Hadiyya and the other HEC languages. In Alaaba all consonants have a geminated counterpart (Schneider-Blum, 2007:17). In

Sidaama to the exclusion of /h/ all the other consonant phonemes have a geminate counterpart (Anbessa, 2000:15). In Kambaata all consonants may occur phonemically short and long intervocalically (Treis, 2008:22).

Table 7: *Geminated consonants intervocalically*

bb	*daabbóʔo* 'bread', *dibbéʔe* 'drum', *dʒábbo* 'disease', *dʒíbba* 'mat', *kaábba* 'mantle', *t'íbbe* 'hundred', *ʔaábba* 'credit', *ʔaágga* 'beginning', *ʔabbaájjo* 'brother', *ʔabbáʔa* 'sunday'
ttʃ'	*bíttʃ'o* 'stick', *háttʃ'a* 'dust', *máttʃ'e* 'ear', *wokk'aáttʃ'a* 'blacksmith'
ttʃ	*búttʃa* 'soil', *hafáttʃa* 'air', *hóttʃa* 'hunting', *kattʃísa* 'malaria', *kittʃéttʃa* 'sorrow', *máttʃo* 'belt', *naáttʃa* 'crocodile' *taattʃóʔo* 'hand span' *ʔóttʃo* 'traditional milk jug made of grass'
dd	*bádda* 'plain', *daddáro* 'trade', *diddaábba* 'skin', *gódda* 'wealth', *gúdda* 'oath', *k'édda* 'left', *sádda* 'grass' *ʔindiídda* 'tear', *ʔeddéttʃa* 'cloth', *ʔódda* 'hair'
ff	*firaffiíta* 'evaporation', *gúffa* 'type of grass', *hoffáʔa* 'saturday', *k'affítte* 'challenge', *k'offíte* 'elevation'
gg	*diggísa* 'banquet, festive meal', *moggéʔe* 'molar', *nígga* 'muscle', *sígga* 'cold', *ʔaágga* 'beginning', *ʔágga* 'drink'
hh	-
ddʒ	*daáddʒe* 'river', *fináddʒa* 'exposition', *háddʒa,* 'weak', *dʒaddʒára* 'sickle', *geéddʒa* 'big', *líddʒa* 'unproductive, barren (for mammals)', *múddʒa* 'tall weed grass', *waaddʒóʔo* 'millet'
kk	*baakkára* 'fearful', *bákko* 'near', *bikkiraáta* 'boil, swelling', *tʃ'aákka* 'light', *kikkíro* 'armpit', *lókko* 'leg', *mákka* 'right', *sokkóʔo* 'pattern', *ʔeekkéʔe* 'there', *ʔeekkujjaáto* 'agreement'
ll	*bálla* 'day', *baálle* 'cliff', *bélla* 'support', *bílle* 'winter', *boollánka* 'star', *doólle* 'era', *goólla* 'hot', *leelláʔa* 'throat', *moóllo* 'clan', *ʔallábo* 'tounge', *ʔílle* 'eye', *ʔuúlla* 'earth'
mm	*deémma* 'eye brow', *sámmo* 'top of the head', *súmma* 'name', *t'úmma* 'peace', *tómmo* 'ten', *waámma* 'grave', *ʔammáne* 'time', *ʔammára* 'bird', *ʔadaámma* 'euphorbia'
nn	*boojjínna* 'bald', *daánna* 'judge', *gitánna* 'hero', *hilleénna* 'intestine', *waataánna* 'new born calves', *wonnánna* 'digging tool made of sharpened wood', *ʔagánna* 'history', *ʔánna* 'father'
pp'	*k'aáppa* 'bundle', *k'app'íte* 'slow', *k'aáppa* 'bundle', *k'app'íte* 'slow', *k'opp'áno* 'false', *sittek'ópp'a* 'chicken pox', *ʔapp'itt'ántʃa* 'conflict'
kk'	*bókk'a* 'curved', *hákk'a* 'wood', *húkk'a* 'grass', *k'okk'ób*a 'dam', *moókk'a* 'porridge', *t'úkk'a* 'narrow'
rr	-
ss	*heésso* 'tale', *gaásse* 'ancient', *t'ísso* 'disease', *gásso* 'community' *kululeéssa* 'round', *maásso* 'blessing', *ʔísse* 'he (honorific)'
ʃʃ	*dáʃʃa* 'swelling', *diíʃʃa* 'bee', *faráʃʃo* 'horse', *fiiʃʃóʔo* 'seedling', *hooʃʃóʔo* 'lunch', *k'áʃʃa* 'spoon', *ʃaʃʃára* 'sand'

tt	*buútta* 'grey', *fiítte* 'autumn', *gátte* 'village', *sunkuruútta* 'onion', *ʃetta* 'skinny', *wittára* 'entrance', *zerétta* 'seed', *ʔútta* 'thorn'
tt'	*bitt'íra* 'plate made of clay', *futt'óʔo* 'main', *matt'aára* 'finger', *k'étt'a* 'leather skirt', *ʔamátt'a* 'wealth'
ww	*dáwwa* 'communal labour', *gáwwa* 'deaf', *hak'aáwwo* 'dream', *hansáwwa* 'highland', *háwwo* 'problem', *k'áwwa* 'foolish', *saáwwo* 'close friend', *ʔawwaádo* 'service', *ʔúwwa* 'vomit'
jj	*béjjo* 'place', *bújja* 'leaf', *dabájja* 'rat', *dak'ájje* 'field', *doójja* 'migration', *fajjáʔa* 'healthy', *gejjóʔo* 'cottage', *hagájje* 'summer', *lamíjje* 'twenty', *malaájje* 'power', *matájja* 'busy', *moojjéʔe* 'pounding pot, for grinding coffee, grain, etc.', *ʔaájja* 'sister', *ʔájje* 'who'
zz	-
ʔʔ	-

A geminated consonant like other consonant clusters get split into two and occurs as part of two different syllable units (see 2.4). Hence, a geminated consonant is considered as a sequence of two single consonants.

In addition to the phonological gemination, Hadiyya has a morphologically conditioned gemination (syntactic gemination) predictably occurring during juxtaposition of lexical items. Such gemination applies when two identical consonants occur in sequence across word boundary. For example, an initial consonant of a nominal to which a genitive pronoun is juxtaposed results in gemination as shown in (2).

(2) *ʔise-saáwwo* ⟶ *ʔissaáwwo*
 3SG.F-friend   'her friend'

2.2. Vowel phonemes

2.2.1. Vowel phonemes overview

Hadiyya has five vowel phonemes with contrastive vowel length. The vowel phonemes include: the high front unrounded /i/, the mid front /e/, the high back rounded /u/, the mid back rounded /o/, and the central low vowel /a/. The vowel phonemes are presented in Table 8.

Table 8: *The vowel phonemes*

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

Long vowels are indicated with double letters instead of a colon. The following are examples of minimal pairs of the Hadiyya vowels:

Table 9: *Contrasts of short and long vowels:*

	Short		Long	
/a/ vs /u/	[*ʃáma*]	'wet'	[*baádo*]	'revenge'
	[*ʃúma*]	'urine'	[*buúdo*]	'horn'
/a/ vs /e/	[*ʔándʒa*]	'saliva'	[*maára*]	'meat'
	[*ʔéndʒa*]	'spice'	[*meéra*]	'market'
/a/ vs /o/	[*ʔaráʔa*]	'bed'	[*ʔaábba*]	'credit'
	[*ʔoráʔa*]	'dung'	[*ʔoóbba*]	'palm'
/u/ vs /o/	[*kúre*]	'tell'	[*buúna*]	'elephant's trunk'
	[*kóre*]	'turn'	[*boóna*]	'lime stone'
/o/ vs /e/	[*lóho*]	'six'	[*ʔoóra*]	'termite'
	[*lého*]	'death'	[*ʔeéra*]	'mineral water'
/o/ vs /i/	[*dóra*]	'clay soil'	[*k'oóda*]	'share, part'
	[*díra*]	'dust'	[*k'iída*]	'cold'
/u/ vs /e/	[*búʃa*]	'stream'	[*duúda*]	'deaf'
	[*béʃa*]	'friend'	[*deéda*]	'colorful'
/a/ vs /i/	[*dára*]	'morning'	[*baára*]	'ox'
	[*díra*]	'dust'	[*biíra*]	'outside'
/i/ vs /u/	[*ʃífa*]	'bush'	[*fiíta*]	'flower'
	[*ʃúfa*]	'tiny particles'	[*fuúta*]	'too old'
/i/ vs /e/	[*wiriíra*]	'smoke'	[*siíra*]	'pregnant'
	[*weriíra*]	'strong'	[*seéra*]	'regulation, law'

2.2.2. Vowel length

Like consonant gemination vowel length is also phonemic. Examples of minimal pairs that are in contrast in vowel length are shown in (3).

(3) [*fíʃʃa*]   'a place of harvest'   [*fiíʃʃa*]   'plant'

    [*mára*]   'pus'   [*maára*]   'meat'

    [*múta*]   'sewing instrument'   [*muúta*]   'furniture'

    [*kóra*]   'parasite'   [*koóra*]   'saddle'

    [*ʔágga*]   'drink'   [*ʔaágga*]   'entrance'

Long vowels often occur in the penultimate syllable. They are not common in word-final position. Vowel length can also distinguish verbs:

(4) [*bedd-*]   'strech'   [*beedd-*]   'be finished'

    [*hog-*]   'clean'   [*hoog-*]   'tire'

    [*tir-*]   'untie'   [*tiir-*]   'remember'

    [*t'ur-*]   'be dirty'   [*t'uur-*]   'be inconvenient'

    [*ʔamad-*]   'catch'   [*ʔamaad-*]   'boast'

In addition to short and long vowels, Hadiyya also possesses devoiced short vowels in word final position. As mentioned earlier, nouns in isolation end in -a,-o or -e. Such terminal vowels are devoiced for absolutive case marking, (see also Stinson 1976:150). This is to say that, vowel quality is not only of lexical but also of grammatical significance.

2.2.3. The distribution of vowel phonemes

Vowels do not occur word initially. All vowels occur word medially either in a long or short form. Again all the vowels, except the back vowel /u/ and the front vowel /i/, other vowels occur word finally. All Hadiyya words end in vowels. Of the five phonemic vowels, three are attested in the terminal position of their citation forms. The three terminal vowels, in their order of frequency, are -a, -o and -e. The occurrence of the terminal vowels is unpredictable and only lexically determined.

Table 10: *The distribution of vowel phonemes:*

Vowels	Initial	Medial		Final
		Short	Long	
i	–	*díra* 'dust', *dʒíbba* 'mát', *míne* 'house', *mík'e* 'bone', *t'íga* 'number', *wítʃa* 'thin', *míʃa* 'fruit', *ʔílle* 'eye'	*giíra* 'fire', *diriíró* 'asleep', *fiiʃʃóʔo*'seedling', *hiímo* 'night', *kojiíntʃo* 'guest',	–
e	–	*bek'éra* 'crack', *béjjó* 'place', *gudéʔe* 'weed', *kéjje* 'here', *lého* 'death', *k'édda* 'left', *bell*a'support',	*daageéra* 'baboon', *geéddʒa* 'big', *gubeédo* 'thigh', *kereéta* 'terrace'	*baálle* 'cliff', *bílle* 'winter', *bik'e* 'chest',*daáddʒe* 'river', *dak'ájje* 'field', *hít'e* 'grass',
a	–	*baráda* 'ice', *báre* 'hole', *bálla* 'day', *sáso* 'three', *jabúro* 'lip',	*baakkára* 'fearful', *baaráʔa* 'yellow', *daáddʒe* 'river, *dʒiraáfa* 'plough man's whip'	*fiíta* 'flower', *gága* 'self', *gát'a* 'floor' *wóʃʃa* 'case', *ʃaána* 'cabbage'
u	–	*gurúbbo* 'knee', *dúta* 'many', *múga*'stick', *múro* 'kidney', *nugúla* 'useless', *túma* 'garlic', *t'uráʔa* 'náil'	*buúro* 'butter', *damuúma* 'headache', *duúna* 'mountain', *dʒuúdʒa* 'dull', *k'uruúttʃo*'top'	–
o	–	*dóʔna* 'nest', *goólla* 'warm', *dʒóra* 'bad', *wóna* 'elder', *ʔóra* 'war'	*doóma* 'forest', *foóre* 'life,soul', *fuguúga* 'bladder', *goógo* 'road', *hark'oóta* 'ox',	*fito* 'debate', *t'ápo* 'root', *sóʔo* 'barley', *tómmo* 'ten', *túnso* 'dark'

Unlike a geminated consonant, a sequence of identical vowels is not interpreted as two segments (never distributed across two syllables), but treated as a single phonological unit with a relatively long duration.

2.3. Co-occurrence restrictions

There are no word final clusters of consonants since all words in the language end in a vowel. Word initial consonants too are not attested. The language allows consonant cluster only word medially. At the surface level, however, we can have a cluster at the end of the word due to an omitted word final vowel which is attested in certain phonological environments.

Hadiyya has two types of clusters: sequence of identical consonants (gemination) and sequence of different consonants. A sequence of different consonants has only two members. In other words, the maximum consonant cluster allowed word medially is two. Such a cluster of consonants contains one of the sonorants /n/, /m/, /r/, /l/ and the glottal stop /ʔ/ as a first member. There is wider choice in selection of the second member. We can categorize such clusters as follows:

(5) Sonorant/Ejective cluster: nkʼ rkʼ ntʼ ltʃʼ

beenkʼára	'tick'
harkʼoóta	'ox'
tʼiintʼíttʃo	'a type of disease that spoils meat'
ʔaltʃʼeéʔna	'sterile'

(6) Sonorant/Stop cluster: rb rk rd rg mb nk nt nd ng lg lb

barbaróʔo	'red pepper'
barkuúma	'wooden pillow'
biimbéʔe	'fly'
boollaánka	'star'
hardéʔe	'middle age'
hantaára	'harmful act'
hungubbíttʃo	'type of a bird'
matandára	'singular'
mulgáʔa	'tootless'
ʔargúlla	'cocks'
ʔólba	'glory'

(7) Sonorant/Africate: ntʃʼ ntʃ ndʒ

bóntʃʼa	'pharynx'
daddaraántʃo	'trader'
gaándʒe	neck'

(8) Sonorant/Fricative: rz nʃ ns rf nz mf

baarzaáfa	'eucalyptus tree'
gánʃa	'cold (illness)'
hansáwwa	'highland'
hirfána	'nut'
hiínza	'old'
límfa	'deaf'

(9) Glottal stop/Sonorant:	ʔn ʔm ʔl
dóʔna	'nest'
duuʔmántʃa	'cursing'
gameʔláto	'insult'

There are a small number of Amharic loan words that contain a sonorant/sonorant, stop/stop, fricative/sonorant, sequences, as in (10a, b & c) respectively.

(10a) Sonorant/Sonorant: *t'aarmuíza* 'bottle',

(b) Stop/Stop: *doktora* 'doctor', *ʔastamaarekkittʃo* 'a teacher',

(c) Fricative/Sonorant: *mazmúra* 'song', *masmára* 'ruler', *mismaára* 'nail', *daftára* 'exercise book'.

The sequence of fricative/stop, fricative/fricative, fricative/affricative, stop/stop can also be found in very rare cases in reduplicated ideophones[1] as in (11) below.

(11) fk ft ftʃ fʃ bt	
batbat-	'be unsettle'
kafkaf-	'be restless'
taftaf-	'be in a hurry'
tʃaftʃaf-	'move unconcously'
ʃafʃaf-	'shake repeatedly'

Table 11 summarizes all the possible consonant clusters attested in the present study. The possible sequences of different consonants and sequences of identical consonants are shown by + and * marks respectivelly. The impermissible or unattested consonant clusters are indicated by −.

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[1] Ideophones in Hadiyya consist of two syllables, i.e., they typically repeat the first syllable. In other words these words have the shapes of reduplicated forms, but whose components cannot stand alone. Structurally, ideophones occur as predicate. Thus, they inflect like any other verb. Semantically, predicative ideophones denote intensified (repeated) action.

Table 11: *Sequences of consonants*

C1↓	b	p'	m	w	f	t	d	s	z	t'	n	l	r	ʃ	tʃ	dʒ	tʃˀ	j	k	g	k'	ʔ	h
b	*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
p'	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
m	+	−	*	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
w	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
f	−	−	−	−	*	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
t	+	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
d	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
s	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
z	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
t'	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
n	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−
l	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−
r	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−
ʃ	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
tʃ	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
dʒ	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
tʃˀ	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−	−
j	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−	−
k	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−	−
g	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−	−
k'	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	*	−	−
ʔ	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
h	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−

2.4. Pitch accent

Previous works on Hadiyya and related languages describe and/or analyze the prosodic phenomenon. Tosco (2000:111) asserts that the HEC languages are stress accent languages. Hudson (1976:248) states that, "as a general rule, stress is predictable, falling on strong syllables — syllables with long vowels, and/or closed syllables." Sim (1989:113) distinguishes dominant (stress

accompanied by high pitch) Vs recessive (stress without high pitch). According to Sim "a 'dominant stress', on the stem final vowel distinguishes a locative from a comitative/instrumental case ending." My analysis of the pitch accent differs from these works. High pitch (the prominence) in the citation form predictably falls on the penultimate syllable, an open syllable which may be light/mono-moraic (12) or heavy/bi-moraic vowel (13).

(12)	*bare*	'hole'
	búna	'coffee'
	dondéʔe	'cover of bamboo
	mak'ulánta	'knife'
	sagáda	'slope'
	wóʔo	'water'

(13)	*buúro*	'butter'
	duúna	'mountain'
	laága	'ray, beam'
	maára	'meat'
	seéra	'regulation, law'
	weésa	'enset'

In words whose final syllables are heavy, the accent is placed on that bi-moraic vowel. Such words contain long vowels in their final syllables, the first vowel segment of the long vowel (i.e., the penultimate vowel segment) is accented, whereas its word-final vowel segment is not. Though, high pitch basically occurs on the penultimate vowel segments of inflected verbs, there are some verb suffixes whose final vowel segments are always accented. Such suffixes include: coordinative conjunctions (14a-c) and perfective converb (14d-g) paradigms.

(14a)	*beeto-ó*	*mantʃo-ó*	'boy and a/the man.'
	boy.ABS-CRD	man.ABS-CRD	
(b)	*ʔeese-é*	*keese-é*	'me and you.'
	1SG.ABS.CRD	2SG.ABS-CRD	
(c)	*waachamo-ó*	*gimbittʃo-ó*	'to Waachamo and Gimbicho'
	waachamo-CRD	gimbicho-CRD	

(d)	*bát'-aá*	'Having worked I/he…'
	work.1SG.3SG.M-CNV	
(e)	*mass-i-t-aá*	'Having taken you.SG…'
	take-EP-2SG-CNV	

(f)	*ʔag-aá* drink.1SG.3SG.M-CNV	'Having drunk I/he…'
(g)	*ʔit-aá* eat.1SG.3SG.M-CNV	'Having eaten I/he…'

Like nouns in citation form, inflected verbs have also high pitch on their penultimate vowel segments. Consider the examples in (15).

(15a)	*diss-i-n-ú-mm-o* put-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV	'We put.'
(b)	*mar-am-ú-kk-o* go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV	'They have gone.'
(c)	*már-e* go-IMP.SG	'Go.'
(d)	*mar-óna* go.3SG.M-JUS	'Let him go.'
(e)	*mar-ú-kk-o* go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV	'He went.'
(f)	*mass-i-t-í-tt-o* take-EP-2SG-EP-ASM-TV	'You took.'

2.5. Syllable structure

The syllable in Hadiyya is composed of an onset, nucleus and coda. The neucl=cl=us of a syllable, usually the vowel, is either a short or a long vowel. The consonant segment is either an onset or a coda. The rime or rhyme of a syllable consists of an obligatory nucleus and optional coda. The language does not allow empty syllable onsets. Since the glottal stop has a phonemic status and is considered as the onset consonant, there are no headless syllabes in the language.

As mentioned in the previous section, a sequence of consonants occurs only in word medial position. The number of consonants in a sequence is just two consonants. Thus, both the onset and coda of a syllable cannot be occupied by more than one consonantal segment. When sequences of different or identical (geminate) consonants occur between syllables, the consonant cluster would then be distributed across two syllables (i.e. CVC.CV).

A syllable that contains a consonant in the coda is called a closed syllable, while a syllable that does not contain a consonant in the coda is called an open syllable. Hadiyya has both closed and open syllables. Word-finally, syllables are always open. Syllables in other positions can be either open or

closed. The open syllable is the most preferred syllable type, occurring frequently and in any position of a word.

As has been mentioned in (2.1.1), /p'/and /r/ do not occur at word initial position but they do occur at syllable initial position. Thus, the onset can be filled by any consonant. The coda of a closed syllable can be any consonant except the voiceless glottal fricative /h/, and the voiced alveolar fricative, /z/.

Goldsmith (1990:113) argues that languages frequently divide syllables into light and heavy. According to him, a syllable is called a light syllable, if it consists of a consonant and a short vowel only. It is called heavy, if it consists of an initial consonant plus a long vowel or a vowel plus a consonant. Moreover, some languages distinguish a third type of super heavy syllable, which consists of VVC syllables (with both a branching nucleus and rime), or VCC syllables (with a coda consisting of two or more consonants) or both. Likewise, Hadiyya has a light (monomoraic), heavy (bimoraic) and a super-heavy, a syllable with a long vowel which is followed by a consonant. The dot, (.), indicates syllable boundary in the following data.

(16)			CV	
	ba.re	'hole'	*tʃ'a.na*	'sack'
	bu.ʃa	'stream	*da.ra.bo*	'peer'
	da.ra	'morning'	*ʔa.dʒan.dʒa.ra*	'busy'
	han.t'a	'cow's breast'	*di.ra*	'dust
	hu.ra	'umbilical cord'	*sa.do*	'fame'
	la.ma.ra	'seven'	*mu.ro*	'kidney'
	ʔa.ma	'mother'	*sa.la.lo*	'cheese'
	ʔa.do	'milk'	*ʃi.fa*	'bush'

			CVC	
	ban.da	'scratch'	*ʔig.gal.la*	'dare'
	dam.ba.la	'depth'	*ʔij.je*	'load'
	dan.go	'accident'	*mat'.t'aa.ra*	'finger'
	gan.ʃa	'nasal mucus'	*mak.ka*	'right'
	gaʔ.na	'address'	*faj.ja.ʔa*	'healthy'
	gin.dʒi.ra	'breakfast'	*fa.raʃ.ʃo*	'horse'
	gun.da	'short'	*ʔag.ga*	'drink'
	ʔan.gedʒ.dʒa	'participation'	*gam.bab.ba*	'darkness'

			CVV	
	baa.do	'revenge'	*dii.ha*	'empty'
	suu.me	'mouth'	*di.rii.ro*	'asleep'
	bee.to	'boy'	*fii.ta*	'flower'

bii.bee.la	violent incident, atrocity	*foo.re*	'soul'
boo.ho.ʔo	'canal'	*haa.reed.da*	'beard'
ʔaa.ge	'enter'	*habuuba*	'dry eason'
ma.ʃa.laa.la	'peaceful, innocent'	*mee.saa.na*	'big hoe, axe'
mii.ne	'forehead'	*mi.naa.da.ba*	People'

<div align="center">CVVC</div>

ʔuul.la	'country'	*ʔeej.ja*	'yes'
baal.le.ʔe	'feather'	*gee.geej.ja*	'wedding present'
bee.laaj.ja	'back'	*k'aan.k'a*	'culture'
biiʃ.ʃa	'light black'	*k'oo.raan.ta*	'crow'
gaan.dʒe	'neck'	*saaw.wo*	'close friend'
geedʒ.dʒa	'big'	*leej.ja*	'bees wax'
maan-da-ra	'behavior'	*leel.la.ʔa*	'throat'
muu.ta	'furniture'	*k'aap'.p'a*	'bundle'

The most common syllable is CV. The majority of nouns have two syllables. Monosyllabic words are not attested. Tri syllabic words are also relatively rare. Nouns of four or more syllables are mostly compounds and inflected verbs. The following are examples of such forms:

(17) **Disyllabic**

baal.le 'valley, cliff', *buu.do* 'horn', *daadʒ-dʒe* 'river', *daam.ma* 'honey', *ha.ra* 'mud', *le.ho* 'death', *ʔan.ga* 'hand', *ʔa.ma* 'mother', *dʒan.na* 'quarrel', *gaga* 'self', *hoo.ma* 'coniferous tree', *hum.ba* 'mouth', *k'o.ʃa* 'scratch', *lok.ko* 'leg', *ma.aga* 'rude', *ma.da* 'wound', *sa.ne* 'nose', *sii.ra* 'pregnant', *soo.do* 'tomorrow', *ʔaag.ga* 'beginning', *ʃoo.ma* 'hunger', *ʔada* 'aunt', *ʔutta* 'thorn', *fiit.te* 'autumn', *fiin.da* 'excrement', *kora* 'tick'

Trisyllabic

han.taa.ra 'harmful act', *daa.neetʃ.tʃo* 'elephant', *dʒadʒ.dʒa.ra* 'sickle', *ʔam.ba.ʔa* 'village', *tʃ'ii.ʔit.tʃo* 'bird', *lu.gu.mo* 'root', *baa.ra.ʔa* 'yellow', *dʒidʒ.dʒii.ra* 'bed for delivered woman', *hir.kaa.ba* 'stirrups', *k'ot'.t'aal.la* 'strong', *k'a.da.fa.ra* 'lung', *ʃi.ʃi.ra* 'leprosy', *ʃoo.ho.ʔo* 'basement', *ʔaa.ʃaal.la* 'wet', *ʔal.la.bo* 'tounge', *ʔu.su.la* 'system', *gu.tan.sa* 'owl', *bii.dʒaal.la* 'generous', *biim.be.ʔe* 'mosquito, fly', *ba.ʃi.la* 'far'

Four and more

ʔa.da.raa.ra 'orphan', *gu.zu.mo.ʔo* 'compensation payment', *ma.k'u.lan.ta* 'knife', *faa.ree.ʔaal.la* 'energetic', *wen.ge.reel.litʃ.tʃo* 'a (the) fox', *ʔan.ta.baa.kitʃ.tʃo* 'a (the)

hen', *bil.bi.laan.tit.tʃo* 'butterfly', *k'un.tʃˤul.le.ʔe* 'chunk of knife', *siim.ma.ro.ʔo* 'a type of cabbage', *si.ra.ʔiil.la* 'death', *sun.ku.ruut.ta* 'onoin', *ku.lu.lees.sa* 'ruond', *tin.ki.raaj.ja.muk.ko* 'was trapped', *gag.gaa.bu.kuuj.ja-tej.jo* 'was not in a hurry'He

The possible syllable types are summarized in Table 12:

Table 12: *The syllable structure*

Onset(head)	Nucleus (peak)	Coda	Weight	Open/Closed	Examples	Gloss
C	V		light	open	*so.ʔo*	'barley'
C	VV		heavy	open	*kuu.la*	'brown'
C	V	C	heavy	closed	*ʔan.ga*	'hand'
C	VV	C	super heavy	closed	*daadʒ.dʒe*	'river'

2.6. Morphophonemic processes

As already mentioned above (cf. sections 2.3. and 2.5.), Hadiyya shows a two-consonant constraint. According to this principle, the maximum number of consonants in sequences is two. Thus, all the morphophonemic processes arise from the need to preserve the above constraint and the syllable structure rules of Hadiyya.

Most of the morphophonemic processes are usually observed at the edge of verb stems, the place where stem final consonants come into contact with consonant initial inflectional suffixes. The major morphophonemic processes that have been observed during such contacts are the following:

2.6.1. Epenthesis

As we have seen above (see 2.3.), no consonant cluster is allowed word initially and finally. But a cluster of two different consonants and identical consonants (geminates) can occur word medially. If there are more than two consonants, then the epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted to break the impermissible clusters of consonants at morpheme boundaries. The epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted where a cluster of CCC arises due to affixation, cliticization or reduplication, etc. The nature of the epenthetic vowel in every position of words is based on the cluster rule of the language. Consider the examples in (18).

(18a) *mass-i-n- ú-mm-o*   'We took"
          'take-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV'

  (b) *dill-i-t-aá*   '(You) getting down'
          'get.down-EP-2SG-CNV'

(c)	*holl-i-t-í-tt-o*		'You chased.'
	chase-EP-2SG-EP-ASM-TV'		
(d)	*wonnann-i-nne*		'with a digging tool"
	'digging.tool.made.of.sharpened.wood-EP-INST'		
(e)	*gund-i-tt'-oó-kk-o*		'He/it makes something short by him/it
	'shorten.3SG.M-EP-BEN3-IPV-ASM-TV'		self'

2.6.2. Assimilation

Assimilation is the process in which a consonant segment becomes more alike its neighboring sounds. Assimilation in Hadiyya can be either partial or total and it takes place so as to assure the correct syllable structures which are permitted in the language.

Homorganic nasal assimilation can be an example for partial assimilation. This process causes a nasal to copy the place of articulation feature of an adjacent obstruent. Such homorganic nasal assimilation takes place after nasal metathesis. As can be seen in (19) below, some of the verb stems undergo an additional assimilatory processes. A stem final labial, palatal or velar causes a homorganic nasal assimilation of the suffix-initial */-n /* or a stem final */-m/*. The formatives involved in the data are based on */-nummo/*, 1st person plural perfective suffix.

(19)	*/kotʃ'-/*	'insert'	⟶	[*koɲtʃ'-úmmo*]	'we inserted'
	/sab-/	'refuse'	⟶	[*samb-úmmo*]	'we refused'
	/ʔaf-/	'reach'	⟶	[*ʔaɱf-úmmo*]	'we reached'
	/ʔag-/	'drink'	⟶	[*ʔaŋg-úmmo*]	'we drank'

The direction of assimilation is regressive in place of assimilation of the nasal to the following consonant.

The suffix-initial /-n/ is assimilated not only partially but also completely to stem final sonorant, /l/, as in the following example.

The suffix-initial /-n/ is assimilated not only partially but also completely to stem final sonorant, /l/, as in the following example.

(20)	a)	*mar- 'go'*	⟶	lexical base
	b)	*mar-nuúmmo*	⟶	suffixal-initial /-n/ is attached to lexical base.
	c)	*marr-úmmo*	⟶	/-n/ is assimilated to /r/
	d)	*mall-úmmo* 'went'	⟶	/-r/ is assimilated to /l/

As can be observed, sonorant assimilation is attested. The suffixal-initial /n/ assimilates in place and manner of articulation to a stem-final sonorant /r/. In such process first /n/ is assimilated to /r/ and then / r/ is also assimilated to /l /.

Progressive assimilation is found when the suffix-initial /-n/ is attached to the stem final /m/as in the following examples:

(21) /duum-/ 'refuse' /duum-númmo/ → [duummúmmo] 'we refused'

/liiram-/ 'be happy' /liiram-númmo/ → [liirammúmmo] 'we became happy'

/tʃ'eem-/ 'bore-' /tʃ'eem-númmo/ → [tʃ'eemmúmmo] 'we bored'

/som-/ 'attach' /som-númmo/ → [sommúmmo] 'we attached'

/wotʃ'am-/ 'quarell' /wotʃ'am-númmo/ → [wotʃ'ammúmmo] 'we quarreled'

/ʔaram-/ 'discuss' /ʔaram-númmo/ → [ʔarammúmmo] 'we discussed'

/ʔedam-/ 'meet' /ʔedam-númmo/ → [ʔedammúmmo] 'we met'

The other type complete assimilation takes place when the autobenefactive formative, i. e. /-ʔ/ is added to stem final sonorants as in the following examples:

(22) Lexical Base   Derived stems

/sar-/ 'cook' [saʔl-] 'cook for oneself'

/tum-/ 'hit' [tuʔm-] 'hit for ones advantage'

/ʔawwan-/ 'follow' [ʔawwaʔn-] 'follow for oneself'

Note also that the stem final /r/ is assimilated to /l/ in the process of autobenefactic verb stem formation (see section 5.3.4. for further discussion).

As mentioned earlier, apart from the assimilation of sonorants in the process of autobenefactive formation, assimilation also occurs during metathesis of the glottal stop as in the following examples.

(23) buúro 'butter' bíto 'price' → [buuʔlibíto] 'price of butter'

giíra 'fire' búttʃa 'soil' → [giiʔlibúttʃa] 'ash'

maára 'meat' mine 'house' → [maaʔlimíne] 'butchery'

seéra 'regulation, law' mántʃo 'man' → [seeʔlimántʃo] 'lawyer'

soóro	'four'	*beéto*	'boy'	→ [*sooʔlibeéto*]	'fourth boy'
ʔafáre	'back'	*mík'e*	'bone'	→ [*ʔafaʔlimík'e*]	'backbone'

In all the examples, /r/ is assimilated to /l/ at the juxtaposition of two words. The glottal stop, /ʔ/, is metathesized with the stem final sonorant /l/. The process of such assimilation of the sonorants in (22) and (23) can be understood as:

- *buúro* 'butter' and *bito* 'price' ⟶ two different lexemes (before juxtaposition)
- *buuʔribíto* 'price of butter' ⟶ The glottal stop is metathesized in the process of juxtaposition.
- *buuʔlibíto* ⟶ /r/ is assimilated to /l/.

2.6.3. Metathesis

Metathesis refers to a phonological process that transposes two adjacent consonant phonemes. There are two types of metathesis: nasal metathesis and glottal metathesis.

2.6.3.1. Nasal Metathesis

Similar to other HEC languages nasal metathesis[2] is a common process in Hadiyya. As can be observed in (24) the morpheme */-n-/*, that marks the first person plural is permuted with stem final obstruent to avoid an impermissible sequence, obstruent-sonorant, and to preserve the sonority structure of the consonant sequences, because Hadiyya allows sonorant-obstruent sequences and nasal metathesis results exactly in such type of sequences. The conjugations in (24) are based on /-nummo/, 1st person plural perfective suffix. As can be observed in some of the examples, a homorganic nasal assimilation takes place after metathesis to maintain the sonority structure of the consonant sequences.

(24)	/*bat'-*/	'work'	→	[*bant'-úmmo*]	'we worked'
	/*duuk'-*/	'put'	→	[*duuŋk'-úmmo*]	'we put'
	/*wotʃ'-*/	'talk'	→	[*woɲtʃ'-úmmo*]	'we talked'
	/*ʔit-*/	'eat'	→	[*ʔint-úmmo*]	'we ate'
	/*ʔaf-*/	'reach'	→	[*ʔaɱf-úmmo*]	'we reached'
	/*ʔidʒaadʒ-*/	'order'	→	[*ʔidʒaaɲdʒ-úmmo*]	'we ordered

---

[2] Hudson (1976:250) says, metathesis is common to all the HEC languages other than Burji. Such process is attested in Sidaama (Anbessa, 2000:9), Alaaba (Schneider-Blum, 2007:35) and Kambaata (Treis, 2008:63).

2.6.3.2. Glottal Metathesis

Glottal metathesis is a process whereby the glottal feature of the reflexive (autobenefactive[3]) formative, /-ʔ/ is permuted with stem final sonorants. The root-final sonorant and the glottal stop usually metathesize, with the result that the stem ends in / ʔm/, / ʔn/, or / ʔl/. Consider the following examples.

(25a)	*tum-*	'hit'	→	*tuʔm-*	'hit for oneself'
	som-	'attach'	→	*soʔm-*	'attach something for oneself'
(b)	*foon-*	'take'	→	*fooʔn-*	'take something for oneself'
	hin-	'dig'	→	*hiʔn-*	'dig for oneself'
	keen-	'measure'	→	*keeʔn-*	'measure for oneself'
(c)	*mar-*	'go'	→	*maʔl-*	'go for oneself'
	mur-	'cut'	→	*muʔl-*	'cut for oneself'
	sar-	'cook'	→	*saʔl-*	'cook for oneself'

In the above forms, the stem formative suffix, /-ʔ/ is metathesized with the root final sonorant. Sonorant and glottal stop exchange their position. As can be seen in (25c), the stem final /r/ is assimilated[4] to /l/ in the process of metathesis of the glottal stop.

2.6.4. Palatalization

Palatalization occurs when the verb stems final alveolar consonants: /s/, /d/ and /t/ are geminated to form nominals as illustrated in (26).

(26)	Lexical base			Derived nominal	
	bitees-	'sell'		*biteéʃʃa*	'sale'
	fiinkk'ees-	'whistle'		*fiinkk'eéʃʃa*	'whistling'
	fitiis-	spread out		*fitiíʃʃa*	'spreading out'
	kad-	'dance'		*káddʒa*	'dance '
	k'as-	'dig'		*k'áʃʃa*	'digging'
	ʔamad-	'catch'		*ʔamáddʒa*	'catching'
	ʔat'is-	'do well'		*ʔat'íʃʃa*	'doing well'
	ʔed-	'add'		*ʔéddʒa*	'addition'
	ʔit-	'eat'		*ʔíttʃa*	'meal'

---

[3] Since the same morpheme mark both concepts in morphophonological analysis of this study, the term 'reflexive and autobenefactive are used interchangeably

[4] The phonological reason for the assimilation of /r/ to /l/ is not clear to me in the present study.

As can be seen in (24), the stem final alveolar obstuents are palatalized and geminated. The final alveolar consonants /t/, /d/ and /s/are palatalized to their palatal counterparts /tʃ/, /dʒ/ and /ʃ/ respectively. The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ of the causative suffix /-is/ can also be palatalized to become /-ʃ/ as the following examples demonstrate.

(27) <u>Lexical base</u>   <u>Causative stem</u>   <u>Causative nominal</u>

Lexical base	Causative stem	Causative nominal	
geeddʒ-	*geeddʒ-is-*	*geeddʒíʃʃa*	'causing to be huge'
k'aww-	*k'aww-is-*	*k'awwíʃʃa*	'causing to fool'
laʔ-	*laʔ-is-*	*laʔíʃʃa*	'causing to announce'
ʔapp'is-	*ʔapp'is-is-*	*ʔapp'íʃʃa*	'causing hit'
ʔellees-	*ʔelees-is-*	*ʔelleéʃʃa*	'causing to take away'
ʔit-	*ʔit-is-*	*ʔitíʃʃa*	'causing to eat'
ʔijj-	*ʔijj-is-*	*ʔijjíʃʃa*	'causing to carry'

NOUNS

3.1. Citation form of nouns

In the following chapter the whole system (structure) of inflectional and derivational categories of Hadiyya nouns will be presented. The chapter opens with a cursory look at the general features of nouns, followed by inflection.

There are disyllabic and polysyllabic nouns i.e. nouns with three or more syllables. As illustrated earlier (in section 2.5), monosyllabic nouns are not attested. The majority of nouns are disyllabic.

One other common characteristic of all nouns is that they end in a vowel. Of the five phonemic vowels, three are attested in the terminal position of nouns. The three terminal vowels, in their order of frequency, are *-a, -o* and *-e*. There are no nouns ending in *-i* and *-u*. Likewise, in most HEC languages[5] nominals end in vowels. These citation form[6] terminal vowels are kind of nominal class markers occurring with all nouns whether the nouns have verbal counterpart or not. This suggests that terminal vowels are entities that form nominals from bound forms, in most cases which do not belong to a specific word category. Some examples from each class are presented in (28) below.

(28)	-a		-o		-e	
	bálla	'day'	*gurúbbo*	'knee'	*mík'e*	'bone'
	bújja	'leaf'	*ʔabbaájjo*	'brother'	*tʃaréʔe*	'bird'
	duúna	'mountain'	*baádo*	'revenge'	*hít'e*	'grass'
	gáwwa	'deaf'	*habiíllo*	'cloth'	*malaájje*	'power'
	hákk'a	'tree'	*wíʔlo*	'mourning'	*baálle*	'cliff'
	kina	'stone'	*fíto*	'debate'	*míne*	'forehead'
	lamára	'seven'	*láso*	'back'	*sóre*	'fourty'

---

[5] According to Anbessa (2000:34), all of Sidaama nouns end in terminal vowels in citation form. Treis also says, (2008:100) in Kambaata all nominal roots and stems end in a consonant or consonant cluster. An obligatory (primary) case suffix follows this/these consonant(s), i.e.the minimal noun consists of a root plus case vowel.

[6] As stated in Crystal (1997:77), the term "citation" refers to the pronunciation given to a word when it is produced in isolation, and not in connected speech. When such a linguistic unit is cited in isolation, I used the term "citation" throughout this study.

nígga	'root'	*ʔallábo*	'tongue'	*ʔínk'e*	'tooth'
k'uúnk'a	'egg'	*buúro*	'butter'	*daanéʔe*	'elephant'
saájja	'cow'	*ʔádo*	'milk'	*ʔísę*	'she'
t'íga	'number'	*beeróʔo*	'town'	*lómbe*	'respect'
ʃóga	'branch'	*béjjo*	'place'	*suúme*	'mouth'
wóʃʃa	'affair'	*bagádo*	'spear'	*máttʃ'e*	'ear'
zigiíga	'fence'	*beéto*	'boy'	*diináte*	'cattle'
ʔánna	'father'	*ʔaróʔo*	'husband'	*ʔiíme*	'upward'
ʔanuúna	'breast'	*ʔóttʃo*	'milk jug'	*míne*	'house'
ʔuúlla	'land'	*hiímo*	'night'	*siréʔe*	'seed'

As can be observed the phonological feature of the noun does not affect the occurrence of the terminal vowels. Rather, it is unpredictable and only lexically determined. There is no phonological, morphological or syntactic reason. Thus, it is not possible to envisage the membership of nouns with in one or the other class using phonological, morphological, syntactic or semantic criteria.

It has been noted that a noun in its citation form ends in a vowel. Such a terminal vowel is replaced when a noun undergoes a process of suffixation as in the following examples.

(29a) *mík'e*   'bone'
       mik'-íttʃ-íttʃo   'bone-DMN-SG.TV'

 (b) *saájja*   'cow'
       saajj-íttʃo   'cow-SG.TV'

 (c) *ʔallábo*   'tounge'
       ʔallabb-úww-a   'tounge-PL-TV'

Note that in (29a & c) above; the epenthetic vowel is inserted to avoid impermissible consonant clusters. It is attested that not only the phonetic feature, but also the grammatical feature of the suffix triggers unstability of terminal vowels. Compare the citation form of a noun with its counterpart occurring in different case positions in (30) below.

(30a) *bagádo* 'spear'   *bagad-í-nne*   *k'ás-e*
                      spear-EP-INST   kill-IMP.SG
                      'Kill him with a spear.'

 (b) *beéto* 'boy'   *beét-į̧*   *waar-ú-kk-o*
                      boy-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
                      'A/The boy came.'

 (c) *míne* 'house'   *min-iinse*   *ʃír-e*
                      house ABL   go.out-IMP.SG
                      'Leave the house.'

(d) *saájja* 'cow' *saajj-ína* *hít'ę̇* *ʔúww-e*
             cow-DAT grass.ABS give-IMP.SG
             'Give grass for a cow.'

As shown in (30), the unstability of terminal vowels is triggered by case markers such as dative, nominative, ablative and instrumental, (see also 3.2.4).

3.2. Inflections of the noun

According to Beard (2001:44), inflection is the grammatical function of words in phrases without altering their meaning. In Hadiyya nouns are inflected for gender, number, definiteness and case. In this section each of these grammatical categories will be examined.

3.2.1. Gender

Gender, refers to the sexual distinction between male and female. In this sense it can refer to the biological condition of being male or female. Lyons (1968:283) defines gender as one of the categorization of nouns, pronouns and adjectives in to masculine, feminine and in some languages neuter based on whether a noun is considered as male, female or without sex respectively. According to Crystal (1997:165) gender is of two types: natural and grammatical. The former refers to the natural sex of animate things, while the latter indicates morphologically marked gender.

In Hadiyya, animate nouns distinguish between masculine and feminine gender biologically using totally different lexemes. Thus, most kinship terms and common domestic animate nouns have suppletive forms distinguishing masculine and feminine genders as shown in (31).

(31)

Feminine		Masculine	
ganníttʃo	'mare'	*faráʃʃo*	'horse'
landíttʃo	'girl'	*beéto*	'boy'
meénto	'women'	*goóna*	'men'
miʔniʔáma	'householder (wife)'	*miʔniʔánna*	'householder (husband)'
Saájja	'cow'	*baára*	'ox'
Seta	'sister in law'	*heereéttʃo*	'brother in law'
ʔáda	'aunt'	*ʔannabbaájjo*	'uncle'
ʔaddíttʃo	'heifer (young female cow)'	*labeéna*	'young bull'
ʔaájja	'sister'	*ʔabbaájjo*	'brother'
ʔáma	'mother'	*ʔánna*	'father'
ʔamaájja	'mother's sister'	*ʔeeʃímma*	'mother's brother'
ʔáre	'husband'	*ʔaróʔo*	'wife'

As illustrated in (31), gender distinction in animate nouns is expressed by using totally different lexemes (separate forms). There is no morphological process which is employed to indicate the gender distinction of nouns.

All non-animate (neuter) nouns are assigned to masculine gender. For example, non-animates like *buúdo* 'horn'*, giíra* 'fire', *hít'e* 'grass'*, máttʃ'e* 'ear'*, míne* 'house', *ʔagána* 'moon', *ʔaráʔa* 'bed', *ʔeelliíntʃo* 'sun', *ʔinddiídda* 'tear'*, ʔuúlla* 'country', *k'uúnk'a* 'egg', *wejjákka* 'blanket' are classified as masculine.

Most proper nouns distinguish between masculine and feminine. As it is shown in (33), the suffixes *-e* and *-o* are attached to proper nouns to express the feminine and masculine genders respectively.

(33) | Feminine proper nouns | Masculine proper nouns |
| --- | --- |
| *dambál-e* | *dambál-o* |
| *dileéb-e* | *dileéb-o* |
| *dobaám-e* | *dobaám-o* |
| *foorsiíd-e* | *foorsiíd-o* |
| *giittʃaám-e* | *giittʃaám-o* |
| *latís-e* | *latís-o* |
| *lattʃaám-e* | *lattʃaám-o* |
| *liiráns-e* | *liiráns-o* |
| *ʔermoóll-e* | *ʔermoóll-o* |
| *ʔersaám-e* | *ʔersaám-o* |

There are some proper masculine nouns (*ʔabbuúte*, *diimoóre*, *búnt'e*, *ʔabbóre*, *ʔabboóse*, *gaabboóre*, *lóbe*, *ʔaaʃóre*, *mit'oóre*, *maassóre*, *gaadóre*, *giboóre*) characterized by a terminal vowel *-e*; and a small number of feminine proper nouns (*leéro*, *línto*, *maasso*, *kíbbo*, *fiíto*, *doóʔlo*, *dánto*) which end in *-o*. Note that the nouns of this group do not contrast (do not show opposition) with the terminal vowels, *-o* and *-e*, to indicate masculine and feminine. The gender distinction of such exceptional nouns is largely arbitrary.

As we will see in (3.2.3), the demonstrative pronouns, such as, *túte* 'this (feminine)'*, kúki*, 'this (masculine)' serve as indicators for gender affiliation of the noun.

The use of gender attributives is another way of distinguishing between masculine and feminine genders in animate nouns. A large number of animate nouns use the words, *goónt∫o* 'male' and *meentítt∫o* 'female' to express masculine and feminine gender respectively. Consider the following examples:

(34a)	*hallítt∫o*	'donkey'
	goont∫-i-hallítt∫o	'male donkey'
	meentitt∫-i-hallítt∫o	'female donkey'

(b)	*hobbítt∫o*	'lion'
	meentitt∫-i-hobbítt∫o	'lioness(female lion)'
	goont∫-i-hobbítt∫o	'male lion'

(c)	*wengereellítt∫o*	'fox'
	goont∫-i-wengereellítt∫o	'male fox'
	meentitt∫-i-wengereellítt∫o	'female fox'

As mentioned earlier in sections (2.6), the final vowel, *o* is deleted in morpheme boundaries in the process of juxtaposition. The epenthetic vowel is inserted between the juxtaposed nouns to avoid impermissible consonant clusters.

The other strategy used to express gender is the use of an agreement marker on the verb. (See *Verb Morphology*, section 5.2.1 on *Subject agreement marking* for further discussion).

To summarize, lexical, morphological and syntactic strategies are used to mark the gender of a referent of a noun in Hadiyya. The majority of the nouns (except proper nouns) are unmarked for gender. Proper nouns are identified through terminal vowels *-e* and *-o* for feminine and masculine respectively. Animate nouns use a gender distinguishing attributives to distinguish between masculine and feminine. As already mentioned above, all the non-animate nouns are assigned to masculine gender. Nouns denoting animate things distinguish between masculine and feminine syntactically. On the other hand, agreement markers of verbs indicate the gender feature of the subject.

3.2.2. Number

Nouns show a three-way number distinction among singular, plural and general number values. Number markers are overtly realized morphemes. Each category of number will be discussed in turn below.

3.2.2.1. General form

As has been mentioned above, the noun root is a bound morpheme. This means that such nouns never occur without terminal vowels in their citation form. The citation forms refer to general forms. Corbett (2000) and other many linguists call this type of number General number. Sim (1989:118) suggests Indefinite. Azeb (2001) uses the term indefinite plural. Hirut (2003) calls it generic. Anbessa (2000) labels it with the term "unmarked". High Land East Cushiticists, Crass (2005), Schneider-Blum (2007), Treis (2008) apply the term transnumeral.

General number is preffered in the present study for nouns that are formally and functionally unmarked for number. The general number form is the form of the noun which carries neither a singulative nor a plurative suffix. Since it is number neutral it can refer to singular as well as plural referents. For example, the number of doors and keys is not yet determined in the following sentence.

(35) *Ɂánị   gootʃ'-ína k'úlfą   bitaaɁ-ú-mmo*
   1SG.NOM door-DAT   key.ABS   buy.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
   'I bought a key (keys) for a door (doors).'

As can be seen from (35), the number of doors and keys could be one, or more than that. Such general form of nouns have two possible context dependent interpretations and refer to a single item or multiple referents. Thus, numerals and quantifiers should be added to disambiguate such indistinct translation. The data below are illustrative of this.

(36a)	*goótʃ'a*	(b)	*mátị goótʃ'a*
	door(s)		one door
	'a door/doors'		'a door'

(c)	*lámị goótʃ'a*	(d)	*lobakátị goótʃ'a*
	two door		many door
	'two doors'		'many doors'

As can be seen in the examples, the presence of numerals and quntifiers (*mati,* 'one', *lami* 'two' and *lobakati* 'many') is an indicator of whether the noun is refering to one or many items.

(37) Some examples of general form of nouns that can refer to one or more discrete items:

> *bálla* 'day(s)', *báre* 'hole(s)', *bújja* 'leaf(ves)', *dóʔna* 'nest(s)', *duúna* 'mountain(s)', *goótʃʼa* 'door(s)', *goógo* 'road(s)', *fiíta* 'flower(s)', *meéra* 'market(s)', *míne* 'house(s)', *háwwo* 'problem(s)', *horoóre* 'head(s)', *kíne* 'stone(s)', *lókko* 'leg(s)', *múga* 'stick(s)', *súmma* 'name(s)', *wejjákka* 'blanket(s) ʃeerímo* 'tail(s)', *ʔágga* 'drink(s)', *ʔánga* 'hand(s)', *ʔoóra* 'termite(s)', *ʔaráʔa* 'bed(s)', *ʔeddéttʃa* 'cloth(es)', *ʔílle* 'eye(s)', *ʔúsa* 'rope(s)', *ʔuúlla* 'country(ies)'.

Such nouns do not have a singular plural opposition and cannot suffix the singulative or the plural morpheme.

3.2.2.2. The Singular

The singular form signifies that the referent is a single entity. The singular form is expressed by the morpheme *-ittʃ* and its allomorph *-itʃ*. The suffix *-itʃ* is attached to stems ending with nasal consonants (38c), while *-ittʃ* occurs elsewhere (38a and b). The final vowel of the general form of noun (citation form) is replaced by the singular marker. Some examples of singular nouns formed by the use of suffix *-ittʃ* are given in (38).

(38)	General number (citation form)	Singular	
(a)	*boollaánka*	*boollaank-íttʃ*	'a/the star'
	dabájja	*dabajj-íttʃ*	'a/the rat'
	damaálla	*damaall-íttʃ*	a/the deer'
	góta	*got-íttʃ*	'a/the hyena'
	hákkʼa	*hakkʼ-íttʃ*	'a/the tree'
	hálla	*hall-íttʃ*	'a/the donkey'
	hamáʃʃa	*hamaʃʃ-íttʃ*	'a/the snake'
	hóbba	*hobb-íttʃ*	'a/the lion'
	lúga	*lug-íttʃ*	'a/the frog'
	meénto	*meent-íttʃ*	'a/the woman'
	moóttʃo	*moottʃ-íttʃ*	'a/the wild animal'
	kʼuúnkkʼa	*kʼuunkkʼ-íttʃ*	'an/the egg'
	tikaájja	*tikaajj-íttʃ*	'a/the fly'
	wíʃa	*wiʃ-íttʃ*	'a/the dog'
(b)	*biimbéʔe*	*biimbekk-íttʃ*	'a/the fly'
	diináʔa	*diinakk-íttʃ*	'an/the enemy'
	felláʔa	*fellakk-íttʃ*	'a/the goat'
	ʔoróʔo	*ʔorokk-íttʃ*	'a/the wolf'
(c)	*kina*	*kin-tʃ*	'a/the stone'
	túma	*tun-tʃ*	'an/the onion'
	tʃʼuúma	*tʃʼuun-tʃ*	'an/the ant'
	ʔanuúna	*ʔanuun-tʃ*	'a/the breast'

What we observe in (38b) is an alternation of the voiceless velar consonant /k/ with the glottal stop /ʔ/. Such alternation takes place when the glottal stop, /ʔ/, occurs as a final consonant of the noun stem.

Singularity is not always marked by a singulative marker. Besides, in the citation form of general form of nouns, there are also some inherently singular nouns, as in the following examples:

(39) Some examples of inherently singular nouns:

ʔaróʔo 'husband', seéta 'sister in law', baára 'ox', ʔamaájja 'aunt', ʔannabaájjo 'uncle', wodála 'male donkey', wóna 'elder', ʔabbaájjo 'brother', ʔánna 'father'.

Unless they are modified by a numeral or quantifier (*see sec*. 3.2.2.3. *examles in* (49)) such nouns have a singular interpretation. As can be seen in (39), inherently singular nouns in their basic form may only be interpreted as referring to one individual referent. Thus, these nouns donot occur with the singulative marker for the purpose of individuation. Semantically, the members of this group are some kinship terms and few domestic animals. The singular form, however; is attached to such nouns to indicate empathy, affectionate and intimate relationship as in the following examples.

(40) <u>Citation form (inherently Singular)</u>   <u>Emphasized inherently singular nouns</u>

beéto   beet-íttʃ   'boy'

ʔaróʔo   ʔarokk-íttʃ   'husband'

In some contexts, double singularity marker is used to encode the referent's tininess. Sim (1989:105); however, points out that, the reduplication of singulative suffix form the paucal nouns. However, his examples identified as a marker of paucal are attested being a diminutive marker in the present study (see also Tadesse 2007:38). Thus, double singulative suffix encodes tininess of nouns. Consider the following examples.

(41) Singular   Diminutive

beet-íttʃ-	'a/the boy'	beet-íttʃ-íttʃ-	'a/the little boy'
dabajj-íttʃ-	'a/the rat'	dabajj-íttʃ-íttʃ-	'a/the small rat'
fellakk-íttʃ-	'a/the goat'	fellakk-íttʃ-íttʃ-	'a/the small goat'
land-íttʃ-	'a/the girl'	land-íttʃ-íttʃ-	'a/the little girl'
ʔantabaakk-íttʃ-	'a/the hen'	ʔantabaakk-i- ttʃ-íttʃ-	'a/the small hen'

As can be seen from (41), the suffix, *-ittʃ* is reduplicated so as to express diminutive. The high-front vowel /i/ is inserted between the duplicates. The epenthetic vowel has the function to break up consonant cluster of more than two adjacent consonants at morpheme boundary.

Sim (1989:105) points out that, a noun in Hadiyya, potentially can have a variety of number categories such as generic (indefinite), singulative, plural and paucal. He made a distinction among indefinite, singular, plural and paucal. Thus, the general form in the present study is considered as 'indefinite' in Sim's work. According to the present study, his fourth number category, paucal, does not exist in the language. In other words, nouns do not mark paucality.

3.2.2.3. The plural

The majority of plural nouns are formed by attaching the suffix *-uww* to the citation form. The final vowel of the citation form is replaced by the plural suffix. With the exception of few irregular ones (cf.42), most countable +animate nouns have the potential to take the plural marker. Consider the following examples in (42).

(42)	General number (citation form)	Plural	
	daánna	*daann-uww-*	'judges'
	gitánna	*gitann-uww-*	'heros'
	k'áwwa	*k'aww-uww-*	'foolishes'
	ʔaájja	*ʔaajj-uww-*	'sisters'
	ʔabbaájjo	*ʔabbaajj-uww-*	'brothers'
	ʔannabaájjo	*ʔannabaajj-uww-*	'uncles'
	ʔeeʃímma	*ʔeeʃimm-uww-*	'uncles'

Citation forms ending in single or non-geminate consonsts are doubled when the plural suffix *-uww* is attached. The following are examples:

(43)	General number (citation form)	Plurative	
	baára	*baall-uww-*	'oxen'
	béʃa	*beʃʃ-uww-*	'friends'
	matt'aára	*matt'aall-uww-*	'fingers'
	tunkúʔla	*tunkuʔl-uww-*	'elbows'
	tʃ'iíla	*tʃ'iill-uww-*	'children'
	ʔadaraára	*ʔadaraall-uww-*	'orphans'
	ʔadíla	*ʔadill-uww-*	'kings'
	ʔambúla	*ʔambull-uww-*	'rams'

In our corpus two kinship terms (ʔánna 'father' ʔannóʔo 'fathers' and ʔáma 'mother' ʔamóʔo 'mothers') do not fit in to this system as they do not follow the pattern shown above.

Another irregularity is concerning the plural form of beéto 'a/the boy' and sájja/baaára 'a/the cow/ox',[7] as the following examples show.

(44) <u>Citation form</u>   <u>Plural</u>

   beéto   'a/the boy'   *ʔoóso*   'boys/children'

   saájja/baára   'a/the cow/ox'   *láro*   'cattle'

The suffix *-aam* is also attached to the proper nouns to express a multiple number of individuals. Consider the following examples:

(45) Proper nouns   Propet nouns + the plural suffix

tʃʼuufaáme (F)	*tʃʼuufaam-aam*	'Chuufuame and others'
makkángo (M)	*makkang-aam*	'Makkango and others'
miʃaámo (M)	*miʃaam-aam*	'Mishaamo and others'
ʔaaʃaame (F)	*ʔaaʃaam-aam*	'Aashaame and others'
ʔanneébo (M)	*ʔanneeb-aam*	'Anneebo and others'
ʔergoóge (F)	*ʔergoog-aam*	'Ergooge and others'

Uncountable nouns have only general form. Such nouns are neither inflected for plural nor for singular suffix. However, a large amount is expressed by using *ʔarąkʼa* 'much'.

(46) <u>General number</u>   uncountable nouns + *ʔarakʼa* 'much'

   barąda   *ʔarakʼ-į-barąda*   'much ice'

   búttʃa   *ʔarakʼ-į-búttʃa*   'much soil'

   hítʼe   *ʔarakʼ-į-hítʼe*   'much grass'

   wóʔo   *ʔarakʼ-į-wóʔo*   'much water'

In its quantifying and qualifying function, *hóffi* encodes a small amount of uncountable nouns as well as a small size of countable nouns.

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[7] This specific suppletion form seems to be Highland East Cushitic universal. See (Hudson 1976:251-252), (Anbessa 2000:40), (Treis, 2008:138) and (Schneider-Blum, 2007:69).

(47)   a.The modifier *hoffi* as a quantifier of a small amount with uncountable nouns

　　　hoffi sook'ído　　　　　　　　　　'a small amount of salt'

　　　hoffi buúro　　　　　　　　　　　'a small amount of butter'

　　　hoffi sóʔo　　　　　　　　　　　　'a small amount of barely'

　　　b. The modifier *hoffi* as a qualifier of small size with countable nouns

　　　hoffi beẹto　　　　　　　　　　　'the small boy'

　　　hoffi gereẹttʃo　　　　　　　　　'the small sheep'

　　　hoffi mine　　　　　　　　　　　'the small house'

The quantifier *goottoʔo* 'tiny' expresses extremely little amount/size of both countable and uncountable nouns.

(48)　*goottoʔi wóʔo*　　　　　　　'very little amount of water'

　　　goottoʔi waása　　　　　　　'very little/piece of of *waasa* (enset food)'

　　　goottoʔi wotára　　　　　　'very little newly born sheep/goat'

　　　goottoʔi ʔantabaakkíttʃo　　'very little hen'

Quantity of countable nouns can also be expressed by the use of attributive numerals or other quantifier expressions. The element *lobakáta* 'many' is used to express a large number of entities. The singular marker can optionally occur with such nouns.

(49)　General number　　　Countable nouns + *lobakata* 'many'

　　　dabájja　　　　　*lobakaṯi dabájja*　　　　'many rats'

　　　feelláʔa　　　　　*lobakaṯi feelláʔa*　　　'many goats'

　　　haálla　　　　　　*lobakaṯi haálla*　　　　'many donkeys'

　　　hákk'a　　　　　　*lobakaṯi hákk'a*　　　　'many trees'

　　　manna　　　　　　*lobakaṯi manna*　　　　'many people'

　　　woraáda　　　　　*lobakaṯi woraáda*　　　'many youngsters'

3.2.3. Definiteness

Definiteness refers to the grammatical category used to demonstrate whether a noun is known or unknown. According to Crystal (2003:133), "the term definiteness is used to refer to a specific, identifiable entity (or class of entities); it is usually contrasted with indefiniteness." Likewise,

Brinton (2000:110) denotes definiteness as "a referent (a thing in the real world denoted by a noun) which is known, familiar or identified to the speaker and hearer, while indefinite denotes a referent which is novel, unfamiliar or not known." The indefinite reference is not morphologically marked in Hadiyya. Definiteness is marked morphologically by *-oom*. The suffix *-oom* is not gender sensitive and can mark the definiteness of the referent of the NP as in the following examples.

(50)	Indefinite		Definite	
	beéto	'boy'	*beet-oom*	'boy-DEF'
	felláʔa	'goats'	*fellaʔ-oom*	'goats-DEF'
	hurbaáta	'crop'	*hurbaat-oom*	'crop-DEF'
	mántʃo	'man-sg'	*man-tʃ-oom*	'man-SG-DEF'
	mánna	'men'	*mann-oom*	'men-DEF'
	minnúwwa	'houses'	*minn-uww-oom*	'houses-PL-DEF'
	tikaájja	'flies'	*tikaajj-oom*	'flies-DEF'
	wóʔo	'water'	*woʔ-oom*	'water-DEF'

As can be observed, the definiteness suffix *-oom* is attached to the base and then conveys a meaning of definiteness.

The morpheme *-oom* is productive and can be used with all types of nouns. Since proper names and pronouns are always identifiable and specific, any overt definiteness marker does not occur with such nouns.

The definiteness marker is optional when the noun is modified by demonstratives. In some cases; however, it can co-occur with demonstratives.

Definiteness is also indicated via demonstratives. A demonstrative is a pronoun or adjective which points out which item is being referred to. Like other Cushitic languages, Hadiyya, make a three-way distinction between demonstratives. Typically, one set of demonstratives is proximal, indicating objects close to the speaker; and the other serieses are medial and distal, indicating objects far from the speaker. As we shall see later (in section 6.4.1.), the demonstratives are: *kúkị* 'this (3SG.M)', *túte* 'this (3SG.F), *ʔoókkị* 'that (3SG.M), *ʔoótte* 'that (3SG.F)', *kukeénị* 'these', *ʔookeénị* 'those'. Such demonstratives are used to show definiteness both in singular and plural nouns. Consider the following examples.

(51a) *ku=beét-į̂*   *min-iínse*   *fir-ú-kk-o*
this=boy-NOM   house-ABL   come.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The (this) boy came out from house.'

(b) *ʔoo=fellakk-íttʃ-į̂*   *hít'ę̌*   *ʔit-ú-kk-o*
that.NOM=goat-SG-NOM   grass.ABS   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The goat ate grass'

(c) *ʔoo=ʔoós-į̂*   *t'orbéʔę̌*   *lell-am-oó-lla*
those.NOM=child-NOM   ball.DAT   play-3PL-IPV-PRG
'The children are playing.'

Note that the final syllable of the demonstratives is dropped before a juxtaposed object. In other words, the demonstratives are reduced to their short forms in the process of juxtaposition.

The preceding examples in (51) show that the demonstratives are used to express definiteness. Moreover, genitive possessives can also be used to specify a noun in terms of its possessor as illustrated in (52).

(52a) *ʔi beéto*   (b) *kį̌ mine*   (c) *nį̌ diináte*   (d) *ʔissuwwį̌ ʔánna*

my boy   your house   our   cattle   their father
'my son'   'your house'   'our cattle'   'their father'

In (52) the genitive possessives specify the noun *beeto* 'boy', *mine* 'house', *diináte* 'cattle' and *ʔanna* 'father' in terms of their possessors. Possessive nouns can also be used to indicate definiteness as in the examples in (53).

(53)	Possessor noun	Possessed noun	Definite (specified) noun
(a)	*dilleébo*	*míne*	*dileem-míne*
	'Dileébo, (person's name)'	'house'	'dileebo's house'
(b)	*hakk'íttʃo*	*bújja*	*hakk'ittʃ-i-bujja*
	'tree'	'leaf'	leaf of the tree'
(c)	*lattʃaáme*	*beʃiíttʃo*	*lattʃaam-beʃittʃo*
	'Lachaame,(person's name)'	'friend'	'lachaame's friend'
(d)	*wiʃíttʃo*	*ʃeerímo*	*wiʃittʃ-i-ʃeerímo*
	'dog'	'tail'	'tail of the dog'

As can be observed, possessed nouns are juxtaposed to the left of the base to show definiteness. As mentioned above, there is no overt morphological formative for indefinite reference. However, the numeral *mat* 'one', is used with countable nouns to convey the notion of indefiniteness as in (54).

(54a) *gaási   doollé-nne mátị kabeé-ttʃ-i*
      previous.GEN era-TDC   one   leopard-SG-Nom
      'Once upon a time, a leopard…. *(see text 4:No.1, Tale, a farmer and a leopard)*

(b) *mátị beet-ị   waar-ú-kk-o*
    one   boy-NOM come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'A boy came.'

(c) *mátị hall-íttʃ-ị   leh-ú-kk-o*
    one   donkey-SG-NOM die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'A donkey died.'

3.2.4. Case

Case is one of the grammatical categories that may affect nouns or whole noun phrases. According to Anderson (1971:10-11), "Case is a grammatical relation contracted by nouns which express the nature of their participation in the process or state represented in a sentence (and/or by phrase) and which are represented superficially in various fashion, including inflectionally and by pre and post positions."

Based on the classification of Blake (1994:34), the case system in Hadiyya is divided into two hierarchical levels: 'core case' and 'peripheral' case, also referred as 'primary' and 'secondary' cases. The core cases express syntactic relations, while peripheral cases express semantic relations. The core case has three members: absolutive, nominative and genitive. The 'peripheral' cases include dative, ablative, locative, instrumental, and comitative. Segmentally, case is marked by suffixes and supra-segmentally by a high pitch accent. As we will see later on (see chapter four and six), the category case is not only encoded on nouns, but also on pronouns and attributes. We shall discuss the different case categories below.

3.2.4.1. The absolutive case

The absolutive case is the grammatically unmarked form of the noun. It is the form used in isolation, and usually serves as the citation form. Hence, the form on which the other cases are built by adding a suffix. In other words, unlike other many languages of the world which consider nominative as a base, the absolutive is the basic case in Hadiyya and also many other non Semitic languages of Ethiopia. Hence, instead of accusative the term absolutive is used in the present study.

The use of the term 'absolutive case' here is not used in the same sense as is used in ergative languages. In other words, it is used in the sense of absolute case, and should not be associated with ergativity of case marking whereby the Absolutive refers to the subject of an intransitive verb and

the direct object a transitive verb as opposed to Nominative that marks subject of a transitive verb (cf: Blake 1994).

The absolutive in Hadiyya is used as the citation form of the noun. As has been mentioned earlier, nouns (including proper names) in isolation end in *-a,-o* or *-e*. Nouns occurring in the absolutive case too, end in one of these vowels but never either in *i* or *u*. Below are sample lists of masculine and feminine nouns in absolutive case, i.e. in their citation forms.

(55)   Masculine nouns   Feminine nouns

baárą   *saájją*
ox.M.ABS   cow.F.ABS
'ox'   'cow'

beétǫ   *land-íttʃǫ*
boy.M.ABS   girl.F-SG.ABS
'a/the boy'   'a/the girl'

mán-tʃǫ   *meent-íttʃǫ*
man.M-SG.ABS   woman.F-SG.ABS
'a/the man'   'a/the woman'

ʔánnǫ   *ʔámą*
father.M.ABS   mother.F.ABS
'father'   'mother'

As shown in (55), the use of absolutive is encoding the direct object whose semantic role is prototypically that of a patient. In such a function, the terminal vowels are phonetically short and voiceless, (see also Sim 1989:110, Perrett 2000:48 and Stinson 1976:150).

(56a)   *gos-ú-kkį*   *mán-tʃ-į*   *land-íttʃǫ*   *gos-aá*   *ʔítt'i*
        abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM   girl-SG.ABS   abduct.3SG.M-CNV   3SG.M.GEN

        míne   mass-oó-jjo
        house   take.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

        'The abductor does not take the abducted girl right away to his house.' (Text 03: No.19)

(b)   *hadíjji   wíʔli*   *k'aank'á-nne bárę   wónį beét-į*
       Hadiyya.GEN   mourning.GEN   culture-LOC   grave.ABS   elder   boy-NOM

       k'as-oó-kk-o
       dig.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

       'According to Hadiyya's traditional mourning ceremony the one who start digging a grave
       should be the first born of the deceased.' (Text 01: No.33)

(c) *ku=dʒor-ám-tʃ-ị̂*   *lobakáti̧ mánnạ̈*   *hawwod-oó-kk-o*

    this=be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-NOM many   people.ABS   hurt.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

    'This conflict hurts a lot of people.' (Terxt 02: 20)

As can be seen, absolutive case is assigned to an object of a transitive verb. The object noun phrases in the above sentences are *mánna* 'men', *landíttʃọ̈* 'girl', *bárẹ̈* 'grave', are assigned the absolutive case through the transitive verbs *hawwod-* 'hurt', *mass-* 'take', *k'as-* 'dig' at the syntactic level correspondingly.

It is observed that the absolutive can also be assigned to two or more times in a sentence as in (57), where it is marked both on the modifier and the head noun.

(57) *ʔítt'i̧*   *wiʃ-íttʃọ̈*   *holl-ú-kki̧*   *beétọ̈*   *sog-ú-kk-o*

    3SG.M.NOM dog-SG.ABS chase.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL boy.ABS advise.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

    'He advised the boy who chased the dog.'

The deletion of the terminal vowel, *o*, of the modifier *hollúkki̧* occurs as a result of juxtaposition of two nouns. The linker, *-i*, is also inserted during the modifier-modified construction.

When two or more conjoined object nouns occur in a sentence absolutive case is assigned to all of the nouns as in (58).

(58) *faraʃʃo-ó*   *baara-á*   *daagee-ttʃo-ó*   *k'ama-ttʃo-ó*   *ʔoogat-ína*

    horse.ABS-CNJ ox.ABS-CNJ baboon-SG.ABS-CNJ monkey-SG.ABS-CNJ   judge-DAT

    dooʔl-am-aá   *ʔoogátt'i*   *mínẹ̈*   *ʔaag-am-ú-kk-o*

    choose-3PL-CNV judgment.GEN house.ABS enter-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

    'They assigned horse, ox, baboon and ape for this judgment and they entered to the court room.'
    (Text 04, No.08)

3.2.4.2. The nominative case

The nominative is used to encode the subject of both transitive and intransitive sentences. The nominative of masculine nouns ends in an extremely short and devoiced -i. The nominative suffix, -i, is productive and can be used with the majority of nouns.

(59a) *gáww-i̧* *gaássi*   *lállọ̈*   *lall-oó-kk-o*

      deaf-NOM   former.GEN play.ABS play.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

      'A deaf man always talks about stuffs that he knows before he became deaf.' (Proverb, No. 028)

(b) *kaʃári gereé-ttʃ-į̀   kutúrạ   guull-ú-kk-o*
 red   sheep-SG-NOM   grass.ABS   finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM.TV
'A red sheep consumed all the grass.'
Ans: *giíra* = 'fire'   (Riddle No.)

(c) *ku=but'-íttʃ-į̀   ʔítt'i   meent-íttʃọ̀   suunk'-eéna*
 this.NOM-M=be poorEP-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   woman-SG.ABS   kiss.3SG.M-PURP
keteeta-nne   t'op'-aá   mar-ú-kk-o
traditional oven-LOC   jump.3SG.M-CNV   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM.TV
'This poor [man] ran to his wife who sat alongside the traditional oven to give her a kiss. (Text 05: No.07)

(d) *ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-į̀ ka=kabeé-ttʃọ̀   tʃ'áʔni woró-nne maat'-ú-kk-o*
this=plough-AGN-SG-NOM   this=leopard-SG.ABS   sack.GEN in-LOC   hide.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The farmer hid the leopard in the sack.   (Text 04: No.03)

(e) *k'ook'-ú-kkį̀   ʔíll-į̀   barbaróʔọ̀   badd-oó-jjo*
be.blind.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL eye-NOM   chili.powder.ABS   afraid.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'A blind eye is not afraid of a chili powder.' (Proverb, No. 063)

(f) *land-íttʃo   ʔamá-na   t'uú-ttʃạ   kur-t-ó-ʔ-o*
girl-SG.NOM   mother-DAT   labor._{ANM4}.ABS   tell-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'The daughter told her mother about labor.' (Proverb , No. 066) 'The daughter teaches her mother how to labor.'

(g) *mantʃ-į̀   kaʃári gereé-ttʃọ̀   dur-ú-kk-o*
 man.SG-NOM   red   sheep-SG.ABS   slaughtwer.3SG.M-PV-ASM.TV
'A/the man slaughtered a red sheep.'

(h) *lánd-į̀   waar-am-ú-kk-jjo*
girl.F-NOM   come-3PL-PV-ASM-NEG
'The girls didn't come'

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(60) *ʔoo=meent-íttʃo   bunạ   kaass-o-ʔ-o*
that=woman.F-SG.NOM   coffee.ABS   make.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'a/the woman made coffee'

The suffixation for the nominative case in masculine nouns (59) involves the replacement of the final vowel of the absolutive (citation) form of a noun by the suffix -i.

As shown in (59a-h), masculine nouns, including the feminine plural ones (59h), can be marked with the nominative case suffix, -*i*, which substitutes the final vowel of a noun stem, which is *a*, *e*, or *o*. Feminine singular nouns (60), keep their absolutive final vowel in nominative (cf. Sim 1989:111, and Perrett 2000:48). Hence, as illustrated in (59c), feminine objects are distinguished from subjects (60) by their short and devoiced final vowels.

Disyllabic proper nouns (both masculine and feminine) duplicate their final vowel and insert the glottal stop to avoid vowel cluster in absolutive (see *verb*, section 5.2.2. on *aspect marking*). The duplicated vowel of the masculine proper nouns is replaced by nominative case suffix,-*i*. The following are illustrative examples:

Table 13: *ABS-NOM case distinction in disyllabic and trisyllabic proper nouns*

Citation form	Absolutive	Nominative	
deéro	*deeróʔǫ*	*deeróʔo*	
deétto	*deettóʔǫ*	*deettóʔo*	
fiíto	*fiitóʔǫ*	*fiitóʔo*	
láfo	*lafóʔǫ*	*lafóʔo*	
láta	*latáʔą*	*latáʔa*	
línto	*lintóʔǫ*	*lintóʔo*	Disyllabic **feminine**
lómbo	*lombóʔǫ*	*lombóʔo*	proper nouns
maásso	*maassóʔǫ*	*maassóʔo*	
tʃaájjo	*tʃaajjóʔǫ*	*tʃaajjóʔo*	
lobe	*lobéʔę*	*lobéʔ-i*	
soóde	*soódę*	*soodéʔ-į*	Disyllabic **masuline**
weét'o	*weet'óʔǫ*	*weet'óʔ-į*	proper nouns
ʔégo	*ʔegóʔǫ*	*ʔegóʔ-į*	
buubaáme	*buubaámę*	*buubaáme*	
gaalʃáwwa	*gaalʃáwwą*	*gaalʃaáwwa*	
lattʃaáme	*lattʃaámę*	*lattʃaáme*	Trisyllabic **feminine** proper nouns
tʃ'uufaáme	*tʃ'uufaámę*	*tʃ'uufaáme*	
ʔartʃ'iík'e	*ʔartʃ'iík'ę*	*ʔartʃ'iík'e*	
bonkóla	*bonkólą*	*bonkól-į*	
laraámo	*laraámǫ*	*laraám-į*	Trisyllabic **masculine** proper nouns
tiirkaáso	*tiirkaásǫ*	*tiirkaás-į*	
ʔabboóse	*ʔabboósę*	*ʔabboós-į*	

3.2.4.3. The genitive case

The genitive/possessive relation between nouns can be indicated through juxtaposition of nouns. i.e., the possessor occurs preceding the possessed noun. Such strategy is used for both masculine and feminine nouns. The deletion of the terminal vowel of the possesser noun occurs as a result of

juxtaposition of two nouns (this fact is also mentioned by Perrett (2000:48)). The linker vowel, */i/* is also inserted during the juxtaposition of modifier-modified nouns as shown in the examples of Table 14.

Table 14: *Genitive structure*

Possessor	Possessed	Genitive Structure	
bak'úttʃo (M)	*lókko*	*bak'uttʃ-i-lókko*	'leg of a mule'
tʃi'íʔa (M)	*dóʔna*	*tʃi'iʔdóʔna*	'net of birds'
lánda (F)	*horoóre*	*land-i-horoóre*	'girls' hair'
hakk'íttʃo (M)	*t'áp'o*	*hakk'ittʃ-i-t'áp'o*	'root of the tree'
lattʃaáme (F)	*k'armántʃo*	*lattʃaam-i-k'armántʃo*	'Lachaame's relative'
makkángo (M)	*beʃíttʃo*	*makkang-i-beʃíttʃo*	'Makkango's friend'
meénto (F)	*horoóre*	*meent-i-horoóre*	'hair of women'
wóʔo (M)	*gábo*	*woʔ-i-gábo*	'river bank' (Lit:'edge of water')
ʔantabaáʔa (M)	*ládo*	*ʔantabaʔ-i-ládo*	'hen's feather'
ʔuúlla (M)	*gassaántʃo*	*ʔuull-i-gassaántʃo*	'nation's administrator'

As can be observed, in the process of such juxtaposition the possessor and possessed form a strongly connected noun phrase. However such connection is not regarded as a copmpound word since a pronominal clitic or a modifier (61) can intervene between the possesser and the possessed nouns.

(61) *makkeebi míne* 'makeebo's house' ⟶ '*makkeebi haraarmíne* 'makkeebo's big house'

The grammatical relation of such genitive noun phrses covers a wide range of relationships such as the possseor-possessed (Table 15, a), part-whole relationship (b), the kinship (c), and source (d).

Table 15: *Genitive NPs relationship*

(a)	*mántʃo*	*mine*	*mantʃ-i-míne*	'house of the/a man'
(b)	*hakk'ítʃʃo*	*ʃóga*	*hakk'itʃʃ-i-ʃóga*	'branch of the tree'
(c)	*makkeébo*	*ʔabbaájjo*	*makkeeb-i-ʔabbaájjo*	'Makkeebo's brother'
(d)	*sóʔo*	*moókk'a*	*soʔ-i-moókk'a*	'porridge of barely'

As already mentioned in the section on morphophonemic processes, and illustrated below in (62a-c), a sonorant final consonant of the possesser noun is always glotallized (-ʔ is permuted with stem final sonorants), when the two nouns are juxtaposed.

(62a)	*k'adafára* 'kidney	*dʒábbo* 'disease'	*k'adafaʔl-i-dʒábbo* 'disease of the kidney'
(b)	*leémo* 'place 'name'	*mántʃo* 'man'	*leeʔm-i-mántʃo* 'a man from Leemo'
(c)	*míne* 'house'	*ʃootóʔo* 'basement'	*miʔn-i-ʃootóʔo* 'basement of the house'

It is also possible to use the genitive marker more than once in the same extended noun phrase construction as in example (63) and (64).

(63) *dileeb-i-ʔabbaajj-i-beʃ-íttʃo*

dileeb.GEN-brother.GEN-friend-SG.COP

'Dilebo's brother's friend.'

(64) *ka=ʔuull-i-mann-i-hee-ttʃ-i-k'aánk'a̧*

this=country.GEN-man.GEN-live-ANM$_4$.GEN-culture.ABS

'The life style of this country's inhabitants'

3.2.4.4. The dative case

The dative case is encoded by suffixing the morpheme *-ina* and its allomorph *-na* (see also Sim 1989:112 and Perrett 2000:49). Like the nominative case suffix, the dative case suffix, also replaces the final vowel of the basic stem of a masculine noun. In the process of suffixation, feminine singular nouns retain their absolutive final vowel.

Compare masculine and feminine nouns of dative and absolutive cases in (65).

(65)	ABS	DAT	
	bak'úttʃo	*bak'uttʃ-ína*	'to/for a/the mule (M)'
	beʃíttʃo	*beʃittʃ-ína*	'to/for a/the friend (M)'
	húkk'a	*hukk'-ína*	'to/for a/the tree (M)'
	landíttʃo	*landittʃó-na*	'to/for a/the girl (F)'
	lattʃaámo	*lattʃaam-ína*	'to/for Lachaamo (M)'
	lattʃaáme	*lattʃaame-na*	'to/for Lachame (F)'
	manna	*mann-ína*	'to/for the men (M)'
	meénto	*meent-ína*	'to/for the women (F)'
	ʔaájja	*ʔaajjá-na*	'to/for a/the sister (F)'
	ʔabbaájjo	*ʔabbaajj-ína*	'to/for a/the brother(M)'
	ʔáma	*ʔamá-na*	'to/for a/the mother (F)'
	ʔánna	*ʔann-ína*	'to/for a/the father (M)'

ʔamaájja	ʔamaajjá-na	'to/for an/the aunt (F)'
ʔannabaájjo	ʔannabaajj-ína	'to/for an/the uncle (M)'

The dative morpheme *-ina* is used to mark typically the semantic roles recipient of an action (66a), beneficiary (b) and possessive relationship (c) in the following examples.

(66a) *hadíjji   k'aanká-nne mán-tʃ-į   land-íttʃó-na   k'ooótą*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   man-SG-NOM   girl-SG.TV-DAT dowery.ABS
ʔuww-oó-kk-o
give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'According to Hadiyya culture a man has to give a dowery to a/the girl'

(b) *meent-íttʃo   suút'ǫ*
woman-SG.NOM traditional.medicine.that.cures from tape.warm.ABS
ʔag-ụ-kkį   mantʃ-ína   ʔaaloóʔį hurbaátą gudiss-ó-ʔ-o
drink.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-DAT   good   food.ABS   prepare.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'A /the woman will cook a delicious food for her husband who took traditional medicine to get a cure from the parasite, (tape worm). (Text 05: No.02)

(c) *lobakátį ʔamatt'-áam-ína kób-į   dúta*
too.much   be rich-ADJZ-DAT   friend-NOM   many.COP
'A wealthy [person] has got lots of friends.' (Proverb, No. 075)

3.2.4.5. Ablative case

The ablative case shows the source or the beginning point of an act or occurrence. In Hadiyya, the suffix *-iinse* marks the ablative case. Such ablative formative is formed on the basis of the absolutive stem of a nominal as illustred in (67).

(67)

ABS	ABL	
beeróʔo	beeroʔ-iínse	'from the town'
biíra	biir-iínse	'from outside'
doóma	doom-iínse	'from the forest'
duúna	duun-iínse	'from the mountain'
hakk'íttʃo	hakk'ittʃ-iínse	'from the tree'
meéra	meer-iínse	'from the market'
mine	min-iínse	'from the house'
wóro	wor-iínse	'from inside'

The ablative case has a number of functions. As shown in (67), the common use of the ablative case is to express the starting point of motion. See also sentential examples in (68).

(68a) *Ɂanį   min-iínse   fir- ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM   house-ABL   go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'I came out from the house.'

(b) *miʃ-íttʃ-į̥   hakk'-íttʃ-iínse Ɂub-ú-kk-o*
    fruit-SG-NOM tree-SG-ABL   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'The fruit has fallen from the tree.'

(c) *Ɂítt'į̥   waattʃam-iínse kabálla   waar-ú-kk-o*
    3SG.M.Nom waacham-ABL   today   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'He came from Waachamo today.'

The Ablative suffix is also used to encode what is to be avoided. In such structures, this suffix often occurs with verbs that express protection or prevention, and marks a noun that refers to an entity from which someone or something is protected or an action from the performance of which someone is prevented. Consider the following example:

(69) *Ɂánį   waattʃámo mar-imm-iínse gat-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
    1SG.NOM   waachamo   go-VN-ABL   remain.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
    'I do not remain from going to Waachamo.'

The ablative noun is also employed in comparative expressions. Since, there is no grammatical means to express comparative and superlative constructions, the ablative morpheme is employed for both divices as the following structures illustrate.

(70a) *gimbíttʃ-į̥   waattʃam-iínse   Ɂiibb-aálla*
    gimbich-NOM   waacham-COMP   be.hot-ADJZ.COP
    'Gimbicho is hotter than Waachamo.'

(b) *ku=mán-tʃ-į̥   ka=mantʃ-iínse   k'eeraáɁla*
    this=man-SG-NOM this=man.Sg-COMP   tall.COP
    'This man is taller than that man.'

(c) *ku=moóll-į̥   Ɂee=mooll-iínse   dúta*
    this=people-NOM   that=people-COMP   many.COP
    'The number of this people is more than that people.'

3.2.4.6. Locative

The locative mainly expresses spatial locations and other semantically related relations. The range of the locative meaning expressed by the locative case suffix includes positions that could be translated as 'in', 'on', 'from', 'onto', etc.

The locative case marker *-nne* is suffixed to nouns (see also Perrett 2000:49). Furthermore it is used to mark semantically related cases, namely comitative and instrumental (cf. sections 3.2.4.7 and 3.2.4.8.).

Like in other peripheral cases, the absolutive is used as a base for marking the Locative. The following are the major functions of locative case marker:

The locative case is mainly used to indicate a spatial location (destination). The suffix *-nne* indicates location of an entity, which is in a relatively fixed or static position with respect to a reference object used to establish the position of the located entity. Below are examples of locative nouns marked by the locative case suffix:

(71a) *beét-į   ʔaraʔá-nne ʔiinseʔ-ú-kk-o*
       boy.NOM   bed-LOC   sleep.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'The boy slept on the bed.'

   (b) *dak'ajjé-nne lobakátį ʔoós-į   lall-am-oó-lla*
       field-LOC   many   child-NOM   play-3PL-IPV-PRG
       'Many children are playing in the field.'

   (c) *ʔaráki ʔoós-į   biirá-nne lall-am-oó-lla*
       many   child-NOM field-LOC   play-3PL-IPV-PRG
       'Many boys are playing in the field.'

   (d) *ʔítt'į   duuná-nne   hákk'ą   kaas-ú-kk-o*
       3SG.M.NOM mountain-LOC   tree.ABS   plant.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'He planted a tree/trees on the mountain.'

   (e) *ʔissúwwį   kaameʔé-nne ʔafuur-am-ú-kk-o*
       3PL.NOM   car-LOC   sit-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
       'They sat in the car.'

As can be observed a static relationship between an entity and the place it is located is indicated by *-nne*. Though the morpheme *-nne* shows the fixed position, it fails to indicate the exact location of a person or an object denoted by a noun. The locative nouns in (71a-e), indicate the place, but give no exact information. Thus, adverbial expressions such as *woro* 'inside', *hane* 'on', *ʔilláge* 'in front', *laságe* 'behind', *kóllo* 'side', *gadáno* 'near', *lugúmo* 'under' are used to specify the exact location of a noun. Hence, the precise location of a noun in (71e) for instance, can be specified as in (72) below.

(72) *ʔissúwwį   kaaméʔi woró-nne ʔafuur-am-ú-kk-o*
      3PL.NOM   car.GEN   in-LOC   sit-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
      'They are in the car.'

Consider the occurrence of the Locative case suffix on the following riddles.

(73a) *baálli woró-nne duf-ú-kkį̧ kaʃárį̧ hamaʃʃ-íttʃo*
cliff.GEN in-LOC lie-3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL red snake-SG.TV
'A red snake sleeping under a cliff.' (Riddle, No. 002)
Ans: *ʔallábo* = 'tongue'

(b) *duúʔni gabó-nne lámi goótʃ'i míne*
mountain.GEN corner-LOC two door house
'A house at the corner of the mountain which has two doors.' (Riddle, No. 003)
Ans: *sáne* = 'nose'

(c) *dʒóri ʔáma ʔoósi hané-nne ʃumeʔl-(á)m-o*
bad mother.NOM child.GEN on-LOC pee.3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
'A cruel mother pees on her children.' (Riddle, No. 009)
Ans: *dʒabanaá siinéʔe* = 'coffee pot and cup'

(d) *k'adaáli mán-tʃ-į̧ mur-ú-kk-o kaʃári mán-tʃ-į̧*
white man-SG-NOM cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV red man SG-NOM
gugguur-ú-kk-o tʃ'aná-nne naar-am-ú-kk-o
transport.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV leather.pouch -LOC store.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'A white guy cuts, the red guy transports, stored in the leather pouch.' (Riddle, No. 014)
Ans: *ʔink'eé ʔallaboó godábo* = 'teeth tongue and stomach'

(e) *ʔabbaáʔi biirá-nne ʔarás-į̧ binn-aá-kk-o*
father.GEN field-LOC wheat-NOM scatter.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
'A wheat scattered over my dad's farmland.' (Riddle, No. 030)
Ans: *boollaánka* = 'stars'

Apart from the locative sense, the use of suffix *-nne* is extended to express other semantically related concepts such as temporal and cause as illustrated in the following structures. Here, when the locative is chosen to indicate a point or duration of time, it expresses both temporal aspects: exact (fixed) point of time as shown in (75a) and approximate time, as in (74, 75b and c).

(74) *bálli̧ballá-nne ʔullá-nne hiímihiímo k'ot'á-nne*
day.day-TDC country-LOC night.night roost-LOC

'During day time he dwells on the ground, during night time, he dwells on roost.'(Riddle, No. 001)
Ans: *ʔantabaakíttʃo* = 'hen'

(75a) *maaddeéb-į̧ sási saatá-nne ʔaf-oó-kk-o*
maaddeeb-NOM three o'clock-TDC arrive.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Maaddeebo will arrive at 9 o'clock.'

(b) *maaroʔó-nne waár-e*
night-TDC come-IMP.SG
'Come at night.'

(c) *ʔánį   dará-nne   waar-oó-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   morning-TDC   come.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV

'I will come in the mornig.'

3.2.4.7. Comitative

The comitative case, which expresses the notion of 'accompanied by' or "together with", is expressed by the morpheme *-nne* as in (76).

(76a) *ku=ʔaraat-íttʃ-i-m-į*   *but'-oóm-į*   *birbinn-is-ú*
this=traveller-SG-too-NOM   be.poor-ANM1-NOM   tire.of.3SG.M-CAUS-PV

bikk-ína   ʔi   waaʔ-í-nne   ʔedam-eéna   mar-oo-mm-úlla
about-DAT   1SG.GEN God-EP-INST   meet.1SG-PURP   go.M.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG

j-aá   kur-ú-kk-o
say.3SG.M-CNV   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'This traveller said, 'I am going to meet (my) God because he made me poor.' (Text 05: No. 11)

(b) *mann-í-nne   maqíre   ʔit-ú-kk-uúlla   nátʃ'a*
man-EP-INST   with   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   thin

'The one who grows thin, although he is eating equally with others.' (Riddle, No. 017)
Ans: *k'áʃʃo* = 'spoon'

(c) *ʔánn-į   beet-í-nne   meérą   mar-ú-kk-o*
father-NOM   boy-EP-INST   market.ABS   PV-ASM-TV

'The father went to market with his son.'

3.2.4.8. Instrumental

The instrumental case can also be interchangeably indicated by the suffix *-nne,* an element, which functions as a Comitative case marker (see also Perrett 2000:43). Consider the following examples:

(77a) *hadíjji   wíʔli   k'aank'á-nne bárę   k'as-oó-kk-o*
Hadiyya.GEN   mourning.GEN   culture-LOC   grave.ABS   dig.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

wónį beéto   wónį   beét-į   beeʔ-u-kk-aá-re   ka=beet-iínse
elder   boy.COP   elder   boy-NOM   be.absent.3SG.M-PV-CNV-CND   this-boy-ABL

ʔawwan-aán-tʃ-į   heed-í-nne   bárę   k'as-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
follow-AGN-SG-NOM   axe-EP-INST   grave.ABS   dig.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'According to Hadiyya's traditional mourning ceremony the one who starts digging a grave should be the first born of the deceased. If the first born is not around, the second born can commence digging the ground with an axe.' (Text 05: No. 33)

(b) *ku=mán-tʃ-į   ʔítt'i   beet-í-nne   ʔarásą   dʒaddʒar-í-nne*
this=man-SG-NOM   1SG.GEN   boy-EP-INST   wheat.ABS   sickle-EP-INST

mur-ú-kk-o
cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The man cut wheat together with his son [both] using a sickle.'

(c) ʔítt’į̇ k’aʃʃ-í-nne moókk’ą̇ ʔit-ú-kk-o
    3SG.M.NOM spoon-EP-INST porridge.ABS eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

    'He ate porridge with a spoon.'

Note that the use of locative marker (3.2.4.6) is extended to express an instrumental and comitative case as clearly shown in (3.2.4.7. and 3.2.4.8.). One would argue that locative, comitative and instrumental cases are expressed by the same form which occurs as a suffix in all the three cases. Thus, the situation shown in the above examples may suggest presence of case syncretism among such cases in Hadiyya.

According to Sim (1989:112), "the Comitative/Instrumental and the Locative overlap, are formally similar, and hence potentially confusable, but they are not identical." He (1989:113), claims, "the difference between Locative and comitative/instrumental is the purely prosodic one of stress." According to his analysis, high pitch, which he labels 'dominant stress', occurs on the stem final vowel distinguishes a locative from a comitative/instrumental case ending. I do not agree with the argumentation given by Sim (1989: 112-113) that pitch accent alone marks the distinction between Comitative/Instrumental and the Locative. In the present study, however, the use of *-nne* as Comitative/Instrumental or the Locative, is distinguished only by the gloss rather than high pitch.

There is also semantic similarity between the two usages and it is a common typological fact to have the same element functioning as instrumental and comitative case marker. To identify the instrumental and the comitative *-nne* we distinguish them in the gloss. In example (77b) above *-nne* in *beet-i-nne* 'with a boy' is the comitative; while *-nne* in *dʒaddʒar-i-nne* 'with a sickle' is the instrumental. English for instance, uses the preposition 'with' for both expressions. The syncretism between the instrumental and the comitative cases seems to be a common phenomenon to most Ethiopian languages.[8]

The following table represents summary of case marking morphemes.

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[8] As stated in Sim (1989:112), "in Hadiyya the comitative/instrumental and the locative overlap, are formally similar, and hence potentially confusable, but they are not identical." In Haro, an Omotic language, the same situation is attested (Hirut 2003). In Dime, "a formally similar instrumental case marker *-ka* is attested with exactly the same distribution for Instrumental, Comitative and Coordinative" (Mulugeta 2008:51). In Maale, "suffix *-na*, serves to mark both instrumental as well as comitative cases" (Azeb 2001). Treis, (2008:122) points out that "the two cases have totally syncritisized." Schneider-Blum, (2007:102) says "in Alaaba nouns share the same form for both cases including locative." The syncretism between the instrumental and the comitative cases also reported for other Cushitic language, Ts'amakko, (cf. Savá, 1994:164).

Table 16: Summary of case marking morphemes:

Case type	Case marker	Examples
Absolutive	devoiced terminal vowels (a, o or e).	*got-íttʃ-į̊ hall-íttʃǫ ʔit-ú-kk-o* hyena-SG-NOM donkey-SG.ABS eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV 'A heyna ate a donkey.'
Nominative	devoiced TVs for SG.F nouns & the suffix -į̊ else where	*ku=mánn-į̊ hark'oot-aáno* this=man-NOM plough-AGN.COP 'These men are farmers.' *ku=land-íttʃo búnǫ biteess-ó-ʔ-o* this=girl-SG.NOM coffee.ABS buy.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV 'The girl bought coffee.'
Genitive	juxtaposition of nouns	*ʔann-į̊ ʔítt'i beéti lókkǫ ʔaanʃ-ú-kk-o* father-NOM 3SG.M.GEN boy.GEN leg.ABS wash.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV 'A father washed his son's legs.'
Dative	*-ina*	*mán-tʃ-į̊ ʔítt'i tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína heéssǫ* man-SG-NOM 3SG.M.GEN chlild-SG-DAT tale.ABS *kur-ú-kk-o* tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV 'An old man told his child a tale.'
Ablative	*-iinse*	*ʔítt'uwwį̊ waagabat-iínse waar-am-ú-kk-o* 3PL.NOM waagabat-ABL come-PL-PV-ASM-TV 'They came from Waagabata.'
Locative	*-nne*	*ʔi beeʃ-íttʃ-į̊ dak'ajjé-nne lall-oó-lla* 1SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM field-LOC play.3SG.M-IPV-PRG 'My friend is playing in the field.'
Comitative	*-nne*	*ʔann-į̊ ʔítt'i ʔoos-í-nne hóttʃa mar-ú-kk-o* father-NOM 3SG.M.GEN child-EP-COM hunting go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV 'A father went to hunting with his sons.'
Instrumental	*-nne*	*ʔítt'i heed-í-nne hakk'-íttʃǫ mur-ú-kk-o* 3SG.M.NOM axe-EP-INST tree-SG.ABS cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV 'He cut a tree with axe.'

3.3. Nominal derivation and compounding

Derivation is the morphological process by which new words are formed from other words or roots. As Lyons (1977:522) states "derivation is the morphological process that results in the formation of new lexemes. New words or lexemes can be derived by the attachment of different derivational affixes to different bases, roots or words." In the same manner, Beard (2001:64) defines derivation

as "the process of creating new lexemes from other lexemes through affixation, reduplication, compounding, etc."

Apart from underived nominals; Hadiyya has also a set of derived nominals. Derived nominals are formed by derivation and compounding. Each of these strategies is discussed in the following paragraphs.

3.3.1. Nominal derivation

Affixation is the main strategy of forming nominals. In other words, nouns are formed from roots mainly by the use of suffixes. Below are some examples of abstract nouns derived from verbal/adjectival bases via suffixation of *-ooma,-at, -an, -imm, -o, -a, -ttʃ and -eena.*

(80)	Lexical base	Derived nominals	
	bat'-	*bát'-o*	'job'
	geeddʒ-	*geeddʒ-oóma*	'bigness'
	huuʃ-	*huuʃ-án-tʃ*	'mistake'
	mar-	*mar-eéna*	'to go'
	k'ananaaʔ-	*k'ananaaʔ-imm*	'reading'
	k'aww-	*k'aww-oóma*	'foolishness'
	k'otar-	*k'ot'all-án*	'bravery'
	laʔ-	*laʔ-íttʃ*	'knowledge'
	wotʃ-	*wótʃ-a*	'conflict'
	ʔuʃeet'-	*ʔuʃeet'-at*	'rest'

Hadiyya has a number of Verb-Noun-Adjective pairs that share the same bases. Thus, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether suffixes like *-ooma* derives nouns from verbs or from adjectives. Such bound roots have characteristics of verbs, nouns and adjectives, and it is difficult to classify them into one of these categories. In (80) for instance, it is not clear whether *-ooma* is attached to a verb root or the final consonant of a related adjective. Thus, it is difficult to mention whether this suffix derives nouns from verbs or from adjectives. Hence, in (80) *k'aww-*, is the common root of a noun, verb and adjective: i.e., *k'aww- k'aww-óo*m 'foolishness', *k'aww-*a 'foolish', *k'aww-ukko* 'became foolish (3SG.M). Though, a large number of nouns and adjectives share the same root with verbs, the morphemes that are used to form verbs are more productive than nominalizers. In other words, verbs share common roots with a limited number of nouns and few adjectives.

The formatives can be classified into types on the basis of their semantic characteristics following Comrie and Thompson (1985:349) that says, "[t]he resulting nouns may be the name of the activity

or state designated by the verb or adjective, or may represent one of their arguments." Such semantic characteristics will be used in the present study to classify derived nominals into abstract, action, result, agentive and instrumental.

Thus, this sub section deals with different kinds of derived nominals found in Hadiyya. These are: abstract, agentive, resultative, instrumental and nominals formed from extended verb stems. Then, we deal with nouns, which are based on extended verb stems such as passive, causative, reciprocal and reflexive.

3.3.1.1. Abstract nominals

The following are examples of abstract nominals derived from verbal and nominal roots.

(81)	Lexical base		Abstract nominals	
(a)	*geeddʒ-*	'be big'	*geeddʒ-oóma*	'bigness'
	dʒor-	'terrify'	*dʒor-oóma*	'badness'
	k'oor-	'be clever'	*koor-oóma*	'cleverness'
(b)	*k'otar-*	'be strong'	*k'ot'all-án*	'bravery'
	ʔagid-	'be inferior'	*ʔagiddo-án*	'slavery'
	ʔidaajj-	'be a bride'	*ʔidaajj-án*	'honeymoon'
(d)	*gameʔl-*	'insult' (v)	*gameʔl-át*	'insult' (n)
	haraʔm -	Assist	*haraʔm-át*	'asisstance'
	ʔamaʔn-	Believe	*ʔamaʔn-át*	'belief'
(e)	*bir-*	'glorify'	*bir-án-tʃ*	'glory'
	dʒor-	'dislike'	*dʒor-án-tʃ*	'hate/be in conflict'
	ʔiitt-	'like'	*ʔiitt-án-tʃ*	'love'
(f)	*bat'-*	'work'	*bát'-o*	'work'
	leh-	'die'	*léh-o*	'death'
	sibaar-	'be hungry'	*sibaár-o*	'hunger
(g)	*kaaʔ-*	'win'	*kaá-ttʃ*	'victory'
	kittʃeʔ-	'be unhappy'	*kittʃé-ttʃ*	'sadnees'
	laʔ-	'know'	*lá-ttʃ*	'knowledge'
(h)	*badd-*	'fright'	*badd -ímm*	'fear'
	hoog-	'be weak'	*hoog-ímm*	'weakness'
	k'ott'-	'be strong'	*k'ott' -ímm*	'being strong'
(82)	Nominal roots		Abstract nominals	
	beʃa	'friend'	*beʃ-oóm*	'friendship'

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ʔabbaajjo	'brother'	*ʔabbaajj-oóm*	'brotherhood'
ʔollaʔa	'neighbour'	*ʔollaʔ-oóm*	'neighbourhood'

As can be seen in (81) abstract nominals derived from verbal and adjectival roots with the suffixes -*oom, -an, -at, - antʃ, -ttʃ, -imm* and the terminal vowel -*o*. Such suffixes are used to express the state, amount, period of time, act of doing indicated by the root. They also indicate the quality or property and the mode of dealing with the situation designated by the root.

As illustrated in (82), there are also abstract nominals derived by suffixing -*ooma* to nouns. When the suffix -*ooma* is attached to nominal roots, it expresses the idea shared by a union of the thing referred to by the root. This sense appears when the nominal roots are common nouns. As shown in (82), *ʔollaʔ-oóma* 'neighbourhood', *ʔabbaajj-oóma* 'brotherhood', *beʃ-oóma* 'friendship' and so on are union that comprise men who are united for a common intention. Here, the suffix -*ooma* changes -Abstract nominals into +abstract nouns. Thus the input is [-abstract] noun and the output is noun which is abstract.

Among the nominalizers shown in (81-82), -*imm* is the most productive, while -*at* and -*ttʃ* are the least frequent morphemes. The recurrent use of the suffix -*imm* signifies the state of some event/action in a process. It expresses the sense 'the act of doing the process referred to in the root.' The meaning of such morpheme is equivalent to the meaning of the English gerundive form 'going'. In Hadiyya the same form, -*imm*, expresses process or action of verbs from which they are derived as in the following examples.

(83) Verbal roots   Verbal nouns

bat'-	'work'	*bat'-ímm*	'working
bitees-	'sell'	*bitees-ímm*	'selling'
daddar-	'trade'	*daddar-ímm*	'trading
doojj-	'migrate'	*doojj-ímm*	'migrating'
fir-	'get out'	*fir-ímm*	'getting out'
gafeʔ-	'push'	*gafeʔ-ímm*	'pushing'
geer-	'run'	*geer-ímm*	'running'
kad-	'dance'	*kad-ímm*	'dancing'
maasseʔ-	'bless'	*maasseʔ-ímm*	'blessing'
mooʔ-	'see'	*mooʔ-ímm*	'seeing'
tuh-	'spit'	*tuh-ímm*	'spitting'
waar-	'come'	*waar-ímm*	'coming'
wiʔl-	'cry'	*wiʔl-ímm*	'crying'
wotʃ'-	'speak'	*wotʃ'-ímm*	'speaking'
ʔit-	'eat'	*ʔit-ímm*	'eating'
mur-	'cut'	*mur-ímm*	'cutting'
ʔaag-	'enter'	*ʔaag-ímm*	'entering'

Ɂag-	'drink'	*Ɂag-ímm*	'drinking'
Ɂamad-	'catch'	*Ɂamad-ímm*	'catching'
ɁasseɁ-	'send'	*ɁasseɁ-ímm*	'sending'
Ɂapp'-	'burn'	*Ɂapp'-ímm*	'burning'
Ɂosar-	'laugh'	*Ɂosar-ímm*	'laughing'

In (81f and g) the suffixation of *-o, and -ttʃ* forms result nominals. Such derived nominals depict result of the process of an event described by the root. Below are some more examples of result nouns.

(84) Lexical base   Result nominals

(a)	*firafiit-*	'evaporate'	*firáfiit-a*	'evaporation'
	godd-	'be wealthy'	*gódd-a*	'wealth'
	t'iig-	'bleed'	*t'iíg-a*	'blood'
(b)	*diriir-*	'sleep'	*diriír-o*	'asleep'
	tʃ'ir-	'to urinate'	*tʃ'ír-o*	'urine'
	tuns -	'be dark'	*túns-o*	'darkness'
(c)	*ɁasseɁ-*	'send'	*Ɂassé-ttʃ*	'message'
	ɁeddeɁ-	'wear'	*Ɂeddé-ttʃ*	'cloth'
	ɁiinseɁ-	'sleep'	*Ɂiinsé-ttʃ*	'sleeping'
(d)	*bitees-*	'sell'	*biteéʃʃ-a*	'sale'
	kad-	'dance'	*káddʒ-a*	'dance'
	laɁis-	'announce'	*laɁíʃʃ-a*	'announcement'
	Ɂed-	'add'	*Ɂéddʒ-a*	addition'

Such suffixal elements are used in the process of the derivation of verbal resultative nouns. Except few exceptions, the distribution of these morphemes is not predicted on either phonological or morphological bases. Their association with the verbal root remains lexically determined. However, the suffix *-ttʃ* occurs with verb stems having the final glottal stop (Ɂ). As can also be observed in (84c) the glottal stop is dropped in the process of derivation. In (84d), we also see palatalization of final alveolar consonants /d/ and /s/ to their palatal counterparts /dʒ/ and /ʃ/ respectively.

3.3.1.2. Agentive nominal

Agentive nominals are derived by suffixing the morpheme *-aan-* to a verbal and adjectival root. The singulative morpheme *-tʃ* is obligatorily attached to derived singular nominal stems. Consider the following examples in (85).

(85) Lexical base   Agentive nominal

bat'-	'work'	*bat'-aan-tʃ-*	'worker'
		bat'-aan-	'workers'
gaad-	'fight'	*gaad-aan-tʃ -*	'fighter'
		gaad-aan-	'fighters'
gass-	'administer'	*gass-aan-tʃ-*	'administrator'
		gass-aan-	'administrators'
hottʃ-	'hunt'	*hottʃ-aan-tʃ-*	'hunter'
		hottʃ-aan-	'hunters'
kitaab-	'write'	*kitaab-aan-tʃ-*	'writer'
		kitaab-aan-	'writers'
los-	'learn'	*los-aan-tʃ-*	'learner'
		los-aan-	'learners'
k'oottʃ'-	'create'	*k'oottʃ'-aan-tʃ-*	'creator'
		k'oottʃ'-aan-	'creators'
k'oppan-	'lie'	*k'oppan-aan-tʃ-*	'liar'
		k'oppan-aan-	'liars'
ʔijj-	'carry'	*ʔijj-aan-tʃ-*	'carrier'
		ʔijj-aan-	'carriers'

Such derived agentive nouns above, refer to the agent of the action indicated by the verb. The suffix -aa*n*- is an indicator of both human and non-human agenthood. This sense appears when the verbal roots are transitive. One of the xamples in (85), for instance, exhibits a person, *kitaab-áan-tʃ* 'writer', who performs the action labeled in the root. Consider the examples in (86):

(86a) *faraʃʃ-aan-tʃ-í-m-ı̨*   *land-íttʃo̧ maat'-ákk-o béjjo̧*   *kur-aá*   *lassó-nne*
horse-AGN-SG-EP-too-NOM girl.ABS   hide-3PL-PV   place.ABS   tell.3SG.M-CNV after-TDC
kakis-aá   *dabaʔl-aá*   *waar-oó-kk-o*
be.fast.3SG.M-CNV   return.3SG.M-CNV come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The rider just told her parents their daughter's whereabouts and came back very fast.' (Text 03: No.19)

(b) *gam-aán-tʃi*   *ʔámo̧*   *ʔoóso̧*   *ʔammaʔn-í-t-a-m-ó-jjo*
steal-AGN-SG.GEN mother.ABS   child.ABS believe-EP-3SG.F-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'A thief mother does not believe her sons.' (Proverb, No. 026)

(c) *gos-ú-kkį̇*   *mán-tʃ-ị*   *mátị faraʃ-aán-tʃọ*   *ʔísi*
abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   one   horse-AGN-SG.ABS 3SG.F.GEN

ʔannóʔi   *minę*   *ʔasseʔ-oó-kk-o*
father.GEN   house.ABS   send.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'The abductor will send a messenger, a horse man, to her parents.' (Text 03: No.19)

3.3.1.3. Instrumental nominals

An instrumental nominalization is a noun formed from a verb in which the noun refers to an instrument used to accomplish the act represented by the verb. Such nominals designate things with which one performs actions. Most of the instrumental nouns exist in their simple forms. However, some of the instrumental nominals are derived from verbal and adjectival roots by suffixing the derivational morpheme, *-aan-*. Such morpheme is obligatorily followed by the singulative morpheme, *-tʃo*, in the process of derivation. This is illustrated with the following examples.

(87)

Verbal root		Nominalizer	Instrumental nominal	
fiiʔ-	'sweep'	*-aan-*	*fiiʔ-aan-tʃ-*	'broom'
harʃ-	'be fertile'	*-aan-*	*harsh-is-aan-tʃ-*	'fertilizer'
miink'ees-	'brush'	*-aan-*	*miink'ees-aan-tʃ-*	'tooth stick/ toothbrush'
t'uf-	'close'	*-aan-*	*t'uf-aan-tʃ-*	'door'
ʃiinʃ-	'erase'	*-aan-*	*ʃiinʃ-aan-tʃ-*	'rubber/ eraser'
ʔillaans-	'blow'	*-aan-*	*ʔillaans-aan-tʃ-*	'sieve'

Instrumental nominalizations are often formally identical to agent nominalizations. As already shown in (3.3.1.2.) above, the morpheme *-aan-* also occur as agentive marker. One would, therefore, argue that the same morpheme is used to form both instrumental and agentive nominals. Semantically, such nominals are used to express the meaning "doer/an entity or tool" by which or with which an action is expressed by the verb.

3.3.1.4. Nominals formed from extended verb stems

From what has been shown so far, most of the nominals in the language are derived from different verb roots. In the following we shall consider nominals derived from extended verb stems such as passive verbs, reciprocal verbs, reflexive verbs and causative verbs.

3.3.1.4.1. Nominals derived from passive verb stems

Passive verb stems are formed from verb roots via suffixation of *-am-*. On the other hand, the passive nominals in the language are formed from passive verb stems through suffixation of *-tʃ*. We have examples like the following.

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(88) <u>Passive verb stems</u>   <u>Passive nominal</u>

bat'-am-	'be worked'	*bat'-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being worked'
bitees-am-	'be sold'	*bitees-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being sold'
dun-am-	'be dropped	*dun- am-tʃ*	the act of being dropped'
duum-am-	'be cursed'	*duum-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being cursed'
kitaab-am-	'be written'	*kitaab-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being written'
laʔ-am-	'be known'	*laʔ-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being known'
hin-am-	'be dug'	*hin-ám-tʃ*	the act of being dug'
huuʃ-am-	'be err'	*huuʃ-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being mistaken'
maasseʔ-am-	'be blessed'	*maasseʔ-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being blessed'
t'aʔm-am-	'be asked'	*t'aʔm-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being asked'
ʔaaʔ-am-	'be bought'	*ʔaaʔ-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being bought'
ʔiik'-am-	'be broken'	*ʔiik'-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being broken'
ʔinkiir-am-	'be poured'	*ʔinkiir-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being poured'
ʔit-am-	'be eaten'	*ʔit-ám-tʃ*	'the act of being eaten'

3.3.1.4.2. Nominals derived from reciprocal verb stems

Reciprocal verb stems are formed from passive verb stems through suffixation of *-am*. As we have discussed earlier, *-am-* is passive marker in the language. The same suffix can also be used to derive a reciprocal verb stems here. Thus, one would argue that the duplication of the passive maker will result in forming the reciprocal verb stems. Then, the nominalizing suffix, *-tʃ*, which is also used with passive stems is added to the base like the following examples show.

(89) Passive verb stem   Reciprocal verb stem   Reciprocal nominal

gafeʔ-am-	*gafeʔ-amam-*	*gafeʔamám-tʃ*	'pushing one another'
gameʔl-am-	*gameʔl-amam-*	*gameʔl -amám-tʃ*	'insulting one another'
gan-am-	*gan-amam-*	*gan-amám-tʃ*	'hitting one another'
haraʔm-am-	*haraʔm-amam-*	*haraʔm-amám-tʃ*	'helping one another'
has-am-	*has-amam-*	*has-amám-tʃ*	'searching for one another'
ʔaram-am-	*ʔaram-amam-*	*ʔaram-amám-tʃ*	'advising one another'
ʔiit -am-	*ʔiitt-amam-*	*ʔiit-amám-tʃ*	'loving one another'

The following sentential examples are taken from our texual corpus.

(90a) *hadíjji   seerá-nne   wotʃ'-amam-ú-kkị̈   mánnạ*
　　　 Hadiyya.GEN   regulation-LOC   be.in.conflict.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM.REL   man.ABS

　　　 ʔiitt-ans-akk-(á)mị̈   duuhaʔ-úww-i   joó-kk-o
　　　 like-FRQ-3HON.IPV-ASM   system-PL-NOM   present.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

　　　 'In Hadiyya culture there are many ways of bringing a conflict to end, to make peace among the conflicted individuals.'   (Text 02: No.26)

(b) *ladiíʃʃ-ị̈   land-íttʃo-ó   beet-i-í   ʔitt-amam-aá   lasó-nne*
　　 ladiish-NOM girl.EP.SG.NOM-CNJ boy-NOM-CNJ like.3PL-RCP-CNV after-TDC

　　 ʔiss-akk-(á)mị̈   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   goógo
　　 do-3HON.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM₄.GEN   way.COP

　　 '*Ladiisha* is the type of marriage that the girl and the boy fell in love and agreed to get married.' (Text 03: No.37)

3.3.1.4.3. Nominals derived from causative verb stems

Causative verb stems are formed by suffixing *-is*. Such nominals have a meaning 'causing to the action expressed by the verb' as the following examples demonstrate.

(91)

Verbal root	Causative stem	Causative nominal	
badd-	*badd-is-*	*badd-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of frightening'
gos-	*gos-is-*	*gos-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of pulling'
hoff-	*hoff-is-*	*hoff-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of reducing'
laʔ-	*laʔ-is-*	*haww-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of announcing'
mooʔ-	*mooʔ-is-*	*mooʔ-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of seeing'
k'ott'-	*k'tt'-is-*	*k'ott-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of tying'
ʃokk-	*ʃokk-is-*	*ʃokk-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of burning'
ʔapp'is-	*ʔapp'is-is-*	*ʔapp'is-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of hitting'
ʔit-	*ʔit-is-*	*ʔit-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of eating'
ʔijj-	*ʔijj-is-*	*ʔijj-íʃʃ-a*	'causing to the action of carrying'

As explicitly shown in (91), the causative marker, *-is*, is realized as *-ʃʃ* in the nominal correspondent.

Furthermore, causative verb stems are also formed by adding *-imm* to the causative stem. Such nominals have a meaning 'causing an action expressed by the verb' as the following examples show.

(92)

Verbal root	Causative stem	Causative nominal	
laʔ-	*laʔ-is-*	*haw-is-ímm*	'causing to announce'
ʃokk-	*ʃokk-is-*	*ʃokk-is-ímm*	'causing to burn'
ʔit-	*ʔit-is-*	*ʔit-is- ímm*	'causing to eat'

3.3.1.4.4. Nominals derived from reflexive verb stems

Reflexive nominals are formed by suffixing *-imm* to the reflexive verb stems, which itself is formed by affixation of the glottal stop with certain verbs and by suffixation of canonical reciprocal morpheme *-akk'* with the others as in the following examples.

	Verbal root		Verbal nouns of the verb derived with reflexive	
(93)	*gan-*	*'hit'*	*gaʔn-ímm*	'hit one self'
	mur-	*'cut'*	*muʔl-ímm*	'cut one self'
	tum-	*'hit'*	*tuʔm-ímm*	'hit one self'
(94)	*bat'-*	*'work'*	*bat'-akk'-ímm*	'work one self'
	gos-	*'pull'*	*gos-akk'-ímm*	'pull one self'
	kad-	*'dance'*	*kad-akk'-ímm*	'dance one self'
	kitaab-	*'write'*	*kitaab-akk'-ímm*	'write one self'
	liit-	*'grind '*	*liit-akk'-ímm*	'grind one self'
	mooʔ-	*'see'*	*mooʔ-akk'-ímm*	'see one self'

Consider example (95) on the nominals derived from reflexive verb stems:

(95a) *beét-į̇   mínę   ʔiss-akk'-eéna   has-u-kkí-ísa   ʔítt'i*
boy-NOM   house.ABS   make.3SG.M-BEN1-PURP   want.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   3SG.M.GEN
beʃʃ-uww-ína kur-ímm-į̇ has-is-oó-kk-o
friend-PL-DAT   tell-VN-NOM   want-CAUS-IPV-ASM-TV

'The boy has to tell his friends that he wants to make a house.' (Lit: 'The boy has to tell his friends that he is planning to get married.'

(b) *gerré-ttʃọ   dur-oó   ʔammáne horoórę   guunguuʔl-ímmạ*
sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-IPV   time   head.ABS   cover-VN.ABS
t'ad-oó-jjo
forget.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

'He shouldn't forget veiling himself, while he slaughters the sheep. (Text 02: No.43)

(c) *mátị woraad-íttʃ-į̇   mínę   ʔiss-eéna   has-u-kk-aá-re*
one   youngster-SG-NOM house.ABS   make.3SG.M-PURP   want.3SG.M-PV-CNV-CND
mínę   bat'-akk'-imma-á   k'oot-ína   diinátę
house.ABS   work-BEN1-VN.ABS-CNJ   marriage gift-DAT   money.ABS
gud-is-akk'-imma-á   tad-oó-jjo
prepare-CAUS-BEN1-VN.ABS-CNJ forget.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

'A youth shouldn't fail to build a shelter and make money for engagement, if he wants to marry.'

(d) *Ɂee=lasó-nne lamé-mį̀ moll-i-m-į̀ gunguuɁl-am-ú-kkį̀ lúwwą̀*
    that=after-TDC   both-too   clan-EP-too-NOM   cover-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   thing.ABS
    hooɁl-am-oó-kk-o
    unveil-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

    'At this stage, both families take off the cloth from their head..' (Text 02: No.51)

(e) *Ɂit-ímmą̀ hoog-u-mm-aá-re fintʃ-ímmą̀ hoog-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
    eat-VN.ABS   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND   scatter-VN.ABS   fail.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
    j-ú-kk-o Ɂantabaakk-íttʃ-į̀
    say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   hen-SG-NOM

    'If I failed to eat I will not be failed to scatter it a chicken said.' (Proverb, No. 141)

(f) *Ɂuww-ímmą̀ laɁ-oó-jjo ɁaaɁ-ímmą̀ Ɂiitt-aálla*
    give-VN.ABS   know.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   receive-VN.ABS   like-ADJZ.COP
    'The one who does not want to give out but likes to be given.' (Proverb, No. 145)

As can be observed, suffixing *-imm* is employed to form such nominals. In the process of suffixation, the reflexive verb stem is formed by affixing different stem formative morphemes to the verb roots. Firstly, as in the examples (93-94), a reflexive verb stem formative, /Ɂ / is metathesized with the stem final sonorants. In the case of the first example, the alveolar flap /r/ is realized as /l/ as the result of transposition of the glottal stop /Ɂ/. In contrast, the stem formative morpheme, *-akk'*, is attached to the verb roots which end with obstruents, as shown in in (94) and (95a and c.)

3.3.2. Compound nouns

Nouns are not only formed by means of derivational affixes but also by the process of compounding in which new words are formed by combining two or more independent lexical items. Unlike other HEC languages such as Alaaba (Schneider-Blum 2007:115) and Kambaata (Treis 2008:177), nominal compounding is a widespread phenomenon in Hadiyya.

Nominal compounds in Hadiyya consist of two substructures, the modifier is either an andjective or a verb and the head is a noun. In our corpus, the majority of the compound nouns have the Noun + Noun compositions.

(96) Examples of the Noun + Noun combinations:

N + N		Nominal compounds	
gaándʒe 'neck' + hákk'a 'wood'	→	gaandʒákk'a	'ploughing instrument'
giíra 'fire' + búttʃa 'soil'	→	giiʔlibúttʃa	'ash'
giíra 'fire' + hákk'a 'wood'	→	giiʔlihákk'a	'fire wood'
heéttʃa 'life' + k'aánk'a 'system'	→	heettʃik'aánk'a	'culture'
horoóre 'head' + ʔódda 'hair'	→	horooʔlódda	'hair'
láro 'cows' + ʔaágga 'entering'	→	laʔliʔaágga	'night'
losáno 'learng' + míne house	→	losaʔn míne	school
míne 'house' + ʔáma 'mother'	→	miʔnáma	'householder(mother)'
míne 'house' + ʔánna 'father'	→	miʔnánna	'householder(father)'
moóllo 'ethnic group' + ʔánna 'father'	→	moollánna	'lord/god'
sagára 'voice' + doóna 'pack/storage'	→	sagaʔlidoóna	'dictionary'
ʃúda 'head/top' + hákk'a 'wood'	→	ʃudákk'a	'comb'
ʔaájja 'sister' + beéto 'son/boy'	→	ʔaajjibeéto	'nephew'
ʔádo 'milk' + boóso 'pot'	→	ʔatt'iboóso	'milkpot'
ʔadíla 'king' + míne 'house'	→	ʔadiʔlimíne	'palace'
ʔallaáttʃa 'keeping' + ʔuúlla 'land'	→	ʔallattʃuúlla	'pasturage'
ʔáma 'mother' + beéto 'boy'	→	ʔambeéto	'brother'
ʔáma 'mother' + ʔaájja 'sister'	→	ʔamaájja	'aunt'
ʔamaʔnáto 'belief' + seéra 'law'	→	ʔamaʔnatt'iseéra	'dogma'
ʔánga 'hand' + t'orbéʔe 'ball'	→	ʔangit'orbéʔe	'handball'
ʔánga 'hand' + ʔéddʒa 'adding'	→	ʔangéddʒa	'participation'
ʔánga 'hand' + ʔaallaántʃo 'clay jug'	→	ʔangaallaántʃo	'hand-washing clay jug'
ʔánga 'hand' + ʔoóbba 'palm'	→	ʔangoóbba	'palm'
ʔánna 'father' + ʔáre 'wife'	→	ʔannáre	'step-mother'
ʔánna 'father' + ʔabbájjo 'brother'	→	ʔannabbaájjo	'uncle'
ʔeellíntʃo 'sun' + fíra 'going out'	→	ʔeelliintʃifíra	'east'
ʔeelíntʃo 'sun' + ʔaágga 'entrance'	→	ʔeeliintʃiʔaágga	'morning'
ʔílle 'eye' + ʃúra 'brow'	→	ʔilʃúra	'eyebrow'
ʔiínso 'sleeping' + míne 'house'	→	ʔiinsimíne	'bedroom'
ʔuúlla 'land' + beéto 'boy'	→	ʔuullibeéto	'citizen'

(97) Adjective + Noun combinations

Adj + N		Nominal Compounds	
ʔer- 'good' + tiíro 'heart'	→	ʔertiíro	'thoughtful, considerate'

ʔer- 'good' + *kóbo* 'friend'	→	*ʔerkóbo*	'intimate/close friendship'
ʔer- 'good' + *súmmo* 'name'	→	*ʔersúmmo*	'well-known, famed'
ʔer- 'good' + *beéto* 'boy'	→	*ʔerbeéto*	'a well behaved boy/man'
ʔer- 'good' + *lánde* 'girl'	→	*ʔellánde*	'a well behaved girl/lady'
lob- 'great' + *mánna* 'men'	→	*lommánna*	'old people'
lob- 'great' + *ʔánga* 'hand'	→	*lobángo*	'helpful, valuable'

Most of the compound nouns are right-headed, i.e. they have a head and this head is the right-handmost member of the compound. The compound as a whole inherits most of its semantic and syntactic information from its head.

In this respect, most nominal copmpounds are endocentric. The forms in (96) all have in common that they are noun-noun compounds and that they denote a subclass of the referents of the head. Such compounds consist of an explicit head and a modifier whose presence serves to specify the meaning of the head. These compounds have pragmatically predictable meaning, that is, the meaning of the whole can be predicted from the parts that make it. As Bauer (1983:19) states, these types of compounds are called transparent. Thus, in (96) for instance: *lossaʔnimíne* 'school' is a type of school, *ʔiinsimíne* 'bedroom' is a type of 'room', *ʔadiʔlimíne* 'palace'is a type of house, *ʔallattʃuúlla* 'pasturage' is a type of land used for grazing and so on.

In a smaller number of cases; however, the meaning of the compound does not follow from the meaning of its parts in this way. See the following examples:

(98) Exocentric compounds		Nominal compounds	
máto 'one' + *maára* 'meat'	→	*matmaára*	'close relative'
t'aára 'metal' + *gána* 'hitting'	→	*t'aargána*	'engagement
wóʔo 'water' + *gána* 'hitting'	→	*wogána*	'cow counting ceremony'
ʔáma 'mother' + *godábo* 'stomach'	→	*ʔamgodábo*	'brother/sister'
ʔánga 'hand' + *hoffiítt'a* 'little'	→	*ʔangahoffiítt'a*	'poor'
ʔílle 'eye' + *k'eeraáʔla* 'long/tall'	→	*ʔillik'eeraáʔla*	'long for others' property'
ʔílle 'eye' + *múra* 'the one who cuts'	→	*ʔillimúra*	'the last child of a family'

In a sense of Bauer (1983:19), these types of compounds are called "Opaque Compounds" in which the meaning of the whole cannot be predicted from the meanings of the constituents. Thus, in (96) for instance: *ʔílle* 'eye' + *múra* 'the one who cuts' does not denote a kind of mouth but a last child of a family. *ʔánga* 'hand' + *hoffiítt'a* 'little' does not stand for little hand but a poor person, *ʔílle* 'eye' + *k'eeraáʔla* 'long/tall' does not indicate a kind of long/tall eye rather it signify a kind of

person who longs for others wealth. The same holds for, *mato* 'one' + *maára* 'meat' again refers to close relatives. In the same way, *ʔáma* 'mother' + *godábo* 'stomach', *t'aára* 'metal' + *gána* 'hitting', and *wóʔo* 'water' + *gána* 'hitting' are not bearing the characterstics of either of their members; rather they refer to a brother/sister, engagement and cow counting ceremony respectively. Such compounds are exocentric, because the referent of the compound is not the same as the referents of any of its constituent parts. Thus, their meanings are difficult to interpret from the components.

Apart from endocentric and exocentric compounding, there is also apposional compounding (though limited) in which both elements contribute to the meaning as opposed to exocentric wher the meaning of the whole cannot be predicted from the meanings of the parts. Hence, in (96) for example, *ʔílle* 'eye' and *ʃúra* 'eye brow' are bearing the meaning of either of their constituents.

The meaning of the first components (99a-b) and the second component (99c) of the the following compounds is not known to my informants and to me as well.

(99)	? + N = N			Nominal compounds	
(a)	*ʔon* '?' + *soódo* 'tomorrow'	→	*ʔonsoódo*	'the day after tomorrow'	
(b)	*ʔon* '?' + *balla* 'day'	→	*ʔoombálla*	'the day before yesterday'	
(c)	*sáne* 'nose' + *guugga* '?'	→	*Sanguúgga*	'nosebleed'	

Many proper nouns are compounds. Such compounds are formed by using derived nominals as a second component. See the following examples:

(100) N + N = N (Proper nouns)			Nominal compounds	
bálla 'day' + *ʔiíllo* 'to come'	→	*balliíllo*	'child who was born at noon'	
gódda 'wealth' + *ʔeébo* 'bring'	→	*goddeébo*	'affluent, prosperous'	
láro 'cattle' + *ʔeébo* 'bring'	→	*lareébo*	'wealthy (of cattle)'	
leho 'death + *hoóro* 'protect'	→	*lehoóro*	'savior, rescuer'	
málo 'solution' + *sábo* 'refuse'	→	*malsábo*	'pessimistic'	
málo 'solution' + *tiíro* 'think'	→	*maltiíro*	'a solution man/optimistic'	
mánna 'men' + *ʔiítto* 'love'	→	*manniítto*	'popular, enthusiast'	
seéra 'law' + *ʔiík'o* 'break'	→	*seeriík'o*	'disobideint, violent'	
t'úmma 'peace' + *ʔeébo* 'bring'	→	*t'umeébo*	'peace maker'	
ʃaámo 'luck' + *ʔeébo* 'bring'	→	*ʃaameébo*	'lucky, blessed, fortunate'	
ʔádo 'milk' + *ʔeébo* 'bring'	→	*ʔadeébo*	'who brought milk/cattle'	
ʔáma 'mother + *ʔuúndʒo* 'to throw'	→	*ʔamuúndʒo*	'who was born during the death of his mother'	

ʔóra 'war + *bátʃ'o* 'win'	→	*ʔorbátʃ'o*	'brave man, hero, conqueror'
ʔuúlla 'land' + *gásso* 'adminster'	→	*ʔuulgásso*	'local leader, chief'

(101) Numeral + Noun combinations

Numerals + N		Nominal Compounds	
lámo 'two' + *foóre* 'soul/life'	→	*lamfoóre*	'pregnant'
lámo 'two' + *hákk'a* 'wood'	→	*lamákk'a*	'double'
máto 'one' + *ʔílle* 'eye'	→	*matílle*	'one-eyed person'

(102) Ordinal number + Noun combinations

Ordinal number + N		Nominal Compounds	
laʔm '2nd' + *hiíntʃo* 'year'	→	*laʔmiíntʃo*	'the second year'
lutt' '1st' + *béjjo* 'place'	→	*lutt'ibéjjo*	'the first place'

(103) Possessive Pronouns + Noun combinations

Possessive Pronouns + N		Nominal Compounds	
ki̥- 'your' + *ʔaájja* 'sister'	→	*kijjaájja*	'your sister'
ni̥- 'our' + *ʔaájja* 'sister'	→	*nijjaájja*	'our sister'
ʔi- 'my' + *ʔaájja* 'sister'	→	*ʔijjaájja*	'my sister'

The compounds in (103) are in a genitival relationship. As Ingo Plag (2003:145) states, these kinds of compounds are also sometimes called possessive compounds, because they denote an entity that is characterized (sometimes metaphorically) by the property expressed by the compound.

So far, most of the noun compounds cited are formed from two nouns (96). The 1st constituent of the compounds may also be any attribute as in the following illustrative examples, i.e. an adjective, (97), numeral (101), ordinal number (102) and Possessive Pronouns (103).

As can be observed in the examples the N + N compounds look very similar to genitive phrases which can be formed through juxtaposition of two simple nominals. There are no structural differences between such compounds and possessive constructions. The definiteness morpheme, -*oom,* for instance can not intervene the constituents of both noun compounds and possessive constructions.

(104) a. *horoore-ʔodda-oom* ⟶ *horooʔliʔoddoom-*
head-hair-the 'the hair'
b. **horoore-óom-ʔodda*
head-the-hear *'the hair'

a. *mine-ʔanna-oom* ⟶ *miʔniʔannoom-*
house-father-the 'the householder(father)'
b. **mine-oom-father*
house-the-father *'the householder(father)'

a. *mine-ʔama-oom* ⟶ *miʔniʔamoom-*
house-mother-the 'the householder(mother)'
b. **mine-oom-mother*
house-the-mother *'the householder(mother)'

As the examples in (104) show compounds avoiding insertion of the definiteness morpheme, *-oom* 'the'. Hence, one of the major morphological characterstics of compound nouns of Hadiyya is that they do not allow inflectional categories to be inserted between the constituents. The above forms in (104) too, do not allow inflectional markers between the two lexemes. This has also been considered as a test for compounds as opposed to phrases to which inflectional elements can be attached to any one of its constituents.

CHAPTER FOUR

PRONOUNS

Chapter four discusses the inflections of personal pronouns for grammatical categories such as number, gender and case. We will also consider the different categories of pronouns such as possessive, demonstrative, reflexive, interrogative, restrictive and vocative.

4.1. Personal pronouns and their inflection

Personal pronouns make a three-way person distinction (1st, 2nd, and 3rd) each with singular and plural and masculine. Gender distinction in personal pronouns is made only in the third person singular forms. There is no morphological element used to mark gender in the personal pronouns.

Unlike nouns, pronouns are not marked for singular number. It is represented by a zero morpheme. However, the plural marker, *-uwwa* is used for 2nd and 3rd plural forms. Distinct forms are used for third person masculine and feminine categories. Furthermore, honorific pronouns *kiʔne* (2SG) & *ʔisse* (3SG) are used when speaking about respected and old people. Table 17 presents the personal pronouns.

Table 17: *Personal pronouns*

Person	Subject	Object	Genitive	Dative	Ablative	Comitative	Reflexive
1SG	*ʔánį̱*	*ʔeésę̱*	*ʔi*	*ʔi-ína*	*ʔiin-iínse*	*ʔiinní-nne*	*ʔigága*
2SG	*ʔátį̱*	*keésę̱*	*ki*	*ki-ína*	*kiin-iínse*	*kiinní-nne*	*kigága*
2SG(HON)	*kíʔnį̱*	*kíʔnę̱*	*kíʔni*	*kiʔné-na`*	*kiʔn-iínse*	*kiʔné-nne*	*kiʔn-gága*
3SG.M	*ʔítt'į̱*	*ʔítt'ǫ̱*	*ʔítt'i*	*ʔítt'é-na*	*ʔítt'-iínse*	*ʔítt'é-nne*	*ʔítt'igága*
3SG.F	*ʔísį̱*	*ʔisę̱*	*ʔísi*	*ʔisé-na*	*ʔis-iínse*	*ʔisé-nne*	*ʔisigága*
3SG(HON)	*ʔíssį̱*	*ʔíssę̱*	*ʔíssi*	*ʔissé-na*	*ʔiss-iínse*	*ʔissé-nne*	*ʔissigága*
1PL	*neésį̱*	*neésę̱*	*ni*	*ni-ína*	*niinn-iínse*	*niinní-nne*	*nigága*
2PL	*kiʔnúwwį̱*	*kiʔn-úwwą̱*	*kiʔnúwwi*	*kiʔnuww-ína*	*kiʔnuww-iínse*	*kiʔnu-wwí-nne*	*kiʔnuwwigága*
3PL	*ʔítt'úwwį̱*	*ʔítt'-úwwą̱*	*ʔítt'úwwi*	*ʔitt'uww-ína*	*ʔítt'uww-iínse*	*ʔítt'uwwí-nne*	*ʔítt'uwwigága*

Personal pronouns can replace animate nouns and can occupy the same positions as their noun counterparts. Personal pronouns also assume the syntactic roles that their noun counterparts would fill.

With the exception of genitive/possessive pronouns, which appear preceding the noun which refers to the possessor, personal pronouns are represented by independent pronouns (appear in isolation).

The honorific usage is applied to the chief, village elders, to the people older than the speaker and to anyone the speaker wishes to honour. Consider the use of honorific pronouns (105b).

(105a) *kíʔnį*   *ʔi*   *beétǫ*   *sogg-éhe*
2HON.NOM   1SG.GEN   boy.ABS   advise-IMP.PL
'You (HON), advise my son.'

(b)   *ʔíssį*   *dumm-íttʃ-iínse*   *waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
3HON.SG.NOM   meet-ANM4-ABL   come-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'He/she (HON) came from meeting.'

In the third person, the honorific subject pronoun,[9] *ʔissi*, triggers a honorific (3HON) verb form *waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o,* as in (105b). Here, the honorific pronoun is ambiguous in terms of gender. Different strategies have to be applied to avoid such ambiguity. For example, using specific gender markers as the following examples illustrate:

(106a) *mán-tʃ-į*   *waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
man-SG-NOM   come-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'The man (polite) came.'

(b)   *meent-íttʃo*   *waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
woman-SG-NOM   come-3HON.SG-PV-EP-TV
'The woman (3HON.SG) came.'

Hadiyya does not have any pronoun for an inanimate noun comparable to the English *it/they* as used for inanimate referents. The referent of any pronoun has to be animate, typically human referent; it cannot refer to any inanimate noun.

With regard to case marking, the personal pronouns distinguish between as many case forms as nouns do. Hence, Hadiyya makes a formal distinction between subject (nominative), object (absolutive), dative, ablative, genitive/possessive, restrictive, reflexive, comitative and vocative pronouns.

4.1.1. The subject pronouns

The use of subject pronoun in verbal predicate is optional. Nevertheless there are contexts where the subject pronouns cannot be omitted. Consider the following examples with the subject pronoun in the nominative (107) in non verbal sentence and with out it (108) in verbal sentence.

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[9] The 3rd sing Polite has special forms only in Hadiyya and Kambaata. This is expressed in Gedeo and Sidaama by the 3rd plural form and is unknown in Burji. (Hudson 1976:257).

(107) *ʔánį̦*   *los-aán-tʃo*
       1SG.NOM   learn-AGN-SG.COP
       'I am a student.'

(108) [*ʔánį̦*]   *ʔit-ú-mm-o*
       1SG.NOM   eat.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
       'I ate.'

Since the predicate is non verbal and does not refer to 1SG (107), the use of the subject pronoun is obligatory to disambiguate the sentence in which the verbal form does not enable us to determine the person. Whereas, the use of subject pronoun is optional in (108) and the sentence is understood as referring to 1SG. Thus, the optional use of subject pronoun (in 108) is marked by square bracket.

With regard to case making, the nominative pronouns behave in the same way as nouns. i.e., all the subject pronouns take extremely short (devoiced) nominative case suffix, -*i*, as shown in Table 18 below.

Table 18: *Subject and object pronouns*

Person	Subject (Nominatíve)	Object Pronouns
1SG	*ʔánį̦*	*ʔeésę̦*
2SG	*ʔátį̦*	*keésę̦*
2S(HON)	*kíʔnį̦*	*kíʔnę̦*
3MS	*ʔítt'į̦*	*ʔítt'ǫ*
3FS	*ʔísį̦*	*ʔísę̦*
3S(HON)	*ʔíssį̦*	*ʔíssę̦*
1PL	*neésį̦*	*neésę̦*
2PL	*kiʔnúwį̦*	*kiʔn-úwwą̦*
3PL	*ʔitt'úwį̦*	*ʔitt'-úwwą̦*

4.1.2. The object pronouns

Like nouns, the pronouns devoice their terminal vowels in the absolutive case. Apart from devoicing, the absolutive forms of the first and second person singular pronouns show formal difference from their basic (citation) forms. In other words, the absolutive forms of such pronoun categories are formed by suppletion (see table 18). Consider also the sentential examples in (109).

(109) *wiʃ-íttʃ-į̦*   *ʔítt'ǫ*   *holl-ú-kk-o*
       dog-SG-NOM   2MSG.ABS   chase.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'A dog chased him.'

 (b) *ʔánį̦*   *keésę̦*   *laʔ-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
       1SG.NOM   2SG.ABS   know.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
       'I do not know you.'

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(c) *ʔíssi̧*   *kíʔnȩ*   *weeʃ-akk-(á)m-úlla*
    3SG.HON.NOM   2SG.HON.ABS   call-3SG.HON-IPV-ASM-PRG
    'He/she (polite) is calling you (polite).

(d) *ʔítt'i̧*   *ʔísȩ*   *haraʔm-ú-kk-o*
    3SG.M.NOM   3SG.F.ABS   help.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'He helped her.'

(e) *ʔítt'i̧*   *neésȩ*   *los-is-ú-kk-o*
    3SG.M.NOM 1PL.ABS   learn.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
    'He taught us.'

4.1.3. The dative pronouns

Like the Dative nouns, the dative pronouns in Hadiyya are formed by the suffix *-ina* and its allomorph *-na.* The following are the Dative pronouns in Hadiyya.

Table 19: *The dative pronouns*

Person	Dative Pronouns	
1SG	*ʔi-ína*	'for/to me'
2SG	*ki-ína*	'for/to you'
2SG (HON)	*kiʔné-na*	'for/to you'
3SG.M	*ʔitt'é-na*	'for/to him'
3SG.F	*ʔisé-na*	'for/to her'
3SG (HON)	*ʔissé-na*	'for/to him'
1PL	*ni-ína*	'for/to us'
2PL	*kiʔn-uww-ína*	'for/to you'
3PL	*ʔitt'-uww-ína*	'for/to them'

Sentential examples (110), extracted from the corpus, illustrate that dative marking in personal pronouns is used for the semantic roles recipient and beneficiary.

(110a) *daánn-i̧* *ʔitt'é-na* *lab-ú-kki̧*   *ʔogáto̧*   *ʔuww-oó-kk-o*
     judge-NOM 3SG.M-DAT seem.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL judgement.ABS give.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
     'The judge has given the judgment on his own way'

(b) *kába gosáʔni*   *bikk-ína* *ʔaaloʔ-ísa* *ʔi-ína* *kúr-e*
    now   abduction.GEN about-DAT   good-SIM   1SG-DAT tell.2SG-IMP
    'Now, explain to me about gosano (abduction) in a detailed manner.' (Text 03: No.06)

(c) *ʔarad-aán-i̧*   *ʔissuww-ína diinátȩ*   *ʔuww-ú-kki̧*   *mánna̧*
    announce-AGN-NOM 3PL-DAT   money.ABS give.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man.ABS
    bir-am-oó-kk-o
    praise-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
    'The announcers praise the people who gave money to them.' (Text 01: No.30)

(d) ʔísi   ʔaróʔ-į̇   ʔisé-na   baárą   dur-ú-kk-o
    3SG.F.GEN husband-NOM 3SG.F-DAT ox.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'Her husband slaughetered an ox for her. (Text 05: No.21)

4.1.4. The genitive/possessive pronouns

Genitive constructions are formed by using independent forms of genitive pronouns. These pronoun forms (see Table 17, the 5[th] column) have attributive function. In other words, such pronouns are used as a modifier element and usually occur preceding a head noun in the formation of Genitive NP. The following paradigm shows the genitive pronouns along with their attributive functions. The head noun involved in the phrase is *lókko* 'leg'.

(111)

ʔi lókko	'my leg'
ki lókko	'your (SG) leg'
ʔítt'i lókko	'his leg'
ʔísi lókko	'her leg'
ni lókko	'our leg'
kiʔnúwwi lókko	'your (PL) leg'
kíʔni lókko	'your (SG) leg' (HON)
ʔissúwwi lókko	'their leg'
ʔíssi lókko	'his/her (SG) leg' (HON)

Consider also the use possessive pronouns in the following sentential examples.

(112a) *gos-ú-kkį̇*   *mán-tʃ-į̇*   *gos-ú-kkį̇*   *land-íttʃǫ*
    abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   girl-SG.ABS
    ʔítt'i   *mínę*   *mass-oó-jjo*
    3SG.M.GEN   house.ABS   take.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
    'The abductor does not take the abducted girl right away to his housé' (Text 04: No.19)

(b) *ʔi*   *foórę*   *gat-ís-e*   *j-aá*   *ʔuunt'-ú-kk-o*
    1SG.GEN   soul.ABS   save-CAUS-IMP.SG   say.3SG.M-CNV   beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'He begged saying spare soul.' (Lit: He begged him to spare his lifé' (Text 04: No.02)

(c) *ʔi*   *ʔámi*   *ʔoós-į̇*   *hund-í-mį̇*   *horróre gúdo*
    1SG.GEN   mother.GEN   boy-NOM   all-EP-too   head   equal.COP
    'All my mom's daughters are equal in height.'
    Answer: *saajj hánt'a* = 'cow's breast' (Riddle, No. 048)

(d) *ʔísi*   *ʔaróʔ-į̇*   *geéddʒį̇ baárą*   *dur-ú-kk-o*
    3SG.F.GEN   husband-NOM   big   ox.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'Her husband slaughtered a big ox.' (Text 02: No.21)

4.1.5. The ablative pronouns

Like nouns, ablative pronouns are formed by the suffix *-iinse*.

(113)

Person	Ablative Pronoun	
1SG	*ʔiin-iínse*	'from me'
2SG	*kiin-iínse*	'from you '
2SG (HON)	*kiʔn-iínse*	'from you'
3SG.M	*ʔitt'-iínse*	'from him'
3SG.F	*ʔis-iínse*	'from her'
3SG (HON)	*ʔiss-iínse*	'from him/her'
1PL	*niinn-iínse*	'from us'
2PL	*kiʔn-uww-iínse*	'from you'
3PL	*ʔitt'-uww-iínse*	'from them'

Commonly, pronouns in their Ablative form usually denote the starting point of motion (114).

(114a) *gam-aán-tʃ-į̇̃   ʔitt'-iínse   diinátę   gammeʔ-ú-kk-o*
steal-AGN-SG-NOM 3SG.M-ABL   money.ABS   steal.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The thief stole money from him.'

(b) *ku=ʔassé-ttʃ-į̇̃   ʔitt'uww-iínse ʔasseʔ-am-ú-kk-o*
this=send-ANM₄-NOM 3PL-ABL   send.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'This letter was sent from them.'

(c) *ʔítt'į̇̃   niinn-iínse diinátę   lik'aájją   ʔaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   1PL-ABL   money.ABS   credit.ABS   receive.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He borrowed money from us.'

The ablative pronoun is also employed in comparative expressions. In following structures the morpheme *-iinse* is suffixed to pronouns to depict comparative expressions (115).

(115a) *ʔátį̇̃   ʔiin-iínse k'oóra*
2SG.NOM 1SG-ABL   clever.COP
'You are more clever than me.'

(b) *ʔissúwwį̇̃   niinn-iínse biidʒaall-úwwa*
3PL.NOM   1PL-ABL   generous -PL.COP   brave
'They are more generous than us.'

(c) *ʔísi̠*   *kiinn-iínse*   *danaamó-tte*
       3SG.F.NOM 2SG-ABL   beautiful-COP
       'She is more beautiful than you.'

4.1.6. The reflexive pronouns

The reflexive pronouns are formed by suffixing the word *gága* 'self' to the genitive pronoun forms to render the meaning 'one self' and *horoóre* 'head', (*see Table* 20.) Both *gága* 'self' and *horoóre* 'head' are obligatorily preceded by the genitive personal pronoun and can also be followed by nominative and dative markers and is morphologically unmarked when it is in the absolutive case. The suffixation of the nominative marker and dative markers *-i* and *-na* respectively lead to the deletion of *-a* the terminal vowel of *gága* as in Table 20.

Table 20: *Reflexive pronoun with different case markers*

Person	Nominative reflexive pronouns	Absolutive reflexive pronouns	Dative reflexive pronouns	Reflexive pronouns
1SG	*ʔi-gági̠*	*ʔi-gága̠*	*ʔi-gag-ína*	*ʔi-gága*
2SG	*ki-gági̠*	*ki-gága̠*	*ki-gag-ína*	*ki-gága*
2SG(HON)	*kiʔn-gági̠*	*kiʔn-i-gaga̠*	*kiʔn-gag-ína*	*kiʔn-i-gága*
3SG.M	*ʔitt'-i-gági̠*	*ʔitt'-i-gága̠*	*ʔitt'-gag-ína*	*ʔitt'-i-gága*
3SG.F	*ʔis-gági̠*	*ʔis-gága̠*	*ʔis-gag-ína*	*ʔis-gága*
3S(HON)	*ʔiss-i-gági̠*	*ʔiss-i-gága̠*	*ʔiss-gag-ína*	*ʔiss-i-gága*
1PL	*ni-gági̠*	*ni-gága̠*	*ni-gag-ína*	*ni-gága*
2PL	*kiʔn-uww-i-gági̠*	*kiʔn-uww-i-gága̠*	*kiʔn-uww-i-gag-ína*	*kiʔn-uww-i-gága*
3PL	*ʔitt'-uww-i-gági̠*	*ʔitt'-uww-i-gága̠*	*ʔitt'-uww-i-gag-ína*	*ʔitt'-uww-i-gága*

Note that the word *horoóre* 'head' which has a similar meaning with *gaga* 'self' can also be used alternatively in the formation of reflexive pronouns.

The reflexive pronoun shows neutralization of gender and number features. Hence, all the masculine, feminine and plural reflexive pronouns have the same form as illustrated in examples (116a-c).

(116a) *ʔítt'i*   *ʔitt'i*   *gága̠*   *t'agaʔl-ú-kk-o*
        3SG.M.NOM   3SG.M.GEN   self.ABS   hung.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'He hung himself.'

(b) *ʔísį̄ ʔisi gágą̄ t'agaʔl-i-t-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.F.NOM   3SG.F.GEN   self.ABS   hung-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'She hung herself.'

(c) *ʔissúwwį̄ ʔissuwwi gágá t'agaʔl-am-ú-kk-o*
3PL.NOM   3PL.GEN-self   hung-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'They hung themselves.'

The reflexive pronoun has also emphatic uses. The nominative form of the reflexive pronoun can be used to emphasize the referent of the subject NP. With emphatic reflexive construction, both the subject pronoun as well as the reflexive pronoun occurs. This structure has a reading of *no one else, but by oneself,* and is used to emphasize that the agent accomplishes an action without any assistance, as the following examples demonstrate.

(117a) *ʔísį̄ ʔísi gági haráttʃǫ ʔiikk'-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.F.NOM   3SG.F.GEN   self.GEN   pot.ABS   break.3SG.F-PV-ASM-TV
'She herself broke the pot. (Lit: no one else, but she broke the pot by herself).'

(b) *ʔíssį̄ ʔíssi gágį̄ waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.HON.NOM   3SG.HON.GEN   self.NOM   come-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'He/she himself/herself came. (Lit: no one else, but he/she (HON) himself/herself came).'

4.1.7. The comitative pronouns

With regard to case making, the comitative pronouns behave in the same way as nouns do. Hence, suffixation of the morpheme *-nne* to the object pronouns derives comitative pronouns. As can be observed (Table 21), the comitative pronouns express the notion of 'accompanied by'. The following are comitative pronouns in the language.

Table 21: *The comitative pronouns*

Person	Comitative pronouns	
1SG	*ʔiiní-nne*	'with me'
2SG	*kiiní-nne*	'with you'
2SG (HON)	*kiʔné-nne*	'with you (polite)'
3SG.M	*ʔitt'é-nne*	'with him'
3SG.F	*ʔisé-nne*	'with her'
3SG (HON)	*ʔissé-nne*	'with him/her (polite)'
1PL	*niiní-nne*	'with us'
2PL	*kiʔn-uwwí-nne*	'with you'
3PL	*ʔitt'uwwí-nne*	'with them'

4.1.8. The vocative

Apart from the personal pronouns given in table 117, two vocative personal pronouns are attested which distinguish between masculine and feminine gender. These are, *kaa* (2MSG, VOC) and *taa* (2FSG, VOC) 'you' (117). The vocatives can be used to call a person over a distance or, to address a friend.

(118) Vocatives

 (a) *kaá* 'You! hey you! (SG.M)'
 (b) *taá* 'You! hey you! (SG.F)'

As can be observed, vocatives are restricted only to 2SG. plural and honorific vocative personal pronouns do not exist.

4.2. Interrogative pronouns

The following are interrogative pronouns or content question words:

Table 22: *Interrogative pronouns*

ʔájjị̈	'who'
ʔájje	'whom'
máhị̈	'what' (non-human, subject)
máha	'what' (non-human, object)
hánno	'where'
máhina	'why'
hinkíde	'how'
hínkị̈	'which' (generic, subject)
hínka	'which' (generic, object)
hinki-ʔammáne	'which time (when)'
meéʔo	'how many'
hinkáʔna	'how much'

As can be observed (22), some of the interrogative pronouns are complex forms including more than one morpheme. For instance, *mah-ína* 'why' is a combination of *mah-* 'what' and the postposition *-ina* 'for'. Similarly, *hink-ʔammáne* 'when' is also made up of compound expression *hink-* 'which' and the noun *ʔammáne* 'time'. Also the manner interrogative pronoun *hink-í-de* 'how' consists of the demonstrative attribute *hink-* 'which' and the conditional marker *-de*.

As has been mentioned, with nouns and personal pronouns (sections 3.2 and 4.1), some of the interrogative pronouns show inflection for case marking. The interrogative pronoun *ʔájje* 'who' (Table 23) for example, inflects for nominative, dative, genitive, comitative cases, as nouns and personal pronouns do. The absolutive is the unmarked form of the interrogative pronouns too (Table 23). It is the form used in isolation, and usually serves as the citation form. Hence, the form on which the other cases are built by adding a suffix. With regard to the genitive/possessive relation, the possessor interrogative pronoun is positioned before the possessed noun. The case paradigm of the interrogative pronoun *ʔájje* 'who' is given below:

Table 23: *The case paradigm of the interrogative pronoun ʔájje 'who'.*

NOM	ABS	DAT	GEN	COM
ʔájj-i̧	*ʔájjȩ*	*ʔajjé-na*	*ʔájji̧*	*ʔajjé-nne*

Examples (118a-e) illustrate the use of the, nominative, dative and genitive, comitative and absolutive forms of the interrogative pronoun *ʔájje* 'who' in sentential contexts.

(119a) *ki   beét-i̧   ʔajjé-nne waattʃámo mar-ú-kk-o*
         2SG.GEN   boy-NOM   who-COM   waachamo   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'With whom did your son go to Waachamo?'

(b) *kúki̧   ʔájji   míne*
      this.NOM who.GEN   house.COP
      'Whose house is this?'

(c) *ʔájji̧   hakk'-íttʃo̧   mur-ú-kk-o*
      who.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'Who cut a tree?'

(d) *ʔíssi̧   ʔájjȩ   haraʔm-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
      3SG.HON.NOM wh.ABS help-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
      'Whom did he/she (HON) help?'

(e) *ʔítt'i   ʔajjé-na   diinátȩ   ʔasseʔ-ú-kk-o*
      3SG.M.NOM who-DAT   money.ABS send.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'For whom did he send money?'

As the subject of a clause, the interrogative pronoun *ʔájje* 'who' triggers masculine agreement on the verb (120).

(120) ʔájjị   kiinn-í-nne beebálla meer-iínse waar-ú-kk-o
       who.NOM 2SG-EP-COM yesterday market-ABL come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'With whom did you come from the market?'

Plurative marking on the interrogative pronoun ʔájje 'who' is possible. *-aam-* is attached to ʔájje to form *ʔajj-áam* 'who are'. Consider the singular (121a &b) and plural (121c&d) paradigm of the interrogative pronoun.

(121) ʔ<u>ájje</u> 'who (SG)'

(a) kị̃   beʃ-íttʃ-ị̃   ʔajjé-tte
     2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   who-COP
     'Who is your friend?'

(b) ʔájjị̃   hakk'-íttʃọ   mur-ú-kk-o
     Who.NOM tree-SG.ABS   cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'Who cut a tree?'

     <u>ʔajj-aámị̃</u> 'who (PL)'

(c) kị̃   beʃ-úww-ị̃   ʔajj-aámo
     2SG.GEN   friend-PL-NOM   who-PL.COP
     'Who are your friends?'

(d) ʔajj-aámị̃   hakk'-íttʃọ   mur-am-ú-kk-o
     who-PL.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   cut-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
     'Who (PL) cut a tree?'

The suffix *-aam-* is also added to proper names and gives a plural meaning as in *miʃaam-aám-* 'mishamo and those with him' (see also 3.2.1.).

Like the interrogative pronoun ʔájje 'who', the interrogative pronoun *máha* 'what' also inflects for different cases. It has the form *máhạ* for the absolutive, *mahị̃* for nominative, *mahi-* for the genitive and *mahí-nne* for the instrumental, as in Table 24.

Table 24: *The case paradigm of the interrogative pronoun máha 'what':*

NOM	ABS	GEN	INST
máhị̃	*máhạ*	*máhi*	*mahí-nne*

Here are some sentential examples:

(122a) kúkị̃   máhi   korshóʔo
        this.NOM what.GEN   bread.COP
        'What crop's bread is this?'

(b) *ʔítt'ị*   *máhạ*   *mooʔ-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   what.ABS   see.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did he see?'

(c) *ʔítt'ị*   *land-íttʃó-na*   *k'óótạ*   *máhạ*   *ʔuww-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   girl-SG-DAT   gift.ABS   what.ABS   givé3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did he give a marriage gift to the girl?'

(d) *ʔítt'ị*   *hakk'-íttʃọ*   *mahí-nne*   *mur-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   what-INST   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'With what did you cut tree?'

Suffixing the dative marker *-ina/na* to *máha* 'what' gives *mahína* 'why, for what, because of what?' Below are some examples with *mah-ína* 'why':

(123a) *máti mán-tʃ-ị*   *máti land-íttʃọ*   *mah-ína*   *gos-oó-kk-o*
one   man-SG-NOM   one   girl-SG.ABS   why-DAT   abduct.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Why an individual abduct a certain girl and get married with her?' (Text 03: No.16)

(b) *ʔátị*   *mah-ína*   *wiʔl-i-t-oó-lla*
2MSG.NOM   why-DAT   cry-EP-2SG-IPV-PRG
'Why are you screaming?'

(c) *ʔítt'ị*   *mah-ína*   *doómạ*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   why-DAT   forest.ABS   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Why did he go to forest?'

Unlike the interrogatives *ʔájje* 'who' and *máha* 'what', *hínka* 'which' is used when the conversation participants have the same set of particular choices in mind, as shown in (124).

(124a) *hínkị*   *land-íttʃọ*   *lobakáta*   *danaamó-tte*
which.NOM   girl-SG.NOM   most   good-COP.3SG.F
'Which girl is the most beautiful?'

(b) *hínkị*   *ʔoós-ị*   *torbéʔẹ*   *lall-am-oó-lla*
which.NOM   child-NOM   ball.ABS   play-3PL-IPV-PRG
'Which children are singing?'

(c) *ki*   *beʃ-íttʃ-ị*   *hínkạ*   *land-íttʃọ*   *ʔeeb-ú-kk-o*
2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   which.ABS   girl-SG.ABS   bring.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Which girl is the most beautiful?'

As can be observed, when the speaker asks about something, the interrogative pronoun *hínka* 'which' is obligatorily followed by the noun it modifiers.

When the speaker asks about the way that someone does something, the interrogative pronoun *hínka* "which' is followed by the conditional marker *-de* which gives *hinkíde* 'how'. Consider the following interrogative structures.

(125a)   *gos-ú-kkị*   *mán-tʃ-ị*   *ʔísi*   *k'ári*   *mann-í-nne*
         abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.RFL   man-SG-NOM   3SG.F.GEN   relative   man-EP-COM
         hinkí-de   *ʔiitt-amam-eéna*   *t'an-am-oó-kk-o*
         which-CND   like.3SG.M-RCP-PURP   be.able-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
         'How could the abductor make peace between the girl's family and himself after taking
         the girl forcefully?'(Text 03: No.18)

(b)   *ʔátị*   *hurbaátạ*   *hinkí-de*   *sar-t-í-tt-o*
      2SG.NOM   food.ABS   which-how   cook-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
      'How did you cook the food?'

When this form is used in greetings, it can occupy the predicate position as in (126).

(126a)   *ki*   *heéttʃ-ị*   *hinki-dé-tte*
         2SG.GEN   life-NOM   which-CND-COP
         'How's your life?'

(b)   *ki*   *ʔaróʔ-ị*   *hinki-dé-tte*
      2SG.GEN   husband-NOM   which-CND-COP
      'How is your husband?'

(c)   *ʔátị*   *hinki-dé-tte*
      2SG.NOM   which-CND-COP
      'How are you?'

As already mentioned, *hinkaʔammáne* 'when' is a composite of two nouns *hínka* which and *ʔammáne* 'time' as shown in (127).

(127a)   *maaddeéb-ị*   *hinki-ʔammáne*   *waar-oó-kk-o*
         maaddeeb-NOM   which-time   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
         'When did Maaddeebo come?'

(b)   *ʔilligán-ị*   *doʔl-am-oó-kkị*   *hinki*   *ʔammáne*
      Illigana -NOM   choose.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM.REL   which   time.COP
      'In what situation Illigana [marriage type] is to be chose?' (Text 03: No.26)

The interrogative pronoun for 'where', is *hannó* Examples (128) illustrate the use of the interrogative pronoun *hánno* 'where' in sentential contexts.

(128a) *dukkát-į̇*   *hánno-nne* *bat'-oó-lla*
        Dukkat-NOM   where-LOC   work.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
        'Where is Dukkato working?'

   (b) *ki*   *beét-į̇*   *hanno-nné-tte*
        2SG.GEN boy-NOM   where-LOC-COP
        'Where is your son?'

CHAPTER FIVE

VERBS

This chapter contains discussion of the descriptive analysis of the verb morphology of the language. The chapter begins with a cursory look at the structure of verbal roots, followed by a closer look at the inflectional and derivational morphology of the language.

5.1. Structure of verb stems

Like the nominal root, the verbal root[10], which takes inflectional and derivational affixes in the verb conjugation, is a bound morpheme too. Hence, it demands obligatorily inflectional suffixes so as to form verbs. The verbal roots can be categorized as monosyllabic, disyllabic or trisyllabic. Of the three groups above, the ordinary shape of verb root is monosyllabic. The pattern CVC- is the widely found one. Disyllabic verb roots are relatively few in number. Very few roots have a trisyllabic structure. Polysyllabic (four and more) verb roots have not been attested.

The patterns of simple verb stems are listed with their corresponding CV structures and glosses in (Table 25). As can be seen from the examples, all verb stems end in a consonant. The hyphen indicates its being obligatorily followed by inflectional elements in order to form a phonological word.

Table 25: *The CV-Structure of verb roots*

(a)	monosyllabics (CVC-, CVCC-, CVVCC-)		
	CVC-	*ʔed-*	'add'
	CVCC-	*holl-*	'chase'
	CVVC-	*baan-*	'separate'
	CVVCC-	*dooʔl-*	'choose'

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[10] In morphological analysis of this study, the term 'root' is used alternatively to 'lexical base'. The stem, on the other hand, may consist solely of a single root plus derivational or inflectional affixe(s). In other words, one or more stem-forming suffix (es) can be added to a nominal or verbal root to form a stem. In the word *marnummo* 'we went', for example, removing the stem forming suffixes, *-n, -u, -mm, -o* leaves the root *mar-* 'to go'. Hence, a root cannot be divided into smaller meaningful parts whereas a stem can be divided into smaller meaningful parts.

(b)	Disyllabics (CVCVCC-, CVCVVC-, CVCVVCC-, CVCCVC-, CVCCVVC-, CVVCCVC-, CVVCCVVC-)		
	CVCVCC-	*galatt'-*	'thank'
	CVCVVC-	*firiit'-*	'gallop'
	CVCVVCC-	*ʔuʃeett'-*	'rest'
	CVVCVC-	*heelal-*	'acumulate'
	CVCCVC-	*gaggab-*	'become greedy, stingy'
	CVCCVVC-	*ʔintʃ'iitʃ'-*	'twist'
	CVVCCVC-	*taakkeʔ-*	'walk'
	CVVCCVVCC-	*guunguuʔl-*	'cover'
	CVVCCVVC-	*baaʔjaat-*	'inform'
(c)	Trisyllabic (CVCVVCVC-, CVCCVCVVCC-, CVCVVCCVC-, CVCVVCCVC-, CVCVCVVC-, CVCVCVC)		
	CVCVCVC-	*hit'it'aʔ-*	'pull'
	CVCVVCVC-	*ʔadʒaaban-*	'become angry'
	CVCCVCVC-	*ʔankakar-*	'crawl'
	CVCCVCVVCC-	*tinkiraajj-*	'hinder'
	CVCVVCCVC-	*ʔageebbar-*	'train'
	CVCVCVVC-	*ʔadʒuluum-*	'be retarded mentally'

Verb forms are formed by suffixing one or more suffixes to the verb root. In other words, the verb root usually comes first and followed by different grammatical markers such as agreement, aspect, etc. The distributional order of verb roots and inflectional suffixes follows the following pattern: (Cf section 5.2.2.).

(129) *Verb Root – Agreement – Aspect – Additional subject Marker – Terminal Vowel*

5.2. Verb inflection

The expression of inflectional categories in verbs is exclusively suffixal. Verbs can be marked with suffixes for three types of temporal aspects, the imperfect, the simple perfect, and the perfect, together with suffixes for the person/number of the subject. In what follows, discussions on these inflectional categories will be presented.

5.2.1. Subject agreement marking

Like other HEC languages, such as Libido (Crass, 2013), Alaaba (Schneider-Blum, 2007), the agreement marking suffixes of Hadiyya distinguish first, second and third persons. The verbs also

indicate the number and gender of the subject as well. Gender distinction is shown only in the third person singular (cf Perrett 2000:54). Table 26 illustrates subject indexing categories in verbs in the perfective paradigm.

Table 26: *Subject agreement markers on verbs*

Person	Agreement suffixes	
	Singular	Plural
1	Ø	n
2	t	t-akk
3 masc.	ø	ø-am
3 fem.	t	
2,3 Honorific	ø-akk	

It is noticeable that when the subject is 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL, the person marker in the verb is *ø*. The suffix *-t* marks 2SG, 2PL and 3SG.F; it is *-n* when the subject is 1PL. Moreover, 2PL and 3PL are marked with the plural markers *-akk* and *-am* respectively.

There is also a polite form in use for 2SG and 3SG. The former is identical to 2PL. Thus, the same verbal suffix is employed for both of them. As in 1SG, 3SG.M and 3PL, the person marker in the verb is *ø* for 3SG polite form too. In addition, similar to 2PL, this form is also marked with the vowel initial plural marker *-akk* (see also Perrett 2000:63). Sim (1989:142) argues that "no 3rd person plural form is recorded…the 3rd respect form can be used as plural". However, in the present study, all my informants assured that the 3rd respect form can never be used as plural. Moreover, based on my data I do not agree with Sim's analysis that the non basic forms with root suffix *-am-*, are interpreted to be derived forms, used to mark a reciprocal or distributive effect.

According to the data of the present study; however, the 3PL is marked with the plural marker *-am*, in order to distinguish this form from the plural marker of 2PL. In other words, my data (*see Table 27 for instance*) depicts that the 3PL is marked with *-am* that contrasts paradigmatically with the 2PL plural marker,-*akk*. Unlike Libido, the most related language to Hadiyya (Cf. Crass, 2013: 5), the 3SG.F does not refer to plural in Hadiyya. Hence, the presence of *-am* as plural marker of 3PL, is one of the main features which distinguishes Hadiyya from the other East Cushitic languages.

Consider now the occurrence of these subject agreement markers in the following perfective paradigms. Either of the following verbal roots is used as an example in this section: *ʔuww-* 'give', *ʔaanʃ-* 'wash', *mass-* 'take', *dooʔl-* 'select', *diss-* 'put', *badd-* 'be afraid', *lik'itʃ'-* 'swallow', *suunk'-* 'kiss', *ʔuundʒ-* 'leave', *ʔuunt'-* 'beg'. Such verbal roots have been taken so that the suffixation forms can be inspected without the interference of a variety of assimilatory processes (morpho-

phonological complications) which affect roots terminating in a single, ungeminated consonant as mentioned under the chapter of phonology. In other words, these verbs are chosen because they have a final cluster which is not susceptible to phonological changes and thus allows one to see clearly the inflectional suffixes.

Table 27: *Inflectional suffixes on main verbs*

1SG	ʔuww-ú-mm-o	ʔaanʃ-ú-mm-o	mass-ú-mm-o	dooʔl-ú-mm-o
1PL	ʔuww-i-n-ú-mm-o	ʔaanʃ-i-n-ú-mm-o	mass-i-n-ú-mm-o	dooʔl-i-n-ú-mm-o
2SG	ʔuww-i-t-í-tt-o	ʔaanʃ-i-t-í-tt-o	mass-i-t-í-tt-o	dooʔl-i-t-í-tt-o
2PL	ʔuww-i-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o	ʔaanʃ-i-t-akk- ó -ʔ-o	mass-i-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o	dooʔl-i-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o
3SG.M	ʔuww-ú-kk-o	ʔaanʃ-ú-kk-o	mass-ú-kk-o	dooʔl-ú-kk-o
3SG.F	ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o	ʔaanʃ-i-t- ó -ʔ-o	mass-i-t-ó-ʔ-o	dooʔl-i-t- ó -ʔ-o
3PL	ʔuww-am-ú-kk-o	ʔaanʃ-am-ú-kk-o	mass-am-ú-kk-o	dooʔl-am-ú-kk-o
3HON	ʔuww-akk-ó-ʔ-o	ʔaanʃ-akk-ó-ʔ-o	mass-akk-ó-ʔ-o	dooʔl-akk-ó-ʔ-o

As indicated in Table 27, the subject agreement marking occur right after the verb root and are followed immediately by the aspectual vowels and "additional subject morphemes and a terminal vowel" (my term).

The origin and function of the additional subject morphemes and the terminal vowel has been discussed by previous researchers such as Hudson (1976), Sim (1988), Tosco (1996) and (Crass, 2013). According to Sim (1988:434), an additional subject morpheme is considered as a second subject marker and the terminal vowel as a second aspect marker. Sim, thus, claims that fully inflected main verbs in Hadiyya consist of two person and two aspect markers (see also Crass 2013 for a detailed analysis). Sim (1988:434) outlined the synchronic analysis of the HEC main verbs using Hadiyya data as follows:

(130)*: Sim's (1988:434) Synchronic analysis of the HEC main verb*

	Person	Aspect	Person	Aspect
Root -	Marker$_1$ -	Vowel $_1$ -	Marker$_2$ -	Vowel $_2$

I agree with Sim that the consonantal part, which occurs right after the aspect vowel, is a second subject marker. However, I used the term "additional subject marker" instead of Sim's "second subject marker", for which these suffixes generally do not occur in subordinate verb forms. These

suffixes are considered as additional subject markers in this study because they are not identical in all verb forms and vary from subject to subject as can be seen in Table 28.

Table 28: *Subject agreement markers on main verbs*

Person	First place agreement suffixes	Additional subject markers
1SG	*ø*	*mm*
1PL	*n*	*mm*
2SG	*t*	*tt*
2PL	*t-akk*	*ø*
3SG.M	*ø*	*kk*
3SG.F	*-t*	*ø*
3PL	*ø-am*	*kk*
3HON	*ø-akk*	*ø*

As shown in Table 28, the geminated *m, t* and *k* occur in 1SG&PL, 2SG and 3SG.M&3PL as additional subject markers respectively. In 2PL and 3SG.F additional subject markers do not appear. I consider this to be triggered by the presence of glottal stop with epenthetic function. Here, the glottal stop is inserted between the two vowels. The two o's in word final position shouldn't be considered as vowel length, but two different morphemes, i.e., the former is aspect marker and the later one is terminal vowel (cf. Table 27). To break up such impressible vowel length in word final position then, the epenthetic glottal stop appears. We see evidence from non progressive imperfective paradigm which suggests that the glottal stop does not appear in the absence of such vowel cluster ((cf Table 35), see also the same function of glottal stop in *noun morphology* sec. *3.2.4.2.* and *the phonological rule* in 2.2.2.). Furthermore, during the sequence of these vowels, an aspectual vowel, *-u*, is assimilated to *-o*.

Sim's analysis that the final vowel of the suffixes is a second aspect marker is not acceptable to me. Since tha same vowel, *o,* is attached obligatorily in all main verbs of indicative mood (affirmative sentences), his analysis does not hold true. Contrary to Sim's analysis, Perrett (2000:63) considers the final vowel to be "an independent verb form". According to Perrett "the lack of an independent suffix, the final -o vowel, is generally indicates dependency". With regard to the subject markers, however, Perrett (2000:63) is of the same view with Sim stating that "the paradigm can be split into two person groups: (Group (i) and (Group (ii) persons". Perrett's analysis of subject agreement suffixes and the final vowel, demonstrated in Table 29, is acceptable in the present study too.

Table 29: *Synchronic analysis of the person and tense/aspect suffixes (Perrett 2000:63)*

Person	Root	Epenthetic	Agr(1)	'plural'	tense/aspect	Agr (2)	Ind
1s	*mass-*				*-u*	*-mm*	*-o*
2s	*mass-*	*-i*	*-t*		*-i*	*-tt*	*-o*
3.m.s	*mass-*				*-u*	*-kk*	*-o*
3.f.s	*mass-*	*-i*	*-t*		*-o*	*-ʔ*	*-o*
1pl.	*mass-*	*-i*	*-n*		*-u*	*-mm*	*-o*
2 pl.	*mass-*	*-i*	*-t*	*-akk*	*-o*	*-ʔ*	*-o*
3 res.	*mass-*			*-akk*	*-o*	*-ʔ*	*-o*

A different analysis is offered by Crass (2013:6-7) who claims that the final vowels as well as the preceeding consonantal morphemes are considered as "additional morphemes". Since these vowels are identical in all verb forms, Crass does not accept them to be aspect markers.

Except a non-geminated *-m* and *-t,* which occur in first person and second person plural respectively, other additional subject morphemes and the terminal vowel do not occur in subordinate clauses, as exemplified in (131). The same situation is also attested in Libido[11], a closely related language to Hadiyya. Consider the distribution of these suffixes in (130).

(131a) *goógọ   bat'-am-ú-kkị   mann-ína diinátȩ   mik'-am-u-kk-ó-jjo*
        road.ABS work-3PL-PV-REL.ASM   man-DAT   money.ABS   pay-3PL-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'They did not pay the money for them who built the road.'

(b) *daanéttʃọ   bagad-í-nne ʃi-n-ú-mmị   mánn-i̧ neesé-tte*
      elephant.SG.ABS   spear-EP-INST   kill-1PL-PV-ASM.REL   man-NOM   1PL-COP
      'We are the guys who killed an elephant with a spear.'

(c) *leh-ú-kkị   hall-íttʃ-i̧   gótạ   badd-oó-jjo*
     die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   donkey-SG-NOM   hyena.ABS   frighten.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
     'A dead donkey is not afraid of a hyena.' (Proverb, No. 072)

(d) *ka=wóʃʃạ   mattʃ'ees-ú-kkị   mán-tʃ-i̧   lobakáta nadad-ú-kk-o*
     this=affair.ABS   listen.3SG.M-PV-ASM   man-SG-NOM   much   annoy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'The man who listened the secret annoyed very much.'

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[11] As Crass (2013:16) pointed out, "in Libido, the additional morphemes of the second and third persons do not occur in relative clauses--- In 1SG and 1PL the additional morphemes are preserved in a reduced form, namely with a non-geminated m and without the final vowel o(o)."

(e) waa*ttʃam-iínse waar-ú-mmị beét-ị ʔané-tte*
     waacham-ABL   come-PV-ASM boy-NOM 1SG-COP
     'I am the guy who came from Waachamo.'

Concerning the origin of the additional subject morphemes and a terminal vowel, which constitute the compound suffix conjugation of main verbs in HEC languages; Crass (2013) offered an intensive discussion mainly based on Sim's argumentation. Since, the final vowels are identical in all verb forms, Crass does not agree with Sim's analysis that the vowel of the additional morphemes, i.e. the final vowel of the suffixes, is a second aspect marker. Crass considers the additional subject morphemes and the final vowel of the present study to be considered as additional morphemes. According to him, "main verbs in Highland East Cushitic (HEC) languages consist of a lexical base, a paradigm of subject markers, an aspect marker, and finally a paradigm of "additional morphemes" (cf. Crass 2013:5).

The analysis given by Crass, will serve as one of the pioneer works to initiate further research on the function of additional morphemes. However, there are still unsolved problems with regard to the exact origin and synchronic function of these morphemes. Crass himself admitted that he couldn't provide an enhanced proposal to the problem concerning the origin of additional morphemes. He further states that "the synchronic function of these additional morphemes is unclear" (cf. Crass 2013:1).

In the present study[12], therefore, since such morphemes vary from subject to subject, additional subject morphemes is used instead of Crass's 'additonal morpheme', until the problem is solved in future studies. In addition, since the final vowel has the function of indicating main verbs in affirmative sentences (indicative mood), it is labeled as terminal vowel of main verbs in affirmative sentences (glossed as TV), in the present study (see also Crass 2013:15 and Tosco 2000: 94).

5.2.2. Aspect marking

As the general definition, Comrie (1976:3ff.) defines aspect as "different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation" and further states that "[a]spect is not concerned with relating the time of the situation to any other time-point, but rather with the internal temporal constituency of the one situation". Payne (1997:238) considers the term aspect to be "the internal temporal shape of events or states". Hence, actions, events or states denoted by the verb can be categorized as perfective, imperfective, habitual, etc, and into progressive and non-progressive.

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[12]For the reason that the aim of this project is documenting and describing synchronic facts of Hadiyya grammar, analysis is not given concerning the diachronic origins of the synchronic paradigms.

Hadiyya marks both aspects and tense, but aspect plays a larger role than tense. Tense is only sporadically marked, namely with *heeʔ-* 'be, become'. (cf. also section 5.2.3.).

Verbs are characterized by having a tripartite aspectual system that differentiates between the perfective, imperfective and present perfect aspects by overtly found morphological signals. The imperfective aspect is further distinguished in to the progressive and non-progressive imperfective aspect. Accordingly, the three aspects imperfective, perfective and present perfect are marked with the vowels *oo, u* and *aa*, respectively.

Generally, aspect markers occur immediately followed by the agreement markers. In what follows we shall take up each of the types along with their negative forms.

5.2.2.1. Perfective

As to Payne's (1997:239) definition, "in perfective aspect the situation is viewed in its entirety, independent of tense." Payne's further explanation depicts that "the main events of a narrative are normally recounted in perfective aspect, whereas collateral, explanatory, descriptive material occurs in various non-perfective aspects (e.g., imperfective, progressive, habitual)." Comrie (1976:16) in his part points out that "perfectivity indicates the view of a situation as a single whole, without distinction of the various separate phases that make up that situation". He (1976:18), further firming up this description by writing that "a very f requent characterisation of perfectivity is that it indicates a completed action". Likewise, the perfective in Hadiyya is used to express an action/event completed with reference to the beginning or the end of the action.

Perfective aspect is indicated by the vowel *-u-* following the subject agreement marker and preceeding the additional subject marker consonants as the following paradigm illustrates for the verbs *diss-* 'put'*, lik'itʃ'-* 'swallow', *suunk'-* 'kiss' and *ʔuunt'-* 'beg'.

Table 30: *Perfective aspect*

1SG	*diss-ú-mm-o*	*lik'itʃ'-ú-mm-o*	*suunk'-ú-mm-o*	*ʔuunt'-ú-mm-o*
1PL	*dissi-n-ú-mm-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-n-ú-mm-o*	*suunk'i-n-ú-mm-o*	*ʔuunt'i-n-ú-mm-o*
2SG	*dissi-t-í-tt-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-t-í-tt-o*	*suunk'i-t-í-tt-o*	*ʔuunt'i-t-í-tt-o*
2PL	*dissi-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o*	*suunk'i-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o*	*ʔuunt'i-t-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.M	*diss-ú-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'-ú-kk-o*	*suunk'-ú-kk-o*	*ʔuunt'-ú-kk-o*
3SG.F	*dissi-t-ó-ʔ-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-t-ó-ʔ-o*	*suunk'i-t-ó-ʔ-o*	*ʔuunt'i-t-ó-ʔ-o*
3PL	*diss-am-ú-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'-am-ú-kk-o*	*suunk'-am-ú-kk-o*	*ʔuunt'-am-ú-kk-o*
3HON	*diss-akk-ó-ʔ-o*	*lik'itʃ'-akk-ó-ʔ-o*	*suunk'-akk-ó-ʔ-o*	*ʔuunt'-akk-ó-ʔ-o*

As shown in Table 30, the aspect vowel, -*u* does not occur, in the verb forms of 2SG of the perfective. The position of this aspectual vowel, thus, is replaced by the epenthetic vowel *i*. A similar situation has also been reported for other HEC languages such as Libido and K'abeena (Crass 2013:5). The aspect vowel -*u* is assimilated to the terminal vowel of main verbs in affirmative sentences, -*o*, in the 3SG.F, 2PL and 3HON of the perfective in Hadiyya. The same phonological process also occurs in Libido (Crass 2013:5). Table 31 depicts the pefecitive aspect morphemes.

Table 31: *Perfective marker*

Person	1SG	1PL	2SG	2PL	3SG.M	3SG.F	3PL	3HON
Perfective aspect vowels	-*u*	-*u*	Ø	-*o*	-*u*	-*o*	-*u*	-*o*

(132a) *kabálla ʔarákị goógǫ taakkeʔ-n-ú-mm-o*
today much road.ABS walk-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We traveled a very long way today.'

(b) *ku=ʔaraat-íttʃ-ị but'-oóm-ị birbinn-ís-u bikk-ína*
this=traveller-SG-NOM be.poor-ANM1-NOM tire.of.3SG.M-CAUS-PV because-DAT
ʔi waaʔ-í-nne ʔedam-eéna mar-oo-mm-úlla j-aá
1SG.GEN GOD-EP-INST meet.1SG-PURP go.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG say.3SG.M-CNV
kur-ú-kk-o
tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'This traveler said, 'I am going to meet (my) God because he made me poor.' (Text 05: No. 11)

(c) *ment-íttʃo goon-tʃi beétǫ k'ar-t-o-ʔ-aá-re baárǫ*
woman-SG.NOM male-SG.GEN boy.ABS give.birth-3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-REAS bull.ABS
dur-ú-kk-o
slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Because his wife gave a birth to a baby, he slaughtered an ox.' (Text 05: No. 21)

(d) *neésị waáʔǫ ʔuunt'-i-n-ú-mm-o*
1PL.NOM God.ABS beg-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We begged God.'

(e) *ni beʃ-íttʃ-ị waattʃam-iínse kabálli dárǫ waar-ú-kk-o*
1PL.GEN friend-SG-NOM waacham-ABL today.GEN morning.ABS come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'A friend of us came from Waachamo this morning.'

(f) *Ɂáni̱   beebálla kojj-ína   búni̱   kaas-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   yesterday   guest-DAT   coffee.ABS   put.on.fire.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I made coffee for the guests yesterday.'

(g) *Ɂee=Ɂammané-nne   Ɂítt'i   meent-íttʃo̱   mahi-ná-tte*
that=time-TDC   3SG.M.GEN   woman-SG.ABS   what-DAT-COP
Ɂosar-t-í-tt-o   ji-t-aá   t'aɁm-i-t-ó-Ɂ-o
laugh-2MSG-EP.PV-ASM-TV   say-3SG.F-CNV   ask-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'At this time, his wife started asking what he is laughing at.' (Text 05: No.23)

All the examples here express completed actions in the sense that the action of travelling, drinking, slaughtering, praying, making, starting, asking has been completed but it does not say anything about the time when these actions were performed. The actual time difference between the completion of the action/event and the speech event does not affect the form of the verb itself. There are however aspectual adverbs that locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking as illustrated in examples (132 a, e and f).

The following table presents inventory of the inflectional morphemes in the perfective aspect for the verb *diss-* 'put'.

Table 32: *The perfective aspect suffixes*

Person	Lexical base	Subject marker	Aspect	Additional subject marker	TV
1SG	*diss-*	Ø	*-u*	*-mm*	*-o*
1PL	*diss-*	Ø-*n*	*-u*	*-mm*	*-o*
2SG	*diss-*	*t-*	*(-i)*	*-tt*	*-o*
2PL	*diss-*	*t-akk*	*-o*	Ø	*-(Ɂ)o*
3SG.M	*diss-*	Ø	*-u*	*-kk*	*-o*
3SG.F	*diss-*	Ø-*t*	*-o*	Ø	*-(Ɂ)o*
3PL	*diss-*	Ø-*am*	*-u*	*-kk*	*-o*
3HON	*diss-*	Ø-*akk*	*-o*	Ø	*-(Ɂ)o*

5.2.2.2. The Present perfect[13] aspect

The present perfect aspect, reveals a relation between two time-points: the time of the state resulting from a preceding incident/event and the time of that preceding event. Thus, temporal

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[13] This aspect is normally referred to as 'perfect'. But since there is a past form of it in Hadiyya, namely the past perfect, the term 'present perfect' is labelled.

closeness, i.e. the degree of recentness of the past situation, (cf. Comrie 1976:60), differs this aspect from pefective in Hadiyya.

The perfect aspect is marked by the vowel *-aa* and its allomorph *-oo* (cf. Sim 1988a: 448 and Crass 2013:11). The suffix *-oo* occurs with 2PL, 3SG.F and 3HON, while *-aa* occurs else where. I understand the occureance of aspect vowel *-oo* to be triggered by assimilation to the terminal vowel of main verbs in affirmative sentences, *-o*, (cf. Table 33). *(See also the same phonological process in section 5.2.2.1.).* The perfect paradaigm is given in Table 33 for the verbs *ʔuww- 'give', likiitʃ'- 'swallow'* and *diss-* 'put'.

Table 33: *Perfect aspect*

1SG	*ʔuww-**aá**-mm-o*	*lik'itʃ'-**aá**-mm-o*	*diss-**aá**-mm-o*
1PL	*ʔuww-i-n-**aá**-mm-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-n-**aá**-mm-o*	*dissi-n-**aá**-mm-o*
2SG	*ʔuwwi-t-**aá**-tt-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-t-**aá**-tt-o*	*dissi-t-**aá**-tt-o*
2PL	*ʔuwwi-t-akk-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-t-akk-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*	*dissi-t-akk-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*
3SG.M	*ʔuww-**aá**-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'-**aá**-kk-o*	*diss-**aá**-kk-o*
3SG.F	*ʔuwwi-t-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'i-t-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*	*dissi-t-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*
3PL	*ʔuww-am-**aá**-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'-am-**aá**-kk-o*	*diss-am-**aá**-kk-o*
3HON	*ʔuww-akk-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*	*lik'itʃ'-akk-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*	*diss-akk-o-ʔ-**oó**-kk-o*

The perfective and perfect paradigms are neutralized in the negative. In other words, the verb morphology does not distinguish perfective-perfect aspect in negative constructions. The distinction found in the affirmative undergoes neutralization when it comes to the negative form (cf. Sim, 1988a: 447). Compare both of the paradigms in (34 a with b, c with d, e with f and g with h).

Table 34: *Affirmative and negative paradigms between perfective and perfect*

Aspect		Affirmative	Negative
Perfective	(a)	*dooʔl-ú-mm-o* choose.1SG-PV-ASM-TV	*dooʔl-u-mm-ó-jjo* choose.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
Perfect	(b)	*dooʔl-aá-mm-o* choose.1SG-PF-ASM-TV	
Perfective	(c)	*ʔuunt'-ú-kk-o* beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV	*ʔuunt'-u-kk-ó-jjo* beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
Perfect	(d)	*ʔuunt'-aá-kk-o* beg.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV	
Perfective	(e)	*holl-i-n-ú-mm-o* chase-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV	*holli-n-u-mm-ó-jjo* chase-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
Perfect	(f)	*holl-i-n-aá-mm-o* chase-EP-1PL-PF-ASM-TV	
Perfective	(g)	*mattʃ'ees-am-ú-kk-o* hear-3PL-PV-ASM-TV	*mattʃ'ees-am-u-kk-ó-jjo* hear-3PL-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
Perfect	(h)	*mattʃ'ees-am-aá-kk-o* chase-3PL-PF-ASM-TV	

5.2.2.3. Imperfective

Imperfective aspect views the situation as "having explicit reference to its internal structure" and being "not as a bounded whole" Comrie 1976:24). The imperfective has to be regarded as a counter part to the perfective. This form normally describes progressive, habitual and actions planned for the future. In other words, the imperfective form of the verb expresses an action or event that is not completed prior to the time of speaking. Thus, the imperfective aspect in the language can be categorized in to progressive and non-progessive. They will be dealt with in turn below.

5.2.2.3.1. Imperfective aspect

The vowel oo, which marks perfective in most HEC languages, is used to mark imperfective aspect in Hadiyya (cf. Sim 1988a:436 and Crass 2013:11). This paradigm, with the exception of the 2PL, 3SG.F and 3HON, consistently has *-oo* as it is imperfective aspect marker. Since the 2PL, 3SG.F and 3HON have no phonological signal, they are paradigmatically identified by lack of an imperfective aspect marker. Since the aspect vowel of the imperfective is -oo in Hadiyya, the exact function of the vowel -a in 2PL, 3SG.F and 3HON is unclear in the present study. Thus, it is enclosed in brackets until the problem is solved in future studies. The imperfective aspect is exemplified with the verb stems *ʔuww-* 'to give', *diss* 'put' and *guull-* 'finish'.

Table 35: *Imperfective aspect*

1SG	*ʔuww-oó-mm-o*	*diss-oó-mm-o*	*guull-oó-mm-o*
1PL	*ʔuww-i-n-oó-mm-o*	*diss-i-n-oó-mm-o*	*guull-i-n-oó-mm-o*
2SG	*ʔuww-i-t-oó-tt-o*	*diss-i-t-oó-tt-o*	*guull-i-t-oó-tt-o*
2PL	*ʔuww-i-t-akk-(á)m-o*	*diss-i-t-akk-(á)m-o*	*guull-i-t-akk-(á)m-o*
3SG.M	*ʔuww-oó-kk-o*	*diss-oó-kk-o*	*guull-oó-kk-o*
3SG.F	*ʔuww-i-t-(á)m-o*	*diss-i-t-(á)m-o*	*guull-i-t-(á)m-o*
3PL	*ʔuww-am-oó-kk-o*	*diss-am-oó-kk-o*	*guull-am-oó-kk-o*
3HON	*ʔuww-akk-(á)m-o*	*diss-akk-(á)m-o*	*guull-akk-(á)m-o*

Most of the elicited sentences in the imperfective aspect allow both future and habitual readings. The sentential examples in (133) demonstrate the use of the imperfective paradigm, which is often open to both a future and a habitual reading.

(133) (a) *waattʃ-oó-mm-o* 'I swim/I will swim.'

(b) *waatt-ʃi-n-oó-mm-o* 'We swim/We will swim.'

(c) *waattʃ-i-t-oó-tt-o* 'You (SG) swim/You (SG) will swim.'

(d) *waattʃ-i-t-akk-(á)m-o* 'You (PL) swim/You (PL) will swim.'

(e) *waattʃ-oó-kk-o* 'He swims/He will swim.'

(f) *waattʃ-i-t-(á)m-o* 'She swims/She will swim.'

(g) *waattʃ-am-oó-kk-o* 'They swim/They will swim.'

(h) *waattʃ-akk-(á)m-o* 'S/he (HON) swim/ S/he (HON) will swim.'

However, when time adverbs such as, *soódo* 'tomorrow', *maaróʔo* 'tonight', *matmatiʔammáne* 'sometimes', *hundiʔammáne* 'always', *daridára* 'every morning' are added, imperfectives depict only one reading, either future as in (134a-c) or habitual actions (134d-f).

(134a) *ka=bát'ọ*   *ʔonsoódo*   *guull-i-t-oó-tt-o*
        this=work.ABS   the.day.after. tomorrow   finish-EP-2SG-IPV-ASM-TV
        'You will finish this work the day after tomorrow.'

(b) *maaróʔo   mar-oó-mm-o*
     night   go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
     'I will go in the evening.'

(c) *soódǫ   waar-oó-kk-o*
tomorrow   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'He will come tomorrow.'

(134d) *daridára   waar-oó-kk-o*
morning.morning   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'He comes every morning.'

(e) *matmáti   Ɂammáne   gaɁn-oó-kk-o*
one.one   time   rain.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'It sometimes rains.'

(f) *húndɪ̰ Ɂammáne   daaddʒé-nne waattʃ-i-n-oó-mm-o*
all   time   river-LOC   swim-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'We always swim in the river.'

Consider again the use of imperfective aspect marker as an indicator of habitual interpretation in the following proverbs (135).

(135a) *gáww-ɪ̰   gaássi   lállǫ   lall-oó-kk-o*
deaf-NOM   before.GEN   play.ABS   play.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A deaf man always talks about stuffs that he knows before he became deaf.' (Proverb, No. 028)

(b) *godd-u-kkɪ̰   mán-tʃ-ɪ̰   tʃ'ir-ú-kk-uúlla*
satisfy.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   pee.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG
fiink'ees-oó-kk-o
whistle.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A guy with full belly whistles while peeing.' (Proverb, No. 034)

(c) *hobb-íttʃ-ɪ̰   Ɂebeer-oo-Ɂ-aá   saájji   Ɂíllę   Ɂaall-oó-kk-o*
lion-SG-NOM   be.old.3SG.M-IPV-EP-CNV   cow.GEN   eye.ABS   lick.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A senile lion licks a cow's forehead.' (Proverb, No. 053)

(d) *k'ook'-ú-kkɪ̰   Ɂíll-ɪ̰   barbaróɁǫ   badd-oó-jjo*
be.blind.3SG.M-PV-ASM   eye-NOM   chilli.powder.ABS   frighten.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'A blind eye is not afraid of a chili powder.' (Proverb, No. 063)

(e) *Ɂánɪ̰   meérą   gad-oó-mm-o   meér-i   Ɂeésę*
1SG.NOM   market.ABS   despise.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV   market-NOM   1SG.ABS
gad-oó-kk-o
despise.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'I despise the market, the market despises me.'(Proverb, No. 119)

(f) *gúndɪ̰ Ɂánn-ɪ̰   Ɂoos-ína   darabɪ̰ mán-tʃǫ   lab-oó-kk-o*
short   father-NOM   child-DAT   equal   man-SG.ABS   seem.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A short father seems a friend for his own sons.' (Proverb, No. 035)

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The following table presents inventory of the inflectional morphemes in the imperfective aspect for the verb *diss-* 'put'.

Table 36: *The imperfective aspect suffixes*

Person	Lexical base	Subject marker	Aspect	Additional subject marker	TV
1SG	*diss-*	Ø	*-oo-*	*-mm-*	*-o*
1PL	*diss-*	Ø-n	*-oo-*	*-mm-*	*-o*
2SG	*diss-*	*-t-*	*-oo-*	*-tt-*	*-o*
2PL	*diss-*	*-t-akk-*	Ø	*-(a)m-*	*-o*
3SG.M	*diss-*	Ø	*-oo-*	*-kk-*	*-o*
3SG.F	*diss-*	Ø *-t-*	Ø	*-(a)m-*	*-o*
3PL	*diss-*	Ø *-am-*	*-oo-*	*-kk-*	*-o*
3HON	*diss-*	Ø *-akk-*	Ø	*-(a)m-*	*-o*

5.2.2.3.2. Progressive aspect

The progressive differs structurally from the three basic aspects imperfective, perfective, and perfect in being a complex form consisting of two parts. Bybee et al (1994:126), defines that "Progressive views an action as ongoing at reference time". In Hadiyya, the progressive imperfective aspect which refers to an action running over an extended time is encoded by the suffix *-ulla* and its allomorph *-lla*. Note that the allomorph *-lla* is attached to verbs of 2SG and 3SG.M, whereas *-ulla* is elsewhere. Since the sequence of two long vowels is impermissible, the long *-u* of *-ulla* does not occur when it is followed by the non-progressive imperfective aspect vowel, i.e, (after long vowel, *-oo*). In the process of progressive imperfective aspect formation such suffix is attached to the non-progressive aspect. The use of *-ulla/lla* as progressive imperfective aspect marker, is exemplified in (136) with the verb *waatʃ-* 'to swim'.

(136a)	*waatʃ-oo-mm-úlla*	'I am swimming.'
(b)	*waatʃ-i-n-oo-mm-úlla*	'We are swimming.'
(c)	*waatʃ-i-t-oó-lla*	'You (SG) are swimming.'
(d)	*waatʃ-i-t-akk-(á)m-úlla*	'You (PL) are swimming.'
(e)	*waatʃ-oó-lla*	'He is swimming.'

(f)	*waatʃ-i-t-am-úlla*	'She is swimming.'
(g)	*waatʃ-am-úlla*	'They are swimming.'
(h)	*waatʃ-akk-am-úlla*	'S/he (HON) is swimming.'
(i)	*waatʃ-oo-mm-ullá-jjo*	'I am not swimming.'
(j)	*waatʃ-i-n-oo-mm-ullá-jjo*	'We are not swimming.'

Note that the negation of this form is indicated through the suffixation of the negative marker *-jjo*, which occurs following the progressive imperfective aspect marker as shown in (136i and j). Table 36 presents inventory of the aspect vowels.

Table 37: *Aspect vowels*

Person	Perfective	Perfect	Imperfective
1SG	*-u*	*-aa*	*-oo*
1PL	*-u*	*-aa*	*-oo*
2SG	Ø	*-aa*	*-oo*
2PL	*-o*	*-oo*	Ø
3SG.M	*-u*	*-aa*	*-oo*
3SG.F	*-o*	*-oo*	Ø
3PL	*-u*	*-aa*	*-oo*
3HON	*-o*	*-oo*	Ø

5.2.3. Tense

According to Payne (1997:236) "[t]ense is the grammatical expression of the relation of the time of an event to some reference point in time, usually the moment the clause is uttered." Of the common tense systems "past, present, and future" (Payne 1997:236), Hadiyya has only the past. The past tense is formed as complex constructions made up of the main verb followed by the verb *heeʔ-* 'be' in the Perfective aspect, used as an auxiliary (cf. Perrett 2000:66).

Past tense expresses an action or event that took place before another action and is expressed by the auxiliary verb heeʔ- 'be' which is attached to gerund form of the verb as the verbs *diss-* 'put', *guull-* 'finish', *waar-* 'come' illustrate.

Table 38: *Past paradigms*

	diss- 'put'	*guull-* 'finish'	*waar-* 'come'
1SG	*dissaaheeʔúmmo*	*guullaaheeʔúmmo*	*waaraaheeʔúmmo*
1PL	*dissinaaheeʔnúmmo*	*guullinaaheeʔnúmmo*	*waarnaaheeʔnúmmo*
2SG	*dissitaaheeʔlítto*	*guullitaaheeʔlítto*	*waattaaheeʔlítto*
2PL	*dissitakkaʔaheeʔlakkóʔo*	*guullitakkaʔaheeʔlakkóʔo*	*waattakkaʔaheeʔlakkóʔo*
3SG.M	*dissaaheeʔúkko*	*guullaaheeʔúkko*	*waaraaheeʔúkko*
3SG.F	*dissitaʔaheeʔlóʔo*	*guullitaʔaheeʔlóʔo*	*waartaʔaheeʔlóʔo*
3PL	*dissamaaheeʔamúkko*	*guullamaaheeʔamúkko*	*waaramaaheeʔamúkko*
3HON	*dissakkaʔaheeʔakkóʔo*	*guullakkaʔaheeʔakkóʔo*	*waarakkaʔaheeʔakkoóʔo*

The duration between the completion of the action/event and the utterance affects the form of the verb. If the completion of an event was followed by a long duration, then the existential verb, *heeʔ-*, 'be' is used as a past marker. Furthermore, an auxiliary verb *heeʔ-* 'be' which occurs following the the lexical base + person marker+ pefect aspect vowel, is fully inflected in Hadiyya.

The negative conjugation of perfective and perfect aspects, *-jjo*, also expresses negation in past. In this function, such element occurs following the auxiliary verb heeʔ- 'be'. In other words, it is attached to the affirmative past. The negative conjugation of the affirmative verbs in (Table 39) can be shown as follows.

Table 39: *Negative past paradigms*

	diss- 'put'	*guull-* 'finish'	*waar-* 'come'
1SG	*dissaaheeʔummójjo*	*guullaaheeʔummójjo*	*waaraaheeʔummójjo*
1PL	*dissinaaheeʔnummójjo*	*guullinaaheeʔnummójjo*	*waallaaheeʔnummójjo*
2SG	*dissitaaheeʔlittójjo*	*guullitaaheeʔlittójjo*	*waattaaheeʔlittójjo*
2PL	*dissitakkaʔaheeʔlakkoʔójjo*	*guullitakkaʔaheeʔlakkoʔójjo*	*waattakkaʔaheeʔlakkoʔójjo*
3SG.M	*dissaaheeʔukkójjo*	*guullaaheeʔukkójjo*	*waaraaheeʔukkójjo*
3SG.F	*dissitaʔaheeʔloʔójjo*	*guullitaʔaheeʔloʔójjo*	*waattaʔaheeʔloʔójjo*
3PL	*dissamaaheeʔamukkójjo*	*guullamaaheeʔamukkójjo*	*waaramaaheeʔamukkójjo*
3HON	*dissakkaʔaheeʔakkoʔójjo*	*guullakkaʔaheeʔakkoʔójjo*	*waarakkaʔaheeʔakkoʔójjo*

5.2.4. Mood

According to Payne (1997:244), "the terms mode, mood, and modality are often used interchangeably, though some linguists make distinctions among these terms." Halliday (1994:43) states three categories: mood, modality and polarity to deal with issues under concern. According to his categorization mood is either indicative or imperative (and related ones); and if indicative, it could be either declarative or interrogative; if interrogative, it could be either polar interrogative ('yes-no' type) or content interrogative. In this study, the term 'mood' is used as a cover term for all the types stated so far.

Hadiyya makes a distinction among two general moods: the indicative, and the imperative. The former constitutes the declarative and interrogative moods, while the latter refers to imperative, jussive, optative, and exhortative moods. Both imperatives and indicatives are further divided into affirmative or negative, and function to confirm or negate a proposition, to command 'do' or 'do not do'. We have, therefore, affirmative declarative verbs paradigmatically contrasting with the negative declarative verbs. Two types of conditional moods are also distinguished: the real and the unreal conditionals. Again, we have prohibitive verbs in contrast to imperative and jussive. Further, a verb can be marked for various kinds of modalities, and shows the different intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles, i.e., degrees of probabilities, possibilities and certainties, which are presented under modality. Each will be presented below in turn.

5.2.3.1. The declarative

Declarative is a mood associated with the utterance of a statement that a speaker believes to be true (Palmer 1986:260). Palmer further states that in many languages the declarative is expressed by structures and verb forms which carry no overt marker. In Hadiyya, unlike the negative, there is no morpheme which specifically mark affirmative declarative. The affirmative is expressed by a falling intonation associated with the verbal complex that contrasts paradigmatically with the suffix *-nnihe* and rising intonation of interrogatives and the negative marker *-jjo*. Consider the following sentences with verbs in prfective and impefective aspects in (137a-b and c-d) respectively.

(137a) *gos-ánị   bikk-ína   ʔaaloʔ-ísa   kur-t-aá-tt-o*
abduct-ANM2.GEN   about-DAT   good-SIM   tell-2SG-PF-ASM-TV
'You have explained to me abduction in a detailed manner.' (Text 03: No. 20)

(b) *ʔantabaa-kíttʃọ gat-is-eéna   fella-kkíttʃọ kitim-ú-kk-o*
hen-SG.ABS   save.3SG.M-CAUS-PURP   goat-SG.ABS   sacrifice.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'To save his chicken, he sacrificed his goat.' ' (Proverb, No. 126)

(c) *ʔítt'i̧*   *soódo*   *waar-oó-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   tomorrow come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'He will come tomorrow.'

"Negative[14] is a form of structure which asserts that some events, situation or state of affairs does not hold" (Payne, 1997:282). Unlike the situation with the affirmative declarative verb, the negative declarative verb in Hadiyya is identified by having the negative marker *-jjo*. The negative declarative contrasts paradigmatically with the affirmamative declarative as cited below.

(138a) *gos-án-i̧*   *hadíjji*   *k'aank'á-nne* *los-am-aá-kk-o*
abduct-ANM2-NOM   Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   get.used.to.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV
ʔeeb-akk'-am-tʃá-jjo
marry-BEN1-RFX-ANM₄.ABS-NEG
'Gosano (abduction) is unacceptable in Hadiyya's culture.' (Text 03: No.15)

(b) *ʔáni̧*   *ka=beet'o̧*   *ʔiit-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
1SG.NOM   this=boy.ABS   like.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'I did not like this boy.'

(c) *ʔantabaáʔi* *geer-ímm-i̧* *gatt'-iínse*   *hig-oó-jjo*
hen.GEN   run-VN-NOM   dinning.room-ABL   pass.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'Hen's run does not pass from a dinning room.' (Lit: The run of hens does not go beyond a dinning room.'

5.2.3.2. The interrogative
As mentioned above, interrogative[15] distinguishes itself from declarative counterparts by a final intonational rising and suffix *-nnihe*. The interrogative marker *-nnihe* contrasts paradigmatically with the declarative as shown below.

(139a) *gos-imm-ína* *ʔamman-i-í*   *bejj-i-í*   *joo-hoo-nníhe*
abduct-VN-DAT   time-NOM-CNJ   place-NOM-CNJ   be.present.3SG.M-IPV-QU
'Is there a certain and specific time and place (when and where to carry out the abduction (Gosano)?' (Text 03: No. 12)

(b) *ka=ʔeeb-akk'-am-tʃ-úwwi*   *ʔannann-aáto̧*   *kur-t-oo-nníhe*
this=marry-BEN1-RFX-ANM₄-PL.GEN   differ-ANM3.ABS   tell-2SG-IPV-QU
'Can you tell me the differences between these?'

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[14] Though negation can be included in mood category, it is treated independently due to its different syntactic properties in chapter eight.

[15] Discussions on interrogative sentences will be further presented in chapter eight.

(c) *ki   beét-į   guull-u-kk-o-nníhe*
2MSG.GEN   boy-NOM   finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
'Did the boy finish the work?'

(d) *waattʃam-iínse   waar-u-kk-ó-nnihe*
waacham-ABL   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-QU
'Did he come from Waachamo?'

(e) *Ɂátį   Ɂítt'ǫ   Ɂiitt-i-t-oo-jjo-nníhe*
2SG.NOM   3SG.M.ABS   love-EP-2SG-IPV-NEG-QU
'Do not you love him?'

(f) *Ɂissúwwį   kabálla   waar-am-oo-kk-o-jjo-nníhe*
3PL.NOM   today   come-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG-QU
'Do not/will not they come today?'

5.2.3.3. The imperative

"A mood category associated with various kinds of directives such as orders, commands, demands, requests, advice, instructions, exhortations, persuasions, incitements, and invitations is knows as imperative" (Palmer 1986:22). Most commonly, the imperative is understood as the verb form which is used to give a direct command to some addressee(s). In contrast to the interrogatives and declaratives, that ask and provide information respectivelly, the imperatives ask for action rather than a verbal response.

The imperative expresses an order for the second person. The positive imperative mood in the singular is morphologically marked by the suffix -*e*. With a second person plural subject the suffix -*ehe*, which follows the verbal stem, is added. In both cases the subject marker is omitted from the verbs. The singular imperative suffix is reported to be a second person plural mood marker in other HEC languages (Hudson, 1976:267). The following are illustrative examples:

(140)		Verb stem	Imperative:SG	Imperative:PL	
	(a)	*diss-*	*díss-e*	*diss-éhe*	'You, put!'
		guull-	*guúll-e*	*guull-éhe*	'You, finish!'
		mass-	*máss-e*	*mass-éhe*	'You, take!'
		Ɂuull-	*Ɂuúll-e*	*Ɂuull-éhe*	'You, stop!'
	(b)	*bat'-*	*bát'-e*	*batt'-éhe*	'You, do!'
		hig-	*híg-e*	*higg-éhe*	'You, pass!'
		t'iib-	*t'iib-e*	*t'iibb-éhe*	'You, push!'
		wotʃ'-	*wótʃ'-e*	*wottʃ'-éhe*	'You, talk!'

(c)	*fir-*	*fír-e*	*fill-éhe*	'You, go out!'
	mar-	*már-e*	*mall-éhe*	'You, go!'
	waar-	*waár-e*	*waall-éhe*	'You, come!'
	ʔafuur	*ʔafuúr-e*	*ʔafuull-éhe*	'You, sit down!'

As shown in (140b and c), the stem-final consonant is geminated in the plural forms. With regard to this, Hudson (1976:267) states that "with the exception of Burji, in all HEC languages there is gemination of a simple stem-final consonant in the affirmative plural form". In addition to the final consonant gemination in the plural forms, an alveolar flap, /r/, is also compeletely assimilated to alveolar liquid, /l/ as can observed in (140c).

Following are a few more sentential examples of the imperative construction.

(141a)   *hákk'ạ*   *kaass-éhe*
       tree.ABS   grow-IMP.PL
       'Grow trees!' (Giving advice.)

(b)   *kába*   *ʔodíme*   *ʔilligánị*   *bikk-ína*   *ʔaaloʔ-ísa*   *kúr-e*
       now   also   ʔilligana   about-DAT   good-SIM   tell-IMP.SG
       'Now, you tell me about the type of marriage which is called Illigana.' (Requesting the
       addressee.)   (Text 03: No. 24)

(c)   *ʔee=lasó-nne*   *k'amá-ttʃ-ị*   *hakk'-íttʃó-nne*   *fir-aá*
       that=after-TDC   monkey-SG-NOM   tree-SG-LOC   climb.3SG.M-CNV
       hark'oot-áan-tʃ-ína   *kába*   *máhạ*   *ʔegar-t-oó-lla*   *k'akk'iss-aa*
       plough-AGN-SG-DAT   now   what.ABS   wait-2SG-IPV-PRG   be.fast.2SG-CNV
       mug-í-nne   *gan-t-aa*   *ʃíh-e*   *j-ú-kk-o*
       stick-EP-INST   hit-2SG-CNV   kill-IMP.SG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

       'Then, the monkey climbed up on a tree and shouted to the farmer. What are you waiting for
       man? Beat him up to death with your stick.' (Commanding the addressee.)   (Text 04: No.14)

(d)   *ʔeésẹ*   *ka=tʃ'áʔnị*   *woró-nne*   *ʔaag-ís-e*   *ʔi*   *foórẹ*
       1SG.ABS   this=sack.GEN   in-LOC   enter-CAUS-IMP.SG   1SG.GEN   soul.ABS
       gat-ís-e   *j-ú-kk-o*
       save-CAUS-IMP:SG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'Spare my life by hiding me in the sack.'   (Requesting the addressee.) (Text 04: No.02)

(e)   *ʔoóso*   *mínẹ*   *ʔaagg-éhe*
       children.VOC   house.ABS   enter-IMP.PL
       'Hey, you children get in to home!'

In addition to affirmative imperative, Hadiyya has also a prohibitive (negative) counterpart, which paradigmatically contrasts to the affirmative form. The negative imperative is expressed by the

suffixes *-itte* and *-akkotte* in the singular and plural forms respectively. Both, the singular and plural negative imperative constructions are offered in (142) a and b respectively. Note that such kinds of morphemes for the negative imperative seem to be made up of the person marker in the declarative plus the affirmative imperative mood marker, *-e*.

(142)   Verb stem   Imperative:Affirmative   Imperative:NEG

(a) Singular

diss-	*díss-e*	*diss-i-t-ítte*	'Do not put!'
fir-	*fír-e*	*fir-t-ítte*	'Do not go out!'
guull-	*guúll-e*	*guull-i-t-ítte*	'Do not finish!'
mar-	*már-e*	*mar-t-ítte*	'Do not go!'
mass-	*máss-e*	*mass-i-t-ítte*	'Do not take!'
waar-	*waár-e*	*waar-t-ítte*	'Do not come!'
ʔafuur	*ʔafuúr-e*	*ʔafuur-t-ítte*	'Do not sit down!'
ʔuull-	*ʔuúll-e*	*ʔuull-i-t-ítte*	'Do not stop!'

(b) Plural

b.	*diss-*	*diss-éhe*	*diss-i-t-akkótte*	'Do not put!'
	fir-	*fill-éhe*	*fir-t-akkótte*	'Do not go out!'
	guull-	*guull-éhe*	*guull-i-t-akkótte*	'Do not finish!'
	mar-	*mall-éhe*	*mar-t-akkótte*	'Do not go!'
	mass-	*mass-éhe*	*mass-i-t-akkótte*	'Do not take!'
	waar-	*waall-éhe*	*waar-t-akkótte*	'Do not come!'
	ʔafuur	*ʔafuull-éhe*	*ʔafuur-t-akkótte*	'Do not sit down!'
	ʔuull-	*ʔuull-éhe*	*ʔuull-i-t-akkótte*	'Do not stop!'

5.2.3.4. The jussive

The jussive is understood as an indirect command to a third person via an addressee. Palmer (1986:24) states, that "since jussive is a command directed to someone other than a second person addressee, it is sometimes referred to as third person imperative".

In Hadiyya, the jussive mood expresses an indirect command, suggestion, permission rather than command or polite question for first plural and third person singular and plural. The suffixes *-ona* and *-oone* express affirmative and negative jussive moods respectively. The jussive marker occurs following a person marker as illustrated in the paradigm of the verb *guull-* 'finish' in (143).

(143)	Affirmative jussive	Negative jussive
(a)	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-óna* this=work.ABS finish.3SG.M-JUS 'Let him finish the work.'	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-oóne* this=work.ABS finish.3SG.M-JUS.NEG 'Let him not finish the work.'
(b)	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-i-t-óna* this=work.ABS finish-EP-3SG.F-JUS 'Let her finish the work.'	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-i-t-oóne* this=work.ABS finish-EP-3SG.F-JUS.NEG 'Let her not finish the work.'
(c)	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-am-óna* this=work.ABS finish-3PL-JUS 'Let them finish the work.'	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-am-oóne* this=work.ABS finish-3PL-JUS.NEG 'Let them not finish the work.'
(d)	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-akk-óna* this=work.ABS finish-3SG.HON-JUS 'Let him/her (HON) finish the work.'	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-akk-oóne* this=work.ABS finish-3SG.HON-JUS.NEG 'Let him/her (HON) not finish the work.'
(e)	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-i-n-óna* this=work.ABS finish-EP-1PL-JUS 'Let's finish the work.'	*ka=bát’ǫ guull-i-n-oóne* this=work.ABS finish-EP-1PL-JUS.NEG 'Let's not finish the work.'

In (143a-d) an indirect command or suggestion is directed to a third party, whereas, in (143e), the speaker includes himself or herself with the addressee(s) among those exhorted to bring a state of affairs about. As shown in the examples above, unlike the imperative the jussive verb is inflected for person, number and gender.

The suffixes *-e* and *-ehe* which express a direct command in affirmative and negative imperative moods (cf ex.141 and 142), the jussive mood suffixes *-ona* and *-oone*, which show an indirect command (cf. ex143), are also used to denote a desire, hope, good wish, prayer, blessing or cursing as the sentential examples demonstrate.

(144a) *búttʃą   ʔít-e*
         soil.ABS   eat-IMP.SG
         'Be dead!' (Lit: eat soil')!' (Cursing)

  (b) *t'úmma gár-e*
         peace   spend-IMP.SG
         'Good night' (Lit: May you spend (be) the night in peace.)

  (c) *waáʔ-į   liʔ-is-óna*
         God-NOM   grow.3SG.M-CAUS-JUS
         'May God let grow up [what you gave birth (baby) grow up].' (blessing)'

(d) *waáʔ-į̇   neésę̇   t'umm-í-nne   ʔed-óna*
    God-NOM   1PL.ABS   peace-EP-INST   meet-3SG.M.JUS
    'Let God meet us again in peace.'

(e) *waáʔ-į̇   neésę̇   t'umm-í-nne   dabar-óna*
    God-NOM   1PL.ABS   peace-EP-INST   return.3SG.M-JUS
    'Let God come back us in peace.' (i.e. may God protect us from any danger during the journey until we come back to home.)

5.2.3.5. The conditional mood

Two types of conditional moods are distinguished: the real and the unreal conditionals. The real conditional expresses about the consequences of a possible event, the unreal or hyphotitical conditional depicts imaginary consequences of an event that didn't take place.

In other words, in real conditionals, a proposition is strongly asserted to be true, the condtions which are supposed to be or become real and the speaker being ready to back up the assertion with evidence or argument. To the contrary, since it implies a weak commitment to the truth of the proposition, the situation cannot be fully asserted in unreal conditional.

The real conditional is represented by the morpheme *-re* and the unreal one by *daʔne-* which are positioned after the aspect/person marker. Both are suffixed to the perfective verbal stems of subordinate clauses. The verbs in the main clause of real conditionals are in present/future aspect, while, they are perective in unreal conditionals. Moreover, in the unreal conditional construction, the auxiliary verb *heeʔ-* 'be' should be attached to the main (subsequent) clause. Consider the examples in (145) (a-d) for real conditional and (e-f) for the unreal conditional.

(145) Real conditionals

(a) *hadíjji   k'aánk'a hinkáʔį̇ ʔumuro-nné-mį̇   joóʔi mán-tʃ-į̇*
    Hadiyya.GEN   culture   any   age-LOC-too   exist man-SG-NOM
    leh-u-kk-aá-re   ʔajj-í-m-į̇   wiʔl-oó-kk-o
    die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND who-EP-too-NOM cry.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
    t'idd-oó-kk-o
    be.sad.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
    'According to the tradition of Hadiyya tribe, when a person of any age passed away, there should be a cry of sorrow and mourning.' (Text 01: No. 02)

(b) *ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-į̇   ka=kabeetʃ-ína ʔoogát'į̇ míne*
    this=plough-AGN-SG-NOM   this=leopard-DAT court.GEN house
    mall-u-mm-aá-re   ʔoogátą̇   siind-oó-mm-o   j-ú-kk-o
    go.1PL-PV-ASM-CNV-CND judge.ABS see.1PL-IPV-ASM-TV say.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M-TV
    'The farmer said to the leopard, if we go to the court we can receive judgment.' (Text 04: No.06)

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(c) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧*   *ka=but'-ittʃ-ína*   *ka=wóʃʃa̧*
this=man-SG-NOM   this=poor-SG-DAT   this=affair.ABS

 múlli   *mann-ína* *wottʃ'-i-t-aá-re*   *le-t-oó-tt-o*
other   man-DAT   tell.3SG.M-EP-2SG-CNV-CND   die-2SG-IPV-ASM-TV

ɟ-ú-kk-o
say.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M-TV

'If you tell this to someone, you will die, said the person to the poor man.' (Text 05: No. 13)

(d) *leh-ú-kki̧*   *mán-tʃi*   *moóll-i̧*   *ʔiitt-am-u-kk-aá-re*
die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG.GEN family-NOM like-3PL-PV-ASM-CNV-CND

ʃ-ú-kki̧   *mán-tʃi*   *moóll-i̧*   *k'adaálli baári̧* *dur-am-oó-kk-o*
kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM man-SG.GEN family-NOM white   ox.ABS   slaughter-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'If the families of the slain agree to to make a genuine peace, the killer's family will bring/slaughter a white ox.' (Text 02: No. 48)

Unreal (hypothetical) conditionals

(e) *ʔáti̧*   *waar-t-i-tt-i-dáʔne*   *waattʃámo*   *mak'iréme*
2SG.NOM come-2SG-EP-ASM-EP-CND   waachamo   together

mar-n-am-heeʔ-n-ú-mm-o
go-1PL-UCND-be-1PL-PV-ASM-TV

'If you had come, we would have gone to waaachamo together.'

(f) *ʔee=kíde*   *hig-u-kki̧-dáʔne*   *ʔub-am-heeʔ-u-kk-ó-jjo*
that=direction   pass.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CND   fall.3SG.M-UCND-be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG

'If he had passed towards that direction, he wouldn't have been sprained.'

The following table summarizes inventory of mood markers expressed morphologically.

Table 40: *An inventory of mood markers of Hadiyya:*

| Mood | Mood markers | | | |
| | Singular | | Plural | |
	Affirmative	Negative	Affirmative	Negative
Declarative	Ø	*-jjo*	Ø	*-jjo*
Interrogative	*-nnihe*	*-nnihe*	*-nnihe*	*-nnihe*
Imperative	*-e*	*-itte*	*-ehe*	*-akkotte*
Jussive	*-ona*	*-óone*	*-ona*	*-óone*
Conditional: Real	*-re*	*-jjo*	*-re*	*-jjo*
Unreal	*-daʔne*	*-jjo*	*-daʔne*	*-jjo*

5.3. Verbal derivation

In Hadiyya there are no derived words that are formed by prefixes. In contrast, suffixation is a common phenomenon in both inflectional and derivational processes of the language. Derived verb stems are formed by suffixing their respective morphemes to the verb roots.

Scalise (1984:52) states that in some languages, the outputs of some WFR's require overt inflectional markers before they can appear in surface structures, implying that the level of derived verbs is that of stems just like that of the bases from which they are derived. Similarly, derived verbs in Hadiyya are bound and need inflectional affixes so as to be acceptable words. The derived verb stems in the language include, passive, causative, reciprocal, middle and frequentative. Each of these has been dealt with below in turn.

5.3.1. Passive stem

The passive verb stem is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-am*[16] (*-an* before a derivational morpheme *-t/*) to a verb root. The Passive derivation suffix -am and its variant *-an* change a transitive verb to an intransitive one by suppressing the agent and assigning the subject position to the patient.

A sample of some more passive verbs is presented in (146).

(146)	Lexical base		Passive verb stem	
	bat'-	'work'	*bat'-am-*	'be worked'
	bitees-	'sell'	*bitees-am-*	'be sold'
	bog-	'break'	*bog-am-*	'be robbed'
	dooʔl-	'select'	*dooʔl-am*	'be selected'
	dur-	'slaughter'	*dur-am-*	'be slaughtered'
	gos-	'kidnap'	*gos-am-*	'be kidnaped'
	hin-	'dig'	*hin-am-*	'be dug'
	laʔ-	'know'	*laʔ-am-*	'be known'
	mur-	'cut'	*mur-am-*	'be cut'
	siid-	'find'	*siid-am-*	'be found'
	ʔaanʃ-	'wash'	*ʔaanʃ-am-*	'be washed'
	ʔag-	'drink'	*ʔag-am-*	'be drunk'
	ʔamad-	'catch'	*ʔamad-am-*	'be caught'
	ʔiik'-	'break'	*ʔiik'-am-*	'be broken'
	ʔit-	'eat'	*ʔit-am-*	'be eaten'

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[16] The same passive stem formative is also attested in most of the Cushitic languages like Gawwada (Geberew, 2003:51), Oromo (Temesgen, 1993:57), Alaaba, (Schneider-Blum 2007:309-310), Afar, (Bliese, 1976:145), Sidaama, (Anbessa, 2000:91), and five HEC languages (Hudson, 1976:271).

The suffixation of the morpheme *-am* to the transitive verb root derives passive verb roots. As can be observed the process of passivisation is non-category changing. The effect is that transitives become intransitives and because of this the process is considered as one of the intransitivization. As Katamba (1993:215) states, passivization changes objects in to subjects and may allow the deletion of the original subjects, thus, reducing the number of arguments of a verb. Compare the active sentences (147-149a) with the passive sentences (147-149b).

(147) (a) *ku=mán-tʃ-ị̥   k'adaállị̥ gereé-ttʃọ   dur-ú-kk-o*
            this=man-SG-NOM   white   sheep-SG.BS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
            'He slaughtered a white sheep.'

        (b) *k'adaállị̥   gereé-ttʃ-ị̥   dur-am-ú-kk-o*
            white   sheep-SG-NOM   slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
            'A/The white sheep was slaughtered.'

(148) (a) *Ɂánị̥   doomá-nne   hákk'ạ   Ɂiik'-ú-mm-o*
            1SG.NOM   forest-ABL   wood.ABS   bring.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
            'I broke wood in the forest.'

        (b) *hákk'-ị̥   Ɂiik'-am-ú-kk-o*
            wood-NOM   break. 3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
            'The wood was broken.'

(149) (a) *Ɂítt'ị̥   wóɁọ   daaddʒ-iínse Ɂinkiir-ú-kk-o*
            3SG.M.NOM   water.ABS   river-ABL   pour.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
            'He fetched water from the river.'

        (b) *wóɁ-ị̥   Ɂinkiir-am-ú-kk-o*
             water.3SG.M-NOM pour.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
            'The water was fetched.'

In (147-149), *ku=mántʃ-ị̥* 'the man', *Ɂánị̥* 'I' and *Ɂítt'ị̥* 'he' are the agents in (147-149a) are demoted to an oblique role in (147-149b). On the other hand, in (147-149a) *gereéttʃo* 'sheep', *hákk'a* 'wood', *wóɁo* 'water' are the object NPs of the transitive verbs *dur-* 'slaughter', *Ɂiik'-* 'break', *Ɂinkiir-* 'fetch'. These object NPs become goals/recipients in (147-149b).

Thus, the number of arguments is reduced to one with the object occurring as subject of the clause and the original subject missing. In these passive constructions who or what was responsible for the action is not mentioned. The language does not allow the overt expression of the agent. The effect of the passive morpheme is thus syntactic in that it changes argument structures of predicates.

The following illustrative sentences are taken from textual corpus.

(150a) *gosán-i̱   hadíjji   k'aánk'i   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   ʔogorá-jjo*
abduction-NOM Hadiyya.GEN culture.GEN bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM₄-SG.GEN way-NEG
'Abduction is very much unacceptable type of marriage in Hadiyya tradition.' (Text 03: No. 15)

(b) *ka=dur-am-ú-kki̱*   *gereéttʃi maáru̱   ʔajj-i-m-i̱*
this=slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL sheep.GEN meat.ABS who-EP-too-NOM
ʔit-oó-jjo
eat.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'No one is going to eat the meat of this sheep.' (Text 02: No. 44)

(c) *hór-i̱   siid-am-oó-kk-o*   *lamijje-nné-tte horoór-i̱*
wealth-NOM find.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV twenty-LOC-COP head-NOM
siid-am-oó-kk-o   *sore-nné-tte*
find.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV forty-LOC-COP
'Wealth comes on the age of twenties; wisdom comes at the age of forty.' (Proverb, No. 055)

(d) *ʔee=lasó-nne ku=foóru̱   ʃ-ú-kki̱*   *mántʃ-i̱   horoóru̱*
that=after-TDC this=soul.ABS kill.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M.REL man-NOM   head.ABS
hogoos-óna ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
shave.3SG.M-JUS make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
'Then, the killer will be shaved his hair.' (Text 02: No. 43)

(e) *ʔilligán-i̱   doʔl-am-oó-kk-o*   *hínka ʔammáne*
Illigan-NOM   choose.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV   what   time
'In what situation Illigana is to be chose?' (Text 03: No. 26)

The passive verb formative, *-am*, is not used with the passive verb *beedd-* 'be finished'. Such a verb has suppletive active form as shown in (151) below.

(151) <u>Verb root</u>   <u>Passive verb stem</u>

guull-   'finish'   *beedd-*   'be finished'

The following sentential examples in (152) can illustrate such suppletive passive forms shown in (151) above.

(152a) *ʔítt'i̱   bát'o̱ lóhi̱ saatá-nne   guull-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   work.ABS six   o'clock-TDC   finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He finished the work at six.'

(b) *bát'-i̱ lóhi̱ saatá-nne   beedd-ú-kk-o*
work-NOM six   o'clock-TDC   be.finished-PV-3SG.M
'The work was finished at six.'

5.3.2. Causative stem

"The causative verb stems can be formed from both intransitive and transitive verb stems and change the form of the verb into mono and di-transitive verbs respectively. The syntactic effect of the causative morpheme is that it changes intransitive into transitive and transitive in to causatives" (Katamba, 1993:274).

The causative derivation in Hadiyya is productive. As in many Afro-asiatic languages[17] the causative verb stem in Hadiyya, is formed by suffixing the morpheme *-is-* and its allomorphs -is- and -s- to the verb root. The suffix *-s* attached to stems ending with sonorants(155), while *-is* occurs elsewhere (154). Such morpheme is added to intransitive verbs so as to make them transitive. Thus *-is-* could be considered as transtivizer. Compare the following pairs of sentences in (153).

(153a) *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-i̧*   *ʔuull-ú-kk-o*
        child-SG-NOM stand.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M
        'The child stood.'

(b) *ʔítt'i̧*   *tʃ'iil-íttʃo̧*   *ʔuull-is-ú-kk-o*
     3SG.M.NOM   child-SG.ABS   stand.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
     'He made a child stand.'

Causative verbs indicate that the process is caused by an external agent. This adds one argument place to the verb. The 'new' agent appears as the subject and the 'old' subject is demoted to the status of an object. Likewise, in (153a), the verb *ʔuull-* 'stand' has the subject NP *tʃ'iilíttʃi* 'child' and being intransitive has no complement. In (153b) the intransitive verb after causativization becomes *ʔuull-is-* 'cause to stand' and hence achieves a transitive status by acquiring an NP complement *tʃ'iilíttʃo* 'a child'. As illustrated in (155) the *-i* of the morpheme *-is-* omitted after stem-final sonorants /n, m and r/. Consider the following.

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[17] A transitivising/causative *-is* is found throughout Afroasiatic languages, see, for example, Hayward (2000: 93). All five HEC languages, in addition to the *-is*, suffix of the causative, employ a suffix basically *-isiis* for forming factitives, second causatives, or the causatives of transitive verbs (Hudson, 1976:271). See also, (Anbessa 2000:83-84), and (Schneider-Blum, 2007:283).

(154) Non-causative (intransitive)   Causative (transitive)

but'-	'bo poor'	*but'-is-*	'to make somebody poor'
dill-	'to descend'	*dill-is-*	'to move something down'
doʔ-	'turn over'	*doʔ-is-*	'to make somebody go around'
gud-	'be ready'	*gud-is-*	'to make somebody ready'
gund-	'be short'	*gund-is-*	'to make something shorten'
karaar	'become bitter'	*karaar-s-*	'to make something bitter'
mugg-	'afraid'	*mugg-is-*	'to make somebody terrified'
wiʔl-	'weep'	*wiʔl-is-*	'to make somebody cry'
ʔuull-	'to stand'	*ʔuull-is-*	'to make somebody stand'

(155)
t'an-	'do, perform'	*t'an-s-*	'to enable somebody to do something.'
wotʃ'am-	'disagree'	*wotʃ'an-s-*	'to make somebody to disagree'
fir-	'go out'	*fir-s-*	'to make somebody go out'

Some verbs are already transitive in their basic form can take a transitive suffix. This process leads to an acquisition of an additional complement. Compare pairs of examples in (156) and (157).

(156a) *dukkát-i̱   lap'-ú-kk-o*
        Dukkat-NOM   sleep.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'Dukkato slept.'

  (b) *ʔítt'i̱   dukkáto̱   lap'-is-ú-kk-o*
       3SG.M.NOM   Dukkato.ABS   sleep.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
       'He made Dukkato sleep.'

(157a) *beét-i̱   wóʔo̱   ʔag-ú-kk-o*
        boy-NOM   water.ABS   drink.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The boy drank water.'

  (b) *dukkát-i̱   beéto̱   wóʔo̱   ʔag-is-ú-kk-o*
       Dukkat-NOM   boy.ABS   water.ABS   drink.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
       'Dukkato made the boy drink water'

As can be observed, *lap'-* 'sleep' is an intransitive verb in (156a) and transitivized in (156b) by the addition of *-is* 'cause'. In a similar way, *ʔag-* 'drink' is a transitive verb as in (157a), and is causativized in (157b).

Below is a list of causatives of the transitive verb stems.

(158) Transitive verb stems   Causative verb stems

bat'-	'to work'	*bat'- is -*	'cause to work'
los-	'to learn, get used to'	*los-is-*	'to teach'
ʃokk-	'to burn'	*ʃokk-is-*	'to burn something'
ʔag-	'to drink'	*ʔag-is-*	'cause to drink'
ʔaaʔ-	'to receive'	*ʔaaʔ-is -*	'cause to receive'
ʔed-	'to add'	*ʔed-is-*	'cause to add'
ʔit-	'to eat'	*ʔit-is-*	'to feed somebody'

Furthermore, the causative morpheme, *-is,* will be reduplicated in order to form causative verb from a transitive verb. The suffix *-isiis* is used for causative events where the causation is generally more indirect than those described with the causative suffix *-is*. The following examples in (159) illustrate single and double causativization of a transitive verb.

(159a) *makkeéb-į̇ hooʃʃóʔǫ ʔit-ú-k-ko*
Makkeeb-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Makkeebo ate lunch.'

(b) *makkeéb-į̇ beétǫ hooʃʃóʔǫ ʔit-is-ú-kk-o*
Makkeeb-NOM   boy.ABS   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Makkeebo fed the boy lunch.'

(c) *makkeéb-į̇ beétǫ hooʃʃóʔǫ ʔit-isiis-ú-kk-o*
Makkeeb-NOM   boy.ABS   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Makkeebo made the boy eat lunch.'

Below are some of the transitive verbs that can take single and double causative.

(160)

Verbal Stem		Causative	Double causative	
bat'-	work'	*bat'-is-*	*bat'-isiis-*	'make someone to work'
bog-	'rob'	*bog-is-*	*bog-isiis-*	'cause someone to rob'
holl-	'chase'	*holl-is-*	*holl-isiis-*	'make someone to chase'
mooʔ-	'see'	*mooʔ-is-*	*mooʔ-isiis-*	'make someone to see'
ʔaanʃ-	'wash'	*ʔaanʃ-is-*	*ʔaanʃ-isiis-*	'cause someone to wash'
ʔaf-	'arrive'	*ʔaf-is-*	*ʔaf-isiis-*	'make someone to arrive'

ʔag-	'drink'	*ʔag-is-*	*ʔag-isiis-*	cause someone to drink'
ʔamad-	'catch'	*ʔamad-is-*	*ʔamad-isiis-*	cause someone to catch'
ʔiik'-	'break'	*ʔiik'-is-*	*ʔiik'-isiis-*	'cause someone to break'
ʔijj-	'carry'	*ʔijj-is-*	*ʔijj-isiis-*	'cause someone to carry'
ʔuww-	'give'	*ʔuww-is-*	*ʔuww-isiis-*	'cause someone to give'
ʔuundʒ-	'throw'	*ʔuundʒ-is-*	*ʔuundʒ-isiis-*	'make someone to throw'

Consider the following sentential examples from our textual corpus that illustrate causativization of both transitive and intransitive verbs.

(161a) *gosáʔni   bikk-ína ʔaaloʔ-ísa tʃ'aakk-is-aá   kur-ú-kk-o*
abduction.GEN about-DAT good-SIM   be.clear-CAUS-CNV   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He told me about Gosano (abduction) in a detailed manner.' (Text 03: No.20)

(b) *hawwod-ám-tʃ-ị̈   lopp'-oóʔnị̈   lobị̈ mánn-ị̈*
hurt.3SG.M-PAS-ANM4-NOM   exceed-CNV.NEG old   man-NOM
sigg-is-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
be.cool.3SG.M-CAUS-PURP be.able-IPV-ASM-TV
'The conflict could be controlled by the elders before it caused much damage.' (Text 01: No. 16)

(c) *ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ị̈   tʃ'áʔni   woró-nne   ʔaag-is-aá*
this=plough-AGN-SG-NOM   sack.GEN in-LOC   enter.3SG.M-CAUS-CNV
maat'-aá   ka=kabeé-ttʃị̈   foórẹ̈   gat-is-ú-kk-o
hide.3SG.M-CNV this=this-leopard.SG.GEN soul.ABS save.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'The farmer saved the leopard's life by hiding it in the sack.' (Text 04: No. 16)

(d) *leellaʔ-aámị̈ ʔáma   ʔoósọ̈   liʔ-is-(a)m-ó-jjo*
throat-ADJZ   mother.NOM child.ABS grow.3SG.F.CAUS.IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'A mother who has throat [who eats too much]does not raise (take care of) her children.' (Proverb, No. 069) 'A self-centered (rapacious) mother does not raise (take care of) her children.'

(e) *lobakátị̈ lánd-ị̈ gágạ̈   dʒórị̈ woraádạ̈ ʔaag-is-eéna*
many   girl-NOM self.ABS ugly   youth.ABS   enter.3SG.M-CAUS-PURP
has-am-oó-jjo
want-3PL-IPV-NEG
'Most of the girls will not get married ugly youths willingly. (Text 03: No. 17)

(f) *ʔantabaa-kkíttʃọ̈ gat-is-eéna   fella-kkíttʃọ̈ kitim-ú-kk-o*
hen-SG.ABS   save.3SG.M-CAUS-PURP   goat-SG.ABS   sacrifice.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'To save his chicken, he sacrificed his goat.' (Proverb, No. 126)

5.3.3. Reciprocal

The reciprocal verb describes an action carried out by two or more participants who are agents and patients at the same time. In other words, in a reciprocal construction, each of the participants occupies both the role of agent and patient with respect to each other. Furthermore, reciprocals are inherently plural since reciprocal actions presuppose the presence of two or more participants in the action denoted by the verb. The reciprocal situations may either involve simultaneous or sequential relations of actions.

Desta (1989:31) claims that the reciprocal stem in Hadiyya is formed by adding the stem formative morpheme *-amm* to the verb root. Moges (1984:32-33) says the reflexive derived stem plus the suffix */-ntʃa/* gives the derived stem which shows reciprocal construction. However, the */-ntʃa/* identified as a reciprocal morpheme by Moges is a derivational morpheme for abstract and result nominals but not a reciprocal verb marker.

In this study, however, it is the double passive which yields a reciprocal interpretation. The reciprocal is built on the passive stem which is formed by using complete reduplication of the passive marker, *-am*. Examples are given in Table 41.

Table 41: *Reciprocal verb stems*

Verb root	passive verb stem	Reciprocal verb stem	
gameʔl-	*gameʔl-am-*	*gameʔl-amam-*	'to ask each other'
gan-	*'gan-am-*	*gan-amam-*	'to fight with each other'
gereer-	*gereer-am-*	*gereer-amam-*	'to compete each other'
laʔ-	*laʔ-am-*	*laʔ-amam-*	'to know each other'
ʔamad-	*ʔamad-am-*	*ʔamad-amam-*	'to catch each other'
ʔapp'is-	*ʔapp'is-am-*	*ʔapp'is-amam-*	'to hit each other'
ʔatoor-	*ʔatoor-am-*	*ʔatoor-amam-*	'to talk each other'
ʔedam-	*ʔedam-am-*	*ʔedam-amam-*	'to meet each other'
ʔiitt-	*ʔiitt-am-*	*ʔiitt-amam*	'to love each other
suunk'-	*suunk'-am-*	*suunk'-amam-*	'to kiss each other'

The following sentential examples are taken from textual corpus.

(162a) *hadíjj-į*   *k'aank'á-nne wottʃ'-amam-ú-kkį*   *mánnạ*   *ʔiitt-ans-ímmi*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   talk.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-TV   man.ABS   like-FRQ-VN.GEN
           ʔogór-į   *baʃíla*
           way-NOM   many.COP
           'There are many strategies of conflict resolution in Hadiyya culture.' (Text 02: No. 05)

      (b) *ʔammaʔn-amam-oo-beéʔi*   *beʃʃ-úww-į*   *ʔaff-am-ú-kkį*   *daaddʒé-nne*
believe.3PL-RCP-IPV-NEG   friend-PL-NOM   arrive-3PL-PV-ASM   river-LOC
           hideʔ-amam-oó-kk-o
           give promise.3PL-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV
           'Friends, who do not trust each other, make a covenant every now and then.' (Proverb, No. 118)

      (c) *ʔarad-aán-į*   *hundį*   *kolló-mį*   *doʔ-amam-u-kk-úlla*
announce-AGN-NOM   all   direction-too   go.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-PRG
           ʔarad-amam-oó-kk-o
           annonce.3PL -RCP-IPV-ASM-TV
           'The announcers declare [the death of the famous person] moving to every direction.' (Text 01: No. 16)

      (d) *ʔaré-e*   *ʔaroʔí-į*   *suunk'-amam-ú-kk-o*
wife.NOM-CNJ   husband.NOM-CNJ   kiss.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-TV
           'The wife and husband kissed each other.'

      (e) *ʔoós-į*   *t'oreet'-amam-ú-kk-o*
boys-NOM   compete.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-TV
           'The boys [runners] competed each other.'

5.3.4. The middle voice

Several middle derived verbs indicate that the effect of the action is experienced by the subject himself, or that the action is performed for the own interest of the subject.

In other words, in middle (autobenefactive) construction the subject of a sentence does the action or participates in the action for his/her own benefit.[18] Such situation is expressed through various strategies. Each of the mechanisms will be presented in turn below.

5.3.4.1. The use of the glottal stop /-ʔ-/

The morpheme /-ʔ-/ is attested as middle marker. Here, the occurrence of glottal stop seems to be determined phonologically. When the verb ends with a sonorant, the stem formative morpheme /-ʔ-/

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[18] Despite the fact that most of the autobenefactive verbs are generally beneficial to the subject of the sentence, there are some forms which have the reverse meanings, i.e. where the action of the verb is injurious to the subject. For example in the verb /muʔl-/'cut oneself by a sharp object' there is an injury and not a benefit to the subject.

is affixed to the root final sonorant consonant. In other words, such stem formative is metathesized between the root final sonorant and the sound preceding it.

This middle voice morpheme, /-ʔ-/, indicates that the effect of the action is experienced by the subject himself, or that the action is performed for the own interest of the subject. Data in (163) depicts this suffix.

(163) Verbal root   Derived stems

feer-	'collect'	*feeʔl-*	'collect for oneself'
hin-	'dig'	*hiʔn-*	'dig/cultivate for oneself'
keen-	'measure'	*keeʔn-*	'measure for oneself'
mur-	'cut'	*muʔl-*	'cut for oneself'
sar	'cook'	*saʔl-*	'cook for one self'
som-	'attach'	*soʔm-*	'attach for one self'
tum-	'hit'	*tuʔm-*	'hit for ones advantage'
ʔegar-	'wait'	*ʔegaʔl-*	'wait for one self'

Note also that the stem final alveolar flap /r/ is realized as /l/ as the result of transposition of the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the process of autobenefactic verb stem formation. Now consider the following sentence based examples from our textual corpus:

(164a) *bakʼú-ttʃ-į̄   ʔúsą̄   muʔl-ú-kk-aá-re   ʔittʼi*
mule-SG-NOM   rope.ABS   cut.3SG.M.BEN2-PV-ASM-TV-CNV-CND   3SG.M.GEN
gagi-ná-mį̄   gund-i-ttʼ-oó-kk-o
self-DAT-too   shorten-EP-BEN3-IPV-ASM-TV
'If a mule broke the rope on its own leg, it minimizes its own free movement.' (Proverb, No. 007)

(b) *mánn-į̄   horoórę   kaʔl-u-kk-aá-re   dabajj-íttʃo   máttʃʼę̄*
man-NOM   head.ABS   tie.BEN2.3SG.M-PV-CNV-CND   rat-SG-NOM   ear.ABS
kaʔl-i-t-ó-ʔ-o
tie-EP-3SG.M-PV-EP-TV
'A mice saw human being braided their hair and she did the same with her ears.' (Proverb, No. 080)

(c) *ʃ-ú-kkį̄   mán-tʃi   moóll-į̄   tunso-nne   gunguʔl-am-aá*
kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   family-NOM   dark-LOC   cover.BEN2-3PL-CNV
daáddʒę̄   fir-am-aá   dabaʔl-am-aá   waar-am-oó-kk-o
river.ABS   cross-3PL-CNV   return.BEN2-3PL-CNV   come-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'The family of the one, who committed murder, will cross the river in darkness by wrapping a cloth all over their body and return back to home.' (Text 02: No. 45)

(d) *ʔaʔl-ú-mm-ó-kkị̀*   *heemáttʃạ*   *ʔawwatt'-u-mm-ó-kkị̀*
buy.1SG.RFX-PV-ASM-TV-ASM-REL   black.ABS   use.1SG.BEN3-PV-ASM-TV-REL
kaʃára   *ʔuundʒ-u-mmókkị̀*   *k'adaálla*
red.COP   remove.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-REL.3SG.M   white.COP
'I bought black, I used red and finally what I removed as a waste is white.' (Riddle, No. 044)
Answer: *kasalaá giiraá giiʔlibúttʃa =* 'Coal, fire and ash'

5.3.4.2. Glottalization of the root final obstruent

Verbs whose roots end in obstruents other than sonorants are characterized by having glottal final consonants *p', tʃ'*, and *t'*, which gets glottalized and then, geminated. In other words, in the process of middle (autobenefactive) stem formation the root final obstruents undergo glottalization. i.e., *p'*, to *pp', tʃ' to ttʃ'* and *t'* to *tt'*. The examples in (165) will elucidate this.

(165)

Verbal stem		Derived stems	
gubb-	'to drink'	*gupp'-*	'drink for one self'
goʃ-	'to milk'	*gottʃ'-*	'to milk one self'
haabbis-	'to comb'	*'haabbitt'-*	'to comb one's hair'
tʃaakk-	'to light'	*tʃaakkitt'-*	'to light one self'
weeʃ-	'to call'	*weettʃ'-*	'call for one self'
ʔamad-	'catch'	*ʔamatt'-*	'catch one self'
ʔapp'is-	'to hit'	*ʔapp'itt'-*	'hit one self'
ʔidʒaadʒ-	'to order'	*ʔidʒaattʃ'-*	'order for one self'

Consider the following sentential examples:

(166a) *hadíjj-ị̀*   *k'aank'á-nne*   *ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃì*   *ʔogoll-úwwị̀*   *meéʔo*
Hadiyya-NOM   culture-LOC   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way-PL-NOM   how.many
'How many marriage types are there in Hadiyya culture?' (Text 03: No.01)

(b) *wiʔl-áan-ị̀*   *ʔódime*   *lamádọ*   *ʔamatt'-am-aá*   *kad-am-oó-kk-o*
cry-AGN-NOM   also   waist.ABS   catch.BEN3-3PL-CNV   dance-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'The mourners also grab the waist of one another and sing.' (Text 01: No. 46)

5.3.4.3. The use of -akk'-

The other middle stem formative is the morpheme *-akk'*, which occurs after a set of verbs ending in obstruents. Examples in (167) demonstrate the use of this morpheme.

(167) | Verbal Stem | | Derived stems | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *bat'-* | 'to work' | *bat'- akk'-* | 'to work oneself' |
| *hottʃ-* | 'hunt' | *hottʃ-akk'-* | 'to hunt oneself' |
| *hogoos-* | 'to shave' | *hogoos-akk'-* | 'to shave oneself' |
| *mass-* | 'take' | *mass-akk'* | 'to take oneself' |
| *mik'-* | 'pay' | *mik'-akk'-* | 'to pay oneself' |
| *mooʔ-* | 'see' | *mooʔ-akk'-* | 'to see oneself' |
| *wotʃ'-* | 'talk' | *wotʃ'-akk'-* | 'to talk oneself' |
| *ʔaanʃ-* | 'wash' | *ʔaanʃ-akk'-* | 'to wash oneself' |
| *ʔeeb-* | 'to bring/marry' | *ʔeeb-akk'-* | 'to bring/marry oneself' |
| *ʔeddeʔ-* | 'to wear' | *ʔeddeʔ-akk'-* | 'to wear for oneself' |
| *ʔifiis-* | 'cover' | *ʔiffiis-akk'-* | 'to cover oneself' |
| *ʔiik'-* | 'break' | *ʔiik'-akk'-* | 'to break oneself' |
| *ʔijj-* | 'to carry' | *ʔijj-akk'-* | 'to carry oneself' |

See also some sentential examples:

(168a) *lámi̧ ʔabbaajj-úww-i̧   mooʔ-akk'-amam-oó-jjo*
two   brother-PL-NOM   see.3PL-BEN1-RCP-IPV-NEG
'Two brothers never see one another.' (Riddle, No. 016)
Ans: *ʔílle* 'two eyes'

(b) *ʃ-ú-kki̧   mán-tʃ-i̧   ʔítt'i   gágą   tunsó-nne*
kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   self.ABS   dark-LOC
maat'-akk'-oó-kk-o
hide.3PL-BEN1-IPV-ASM-TV
'The person, who committed murder, hides himself in the dark.' (Text 01: No. 45)

(c) *ʔítt'i̧   mass-akk'-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   take.3SG.M-BEN1-PV-ASM-TV
'He took for himself/he took for his own benefit.'

The derivational rule is non-category changing since it derives middle verbs from the verb stems. In some cases, a large number of verbs have no middle forms[19]. Some are listed below.

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[19] The phonological reason for the nonexistence of the middle formative, akk', with such verbs is not clear in the present study.

(169) *badd-* 'be afraid', *bak'-* 'wake', *bitaaʔ-* 'buy', *bitees-* 'sell', *dabaʔl-* 'return', *dinb-* 'get drink', *doʔ-* 'go round', *fooʃʃeʔ-* 'breathe', *gantʃ'ar-* 'be angry', *geer-* 'run', *gib-* 'run away from', *has-* 'look for', *fir-* 'go (come) out' *gaaggaab-* 'be in a hurry', *hafaaffeʔ-* 'yawn', *hak'aaweeʔ-* 'dream', *hamaar-* 'mix', *hoog-* 'become tired of', *kaaʔ-* 'win', *keen-* 'measure', *kutt'-* 'cough', *laʔ-* 'know', *liiram-* 'be happy', *leh-* 'die', *los-* 'learn, get used to', *mit'-* 'wish', *maar-* 'forgive', *k'akk'is-* 'become fast', *sab-* 'hate', *tuns-* 'become dark', *t'an-* 'be able to', *t'iss-* 'be sick', *t'uf-* 'shut', *waar-* 'come', *weeʃ-* 'call', *ʔaf-* 'arrive', *ʔafuur-* 'sit', *ʔag-* 'drink', *ʔaaʔ-* 'receive', *ʔih-* 'be', *ʔiinseʔ-* 'sleep', *ʔit-* 'eat', *ʔub-* 'fall', *ʔuww-* 'give', *ʔuull-* 'stand/stop'

5.3.5. The frequentative

The frequentative verb is used to express actions, which are carried out frequently or intensively. Aikhenvald (1988:12) points out that in most of the Cushitic languages, as well as in a great many Afro-Asiatic languages, intensives are formed by reduplication of a whole verbal stem or part of it.

In Hadiyya, however, in addition to reduplication[20] frequentative verb stem is formed by the suffix -*ans,* which occurs next to the verb root and followed by agreement markers. In the process of such reduplication and affixation, frequentative verb stems are formed with frequentative, intensive or distributive meaning. Below are some examples of verbs with frequentative suffix, -*ans* and reduplicated verbs in (170a) and (b) respectively.

(170a)	Lexical base		Derived stems	
	dabar-	'alter,change'	*dabar-ans-*	'change repeatedly'
	dereer-	'to tear'	*dereer-ans-*	'tear in to small pieces'
	hin-	'dig'	*hin-ans-*	'dig here and there'
	mur-	'cut'	*'mur-ans-*	'cut in to small pieces'
	sut-	'to insert'	*sut-ans-*	'insert here and there'
	t'aʔm-	'to ask'	*t'aʔm-ans-*	'ask repeatedly'
	t'ank'is-	'light(fire)'	*t'ank'is-ans-*	'light (fire) here and there'
	ʔapp'is-	'hit'	*ʔapp'is-ans-*	'hit again and again'
	ʔiik'-	'break'	*ʔiik'-ans-*	'break in to small pieces'

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[20] See sec. 2.3 *on reduplication of idephones* for further discussion. Though this kind of reduplication is not common, in such a pattern the whole root is repeated to express repeated actions.

(170b)	*t'op-*	'jump'	*t'op't'op'-*	'jump repeatedely'
	hintʃ'-	'be closer'	*hintʃ'intʃ'-*	'be more closer'
	buk'-	'flow'	*bubbuk'-*	'flow continously'
	dapp'-	'hide'	*dap'dapp'-*	'hide again and again'
	tʃ'ef-	sprinkle	*tʃ'etʃʃ'ef-*	sprinkle repeatedly

Again the derivational rule is non-category changing. In other words, the examples in (170), demonstrate that a frequentative suffix does not change the basic verb stems to other lexical category.

NOMINAL AND VERBAL MODIFIERS

This chapter describes words functioning as modifiers of nouns and verbs, namely adjectives, quantifiers, numerals and deictics.

6.1. Adjectives

In Hadiyya adjectives constitute a separate word class. An adjective is a word class which can be distinguished from the word classes of noun and verb on morphological and syntactic grounds. Adjectives are not obligatorily marked by an overt gender marker. In other words, unlike nouns, adjectives can occur without the definiteness-gender marking. Adjectives and nouns differ in they way they indicate plurality. Only predicative adjectives take the suffix *-uww* to indicate plurality (see section 6.1.1.).

Hadiyya is a language with a large open adjective class. Through derivation (6.1.2) an inestimable number of adjectives can be created. The closed adjective (true, genuine, underived) class is non existent in the language. Hence, every adjective has a noun and verbal counterpart, with which it shares the basic phonological structure and semantic content. This suggests that adjectives in Hadiyya can be treated as derived forms.

The semantic relationship between adjectives and their verbal counterparts is that the adjectives denote states while their verbal counterparts denote change of state. In Hadiyya, this semantic relationship is morphologically encoded. As in the case of nouns, adjectives are characterized by having one of the suffixal elements *-a, -o,* and *-e,* (see also section 3.1.). The three terminal vowels, in their order of frequency are *-a, -o* and *-e*. Bearing in mind the formal and semantic similarity between adjectives and verbs in Hadiyya, one can argue that it is the suffix which determines the category of the derived form. Otherwise, the two share the same root as well as the same basic semantic reference.

Though all the adjectives share their base with a noun or a verb, it is unclear and cannot be answered with the present state of knowledge which word class is more basic than the other: e.g.; *geéddʒa* 'big', Vs *geeddʒoóma* 'greatness', Vs *geeddʒúkko* 'be huge' (See also 3.3.1. Nominal Derivation).

One of the syntactic features specific to adjectives is specification for degree. Unlike nouns, which can be modified by other nouns, adjectives cannot be modified by nouns. Another consequence of this difference is that unlike nouns, which can be modified by a range of modifiers (another NP in the genitive, a demonstrative, an adjective, a numeral, a quantifier and the possessive pronominal suffix), adjectives can typically be modified lexically by means of degree adverbials such as *lobakáta* 'very'. In structures such as (171) only adjectives can occur following the degree word *lobakáta* 'very/too much'.

(171a) *lobakáti̧ biidʒ-aálli̧ land-íttʃo ʔam-beet-ína siir-t-ó-ʔ-o*
       too.much be.kind-ADJZ girl-SG-NOM mother-boy-DAT conceive-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
       'A very generous girl conceives from her own brother.' (Proverb, No. 074)

(b) *lobakáti̧ ʔamatt'-aam-ína kóbi̧ dúta*
     too.much be.rich-ADJZ-DAT friend a.lot.of.COP
     'A wealthy [person] has got lots of friends.' (Proverb, No. 075)

(c) *ʔísi̧ lobakáta k'oorá-tte*
     3SG.F.NOM too.much clever-COP
     'She is very clever.'

Adjectives can be used either attributively or predicatively. When Adjectives function attributively, they precede the noun they modify. In other words, the prototypical function of adjectives is modification. Below are given examples of adjectives functioning as modifiers.

(172a) *baálli woró-nne duʃ-ú-kki̧ kaʃári̧ hamaʃʃ-íttʃo*
       cliff.GEN in-LOC lie.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL red snake-SG.TV
       'A red snake sleeping under a cliff.' (Riddle, No. 002)
       Ans: *ʔallábo* 'tongue'

(b) *duub-iínse fir-oó-kki̧ ʔeelliintʃ-i-í k'aww-iínse*
     cloud-ABL come out.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL sunlight-NOM-CNJ foolish-ABL
     fir-oó-kki̧ ʔallab-i-í malaajj-aámo
     come out.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL tounge-NOM-CNJ power-ADJZ.COP
     'The sunlight which comes from cloud and an expression which come out from the poor are powerful. (Proverb: An expression of the poor and the sunlight which comes after cloudy day, both strikes fiercely.' (Proverb, No. 018)

(c) *gúndi̧ ʔánn-i̧ ʔoos-ína darábi̧ mán-tʃo̧ lab-oó-kk-o*
     short father-NOM boys-DAT of.the.same age man-SG.ABS seem.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
     'A short father seems of the same age [a friend] for his own sons.' (Proverb, No. 035)

(d) *k'oók'i̧ ʔíll-i̧ barbaróʔo̧ badd-oó-jjo*
     blind eye-NOM chili.powder.ABS afraid.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
     'A blind eye is not afraid of a chili powder.' (Proverb, No. 063)

(e) *ʔamátt'ị̀ hall-íttʃ-ị̀   ʔijj-í-nne   gar-ú-kk-o*
Arrogant   donkey-SG-NOM   load-EP-COM   spend.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Arrogant donkey spent the night with its load.' (Riddle, No. 41)
Ans: ʔaráʔa 'bed'

Many adjectives can be used in comparison expressions such as in (173). The morpheme *-iinse*, which is similar in form with ablative case marker, is used as comparison here.

(173a) *gimbíttʃ-ị̀   waattʃam-iínse ʔiibb-aálla*
gimbich-NOM   waacham -COMP   be.hot-ADJZ.COP
'Gimbicho is hotter than Waachamo.'

(b) *dʒawwoór-ị̀   niinn-iínse   k'oóra*
Jawwoor-NOM   3PL-COMP   wise.COP
'Jawwore is more intelligent than all of us.'

(c) *ʔánị̀   ʔitt'-iínse   gúnda*
1SG.NOM   3SG.M-COMP   short.COP
'I am shorter than him.'

(e) *ʔotoór-ị̀   dʒaadʒur-íinse kiid-aámo*
Otoor -NOM   Jaajur-COMP   be.cold-ADJZ.COP
'Otooro is colder than Jaajura.'

What we have examined above is morphological and syntactic similarities and differences between nouns and adjectives. All these facts demonstrate that adjectives belong to a separate lexical category, on a parallel with nouns and verbs.

6.1.1. Inflection

The adjectives can be used either attributively or predicatively. Attributive adjectives are not inflected for grammatical features such as number, gender, definiteness. Also there is no agreement marking between the adjective and a head noun it modifies. For instance, *hemattʃa* 'black' can be used to modify masculine and feminine, singular and plural nouns (174a-d), without showing any change in form. Consider the following examples in (174).

(174) (a) *hemáttʃị̀ landíttʃo*   'black girl'
       (b) *hemáttʃị̀ beéto*   'black boy'
       (c) *hemáttʃị̀ lánda*   'black girls'
       (d) *hemáttʃị̀ ʔoóso*   'black boys'

As can be seen (174), the adjective *hemáttʃa* 'black' is inflected neither for number nor gender. In other words, attributive adjectives do not agree with the noun they modify (see also Stinson, 1976:153).

Adjectives and nouns differ in the way they indicate plurality. In comparison with adjectives, number marking morphemes are more widespread in nouns than in adjectives. Attributive adjectives and their head nouns do not agree in number (cf. ex. in 175). There is no example in the corpus where the head noun and the modifier are both marked by *-uwwa*. Compare the following paradigms:

(175)

a. attributive adjectives and singular head		b. attributive adjectives plural head	
goottóʔị beéto	'a little kid'	*goottóʔị ʔoóso*	'little kids'
kaʃárị ʔambúla	'a red ram'	*kaʃárị ʔambullúwwa*	'red rams'
haraárị doóma	'a wide forest'	*haraárị doommúwwa*	'wide forests'
k'áwwị ʔabbaájjo	'a foolish brother'	*k'áwwị ʔabbaajjúwwa*	'foolish brothers'
k'eeraáʔlị múga	'a tall stick'	*k'eeraáʔlị muggúwwa*	'tall trees'
k'otárị woradíttʃo	'a strong youngster'	*k'otárị woraadúwwa*	'strong youngsters'
t'úkk'ị míne	'a narrow house'	*t'úkk'ị minnúwwa*	'narrow houses'

Number marking, is possible when adjectives are used predicatively. If the adjectival is used predicatively, only the plurative morpheme *-uww* is applicable (176). Some illustrative examples are provided below.

(176a) *ku=baár-ị geéddʒa*
this=ox-NOM big.COP
'This ox is big.'

ku=ball-uww-ị geeddʒ-úwwa
this=ox-PL-NOM big-PL.COP
'These oxen are bog.'

(b) *ku=beét-ị k'oora*
this=boy-NOM clever.COP
'This boy is clever.'

ku=ʔoós-ị k'ooll-úwwa
this=child-NOM clever-PL.COP
'These boys are clever.'

(c) *ʔítt'ị heemáttʃa*
he-NOM black.COP
'He is black.'

ʔitt'úww-ị heemattʃ-úwwa
3PL-NOM black-PL.COP
'They are blacks.'

Unlike nouns, the singulative marker, *-ttʃ,* is not used in adjectives at all. Though adjectives do not mark for singularity, the singular marker *-ttʃ* is used to indicate the referent's tininess. (See also 3.2.2.2. the same function of *-ttʃ* in nouns). The following are illustrative examples.

(177)	Adjectives		Diminutive	
	danaámo	'beautiful'	*danaántʃo*	'a/the beautiful little'
	gúnda	'short'	*gundíttʃo*	'a/the short little'
	kadaálla	'white'	*k'adaalíttʃo*	'a/the white little'
	wint'iriílla	'smaal'	*wint'iriíllíttʃo*	'tiny/too small'

In addition, the attributive adjectives agree with their head nouns in case. Hence, adjectives and nouns cannot be morphologically differentiated, because adjectives exhibit as many case distinctions as nouns do. We have seen in the section on noun inflection, (3.2), that a masculine head noun in subject position is marked for nominative case. Likewise a masculine adjective which modifies such a noun is marked for nominative (178a). Feminine nouns on other hand are unmarked for nominative case and so are the absolutives which modify them as in (178b).

(178a) *k'ot'árị beét-ị bát'ọ guull-ú-kk-o*
        intelligent boy-NOM work.ABS finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'An intelligent boy finished the work.'

(b) *k'ot'árị land-íttʃọ bát'ọ guull-i-t-ó-ʔ-o*
        intelligent girl-SG.NOM work.ABS finish-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
        'An intelligent girl finished the work.'

The case of an attributive adjective is determined by the case of the noun that it modifies, for example, if the modified noun is in the nominative case, the attributive adjective that modifies it is also in the nominative, as in (178).

The absolutive case is unmarked and is characterized by the terminal vowels which are also found on nouns as already shown in (178), (see also 3.2.4). In (179) compare the case paradigms between adjective *k'eeraáʔla* 'tall/long' and nouns with *beéto* 'boy, *hakk'íttʃo* 'tree':

(179)	Case in adjectives	Case in nouns	Type of the case
	k'eeraáʔl-ị	*beét-ị*	NOM
	k'eeraáʔla	*beétọ*	ABS
	k'eeraaʔl-ína	*beet-ína*	DAT
	k'eeraaʔl-í-nne	*beet-í-nne*	COM
	k'eeraaʔl-iínse	*beet-iínse*	ABL
	k'eeraaʔlá-nne	*hakk'-íttʃó-nne*	LOC

Like genitive nouns, that modify another noun, genitive-marked adjectives can again be used as modifiers of a head noun. In other words, the attributive adjective qualifies the head noun, where as the genitive-marked adjective refers to the possessor who has a certain quality (here: kindness). In the examples (180a) and (180b), the use of an attributive adjective and the genitive modifier is contrasted.

(180a) *biidʒaálli̥ mántʃo*   'the kind man'

(b) *biidʒaálli mántʃi̥ beéto*   'the kind man's son'

As mentioned earlier, like nouns, an adjective in Hadiyya has both predicative and attributive functions. There is no morphologically indicated opposition between masculine and feminine gender of attribute adjectives. However, gender can be expressed in predicative adjectives. As in the case of predicate nouns, predicate adjectives are indicated by a zero morpheme (for a masculine subject), and are obligatorily followed by a copular element *-tte* (for a feminine subject) which agrees in gender with the subject noun. The following sentences exemplify the copula complement function of adjectives:

(181a) *ku=beét-i̥   k'áwwa*
       this=boy-NOM be.foolish.COP
       'This boy is foolish.'

(b) *tu=land-íttʃo   k'eeraaʔlá-tte*
       this.F=girl-SG.NOM tall-COP.3SG.F
       'This boy is tall.'

(c) *ʔítt'i̥   dan-aámo*
       3SG.M.NOM be.good-ADJZ.COP
       'He is handsome.'

(d) *ʔísi̥   dan-aamó-tte*
       3SG.F.NOM be.good-ADJZ-COP.3SG.F
       'She is beautiful.'

The noun modified by an adjective can sometimes be omitted. In this case, the adjective modifying the omitted noun looks as if it were serving as an argument. In the absence of a head noun, an attributive adjective function as an elliptic phrase, and in that case, it attracts all the inflections of the absent head noun. This happens when the referent of the omitted noun is understood by the conversation participants to be a particular entity. The following structures illustrate such grammatical parallelism between nouns and adjectives occurring in an NP with a head noun (182-183a) and in headless NP (182-183b) respectively.

(182) (a) *goottóʔi̧ beét-i̧ min-iínse fir-ú-kk-o*
        little boy-NOM house-ABL go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The little boy went out from the house.'

     (b) *goottóʔ-i̧ min-iínse fir-ú-kk-o*
        little-NOM house-ABL go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The little one went out from the house.'

(183) (a) *k'eeraáʔli̧ mán-tʃ-i̧ ni baárą bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
        tall man-SG-NOM 1SG-GEN ox.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The tall man bought our ox.'

     (b) *k'eeraáʔl-i̧ ni baárą bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
        tall-NOM 1SG.GEN ox.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The tall one bought our ox.'

Independent adjectives (adjectives as NP heads) are used anaphorically as in example below, where the referent *gereéttʃo*, 'sheep' has been mentioned before. In other words, the independent adjective in example in (184) has a referent in the preceding discourse.

(184) *ʃ-ú-kki̧ mán-tʃ-i̧ ʔeeb-ú-kki̧ heemáttʃą horoórę*
     kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM bring.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL black.ABS head.ABS
     guunguu-ʔl-aá baálli gabó-nne dur-óna ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
     cover.3SG.M-RFX-CNV cliff.GEN edge-LOC slaughter.3SG.M-JUS make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

     'Then while he veiled himself in a cloth, he will be made to slaughter the black whom he has brought with him at the edge of the cliff.' *(Note that: black refers to the black sheep)* (Text 02: No.43)

Predicative adjectives take verbal inflection. Adjectives like verbs inflect for number, gender and person. The subject pronominal suffixes are attached to predicative adjective. It is by agreement processes that such adjectives bear this feature. A detailed account of these morphemes, i.e. inflection of verbs is given previously in section 5.2. The following structures illustrate the occurrence of an adjective (185-187a) and its verbal counterpart (185-187b) as a modifier and a predicate respectively.

(185) (a) *ʔabbeéb-i̧ mah-ína t'eeʔ-aálli̧ saátą bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
        Abbeeb-NOM what-DAT be.expensive-ADJZ watch.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        Why did Abbeebo buy an expensive watch?'

     (b) *saáti bít-i̧ t'eeʔ-ú-kk-o*
        watch.GEN price-NOM be.expensive.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The price of the watch was expensive.'

(186) (a) *Ɂánị   heemáttʃị kaaméɁẹ bitaaɁ-ú-mm-o*
           1SG.NOM black   car.ABS   buy.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
           'I bought a black car.'

      (b) *Ɂád-ị   mah-ína heemattʃ-ú-kk-o*
           milk-NOM what-DAT be.black.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
           'Why did the milk blacken?'

(187) (a) *Ɂissúwwị haraárị goógǫ   bat'-am-ú-kk-o*
           3PL.NOM wide   road.ABS work-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
           'They constructed a wide road.'

      (b) *goóg-ị   haraar-ú-kk-o*
           road-NOM   be.wide.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
           'The road is broadened.'

6.1.2. Derivation

Affixation is the main grammatical device Hadiyya employs in making use of derived adjectives. Such adjectives in the language are derived from nominal and verbal roots. Suffixes added to verbal and nominal roots to form adjectives are *-aam, -aalla, -a, -o, and -e*. Thus, every derived adjective has either a noun or a verbal counterpart.

Since adjectives overlap with nouns and verbs; one and the same stem may serve as verb, adjective and noun. Adjectives are characterized by having one of the suffixal elements *-a, -o,* and *-e*. The same elements are also attested forming nouns from verb roots (see section 3.1.). The semantic relationship between adjectives and their verbal counterparts is that the adjectives denote states while their verbal counterparts denote change of state or what is known as inchoative.

The distribution of such vowels does not seem to be depending on any phonological principle. As shown in (188), the suffix *-a* is usually added to verbs to yield adjectives that refer to states, while the suffix *-o* derives adjectives that refer to resultative states.

Of the three adjectivizer suffixes, the large number of adjectives end with *-a*, whereas, very few adjectives are attested ending with *-e*. The paradigm in (188) below illustrates the formation of such adjectives from verb roots.

(188) <u>Adjectives derived by suffixing *-a, -o and -e* to a verb root</u>

(a) suffix *-a*

das-	'become slow'	*dás-a*	'slow'
gaww-	'become deaf'	*gáww-a*	'deaf'
haraar-	'become wide'	*haraár-a*	'wide'
kaʃar-	'become red'	*kaʃár-a*	'red'
natʃ'-	'become thin'	*nátʃ'-a*	'thin'
k'oor-	'become wise'	*k'oór-a*	'wise'
k'ot'ar-	'become strong'	*k'otár-a*	'strong'
t'ukk'-	'become narrow'	*t'úkk'-a*	'narrow'

(b) suffix *-o*

guban-	'become pregnant'	*gubán-o*	'pregnant'
ʃaanoʔ-	'become green'	*ʃaanóʔ-o*	'green'

(c) suffix *-e*

hardeʔ-	'become young'	*hardéʔ-e*	'young'
ʃiireʔ-	'become grey'	*ʃiiréʔ-e*	'grey'

There is still a very productive device for deriving proprietive adjectives is the suffixation of *-aam* to nouns. In its foremost semantic range, the suffix *-aam* demonstrates that a referent possesses is characterized by noun. The distribution of such morpheme is unpredictable. Observe the examples in (189).

(189)

<u>Noun</u>		<u>Derived adjective</u>	
baráda	'ice'	*barad-aam-*	'icy'
biráta	'gun'	*birat-aam-*	'gunner'
hára	'mud'	*har-aam-*	'muddy'
hákk'a	'wood'	*hakk'-aam-*	'woody'
láttʃa	'knowledge'	*lattʃ-aam-*	'knowledgeable'
t'eéna	'rain'	*t'een-aam-*	'rainy'
ʃaʃʃára	'sand'	*ʃaʃʃar-aam-*	'sandy'
ʃífa	'bush'	*ʃif-aam-*	bushy
ʃuk'úna	'weed'	*ʃuk'un-aam-*	'weedy'
ʔabóʔo	'white hair'	*ʔaboʔ-aam-*	'white haired'
ʔumbúʔla	'cloud'	*ʔumbuʔl-aam-*	'cloudy'
ʔútta	'thorn'	*ʔutt-aam-*	'thorny'

The meaning of the suffix *-aam* indicates the sense covered with the thing expressed by the root. This sense occurs when the nominal roots are concrete. For example, *ʃuk'un-aámi hurbaáta* 'a weedy farm' is a farm that is covered with *ʃuk'úna* 'weed'.

The suffix *-aam* is also used to derive a large number of proprietive adjectives, which are used in proverbs. Consider the use of such derived adjectives in the following Proverbs:

(190a) *leellaʔ-aámį   ʔáma   ʔoósǫ   liʔ-is-(a)m-ó-jjo*
throat-ADJZ.A/   mother.NOM   child.ABS   grow.3SG.F.CAUS.IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'A mother who has throat [who eats too much]does not raise (take care of) her children.' (Proverb, No. 069) 'A self-centered (rapacious) mother does not raise (take care of) her children.'

(b) *ʔaboʔ-aám-į   ʔamatt'-aam-ína   bat'-oó-kk-o*
white.hair-ADZ-NOM   be.reach-ADJZ-DAT   work.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A white haired old man kneels down for a wealthy one.' (Proverb, No. 115)

(c) *ʔallab-aám-į   bagad-aámǫ   holl-ú-kk-o*
tongue-ADJZ-NOM   spear-ADJZ.ABS   chase.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'A sharp tongued chases away the warrior.' (Proverb, No. 104)

(d) *ʔamal-aámį   daageé-ttʃ-į   baállę   t'op'-oó-jjo*
manner-ADJZ   baboon-SG-NOM   cliff.ABS   jump.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'A mannerless baboon does not climb a cliff.' (Proverb, No. 109)

In addition to proprietive adjective, Hadiyya has also de-nominal privative adjectives. These adjectives are formed when the formative *-beeʔ* is attached to nominal stem in order to express the lack of N.

(191) <u>De-nominal privative adjectives</u>:

fátto	'use'	*fattibeeʔ-*	'valueless'
foore	'soul'	*foorbeeʔ-*	'dead/non living'
k'áttʃo	'offspring/kids'	*k'attʃibeeʔ-*	'parents who does not have children'
sawwíte	'consciousness'	*sawwitbeeʔ-*	'unconscious'
ʔink'e	'tooth'	*ʔink'ibeeʔ-*	'toothless'

The morrphme, *-beeʔ*, is suffixed to the root of a noun, to designate negation with the meaning being paraphrasable as 'without X': *malaajjibeeʔ-* 'powerless', *maandarbeeʔ-* 'mannerless', *hagarbeeʔ-*'colorless', *liirantʃibeeʔ-* 'unhappy', *wodáno* 'heart' *wodanbeeʔ-* 'forgetful', *galatbeeʔ-* 'thankless', *gadaʔbeéʔ-* 'unlucky'. Consider such adjectives in sentential contexts, (192a-d).

192a) *hall-íttʃ-i-beéʔi* *mán-tʃ-i̧* *bak'uttʃ-aámo̧* *gad-ú-kk-o*
       donkey-SG-SG-NEG   man-SG-NOM   mule-ADJZ.ABS   undermine.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'The one who does not have a donkey undermines the owner of a mule.' (Proverb, No. 040)

(b) *leh-beéʔi* *ʔuullạ* *ʔaf-oó-mm-o* *j-aá* *waamm-i-beéʔi*
      die-NEG   country.ABS   reach.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-CNV   funeral-LNK-NEG
      ʔuúllạ *ʔaf-ú-kk-o*
      country.ABS   reach.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'He wanted to go to a country where there is no death, but he arrived in a country where there is no funeral.' (Proverb, No. 071)

(c) *k'opp'an-u-mm-aá-re* *ʔill-i-í* *mattʃ'-i-i-beéʔi* *k'áttʃọ* *ʔúww-e*
      lie.1SG-PV-ASM-CNV-CND   eye-NOM-CNJ   ear-NOM-CNJ-NEG   child.ABS   give-IMP.SG
      'If I tell a lie, may I begot a mute and deaf child' (Text 02: No.32)

(d) *ʔink'-i-beéʔi* *lúm-i̧* *ʔuúllạ* *guull-oó-kk-o*
      tooth-LNK-NEG   empty-NOM   country.ABS   finish.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
      'A toothless guy destroyed [burnt]the whole nation.' (Riddle, No. 052)
      Ans: *giíra* 'fire'

In (192) the suffix, *-beeʔ*, is attached to the root of a noun to express a lack of the referent of the noun.

There is also a very productive device for deriving adjectives, i.e. the suffixation of *-aall* to verbal stems. The essence of the suffix *-aall* signifies the sense having the element denoted by the root. This sense appears when the verbal and nominal roots are abstract. The following are illustrative examples:

(193) Adjectives derived by suffixing *-aalla* to a verb root

Verbal root		Derived Adjective	
biidʒ-	'be generous'	*biidʒ-aáll*	'generous'
tʃ'eem-	'be lazy'	*tʃ'eem-aáll*	'lazy'
faareʔ-	'be conscientious'	*faareʔ-aáll*	conscientious
gog-	'dry out'	*gog-aáll*	dry
kareʔ-	'be sharp'	*kareʔ-aáll*	'sharpen'
liiʔl-	'be smooth'	*liiʔl-aáll*	'smooth'
mog-	'be stingy'	*mog-aáll*	'stingy'
murteʔ-	'be serious'	*murteʔ-aáll*	'serious'
sigg-	'be cold'	*sigg-aáll*	'cold'
ʔaaʃ-	'be wet'	*ʔaaʃ-aáll*	'wet'
ʔigg-	'be brave'	*ʔigg-aáll*	'daring/brave'
ʔiibb-	'become hot'	*ʔiibb-aáll*	'hot'

The other strategy used in the formation of adjectives is via relativization of verbs. A relativized verb functions as a modifying adjective as illustrated in following Proverbs.

(194a) *holl-ú-kkį*   *mán-tʃ-į*   *ʔur-u-beéʔ-lasį*
chase.3SG.M -PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM leave.3SG.M-PV-NEG-CND
gib-ú-kkį   *mán-tʃ-į̥*   *t'or-oó-jjo*
run.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM   escape.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'If the chaser does not stop, the one who runs can't escape.' (Proverb, No. 054)

(b) *hig-ú-kkį*   *wóʔ-į*   *ʔinkiir-am-oó-jjo*
pass-.3SG.M-PV-ASM-REL   water-NOM   fetch-PAS-IPV-NEG
'A passed by water can not be fetched.' (Proverb, No. 052)

(c) *kaʃárį maárą*   *godd-ú-kkį*   *mán-tʃ-į*   *woraábį saájją*
red   meat.ABS   be.satisfy-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM red   cow.ABS
ʃigig-ú-kk-o
disgust.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The one who is full of red meat, is disgusted in the sight of red cow.' (Proverb, No. 059)

(d) *ʔabuúllą*   *tʃ'eem-ú-kkį*   *mán-tʃ-į*   *ʔaboʔ-í-nne*
farm.ABS   hate.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   white hair-EP-INST
ʔuuntt'-oó-kk-o
beg.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Who does not like to work, begs with his white hair [after his hair turned white].'(Proverb, No. 099)

6.1.3. Semantic fields

Semantically, adjectives can be categorized in to the following seven semantic fields: adjectives signifying dimension e.g., *geéddʒa*, 'big', physical properties, e.g., *k'ot'ára* 'strong', human propensity, e.g., *k'áwwa* 'foolish', colour, e.g., *heemáttʃa* 'black', age, e.g., *hardéʔe* 'young', value, e.g., *t'eeʔaálla* 'expensive' and speed e.g., *dása* 'slow'.

Adjectives of dimension, physical properties and human propensity are productive. Adjectives referring to speed are not so common. Adjectives denoting value are also very few.
danaámo, an adjective of value, for instance, is used for everything positive such as beautiful, handsome, good, interesting, delicious, generous, suitable, nice, comfortable, etc. It is only the context that specifies the exact denotation. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of *danaámo* in different contexts:

(195)

danaámi̧ hooʃʃóʔo		'delicious lunch'
danaámi̧ heéttʃa		'luxurious/comfortable life'
danaámi̧ lánda		'beautiful girls'
danaámi̧ heésso		'thrilling story'
danaámi̧ mántʃo		'a good/kind/generous man'
danaámi̧ sawwite		'a good idea'
danaámi̧ ʔeddéttʃa		'nice cloth'

As can be observed the adjective *danaámo* occurred in different context. Likewise, its antonym *dʒóra* can also be used in various semantic fields which denote negative qualities. The situation with such adjectives can be considered as polysemy. Below is the list of adjectives sorted according to the semantic fields.

Table 42: *Adjectives from different semantic fields*

SEMANTIC FIELDS	EXAMPLES
DIMESION	*gabbeéna* 'medium', *geéddʒa* 'big/fat,thick', *gúnda* 'short/dwarf', *haraára* 'wide', *k'eeraáʔla* 'tall', *k'eéʔla* 'far', *tillaálla* 'deep', *t'áʔa* 'not ful', *t'úkk'a* 'narrow', *wítʃ'a* 'thin', *wint'irrillíttʃo* 'too little', *wóʔma* 'full', *ʔabbíso* 'near'.
PHYSICAL PROPERTIES	*duúda* 'deaf', *boojjinnaámo* 'bald', *gogaálla* 'dry', *hárʃa* 'fertile, *dʒóra* 'bad/ugly/unpleasant', *dʒuúdʒa* 'blunt', *keeʔmaálla* 'heavy', *muttʃ'úra* 'clean', *k'atʃ'aálla* 'weak', *k'ak'uúlla* 'raw', *k'areʔaálla* 'sharp', *k'ott'aálla* 'hard', *sigaálla* 'cold', *t'uraámo* 'dirty', *ʔaaʃaálla* 'wet', *ʔiibbaálla* 'hot'.
HUMAN PROPENSITY	*baddínna* 'fearful', *bik'aámo* 'strong', *biidʒaálla* 'kind/donor' *tʃ'eemaálla* 'lazy', *fajjáʔa* 'healthy', *hoónga* 'weak', *mogaálla* 'cruel', *k'áwwa* 'foolish', *k'oóra* 'clever', *k'oók'a* 'blind', *k'ot'ára* 'courageous', *t'aaʔeéla* 'smart', *t'umaántʃo* 'peaceful'.
COLOUR	*búla* 'yellow (for horse)', *biíʃʃa* 'brown', *daamáʔa* 'red (for horse)', *gaatúra* 'black and red (for cow)', *goondaálla* 'black & white (for cow)' *kaʃára* 'red', *heemáttʃa* 'black', *k'adaálla* 'white'.
AGE	*baadʒaámo* 'youth (F)', *hareéttʃo* 'new', *lommántʃo* 'old for human being', *moosíra* 'old for objects', *woraáda* 'youth(M)', *tʃ'iilíttʃo* 'infant'.
VALUE	*buʃaálla* 'cheap', *danaámo* 'good/nice', *dʒóra* 'bad', *hánk'a* 'true', *t'eeʔaálla* 'expensive'.
SPEED	*dása* 'slow (for human)', *k'areʔaála* 'fast (for human)'.

6.2. Numerals

Numerals are found in modifying function preceding the head noun. As phrasal heads, numerals and adjectives cannot be morphologically differentiated. With regard to case marking for instance, numerals distinguish as equal number of case forms as nouns, adjectives and demonstratives do. (See the inflectional morphology of adjectives in (6.1.1.).

Numerals fall in to two categories: cardinal and ordinal numerals. The former are numerals used in ordinary counting such as one, two, three, etc. while the latter types indicate the order of items, people, animals, etc. in a given sequence.

Table 43: *Cardinals and ordinal numbers from one to 19.*

A. Cardinals		B. Ordinals	
máto	'one'	*lútt'į̈*	'first'
lámo	'two'	*láʔmį̈*	'second'
sáso	'three'	*sátt'į̈*	'third'
soóro	'four'	*soóʔlį̈*	'fourth'
ʔónto	'five'	*ʔóntį̈*	'fifth'
lóho	'six'	*lóhį̈*	'sixth'
lamára	'seven'	*lamáʔlį̈*	'seventh'
sadeénto	'eight'	*sadeéntį̈*	'eighth'
hónso	'nine'	*hónsį̈*	'ninth'
tómmo	'ten'	*tómmį̈*	'tenth'
tommoó máto	'eleven'	*tommoó máti béjjo*	'eleventh'
tommoó lámo	'twelve'	*tommoó láʔmi béjjo*	'twelfth'
tommoó sáso	'thirteen'	*tommoó sátt'i béjjo*	'thirteenth'
tommoó soóro	'fourteen'	*tommoó soóʔli béjjo*	'fourteenth'
tommoó ʔónto	'fifteen'	*tommoó ʔónti béjjo*	'fifteenth'
tommoó lóho	'sixteen'	*tommoó lóhi béjjo*	'sixteenth'
tommoó lamára	'seventeen'	*tommoó lamáʔli béjjo*	'seventeenth'
tommoó sadeénto	'eighteen'	*tommoó sadeénti béjjo*	'eighteenth'
tommoó hónso	'nineteen'	*tommoó hónsi béjjo*	'nineteenth'

Except *lamara* 'seven' which terminates with -*a*, the final vowel of other cardinal numbers is -*o*. Combining the numeral 'ten' with 'one' to 'nine' derives the numerals from 'eleven' to 'nineteen' respectively. When the two constituents are connected, the stem final vowel of the first numeral is lengthened. The pattern tens plus ones is regular up to hundred (Table 43).

Ordinal numerals cannot occur independently. With the exception of *lútt'i-* 'first' which has totally different form from the corresponding cardinal number *máto* 'one', other ordinals are formed from cardinals by suffixing the linker */-i/*. During such a process the stem final sonorants are glottalized.

Moreover, when ordinals are greater than ten, the word *béjjo* 'place' has to be combined following the cardinal numbers.

With the exception of *tómmo* 'ten', *sáde* 'thirty', and *sóre* 'forty', the building morpheme for other morphologically complex tens (twenty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety) is *-jje* (Lit:-ty) as in Table 44.

Table 44: *Cardinals greater than nineteen*

lamíjje	'twenty'	*t'íbbe*	'hundred'
sáde	'thirty'	*mati t'íbbe*	'one hundred'
sóre	'forty'	*mati t'ibbeé máto*	'one hundred one'
ʔontájje	'fifty'	*mati t'ibbeé tommoó mátto*	'one hundred eleven'
lohájje	'sixty'	*máti t'ibbeé lamíjje*	'one hundred twenty'
lamarájje	'seventy'	*máti t'ibbeé honsajjeé hónso*	'one hundred'
sadeentájje	'eighty'	*kúma (ʃiíha)*	'thousand'
honsájje	'ninety'	*milijoóna*	'million'

Note that instead of *kúma* 'thousand', *ʃiíha'*, an Amharic loan, is widely used almost by all speakers. The numeral *miilijoóna* 'million' is borrowed through Amharic from European languages.

Apart from its counting function, the cardinal numeral *máto* 'one' is used as an indefinite pronoun. In this function *máto* precedes the noun it modifies. The use of *máto* as indefinite pronoun is illustrated below in sentential contexts (196).

(196a) *gaási   doollé-nne mátị bat'-aán-tʃ-ị   tʃ'aná-nne   t'aaféʔẹ*
previous.GEN epoch-TDC one work-AGN-SG-NOM leather.pouch -LOC teff.ABS
ʔijj-aá   meéra mar-u-kk-úlla   doóʔmi   woró-nne máti
carry.3SG.M-CNV market go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG forest.GEN in-LOC one
kabee-ttʃ-í-nne   ʔed-amam-ú-kk-o
leopard-SG-EP- COM meet.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-TV
'Once upon a time, a farmer who carried a sack of *teff* (grain) and traveling to the market has come across a leopard.' (Text 04: No. 01)

(b)   *gaási*   *doollé-nne*   *máti*   *ʔollaʔá-nne*   *máti*   *godd-aan-tʃ-i-í*
         previous.GEN   epoch-TDC   one   neighbor-LOC   one   rich-AGN-SG-NOM-CNJ
         máti   *but'-íttʃ-i-í*   *makiré-mį*   *ʔabáʃi*
         one   poor-SG-NOM-CNJ   with-too   ʔabaʃ.GEN
         suút'ǫ   *ʔag-am-ú-kk-o*
         traditional.medicine.that.cures.from.tape.warm.ABS   drink-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

         'According to an old story, a rich and a poor guy who lived in neighborhood drunk the
         traditional medicine, koso, to get a cure from the parasite, (tape worm) koso.' (Text 05: No.02)

6.3. Quantifiers

Hadiyya has the following quantifiers:

(197) | | |
|---|---|
| *dúta* | 'several, many' |
| *hóffį* | 'little, few' |
| *húnda* | 'all' |
| *lobakáta* | 'much' |
| *matimátį* | 'some' (Lit: one one) |
| *t'aléʔe* | 'only' |
| *ʔarák'a* | 'much' |

As in the case with adjectives and numerals, quantifiers end in terminal vowels, they distinguish among different cases and they use as NP head and are masculine in their citation form. Like other adjectives, gender and number are not differentiated.

With a few exceptions, the majority of the nouns, adjectives and quantifiers precede the noun they modify. The two quantifiers, which occur following the noun they modify are *húnda* 'all' and *t'aléʔe* 'only', e.g., *neésę húnda* 'we all', *mánnį húnda* 'all the people', *lándi húnda* 'all the girls' and *beéti t'aléʔe* 'only the boy', *ki k'armánnį t'aléʔe* 'only your relatives', *ʔísi ʔánni t'aléʔe* 'only her father'.

The quantifiers *lobakáta* 'many' and *ʔarák'a* 'much' are used to express countable and uncountable nouns respectively. Contrast the following Paradigms:

(198) | *lobakáta* 'many' | | *ʔarák'a* 'much' | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *lobakátį ʔoóso* | 'many boys' | *ʔarák'į hurbaáta* | 'much food' |
| *lobakátį kójja* | 'many guests' | *ʔarák'į hít'e* | 'much grass' |
| *lobáktį muúta* | 'many things' | *ʔarák'į búttʃa* | 'much soil' |
| *lobakátį mánna* | 'many people' | *ʔarák'į wóʔo* | 'much water' |
| *lobakátį losaáno* | 'many students' | *ʔarák'į sookído* | 'much salt' |

Quantifiers *lobakáta* 'many' and *dúta* 'several' have the same meaning and can be used interchangeably. Hence, the difference between *lobakáti manna* and *dútti mánna* 'many people' *is* not clear for my informants.

Furthermore, the quantifier *lobakáta* is also used to modify adjectives (degree words) to convey a meaning of 'very/too much' (see section 6.1).

On the other hand, as to some of my informants, the quantifier *hóffį* 'few/little' is used to express both countable and uncountable nouns. According to the most of the informants, however, it is a good choice to use it with only uncountable nouns.

The use of reduplicated numeral one *matimátį* literally 'one one' in attributive function, does not only express '*one each*', but also serves to express '*some*' as in (199).

(199a)   *kaballa matimátį mánn-į   dumm-íttʃą   mar-am-ú-kk-o*
     today   one.one   man-NOM   meet-EP-ANM4.ABS   go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
     'Some of the people went to a/the meeting today.'

(b)   *matimátį ʔuullá-nne t'úmm-į   beéʔe*
     one.one   country-LOC   peace-NOM   be.absent
     'There is no peace in some countries.'

From what has been shown so far, quantifiers are used to express a large/a small numbers of countable and large/small amount of uncountable nouns. Moreover, nouns that are accompanied by such quantifiers obligatorily take the plural and the generic form for countable and uncountable nouns respectively. See again each of the quantifiers in sentential contexts below.

(200a)   *dumm-am-oo   lóbi mánn-į   t'aleʔé-jjo*
     meet-3PL-IPV   great   man.NOM   only-NEG
     'Not only the elders who are involved in the meeting.'

(b)   *ʔarad-aán-į   lobakátį mánni   ʔillagé-nne ʔarad-ímmą*
     announce-AGN-NOM   many   men.GEN   infront-LOC   announce-VN.ABS
     ʔaʃeer-am-oó-kk-o
     start-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
     'The announcers start to announce in front of many people.' (Text 01: No.20)

(c)   *ʔarák'a gaggab-ú-kkį   got-íttʃ-į   buúdǫ   gaʔm-oó-kk-o*
     much   hurry-PV-ASM.REL   hyena-SG.NOM   horn.ABS   bite.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
     'The hastened hyena bites on the horn.' (Proverb, No. 024)

(d) ʔi ʔámi ʔoós-į hund-í-mį horróre̞ gúdo
   1SG.GEN   mother.GEN   child-NOM   all-EP-too   head.ABS   equal.COP
   'All my mother's children are equal in height.' (Riddle, No. 048)

   Ans: *saájjį hánt'a* 'cow's breast'

6.4. Deixis

Deixis refers to the phenomenon where in understanding the meaning of certain words and phrases in an utterance requires contextual information. Words or phrases that require contextual information to convey any meaning are deictic. As stated in (Saeed 2003:182), the term is derived from classical Greek *deiknymi* 'to show, point out'.

According to Diessel (1999:35) "demonstratives are deictic." He then specifies that deictic expressions are linguistic elements whose interpretation makes crucial reference to some aspect of the speech situation."

The demonstratives in Hadiyya function as spatial deictic, locative deictic, temporal deictic, directional deictic and manner deictic. Each of the functions will be discussed in turn.

6.4.1. Spatial deictics

Spatial deictic categories, serve to relativize the location of referents to the deictic center. Levinson (1983:62) notes that, "place deixis focuses on the participants' place location during the speech event." According to Saeed (2009: 192) such physical distance of the space (or location) is relative to the participants' actual context (or background knowledge). The spatial deictic devices in Hadiyya induce the speaker to set up a frame of reference around him. When a demonstrative used deictically, gestures accompany plays a great role for the addressee to understand the form as intended by the speaker.

Based on their morphosyntactic behavior, the spatial deictic forms two kinds of demonstratives are differentiated: dependent (modifier) and independent (nominal) demonstratives.

6.4.1.1. Dependent (modifying) demonstratives

Hadiyya has three basic modifying demonstratives. The modifier deictics are the basic forms from which the corresponding nominal deictics are derived. The dependent demonstratives precede the head noun. Such elements do not function as independent phonological words and thus have no freedom to occur independently. Hence, such forms can be treated as clitics. On the other hand, the nominal demonstratives occur independently.

The modifying deictics do not distinguish grammatical features such as gender, number, definiteness and case. For instance, gender is marked only on singular modifying deictics as the following sentences illustrate.

(201a) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̞*   *hooʃʃóʔo̞*   *ʔit-ú-kk-o*
       this=man-SG-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'This man ate lunch.'

  (b) *ku=mánn-i̞*   *hooʃʃóʔo̞*   *ʔit-am-ú-kk-o*
       these=man-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
       'These men ate lunch.'

  (c) *tu=land-íttʃo*   *hooʃʃóʔo̞*   *ʔit-t-ó-ʔ-o*
       this.F=girl-SG.NOM   lunch.ABS   eat-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
       'This girl ate lunch.'

  (d) *ku=lánd-i̞*   *hooʃʃóʔo̞*   *ʔit-am-ú-kk-o*
       this=girl-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
       'These girls ate lunch.'

As can be seen, with the exception of 3SG.F (201c), the element *ku=* 'this/these' is used without showing agreement in number, and as the same form is used to refer to SG and PL nouns (201a,b &d).

"All languages have at least two demonstratives locating the referent at two different points on a distance scale: a proximal demonstrative referring to an entity near the deictic center, and a distal demonstrative indicating a referent that is located at some distance to the deictic center" (Diessel 1999:36). Earlier studies in Hadiyya (Tadesse 2007; Perrett 2000; and Hudson 1976) have presented proximal and distal demonstratives. However, Dereje (2013:30) asserts that "Hadiyya has a three-term system of demonstratives: proximal 'this/these', medial and distal."

Table 45: *Nominal demonstrative in Hadiyya (Dereje 2013:30)*

CASE	GENDER	PROXIMAL		MEDIAL		DISTAL	
		SG	PL	SG	PL	SG	PL
NOMINATIVE	MASCULINE	*ku*	*ku*	*oo*	*oo*	*ʔo*	*ʔo*
	FEMININE	*tu*	*ku*	''	''	''	''
ACCUSATIVE	MASCULINE	*ka*	*ka*	*ee*	*ee*	*ʔe*	*ʔe*
	FEMININE	*ta*	*ka*	''	''	''	''

I agree with Dereje that within spatial deixis, Hadiyya has a three-term deictic system, consisting of the proximal demonstratives. Discussion on the three demonstrative sets will be presented below.

6.4.1.1.1. The proximal demonstrative deixis *ku=* and *tu=*

The proximal modifiers that indicate nearness are *ku=* and *tu=*. The former deictic element, *ku=*, is much more widely used than the latter one, *tu=*, which is limited to feminine referents. Occurring in head noun position, both demonstratives indicate proximity, i.e., the referent is nearer to the deictic center, which is adjacent to the speaker at the time of utterance. Hence, these demonstratives have a reading equivalent to 'this/these'. Consider the use of the proximal demonstratives in the following sentential examples:

(202a) *ku=kabeé-ttʃ-i̧* *hottʃ-aan-iínse* *gib-ú-kk-o*
   this=leopard-SG-NOM hunt-AGN-ABL escape.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
   'This/the leopard escaped from hunters'. (Text 04: No.01)

 (b) *ku=k'ooraant-úww-i̧* *mán-tʃo̧* *gat-is-imm-ína*   *ʔiitt-amam-ú-kk-o*
   this=crow-PL-NOM   man-SG.ABS save-CAUS-VN-DAT like.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-TV
   'These/the crows agreed each other to save the life of the man.'

 (c) *tu=land-íttʃo*   *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧* *wotʃ'-ú-kki̧*   *lúwwa̧*
   this.F=girl-SG-NOM this=man-NOM speak.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M-REL thing.ABS
   ʔiitt-i-t-ó-ʔ-o
   like-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
   'The girl agreed with the idea of a man.'

Except *tu=* which is confined to singular-feminine referents, the proximal deictic, *ku=* modifies nouns irrespective of number and case features. With regard to case marking, the dependent demonstratives behave in the same way as nouns.Consider the following sentences with the head noun in the nominative (203), absolute (204), Dative (205), Ablative (206), and Commitative (207).

---

(203) Nominative

 (a) *ku=mánn-i̧* *ʔarad-aáno*
   this=man-NOM announce-AGN.COP
   'These traditional signers are called Aradaano.' (Text 01: No.14)

 (b) *ku=meént-i̧* *k'aww-úwwa*
   this=woman-NOM foolish-PL.COP
   'These women are foolish.'

 (c) *ku=ʔarad-ímm-i̧* *git'oʔ-í-nne* *kur-am-oó-kk-o*
   this=announce-VN-NOM poem-EP-LOC tell-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
   'The announcement will be delivered in poetic and melodical way. (Text 01:No. 17)

(d) *tu=meent-íttʃo   k'oorá-tte*
this.F=woman-SG.NOM   clever-COP
'This woman is clever.'

---

(204) Absolutive

(a) *lassó-nne ʔarad-aán-i̠   ka=ʔarad-ímma̠   guull-am-oó-kk-o*
back-TDC   announce-AGN-NOM   this=announce-VN.ABS   finish-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'Finally, the announcers accomplish their mission.' (Text 01: No.27)

(b) *ʔáni̠   ka=beéto̠   sog-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   this=boy.ABS   advise.1MSG-PV-ASM-TV
'I advised the boy.'

(c) *ʔáni̠   ka=ʔoóso̠   sog-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   this=boy.ABS   advise.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
"I advised these children.'

(d) *ʔi   beeʃ-íttʃ-i̠   ta=land-íttʃo̠   ʔiitt-ú-kk-o*
1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   this.ABS.F=girl-SG.ABS   like.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'My friend loved this girl.'

---

(205) Dative

(a) *ka=ʔoos-ína   hooʃʃóʔo̠   ʔúww-e*
this=boy-DAT   lunch.ABS   give-IMP.SG
'Give the children lunch.'

(b) *ku=beét-i̠   ta=land-ittʃó-na   k'oóta̠   máha̠*
this=boy-NOM   this.F=girl-SG.TV-DAT   gift.ABS   what.ABS
ʔuww-oó-kk-o
give.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'What gift will the boy give to the girl?'

(c) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̠   ka=mann-ína   ka=wóʃʃa̠   kur-ú-kk-o*
this=man-SG-NOM   this=man-DAT   this=affair.ABS   tell.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M
'The poor man told them the issue.'

---

(206) Ablative

(a) *ka=keteett-iínse t'op'-aá   ʔítt'i   meent-íttʃo̠   suunk'-ú-kk-o*
this=oven-ABL   jump.3SG.M-CNV 3SG.M.GEN woman-SG.ABS kiss.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Jumping over the traditional oven, he kissed his wife.' (Text 05: No. 07)

(b) *ka=mann-iínse   ʔarák'i̠ haraʔm-ato̠   ʔaaʔ-n-ú-mm-o*
this=man-ABL   much   help-ANM3.ABS   receive-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We got a vital advice from them.'

(c) *ku=kabeé-ttʃ-i̠   ka=tʃ'an-iínse   fir-ú-kk-o*

---

this=leopard-SG-NOM   this=leather.pouch-ABL   go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The leopard came out from the sack.' (Text 04: No. 05)

---

(207) Commitative/Instrumental

(a) *ka=ʔoos-í-nne   makíre   már-e*
this=children-EP-COM   with   go-IMP.SG
'Go with these children.'

(b) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧   ka=kabeé-ttʃo̧   ka=tʃʿaná-nne*
this=man-SG-NOM   this=leopard-SG.ABS   this=ABS.M-leather.pouch-LOC
ʔaag-is-aá   maat'-ú-kk-o
enter-CAUS-CNV   hide.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

 "The man made enter the leopard in to the sack and hid it.' (Text 04: No. 03)

(c) *tu=land-íttʃo ka=gos-ú-kki̧   beet-í-nne   hinkíde*
this.F=girl.NOM   this=abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   boy-EP- COM   how
gar-t-(á)m-o
spend-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV

 'How can this girl live with the boy who conducted abduction?' (Text 03: No.18)

6.4.1.1.2. The medial demonstrative deixis *ʔoo=and ʔee=*

The demonstrative *ʔoo=* 'that/those one(s)' is used to refer to a thing or a person located a little bit distant from the speaker. Hence, it can specify any noun irrespective of the noun's gender and number. The following sentences exemplify occurrence of *ʔoo=* with masculine, feminine and plural nouns in Nominative and other cases as illustrated in (208-209) respectively.

(208a) *ʔoo=mán-tʃ-i̧   keésẹ   ʔiitt-oó-kk-o*
that.NOM=man-SG-NOM   2SG.ABS   like.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'That man loves you.'

(b) *ʔoo=meent-íttʃo   makkeébi   ʔamá-tte*
that.NOM=woman-SG-NOM   Makkeeb.GEN   mother-COP
'That woman is Makkeebo's mother.'

(c) *ʔoo=hottʃ-aán-i̧   ʔeésẹ   holl-am-oó-lla   j-ú-kk-o*
those.NOM=hunt-AGN-NOM   1SG.ABS   chase-3PL-IPV-PRG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
kabeé-ttʃ-i
leopard-SG-NOM

'Those hunters are chasing me said the leopard.' (Text 04: No.02)

(209a) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧   ʔee=ʔoos-ína   ʔeddé-ttʃa̧   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
this=man-SG-NOM   those=child-DAT   wear-ANM4.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man bought clothes for those children.'

(b) *ʔánị̃*   *ʔee=land-íttʃọ*   *ʔiitt-ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM   that=girl-SG.ABS   love.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I love that girl.'

(c) *ʔi*   *beʃ-íttʃ-ị*   *ʔee=min-iínse*   *fir-ú-kk-o*
    1MS.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   that=house-ABL   go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'My friend came out from that home.'

(d) *ʔoo=beét-ị*   *ʔee=ʔoos-í-nne*   *mak'íre*   *meéra*
    that.NOM=boy-NOM   those=child-PL-EP- COM   with   market
    mar-ú-kk-o
    go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'My son went to school with those children.'

The referents of the noun in (208) and (209) that is modified by the medial demonstratives is a bit far from the speaker; the addressee may be near the speaker or not, and the referent may be near to the addressee(s) or a bit far from both the speaker and the addressee(s).

6.4.1.1.3. The distal demonstrative *ʔo=*and *ʔe=*

The demonstrative *ʔo=* 'that/those one(s)' is used to refer to a thing or a person located distantly from the speaker. Hence, it can specify any noun irrespective of the noun's gender and number. The following sentences exemplify occurrence of *ʔo= and ʔe=* with masculine, feminine and plural nouns in Nominative and other cases as illustrated in (210).

(210a) *ʔo=beét-ị*   *k'ot'ára*
      that.DST=boy-NOM   strong.COP
      'That boy is strong.'

(b) *ʔo=land-íttʃo*   *dan-aamó-tte*
    that.DST=girl-SG.NOM   be.good-ADJZ.TV-COP
    'That girl is beautiful.'

(c) *ku=beét-ị*   *ʔe=land-íttʃó-na*   *diinátẹ*   *ʔasseʔ-ú-kk-o*
    this=boy-NOM   that.DST=girl-SG.TV-DAT   money.ABS   send.3SG.M-PV-ASM.TV
    'The boy sent money for that girl.'

(d) *ʔítt'ị*   *ʔe=min-iínse*   *waar-ú-kk-o*
    3SG.M.NOM   that.DST=house-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'He came from that house.'

As can be observed, the distal demonstratives are used to indicate the distance of a referent that is located in a quite far place from both speaker and addressee(s).

The following table summarizes dependent demonstratives that indicating proximity, a little bit and far distance.

Table 46: *Dependent demonstratives*

Proximal/Distal	Gender/Number	Nominative	Other cases: ABS/DAT/ABL/COM
Proximal	Masculine-Singular	*ku=*	*ka=*
	Masculine-Plural	*ku=*	*ka=*
	Feminine-Singular	*tu=*	*ta=*
	Feminine-Plural	*ku=*	*ka=*
Medial	No gender-number Distinction	*ʔoo=*	*ʔee=*
Distal	No gender-number Distinction	*ʔo=*	*ʔe=*

Table (46) show that the number, gender and case of each of the modifying demonstratives is determined by the noun that it modifies.

6.4.1.2. Independent (nominal) demonstratives

The Nominal demonstratives are formed by suffixing the appropriate gender/number marker (*k* or *t*) to the respective modifying demonstratives such as *ku=*, *tu=* and *ʔoo=*, (see table 47).

Table 47: Independent demonstratives that indicating proximity and distance.

Proximal/Distal		NOM	ABS	DAT	ABL	COM
Proximal	MSG	*kúkį*	*kaka*	*kannína*	*kanniínsį*	*kannínne*
	FSG	*túte*	*táta*	*tannéna*	*tanneeénsį*	*tannénne*
	PL	*kukééni*	*kakéno*	*kakeenína*	*kakeeniínsį*	*kakeenínne*
Medial	MSG	*ʔoókkį*	*ʔeékka*	*ʔeehaanína*	*ʔeehaaniínsį*	*ʔeehaanínne*
	FSG	*ʔoóttį*	*ʔeétta*	*ʔeettaanína*	*ʔeettaaniínsį*	*ʔeettaanénne*
	PL	*ʔookeénį*	*ʔeekéno*	*ʔeekeenína*	*ʔeekeeniínsį*	*ʔeekeenínne*
Distal	MSG	*ʔókkį*	*ʔékka*	*ʔehaanína*	*ʔehaaniínsį*	*ʔehaanínne*
	FSG	*ʔóttį*	*ʔétta*	*ʔettaanína*	*ʔettaaniínsį*	*ʔettaanénne*
	PL	*ʔokeénį*	*ʔekéno*	*ʔekeenína*	*ʔekeeniínsį*	*ʔekeenínne*

Unlike the modifying ones, the plural form of the nominal demonstratives is marked by the morpheme -ee*n* and by non-gemination of the suffixed /k/ and /t/. Feminine demonstratives forms of any demonstrative subtype are characterized by an alveolar plosive /t/, masculine forms by a velar plosive /k/. The suffixed /k/ and /t/ are geminated in the medial and distal singular demonstratives The use of /k/ and /t/ as masculine and feminine markers is also a well attested feature of other Cushitic and Omotic languages (Bender, 2000). Case marking on nominal demonstratives is similar to case marking in nouns, personal pronouns and attribute adjectives (Cf 4.5, 5.3. and 3.2). The next examples show the proximal, medial and distal demonstrative forms used independently in (211) - (213) respectively.

(211) Proximal

(a) *kúkį̄*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
  this.NOM.M   *waachamo*   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
  'This one (M) went to Waachamo.'

(b) *túte*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-t-ó-ʔ-o*
  this.NOM.F   *waachamo*   go-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
  'This one (F) went to Waachamo.'

(c) *kukeénį̄*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-am-ú-kk-o*
  these.NOM   *waachamo*   go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
  'These went to Waachamo.'

(212) Medial

(d) *ʔoókki*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
  that.NOM.M   *waachamo*   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
  'That one (M) went to Waachamo.'

e) *ʔoótt-į̄*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-t-ó-ʔ-o*
  that.NOM.F   *waachamo*   go-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
  'That one (F) went to Waachamo.

f) *ʔookeéni*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-am-ú-kk-o*
  those.NOM   *waachamo*   go-3PL-PV-ASM.TV
  'Those went to Waachamo.'

(213) Distal

(g) *ʔókki*   *bátt'ọ*   *guull-aá-kk-o*
  that.NOM.M   work.ABS   finish.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
  'That one (M) finished the work.'

h) *ʔóttį̄*   *ki meent-íttʃo-tte-nníhe*
  that.NOM.F   2SG.GEN   woman-SG.TV-COP-QU
  'Is that one (F) your wife?'

(i) *Ɂokeéni̧*   *ni*   *beʃʃ-uwwá-jjo*
     those.NOM   1PL.GEN   friend-PL.COP-NEG
     'Those are not our friends.'

The sentences in (211), (212) and (213) have proximal, medial and dital demonstrative function respectively.

6.4.2. Locative deictics

Three locative deictics are attested: *kéjje* 'here' proximal, *ɁeekkéɁe* 'there' medial and *ɁekkéɁe* 'there' distal. The former is simple while the medial and distal are morphologically complex. It is the combination of the attribute demonstrative *Ɂee=/Ɂe=* 'that/those' and place lexeme *kéɁe* 'place'.

Locative deictics differ from the demonstratives discussed above in that they never refer to entities, but to regions or areas. In addition, unlike other spatial deictics which refer to both the speaker and the hearer, these have a spatial reference with respect to a speaker mainly.

Like demonstratives mentioned above, these also show no gender and number distinction. However, like other spatial deictics in section 6.4.1., they are marked with the absolutive, ablative and locative case suffixes, by the terminal vowels *-e, -iinse,* and *-nne* respectively.

In examples (214) the use of the absolutive form of these locative deictics is illustrated in sentential contexts.

(214a) *kéjje Ɂafuúr-e*
        here   sit-IMP.SG
        'Sit down here.'

   (b) *ɁeekkéɁe már-e*
        there   go-IMP.SG
        'Go there.'

   (c) *Ɂi*   *beʃ-íttʃ-i̧*   *ɁekkéɁe mar-ú-kk-o*
        1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   there   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'My friend went there.'

In (216a), the locative deictic *kéjje* 'here' designates a location close to the speaker. By contrast, the medial deictic *ɁeekkéɁe* 'there 'in (214b) indicates that the location is some what far from the speaker; and the distal deictic *ɁekkéɁe* 'there 'in (214c) describes a location quite far from the speaker.

In examples (215) the use of an ablative form is exemplified.

(215a) *kejj-iínse dára waattʃámo mar-ú-kk-o*
        here-ABL   morning waachamo go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'He left here and went to Waachamo.'

(b) *ʔeekkeʔ-iínse waar-ú-kk-o*
        there-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'He came from there.'

The place deictic nouns can further be marked for Locative as in (216).

(216a) *ʔítt'į̱ kejjé-nne lall-oó-lla*
        3SG.M.NOM here-LOC   play.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
        'He is playing here.'

(b) *ʔánį̱ ʔekkeʔé-nne heeʔ-oo-mm-úlla*
        1SG.NOM there-LOC   live.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG
        'I am living there.'

(c) *ʔissúwwį̱ kejjé-nne ʔafuur-am-aá-kk-o*
        3PL.NOM here-LOC sit-3PL-PF-ASM-TV
        'They have sat down here.'

(d) *ʔissúwwį̱ ʔeekkeʔé-nne ʔafuur-am-ú-kk-o*
        3PL.NOM there-LOC   sit-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
        'They sat down there.'

(e) *ʔítt'į̱ kejjé-nne heeʔ-oó-lla*
        3SG.M.NOM here-LOC   live.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
        'He is working here.'

(f) *ʔítt'į̱ ʔekkeʔé-nne lall-oó-lla*
        3SG.M.NOM there-LOC   play.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
        'He is playing there.'

Though the spatial deictics such as *ʔoo*, 'that/those', show the fixed position, they fail to indicate the exact location of a person or an object denoted by a noun. Thus, adverbial expressions such as *woro* 'inside/underneath', *háne* 'on/above', *lambéʔe* 'middle', *tóttʃo* 'edge', *ʔilláge* 'in front', *laságe* 'behind', *kóllo* 'side', *hegeégo* 'around', *gábo* 'corner', *lugúmo* 'root/source are used to specify the exact location of a noun. The following sentences will illustrate the locative use of these nouns.

(217a) *ka=hegeegó-nne dan-aámį̱ mín-į̱ beéʔe*
        this=around-LOC   be.good-ADJZ house-NOM be.absent
        'There is no a nice house around.'

(b) *ki kitaábą ʔee=kolló-nne hás-e*
  3SG.GEN book.ABS that=side-LOC look for-IMP.SG
  'Look for your book over there.'

(c) *dʒóri ʔáma ʔoósi hané-nne ʃumeʔl-(á)m-o*
  bad mother-NOM children.GEN on-LOC pee.3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
  'A cruel mother who pees on her children'
  Ans: *dʒabanaá sinéʔe* 'coffee pot and cup' (Riddle, No. 009)

(d) *ʔee=meéntį lambeʔé-nne ʔuull-ú-kkį   mán-tʃ-į ʔísi*
  those=woman between-LOC stand.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM 3SG.F.GEN
  ʔánna
  father.COP
  'The man who stands between those women is her father.'

(e) *ʔi beʃ-íttʃ-į   ʔi   lasagé-nne ʔafuur-aá-kk-o*
  1SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM 1SG.GEN behind-LOC sit.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
  'My friend has sat down behind me.'

(f) *ʔuúlli woró-nne mar-oó hemáttʃį mán-tʃ-į*
  earth.GEN inside-LOC go.3SG.M-IPV black man-SG-NOM
  'A black guy traveling in the tunnel.'
  Ans: *maaráʃa* 'Ploughing beam' (Riddle, No. 055)

The case which occurs most often with these locational nouns is locative. In 217, attaching such adverbial expressions to the basic demonstrative forms and suffixing the locative marker *-nne* form locative deictic expressions.

6.4.3. Direction deictics

The locative demonstratives that we have seen in the previous section, 6.4.2., indicate a stationary referent (a static relationship) between an entity and the place it is located. There are also demonstratives, in this section, used to indicate that the referent is moving in a certain direction (movement) relative to the deictic center.

Direction (movement) is often expressed by bound morpheme *-de* that attached to a demonstrative stem. When this suffix is attached to spatial deictic *ka=,*'this', it indicates a referent moving toward the deictic center. On the other hand, when this element is suffixed to *ʔee=* 'that/those', it marks referents that are moving away from the deictic center.

(218a) *ʔítt'į̃*   *kíde*   *waar-oó-lla*
3SG.M.NOM   towards.here   come.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
'He is coming here (toward the speaker from far away).'

(b) *ʔeekíde*   *már-e*
towards there   go-IMP.SG
'Go there.'

Furthermore, there are two directional nouns *ʔiíme* and *ʔaade* (219), which point out the level of elevation. These locational deictics indicating up-ward and down-ward directions are used to refer to persons or places located at a higher or lower altitude from both the speaker and the listener's point of view.

(219a) *ʔítt'į̃*   *ʔiíme*   *fir-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   upward   go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He went up ward.'

(b) *ʔoós-į̃*   *duun-iínse*   *ʔaáde*   *dill-am-ú-kk-o*
boy-NOM   mountain-ABL   downward   go.down-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'The children came down from the top of the mountain.'

6.4.4. Manner deictics

Manner deictics, which are usually glossed as 'in this way, like this, thus, likewise, as it was said before' is formed by by suffixing *-isa* to the verbal stems. The suffix *-isa* as a manner deictic marker (glossed as SIM) appears in structures like the following:

(220a) *ku=mán-tʃ-į̃*   *danaamį̃*   *hurbaat-į̃*   *gud-u-kk-ísa*
this=man-SG-NOM   good   meal-NOM   be.ready-PV-ASM-SIM
mooʔ-aá   *liiram-ú-kk-o*
see.3SG.M-CNV   be.happy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man was happy when he has observed a delicious meal.' (*Lit:* The man was happy after he has oserved that a good meal is prepared.')

(b) *ʔi*   *beʃ-íttʃ-į̃*   *waar-u-kk-ísa*   *laʔ-u-mm-ó-jjo*
1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   know.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'I did not know my friend's coming.'

Note that the use of similative marker (see section 3.2.4.9.) is extended to express manner in which the action is carried out as clearly shown in ex. (78) and (79).

6.4.5. Temporal deictics

The spatial deictics *ka=*, *ʔoo=* and *ʔee=* (see 6.4.1.) are also used as temporal deictics, which relate the time of an event to the time of an utterance. These deictic forms express a time of referent, when they occur in combination with, *bálla* 'day', *saánta* 'week', *ʔagána* 'month', *maaráge* 'hiintʃo', *ʔammáne* 'time', *doóle*

'era/epoch'. As in the case of spatial deictic, *ka=* expresses temporal proximity of an event to the time of utterance. The following are sentential examples:

(222a) *ka=bállạ   waar-e*
       this=today.ABS   come-IMP.SG
       'Come today.'

(b) *ka=maaráge losáṇọ   guull-oó-mm-o*
       this=year   lesson.ABS   finish.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
       'I will complete the lesson this year.'

In the same way, *Ɂoo=*'that, NOM' and *Ɂee=* 'that, ABS' also encode temporal points or durations that are distant from the actual moment of the speech situation as in (225).

(223a) *Ɂánị   Ɂee=bállạ   t'ad-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
       1SG.NOM   that=day.ABS   forget.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
       'I never forget that day.'

(b) *Ɂoo=Ɂammán-ị   t'ad-am-oó-jjo*
       that=time-NOM   forget.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-NEG
       'That moment is unforgettable.'

Reduplication of temporal deictics expresses frequentative (or habitual) action. Here are some illustrative examples:

(224a) *kejje balliballa gaɁn-oó-kk-o*
       here   day.day   rain.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
       'It rains here daily.'

(b) *Ɂi   beét-ị   meéra dardára   mar-oó-kk-o*
       1SG.GEN boy-NOM   market morning.morning   go.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
       'My son goes to market every morning.'

(c) *Ɂítt'ị   hiimihiímo   ni   mínẹ   waar-oó-kk-o*
       3SG.M.NOM evening.evening   3PL.GEN   house.ABS   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
       'He comes to our home every evening.'

Lexical and phrasal temporal expressions that are commonly used are shown in the following list:

(225) *bálla*   'day'
       dára   'morning'
       maaróʔo   'early evening'
       hiímo   'night'
       sodánna   'before dawn'
       bakíte   'early dawn'
       saánta   'week'(borrowed from amharic *saamint*)
       ʔagána   'month(moon)'
       maaráge   'non-specific year (period of time without a particular duration)'
       hiíntʃo   'a year'
       ʔammáne   'time'
       ʔeeʔammáne   'at that moment'
       kabala   'today'
       beebálla   'yesterday'
       ʔoombálla   'the day before yesterday'
       beeballibeeʔiʔoombálla   'the day before/ prior day'
       ʔeekk'ibálla   'three days before today'

       soódo   'tomorrow'
       ʔonsoódo   'the day after tomorrow'
       ʔeekk'isoódo   'the days after the third day'
       kaballibálla   'the week after/before'
       tommonónto   'two weeks after/before'
       kaballiʔagána   'a month after/before'

       kasaánta   'this week'
       kaʔagána   'this month'
       kamaaráge   'this year'
       kabáde   'now'
       láso   after
       laságe   latter
       ʔilláge   'before'
       ʔeeláso   'then'
       woddálla   'previous time(in weeks)'
       ʔeraáre   'previous time(in years)'
       gaásse   'in the past, ancient, long ago'
       doólle   'era/epoch '

       dardára   'every morning'
       hiimihiímo   'every night'
       ballibálla   'every day'

See also some sentential examples:

(226a) *gaassi   doollé-nne hadíjji   minaadáb-i̧ múlli̧ minaadab-í-nne*
        past.GEN   time-TDC   Hadiyya.GEN   people-NOM   other   people-EP-COM
        k'as-amam-aá-kk-o
        pierce.3SG.M-RCP-PF-ASM-TV
        (In the past time, the Hadiyya people have fought with other tribes.' (Lit: 'In the past time,
        the Hadiyya people have pierced with other people.' (Text 02: No.23)

(b) *kabáde   minę   mar-eéna   has-oó-mmį   bikk-ína   ka=tʃ'áʔni*
    now   house.ABS   go.1SG-PURP   want.3SG.M-IPV-ASM   about-DAT   this=sack.GEN
    wor-iínse   físs-e   j-ú-kk-o
    in-ABL   take.out-IMP.SG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'Now, I want to go home' said the leopard 'please, let me get out of the sack' (Text 04: No. 04)

(c) *ka=bálla   hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   wotʃ'-amam-ú-kkį*
    this=today   Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   be.in.conflict.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM.REL
    mánnǫ   ʔitt-ans-akk-(á)mį   googg-úwwi   bikk-ína   kur-oó-mm-o
    man.ABS   like-FRQ-3HON.IPV-ASM   way-PL.GEN   about-DAT   tell.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
    'In my today's spe ech, I will tell you the conflict resolution strategies of Hadiyya   culture.' (Text 02: No.01)

(d) *waámmi   bálla dára   seér-į   bárę   hin-oó-kk-o*
    funeral.GEN   day   morning   society-NOM   hole.ABS   dig.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
    'On the day of the funeral, the members of the funeral society should prepare the grave early in the morning.' (Text 01: No.32)

(e) *ʔaájja   gat'á-nne   dʒor-ísa kadd-(á)mį   ʔammáne   ʔabbaájj-į*
    sister.NOM   dining room-LOC   bad-SIM   dance.3SG.F.IPV-ASM   time   brother-NOM
    hiiró-nne   tuur-oó-kk-o
    seat-LOC   embarrasse.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
    'While the sister dances absurdly in the dining room, a brother gets small in his chair with embarrassment.' (Proverb, No. 097)

(f) *ʔambaántʃ-į   mar-aá   laságe   wiʃ-íttʃ-į   muun-oó-kk-o*
    neighbor-NOM   go.3SG.M-CNV   after   dog-SG-NOM   bark.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
    'A dog barks since a burglar long gone.' (Proverb, No. 117)

(g) *ʔánį   ka=mán-tʃǫ   ʔilláge   mooʔ-aá-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM   this=man-SG.ABS   before   see.1SG-PF-ASM-TV
    'I saw this man before'

(h) *ʔi   beʃ-íttʃ-į   waattʃam-iínse   kaballibálla   waar-oó-kk-o*
    1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   waacham-ABL   next.week   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
    'My friend will come next weekr from Waachamo.'

(i) *ʔítt'į   beebálla hall-íttʃǫ   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
    3SG.M.NOM   yesterday   donkey-SG.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'He bought a donkey yesterday.'

CONJUNCTIONS

Asyndetic coordination, i.e., simple juxtapsiotion of the cordinands, Zero strategy as Payne (1997:337) calls it, is not common in both phrasal and clausal coordination in Hadiyya. Hence each and every coordinand has to to be marked either by a dependent or lexical conjunction. Hadiyya has the following phrasal and clausal conjunctive and disjunctive devices on the basis of their functions: coordinative, inclusive, alternative, resultative, adversative (reversing). This section deals with the following coordinating devices.

7.1. Coordinative

Nominal coordination is signaled by lengthening the final vowel of all the constituents which are coordinated. Recall that all the words in Hadiyya terminate in a vowel (see section 3.1.). A vowel is added to the base with the terminal vowel and create a long word-final vowel. Indicating conjunction through final vowel lengthening is productive device for all the major word classes i.e., nouns, pronouns, verbs and adjectives can be conjoined by such coordinating strategy. The class of adverbs is very small, and there is no coordination of adverb phrases. Compare single and coordinated examples in (227-229a) and (227-229b) respectively.

(227a) *ʔítt'i̧   ka=beet-ína   kitaábą̧   ʔuww-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   this=boy-DAT   book.ABS   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He gave books to this boy.'

(b) *ʔítt'i̧   ka=beet-ina-á   ta=land-íttʃo-na-á   kitaábą̧*
3SG.M.NOM   this=boy-DAT-CNJ   this.DAT.F=girl-SG.TV-DAT-CNJ   book.ABS
ʔuww-ú-kk-o
give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He gave books to this boy and to this girl.'

(228a) *ʔi   beét-i̧   bííʔli   ʔuullá-nne   heeʔ-oó-kk-o*
1SG.GEN   boy-NOM   outside.GEN   country-LOC   live.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'My son lives abroad.'

(b) *ʔi   beet-i-í   ʔi   land-íttʃo-ó   bííʔli   ʔullá-nne*
1SG.GEN   boy-NOM-CNJ   1SG.GEN   girl-SG.NOM-CNJ   outside.GEN   country-LOC
heeʔ-am-oó-kk-o
live-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'My son and my daughter live abroad.'

(229a) *Ɂánį̃*   *mán-tʃọ*   *mooɁ-ú-mm-o*
          1SG.NOM   man-SG.ABS   see.1SG-PV-1SG-TV
          'I saw a man.'

    (b) *Ɂánį̃*   *man-tʃo-ọ*   *meent-íttʃo-ọ*   *mooɁ-ú-mm-o*
          1SG.NOM   man-SG.ABS-CNJ   woman-SG.ABS-CNJ   see.1SG-PV-ASM.TV
          'I saw a man and a woman.'

As already mentioned, final vowel lengthening can connect various types of constituents. For example, such strategy is employed to conjoin proper nouns (230), possessed nouns (231), pronouns (232), predicative nouns (233), NPs (234), predicative adjectives (235), attributive adjectives (236), and adverbials (237), deictics (238).

(230)   *makkeeb-i-í*   *maaddaam-i-í*   *waar-am-oó-lla*
          Makkeeb-NOM-CNJ   Maaddaam-NOM-CNJ   come-3PL-IPV-PRG
          'Makkeebo and Maaddaamo are coming.'

(231)   *makkeéb-į̃*   *Ɂítt'i*   *Ɂabbaajj-o-ó*   *Ɂíttt'i*   *Ɂaajj-a-á*
          Makkeebo-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   brtother.ABS-CNJ   3SG.M.GEN   sister.ABS-CNJ
          weeʃ-ú-kk-o
          call-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
          'Makkeebo called his brother and his sister.'

(232)   a) *Ɂani-í*   *Ɂitt'i-í*   *Ɂabbaajj-úwwa*
            1SG.NOM-CNJ   3SG.M.NOM-CNJ   brother-PL.COP
            'I and he are brothers.'

       b) *Ɂíssį̃*   *Ɂeese-é*   *keese-é*   *sog-akk-ó-Ɂ-o*
            3SG.HON   1SG.ABS-CNJ   you.ABS-CNJ   advise-HON.3SG-PV-EP-TV
            'S/He (HON) advised you and me.'

(233)   *Ɂoo=geer-am-oo*   *makkeebo-tte-é*   *liiransó-tte*
          that=run-3PL-IPV   Makkeebo-COP-CNJ   Liiranso-COP
          'The ones who are running are makkeebo and Liiranso.'

(234)   *Ɂítt'į̃*   *ka=beéti*   *lokko-ó*   *ta=land-íttʃi*   *horoore-é*
          3SG.M.NOM   this=boy.GEN   leg.ABS-CNJ   this.ABS.F=girl-SG.GEN   head.ABS-CNJ
          Ɂaanʃ-ú-kk-o
          wash.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
          'He washed that boy's leg and this girl's cut.'

(235)   *Ɂoo=mín-į̃*   *geeddʒa-á*   *haraára*
          that=house-NOM   big.COP-CNJ   wide.COP
          'That house is big and wide.'

(236) *Ɂoo=k'eeraal-i-í danaam-i-í makkeébi Ɂabbaájjo*
       that=tall-NOM-CNJ handsome-NOM-CNJ Makkeeb.GEN brother.COP
       'That tall and handsome boy is Makkeebo's brother.'

(237) *minaadáb-į beeballa-á kaballa-á kejjé-nne dumm-ú-kk-o*
       people-NOM yesterday-CNJ today-CNJ here-LOC gather.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'People gathered here yesterday and today.'

(238) *Ɂeekkide-é kide-é dabaɁl-am-aá Ɂarad-am-oó-kk-o*
       there-CNJ here-CNJ return-3PL-CNV announce-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
       'They announce [about the death] moving to every corner.' (Text 01: No.20)

When two or more constituents of the same status are conjoined the final vowel of each cordinand is lengthened as in (240).

(240a) *hadíjji k'aánk'į Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi Ɂogoll-úww-į*
        Hadiyya.GEN culture-GEN marry-BEN1-RCP-ANM4.GEN way-PL-NOM
        heer-am-tʃa-á gosano-ó lago-ó Ɂilgana-á
        marry willingly-PAS-ANM4.COP-CNJ gosano.COP-CNJ lago.COP-CNJ illigana.COP-CNJ
        ladiíʃʃa
        ladiisha.COP
        'Hadiyya's tradition marriage types are *Heerancha, Gosano, Lago, Illigana* and *Ladiisha*.' (Text 03: No.03)

   (b) *faraʃo-ó baara-á daagee-ttʃo-ó k'ama-ttʃo-ó Ɂoogat-ína*
        horse.ABS-CNJ ox.ABS-CNJ baboon-SG.ABS-CNJ monkey-SG.ABS-CNJ judge-DAT
        dooɁl-am-ú-kk-o
        choose-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
        'They chose [assigned] horse, ox, baboon and ape for the judgment.' (Text 04: No.08)

When phrases and clauses are coordinated in any way, there is often a slight pause immediately followed each conjoined item.

The strategy for conjoining clauses is identical to strategy for conjoining noun phrases. Clauses can also be coordinated by lengthening the final vowel of the finite verbs. Contrast coordinated phrasal and clausal conjunctions in (241 a and b) respectively.

(241a) *Ɂátį sukkaara-á buna-á hamaár-e*
        2SG.NOM sugar.ABS-CNJ coffee.ABS-CNJ mix-IMP.SG
        'Mix sugar with coffee.'

   (b) *Ɂátį sukkaárą Ɂeebb-aá búną kaás-e*
        2SG.NOM sugar.ABS bring-CNV coffee.ABS make-IMP.SG
        'Bringing sugar make coffee.'

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Non verbal predicates can also be coordinated by employing vowel lengthening. However, here only the first constituent is marked.

(242a) *ʔissúwwị̱   keeraʔl-uwwa-á   danaam-úwwa*
        3PL.NOM   tall-PL.COP-CNJ   beautiful-PL.COP
        'They are tall and beautiful.'

The use of final vowel lengthening as a coordinating strategy is also shown in the following sentential contexts.

(243a) *hottʃ-aán-ị̱   geer-am-aá   waar-am-aá   ka=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ị̱   béjjọ*
        hunt-AGN-NOM   run-3PL-CNV   come-3PL-CNV   this=plough-AGN-SG-NOM   place.ABS
        ʔaf-am-aá   ka=maat'-am-ú-kkị̱   kabeé-ttʃọ   siid-am-óʔne
        arrive-3PL-CNV   this=hide-PAS-PV-ASM.REL   leopard-SG.ABS   find-3PL-without
        hig-am-aá   mar-am-ú-kk-o
        pass-3PL-CNV   go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

        'After a moment, the hunters arrived running But, fortunately, they just passed by the farmer with out suspecting what is hidden in his sack.' (Text 04: No.02)

(b) *ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ị̱   tʃ'aná-nne   ʔijj-ú-kkị̱   t'aaféʔẹ*
        this=plough-AGN-SG-NOM   leather.pouch-LOC   carry.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   teff.ABS
        giggiss-aá   ka=kabeé-ttʃọ   tʃ'áʔni   woró-nne   ʔaag-is-aá
        throw out-CNJ   this=leopard-SG.ABS   sack.GEN   inside-LOC   enter-CAUS-CNV
        maat'-ú-kk-o
        hid.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The farmer threw out the 'teff' from the sack and hid the runaway leopard in it.' (Text 04: No.14)

(c) *ʔabaroós-ị̱   ka=leh-ú-kkị̱   mán-tʃọ*
        family members-NOM   this=die-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.ABS
        tiir-siis-oó-kkị̱   lúwwạ   ʔedde-ttʃa-á
        remember.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-ASM.REL   thing.ABS   wear-ANM4.ABS-CNJ
        fotoʔ-o-ó   ʔagir-a-á   bagad-o-ó   faráʃi   teʔíme
        photograph.ABS-CNJ   shield.ABS-CNJ   spear.ABS-CNJ   horse.GEN   or
        bak'úttʃi   ʔedde-ttʃa-á   ʔamad-am-aá   nagaariítạ   hig-am-oó-kk-o
        mule.GEN   wear-ANM4.ABS-CNJ   hold-3PL-CNV   drum.ABS   pass-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
        'Family members also hold different items (his belongings) as a reminder of the deceased, such as, different clothing's, shield and spear, horse or mule riding clothes, and move rhythmically around the Negarit (the drum).' (Text 01: No.42)

(d) *ʔáma   lé-t-o   beet-i-í   ʔáma   meérạ   már-t-o*
        mother.NOM   die-3SG.F-PV   boy-NOM-CNJ   mother.NOM   market.ABS   go-3SG.F-PV
        beet-i-í   gúdo   wiʔl-am-oó-kk-o
        boy-NOM-CNJ   equal   cry-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
        'A baby whose mother died and a baby whose mother went to market cry equally [in the same way].' (Proverb, No. 111)

7.2. Inclusive

A lexical element *ʔodíme* and a suffixal morpheme *-m* are used as inclusive conjunctions. In their basic function, *ʔodíme* and *-m* empasize the fact that a certain participant, a type of event or state applies not only expressed in an earlier phrase or clause or sentence, but also to another one. In other words, the central function of these conjunctions is to express additiveness.

Though these conjunctions encode inclusion, there are two slight differences: first, *ʔodíme* can be used next to nominals (nouns and adjectives, where as a dependent morpheme *-m* is suffixed to the majority of words final position. Secondly, *-m* emphasizes the additional occurrence of a certain type of state of affairs and participant, while *ʔodíme* expresses the additionality of a participant. In examples (244) and (245) for example, both conjunctions have an additive function, but *-m* is more emphatic when compared to what is expressed in the noun phrase with *ʔodíme*. The following are illustrative examples:

(244) Phrasal and clauses coordination by *–m*

(a) *hadíjji   k'aankk'á-nne   ʔajjị̣   man-tʃ-í-mị̣   wóʃʃạ   laʔ-aá*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   who.NOM   man-SG-NOM-INC   matter.ABS   know-CNV
maat'-oó-jjo
hide.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'In Hadiyya culture, any other person who knows about the matter the criminal does not keep it in secret. (Text 02: No.34)

(b) *hadíjji   k'aánk'ạ   laʔ-akk'-eéna   hass-í-ttị̣   bikk-ína*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture.ABS   know.2SG-BEN1-PURP   want.2SG-EP.PV-ASM   about-DAT
ʔaní-mị̣   ʔarák'a   galatt'-oó-mm-o
1SG.NOM-INC   much   thank.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'I am also grateful for your desire to know about Hadiyya's tradition.' (Text 03: No.37)

(c) *kiʔnuwwí-mị̣   danaam-ísa   batt'-éhe*
3PL.NOM-INC   good-SIM   work-IMP.3PL
'You too, do it in a good manner.'

(d) *mán-tʃ-ị̣   ʔítt'i   ʔanná-mị̣   ʃ-ú-kk-o*
man-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   father.ABS-INC   kill-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man kiiled his father too.'

(e) *satt'ị̣   ʔoogat-áan-tʃ-ị̣   daageetʃ-í-mị̣   kíde   j-ú-kk-o*
third   judge-AGN-SG-NOM   baboon.SG-NOM-INC   like this   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The third judge, baboon, said as follows….' (Text 04: No.11)

(f) *ʔítt'ị̣   ka=ʔuúllạ   ʔiitt-ú-kk-o   ʔaní-mi*
3SG.M.NOM   this=country.ABS   like.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV 1SG.NOM-INC

'He liked this area, me too.'

(245) Phrasal and clausal coordination by *ʔodíme*

(a) *goón-i̧   ʔodíme   nagaariíti   ʔillagé-nne   bagádo̧   teʔíme   k'eraáʔli̧*
male-NOM   also   drum.GEN   infront-LOC   spear.ABS   or   long
múgo̧   ʔamad-am-oó-kk-o
stick.ABS   hold-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'Men in their part hold a spear or a stick during the dance infront of drum.' (Text 01: No.44)

(b) *gosáʔni   bikk-ína   ʔaaloʔ-ísa   kur-t-aá-tt-o   kába   ʔodíme*
abduction.GEN   about-DAT   good-SIM   tell-2SG-PF-ASM-TV   now   also
heer-ám-tʃi̧   bikk-ína   kúr-e
marry-ABS1-SG.GEN   about-DAT   tell.IMP.SG
'You have explained to me about Gosano (abduction) in a detailed manner, Now, please tell me about a type of marriage which is called *Heerancha*.' (Text 03: No.06)

(c) *múlli̧   maʃkaʔi   ʔodíme   ka=leh-ú-kki̧   mán-tʃ-i̧   diinátȩ*
another reason   also   this=die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   cattle.ABS
ʔallagíttʃ-i̧   mass-oo-beeʔ-ísa   ʔiss-imm-iná-tte
stranger.NOM   take.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-SIM   do-VN-DAT-COP
'Another reason is, not to allow a stranger to take over the wealth of the deceased.' (Text 03: No.33)

(d) *k'amáttʃ-i̧   ʔodíme   las-aán-tʃi̧   ʔoogáto̧   ʔuww-ú-kk-o*
ape-NOM   also   back-AGN-SG   judge.ABS   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Ape in its part gave the final judgment.' (Text 04: No.12)

(e) *ʔáni̧   lar-ína   hít'ȩ   ʔuww-ú-mm-o   ʔi   meent-íttʃo*
1SG.NOM   cow-DAT   grass.ABS   give.1SG-PV-ASM-TV   1SG.GEN   woman-SG.NOM   *ʔodíme*
búno̧   kaass-ó-ʔ-o
also   coffee.ABS   boil.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'I gave the cows grass, my wife however made coffee.'

7.3. Alternative

Hadiyya has two alternative (disjunctive) markers: *teʔíme* 'or' and *-nni*. The former is syntactically autonomous whereas the latter one, *-nni*, is a dependent morpheme. The alternative coordinator, *teʔíme* is used in coordination of phrases and clauses, and it is placed before each word, phrases or clauses that are conjoined as the following examples illustrate.

(246a) *gos-imm-ína   ʔeri̧   ʔammán-i̧   meéro̧   mar-t-(á)mi̧   teʔíme*
abduct-VN-DAT   good   time-NOM   market.ABS   go-3SG.F.IPV-ASM.REL   or
meer-iínse   dabaʔl-i-t-(á)mi̧   ʔammáne
market-ABL   return-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM.REL   time
'The ideal time and place to carry out the abduction (Gosano) is a time when the girl is walking to or from the market). (Text 03: No.13)

(b) *lág-ị*   *ʔaróʔ-ị*   *leh-ú-kkị*   *meent-íttʃi*   *ʔaróʔi*
lago-NOM   husband.NOM   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   woman-SG.GEN   husband.GEN

ʔabbaájj-i   *teʔíme*   *múllị*   *k'armántʃ-ị*   *ta=meent-íttọ*
brother-NOM   or   other-GEN   relative-NOM   that.ABS.3SG.F=woman-SG.ABS

ʔaag-is-óna   *ʔiss-akk-(á)mị*   *ʔidoótt'i*   *goógo*
enter.3SG.M-CAUS-JUS.   make-3HON.IPV-ASM   marriage.GEN   way.COP

'Lago is the type of marriage in which the widow will get married with her late
husband's brother or another close relative to her deceased husband.' (Text 03: No.29)

(c) *waámmị*   *lasó-nne*   *ka=leh-ú-kkị*   *mán-tʃì*   *wónị*
funeral   after-TDC   this=die-3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   elder

beét-ị   *teʔíme*   *ʔabbísị*   *k'armántʃ-ị*   *waamm-ína*   *waar-ú-kkị*
boy-NOM   or   close   relative.NOM   grave-DAT   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL

mánnạ   *galatt'-oó-kk-o*
man.ABS   thank.3SG.M- IPV-ASM-TV

'After the funeral, the first born of the deceased or a close relative thank everyone who
attended the funeral.' (Text 01: No.53)

Alternative coordination through *teʔime* can be binary (used to connect more than one constituent)
or multiple; see (247) for the former, and (248) and for the latter.

(247)   <u>Multiple coordination of the alternative marker, *teʔime*.</u>

(a) *gos-imm-ína*   *ʔeri*   *ʔammán-ị*   *meérá*   *mar-t-(á)mị*   *teʔíme*
abduct-VN-DAT   good   time-NOM   market.ABS   go-3SG.F-IPV-ASM.REL   or

meer-iínse   *dabaʔl-i-t-(á)mị*   *ʔammáne*   *teʔíme*   *wóʔọ*
market-ABL   return-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM   time   or   water.ABS

ʔinkiir-t-eéna   *daáddʒẹ*   *dill-i-t-(á)mị*   *ʔammáne*   *teʔíme*
fetch-3SG.F-PURP   river.ABS   go.down-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM.REL   time.ABS   or

hákk'ạ   *feer-imm-ína*   *doómạ*   *mar-t-(á)mị*   *ʔammáne*
fire.wood.ABS   collect-VN-DAT   forest.ABS   go-3SG.F.IPV-ASM   time.COP

'The ideal time and place to carry out the abduction is a time when the girl is walking to or
from the market or when she went to a river (stream) to fetch water or the time she went out to
collect fire wood.' (Text 03: No.13)

(b) *hadíjji*   *wíʔli*   *k'aank'á-nne*   *lánd-ị*   *bárẹ*   *k'as-eéna*
Hadiyya.GEN   mourning.GEN   colture-LOC   girl-NOM   grave.ABS   dig.3SG.M-PURP

t'an-oó-jjo   *wónị*   *beétọ*   *teʔíme*   *wónị*   *beétọ*   *ʔawwan-aán-tʃì*
be.able.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   elder   boy.ABS   or   elder   boy.ABS   follow-AGN-SG.NOM

teʔíme   *leh-ú-kkị*   *mán-tʃ-ị*   *ʔabbaájj-ị*   *teʔíme*   *ʔabbísị*
or   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   brother-NOM   or   close

k'armántʃ-ị   *bárẹ*   *k'as-eéna*   *t'an-oó-kk-o*
relative-NOM   grave'.ABS   dig.3SG.M-PURP   be.able-3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'According to Hadiyya's traditional mourning ceremony the one who start digging a grave
should be the first born of the deceased. If the first born is not around, the second born can
commence the ceremony by digging (poking) the ground once or twice with a spear. A girl
cannot start the ceremony by poking the ground. If the deceased does not have a son, the
brother of the deceased or a close relative can start the ceremony by poking the earth.' (Text
01: No.33)

(248)   Binary coordination of the alternative marker, *teʔíme.*

máṭị   mán-tʃ-ị   gágạ   dʒórị   ʔih-u-kkí-lasị   teʔíme
one   man-SG-NOM   self.ABS   ugly   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CND   or
hóffị   moolló-nne   k'ar-am-u-kkí-lasị   malaajj-í-nne
minor   tribe-LOC   born.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-CND   power-EP-INST
gos-oó-kk-o
abduct.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'If the guy is ugly or he is from a clan which is despised or low in class, he will be forced to carryout Gosano (abduction).'(Text 03: No.17)

As can bee observed in (248) when two and more constituents are connected with *teʔíme*, this conjunction is normally attached to every coordinated constituent.

The coordinating formative-*nni* functions as disjunctive coordinator in interrogative clauses. Consider the use of this conjunction in alternative questions as in (249).

(249a)   *hínkị   mán-tʃọ   ʔiitt-i-t-oó-tt-o   gundá-nni   geéddʒá*
what   man-SG.ABS   like-EP-2SG.F-IPV-ASM-TV   short.ABS-or   fat.ABS
witʃ'á-nni   k'eeraáʔla
slim.ABS-or   tall.ABS.COP
'What type of man do you like, a short, fat, slim or tall?'

(b)   *hínkị   land-íttʃo   keésẹ   ʔarák'a   ʔiitt-i-t-(á)m-o*
which   girl-SG.NOM   2MSG.ABS   much   love-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
lattʃaamé-nni   ʔeraájje
Lachaame-or   Eraayye
'Which girl will you love more, Lachaame or Eraayye?'

(c)   *kúkị   ki   ʔabbaajjó-nnị   ki   beʃ-íttʃo*
this.NOM.M   2SG.GEN   brother-or   2SG.GEN   friend-SG.COP
'Is this [he] your brother or friend?'

(d)   *ʔátị   ʔaaloʔ-ísa   bat'-oo-llá-nnị   googó-nne   kululi-t-oó-lla*
2MSG.NOM   good-SIM   work2SG-IPV-PRG-or   street-LOC   wander-2SG-IPV-PRG
'Are you working properly or wasting your time wandering the streets?'

When there are more than two items to choose from, this conjunction usually attached to every connected item other than the final coordinand, as illustrated in (249).

7.4. Resultative/Reason

The result/reason clause conjunction, *bikkína,* 'hence, so, then' is used to conjoin two clauses. The free word *bikkína* seems to be a combination of two elements: *bikke* 'then, as a result, because' and the dative suffix *-ina.* The situation labeled by the clause in which *bikkína* occurs is presented as resulting from the preceding events. *bikkína* functions not only to join clauses in sentences, but also

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to link independent sentences to each other. The next sentential examples in (250) and (251) show *bikkína*, its clause and sentence coordinating function respectively.

(250a)   *hadíjji   minaadáb-į̇ hidírǫ   ʔarák'a badd-oó   bikk-ína*
        Hadiyya.GEN   people-NOM   oath.ABS   much   afraid.3SG.M-IPV   because-DAT
        ka=dumm-íttʃá-nne   k'opp'an-oó mán-tʃ-į̇   heeʔ-oó-jjo
        this=meet-EP-ANM4.TV-LOC   lie.3SG.M-IPV   man-SG-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
        'The Hadiyya people are very much afraid of this oath. So, no one dares to tell a lie in this chamber.' (Text 02: No.33)

(b)   *hadíjji   k'aánk'ǫ   laʔ-k'-eéna   hass-í-tt bikk-ína*
        Hadiyya.GEN   culture.ABS   know.1SG-BEN1-PURP   want-EP-2MSG   because-DAT
        ʔaní-m-į̇   ʔarák'a galatt'-oó-mm-o
        1SG-too-NOM   much   thank.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
        'I am also grateful for your desire to know about Hadiyya's tradition.' (Text 03: No.37)

(c)   *lobį̇ mánn-į̇   ʔidʒaadʒ-oó   bikk-ína   hadíjjį̇   heéttʃi*
        big   man-NOM   order.3SG.M-IPV   because-DAT   Hadiyya.GEN   life.GEN
        k'aánk'i   ʔih-ú-kkį̇   bikk-ína   sabb-eéna
        tradition   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   because-DAT   refuse.3SG.F-PURP
        t'an-t-a-m-ó-jjo
        be.able-3SG.F-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'If once the elders decided the marriage, she does not have much choice to refuse it, due to the fact that it is the tradition of Hadiyya.' (Text 03: No. 31)

(251a)   *ku=tʃ'iil-íttʃ-į̇   sibaar-aá-kk-o   ʔee=bikk-ína*
        this=baby-SG-NOM   be.hungry.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   that=because-DAT
        hurbaátǫ   ʔit-ís-e
        food.ABS   eat-CUAS-IMP.SG
        'The child is hungry, so feed him.'

(b)   *tukuróʔ-į̇   hadíjji   seerá-nne   suúʔmmi dʒan-am-tʃ-iínse*
        tukuroʔ-NOM   Hadiyya.GEN   regulation-LOC   mouth.GEN   conflict-RFX-ANM4-ABL
        bagaánį̇   ʔapp'itt'-am-tʃ-i-beéʔi wotʃ'-ám-tʃa   ʔee=bikk-ína
        except   hit-RFX-ANM4-EP-NEG   conflict-ABS1-SG.COP   that=because-DAT
        ʔiit-ans-imm-ína   haww-is-oó-jjo
        like-FRQ-VN-DAT   make.a.problem.3SG.M -CAUS-IPV-NEG

        'This type of conflict, Tukoro'o does not go to physical charge (hurt), it is a type of fight which uses only verbal attack. So, both conflicts are not very much hard for resolution.' (Text 02: No.26)

The result/reason clause conjunction, *bikkína,* cannot be used to coordinate noun phrases. However it occurs with nouns to encode the meaning "about". Consider the following example:

(252)   *gosáʔni   bikk-ína   ʔaaloʔ-ísa kur-t-aá-tt-o   kába   ʔodíme*
        gosan.GEN   about-DAT   good-SIM   tell-2SG-PF-ASM-TV   now   also
        heerántʃi   bikk-ína   kúr-e
        heerancha.GEN   about-DAT   tell-IMP.SG

'You have explained to me about Gosano (abduction) in a detailed manner, Now, would you please tell me about a type of marriage which is called *Heerancha*?' (Text 03: No.20)

Both functions of *bikkina* is contrasted in (253-254):

(253) <u>Clause/sentence + bikkina 'result/reason'</u>

    báddu bikkina   'because he was afraid'

    bat'amoó bikkína   'because they work'

    sibaáru bikkína   'because he was hungry'

    waarubeéʔi bikkína   'because he hasn't come'

(254) <u>Noun + bikkina   'result/reason'</u>

    ki bikkína   'about you'

    ʔi bikkína   'about me'

    mantʃi bikkína   'about a man'

    woʃʃi bikkína   'about the situation'

    ʔeebak'ántʃi bikkína   'about marriage'

7.5. Adversative (reversing)

For adversative coordination, the free word *bagaani* 'but, although, nevertheless'' is employed. The conjunctive coordinator *bagaanį* which optionally followed by the verb to be *ʔihóna* 'let it be', usually expresses a contrastive notion and introduces a clause which contrasts with the preceding one. Illustrative examples are given in (255).

(255a) *danaamó-tte*   *ʔih-óna*   *bagaánį*   *k'awwá-tte*
        good-COP.3SG.F   be.3SG.M-JUS   nevertheless   foolish-COP.3SG.F
        'She is beautiful bur foolish.'

  (b)   *dara-á*   *maaroʔo-ó* *bat'-oó-kk-o*   *ʔih-óna* *bagaáni*
        morning-CNJ night-CNJ   work.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV be.3SG.M-JUS   nevertheless
        godd-aan-tʃó-jjo
        rich-AGN-SG-NEG
        'He works day and night but he is poor.'

CHAPTER EIGHT

SENTENCE STRUCTURE

On the basis of clause types, sentences are divided in to two: These are simple and complex sentences. Simple sentences consist of a single main clause while complex sentences comprise one or more subordinate clauses, in addition to a main clause.

In Hadiyya the following structural categories or sentence types are distinguished: affirmative/negative declarative clauses, interrogatives and imperatives. Some of these sentence types further distinguish various modal expressions related to the speaker's commitment, attitude, knowledge, etc. First each of these sentene types will be dealt and towards the end of the section copular sentences will be discussed in turn. Since discussions on imperative sentence types has already been provided in chapter five, in this section, we will focus on other sentence types.

8.1. Simple declarative sentences

Crystal, (2008:130) states that declarative is a term used in the grammatical classification of sentence types, and usually seen in contrast to imperative, interrogative, etc. As he noted further, a declarative refers to verb forms or sentence/clause types typically used in the expression of statements.

In many languages the declarative is expressed by structures and verb forms which carry no overt marker (Palmer 1986:260, Lyons 1968:307, Payne 1997:294). In Hadiyya too, there is no distinct morphological marker for declaratives. It is expressed by a falling intonation associated with the verbal complex, which contrasts with the negative marker *-jjo* and rising intonation of interrogatives.

A declarative verb can be affirmative or negative. Each of these declarative sentence types will be dealt in turn.

8.1.1. The affirmative declarative

As we noted earlier, the affirmative declarative sentence, unlike its negative counterpart, there is no independent morpheme standing for affirmative. The affirmative is expressed by a zero morpheme that contrasts paradigmatically with the negative marker *-jjo*.

Consider different types of declarative constructions, such as eventive, stative, informative, active, and passive and sentences.

(256a) *ʃaameéb-į̇*   *las-aán-tʃo*
       Shaameeb-NOM   learn-AGN-SG.COP
       'Shaamebo is a student.'

(b) *ʃaameéb-ɨ dʒabb-aán-tʃɨ ʔih-ú-kk-o*
Shaameeb-NOM sick-AGN-SG be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Shaameebo became sick.'

(c) *ʔarák'ɨ goógo lokk-í-nne taakkeʔ-ímm-ɨ fajjaʔ-oom-ína danaámo*
long way.ABS leg-EP-INST walk-VN-NOM be.healthy-ANM1-DAT good.COP
'Walking long distance is important for health.'

(d) *ʃaameéb-ɨ míne mar-ú-kk-o*
Shaameeb-NOM house go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Shaameebo went home.'

(e) *geré-ttʃ-ɨ dur-am-ú-kk-o*
sheep-SG-NOM slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'The sheep was slaughtered.'

(f) *ʔísi ʔaróʔ-ɨ geéddʒɨ baárą dur-ú-kk-o*
3SG.F.GEN husband-NOM big ox.ABS slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Her husband slaughtered an ox.'

(g) *kába ʔodíme ʔollaʔ-oom-í-nne heeʔ-am-oó lamɨ ʔollaʔ-úwwɨ*
now also neighbor-ANM1-EP-INST live-3PL-IPV two neighbor-PL
bikk-ína heésso kur-oó-mm-o
about-DAT story.ABS tell.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'Now, I will tell you a tale about two neighbours.'

(h) *ki beʃ-íttʃ-ɨ waar-oó-lla*
2SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM come.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
'Your friend is coming.'

Sentential examples offered in (256) illustrate various declarative constructions: Eventive sentences (256a), describe the state, quality or manner of the subject of the sentence. These types of sentences are syntactically similar in that their verbs require a nominal or an adjectival complement which is linked to its external argument. Stative Sentences (256b), describe the state of their subject. Senetences which involve eventive verbs can also be included under stative sentences because syntactically they are similar. The informative declarative sentence in (256c) is used when one makes a statement which the speaker thinks is completely new to the other speech participant.

Most simple sentences outside the class of copulatives and statives, and eventives belong to active sentences. Such sentences contain verbs which denote a certain action. The subject of such sentences is usually the one who performs the action (see ex. 256d). Passive sentences contain a passive subject which is the recipient of the action denoted by the verb. Passive sentences (256e) of Hadiyya are marked by a passive suffix /-am/ which is attached to the verb stems.

8.1.2. The negative declarative

In contrast to an affirmative-declarative speech act, which provides new information to the hearer against the background of the hearer's ignorance of the proposition, a negative declarative speech

act is used to deny the issue against the background of the hearer's presumed inclination to believe in the issue (Givon, 1984:323-4).

In natural languages negation comes in two forms, that is, as clausal negation or as constituent negation. While the first denies the truth of the entire proposition, the second negates particular constituent(s) of a clause (Adger, 2003:176). According to him, negative markers that negate the entire proposition mostly come as verbal inflections or as verb related constituents. This, however, does not mean that verbal inflections do not negate constitutes.

According to Zanuttini (2001:511), in many languages negative markers are sensitive to aspect, mood and to types of clauses in which they occur. Due to this, different negative forms can be realized in different clauses. Hadiyya is among the languages that exhibit different negative markers. All types of negative constructions in declarative sentences are shown in turn.

8.1.2.1. The negation morpheme -jjo

As previously noted, and as further illustrated below, negation is regularly marked by the element -jjo, which contrasts paradigmatically with the affirmative that is expressed by zero morpheme. Consider an affirmative sentence and its negative counterpart in (257) and (258) respectively.

(257a) ʔánị̈   ʔítt'ọ   weeʃ-ú-mm-o
        1SG.NOM   3SG.M.ABS   call.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
        'I called him.'

(b) neésị̈   ni   bát'ọ   guull-i-n-ú-mm-o
     1PL.NOM   1PL.GEN   work.ABS   finish-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
     'We finished our work.'

(c) ʔátị̈   kitaabb-oó-lla
     2SG.NOM   write.2SG-IPV-PRG
     'You are writing.'

(d) ʔítt'ị̈   bat'-oó-llị̈   heeʔ-ú-kk-o
     3SG.M.NOM   work.3SG.M-IPV-PRG   be-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'He was working.'

(e) ʔissúwwị̈   kananaaʔ-am-oó-lli   heeʔ-am-ú-kk-o
     3PL.NOM   read-3PL-IPV-PRG   be-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
     'They were writing.'

(f) diʔrị̈   maar-ị̈   fajjaʔ-oóm-ína   danaámo
     fat   meat-NOM   be.healthy-ANM1-DAT   good.COP
     'Fatty meat is good for health.'

(258a) ʔánị̈   ʔítt'ọ   weeʃ-ú-mm-ó-jjo
        1SG.NOM   3SG.M.ABS   call.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'I did not call him.'

(b) *neési̧   ni   bat'ọ   guull-í-n-ú-mm-ó-jjo*
    1PL.NOM   1PL.GEN   work.ABS   finish-EP-1PL-PV-TV-NEG
    'We did not finish our work.'

(c) *Ɂáti̧   kitaabb-oo-llá-jjo*
    2SG.NOM   write.2SG-IPV-PRG-NEG
    'You are not writing.'

(d) *Ɂítt'i̧   bat'-oó-lli̧   heeɁ-ú-kk-ó-jjo*
    3SG.M.NOM   work.3SG.M-IPV-PRG   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
    'He was not working.'

(e) *Ɂissúwwi̧   kananaaɁ-am-oó-lli̧   heeɁ-am-u-kk-ó-jjo*
    3PL.NOM   read-3PL-IPV-PRG   be-3PL-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
    'They were not writing.'

(f) *díɁri̧   maár-i̧   fajjaɁ-oom-ína   danaamó-jjo*
    fat   meat-NOM   be.healthy-ANM1-DAT   good.COP-NEG
    'Fat meat is not good for health.'

As shown in (258a-c), the most common negative marker, *jjo*, is attached to the main verb. However, when an auxiliary verb is followed verbal complement, the negation particle is attached to the auxiliary as illustrated in (258d-e). As illustrated in (258f), when the predication is non verbal the negation particle is attached to the nominal predicate.

8.1.2.2. The existential negation morpheme *beeɁe*

Existential sentences, either affirmative or negative, always appear with a dative and locative arguments. The morpheme *beeɁe* is used to negate the verb of has/have. Compare affirmative existential sentences with their negative equivalents in (259).

(259a) *ka=miné-nne   mánn-i̧   beéɁe*
       this=house-COM   man-NOM   be.absent
       'No body is in the house.'

(b) *ki   beet-ína   wodán-i̧   beéɁe*
    2SG.GEN   boy-DAT   heart-NOM   be.absent
    'Your son does not have consciousness.' (Lit: There is no heart for your son).'

(c) *Ɂama-nne-é   woɁo-nne-é   dʒór-i̧   beéɁe*
    mother-LOC-CNJ   water-LOC-CNJ   bad-NOM   be.absent
    'There is no either a bad water or a bad mother.' (Proverb, No. 114)

(d) *Ɂisé-na   maandár-i̧   beéɁe*
    3SG.F-DAT   manner-NOM   be.absent
    'She does not have good manner.'

The negative existential verb does not take a subject agreement element. This is, however, not the case with the affirmative equivalent. Compare the following negative existentials and affirmative equivalents in (260) and (261), respectively.

(260a) *ki   beʃ-íttʃ-ína   ʔarák'i̧   k'armánn-i̧   beéʔe*
2SG.GEN   friend-SG-DAT   many   relative-NOM   do.not.exist
'Your friend has no a lot of relatives.' (Lit: There are no relatives for your friend).'

(b) *ʔi-ína   ʔaajj-úww-i̧   beéʔe*
1SG-DAT   sister-PL-NOM   be.absent
'I have no sisters (Lit: There are no sisters for me).'

(261a) *ki   beʃ-íttʃ-ína   ʔarák'i̧   k'armánn-i̧   j-oó-kk-o*
2SG.GEN   friend-SG-DAT   many   relatve-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Yor friend has a lot of relatives.' (Lit: There are relatives for your friend).'

(b) *ʔi-ína   ʔaajj-úww-i̧   j-oó-kk-o*
1SG-DAT   sister-PL-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'I have sisters (Lit: There are sisters for me).'

8.1.2.3. The inherently negative verbs

Negation is not necessarily always indicated by means of negative formatives. Two inherently negative verbs are encountered which convey a negative connotation. These are *hoog-*, a verb used 'to decline, fail, deteriorate, be unable, weaken' and *gat-* 'fail, remain, undo, unknot', which by their very meaning incorporate a sense of negation into their lexical structure without the negative formative -jjo.

The following sentences in (262) illustrate the occurrence of the verbs *hoog-* and *gat-* in the senses of 'decline, fail, be unable, deteriorate, weaken', and 'fail, remain, undo, unknot'.

(262a) *mar-imm-iínse   gat-ú-kk-o*
go-VN-ABL   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He didn't go.'

(b) *t'oreett'-am-tʃ-iínse   láso   gat-ú-kk-o*
compete-RFX-ANM4-ABL   back   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He failed to win the race.'

(c) *bát'o̧   guull-ímma̧   hoog-ú-kk-o*
work.ABS   finish-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
'He was unable to finish a/the work.'

(d) *dʒabb-aán-tʃ-i̧   ʔit-ímma̧   hoog-ú-kk-o*
be.sick-AGN-SG-NOM   eat-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
'The patient was unable to eat.'

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All the sentences in (262) convey a negative inference. The confirmation of this is, for instance when these inherently negative verbs, /gat-/ and /hoog-/, are conjugated in the negative the sentence will acqure a positive meaning as illustrated in (263) below.

(263a) *mar-imm-iínse   gat-u-kk-ó-jjo*
　　　 go-VN-ABL　　　 fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
　　　 'He went.'　 (Lit: 'He did not decline from going.')

(b) *t'oreett'-am-tʃ-iínse   láso   gat-u-kk-ó-jjo*
　　 compete-RFX-ANM4-ABL   back   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
　　　'He won a/the race.'   (Lit: 'He did not fail to win the race.')

(c) *bát'ǫ   guull-ímmǫ   hoog-u-kk-ó-jjo*
　　 work.ABS   finish-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
　　 'He finished a/the work.' (Lit: 'He did not fail to finish a/the work.')

(d) *dʒabb-aán-tʃ-į   ʔit-ímmǫ   hoog-u-kk-ó-jjo*
　　 be.sick-AGN-SG-NOM   eat-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
　　 'The patient was able to eat.'

8.2. Interrogatives

Within the class of interrogative clauses, Hadiyya typically distinguishes two subtypes: Those for which the information requested is a simple affirmation or disaffirmation (yes or no), and those for which the requested information is a more elaborated locution, a phrase, a proposition, or an entire discourse. In other words, interrogatives can be divided into polar Interrogatives, which elicit 'yes" or "no" answers, and non polar Interrogatives (content interrogatives), which involve content question words. Each of these is discussed in turn below. After each question type the structure of answers for each interrogative type will be examined.

8.2.1. Polar interrogatives

According to Sadock and Zwicky (1985:179) a polar question "seeks a comment on the degree of truth of the questioned proposition." Polar interrogatives express questions that can be answered by 'yes' or 'no', although other answers are possible as well, such as 'maybe' or 'I do not know'.

Like declarative verbs, interrogative verbs are subject to polarity and show affirmative and negative forms.

To differentiate an interrogative clause from a declarative clause, Hadiyya exhibits two possibilities: One is the distinction in intonation patterns. The intonation pattern employed in polar questions is usually rising. The sentence in (264) with falling intonation at the end is declarative, while structurally identical (265) with a rise in intonation at the end is interrogative:

(264) *ki*   *beʃ-íttʃ-i̧*   *waattʃam-iínse*   *waar-ú-kk-o*
       2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   waacham-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'Your friend came from Waachamo.'

(265) *ki*   *beʃ-íttʃ-i̧*   *waattʃam-iínse*   *waar-ú-kk-o*
       2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   waacham-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV.QU
       'Did your friend come from Waachamo?'

The second possibility is by employing the interrogative particle, *-nnihe*. It is usually attached to the end of the last word of the sentence. Most often this is a verb. In other words, this morpheme always occurs sentence finally, immediately following aspect or negative polarity markers. This particle is a grammatical clitic whose function is to make a clause as a polar interrogative. It is usually attached to the end of the last word of the sentence. Most often this is a verb. Compare the interrogative sentences in (266b) and (267b) with the affirmative ones in (266a and 267a).

(266a) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧*   *ka=diinátȩ*   *ʔuʃeʔ-u-kk-uúlla*
        this=man-NOM   this=cattle.ABS   take.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG
        míne   *dabaʔl-ú-kk-o*
        house   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The man returned to his house driving the cattle.'.'

(b)   *ku=mántʃ-i̧*   *ka=diinátȩ*   *ʔuʃeʔ-u-kk-uúlla*
        this=man-NOM   this=cattle.ABS   ride.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG
        mínȩ   *dabaʔl-u-kk-o-nníhe*
        house.ABS   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
        'Did the man take the cattle and return back to his house?'

(267a) *hadíjj-i̧*   *k'aank'á-nne*   *ʔájji̧*   *man-tʃ-í-mi̧*   *leh-u-kk-aá*
        Hadiyya-NOM   culture-LOC   who   man-SG-NOM-EP-INC   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV
        wiʔl-akk-(a)m-o-ó   *t'idd-akk-(á)m-o*
        cry-3HON.IPV.ASM-TV-CNJ   be.depressed-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
        'According to the culture of Hadiyya, when a person of any age passed away, one will cry and be depressed.' (Text 01: No.02)

(b)   *hadíjj-i̧*   *k'aank'á-nne*   *ʔájji̧*   *man-tʃ-í-mi̧*   *leh-u-kk-aá*
        Hadiyya-NOM   culture-LOC   who   man-SG-NOM-INC   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV
        wiʔl-akk-(a)m-o-ó   *t'idd-akk-(á)m-o-nníhe*
        cry-3HON.IPV.ASM-TV-CNJ   be.depress-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV-QU
        'Should there be a cry of sorrow and mourning according to the culture of Hadiyya, when a person of any age passed away?'

Below are given a few more examples of the use of the morpheme *-nnihe* in polar interrogative clauses.

(268a)   *gos-akk-(á)mị̃   Ɂamman-i-í   bejj-i-í   j-oo-nníhe*
        abduct-3HON.IPV-ASM   time-NOM-CNJ   place-NOM-CNJ   present-IPV-QU
        'Is there a certain and specific time and place (when and where to carry out the abduction (Gosano)?' (Text 03: No.12)

(b)   *gosán-ị̃   hadíjj-ị̊   k'aank'á-nne los-am-aá-kk-o*
        abduction-GEN   Hadiyya-NOM   culture-LOC   get.used.to.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV
        Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃ-ị̃   Ɂogora-nníhe
        bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4-NOM   way-QU
        'Is Gosano (abduction) a type of marriage which is acceptable in Hadiyya's tradition?' (Text 03: No.14)

Polar interrogatives (Yes-No questions) are further classified into three sub-type. These are: positive Yes-No question, negative Yes-No question, and tag questions.

A. <u>Positive polar interrogatives (positive yes-no questions)</u>

As indicated previously, positive polar interrogatives (positive Yes-No question) are formed either via the suffixation of the interrogative formative *-nnihe* to a declarative sentences or through raising the final intonation of a declarative sentence. Without any formal difference, positive polar interrogatives may express neutral questions, where the speaker has no particular expectations about whether the answer will be positive or negative, or they can express biased questions, where the speaker has an expectation that the answer will be positive. The question expressed in (269) is neutral:

(269)   *Ɂíssị̃   kabálla waar-akk-(á)m-o-nníhe*
         3SG.HON.NOM   today   come-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV-QU
         'Will s/he (POL) come today?'

On the other hand, the question expressed in (270) by the father is biased. The question is directed at a child who is getting ready to go to stadium to play foot ball. The speaker expects the answer to be positive and seeks confirmation:

(270)   *Ɂi   beéto   t'orbéɁę lell-i-t-eéna   dak'ájję̊   mar-t-eena-nníhe*
        1SG.GEN boy.VOC ball.ABS   play-EP-2SG-PURP field.ABS   go-2SG-PURP-QU
        'My son! Are you going to stadium to play foot ball?' (Lit: My boy, are you going to field to play foot ball?)

B. <u>Negative polar interrogatives (negative yes-no questions)</u>

Negative polar interrogative (Negative Yes-No question) is identified by the suffix *-nnihe*, which occurs following the negative marker *-jjo* 'not' as (271) illustrates.

(271)   *ʔitt-akk-(a)m-o-jjo-nníhe*
         eat-2PL.IPV.ASM-TV-NEG-QU
         'Do not you eat?'

Answers to polar questions may be preceded by *ʔeéjja* 'yes' or *ʔaʔáʔe* 'no' which always occur at the beginning of a sentence. These may then be followed by a declarative clause. Thus, the response to the polar question in (272), either of the following two sentences as in (273) or (274) can be used:

(272)   *kị   meent-íttʃo   búnạ   kaass-o-ʔ-o-nníhe*
         2SG.GEN   woman-SG.NOM   coffee.ABS   make.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-QU
         'Did your wife make coffee?'

(273)   *ʔaʔáʔe [búnạ   kass-o-ʔ-ó-jjo   wásạ   sar-t-ó-ʔ-o]*
         no   coffee.ABS   make.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-NG   waasa.ABS   make-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
         'No, she did not make coffee, she baked waasa (bread).'

(274)   *ʔeéjja búnạ   kaass-ó-ʔ-o*
         yes   coffee.ABS   make-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
         'Yes, she made coffee.'

The following are some additional examples of polar questions and possible anwers (the square brackets designate that the respective elements are not obligatory).

Affirmative question and possible answers

(275a) *míne   mar-u-kk-o-nníhe*
         house   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
         'Has he gone home?'

(276a) *ʔeéjja [mar-aá-kk-o]*
         yes   go.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
         'Yes, she has gone'

(276b) *ʔaʔáʔe [mar-u-kk-ó-jjo]*
         no   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
         'No, she did not go'

Negative question and possible answers

(277)   *mar-u-kk-o-jjo-nníhe*
         go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG-QU
         'Has he not gone?'

(278a) *ʔeéjja [mar-u-kk-ó-jjo]*
         yes   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
         'Yes, he has not gone'

(278b) *ʔaʔáʔe [mar-aá-kk-o]*
         no   go.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
         'No, he has gone.'

C. Tag questions

"A tag question is a yes/no question consisting of a declarative clause plus a tag that requests confirmation or discontinuation of the declarative clause" (Payne 1997: 297). A tag question in Hadiyya is a Yes-No interrogative structure which consists of the question particle *-nnihe* affixed to a declarative sentence. A tag question generally gives a positive or negative orientation. The structure of the verb in the "tag" question is the same as that in regular interrogative clauses.

There are two types of tag questions: positive and negative. A positive clause takes a negative tag and vice versa. In (279) examples of positive tag and negative tag are presented.

Affirmative question and possible answers

(279a) *goón-tʃi beét-i̜ bár̜e hin-oó-kk-o hin-oo-jjo-nníhe*
male-SG boy-NOM grave.ABS dig.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV dig.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-QU
'The boy will dig the grave, Won't he?'

(b) *goón-tʃi beét-i̜ bár̜e hin-oó-jjo hin-oo-nníhe*
male boy-NOM grave.ABS dig.3SG.M-IPV-NEG dig.3SG.M-IPV-QU
'The boy won't dig the grave, Will he?'

As shown in (279), a positive tag question is formed by placing first a negative sentence which is followed by a positive tag. The reverse holds true for a negative tag.

D. Alternative interrogatives

Alternative interrogatives express questions that "provide a list from which, the speaker suggests, the right answer might be drawn" (Sadock and Zwicky 1985:179). An alternative/disjunctive questions in Hadiyya are marked by the formative *-nni* 'or'. The question particle is attached to the first constituent. Where there are more than two conjuncts, the alternative formative *-nni* is always suffixed to the penultimate conjunct. Consider the use of *-nni* in the following structures.

(280a) *ki̜ ʔuúll-i̜ keéʔla-nni̜ ʔabbíso*
2SG country-NOM far-or near.COP
'Is your home village far or near.'

(b) *kojjiíntʃ-i̜ kéjje ʔaffuur-eená-nni ʔítt'i míne mar-eéna*
guest-NOM here sit.3SG.M-PURP-or 3SG.M.GEN house go.3SG.M-PURP
has-oó-kk-o
want.3SG.M-IPV-3SG.M
'Does the guest like to stay here or to return his home?'

The alternatives may be clausal, where it is clauses that are joined by *-nni*, or subclausal, where clause constituents are joined rather than whole clauses. In other words, any constituent can be

made in to an alternative question. Clausal and subclausal alternatives are illustrated in (281) and (282) respectively.

(281)	*ki*	*ʔabbaájj-i̧*	*keen-áto̧*	*hig-u-kk-ó-nni̧*
	2SG.GEN	brother-NOM	examine-ANM3.ABS	pass-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-or

ʔub-ú-kk-o
fail.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
'Did your brother pass his exam or fail?'

(282a)	*bunaá-nni̧*	*ʔádo̧*	*hass-oó-tt-o*
	coffee.ABS-or	milk.ABS	want.3SG.M-IPV-2SG-TV

'Do you want coffee or milk?'

(b)	*waattʃamó-nni̧*	*gimbíttʃo̧*	*ʔiitt-í-tt-oó-tt-o*
	Waachamo.ABS-or	gimbicho.ABS	like-EP-2SG-IPV-2SG-TV

Do yo like Waachamo or Gimbicho?'

(c)	*kejjé-nni̧*	*ʔeekkeéʔe*	*ʔafuur-t-oó-tt-o*
	here-or	there	sit-2SG-IPV-2SG-TV

'Will you sit here or there?'

(d)	*tʃ'iil-íttʃ-i̧*	*ʔitt'i*	*ʔánni*	*ʔillage-nné-nni̧*	*lasagé-nne*
	child-SG-NOM	3SG.M.GEN	father.GEN	before-LOC-or	behind-LOC

taakkeʔ-oó-kk-o
walk.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Does a child walk before or behind his father?'

8.2.2. Non polar interrogatives

In this section we treat non polar interrogatives, (question words). Content questions serve to seek some kind of information and presuppose a reply from an open range of replies instead of ascertaining the already given information. The following are content question words in Hadiyya.

Table 48: *Hadiyya content question words*

ʔájjị	'who' (human, subject)
ʔájje	'whom' (human, object)
máhị	'what' (non-human, subject)
máha	'what' (non-human, object)
hánno	'where' (location)
máhina	'why (*Lit:* for what)' (reason)
hinkíde	'how' (manner)
hínkị	'which' (generic, subject)
hínka	'which' (generic, object)
hinki-ʔammáne	'when *Lit:* what time' (time)
meéʔo	'how many'
hinkáʔna	'how much'

These words are often similar or identical to a set of pronouns discussed previously (see sectin 4.2.). Content question words may be marked by various cases (see again discussions on content interrogatives with regard to inflection presented in chapter four).

There is no syntactic movement associated with content question words. Syntactically, such structures follow the same pattern as their equivalents of affirmative declarative sentences i.e., the language allow or require question words to remain *in situ*. The only difference would be the presence of an interrogative-word in the interrogative. Hence, subject question words occur in subject position and object content question words occur in object position. Compare the following pairs of structures.

(283a) *ʔísị   daaddʒ-iínse   máhạ   ʔeebb-ó-ʔ-o*
      3SG.F.NOM   river-ABL   what.ABS   bring.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
      'What did she bring from river?'

(283b) *ʔísị   daaddʒ-iínse   wóʔọ   ʔeebb-ó-ʔ-o*
      3SG.F.NOM   river-ABL   water.ABS   bring.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
      'She brought water.'

(284a) *ʔájj-ị   beebálla   leh-ú-kk-o*
      who-NOM   yesterday   die-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'Who died yesterday'

(284b) *lóbị mán-tʃ-ị   beebálla leh-ú-kk-o*
      big   man-SG-NOM   yesterday die-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'An old man man died yesterday.'

(285a) *Ɂísị̈*   *Ɂájje*   *Ɂiitt-i-t-(á)m-o*
    3SG.F.NOM   who.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
    'Whom does she like?'

(285b) *Ɂísị̈*   *keésẹ*   *Ɂiitt-i-t-(á)m-o*
    3SG.F.NOM   2SG.ABS like-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
    'She likes you.'

With some exceptions, interrogative phrases may occur *in situ*, where the corresponding non-interrogative phrase would occur in a declarative sentence. In (286) the interrogative phrase *Ɂájje* 'whom' and *hinkaɁammáne* 'when' occur *in situ situ*, while in (287), they have been fronted and are in focus.

(286a) *Ɂísị̈*   *Ɂájje*   *Ɂiitt-i-tt-ó-Ɂ-o*
    2FSG.NOM who.ABS like-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
    'Whom did she see?'

  (b) *Ɂilligán-ị̈*   *doɁl-am-oó-kk-o*   *hinkaɁammáne*
    Ɂilligan-NOM choose.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV when
    'When (in what situation) Iligena is to be chose?' (Text 03: No. 26)

(287a) *Ɂájje*   *Ɂiitt-í-tt-ó-Ɂo*   *Ɂísị̈*
    who.ABS like-EP-3SG.F-SP.3SG.F 2FSG.NOM
    'Whom did she see?'

  (b) *hinka Ɂammáne Ɂilligán-ị̈*   *doɁl-am-oó-kk-o*
    what   time   Illigan-NOM choose.3PL-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV
    'When is Illigana is to be chose?' (Text 03: No.26)

Similarly in the next pair of examples in (288) the reason interrogative phrase is *in situ*, while in (289) it has been fronted and is in focus:

(288) *waattʃámo mah-ína*   *mar-t-í-tt-o*
    waachamo   what-DAT   go-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
    'Why did you go to Waachamo?'

(289) *mah-ína*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-t-í-tt-o*
    what-DAT   waachamo   go-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
    'Why did you go to Waachamo?'

Predicate interrogative noun phrases too can be fronted and focused. Compare non focused and focused interrigatves in (290a) and (290b) respectively.

(290a) *Ɂoo*   *mán-tʃ-ị̈*   *Ɂajjé-tte*
    that.NOM   man-SG-NOM   who-COP
    'Who is that man?'

(290b) *Ɂajjé-tte*   *Ɂoo*   *mán-tʃ-ị̈*
    who-COP   that.NOM   man-SG-NOM
    'Who is that man?'

This situation is not restricted to only interrogatives. Imperative and declarative sentences too can be fronted and focused. Compare non focused and focused elements in imperative sentences for instance in (291a) and (291b).

(291a) *k'opp'an-u-mm-aá-re*
lie.1SG-PV-ASM-CNV-CND

kiʔnúwwi ʔíll-į ʔeésę k'ás-e
2PL.GEN eye-NOM 1SG.ABS pierce-IMP.SG

kiʔnúwwi ʔajjaán-į ʔeésę biiʔ-ís-e
2PL.GEN spirit-NOM 1SG.ABS distroy-CAUS-IMP.SG

kiʔnúwwi ʔajjaán-į ʔeésę biiʔs-e
2PL.GEN spirit-NOM me distroy-IMP.SG

'If I tell a lie,
may your eyes pierce me,
may your spirit destroy me,
may I begot a mute and deaf child' (Text 02: No.32)

(b) *k'opp'an-u-mm-aá-re*
lie.1SG-PV-ASM-CNV-CND

ʔeésę kiʔnúwwi ʔíll-į k'ás-e
1SG.ABS 2PL.GEN eye-NOM pierce-IMP.SG

ʔeésę kiʔnúwwi ʔajjaán-į biiʔís-e
1SG.ABS 2PL.GEN spirit-NOM distroy-IMP.SG

ʔeésę kiʔnúwwi ʔajjaán-į biiʔísę
1SG.ABS 2PL.GEN spirit-NOM distroy-IMP.SG

'If I tell a lie,
may your eyes pierce me,
may your spirit destroy me,
may I begot a mute and deaf child' (Text 02: No.32)

Having explored question words, we now turn to investigate which elements of a sentence can be questioned. Hadiyya permits the questioning of a whole clause, a phrase, or an individual lexical item within a given sentence. The following are illustrative examples. Consider how different components of the sentences in (292-297a) can be questioned in (292-297b).

(292a) *ʔaaʃaám-į baárą bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM ox.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Ashaamo bought an ox.'

(b) *ʔájj-į baárą bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
who-NOM ox.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Who bought an ox?'

(293a) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *gereé-ttʃo̧*   *dur-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Ashaamo slaughtered a/the sheep.'

(b) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *máha̧*   *dur-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   what.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did Ashaamo slaughter?'

(294a) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *hít'ȩ*   *dʒaddʒar-í-nne*   *mur-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   grass.ABS   sickle-EP-INST   cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Ashaamo cut grass with a sickle.'

(b) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *hí't ȩ*   *mah-í-nne*   *mur-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   grass.ABS   what-EP-INST   cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'With what did Ashaamo cut grass?'

(295a) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *ʔeddéttʃa̧*   *ʔaanʃ-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   clothes.ABS   wash.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Ashaamo washed clothes.'

(b) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *máha̧*   *bat'-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   what.ABS   work.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did Ashaamo do?'

(296a) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *kejje-nné-tte*
Ashaam-NOM   here-LOC-COP
'Ashaamo is here'

(b) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *hanno-nné-tte*
Ashaam-NOM   where-LOC-COP
'Where is Ashaamo?'

(297a) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *godd-aán-tʃì*   *ʔih-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   be.wealthy-AGN-SG   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Ashaamo became rich'.

(b) *ʔaaʃaám-i̧*   *máha̧*   *ʔih-ú-kk-o*
Ashaam-NOM   what.ABS   be.3SG.M-ASM-TV
'What did Ashaamo become?'

As illustrated in the examples above, any component of the sentence can be questioned. The interrogative sentence in (292b) questions the subject NP while the one in (293b) questions the object NP. Both interrogative phrases may occur *in situ*, i.e., the place where the question word appears in (292b) and (293b) are the same as the place which is occupied by a subject NP and an object NP of declarative sentences in (292a) and (293a) respectively. In (294b) and (295b) the PP and VP (predicate) are questioned by means of the interrogative pronouns, *mahínne* 'with what' and *maha* 'what' respectively. As observed in (296b), copulative sentence is also questioned by means of the interrogative pronoun *hánno* 'where' followed by the locative morpheme *-nne* and copular

element *-tte*. The existentieal sentence in (297b), is questioned by a question word *máha* 'what' followed by the verb *ʔih-* 'become'.

8.3. Copular construction

There is no clear consensus on the concept of copula and its semantic and syntactic behavior. According to David Crystal (2008:116), "the term copula is used in grammatical description to refer to a linking verb, i.e. a verb which has little independent meaning, and whose main function is to relate other elements of clause structure, especially subject and complement." Narahara (2002:77) states the term copula as "a semantically empty supportive device, functioning as the carrier for tense, mood, aspect, and possibility other distinctions."

Earlier works on the presence of a copula in some Ethiopian languages, for instance, have been disproved in later ones. Meyer (2004), for instance raises questions. The existence of a copula in Zay which Leslau (1951) claims to exist in different forms. Getachew (1974:140) emphasizes the multiplicity of problems involved in the understanding of the semantic and the syntactic behavior of the copula.

Crass et al (2004) have jointly made investigation in to "Copula Clauses in Ethiopian Languages" with the purpose of examining suspicious elements considered as copula and making an overview of the various present tense constructions in these languages. The finding of this research reveals that, copulas are believed to be often irregular in many languages. According to their study, we see copula classes with out morphological realization of a copula element in languages like Geez and Tigre. We also understand that pronouns act as copulas in the mentioned languages. Copulas can be verbal or non-verbal; they may or may not inflect for subject or object agreement (cf. 2004:26-35).

All these, therefore, reveal us the irregular nature of copulas. This irregularity can be seen even within a language. For example, in some sentences the appearance of some copular elements may be optional or obligatory; there can be also clauses with out a copula constriction. This irregularity of Copula constriction is also realized in Hadiyya language of whose copula I am going to deal with.

There are two major possible ways of copula constriction: Non verbal Predication with copula and with out copula. We examine each copular element in separate sections for ease.

8.3.1. Non verbal predication with copula

8.3.1.1. The element -tte

A copular element suffix *-tte* attached to non-verbal predicates. Consider the following examples:

(298)   *kúkį̄*   *lopp'isó-tte*   (Descriptive)
         this.NOM   Lopp'iso-COP
         'This is Lopp'iso.'
         ----

(299)   *ʔise*   *los-aan-tʃó-tte*   (Equative)
         3SG.F.NOM   learn-AGN-SG-COP
         'She is a student.'
         ----

(300)   *lattʃaáme*   *k'oorá-tte*   (Attributive)
         Lachaame.NOM   clever-COP
         'Lachaame is clever.'
         ----

(301)   *lafeeb-į̄*   *ʔeekkeʔe-nné-tte*   (Locative)
         Lafeeb-NOM   there-LOC-COP
         'Lafeebo is there.'
         ----

(302)   *ku=diinát-į̄*   *kii-ná-tte*   (Dative)
         this=money-NOM   2SG.GEN-DAT-COP
         'The money is for you.'

The copular element *-tte* is used in non-verbal predication in descriptive, equative, attributive, locative and dative clauses. However, the appearance of the copulative *-tte* is restricted to human referents, both feminine and masculine predicates as illustrated in (303-305) and (306-309) respectively.

(303)   *lattʃaámę̄*   *ʔi*   *ʔaajjá-tte*
         Lachaame.NOM   1SG.GEN   sister-COP
         'Lachaame is my sister.'

(304)   *ʔánį̊*   *lattʃaamé-tte*
         1SG.NOM   Lachaame-COP
         'I am Lachaame.'

(305)   *ʔísi*   *súmm-į̄*   *ʔermoollé-tte*
         3SG.F.GEN   name-NOM   Ermoolle-COP
         'Her name is Ermoolle.'

(306)   *ʔítt'į̄*   *leereebó-tte*
         3SG.M.NOM   Leereebo-COP
         'He is Leereebo.'

(307)   *ʔánį̊*   *ʔannijjó-tte*

1SG.NOM   Anniyyo-COP
'I am Anniyyo.'

(308)   a) *ku=béjj-i̧*   *waattʃámo̧*
   this=place-NOM waachamo.COP
   'This place is Waachamo.'

  b) **ku bejji waattʃamo-tte*

(309)   a) *ʔoo=beet-i̧*   *los-aán-tʃo̧*
   that.NOM=boy-NOM leran-AGN-SG.COP
   'That boy is a student.'

  b) **ʔoo=beeti losaantʃo-tte*

The ungrammaticality of (308b) and (309b), attests that *-tte* is used as a copula of masculine subject when it shows only naming relationship. In a broad terms we can say that, *-tte* is used with all feminine subjects and occurs with male proper names when they are used as complements.

The occurrence of this copular element is not restricted to equative or attributive declarative affirmatives, but also with locative and possessive predicates as shown in (301-302) above. Consider also some examples:

(310a)   *ki*   *ʔánn-i̧*   *hanno-nné-tte*
   2SG.GEN father-NOM where-LOC-COP
   'Where is your father?'

 (b)   *ʔi*   *ʔánni̧*   *mín-i̧*   *woro-nné-tte.*
   1SG.GEN father.GEN house-NOM in-LOC-COP
   'My father is in the house.'

(311a)   *ʔissuwi*   *mín-i̧*   *hinkeʔe-nné-tte*
   3PL.GEN house-NOM where-LOC-COP
   'Where is their house?'

 (b)   *ʔissúwwi*   *mín-i̧*   *kejjé-tte*
   3PL.GEN house-NOM here-COP
   'Their house is here.'

(312a)   *ʔísi*   *ʔuúll-i̧*   *hanno-nné-tte*
   3SG.F.GEN country-NOM where-LOC-COP
   'Where is her home town?'

 (b)   *ʔísi*   *ʔuúll-i̧*   *ʔekkeeʔe-nné-tte*
   3SG.F.GEN country-NOM there-LOC-COP
   'Her village is there.'

As shown in the above exmples, *-tte* is explicitly copular element in both the question and answers of locative predicates. Similarily, *-tte* occurs in possessive clauses. Consider the following examples:

(313a) *ʔissuww-i-ná-tte*
       3PL-DAT-COP
       'It is for them.'

  (b) *kiʔinnuww-i-ná-tte*
       2PL-DAT-COP
       'It is for you.'

The copular element, *-tte* is also used with non-verbal negative constructions. In negative copula construction *-tte* is suffixed before the negative marker *-jjo* in both masculine and feminine nouns:

(314) *ʔi   súmm-į̱   ʔiannijjo-tté-jjo*
      1SG.GEN   name-NOM   Anniyyo-COP-NEG
      'My name is not Anniyyo.'

(315) *ʔísį̱   los-is-aan-tʃo-tté-jjo*
      3SG.F.NOM learn-CAUS-AGN-SG-COP-NEG
      'She is not a teacher.'

(316) *ʔísį̱   lattʃaame-tté-jjo*
      3SG.F.NOM Lachaame -COP-NEG
      'She is not Lachaame.'

(317a) *ʔissúwwį̱   los-aanó-jjo*
      3PL.NOM   learn-AGN.TV-NEG
      'They aren't students.'

  (b) ** ʔíssuwwi los-aán-o-tté-jjo*

In negative copular structure an element *-tte* does not occur when the subject is plural as in (317b). In other words, when the subject is 3[rd] person singular, the copular element *-tte* and the negative marker *-jjo,* together form the negative copular structure.

On the other hand, when the copula *-tte* is used as a complement of personal pronouns, its occurrence is obligatory.The following are illustrative examples.

(318a) *ʔane-tté-jjo*
      1SG-COP-NEG
      'It is not me.'

(b) *ʔise-tté-jjo*
    3SG.F-COP-NEG
    'It is not her.'

(c) *ʔissuwwa-tté-jjo*
    3PL-COP-NEG
    'It is not them.'

In Hadyya, the nominal clause forms polar questions by suffixing the question marker *-nnihe*. The occurrence of *-tte* is not restricted to structures mentioned before, but also occurs in 'Yes' or 'no' questions preceding the question mark *-nnihe*:

(319) *ʔáti̦   laammore-tte-nníhe*
       2SG.NOM   Laamoore-COP-QU
       'Are you Laamoore?'

(320) *ʔáti̦   lattʃaame-tte-nníhe*
       2SG.NOM   Lachaame-COP-QU
       'Are you Lachaame?'

(321) *ʔítt'i̦   lateebo-tte-nníhe*
       3SG.M.NOM   Lateebo-COP-QU
       'Is he Lateebo?'

(322a) *kúki̦   ki   mine-nníhe*
        this.NOM   2SG.GEN   house.COP-QU
        'Is this your house?'

   (b)
        k úki̦   ki mine-tte-nníhe

(323a) *ʔoo=mán-tʃ-i̦   ki   ʔanna-nníhe*
        that.NOM=man-SG-NOM   2SG.GEN   father.COP-QU
        'Is that your father?'

   (b) *ʔoo=mán-tʃ-i̦ ki   ʔanna-tte-nníhe*

(324a) *ku=lánd-i̦   loss-aano-nníhe*
        this=girl-NOM   learn-AGN.COP-QU
        'Are these girls students?'

   (b) *ku=land-i loss-aanó-tte-nníhe*

We notice here, how the copula is retained with singular masculine complements in the naming relation. Furthermore, a copula *-tte* is obligatorily present when the subject is inherently or referentially human female and singular (see also examples in 303-307). Moreover, when the predicate nominal is not a singular, the copula is obligatorily absent as in (324).

When the complement is pronominal or is a 'wh' question word *ʔajje* 'who or what,' the copula is obligatory, in this case even with plural subject and independent of the gender of the referent. Consider the following examples:

(325a) *kúkị̊*   *ʔajjé-tte*
       this.NOM who-COP
       'Who is this?'

  (b) *ki*   *súmm-ị*   *ʔajjé-tte*
       2SG.GEN name-NOM   who-COP
       'What is your name?'

  (c) *ʔátị*   *ʔajjé-tte*
       2SG.NOM who-COP
       'Who are you'

The responses (negative and positive, i.e Yes or No) of these questions should be also given with the copula *-tte*. Such obligatory occurrence of this element is shown in the following table.

Table 49: *Obligatory occurrence of -tte to yes or no questions' responses*

	Positive response		Negative response
1SG	*ʔané-tte*	'It's me.'	*ʔane-tté-jjo*
1PL	*neesé-tte*	'It's us.'	*neese-tté-jjo*
2SG	*ʔaté-tte*	'It's you.'	*ʔate-tté-jjo*
2PL	*kiʔnuwwá-tte*	'It's you.'	*kiʔnuwwa-tté-jjo*
2SG.HON	*kiʔné-tte*	'It's you.'	*kiʔne-tté-jjo*
3SG.M	*ʔisó-tte*	'It's him.'	*ʔiso-tté-jjo*
3SG.F	*ʔisé-tte*	'It's her.'	*ʔise-tté-jjo*
3PL	*ʔissuwwá-tte*	'It's them.'	*ʔissuwwa-tté-jjo*
3SG.HON	*ʔissé-tte*	'It's him.'	*ʔisse-tté-jjo*

8.3.1.2. The element *heeʔ-*

So far, it has been shown that, the appearance of the copulative *-tte* is restricted to present tense copular clauses. A copula of past tense is expressed by the verbal element *heeʔ-* 'was/were'. Its meaning can be translated in to English as 'dwell, lived, happened, became, etc.' Unlike the present tense copula, this element is used with out restriction in all types of subjects: i.e. in both plural and singular, feminine and masculine, proper nouns and personal pronouns, etc. Furthermore, unlike *-tte*, *heeʔ-* is inflected for different grammatical functions.

(326a) *kúkị*   *ʔi*   *kitaabạ*   *heeʔ-ú-kk-o*
       this.NOM 1SG.GEN   book.ABS   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'This/it was my book.'

(b) *neési̟*   *ʔabuull-aáni̟*   *heeʔ-n-ú-mm-o*
    1PL.NOM   farm-AGN   be.1PL-PV-ASM-TV
    'We were farmers.'

(c) *handis-i̟*   *los-aán-tʃi*   *heeʔ-u-kk-o-nníhe*
    Handis-NOM   learn-AGN-SG   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
    'Was Handiso a student?'

(d) *ʔáni̟*   *los-aán-tʃi*   *heeʔ-ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM   learn-AGN-SG   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'I was a farmer.'

(e) *ʔissúwwi̟*   *ʔaraʔá-nne*   *heeʔ-am-u-kk-o-nníhe*
    3PL.NOM   bed-LOC   be-3PL-PV-3SG.M-QU
    'Were they on the bed?

8.3.2. Non verbal predication without copula

"The most common type of normal predicate is one in which two noun phrases are juxtaposed with no copular element intervening" (Payne, 1997:114). Crass et al (2004:26-35) state that "copular function can be expressed with out a copula." They further noted that this is a common phenomenon to many Afro-Asiatic languages.

Similarly, in Hadiyya nominal sentences can be constructed by juxtaposing the subject and non verbal predicate. Below are ililustrative examples:

(327a) *ʔáni̟*   *ʔabbuull-aán-tʃo*
    1SG.NOM   farm-AGN-SG.COP
    'I am a farmer.'

(b) *hobb-íttʃ-i̟*   *biiʔilli*   *moottʃ-íttʃo*
    lion-SG-NOM   wild.GEN   animal-SG.COP
    'A lion is a wild animal.'

(c) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̟*   *k'oóra*
    this=man-SG-NOM   clever.COP
    'This man is clever.'

(d) *ku=mín-i̟*   *geéddʒa*
    this=house-NOM   big.COP
    'This house is big.'

(e) *ku=meént-i̟*   *ʔéri̟*   *bat'-aáno*
    this=woman-NOM   good   work-AGN.COP
    'These women are good workers.'

(f) *neési̟*   *daddar-aáno*
    1PL.NOM   trade-AGN.COP
    'We are traders.'

(g) *Ɂítt'į̌*   *los-is-aán-tʃo*
    3SG.M.NOM   learn-CAUS-AGN-SG.COP
    'He is a teacher.'

(h) *Ɂitt'uww-į̌*   *godd-aáno*
    3PL.NOM   be.wealthy-AGN.COP
    'They are rich.'

In the examples given above there is neither an overt verb nor a copular element. The copular structure is constructed by juxtaposing the subject and the predicate with out any marker. The present tense copula, *-tte* is obligatorily absent in copular sentences as in (327), because of its restricted occurrences that are mentioned earlier in (7.3.1.1.)

8.4. Relative clauses

"Relative clauses can be prenominal (the clause occurs before the head), postnominal (the clause occurs after the head), internally headed (the head occurs within the relative clause), or they may be headless" (Payne, 1997:326). With respect to the position, Hadiyya employs prenominal relative clauses. Post nominal relative clauses do not occur.

The present sub section thus discusses, the way the relative clause and its head are related to each other forms. This section also describes the structure of relative clauses briefly and then addresses the question of what types of elements can be relativized.

The relative clause is not introduced by a relative pronoun. Also, a relativizer morpheme, which would mark a clause as a relative clause, cannot be found either. Instead, the terminal vowel is deleted from the relative verb to mark relative clause.

Compare relativized and non-relativized verbs in (328a) - (332b) respectively.

(328a)	*geer-oó-kkį̌* *beét-į̌*	(b)	*beét-į̌* *geer-oó-kk-o*
	run.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL boy-NOM		boy-NOM run.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
	'the buy who runs'		'The buy ran.'

(329a)	*has-oó-kkį̌* *mán-tʃ-į̊*	(b)	*mán-tʃ-į̊* *has-oó-kk-o*
	want.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL man-SG.NOM		man-SG-NOM want.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
	'the man who wants'		'The man wants.'

(330a)	*leh-ú-kkį̌* *hall-íttʃ-į̌*	(b)	*hall-íttʃ-į̌* *leh-ú-kk-o*
	die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL donkey-SG-NOM		donkey-SG-NOM die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
	'the donkey which died'		'The donkey died.'

(331a)	*mar-am-oó-kkį̌* *mánn-į̌*	(b)	*mánn-į̌* *mar-am-oó-kk-o*
	go-3PL-IPV-ASM.REL man-NOM		man-NOM go-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
	'the men who go'		'The men go.'

(332a) *ʔiik'-am-ú-kkį̇*   *bartʃ'úm-į̇*   (b)   *bartʃ'úm-į̇*   *ʔiik'-am-ú-kk-o*
      break.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL stool-NOM   stool-NOM   break.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
      'the stool which is broken'   'The stool is broken.'

As can be observed, the final vowel, *-o*, of the terminal vowel of the inflected verb is omitted. Then, the verb phrase of the relative clause and the head noun are spoken without any pause.

The following are some additional examples of relative clauses from varous sentential contexts.

(333a) *biʔ-oó-kkį̇*   *moolló-nne*   *baaʔjaát-į̇*   *heeʔ-oó-jjo*
      destroy.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL   tribe-LOC   prophecy-NOM   present.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
      'There is no prophecy in a tribe which is doomed for destruction.' (Proverb, No. 012)

     (b) *gaass-aá*   *heeʔ-ú-kkį̇*   *máttʃ'ę̇*   *lásó-nne*   *waar-ú-kkį̇*
        precede-CNV   live.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   ear.ABS   after-TDC   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL
        buúd-į̇   *hig-ú-kk-o*
        horn-NOM   pass.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'A horn which appeared later precedes ear that came first.' (Lit:'A new comer horn is taller than the older ear.' (Proverb, No. 022)

     (c) *gos-ú-kkį̇*   *mán-tʃ-į̇*   *gos-ú-kkį̇*   *land-íttʃǫ̇*
        abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   girl-SG.ABS
        gos-u-kk-isáme   *ʔítt'i*   *mínę̇*   *mass-oó-jjo*
        abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM- immediately   3SG.M.GEN   house.ABS   take.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
        'The abductor does not take the abducted girl right away to his house. (Text 03: No.19)

     (d) *gurgujj-aató-nne*   *wotʃ'am-oó-kkį̇*   *mánn-į̇*   *lobakátį̇*
        be.in.conflict-ANM3.TV-LOC   be.in.conflict.3PL-IPV-ASM.REL   man-NOM   many
        ʔih-eéna   *t'an-oó-kk-o*
        be.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
        'The number of people involved in this type conflict could be a large number.' (Text 02: No.17)

     (e) *hig-oó-kkį̇*   *t'eén-į̇*   *ʔapp'is-oóne*   *leh-oó-kkį̇*
        pass.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL   rain-NOM   kick-NEG.IMP   die.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL
        lóbi mán-tʃ-į̇   *duum-oóne*
        old   man-SG-NOM   curse.3SG.M-NEG.IMP
        'Do not get hit with a passer by rain; do not be cursed at by a dying old man.'(Proverb, No. 051)

     (f) *hungubb-íttʃ-į̇*   *hos-ú-kkį̇*   *hakk'-íttʃǫ̇*   *lab-oó-kk-o*
        chameleon-SG-NOM   stay.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M.REL   tree-SG.ABS   seem.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
        'Chameleon looks a like with the wood it hangs on.' (Proverb, No. 058)

     (g) *ku=kabee-ttʃ-í-m-į̇*   *ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-į̇*   *wotʃ'-ú-kkį̇*
        this=leopard-SG-EP-too-NOM this=plough-AGN-SG-NOM speak.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL
        luwwá-nne *ʔiittam-ú-kk-o*
        thing-LOC   agree.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The leopard agreed with the farmer's idea.' (Text 04: No.07)

(h) ʃ-ú-kkḭ   mán-tʃ-ḭ   ʔeeb-ú-kkḭ   heemáttʃạ horoórẹ
kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM bring.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL black.ABS   head.ABS
guunguu-ʔl-aá   baálli gabó-nne dur-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
cover.3SG.M-RFX-CNV cliff.GEN edge-LOC slaughter.3SG.M-JUS make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

'Then while he veiled himself in a cloth, he will be made to slaughter the black whom he has brought with him at the edge of the cliff.' (Text 02: No.43)

Relative Clauses use either an NP headed by a noun or reduced agreement marker of the noun-phrase as their head. All Relative Clauses are externally headed and prenominal, that is, the head is outside and follows the relative clause, as in most other verb-final languages.

Since relative clauses are noun modifiers, they occur in the same position as other noun modifiers such as descriptive adjectives, numerals, etc. This is to say that, the position of the relative clause with respect to the head noun often is the same as the position of descriptive modifiers.

(334) lóbḭ mánn-ḭ   ʔítt'i   ʔabbaájjọ   [ʃ-ú-kkḭ]   mán-tʃọ
big   man-NOM 3SG.M.GEN brother.ABS kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG.ABS
duum-ú-kk-o
curse.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Old people cursed the person who killed his brother.'

The head of the relative clause in (334) is mántʃo 'man'. Just like other nominal modifiers this noun is preceded by the relative clause in brackets.

All the following noun phrase constituents allow relativization: subject, direct object, indirect object object and genitive (possessor). Consider illustrative examples:

(335a) maaddeéb-ḭ   gameʔl-ú-kkḭ   mán-tʃ-ḭ   waar-ú-kk-o
Maaddeeb-NOM   insult.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man who Maaddeebo insulted came.'

(b) maaddeéb-ḭ   gameʔl-u-kk-ó-kkḭ   waar-ú-kk-o
Maaddeeb-NOM   insult.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-REL   come.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
'The one who Maaddeebo insulted came.'

(336a) maaddeéb-ḭ   ʔeeb-ú-kkḭ   meent-íttʃi   ʔabbaájj-ḭ
Maaddeeb-NOM   marry.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL woman-SG.GEN brother-NOM
mán-tʃ-ḭ   waar-ú-kk-o
man-SG-NOM   come-PV-3SG.M
'The man whose sister Maaddeebo married came.' (Lit:, 'The man Maaddeebo married his sister came.')

(b) maaddeéb-ḭ   ʔeeb-ú-kkḭ   meent-íttʃi   ʔabbaájj-ḭ
Maaddeeb-NOM   marry.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL woman-SG.GEN   brother-NOM
waar-ú-kk-o
come.3SG.M-PV-ASM

'The one whose sister Maaddeebo married came.' (*Lit:,* 'The one Maaddeebo married his sister came.')

The head of the relative clause is the common noun *mántʃ-į* [man-NOM] in (335a) and (336a), and is the noun-phrase morpheme *-kkį* in (335b).

In (335), the relative clause head is the object of the verb of the relative clause *gameʔl-ú-kkį* [insult-PV-3SG.M.REL], and in (336), the relative clause head is the possessor of the head of the goal NP in the relative clause *ʔabbaájj-į* 'brother'. Thus, in (335), the direct object is relativized, and in (336), the possessor is relativized.

The following examples are further illustrations, contrasting subject and object relativization including non-relativized clauses.

(337a) *mán-tʃ-į*   *beebálla*   *gereé-ttʃọ*   *dur-ú-kk-o*
        man-SG-NOM   yesterday   sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'A man slaughtered a sheep yesterday.'   (non-relativized)

(b) *gereé-ttʃọ*   *dur-ú-kkį*   *mán-tʃ-į*   *beebálla*
        sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter.3NSG-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   yesterday
        waar-ú-kk-o
        come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The man who slaughtered a sheep yesterday came.'   (subject relativized)

(c) *mán-tʃ-į*   *beebálla*   *bataaʔ-ú-kkį*   *gereé-ttʃ-į*
        man-SG-NOM   yesterday   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   sheep-SG-NOM
        leh-ú-kk-o
        die.3SG.M PV-ASM-TV
        'The sheep that a man bought yesterday died.'   (object relativized)

"Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify" (Payne 1997:328). Headless relative clauses are recurrently used in Hadiyya. When the the head of a relative clause is absent, an additional subject morpheme is doubled. A similar deletion of the terminal vowel is observed here too. Compare relative clause with and without head in (338-340a) – (338-341b) respectively.

(338a) [*ʔabuúllạ*   *tʃ'eem-ú-kkį*]   *mán-tʃ-į*   *ʔaboʔ-í-nne*
        farm.NMZ.ABS   fade up.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M.REL   man-SG-NOM   white hair-EP-INST
        ʔuuntt'-oó-kk-o
        beg.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
        'Who he does not like to work, begs with his white hair [after his hair turned white].'

(b)   [ʔabuúllą   tʃʼeem-u-kk-ó-kkị]   ʔaboʔ-í-nne
Farm.NMZ.ABS   fade up.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL   white hair-EP-COM
ʔuunt'-oó-kk-o
beg.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Who does not like to work, begs even after his hair turned grey.' (Proverb, No. 099)

(339a)   [*godd-ú-kkị*]   *mán-tʃ-ị*   *tʃ'ir-u-kk-uúlla*
Satisfy.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM   pee.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG
fiink'ees-oó-kk-o
 whistle.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A person with full belly whistles while peeing.' (Proverb, No. 034)

(b)   [*godd-u-kk-ó-kkị*]   *tʃ'ir-u-kk-uúlla*   *fiink'ees-oó-kk-o*
Satisfy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL pee.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG whistle.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A guy with full belly whistles while peeing.' (Proverb, No. 034)

(340a)   [*ʔi*   *ʔámą*   *ʔaf-u- kkị*]   *mántʃ-ị*   *hund-í-mị*
1SG.GEN   mother.ABS reach-PV-3SG.M.REL man-NOM   all-EP-too
suunk'-oó-kk-o
kiss.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Every Person who arrived here kisses my mother.'
Ans: gaawwa = 'cultural smoking instrument'

(b)   [*ʔi*   *ʔámą*   *ʔaf-u-kk-ó-kkị*]   *hund-í-mị*
1SG.GEN   mother.ABS   reach.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL   all-EP-too
suunk'-oó-kk-o
kiss.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Every one who arrived here kisses my mother.' (Riddle, No. 050)
Ans: gaawwa = 'cultural smoking instrument'

8.5. The converb

The converb is a verb form that functions as a clause linking device and does not form a sentence on its own. The clause containing the converb stands in a dependent relationship to a matrix clause and encodes a restrictive (modifying) or non-restrictive (non-modifying) proposition with respect to its matrix clause predicate.

The converb markers are -aa and -ooʔne, which are affixed to the affirmative and negative verb stems respectively, (see also Sim 1989:149-151 and Perrett 2000:142-144). The converb suffixes are used to express sequential events (an action which takes place immediately before that expressed by the main verb) in relation to that expressed by the main verb. In (342) and (343) below, these suffixes are used to express anterior events that occur before the event that is expressed by the main verb.

(342a)   *gabálą*   *hig-aá*   *hark'oot-ú-kkị*   *man-tʃ-ína*
boundry.ABS   pass.3SG.M-CNV plough.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-DAT

    ʔuww-akk-(á)mį   *ʔoogát-į*   *máhạ*
    give-3HON.IPV-ASM   judgment-NOM   what.ABS
    'What will be the punishment to be given for the trespass and plough the farm land?' (Text 02: No.27)

(b) *ʔeeb-ú-kkį*   *fellakk-íttʃọ* *teʔíme* *gereé-ttʃọ*   *horoórẹ*
    bring-3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL goat-SG.ABS   or   sheep-SG.ABS   head.ABS
    guunguuʔl-aá   *baálli̧* *gabó-nne* *dur-oó-kk-o*
    veil.3SG.M-CNV   cliff   edge-LOC   slaughter.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

    'Veiling himself in, he will slaughter the sheep or the goat which he has brought with him at the edge of the cliff or a river.' (Text 02: No.42)

(c) *máti̧* *mán-tʃ-į*   *máti* *land-íttʃọ*   *gos-aá*
    one   man-SG-NOM one   girl-SG.ABS   abduct.3SG.M-CNV
    ʔeeb-oo-kk-ó-ki̧   *mahi-ná-tte*
    bring.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL   what-DAT-COP
    'Why a man abducts a girl and gets married with her?' (Text 03: No.22)

(d) *ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-į*   *tʃ'aná-nne*   *ʔijj-ú-kki̧*   *t'aafeéʔẹ*
    this.NO=plough-AGN-SG-NOM   leather.pouch-LOC   carry-3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   teff.ABS
    giggiss-aá   *ka=mán-tʃọ* *tʃ'áʔni* *woró-nne*
    throw out.3SG.M-CNV   this=man-SG.ABS sack.GEN in-LOC
    ʔaag-is-aá   *maat'-ú-kk-o*
    enter.3SG.M-CAUS-CNV   hide.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'The farmer threw out the teff from the sack and hid the leopard in it.' (Text 04: No.03)

(e) *hooʃʃóʔọ* *ʔit-aá*   *búnạ*   *ʔag-aá*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
    lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CNV coffee.ABS   drink.3SG.M-CNV go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'Having eaten lunch and having drunk coffee, he went.'

Now, compare the affirmative and negative dependent clauses in (343a-c and d-f) respectively.

(343)   <u>Affirmative dependent clauses with the converb marker -aa</u>

(a) *ʔi*   *beét-į*   *gindʒírạ* *ʔit-aá*   *los-áni*   *mínẹ*
    1SG.GEN boy-NOM breakfast.ABS eat.3SG.M-CNV learn-ANM2.GEN house.ABS
    mar-ú-kk-o
    go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'Having eaten breakfast, my son went to school.'

(b) *ʔángạ* *ʔaanʃ-akk'-aá*   *ʔit-ú-mmo*
    hand.ABS   wash.1SG-BEN1-CNV   eat.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'Having washed my hands, I ate.'

(c) *soódo* *bát'ọ* *guull-í-t-aá*   *waár-e*
    tomorrow   work.ABS finish-EP-2SG-CNV come-IPM.2SG
    'Come tomorrow having finished your work.'

    <u>Negative dependent clauses with the converb marker -ooʔne</u>

(d) *ʔi*   *beét-į*   *gindʒírạ*   *ʔit-oóʔni̧*   *los-áni*   *mínẹ*

1SG.GEN   boy-NOM   breakfast.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CNV.NEG   learn-ANM2.GEN   house.ABS
mar-ú-kk-o
go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'My son went to school without having eaten his breakfast.'

(e) *ʔángạ   ʔaanʃ-akk'-oóʔne   ʔit-ú-mm-o*
hand.ABS   wash.1SG-BEN1-CNV.NEG   eat.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I ate without having washed my hands.'

(f) *soódo   bát'ọ   guull-i-t-oóʔne   waár-e*
tomorrow   work.ABS   finish-EP-2SG-CNV.NEG   come-IPM.2SG
'Come tomorrow having finished your work.   *-oóʔne*

Furthermore repetition of the reduplicated converb with the same subject in a sentence is used to express repeated, durational, frequentative or distributive actions as in examples (344).

(344a) *biíʔli   ʔuullá-nne   heeʔ-aá   heeʔ-aá   kába*
abroad.GEN   country-DAT   live.3SG.M-CNV   live.3SG.M-CNV   now
waar-ú-kk-o
come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He lived long time abroad and came now.'

(b) *ʔit-aá   ʔit-aá   geeddʒ-ú-kk-o*
eat.3SG.M-CNV   eat.3SG.M-CNV   be.fat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He ate more and more food and became fat.'

(c) *dʒabb-aá   dʒabb-aá   leh-ú-kk-o*
be.sick.3SG.M-CNV   be.sick.3SG.M-CNV   die-MSG-PV-ASM-TV
'Having been sick a long time he died.'

(d) *bat'-aá   bat'-aá   hoog-ú-kk-o*
work.3SG.M-CNV   work.3SG.M-CNV   tire.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Having worked and worked he became tired.'

(e) *menk'-aá   meenk'-aá   neésẹ   tʃ'een-siis-ú-kk-o*
talk.3SG.M-CNV   talk.3SG.M-CNV   1PL.ABS   bore.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Having talked and talked he made us bored.'

(f) *jak-aá   jak-aá   ʔitt'i   beéti   foórẹ*
try.3SG.M-CNV   try.3SG.M-CNV   3SG.M.GEN   boy.GEN   soul.ABS
gat-is-ú-kk-o
save.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Having tried and tried he saved his son's life.'

In complex sentences containing several converbs, the first converb expresses an action that takes place first, the second converb the next action, etc. In this case, changing the order of the converbs alters the meaning of the sentence. Compare the f ollowing examples:

(345a) *ʔángạ   ʔaanʃ-akk'-aá   hooʃʃóʔọ   ʔit-ú-kk-o*
      hand.ABS   wash.3SG.M-BEN1-CNV   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'After he had washed his hands he ate lunch.'

  (b) *hooʃʃóʔọ   ʔit-aá   ʔángạ   ʔaanʃ-akk'-ú-kk-o*
      lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CNV   hand.ABS   wash.3SG.M-BEN1-PV-ASM-TV
      ''After he had eaten lunch he washed his hands.'

Consider again sequential events in the following textual example:

(346) *mátị hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ị   tʃ'aná-nne   hurbaátạ   ʔijj-aá   meéra*
    one   plough-AGN-SG-NOM   leather.pouch-LOC   crop.ABS   carry.3SG.M-CNV   market
    mar-ú-kk-o   meéra ʔaf-aá   ka=hurbaátạ   bitees-ú-kk-o
    go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   market   reach.3SG.M-CNV   this.=crop.ABS   sell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    bitees-aá   lasó-nne   maárạ   bitaʔ-ú-kk-o   ka=maárạ
    sell.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   meat.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   this=meat.ABS
    ʔamad-aá   míne   dabaʔl-ú-kk-o
    catch.3SG.M-CNV   home   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'A farmer who carried a sack of grain went to the market. Having arrived at the market he sold the crop he carried. Having sold the crop he bought meat and then returned home. (Text 04: No. 01)

As in most other SOV languages, Hadiyya makes frequent use of long sentences or complex constructions consisting of several dependent clauses which are headed by a final main verb. For example, the following extract from the tale *'harkk'ootaantʃoó kabeéttʃoó* 'a farmer and a leopard', (Text 04), is among the complex sentences, which consists of a series of dependent clauses. The tense of the chain (dependent clauses) is determined by the independent, sentence-final, fully-inflected (main) verb.

(347) *ku=kabeé-ttʃ-ị   man-tʃ-ína   kíde   j-ú-kk-o*
    this=leopard-NOM   man-SG-DAT   like.this   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    ʔoo=ʔi   lasó-nne   geer-u-kk-uúlla   waar-am-oó   mánn-ị
    those.NOM=1SG.GEN   behind-LOC   run.3SG.M-PV-PRG   come.3PL-IPV   man-NOM
    ʔamad-am-ú-kkị   bagad-í-nne   ʔeésẹ   k'as-am-aá   ʃ-am-eená-tte
    catch-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   spear-EP- INST   1SG.ABS   stab-3PL-CNV   kill-3PL-PURP-COP
    ʔih-ú-kkị   bikk-ína   ka=ʔamad-í-ttị   tʃ'aná-nne   ʔiss-í-ttị
    be.3SG.M-PV-ASM   about-DAT   this=catch-EP-2SG   leather.pouch-LOC   put-EP-2SG
    t'aaféʔẹ giggisi-t-aá   ʔeésẹ   ka=tʃ'áʔni   woró-nne
    teff.ABS   throw out-2SG-CNV   1SG.ABS   this=sack.GEN   in-LOC
    ʔag-iss-aá   maatt'-aá   ʔi   foórẹ   gat-ís-e
    enter.3SG.M-CAUS-CNV   hide.1SG-CNV   1SG.GEN   soul.ABS   save-CAUS-IMP.SG
    j-aá   ʔuunt'-ú-kk-o   ka=kabeé-ttọ   ʃ-eéna
    say.3SG.M-CNV   beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   this=leopard-SG.ABS   kill.3SG.M-PURP
    holl-oó-kkị   mánn-ị   geer-am-u-kk-uúlla   waar-am-aá
    chase.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.RL   man-NOM   run-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   come-3PL-CNV
    ka=hark'oot-aán-tʃị   béjjọ   ʔaf-am-aá   ka=maat'-am-ú-kkị

this=plough-AGN-SG.GEN place.ABS reach-3PL-CNV this=hide.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL

kabeé-ttʃọ   siid-am-oóʔne   hig-am-aá   mar-am-ú-kk-o

leopard-SG.ABS   find-3PL-CNV.NEG pass-3PL-CNV   go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

'The leopard started begging and pleading. He said to the farmer, some people are coming after me, if they get me, they will stab me to death with their spear. Please, have a kind heart, empty out the content of your leather pouch (the Teff) and spare my life by hiding me in the sack. After a moment, the hunters arrived running and brandishing their spears. But, fortunately, they just passed by the farmer with out suspecting what is hidden in his sack.' (Text 04: No.02)

8.6. The conditional clauses

A conditional clause is subordinate to a main clause and it is marked by *-re* and *-daʔne*. The real conditional is represented by the morpheme *-re* and the unreal (hypothetical) one which expresses an imagined situation, by *-daʔne* (see also section 5.2.3.6). The conditional clause occurs before the main clause. The implementation of the situation which is expressed in the conditional clause is the prerequisite for implementation of the state of affair expressed by the verb in the main clause. In reality conditional clauses the verb in the independent clause is realized either in the future or imperfective. The conditional marker *-re* is obligatorily preceded by a converb marker, *-aa*. Consider the use of -re as real and *-daʔne* as unreal conditional marker in 348) and (349) respectively.

(348a) *Ɂájjị   mantʃ-í-m-ị   wóʃʃạ   laʔ-aá   maat'-oó-beeʔ-ísa*

who-NOM   man-EP-too-NOM affair.ABS   know.3SG.M-CNV hide.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-SIM

ka=dumm-íttʃá-nne   siid-am-ú-kkị   mann-ína   hund-i-ná-mị

this=meet-EP-ANM4.TV-LOC find-3PL-PV-ASM.REL man-DAT   all-DAT-too

woró-nne kitaab-am-ú-kkị   hidír-ị   hintʃ'-oó-kk-o

in-LOC   write.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL sworn-NOM deliver.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

ku=saam-i-í   ku=haww-i-í   Ɂi   ʃuumoʔó-nne

this=bad luck-NOM-CNJ this=problem-NOM-CNJ 1SG.GEN   family-LOC

Ɂaf-óna   mooʔ-aá   maat'-aa-mm-o-Ɂaá-re   Ɂi   Ɂíll-ị̱

reach.3SG.M-JUS see.3SG.M-CNV   hide.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV-CNV-CND 1SG.GEN eye-NOM

bíʔ-e   mattʃ'ees-aa-mm-o-Ɂaá-re   Ɂi   máttʃ'-ị̱ bíʔ-e

disappear-IMP.SG   hear-3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV-CNV-CND   1SG.GEN   ear-NOM disappear-IMP.SG

'Based on this, the following message (sworn statement) will be delivered to each and everyone who attended this assembly. If ever I hide away (conceal) what I have seen, may this curse (trouble) fall upon my family, If I saw it (the matter) and I am concealing it, may my eyes go blind, If ever I heard the information and I am holding it back, may my ears turn to deaf.' (Text 02: No.35)

(b) *ku=land-íttʃo   ka=Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃạ   sabb-o-Ɂ-aá-re*

this=girl-SG.NOM   this=bring-BEN1-RFX.ABS   refuse.3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND

máhạ   Ɂiss-akk-(á)m-o

what.ABS do-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

'What if the girl refuses such a type of marriage?' '(Text 03: No.08)

(c) *ka=k'araárẹ*   *likitʃ'-í-tt-aá-re*   *le-t-oó-jjo*
this=medicine.ABS   swallow-EP-2MSG-CNV-CND   die-2SG-IPV-NG

'If you drink this medicine, you won't die.'

(d) *ʔiibb-ú-kk-aá-re*   *k'aʃʃ-í-nne*   *sigg-u-kk-aá-re*
be.hot.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND   spoon-EP-INST   be.cold.3SG.M-PV-CNV-CND
ʔang-í-nne
hand-EP-INST

'When it's hot, you have it with spoon; once it gets cold you have it by hand.' (Proverb, No. 134)

(e) *dʒábbọ*   *maat'-akk-o-ʔ-aá-re*   *k'araár-ị*   *siid-am-oó-jjo*
disease.ABS   hide-3PL-PV-EP-CNV-CND   medicine-NOM   find.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-NEG

'If you do not tell the illness, you won't get a medicine.' (Proverb, No. 036)

(f) *k'as-u-kk-ó-kk-ị*   *t'ad-u-kk-aá-re*
stab.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL-NOM   forget.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND
k'as-am-ú-kk-o-kk-ị   *t'ad-oó-jjo*
stab.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL.NOM   forget.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

'If the one who stabbed forgets, the victim never forgets.' (Proverb, No. 060)

(g) *ʔann-íttʃ-ị*   *laar-u-kk-i-beeʔ-aá-re*   *ʔollakk-íttʃ-ị*
oneself-SG-NOM   shout.3SG.M-PV-ASM.EP-NEG-CNV-CND   neighbor-SG-NOM
ʔagaag-oó-jjo
support.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

'If you do not shout when you come under attack, no neighbor comes for your rescue.'(Proverb, No. 124)

(349a) *keene* *mar-ú-mm-í-daʔne*   *ʔub-ú-mm-í-heeʔ-ú-mm-ó-jjo*
there   go.1SG-PV-ASM-EP-CND   fall.1SG-PV-ASM-EP-be.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG

'If I had gone this way, I wouldn't have fallen.'

(b) *ʔi-ína*   *ʔammáni* *heeʔ-u-dáʔne*   *keésẹ*
1SG-DAT   time   be.present.3SG.M-PV-CND   2SG.ABS
haraʔm-u-m-heeʔ-ú-mm-o
help.1SG-PV-ASM-be.1SG-PV-ASM-TV

'If I had had enogh time, I would have helped you.'

8.7. Concessive clauses

A concessive clause is formed by the inclusive marker -*m* to a conditional verb (see chapter 7, section 7.2 for discussion on the inclusive). This morpheme is suffixed to the finite verb of the subordinate clause. In other words, concessive clauses precede their main clauses, and there may also be a slight pause between the concessive clause and the main clause. The following are illustrative examples:

(350a)   *lobakata godd-aán-tʃ-i̧*   *ʔih-ú-kki̧-beeʔ-aa-ré-mi̧*   *bút'a̧*
         too.much   be.wealthy-AGN-SG-NOM   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-NEG-CNV-CND-INC   poor.ABS
         haraʔm-oó-kk-o
         help.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
         'Although he is not rich to much he helpes poor people.'

(b)   *him-ú-kk-aa-ré-mi̧*   *ʔítt'i*   *mínȩ*   *mar-eéna*
         be.night.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND-INC   3SG.M.GEN   house.ABS   go.3SG.M-PURP
         has-ú-kk-o
         want.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'Even if it was midnight, he decided to go home.'

There is second way of forming a concessive clause, i.e. the use of *bagaan* 'however'. This word usually occurs following an auxiliary verb *ʔih* 'be'. In addition, when an auxiliary verb *ʔih* 'be' is used as concessive, it usually occurs in its jussive form *ʔihóna* 'let it be'. In this function, the concessive marker, *ʔihonána bagaáni,* occur between the subordinate and main clause to combine both clauses, as the following examples reveal.

(351a)   *ʔáni̧*   *lobakáti̧*   *karaáʔli̧*   *mínȩ*   *mar-aá-mm-o*   *ʔih-óna*
         1SG.NOM   many   medicine   house.ABS   go.1SG-PF-ASM-TV   be.3SG.M-JUS

         bagaáni̧ fajjeʔ-u-mm-ó-jjo
         however   be.healthy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
         'I went to many health centres for clinical treatment; however, I haven't been healthy.'

(b)   *biʔ-ú-kki̧*   *hall-íttʃo̧*   *ʔarák'a*   *has-ú-kk-o*
         miss.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   donkey-SG.ABS   much   look.for.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         ʔih-óna   *bagaáni̧*   *siid-eéna*   *tan-u-kk-ó-jjo*
         be.3SG.M-JUS   however   find.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
         'He looked for the lost donkey; however, he couldn't find it.'

8.8. Word order

Like other related languages,[21] the basic word order in Hadiyya sentences is SOV in transitive and SV in intransitive sentences. The following examples (352-353), demonstrate the frequent word order of simple sentences in both transitive and intransitive clauses respectively:

(352a) *land-i̧   ka=ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃa̧   sab-am-oó-kk-o*
       girl-NOM   this=bring-BEN1-RFX.ABS   refuse-3PL IPV-ASM-TV
       'Girls refuse such type of marriage.' (Text 03: No.09)

(b) *ʔáni̧   gereé-ttʃo̧   dur-ú-mm-o*
       1SG.NOM   sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
       'I slaughtered a sheep.'

(353a) *ʔi   beʃ-íttʃ-i̧   waar-oó-kk-o*
       1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
       'My friend will come.'

(b) *ʔítt'i̧   geer-oó-kk-o*
       3SG.M.NOM   run.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
       'He runs.'

8.8.1. Word order in noun phrase

The basic word order within the noun phrase is: Modifier Head. Thus, adnominal modifiers (adjectives, numerals, qunatifires, demonstratives, possessives and the relative clauses), come before the head noun they modify, as illustrated respectively in examples (354-359) below.

(354) Adjective-Head noun
(a) *gúndi̧   mán-tʃo̧*   'a short man'
      short   man-SG.ABS

(b) *haréttʃi̧   mínȩ*   'new house'
      new   house.ABS

(c) *k'oóri̧   beéto̧*   'wise boy'
      wise   boy.ABS

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[21]Hudson (1976:275) avers that "in HEC languages, the main constituents, subjects, object or other verb complement and verb are ordered subject-object-verb (S-O-V) in the unmarked situation, in which the subject is topic." As Kawachi (2007:511) points out, "when the arguments of a transitive verb are expressed with independent words (rather than being indicated only on the pronominal suffixes on the verb), the word order is predominantly SOV in Sidama." Schneider-Blum (2007:332) states that "in Alaaba, the basic non marked constituent order encoding core participants is SV in intransitive sentences and SOV in transitive sentences." According to Sim (1989: 185) "S-O-V order is the base for Hadiyya."

(355)　Numerals-Head noun

   (a)　*lámi̧　Ɂabbaajj-úwwa̧*　　　　　　　'two brothers'
      two　brother-PL.ABS

   (b)　*lamári̧　saánta̧*　　　　　　　　'seven weeks'
      seven　week.ABS

   (c)　*máti̧　mán-tʃo̧*　　　　　　　　'a man'
      one　man-SG.ABS

(356)　Qunatifier-Head noun

   (a)　*lobakáti̧　Ɂoóso̧*　　　　　　　'many children'
      many　　child.ABS

   (b)　*Ɂarák'i̧　búttʃa̧*　　　　　　　'much soil'
      much　soil.ABS

   (c)　*dúti̧　mánna̧*　　　　　　　　'many people'
      many　man.ABS

(357)　Demonstrative-Head noun

   (a)　*ku=meént-i̧*　　　　　　　　'these women'
      this=woman-NOM

   (b)　*tu=land-íttʃo̧*　　　　　　　'this girl'
      this.F=girl-SG.NOM

   (c)　*Ɂoo=Ɂaraát-i̧*　　　　　　　'those travellers'
      those.NOM=traveller-NOM

(358)　Possessive-Head noun

   (a)　*bak'úttʃi　lókko̧*　　　　　　'mules leg'
      mule.GEN　leg.ABS

   (b)　*ki　　　beʃ-íttʃo̧*　　　　　　'your friend'
      1SG.GEN　friend-SG.ABS

   (c)　*miʃaámi　meent-íttʃo*　　　　　'Mishaamo's wife'
      miʃaam.GEN　woman-SG.NOM

(359)　The relative clause-Head noun

   (a)　*foórȩ　　ʃ-ú-kki̧　　　　　　mán-tʃ-i̧　　heemáttʃi̧　gereé-ttʃo̧*
      soul.ABS　kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL　man-SG.NOM　black　　　　sheep-SG.ABS
      Ɂeeb-oó-kk-o
      bring.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
      'First, the person who killed will deliver a black sheep.' (Text2)

   (b)　*biɁis-ú-kki̧　　　　　　mán-tʃ-i̧　　guzumóɁo̧　marábo̧*
      make.mistake.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL　man-SG-NOM　penality.ABS　honey.ABS

mik'-oó-kk-o
pay.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'The person who involved in murder wiil deliver honey as penality.' ' (Text2)

The word order shown above can not be reversed into Noun-Adjective, Noun-Numeral, Noun-Quanitifier, etc. However there are two exceptional modifiers: *húnda* 'all' and *t'aléʔe* 'only'. Although most of the quantifiers occur before the head noun, these two quantifiers occur following the noun they modify as the following examples demonstrate.

(360a) *ku=mánn-į   hund-í-mį*
        this=man-NOM   all-EP-too
        'All of the people'

   (b) *wotʃ'-am-ú-kkį   mánn-į   t'aléʔe*
        be.in.conflict-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   man-NOM   only
        'Only the people who are involved in the conflict'

When more than one modifier occurs in an NP to modify the head noun, except the demonstratives which obligatorily occur in initial postion and the head noun that is head final, other modifiers of the NP are in free position. As to Sim (1989:135-136) every modifying constituents (including demonstratives) has a high degree of freedom. In the present study, however, the demonstrtives are attested only in initial position. Except the demonstrative *ʔoo* 'those' and the head noun *ʔoósi* 'children', which are restricted to the initial and final position of the NP respectively, all the following possibilities demonstrate the freedom of such modifiers.

   (361) DEM-REL-ADJ-NMR-N
          ʔoo=beebálla   waar-am-ú-kkį   kadaállį lámį ʔoós-į
          those.NOM=yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   white   two   child-NOM
          'those two white children who came yesterday'

   (362) DEM-ADJ-NMR- REL-N
          ʔoo=kadaállį   lamį beebálla waar-am-ú-kkį   ʔoós-į
          those.NOM=white   two   yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   child-NOM
          'those two white children who came yesterday'

   (363) DEM-REL-NMR-ADJ-N
          ʔoo=beebálla   waar-am-ú-kkį   lámį kadaállį ʔoós-į
          those.NOM=yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   two   white   child-NOM
          'those two white children who came yesterday'

   (364) DEM-REL-ADJ-NMR-N
          ʔoo=beebálla   waar-am-ú-kkį   kadaállį. lámį ʔoós-į

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those.NOM=yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   white   two   child-NOM

'those two white children who came yesterday'

(365)   <u>DEM-NMR-REL-ADJ-N</u>

ʔoo=lámį   *beebálla*   *waar-am-ú-kkį*   *kadaállį* *ʔoós-į*

those.NOM=two   yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   white   child-NOM

'those two white children who came yesterday'

In all of these examples, no other order within the NP is possible with regard to the demonstrtives. Moving the demonstrtive from initial position leads to ungrammaticality as in (366a-c).

(366a)   <u>REL-ADJ-NMR- DEM-N</u>

*beebálla waar-am-ú-kkį   *kadaállį lámį ʔoo=ʔoós-į*

yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL white   two   those=child-NOM

(b)   <u>DEM-ADJ-NMR- REL-N</u>

*beebálla waar-am-ú-kkį   *kadaállį ʔoo=lámį ʔoós-į*

yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL white   those=two   child-NOM

(c)   <u>DEM-REL-NMR-ADJ-N</u>

*beebálla waar-am-ú-kkį   *ʔoo=kadaállį lámį ʔoós-į*

yesterday   come-3PL-PV-ASM.REL those= white   two   child-NOM

When possession is expressed within an NP and the possessor noun is a noun or a personal pronoun in the genitive case, the possessor noun or pronoun precedes the possessed noun. In other words, the genitive construction can be formed by juxtaposition, i.e., with Possessor-Possessed word order as shown in (367a-d). This word order cannot be altered without changing meaning. However, in such constructions an intervening noun modifier(s) might occur between the possessor and the possessed noun. This can be seen in examples (368a-d) in which *k'eeráʔlį* 'tall', *danaámį* 'good' and *k'adaállį* 'white' occur between the respective head nouns and the genitive noun/personal pronuons.

(367a)   *ʔi*   *beét-į*   'my son'
        1SG.GEN   boy-NOM

(b)   *ki*   *meent-íttʃo*   'your wife'
        2SG.GEN woman-SG.NOM

(c)   *ʔítt'i*   *baár-į*   'his ox'
        3SG.M.GEN   ox-NOM

(d)   *dabárį*   *gereé-ttʃ-į*   'Dabaro's sheep'
        dabari.GEN   sheep-SG.NOM

(368a)   *ʔi*   *k'eeráʔlį* *beét-į*   'my tall son'
        1SG.GEN tall   boy-NOM

(b) *ki   danaámi̧ meent-íttʃo*   'your beautiful wife'
   2SG.GEN good   woman-SG.NOM

(c) *ʔítt'i   k'adaálli̧   baár-i̧*   'his white ox'
   3SG.M.GEN white   ox-NOM

(d) *dabári   heemáttʃi̧   gereé-ttʃ-i̧*   'dabaro's black sheep'
   dabari.GEN black   sheep-SG-NOM

When a demonstrative is added to the NPs cited in (368), it occurs at the beginning as illustrated in (369).

(369a)	*ʔoo=ʔi* that=1SG.GEN		*k'eeráʔli̧* tall	*beét-i̧* boy.NOM	'that my tall son'
(b)	*tu=ki* this.NOM.F=2SG.GEN		*danaámi̧* good	*meent-íttʃo* woman-SG.NOM	'this your beautiful wife'
(c)	*ku=ʔítt'i* this=3SG.M.GEN		*k'adaálli̧* white	*baár-i̧* ox.NOM	'this his white ox'
(d)	*ʔoo=dabári* that=Dabari.GEN		*heemáttʃi̧* black	*gereé-ttʃ-i̧* sheep-SG.NOM	'that Debaro's black sheep'

8.8.2. Word order in verbal sentences

As already mentioned in the previous sub section, the most frequent word order in intransitive and transitive sentences is respectively, SV and SOV. VS order for intransitive sentences is not attested; however OSV order in transitive sentences is attested. The SOV word order exemplified in (352) can also be uttered in OSV order as in (370).

(370a) *ka=ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃa̧   lánd-i̧   sab-am-oó-kk-o*
       this=bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS girl.NOM refuse-3PL-IPV–ASM.TV
       'Girls refuse such type of marriage.' (Text 03. No. 09)

(b) *gereé-ttʃo̧   ʔáni̧   dur-ú-mm-o*
    sheep-SG.ABS 1SG.NOM slaughter.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I slaughtered a sheep.'

OSV word order is used only when the subject is in focus. When a subject noun or any other argument noun is focused, this element is moved into the pre-verbal position. Focus in general is not morphologically marked. Contrastive focus, however, is marked by moving categories to the unmarked focus position. Concerning this, Sim (1989:186) states, "Hadiyya does not show the morphological focus marking, and constituents order in the unmarked clauses or sentence is quite

free." As the following examples demonstrate, the preverbal position is reserved for emphasized information.

(371a) *ʔísị̀* *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína* *wóʔọ* *ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o*   *ʔádọ*
    3SG.F.NOM baby-SG-DAT water.ABS give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV milk.ABS
    ʔuww-i-t-o-ʔ-ó-jjo
    give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-NEG
    'She gave water to the child.' (She didn't give the child milk.)

(b) *ʔísị̀*   *wóʔọ* *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína* *ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o* *ʔádọ*
    3SG.F.NOM water.ABS baby-SG-DAT give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV milk.ABS
    ʔuww-i-t-o-ʔ-ó-jjo
    give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-NEG
    'She gave water to the child.' (She didn't give to me.)

In sentences with a dative complement, there are several alternative word orders. The word order alternation in sentences with dative complements is illustrated in (372a-d) below:

(372a) *ʔánị̀* *ʔitt'é-na* *moókk'ạ̀* *sar-ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM 3SG.M-DAT porridge.ABS cook.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I coocked porridge for him.'

(b) *ʔánị̀* *moókk'ạ̀* *ʔitt'é-na* *sar-ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM porridge.ABS 3SG.M-DAT cook.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I coocked porridge for him.'

(c) *ʔitt'é-na* *ʔánị̀* *moókk'ạ̀* *sar-ú-mm-o*
    3SG.M-DAT 1SG.NOM porridge.ABS cook.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I coocked porridge for him.'

(d) *ʔitt'e-na* *moókk'ạ̀* *ʔánị̀* *sar-ú-mm-o*
    3SG.M-DAT porridge.ABS 1SG.NOM cook.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I coocked porridge for him.'

In each of the examples in (372) either the dative complements or the object nouns in the sentence occur freely except the post-verbal position. In command sentences involving the dative, the Subject-Dative complement-the Object-Verb order is most frequently used:

(373) *ʔátị̀* *ʔisé-na* *diinátẹ* *ʔúww-e*
    2SG.NOM 3SG.F-DAT money.ABS give-IMP.SG
    'You! Give her money.'

Subjects often occupy the first position of a sentence. If they are moved to pre-verbal position, they are focused.Consider the following examples:

(374a) *ʔisé-na   hooʃʃóʔọ   meent-íttʃo   ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.F-DAT   lunch.ABS   woman-SG.NOM   give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
mán-tʃ-ị   ʔuww-u-kk-ó-jjo
man-SG-NOM   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'The woman gave her lunch. The man didn't.' (It is no one but the woman who gave her lunch.)

(b) *kojjí-na   búnạ   ʔánị   kaas-ú-mm-o*
guest-DAT   coffee.ABS   1SG.NOM   make.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I made coffee for the guests.' (It is no one but I made coffee for the guests.)

Temporal nouns often occupy the post subject position of a sentence. If they are positioned in preverbal, they are focused. Compare the focused elements in (375a-b), i.e. the subject is focused in (a), whereas temporal noun in (b).

(375a) *ʔánị   beebálla   waar-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   yesterday   come.1SG-PV-AM-TV
'I came yesterday.'

(b) *beebálla   ʔánị   waar-ú-mm-o*
yesterday   1SG.NOM   come.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I came yesterday.'

The subject of a non-verbal sentence occurs preceding the predicate. For instance, *ʔimeentittʃótte* 'my wife' (376a), *ʔise-tte* 'it is her' (376b), are predicates of their respective clauses.

(376a) *ʔoo=tte   ʔi   meent-íttʃó-tte*
that.NOM=3SG.F   1SG.GEN   woman-SG.TV-COP
'That is my wife.' (*Lit:* that is my woman)'

(b) *ʔi   land-íttʃo   ʔisé-tte*
1SG.GEN   girl-SG.NOM   3SG.F-COP
'My daughter is she.'

With regard to questions the same word order is attested. The interrogative pronoun occurs in the position where the corresponding the noun/phrase which is questioned. In other words, Hadiyya uses an in-situ strategy (See also section 7.2.). Consider the following questions in (377a-e) with corresponding answers in (378a-e):

(377) Questions

(a) *ʔájj-ị   keésẹ   haraʔm-ú-kk-o*
who-NOM   2SG.ABS   help.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Who helped you?'

(b) *lánd-i̱* hínka *ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃa̱* *doʔl-am-oó-kk-o*
girl-NOM which bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS choose-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'Which marriage type do girls choose?'

(c) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̱* *máha̱* *ʔijj-aá-kk-o*
this=man-SG-NOM what.ABS carry.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
'What has the man carried?'

(d) *miʃaám-i̱* *ʔajjé-na* *kitaába̱* *ʔuww-ú-kk-o*
Mishaam-NOM who-DAT book.ABS give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'To whom mishaamo gave the book?'

(e) *ʔítt'i̱* *hiiʔmóʔo* *hannó-nne* *gar-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM night where-LOC spend.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Where did he spend last night?'

Possible answers/declarative sentences

(a) *ʔi* *beʃ-íttʃ-i̱* *ʔeése̱* *haraʔm-ú-kk-o*
1SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM 1SG.ABS help.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'My friend helped me.'

(b) *lánd-i̱* *heer-ám-tʃa̱* *doʔl-am-oó-kk-o*
girl-NOM type of marriage-PAS-ANM4.ABS choose-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'Girls choose heerantʃa.'

(c) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̱* *tʃ'aná-nne* *t'aaféʔe̱* *ʔijj-aá-kk-o*
this=man-SG-NOM leather.pouch.LIC teff.ABS carry.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
'The man has carried a sack of teff.'

(d) *miʃaám-i̱* *makeeb-ína* *kitaába̱* *ʔuww-ú-kk-o*
Mishaam-NOM makeebi-DAT book.ABS give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Mishaamo gave the book to Makebo.'

(e) *ʔítt'i̱* *hiiʔmóʔo* *ni* *miné-nne* *gar-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM last.night 1PL.GEN house-LOC spend.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He spent in our home last night?'

Dependent clauses usually occur preceding the main clause, as illustrated in the examples below:

(379a) *beét-i̱* *waar-u-kk-aá-re* *ʔáni̱* *mar-oó-mm-o*
boy-NOM come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND 1SG.NOM go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'If the boy comes, I will go.'

(b) *wiʃ-íttʃ-i̱* *moóttʃa̱* *siid-oó* *ʔammáne* *lobakáta*
dog-SG-NOM wild.animal.ABS watch.3SG.M-IPV time much
muun-oó-kk-o
bark.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.TV
'When a dog sees a wild aimal, it barks uninterruptedly.'

But not:

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(380a) *ʔánį   mar-oó-mm-o   beét-į   waar-u-kk-aá-re
       1SG.NOM go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV boy-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND
       'I will go, if the boy comes.'

(b)   *lobakáta muun-oó-kk-o   wiʃ-íttʃ-į   moóttʃą   siid-oó
       much   bark.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV dog-SG-NOM   wild animal.ABS   watch.3SG.M
       ʔammáne
       time
       'It barks uninterruptedly, when a dog sees a wild aimal.'

Consider again the following examples:

(381a) bak'úttʃǫ ki   ʔánni   ʔajjé-tte   j-akk-o-ʔ-aá-re
       mule.ABS 2SG.GEN   father-NOM   who-COP   say-3PL-PV-EP-CNV-CND
       faráʃʃ-į   ʔi   ʔeeʃímma   j-ú-kk-o
       horse-NOM   1SG.GEN   uncle.COP   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
       'When a mule being asked who is his father, he answered horse is my uncle'(Proverb, No.
       005)

(b)   hidiíʔli   wotʃ'-uww-iínse   kann-iínse woroóne heeʔ-oo   keénį
       sworn.GEN   statement-PL-ABL this-ABL   below   exist.3SG.M-IPV among
       matimátó   k'opp'an-u-mm-aá-re   kiʔnúwwi ʔíll-į   ʔeésę   k'ás-e
       one.one.ABS   lie.1SG-PV-ASM-CNV-CND 2PL.GEN   eye-NOM   1SG.ABS pierce-IMP.SG
       wóʃʃą   maat'-u-mm-aá-re   kiʔnúwwi ʔajjaán-į ʔeésę   biiʔís-e
       secret.ABS hide.1SG-PV-ASM-CNV-CND 2PL.GEN spirit-NOM 1SG.ABS distroy-IMP.SG
       ka=wóʃʃą   laʔ-aá   maat'-u-mm-aá-re   kiʔnúwwi ʔajjaán-į
       this=secret.ABS know.1SG-CNV hide.1SG-PV-ASM-CNV-CND 2PL.GEN   spirit-NOM
       ʔeésę   biiʔís-e
       1SG.ABS   distroy-IMP.SG

       'Some of the phrases in the sworn statement are as follows:
       'If I tell a lie, may your eyes pierce me, may your spirit destroy me, may I begot a mute and
       deaf child' (Text 02: No.32)

(c)   land-íttʃo   ka=ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃą   sabb-o-ʔ-aá-re
       girl-SG.NOM   this=marry-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS   refuse.3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND
       máhą   ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
       what.ABS   do-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
       'What if the girl refuses such type of marriage?' (Text 03: No.08)

(d)   mánn-į   horoórę   ka-ʔl-u-kk-aá-re   dabajj-íttʃo   máttʃ'ę
       man-NOM   head.ABS   tie-BEN2.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND   mice-SG.NOM   ear.ABS
       kaʔl-i-t-ó-ʔ-o
       tie.BEN2.3SG.M-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV

'A mice saw a human being braded his hair and she did the same with her ears.' (Proverb, No. 080)

(e) *ʔann-íttʃ-i̧*   *laar-oo-beeʔ-aá-re*   *ʔolláʔ-i̧*   *ʔagaag-oó-jjo*
one self-SG-NOM cry.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-CNV-CND neighbor-NOM   help.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'If you do not shout when you come under attack, no neighbor comes for your rescue.' (Proverb, No. 124)

(f) *ʔájja̧*   *gat'á-nne* *dʒor-ísa* *kadd-a-m-aá-re*   *ʔabbaájj-i̧*
sister.ABS floor-LOC   bad-SIM   dance.3SG.F-IPV-ASM-CNV-CND brother-NOM
hiiró-nne *tuur-oó-kk-o*
seat-LOC   embarrass.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'While the sister dances absurdly in the dining room, a brother gets small in his chair with embarrassment.' (Proverb, No. 097)

Generally, dependent clauses occur before the main clause. Hence, conditional, purposive and temporal clauses, the converb construction, cannot occur after the main clause. Subject question words occur in subject position and object content question words occur in object position. Furthermore, adjectives relative clauses demonstrtives and genitives precede their head noun; subordinate clauses precede main clauses, the main verb being always the lat word in the sentence (See also Hudson 1976:275).

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አለባቸው ኬዕሚሶና ሳሙኤል ሀንዳሞ፡፡ 2002፡፡ *የሀዲያ ህዝብ ታሪክና ባህል፡፡* አዲስ አበባ፡፡ ሰፈር አታሚ፡፡

CHAPTER NINE

APPENDICES

A. TEXTS:	Text 1: The mourning ceremony of Hadiyya
	Text 2: Conflict resolution methods
	Text 3: Types of marriage in Hadiyya
	Text 4: Tale (A farmer and a leopard)
	Text 5: Tale (The rich and the poor neighbours)
	Text 6: Proverbs
	Text 7: Riddles
B. SENTENCES	
C. WORD LIST	
D. SUMMARY OF THE CONSULTANTS' DATA	

THE MOURNING CEREMONY OF HADIYYA

(01) *hadíjji*   *k'aánk'į*   *wiʔliʃʃi*   *ʔogoll-úwwą*   *kann-iínse*   *kiiʔ-iis-aá*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-GEN   mournig.GEN   way-PL.ABS   now-ABL   rise.1SG-CAUS-CNV
kur-oó-mm-o
tell.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'Now [starting right now], I will tell you the mourning system of Hadiyya.'

(02) *hadíjji*   *k'aank'á-nne*   *hínka*   *ʔumura-m-į*   *ʔih-ú-kk-o*   *goon-tʃó-m-į*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   what   age.ABS-too-NOM   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   male-SG-too-NOM
ʔih-ú-kk-o   *maʃár-į*   *leh-oó*   *ʔammáne*   *wiʔl-is-akk-(á)m-ane-é*
be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   female-NOM   die.3SG.M-CNV   time   cry-CAUS-3HON.IPV-ASM-to.be-CNJ
t'idd-akk-(á)m-ane
be.depress-3HON.IPV-to.be

'According to the tradition of Hadiyya tribe, when a person of any age passed away, there should be a cry of sorrow and mourning.'

(03) *wíʔli*   *ʔogór-oóm-į*   *leh-ú-kkį*   *mán-tʃi*   *ʔumuʔl-ísa-á*   *heéttʃi*
mourng.GEN   way-DEF-NOM   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   age-SIM-CNJ   life.GEN
ʔamatt'-isa-á   *ʔannánnį*   *ʔannánną*   *ʔih-oo-ʔ-áne*   *kobiʔliʃ-ína*   *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-į*
wealth-SIM-CNJ   different   different.ABS   be.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be   example-DAT   baby-SG-NOM
woraad-íttʃ-į   *lóbį*   *mán-tʃ-į*   *gitánn-į*   *gass-aán-tʃ-į*
young-SG-NOM   big   man-SG-NOM   hero-NOM   administer-AGN-SG-NOM
leh-oó   *ʔammáne*   *hund-í-m-į*   *wíʔli*   *ʔogór-į*   *mató-jjo*
die.3SG.M-IPV   time   all-EP-too-NOM   mournig.GEN   way-NOM   one.COP-NEG
'But the mourning ceremony varies based on the deceased age and social status. For instance, the mourning ceremony for a child, an old man or a young person could not be the same once he/she passed away.'

(04) *mátį*   *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-į*   *k'ar-ám-u*   *ballá-mi*   *leh-u-kk-aá-re*
one   baby-SG-NOM   born.3SG.M-PAS-PV   day-too   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND
tʃ'iil-íttʃ-oóm-į   *biʔ-aá-kk-o*   *teʔíme*   *huuʃ-i-tt'-aá-kk-o*
baby-SG-DEF-NOM   disappear.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   or   miss.3SG.M-BEN₃-PF-ASM-TV
j-akk-(á)m-o   *bagaánį*   *leh-aá-kk-o*   *j-akk-(a)m-ó-jjo*
say-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV   except   die.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   say-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
kann-iínse   *ʔodíme*   *léh-u*   *ballá-mi*   *leh-ú-kkį*   *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína*
this-ABL   also   die.3SG.M-PV   day-too   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   baby-SG-EP-DAT
wiʔl-ímm-į   *hadíjji*   *minaadabá-nne*   *los-ám-u*   *beéʔ-áne*
cry-VN-NOM   hadiyy.GEN   people-LOC   know.3SG.M-PAS-PV   NEG-to.be

'If a new born baby dies on the very same day of his birth, it does not be said that he passed away, it is said that 'the baby has escaped or went missing. In addition to this, it is not custom in the tribe to cry out for the death of a new born baby who died at the same day.'

(05) múlli   goog-í-nne   ʔodíme k'ar-am-ú-kkị̆   láʔmi
     other   way-EP- INST also   born.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL second.GEN
     ball-iínse   kiʔ-is-aá   léh-u   tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína   wiʔl-am-oo-ʔ-ane
     day-ABL   start.3SG.M-CAUS-CNV   die.3SG.M-PV baby-SG-DAT   cry-PAS-IPV-EP-to.be
     kittʃe-ttʃ-oóm-ị̆   lobakáta k'ott'-oó-kk-o   ʔama-nné-tte
     be.sad-ANM₄-DEF-NOM   much   be.strong.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV mother-LOC-COP
     'On the other side, if the baby has died after two days of his birth or more, there could be a cry. The
     agony will be stronger to the mother of the deceased baby.'

(06) ʔumur-oóm-ị̆   mati hiíntʃọ   ʔaf-oó-kkị̆   tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína   wiʔl-ímmị̆
     age-DEF-NOM   one   year.ABS reach.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL   baby-SG-DAT   cry-VN
     has-is-oó   bikk-ína   ʔolláʔi   mann-ina-á   k'armann-ina-á
     want.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV because-DAT neighbor.GEN   man-DAT-CNJ   relative-DAT-CNJ
     ʔambáʔi   seer-ina-á   kur-akk-(á)m-o
     village.GEN culture-DAT-CNJ tell-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
     'For a baby who is closer of one year old, since there should be a mourning ceremony, a word will be
     passed to the villagers, relatives and, for the members of a certain funeral society which is called Idir.'

(07) waámmạ   hin-imm-i-í   giíʔli   hákk'ạ   min-iínse   hund-iinsé-mị̆
     funeral.ABS dig-VN-NOM-CNJ   fire.GEN   wood.ABS house-ABL   all-ABL-too
     ʔan-am-aá   waar-óna   ʔiss-imm-i-í   wíʔli   míni   diinat-ína hít'ẹ
     split-3PL-CNV come.3SG.M-JUS make-VN-NOM-CNJ mourning.GEN   house.GEN   cattle-DAT grass.ABS
     mur-imm-i-í   wíʔlo   waar-oó   mann-ína buná-mi   ʔih-ú-kk-o
     cut-VN-NOM-CNJ mourning.ABS   come.3PL-IPV   man-DAT coffee.ABS-too be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     ʔittʃạ   gud-óna   ʔiss-imm-i-í   seéʔlị̆   bát'o
     meal.ABS be.ready.3SG.M-JUS   make-VN-NOM-CNJ   culture.GEN work.COP

     'The duty of the Edir is, digging a grave hole (yard), bringing a-ready -to-use fuel wood from every
     household, to feed the cattle of the mourning family during that time, prepare coffee and meal for the
     mourners as well as other guests who attended the ceremony etc.'

(08) hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   hinkáʔi ʔumúʔli k'oot'oʔ-iinsé-mị̆ woraadd-áni   k'oot'oʔó-nne
     Hadiyya.GEN culture-MDC   which   age.GEN level-COMP-too   be.youth-ANM2.GEN level-LOC
     j-oó   mán-tʃ-ị̆   leh-oó   ʔammáne lobakáta kittʃeʔ-is-oo-ʔ-áne
     be.present.3SG.M-IPV   man-SG-NOM   die.3SG.M-IPV   time   much   be.sad-CAUS-IPV-EP-to.be
     'In Hadiyya's tradition, the death of a young person is much mourned and painful than others.'

(09) léh-u   woraad-íttʃ-ị̆   teʔíme land-íttʃi   ʔannóʔ-ị̆ k'ari   mann-ị̆
     die.3SG.M-PV   youngster-SG-NOM   or   girl-SG.GEN   father-NOM relative   man-NOM
     beʃʃ-uww-ị̆   mullị̆ ʔollaʔ-ị̆   hund-í-mị̆ lobakáta k'ott'-aállị̆   wíʔlo
     friend-PL-NOM   other neighbor-NOM   all-EP-too much   be.strong-ADJZ   morning.ABS
     wiʔl-am-oó-kk-o   hund-iinsé-mị̆   ʔáma   wiʔl-i-t-o-ʔ-uúll-mị̆   lobakáta
     cry-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV all-COMP-too   mother.NOM cry-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-PRG-too much
     kittʃeʔ-is-oó   git'óʔọ   wottʃ'-(á)mị̆   bikk-ína   mattʃ'ees-ú-kkị̆   mánn-ị̆
     be.sad-CAUS-IPV   poem.ABS   speak.3SG.F.IPV-ASM about-DAT hear.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-NOM
     hund-í-mị̆   kittʃeʔ-oó-kk-o   ʔáma   tuudeʔl-eéna   t'an-t-(á)mị̆
     all-EP-too be.sad-3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV mother.NOM faint.3SG.F-PURP be.able-3SG.F.IPV-ASM
     bikk-ína   ʔisẹ   moóʔ-u   mann-ị̆   hundi-mị̆ lobakáta kittʃeʔ-oo-ʔ-áne
     because-DAT 3SG.F.ABS see.3SG.M-PV man-NOM   all-too   much   be.sad.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be

     'The deceased young person's family, friends, relatives and neighbors cry out in sorrow and agony of

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this loses. Most especially, the mother's cry which is more likely a hymen of sorrow attracts much attention. Because of the mother's mourning goes to an extent of getting unconscious (Black out), it is very touchy to see her in that way, and forces any one to share her mood.'

(10)   *hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   hardeʔ-uww-ína-á   lobị   mann-ína-á   wiʔl-akk-(á)mị*
          Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   middle.age-PL-DAT-CNJ   old   man-DAT-CNJ   cry-3HON.IPV-ASM
          ʔogór-ị   máto
          way-NOM   one.COP
          'The mourning ceremony in Hadiyya tradition for middle –aged and old aged people is the same.'

(11)   *mátị   lobị   mán-tʃ-ị   lommann-án-oom-ị   keeʔm-u-kk-uúlla   waar-oó*
          one   old   man-SG NOM   be.old-ANM2-DEF-NOM   be.heavy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   come.3SG.M-IPV
          ʔammáne   leh-ína   hintʃ'-u-kk-uúlla   waar-u-kk-ísa   laʔ-oó
          time   die-DAT   close.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   know.3SG.M-IPV
          bikk-ína   ʔitt'i   horoóṛę   leh-ína   gud-is-oó-kk-o   leh-oó
          because-DAT   3SG.M.GEN   self.ABS   die-DAT   be.ready.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-ASM-TV   die.3SG.M-IPV
          ʔammáne-mị   ʔitt'i   léh-ị   míʔni   ʔabaroós-ína   haareéttʃị   ʔih-oó-jjo
          time-too   3SG.M.GEN   die-NOM   house.GEN   family. members-DAT   new   be.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

'Especially, when a person growing older, he prepares himself for death. Because of he thinks that he is getting closer to death, and more likely his death could not be turned out a bombshell to his family.'

(12)   *hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   léh-u   mán-tʃ-ị   ʔamatt'a-nne-é gitann-ooma-nne-é*
          Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG-NOM   wealth-LOC-CNJ   be.hero-ANM5-LOC-CNJ
          teʔíme   gasso-nne-é   laʔ-am-aa-kk-o-ʔ-áne   ʔih-u-kki-lásị
          or   management-LOC-CNJ   know.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV-EP-to.be   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CND
          ʔanánnị   ʔih-aá-kk-o   wíʔli   ʔogór-ị   j-oo-ʔ-áne
          different   be.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   mourning.GEN   way-NOM   present.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be
          'In Hadiyya's tradition, if the deceased is well known in his wealth, bravery, leadership etc.The mourning ceremony should be held in a different style (manner).'

(13)   *ka=léh-u   mán-tʃi   wiʔl-ína   gud-is-akk-(á)mị   lúwwạ*
          this=die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN   mouning-DAT   be.ready-CAUS-3HON.IPV-ASM   thing.ABS
          húndá-mị   gud-is-akk-aá   lasó-nne   waam-iínse   gaass-akk-aá   meerá-nne
          all.ABS-too   be.ready-CAUS-3HON-CNV   after-TDC   funeral-COMP   precede-3PL-CNV   market-LOC
          doʔ-u-kk-uúlla   ʔarad-oó   mánnạ   gud-oo-isa
          go.round-PV-ASM-PRG   announce.3PL-IPV   man.ABS   be.ready.3PL-IPV-SIM
          ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
          make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

'Once the preparation for the mourning ceremony of this famous individual is over, the identity of the deceased and the burial time will be declared and announced in the market place and this task is to be carried out by a selected traditional singers.'

(14) *ku=mánn-į̄* *ʔarad-aáno̧* *j-amam-oó-kk-o* *ʔarad-aán-į̄*
this=man-NOM announce-AGN.ABS say.3PL-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV announce-AGN-NOM
ka=léh-u *mántʃi̧* *bikk-ína* *wotʃ'-oó* *wóʃʃi* *ʔarad-ímma̧*
this=die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.GEN about-DAT speak.3SG.M-IPV affair announce-VN.ABS
j-amam-oó-kk-o
say.3PL-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV

'These traditional signers are called *Aradaano*. The announcement itself is called *Aradimma*.'

(15) *ku=ʔarad-aán-į̄* *múlli̧* *ʔuullá-nne* *teʔíme* *meerá-nne* *doʔ-am-u-kk-uúlla*
this=announce-AGN-NOM other country-LOC or market-LOC go.round-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG
ʔarad-am-óna *ʔann-íttʃi̧* *ʔann-íttʃ-i-ná-mi̧* *danaámi̧* *farad-i̧* *gud-oó-kk-o*
announce-3PL-JUS each-SG each-SG-DAT-too good horse-NOM be.ready.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'For the purpose of announcement and breaking this news, best race stallions (horses) should be prepared for each Aradaano (announcer).'

(16) *máti̧* *laʔ-am-aá-kk-o* *mán-tʃi* *wiʔl-ína* *sadeent-iínse* *kiʔ-is-aá*
one know.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV man-SG.GEN mourning-DAT eight-ABL start-CAUS-CNV
tómmiilohoó *ʔaf-oó* *ʔarad-aán-į̄* *húndá-mi̧* *kolló-mi̧* *mar-am-aá*
sixteen reach.3SG.M-IPV announce-AGN-NOM all.ABS-too direction-too go-3PL-CNV
ʔaf-am-u *bejjo-nne* *hunda-nne-mi̧* *ʔarad-am-oó-kk-o*
reach-3PL-PV place-LOC all-LOC-too annonce-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'For such famous individual's death announcement, from 8-16 announcers will be scattered to every direction and break the news of this famous individual death.'

(17) *ku=ʔaraddʒ-í-m-į̄* *git'oʔ-í-nne* *kur-am-oo-ʔ-áne*
this=announcement-EP-too-NOM poem-EP- INST tell.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-EP-to.be
'The announcement will be delivered in poetic and melodical way.'

(18) *ʔarad-aan-oóm-į̄* *ʔaraddʒ-ína* *mar-am-oóʔne* *gaass-am-aá* *ʔit-am-oó*
announce-AGN-DEF-NOM announcement-DAT go-3PL-CNV.NEG precede-3PL-CNV eat-3PL-CNV
hurbaáta̧ *ʔuww-ímmi̧* *has-is-oo-ʔ-áne*
meal.ABS give-VN want.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-EP-to.be
'The announcers should be well fed before they set off to break the news.'

(19) *ʔee=lasó-nne* *ku=ʔarad-aán-į̄* *hund-i-m-į̄* *kollo-nné-mi̧* *mar-am-aá*
that=after-TDC this=announce-AGN-NOM all-EP-too-NOM direction-LOC-too go-3PL-CNV
dúti̧ *mánn-į̄* *heeʔ-oó* *hínka* *bejjoó-nne* *teʔíme* *meerá-nne* *ʔarad-imm-ína*
many man-NOM be.present.3SG.M-IPV wher.ever place-LOC or market-LOC announce-VN-DAT
mar-imm-iínse *gaass-am-aá* *hinkíde* *ʔarad-am-oo-dáʔe* *wíʔli* *miné-nne*
go-VN-COMP precede-3PL-CNV how announce-3PL-IPV-CND mourning.GEN house-LOC
j-oo *ʔabaroos-ína* *faradó-nne* *saʔl-am-aá* *ʔuʔlummá-nne*
present.3PL-IPV family.members-DAT horse-LOC gallop-3PL-CNV door way-LOC
ʔarad-am-óna *ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o*
announce-3PL-JUS make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

'Then, to get the exact picture of what their announcement will be like, they will be made to say a piece of it right there, on the doorstep of the mourning house.'

(20) *ku=ʔarad-aán-m-į̇* *ka=gud-ú-kkį̇* *faradó-nne* *fir-am-aá*
this=announce-AGN-too-NOM   this=be.ready.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL horse-LOC   soar-3PL-CNV

léh-u *mán-tʃi* *moóll-į̇* *witt'-aá* *lasó-nne* *ka=léh-u*
die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN   clan-NOM   gather.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   this=die-PV

man-tʃ-ína *hinkíde* *ʔarad-am-oo-dáʔe* *ʔuʔlummá-nne* *ʔeekide-é* *kide-é*
man-SG-DAT   how   announce-3PL-IPV-CND doorway-LOC   there-CNJ   here-CNJ

dabaʔl-am-u-kk-uúlla *ʔann-íttʃ-į̇* *ʔann-íttʃ-i* *ʔarad-oó-kk-o*
return-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   each-SG-NOM   each-SG-NOM   announce.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'So in front of the gathered family members, they show off what they are prepared to show, riding beautiful stallion, emotionally, saying different poems about the deceased.

(21) *ka=ʔaraddʒá-nne* *doojj-ú-kk-o* *j-akk-(á)mį̇* *sagárą*
this=announcement-LOC   pass.away.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   say-3HON.IPV-ASM   voice.ABS

dabaʔl-am-aá *wotʃ'-am-oó-kk-o* *doojj-ú-kk-o* *j-ímmį̇* *leh-ú-kk-o*
return-3PL-CNV   speak-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV   pass.away.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   say-VN   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

ʔur-aá *mar-ú-kk-o* *j-ímma*
leave.3SG.M-CNV   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   say-VN.COP

'In this show, they use the word 'Dooyuko more frequently. 'Doyuko' Means, escaped, gone not to be seen again or died.'

(22) *ʔarad-aán-oóm-į̇* *ka=gudiʃʃi* *ʔaráddʒą* *ʔarad-am-aá* *míʔni*
announce-AGN-DEF-NOM   this=rehearse.GEN   announcement.ABS   announce-3PL-CNV   house.GEN

ʔabaroósį̇ *lasó-nne* *húndį̇* *kollo-nné-mį̇* *lámį̇* *lámį̇* *ʔih-am-aá*
family.members   after-TDC   all   direction-LOC-too   two   two   be-3PL-CNV

mar-am-oó-kk-o *mar-am-oó* *ʔammáne* *hund-í-mį̇* *hiímo* *mátį̇* *ʔammane-nne* *mine*
go-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV   go-3PL-IPV   time   all-EP-too   night   one   time-TDC   house

dabaʔl-i-t-a-m-ísa *wottʃ'-am-aá* *ʔannannį̇* *ʔih-am-oó-kk-o*
return-EP-3SG.F-IPV-ASM-SIM   speak-3PL-CNV   different   be-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'Once the announcers are done with their showcasing, they receive blessing form the relatives of the deceased and hit the road. They travel to different directions by forming each team with two individuals, once they are done with the announcement, they should return together, so they should decide on the returning date.'

(23) *ku=ʔarad-aán-į̇* *faradó-nne* *saaʔl-am-aá* *meérį̇* *j-oo* *béjjo*
this=annonce-AGN-NOM   horse-LOC   ride-3PL-CNV   market   exist.3SG.M-IPV   place

mar-am-u-kk-uúlla *gogó-nne* *ʔed-amam-ú-kkį̇* *mann-ína* *hund-iná-mį̇*
go-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   road-LOC   meet.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM.REL   man-DAT   all-DAT-too

léh-u *mán-tʃi* *súmmą* *kur-am-u-kk-uúlla* *waamm-am-oó* *bejjo-ó*
die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN   name.ABS   tell-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   bury.3SG.M-PAS-IPV   place.ABS-CNJ

balla-á *laʔ-is-am-u-kk-uúlla* *faradó-nne* *firiit'-am-u-kk-uúlla*
day.ABS-CNJ   know-CAUS-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   horse-LOC   ride-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG

mar-am-oó-kk-o
go-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'While they gallop to a market place, they keep telling loudly the name of the deceased in their poem, the funeral date and the burial place.'

(24) *ku=ʔarad-aán-i̧   meéŗa   ʔaf-am-oó   ʔammáne   dúti   mánn-i̧*
this=announce-AGN-NOM   market.ABS   arrive-3PL-IPV   time   many   man-NOM
leh-ú-kki̧   mán-tʃo̧   laʔ-eéna   has-oó   bikk-ína
die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.ABS   know.3SG.M-PURP   want.3SG.M-IPV   about-DAT
ka=ʔarad-aáni   bejjó-nne   witt'-oó-kk-o
this=announce-AGN.GEN   place-LOC   gather.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'Once the announcers arrived the market place, they keep telling loudly the name, of the deceased in their poem, the funeral date and the burial place, and they will become a center stage of attraction, due to the reason the crowd would like to know who is the deceased person.'

(25) *ʔarad-aán-i̧   meéra   ʔaf-am-u-kk-isámi̧   léh-u   mán-tʃì   súmma̧*
announce-AGN-NOM   market   reach-3PL-PV-ASM-TDC   die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN   name.ABS
bát'-u   lúwwa̧   moóllo̧   tari-tar-í-nne   kiiʔiis-am-u-kk-uúlla
work.3SG.M-PV   thing.ABS   community.ABS   turn-turn-EP-MDC   raise-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG
ʔebár-i̧   doojj-ú-kk-o   j-am-u-kk-uúlla   ʔard-am-oó-kk-o
somebody-NOM   pass.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   say-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   announce-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'The announcers start to announce in duet; they announce and praise his name, fame, tribe, clan, adventures he made when he was alive. They say, Eber Doyuko, meaning Mr. X passed away.'

(26) *ka=ʔammané-nne   ka=witt'-aá   mattʃ'ees-am-heeʔ-ú-kki̧   mann-iínse*
this=time-LOC   this=be.together.M-CNV   hear.3SG.M-UCND-be.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-LOC
ka=léh-u   mán-tʃì   k'ar-mán-tʃì   ʔih-eéna   t'an-oó   mán-tʃ-i̧
this=die-PV   man-SG.GEN   born-man-SG   be.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV   man-SG-NOM
saw-ooʔné-mi̧   ʔítt'i   k'ar-mán-tʃì   lého̧   mattʃ'ees-eéna   t'an-oó
think-NCNV   3SG.M.GEN   born-man-SG.GEN   death.ABS   hear.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV
bikk-ína   tuudeʔ-aá   bʔub-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
because-DAT   faint.3SG.M-CNV   fall.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'In this occasion, if there is someone in the crowd who hasn't heard about his relative's death, he could pass out.'

(27) *las-aan-tʃó-nne   hund-í-m-i̧   ʔarad-aan-ím-i̧   ka=ʔaráddʒa̧*
ultimate-AGN-SG-TDC   all-EP-too-NOM   annonce-AGN-too-NOM   this=announcement.ABS
guull-am-aá   lasó-nne   hund-í-mi̧   máti̧   ʔammané-nne   mínȩ   dabaʔl-am-oó-kk-o
finish-3PL-CNV   after-TDC   all-EP-too   one   time-TDC   home.ABS   return-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'Finally, all the announcers return together and at the same time to the mourning place, once they accomplished their mission.'

(28) *míne daba ʔl-am-u-kk-isámi̧   hinkíde   ʔarad-am-u-kki-dáʔe   míʔni   ʔabaroós-i̧*
house   return-3PL-PV-ASM-TDC   how   annonce-3PL-PV-ASM-CND   house.GEN   family.members-NOM
t'aʔm-oó-kk-o
ask.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'On their arrival, they will be asked by the deceased's relatives, to show them the mirror image of their announcement in the market place.'

(29) ʔitt'-uww-í-m-i̠   faradó-nne   saaʔl-am-u-kk-isámi̠   ʔeekikde-é   kide-é
     3SG.M-PL-EP-too-NOM   horse-LOC   ride-3PL-PV-ASM-TDC   there-CNJ   here-CNJ
     dabaʔl-am-u-kk-uúlla   tari-tar-í-nne   hiníkíde   ʔarad-am-u-kki-dáʔe   kur-am-oó-kk-o
     return-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   turn-turn-EP-MDC   how   annonce-3PL-PV-ASM-CND   tell-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

     'They repeat the whole thing what they did in the market place.'

(30) guull-am-u-kk-isámi̠   léh-u   mán-tʃi   meent-íttʃo   beéti   ʔabbaájj-i̠
     finish-3PL-PV-ASM-TDC die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.GEN woman-SG.NOM boy.GEN brother-NOM
     teʔíme   ʔabbísi̠   k'ar-mán-tʃ-i̠   ʔann-íttʃi̠   ʔann-íttʃ-iná-mi̠   diináte̠
     or   close   born-man-SG.NOM each-SG each-SG-DAT-too money.ABS
     ʔuww-oó-kk-o   ka=ʔarad-aan-iínse   danaam-ísa   ʔarád-u   man-tʃ-ína
     give.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV this=announce-AGN-COMP good-SIM annonce.3SG.M-PV man-SG-DAT
     ʔuww-akk-(á)mi̠   diinát-i̠   múlli̠   ʔarad-aan-iínse   lámi̠   suúme
     give-3HON.IPV-ASM money-NOM other announce-AGN-COMP two mouth
     lopp'-oó-kk-o
     exceed.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

     'Each will be awarded with a gift of cash by the deceased's wife, children, brother or another next of kin. The best announcer will get a double fold than others.'

(31) ka=ʔarad-aaʔni   ʔaráddʒa̠   mattʃ'eés-u   mánn-i̠   húnd-i-mi̠   hund-i-mi̠
     this=announce-VN.ABS announcement.ABS hear.3SG.M-PV man-NOM all-EP-too all-EP-too
     bejj-iinsé-mi̠   waámmi   bálla   ʔannánni̠ ʔannánni̠   ʔeddeʔ-tʃa̠   ʔeddeʔ-am-aá
     place-ABL-too   funeral.GEN day different different wear-ANM₄.ABS wear-3PL-CNV
     gaádi   muúta̠   ladeʔ-am-aá   faradó-nne   saaʔl-am-aá   k'eeraáʔli̠   baalléʔe̠
     battle.GEN weapon.ABS wear-3PL-CNV horse-LOC ride-3PL-CNV long feather.ABS
     sut-am-aá   k'ar-ína   ʔabbísi̠   ʔih-u-keén-i̠   ʔodíme   hurbaáta̠   wotʃ'íta̠
     insert-3PL-CNV relation-DAT close be.3PL-PV-those-NOM also grain.ABS plate.ABS
     bak'ulla-nne-é halla-nne-é   ʔijj-is-am-aá   wíʔli   míne   waar-am-oó-kk-o
     mule-LOC-CNJ donkey-LOC-CNJ load-CAUS-3PL-CNV mourning.GEN house come-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

     'On the day of the funeral, the mourners, who learned the news from the announcers, will flock in huge numbers, ridding mules, adorning themselves with different clothes, weapons, and feathers. Close relatives come from far away places, with mules or donkeys laden with grain and plates.'

(32) waámmi   bálla   dárá-mi̠   seér-i̠   hin-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
     funeral.GEN day morning-too society-NOM dig.3SG.M-JUS make-3PL.IPV-ASM-TV
     'On the day of the funeral, the members of the funeral society should prepare the grave early in the morning.'

(33) hadíjji   wíʔli   k'aank'á-nne   bár̠e   k'as-oó-kk-o   wóni beéto
     Hadiyya.GEN mourning.GEN culture-LOC grave.ABS dig.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV elder boy.COP
     wóni beét-i̠   beeʔ-u-lási̠   ʔawwan-aán-tʃ-i̠   k'as-eéna
     elder boy-NOM be.absent.3SG.M-PV-CND follow-AGN-SG-NOM dig.3SG.M-PURP
     t'an-oó-kk-o   hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne lánd-i̠   bár̠e   k'as-eéna
     be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV Hadiyya.GEN culture-LOC girl-NOM grave.ABS dig.3SG.M-PUR
     t'an-oó-jjo   léh-u   man-tʃ-ína   goóʔn̠i̠   ʔoós-i̠   beeʔ-u-lási̠
     be.able.3SG.M-IPV-NEG die.3SG.M-PV man-SG-DAT male child-NOM be.absent.3SG.M-PV-CND

ʔabbísi̱   k'ar-mán-tʃ-i̱   barę̆   k'as-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
close   born-man-SG-NOM grave.ABS dig.3SG.M-PUR be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'According to Hadiyya's traditional mourning ceremony the one who start digging a grave should be the first born of the deceased. If the first born is not around, the second born can commence the ceremony by digging (poking) the ground once or twice with a spear. A girl cannot start the ceremony by poking the ground. If the deceased does not have a son, the brother of the deceased or a close relative can start the ceremony by poking the earth.'

(34) waámmi   barę̆   k'as-ímmi̱   beedd-u-kk-isámi̱   lasó-nne   seéʔli
      funeral.GEN grave.ABS dig-VN   be.finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TDC   after-TDC   cultre.GEN
      daann-úww-i̱   wíʔli   mínę̆   dabaʔl-am-aá   lasó-nne   seeri-m-i̱
      judge-PL-NOM   mourning.GEN house.ABS return-3PL-CNV   after-TDC   culture-too-NOM
      ʔarák'i̱   dunkaann-úwwą̆   kaas-aá   lasó-nne   wiʔl-oóm-i̱
      many   tent-PL.ABS   fierce.in.to.ground.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   mournig-DEF-NOM
      ʔiibb-u-kk-uúlla   waar-oó-kk-o
      be.hot.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'Once the grave is dug, the funeral society members return to the house and the tent should be erected in front of the house and the mourning goes on.'

(35) ka=léh-u mán-tʃi   nafári̱   haraári̱   ʔih-u-lási̱   nafará-nne   haraári̱
      this=die.3SG.M-PV-SG doorway   wide   be.3SG.M-PV-CND   doorway-LOC   wide
      ʔih-u-bee-lási̱   ʔabbisó-nne j-oó   haraári̱   dak'ajjé-nne   wíʔl-oomą̆
      be.SG.M-PV-NEG-CND   near-LOC   exist.3SG.M-IPV wide   field-LOC   mourning-DEF.ABS
      wiʔl-imm-ína   t'an-akk-(á)m-o
      mournig-VN-DAT be.able-3PL.IPV-ASM-TV

'The mourning ceremony could be held in front of the house if there is enough space. Otherwise, it will be held on the close by field.'

(36) ku=wíʔl-i̱   ʔiibb-óna   fugáʔi   ʔawwaád-i̱ lobakáta
      this=mourning-NOM be.hot.3SG.M-JUS fuga.GEN   role-NOM   much.COP

'The fugas, (potters) will play a big role on the attractiveness of the mourning ceremony.'

(37) wíʔli   bállą̆   fugáʔi   mallaájj-i̱   ʔiibb-ona-á   badd-ímmą̆
      mourning.GEN day.ABS   fuga.GEN   power-NOM   be.hot.3SG.M-JUS-CNJ fright-VN.ABS
      biʔ-is-ona-á   dára-nné-mi̱   ʔittʃa-á   ʔagga-á   ʔuww-akk-(á)m-o
      remove.3SG.M-CAUS-JUS-CNJ morning-TDC-too meal.ABS-CNJ drink.ABS-CNJ give-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
      lasó-nne   fugaʔ-oóm-i̱   nagaariitą̆   ʔapp'is-imm-ina-á   hig-imm-ina-á
      after-TDC   fuga-DEF-NOM   drum.ABS   hit-VN-DAT-CNJ   pass-VN-DAT-CNJ
      gud-am-oó-kk-o
      be.ready-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'On the funeral day, the fugas will be offered with the feast of food and Arake (Strong alcoholic drink) to help them dare enough. Then, they will be prepared for the rhythmic beating of a big drum which is called Negarit, and for ceremonial dance as well.'

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(38)   *fugaʔ-úww-oomi t'ig-oóm-į   nagaariítạ ʔapp'is-aán-tʃọ ʔed-aá   sáso teʔíme*
       fuga-PL-DEF.GEN count-DEF-NOM drum.ABS   hit-AGN-SG.ABS add.3SG.M-CNV three or
       soóro ʔih-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
       four   be.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

       'Their (the fugas) number might be three or four including the drum beater.'

(39)   *wíʔl-oom-į   ʔaʃeer-am-oó ʔammáne mánn-į hund-í-mį wiʔl-ína*
       mourning-DEF-NOM start-3PL-IPV time   man-EP-too all-EP-too mourning-DAT
       gud-ú-kkį   dak'ajjé-nne teʔíme biírá-nne heeʔ-ímmį
       be.ready.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL field-LOC   or   out.side-LOC exist-VN
       has-is-oó-kk-o   fugáʔ-į ʔodíme ʔuʃeett'-át-į beéʔi   duuhaʔ-í-nne
       need.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-ASM-TV fuga-NOM also   rest-ANM3-NOM be.absent manner-EP-MDC
       nagaariítạ ʔapp'is-oó-kk-o
       drum.ABS   hit.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

       'When the ceremony started, everyone shows up on the field. The fugas beat the drum consecutively.'

(40)   *ʔee=ʔammáne léh-u   mán-tʃi   meent-íttʃo   kaabbáʠ ʔeddeʔl-aá*
       that=time   die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.GEN woman-SG.NOM mantle.ABS wear.3SG.F-CNV
       nagaariítį ʔillagé-nne higg-(á)m-o   ʔísi   ʔaroʔ-oóm-į   moottʃó-mį
       drum.GEN front-LOC   pass.3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV 3SG.F.GEN husband-DEF-NOM wild.animal.ABS-too
       ʔih-ú-kk-o   mánnạ   ʃ-aa-kk-o-ʔ-áne   ʔih-ú-kkį-lásį
       be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV man.ABS kill.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV-EP-to.be be.3SG.F-PV-ASM-CND
       horooré-nne makka-nne-é k'edda-nne-é baalléʠ   sutt-aá
       head-LOC   right-LOC-CNJ left-LOC-CNJ feather.ABS insert.3SG.F-CNV
       gondiʔaal-íttʃi   ʔomáttʃọ ʔeddeʔl-aá   nagaariítạ higg-(á)m-o
       colored.babbon-SG.GEN skin.ABS wear.3SG..F-CNV drum.ABS   pass.3SG..F.IPV-ASM-TV
       bagad-i-í   boob-íttʃi   buud-i-í   ʔísi   gadanó-nne heeʔ-ímmį
       spear-NOM-CNJ buffalo-SG.GEN horn-SG-CNJ 3SG.F.GEN beside-LOC   exist-VN
       has-is-oó-kk-o
       need.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-ASM-TV

       'At this stage, the widow, wearing a gown, and circling the Negarit in rhythmic move. If her deceased husband had been a killer (hunter) she sticks long bird feather on either side of her hair and intensify her rhythmic move. She keeps a spear and horn of a buffalo at her side.'

(41)   *léh-u   mán-tʃi   lánd-į léh-u   mán-tʃi ʔeddéʔ-tʃa ʔamad-am-óna*
       die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.GEN girl-NOM die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.GEN wear-ANM4 catch-3PL-JUS
       ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
       make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

       'The daughter of the deceased holds on the clothes which belonged to her father.'

(42) mulli ʔabaroós-i̥   ka=leh-ú-kki̥   mán-tʃo̥
     other   family members-NOM   this=die3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG.ABS
     tiir-siis-oó   ʔannánn-i̥   ʔannánn-i̥   lúwwḁ hundá-mi̥ kobʔliʃ-ina
     remember.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV different-NOM different-NOM   thing.ABS all.ABS-too example-DAT
     ʔannánn-i̥   ʔeddé-ttʃḁ   fotóʔo̥   ʔagirḁ bagado-ó   faráʃi
     different-NOM wear-ANM4.ABS-CNJ photograph.ABS shield.ABS spear.ABS-CNJ horse.GEN
     teʔíme bak'úttʃi ʔedde-ttʃa-á   ʔamad-am-aá   nagaariíti ʔillagé-nne
     or   mule.GEN wear-ANM4.ABS-CNJ hold-3PL-CNV   drum.GEN   infront-LOC
     maalal-siis-oo-ʔ-ísa   nagaariítḁ   hig-am-oó-kk-o
     surprise.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-SIM   drum.ABS   pass-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

     'Family members also hold different items (his belongings) as a reminder of the deceased, such as,
     different clothing's, shield and spear, horse riding clothes, and move rhythmically around the Negarit
     (the drum).'

(43) ka=léh-u   man-tʃ-ína   k'ári̥ ʔih-ú-kki̥   múlli̥ meént-i̥   lamadó-nne
     this=die.3SG.M-PV man-SG-DAT   relative be.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   other   woman-NOM waist-LOC
     nat'álḁ   ladeʔ-am-aá   nat'áʔli   lami-mi̥ lúdó-mi̥ lamé-mi̥ ʔang-í-nne   ʔamad-am-aá
     garment.ABS wear-3PL-CNV garment.GEN   two-too edge-too two-too hand-EP- COM catch-3PL-CNV
     ʔillage-é lasage-é mar-am-u-kk-uúlla   nagaariítḁ   hig-am-oó-kk-o
     front-CNJ back-CNJ go-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   drum.ABS   pass-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

     'Other women relatives of the deceased, wrapping their shawl around the waist and grab the two end of
     the shawl up to their neck moving rhythmically to and fro.'

(44) goón-i̥ ʔodíme bagádo̥   teʔíme lud-i̥   mutur-aá-kk-o   k'eraáʔli̥
     male-NOM also   spear.ABS or   tip-NOM be.sharpen.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV long
     múgḁ   ʔamad-am-aá nagaariíti sagárḁ   ʔawwan-am-aá   hig-am-oó-kk-o
     stick.ABS hold-3PL-CNV drum.GEN   voice.ABS follow-3PL-CNV pass-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

     'Men, brandishing a spear or a stick sharp at the tip, move up and down harmonically with the beat of the
     drum (the negarity) and dance around it, in fast swiveling move.'

(45) nagaariítḁ   hig-ímmi̥ t'aléʔi ʔih-ooʔni̥   léh-u   mán-tʃo̥   bir-oó
     drum.ABS   pass-VN   only   be.3SG.M-NEG.CNV   die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.ABS glorify.3SG.M-IPV
     git'oʔ-úwwḁ   kur-am-tʃ-i̥   has-is-oo-ʔ-áne
     poems-PL.ABS   tell-PAS-ANM4-NOM need.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-EP-to.be

     'Everybody's movement is accompanied by poem which praises the deceased.'

(46) ʔolláʔi   mánn-i̥ ʔodíme lamádo̥   ʔamatt'-am-aá hoóle hoóle
     neighbor.GEN man-NOM also   waist.ABS catch-3PL-CNV gosh gosh
     doojj-ú-kk-o   j-am-u-kk-uúlla   nagaariíti ʔillagé-nne   mateejj-oom-í-nne
     pass.away.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   say-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   drum.GEN   front-LOC   single-ANM1-EP-COM
     kad-am-oó-kk-o
     dance-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

     'Other men of the surrounding also grab the waist of one another and sing *hoole hoole doyuko* meaning
     (oh!, gosh!, he gave up, passed away, dead).'

(47) wiʔl-oóm-i̧   kíde   ʔiibb-aá   heeʔ-u-kk-uullá-mi̧   seéʔli̧
     mourning-DEF-NOM   like.this   be.hot.3SG.M-PF   exist.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG-too   culture.GEN

     daann-úww-i̧   leéʃa̧   waámmi   beéjjo̧   mass-akk-(á)mi̧   ʔammán-i̧
     judge-PL-NOM   corpse.ABS   funeral.GEN   place.ABS   take-3HON.IPV-ASM   time-NOM

     ʔaf-u-kk-ísa   kur-am-oó   ʔammáne   míʔni   ʔabaroos-i-í
     reach.3SG.M-PV-SIM   tell.3SG.M-PAS-IPV   time   house.GEN   family.members-NOM-CNJ

     k'armann-i-í   hund-í-mi̧   lobakáta   laar-am-u-kk-uúlla   wiʔl-am-oó-kk-o
     relaive-NOM-CNJ   all-EP-too   much   scream-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   mourning-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'While the mourning ceremony goes on like this, the leaders of the funeral society announce that its time to take the corpse to the graveyard. At this time, the family of the deceased, relative, and friends give out a big cry and shout altogether.'

(48) waámmi̧   ʔammán-i̧   ʔaf-u-kk- ísa   laʔ-is-imm-ína   fugáʔ-i̧   nagaariíta̧
     funeral.GEN   time-NOM   reach.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   know-CAUS-VN-DAT   fuga-NOM   drum.ABS

     danaam-ísa   ʔapp'is-oó-kk-o
     good-SIM   hit.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'The fugas beat the drum loudly to indicate it is time to go to the funeral.'

(49) leeʃ-oóm-i̧   mann-í-nne   ʔadʒab-am-aá   waámmi   béjjo   ʔaf-oó
     corpse-DEF-NOM   man-EP- COM   accompany-3PL-CNV   funeral .GEN   place   reach.3SG.M-IPV

     ʔammáne   wiʔl-oóm-i̧   lobakáta   ʔiibb-oó-kk-o
     time   mourning-DEF-NOM   much   be.hot.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'Once the mourners arrived to the grave and start to lower the corpse, the shout and cry of the family get to its peak.'

(50) ʔee=ʔammáne   míʔni   ʔabaroos-iínse   tuudeʔ-oó-kk-o   leéʃa̧
     that=time   house.GEN   family.members-COMP   faint.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV   corpse.ABS

     ʔamad-aá   waámma̧   hoor-aá   haww-is-oó   keén-i̧
     catch.3SG.M-CNV   funeral.ABS   hinder.3SG.M-CNV   make.trouble.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV   those-NOM

     heeʔ-oó-kk-o
     exist.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'Some family members may lose their consciousness, and some would try to prevent the corpse to be lowered to the grave hole.'

(51) ku=hund-í-m-i̧   kíde   ʔih-aá   waámm-akk-aa   lasó-nne
     this=all-EP-too-NOM   like.this   be.3SG.M-CNV   bury-3PL-CNV   after-TDC

     kittʃeʔ-imm-iínse   bagaáni̧   wiʔl-ímm-i̧   hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   beeʔ-áne
     be.sad-VN-COMP   except   cry-VN-NOM   Hadiyya.GEN   culture-MDC   be.absent.3SG.M-to.be

'But, once the burial comes to an end, it is not usual to cry, but just mourn.'

(53) waámm-akk-aá   lasó-nne   ka=leh-ú-kki̧   mán-tʃi   wóni̧   beét-i̧   teʔíme
     bury-3PL-CNV   after-TDC   this=die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   elder   boy-NOM   or

     ʔabbísi̧   k'ar-mán-tʃi   waamm-ína   waar-ú-kki̧   mánna̧
     close   born-man-SG.GEN   funeral-DAT   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man.ABS

     hunda̧-mi   galatt'-oó-kk-o   galáti̧   sagarí-mi̧   waamm-i-takk-oó-kk-o   waámma̧
     all.ABS-too   thank.3SG.M- IPV-ASM-TV   thank.GEN   voice-too   bury-EP-2PL-PF-ASM-TV   funeral.ABS

hoogg-akk-ótte   *j-oo-ʔ-áne*
tire.of-3PL-NEG.COP   say.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be

'After the funeral, th e first born of the deceased or a close relative thank everyone who attended the funeral.The word of the gratitude is Cause of you attended the funeral, may you also never get short of attendees on your own.'

(54)   *ʔee=lasó-nne*   *wiʔlo̲*   *waár-ú-kki̲*   *kójj-i̲*   *hund-í-mi̲*
       that=after-TDC   mourning.ABS   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   guest-NOM   all-EP-too

       ku=léh-u   *mán-tʃi*   *míne̲*   *dabaʔl-aá*   *búna̲*   *ʔag-óna*
       this=die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN   house.ABS   return-CNV   coffee.ABS   drink.3SG.M-JUS

       t'aʔm-ímmi̲   *hadíjji*   *k'aank'á-nne*   *los-am-aá-kk-o-ʔ-áne*
       ask-VN   Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   get.used.to.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV-EP-to.be
       'Then, because of it is part of the tradition, the crowd (mourners) would be asked to go to the house of the deceased to be served on something to eat and drink.'

(55)   *hadíjji*   *k'aánk'-i̲*   *ʔíh-u*   *bikk-ína*   *wíʔlo*   *waár-u*   *mánn-i̲*
       Hadiyya.GEN   culture-NOM   be.3SG.M-PV   because-DAT   mourning.ABS   come.3SG.M-PV   man-NOM

       búna̲   *ʔag-oóʔne*   *ʔur-aá*   *mar-oó-jjo*
       coffee.ABS   drink.3SG.M-CNV.NEG   leave.3SG.M-CNV   go.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

       'The crow never return without getting served in the house of the deceased, because of it is a custom.'

(56)   *ka=wíʔlo̲*   *waár-u*   *kojj-ína*   *gud-is-akk-(á)mi̲*   *ʔittʃ-i-í*
       this=mourning.ABS   come.3SG.M-PV   guest-DAT   be.ready-CAUS-3HON-ASM.REL   meal-NOM-CNJ

       ʔagg-i-í   *léh-u*   *ma̲n-tʃi*   *heéʔ-tʃi*   *ʔamatt'-ísa*   *hintʃ'-oo-ʔ-áne*   *bun-iínse*
       drink-NOM-CNJ   die.3SG.M-PV   live-ANM$_4$.GEN   wealth-SIM   be.close.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be   coffee-ABL

       kiʔ-is-aá   *mirgoʔ-úwwa̲*   *dur-akk-a-ʔ-aá*   *geéddʒi̲*   *diggísa̲*   *ʔaf-eéna*
       start-CAUS-CNV   bull-PL.ABS   slaughter-3PL-IPV-EP-CNV   big   festive.ABS   reach.3SG.M-PURP

       t'an-oó-kk-o
       be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

       'The meal depends on economical status of the deceased. Starting from serving coffee, some would slaughter an ok for the service.'

(57)   *waa̲mm-i̲*   *beedd-ú-kk-o*   *j-akk-(á)m-o*   *wíʔlo̲*
       funeral-NOM   complete.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   say-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV   mourning.ABS

       waar-a̲m-u   *mánn-i̲*   *waamm-am-aá*   *lasó-nne*   *léh-u*   *mán-tʃi*
       come-3PL-PV   man-NOM   bury-3PL-CNV   after-TDC   die.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN

       míne̲   *dabaʔl-am-aá*   *búna̲*   *ʔag-am-aá*   *laso-nné-tte*
       house.ABS   return-3PL-CNV   coffee.ABS   drink-3PL-CNV   after-TDC-COP

       'After the mourners served at the house of the deceased, it marks the end of the mourning ceremony.'

(01) *hadíjji   heéttʃi k'aank'á-nne wotʃ'-amám-u   mánnạ moóllọ*
Hadiyya.GEN life.GEN culture-LOC   quarrel.3PL-RCP-PV man.ABS clan/community.ABS
teʔíme minaadábạ ʔitt-ans-akk-(á)mị   googg-úwwi bikk-íná-tte
or   people.ABS like-FRQ-3HON.IPV-ASM way-PL.GEN   about-DAT-COP
'In my today's spe ech, I will tell you the conflict resolution strategies of Hadiyya culture to make peace among conflicted individuals, clan or community.'

(02) *hadíjjị   wogá-nne   mátị mán-tʃ-ị   múllị man-tʃ-í-nne   teʔíme mátị*
Hadiyya.GEN regulation-ABL one man-SG-NOM other man-SG-EP-COM or   one
ʔabaroós-ị múllị ʔabaroos-í-nne mátị móll-ị   múllị moll-í-nne wotʃ'am-eéna
family-NOM other family-EP-LOC one clan-NOM other clan-EP-LOC be.in.conflict.3SG.M-PURP
t'an-oó-kk-o
be?able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'In Hadiyya, there might be a conflict between one individual to the other, one family to another family and one tribe with the other tribe.'

(03) *ʔárẹ   ʔaroʔ-í-nne   ʔánn-i   beet-í-nne ʔollakk-íttʃ-ị   ʔollakk-íttʃ-í-nne*
wife.NOM husband-EP-LOC father-NOM boy-EP-COM neighbor-SG-NOM neighbor-SG-COM
biʔam-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
be.in.conflict.3SG.M-PAS-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'There might be a conflict between a father and a son, neighbor with neighbor.'

(04) *wotʃ'-am-tʃ-ína   maʃkaʔi ʔih-eéna   t'an-oó-kkị   lúww-ị*
be.in.conflict.3SG.M-RFX-ANM4-DAT reason be.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL thing-NOM
lobakáta
many.COP
'There are so many factors in the tribe which triggers conflict.'

(05) *hadíjji seéʔli ʔoogatá-nne wotʃ'-ám-tʃị   maʃkaʔ-í-nne   waar-oó*
Hadiyya.GEN culture.GEN judgement-LOC be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4.GEN reason-EP- INST come.3SG.M-IPV
biʔiʃ-ị   ʔontị bejjo-nne k'ood-am-oó-kk-o
damage-NOM five   place-LOC categorize-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'According to Hadiyya conflict resolution method, the damages caused by conflict categorized in to five.'

(06) *lútt'ị wotʃ'-ám-tʃ-ị   tukuróʔo*
first be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-NOM tukuroʔo.COP
'The first type of conflict is called Tukuro'o.'

(07) *tukuróʔ-ị   hund-iinsé-mi hóffị wotʃ'-ám-tʃa*
tukuroʔo-NOM all-COMP-too little be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4.COP
'Tukuro'o is the simplest form of all conflicts.'

(08) *tukuróʔ-į̀*   *gameʔl-am-tʃ-iínse*   *teʔíme*   *duuʔm-am-tʃ-iínse*   *hig-oó-beéʔi*
tukuroʔo-NOM   insult-RFX-ANM4-COMP   or   curse-RFX-ANM4-COMP   pass.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
dʒor-ám-tʃa
 be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4.COP
'Tukuro'o is a type of conflict which does not go far beyond insulting (swearing) and cursing each other.'

(09) *laʔmé-kkį̀*   *fattʃ'óʔọ*   *j-akk-(a)mį̀*   *wotʃ'-ám-tʃa*
second-ASM   fattʃ'oʔo.ABS   say-3PL.IPV-ASM   be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4.COP
'The second type of conflict is called Facho'o.'

(10) *fattʃ'óʔ-į̀*   *dʒor-ám-tʃ-į̀*   *k'ootʼoʔó-nne tukuroʔ-iínse*   *lopp'-oó-kk-o*
fattʃ'oʔi -NOM   be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-NOM   level-LOC   tukuroʔo-COMP   be.high.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Facho'o is in the upper level than Tukuro'o.'

(11) *fattʃ'oʔó-nne*   *wotʃ'-am-ú-kkį̀*   *mánn-į̀*   *gameʔl-am-tʃ-iínse*   *hig-aá*
fattʃ'oʔo-LOC   be.in.conflict-3PL-PV-ASM.REL man-NOM   insult-RFX-ANM4-COMP   pass.3SG.M-CNV
badd-is-eéna   *tʼan-oó-kk-o*
fright-CAUS.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'In this type of conflict, people who involved in it could go farther to the point of harassment.'

(12) *tukuroʔ-i-í*   *fatʃ'oʔ-i-í*   *hadíjji*   *seerá-nne*   *suúʔmi*
tukuroʔ-NOM-CNJ fattʃ'oʔ-NOM-CNJ   Hadiyya.GEN   regulation-LOC   mouth.GEN
dʒan-am-tʃ-iínse   *bagaánį̀*   *ʔoróttʃọ*   *hawwod-am-oo-beéʔi*   *teʔíme*
conflict-RFX-ANM4-ABL   except   body.ABS   hurt-3PL-IPV-NEG   or
ʔapp'ittʼ-am-tʃi-beéʔi   *wotʃ'-ám-tʃ-úwwa*
hit-RFX-ANM4-NEG   conflict-RFX-ANM4-SG.COP

'This type of conflict, Tukoro'o does not go to physical charge (hurt), it is a type of fight which uses only verbal attack.'

(13) *ʔee=bikkína*   *lamí-mį̀*   *wotʃ'-am-tʃ-uww-í-m-į̀*   *ʔiit-ans-imm-ína*   *lobakáta*
that=about-DAT   two-too   be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-PL-EP-too-NOM   resolve-FRQ-VN-DAT   very.much
haw-is-oó-jjo
make.trouble.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-NEG
'Due to this reason, both conflicts are not very much hard for resolution.'

(14) *hadíjji*   *seer-ánne*   *sáttʼį̀ wotʃ'-ám-tʃ-į̀*   *gurgujjaátọ*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   third   be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-NOM   gurgujjaato.ABS
j-amam-oó-kk-o
say.3SG.M-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV
'The third type of conflict in Hadiyya is called Gurguyyaato.'

(15) *gurgujjaát-į̀*   *suúʔmi*   *dʒann-am-tʃ-iínse*   *hig-aá*   *ʔapp'ittʼ-ám-tʃ-į̀*
gurgujjaato-NOM   mouth.GEN   be.in.conflict.quarrel-RFX-ANM4-COMP   pass-CNV   hit-RFX-ANM4-NOM
heeʔ-eéna tʼan-oó-kkį̀ wotʃ'-ám-tʃa
exist.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4.COP
'Seldom, Gurguyato might cause mild physical hurt beyond verbal attack.'

(16) *ʔih-óna   bagaáni   hawwod-ám-tʃ-oom-i̧   lopp'-oóʔni   lóbi̧   mánn-i̧*
be.3SG.M-JUS nevertheless   hurt-RFX-ANM4-DEF-NOM   exceed-CNV.NEG   old   man-NOM
sigg-is-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
be.cool. 3SG.M-CAUS-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Nevertheless, the conflict could be controlled and calmed down by by the elders before it caused much damage and destruction.'

(17) *gurgujj-aátó-nne   wotʃ'am-oó-kki̧   lobakáti̧   mánn-i̧*
be.in.conflict-ANM3.TV-LOC   be.in.cnflict.3PL-IPV-ASM.REL   many   man-NOM
ʔih-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
be.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'The number of people involved in this type conflict could be a large number.'

(18) *soóʔli̧   wotʃ'-ám-tʃ-i̧   tambakása   teʔíme   dambák'a   j-akk-(a)m-áne*
forth   be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-NOM   tambakasa   or   dambak'a   say-3PL.IPV-ASM-to.be
'The fourth type of conflict is called Tembekesa or Dembeka.'

(19) *tambakás-i̧   lámi̧   moolló-nne   teʔíme   giittʃó-nne   kiʔ-eéna   t'an-oó*
tambakasa-NOM   two   clan-LOC   or   community-LOC   arise.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV
dʒor-ám-tʃa
be.in.cinflict-RFX-ANM4.COP
'This type of conflict is not a type of conflict between individuals like Gurguyato. Rather, it is a conflict between two clans.'

(20) *dʒor-am-tʃ-oóm-i̧   lobakáti   mánna̧   hawwod-eéna   t'an-oo-ʔ-áne*
be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-DEF-NOM   many   people.ABS   hurt.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be
'This conflict hurts a lot of people.'

(21) *tambakás-i̧   dúti̧   hantaar-aán-tʃi   muúta̧   ʔawwatt'-imm-í-nne*
tambakas-NOM   many   hurt-AGN-ANM4   instrument   use-ANM4-EP-INST
'This conflict weapons with larger extent of destruction could be used.'
lamí-mi̧   giittʃ-iinsé-mi̧   dúti̧   mánna̧   hawwod-eéna   t'an-oó
two-too   community-COMP-too   many   man.ABS   hurt.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV
wotʃ'-ám-tʃa
be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4.COP
'Due to the reason that any harmful and destructive Weapon is used in this conflict, many more warriors get hurt from both sides.'

(22) *ʔónti̧   bejjó-nne   j-oó   wotʃ'-ám-tʃ-i̧   ʔóra̧   j-akk-(a)m-áne*
five   place-LOC   be.present.3SG.M-IPV   be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-NOM   ʔora.ABS   say-3PL.IPV-ASM-to.be
ʔór-i̧   hund-iínse-mi   lobakáta   badd-is-oo-ʔ-áne
ʔora-NOM   all-COMP-too   very.much   fright.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-EP-to.be
'At the fifth stage comes, the conflict which is the most fatal and bloodiest, harmful and horrific, which is called Ora.'

(23) *ʔór-i̧   teʔíme   ʔor-ám-tʃ-i̧   hadíjji   minaadáb-i̧   múlli̧   minaadab-í-nne*
war-NOM   or   fight-RFX-ANM4-NOM   Hadiyya.GEN   people-NOM   other   people-EP-COM
wotʃ'-am-oó   ʔammáne   k'oottʃ'-am-oó   k'as- ám-tʃa
be.in.conflict-3PL-IPV   time   create.3SG.M-PAS-IPV   fight-RFX-ANM4.COP
'Ora or Orencha is a war which involves the Hadiyya tribe and another tribe.'

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(24) *mátị̌ ʔuúlli minaadáb-ị̌ múllị̌ ʔuúllị̌ minaadab-í-nne k'as-am-oó ʔammáne*
one country.GEN people-NOM other country people-EP-COM fight-3PL-IPV time

ʔor-ám-tʃi muút-ị̌ hundá-mị̌ ʔawwaadó-nne hos-oó bikk-ína
fight-RFX-ANM4.GEN instrument-NOM all.ABS-too use-LOC be.3SG.M-IPV about-DAT

ku=ʔor-ám-tʃ-ị̌ lobakátị̌ fóŗę biʔ-is-oo-ʔ-áne
this=fight-RFX-ANM4-NOM many life.ABS hurt.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-EP-to.be

'In this war, because of both tribes use any highly destructive weapon, it turned out to be a war with so many casualties.'

(25) *híg-u doollé-nne hadíjji minaadáb-ị̌ múllị̌ minaadab-í-nne*
pass.3SG.M-PV time-LOC Hadiyya.GEN people-NOM other people-EP-COM

k'as-amam-aá-kk-o ʔee=keen-iinsé-mị̌ ʔamar-í-nne guraage-ʔí-nne wolaam-í-nne
fight.3SG.M-RCP-PF-ASM-TV those=3PL-COMP-too Amhara-EP-LOC Guraage-EP-LOC Wolaayitta -EP-LOC

kambaat-í-nne k'as-amam-aá-kk-o
Kambaata-EP-LOC fight.3SG.M-RCP-PF-ASM-TV

'In the past time, the Hadiyya people have fought with other tribes such as Amhara, Gurage, Wolayitta and Kambaata.'

(26) *hadíjji seerá-nne wotʃ'am-ú-kkị̌ mánnǫ ʔiit-ans-akk-(á)mị̌ duuháʔ-i*
Hadiyya.GEN regulation-LOC be.in.conflict.3PL-PV-ASM man.ABS like-FRQ-3PL.IPV-ASM system -NOM

teʔíme biiʔís-u mán-tʃǫ biíʔs-u moóllǫ sog-akk-(á)mị̌
or make.mistake.3SG.M-PV man-SG make.mistake.3SG.M-PV clan.ABS advise-3HON.IPV-ASM

duuháʔ-ị̌ j-oo-ʔ-áne sog-i-tánǫ ʔuww-akk-(á)mị̌
system-NOM be.present.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be advise-EP-ANM2.ABS give-3PL.IPV-ASM

duuhaʔ-ím-ị̌ biiʔíʃi k'oot'oʔí-nne ʔannánnị̌ ʔannánnị̌ ʔih-aa-kk-o-ʔ-áne
system-too-NOM mistake.GEN level- INST different diferent be.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV-EP-to.be

'In Hadiyya tribe, to make peace and friendliness between the conflicted, (fought) individuals and tribes, there are many ways of advising, consulting and bring the conflict to end.'

(27) *seéʔli daann-úww-ị̌ keeʔm-aállị̌ dʒor-ám-tʃǫ hoff-aan-iínse ʔannánnị̌*
culture.GEN judge-PL-NOM heavy-ADJZ bad-RFX-ANM4.ABS little-to.be-COMP different

ʔiss-akk-aá-tte ʔoogátǫ ʔuww-oó-kk-o kobiʔliʃ-ína mán-tʃ-ị̌ foóŗę
make-3PL-CNV-COP judgement.ABS give.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV example-DAT man-SG-NOM soul.ABS

ʃ-ú-kkị̌ man-tʃ-ina-á mínę ʃokk-iis-ú-kkị̌
kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-DAT-CNJ house.ABS burn.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM.REL

man-tʃ-ina-á lándǫ gos-ú-kkị̌ man-tʃ-ina-á teʔime gaméʔ-u
man-SG-DAT-CNJ girl.ABS abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-DAT-CNJ or insult.3SG.M-PV

man-tʃ-ina-á teʔíme gabálǫ hig-aá hark'oót-u man-tʃ-ina-á
man-SG-DAT-CNJ or boundry.ABS pass.3SG.M-CNV plough.3SG.M-PV man-SG-DAT

ʔuww-akk-(á)mị̌ ʔoogát-i mátị̌ ʔih-eéna t'an-oó-jjo
give-3HON.IPV-ASM judgment-NOM one be.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

'The advice or the appropriate punishment is to be given according to the destruction. So, according to this, the local elders and traditional judges differentiate between serious destruction and the mild one, and give advice or punishment according to the damage. For instance, a punishment to be given for theft, trespass and plough the farmland, for abduction of a girl, for murder, could not be the same.'

(28) *hadíjji   seerá-nne   wotʃ'am-ú-kki̧   mánn-i̧   wóʃʃa̧   mooʔ-aá*
Hadiyya.GEN   regulation-LOC   be.in.conflict.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-NOM   affair.ABS   see-CNV

ʔoogáta̧   ʔuww-oó   daánn-i̧   j-oó-kk-o
judgement.ABS   give.3SG.M-IPV   judge-NOM   be.present.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

wotʃ'-am-tʃ-oom-i̧   keeʔm-aálli̧   ʔih-u-bee-lasi̧   daann-i̧
be.in.conflict-RFX-ANM4-DEF-NOM   be.heavy-ADJZ   be.3SG.M-PV-NEG-CND   judge-NOM

has-is-oó-jjo   woʃʃ-oóm-i̧   ʔolláʔi   lóbi   manná-nne   mooʔ-am-eéna
need.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-NEG   affair-DEF-NOM   neighbor.GEN   great   man-LOC   see.3SG.M-PAS-PURP

t'an-oó-kk-o
be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'In Hadiyya traditional culture, there are judges to investigate the matter on fought individuals or groups and pass a judgment. The investigation of such judges is not necessary if the case is not serous. It can be inspected by local elders.'

(29) *lóbi̧   manná-mi̧   ʔih-ú-u-kk-o   daánn-i̧   ʔoogáta̧   ʔuww-oó   béjj-i̧   háfa̧*
great   man-too   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   judge-NOM   judge.ABS   give.3SG.M-IPV   place-NOM   shade.ABS

j-amam-oó-kk-o   háfa̧   j-amam-ú-kki̧   maʃkaʔ-oómi-m
say.3SG.M-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV   shade.ABS   say.3SG.M-RFX-PV-ASM   reason-DEF-too

dumm-íttʃ-oóm-i̧   geeddʒi̧   hakk'-íttʃi̧   lugumó-nne   dumm-am-oó   bikk-iná-tte
meet-EP-ANM4-DEF-NOM   big   tree-SG.GEN   under-LOC   meet-3PL-IPV   about-DAT-COP

'A place where the hearing is take place called Hafa. Hafa (under the shade of a tree) is named because of the chamber of the court is held under a very huge tree, which is kept only for this purpose.'

(30) *haf-oom-ína   ʔawwaad-oó   geeddʒ-i̧   hakk'-ittʃi̧   lobakáta   lomb-aámi̧   ʔíh-u*
shade-DEF-DAT   use.3SG.M-IPV   big   tree-SG   much   grace-ADJZ   be.3SG.M-PV

bikk-ína   doolli-í   doollé-nne   mur-am-oó-jjo
about-DAT   time-CNJ   time-TDC   cut.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-NEG

'The huge tree (the shade) which is used for only this purpose is very much respected in the tribe. So, it remains uncut down from ages to ages.'

(31) *wóʃʃ-oóma̧   ʔamad-ú-kki̧   lóbi   mann-i-í   daan-i-í*
affair-DEF.ABS   catch.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   great   man-NOM-CNJ   judge-NOM-CNJ

wotʃ'am-u-kki̧   manna̧   ka=hafa-nne   weeʃ-am-aá   laso-nne   lobi̧
be.in.conflict.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man.ABS   this=shade-LOC   call-3PL-CNV   after-TDC   great

mann-i̧   t'aʔm-am-oó   luwwi̧a̧   hundá-mi̧   k'opp'ano̧   wotʃ'-am-oó-beeʔ-ísa   hank'a̧
man-NOM   ask-3PL-IPV   thing   all.ABS-too   false.ABS   talk-3PL-IPV-NEG-MDC   truth.ABS

t'aleʔe   wotʃ'-am-oó-ʔ-isa   ʔannoʔi   ʔannanoʔi   ʔajjaana-nne   waaʔi
only   be.in.conflict-3PL-IPV-EP-SIM   father.GEN   grandfather.GEN   spirit-LOC   god.GEN

summ-i-nne   hid-iis-akk-(á)m-o
name-EP-INST   make.oath-CAUS-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV

'The traditional judges and elders, who held the hearing would summon the people who have conflict between them under the shade of this tree and these elders and traditional judges would make sure that the persons will tell only the truth, never tell any lie. They would make an oath by swearing the fathers and in the name of ancestors and their spirit.'

(32) *hidiíʔli   wotʃ'-uww-iínse   kann-iínse   woroóne   j-oo-kkị̣   keenị̣   matimáto*
sworn.GEN   statement-PL-ABL   this-ABL   below   exist.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL   those.NOM   one.one.COP

k'opp'an-u-mm-lasị̣   kiʔnúwwi   ʔíll-i   ʔeésẹ̣   k'ás-e   kiʔnúwwi   ʔajjaán-ị̣
lie.1SG-PV-ASM-CND   2PL.GEN   eye-NOM   1SG.ABS   pierce-IMP.SG   2PL.GEN   spirit-NOM

ʔeésẹ̣   biiʔís-e   ʔill-i-í   mattʃ'-i-i-beeʔị̣   k'áttʃ ọ   ʔúww-e
1SG.ABS   destroy-IMP.SG   eye-NOM-CNJ   ear-NOM-CNJ-NEG   child.ABS   give-IMP.SG

'Some of the phrases in the sworn statement are as follows:
'If I tell a lie, may your eyes pierce me, 'may your spirit destroy me, 'may I begot a mute and deaf

(33) *hadíjji   minaadáb-ị̣   hidírọ   lobakáta   badd-oó-kkị̣   bikk-ína*
Hadiyya.GEN   people-NOM   oath.ABS   much   fright.3SG.M-IPV-ASM   about-DAT

ka=dumm-íttʃá-nne   k'opp'an-oó   mán-tʃ-ị̣   heeʔ-oó-jjo
this=meet-EP-ANM4.TV-LOC   lie.3SG.M-IPV   man-SG-NOM   be.present.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

ʔookk-í-m-ị̣   lóbị̣   mánn-ị̣   hafá-nne   ʔafuur-aá   biiʔ-ís-u
that-EP-too-NOM   great   man.NOM   shade-LOC   sit.3PL-CNV   make.mistake.3SG.M-CAUS-PV

mán-tʃọ   ʔaaloʔ-ísa   laʔ-aá   lasó-nne   hánk'ị̣   ʔoogátạ   ʔuww-óna
man-SG.ABS   good-SIM   know.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   true   judgement.ABS   give.3SG.M-JUS

haraʔm-oó-kk-o
help.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'The Hadiyya people are very much afraid of this oath. So, no one dares to tell a lie in this chamber.
These enable the elders and traditional judges to pick easily who is a wrong doer and it enable them to
give the right verdict.'

(34) *wotʃ'ám-u   mánn-ị̣   t'aléʔị̣   ʔih-oóʔnị̣   ʔájjị̣   man-tʃ-í-m-ị̣   wóʃʃạ*
be.in.conflict-PV   man-NOM   only   be.3SG.M-NEG.CNV   who   man-SG-EP-too-NOM   affair.ABS

laʔ-aá   maat'-u-lásị̣   dʒórị̣   lúwwạ   bat'-am-u-kk-uúlla   siid-aá
know-CNV   hide.3SG.M-PV-CND   bad   thing.ABS   work.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-PRG   find.3SG.M-CNV

kur-u-bee-lásị̣   ku=hidír-ị̣   ʔaf-oo-ʔ-áne   ʔih-u-kk-ísa   hadíjji
tell.3SG.M-PV-NEG-CND   this=oath-NOM   reach-IPV-EP-to.be   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-MDC   Hadiyya.GEN

minaadáb-ị̣   ʔaʔman-oo-ʔ-áne
people-NOM   believe.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be

'Not only the people who are involved in the conflict (the enemies) but also if ever any other person who
knows about the matter keep it in secret (hold back information), knowing that something wrong has
done and concealing it, they believe (in the tribe) that this curse (oath) will fall upon them.'

(35) *ʔájjị̣   man-tʃ-i-m-ị̣   wóʃʃạ   laʔ-aá   maat'-oó-beeʔ-ísa*
who-NOM   man-SG-EP-too-NOM   affair.ABS   know.3SG.M-CNV   hide.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-MDC

ka=dumm-íttʃá-nne   siid-ám-u   mann-ína   hund-iná-mị̣   kánni
this=meet-EP-ANM4.TV-LOC   find-3PL-PV   man-DAT   all-DAT-too   from.here

woró-nne   j-oó   hidír-ị̣   hintʃ'-oó-kk-o
in-LOC   be.present.3SG.M-IPV   sworn-NOM   deliver.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

ku=saam-i-í   ku=haww-i-í   ʔi   ʃuumoʔó-nne
this=bad.luck-NOM-CNJ   this=trouble-NOM-CNJ   1SG.GEN   family-LOC

ʔaf-óna   mooʔ-aá   maat'-aá-mm-o-ʔaá-re   ʔi   ʔíll-ị̣
reach.3SG.M-JUS   see.3SG.M-CNV   hide.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV-CNV-CND   1SG.GEN   eye-NOM

bíʔ-e   mattʃ'ees-aá-mm-o-ʔaá-re   ʔi   máttʃ'-ị̣   bíʔ-e
disappear-IMP.SG   hear.1SG.M-PF-ASM-TV-CNV-CND   1SG.GEN   ear-NOM   disappear-IMP.SG

'Based on this, the following message (sworn statement) will be delivered to each and everyone who

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attended this assembly. If ever I hideaway (conceal) what I have seen, may this curse (trouble) fall upon my family, If I saw it (the matter) and I am concealing it, may my eyes go blind, If ever I heard the information and I am holding it back, may my ears turn to deaf.'

(36) ka=hidiṛǫ   badd-oó   bikk-ína   ʔajjị̇   mán-tʃ-ị̇   siid-u   luwwạ
     this=oath.ABS   fright.3SG.M-IPV   about-DAT   who   man-SG-NOM   find.3SG.M-PV   thing.ABS
     teʔime   láʔ-u   luwwạ   lobị̇   man-ína   kur-oó-kk-o   bagaanị̇   horem
     or   know.3SG.M-PV   thing.ABS   great   man-DAT   tell.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV   except   never
     maat'-oó-jjo   lobị̇   mann-ị̇-m-ị̇   wotʃ'-oomạ   k'akk'iso-mị̇   laʔ-eéna
     hide.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   great   man-EP-too-NOM   affair-DEF.ABS   be.fast-too   know.3SG.M-PURP
     t'an-oó-kk-o
     be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'Because of this Sworn statement is very much feared, whoever who has seen or knows something will tell what he knows, the bare truth to the elders. No one ever tries to conceal it, This help the elders to deal with the matter and find out every thing without much effort.'

(37) hadíjji   lóbị̇   mánn-ị̇   biiʔ-iis-u   mann-ína   ʔuww-oó
     Hadiyya.GEN   great   man-NOM   make.mistake.3SG.M-CAUS-PV   man-DAT   give.3SG.M-IPV
     ʔoogat-iínse   mátị̇   ʔuss-iis-ímma   j-akk-(a)m-áne
     judge-COMP   one   leave-CAUS-VRN.COP   say-3PL.IPV-ASM-to.be
     'One of the punishments (penalties) which are to be imposed by the Hadiyya elders on the guilty one is known as ussissimma. The meaning of ussissimma is, to have someone beg for apology.'

(38) láʔmị̇   guzumóʔǫ   mik'-óna   ʔiss-ímma   biiʔ-iís-u
     second   payment.ABS   pay.3SG.M-JUS   make-VRN.COP   make.mistake.3SG.M-CAUS-PV
     man-tʃ-oóm-ị̇   guzumoʔ-oóm-ína   marábǫ   teʔíme   dur-am-oó   diinátẹ
     man-SG-DEF-NOM   payment-DEF-DAT   honey.ABS   or   slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-IPV   cattle.ABS
     hintʃ'aaʔ-eéna   t'an-oó-kk-o
     provide.3SG.M-PURP   be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
     'The second type of punishment is known as Guzumo'o, which practices a compensation (penalty) fee.'

(39) sátt'ị̇   ʔoogát-ị̇   jaajj-ímmạ   j-akk-(a)m-áne   jaajj-ímmạ   j-imm-ị̇
     third   gudgement-NOM   persecute-VRN.ABS   say-3PL.IPV-ASM-to.be   yaayy-VRNABS   say-VRN-NOM
     biiʔis-u   mán-tʃ-ị̇   bat'-u   biiʔiʃʃạ   ʔaʔmann-u-beeʔ-lasị̇
     make.mistake.3SG.M-PV   man-SG-NOM   work.3SG.M-PV   mistake.ABS   believe.3SG.M-PV-NEG-CND
     ʔitt'ị̇   ʔollaʔ-i-nne   ʔedam-oó-beeʔ-ísa   ʔiss-imma   j-imma
     3SG.M.GEN   neighbor-COM   meet.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-SIM   make-VN   say-VRN.COP
     ''The third type is called Yayyimma. Yayyimma means, to segregate or persecute the guilty individual from meeting his neighbors, until he admitted that he has done wrong.'

(40) hadíjji   seera-nne   wotʃ'am-u   mannạ   lóbị̇   mann-ị̇
     Hadiyya.GEN   regulation-LOC   be.in.conflict-PV   man.ABS   great   man-NOM
     ʔiitt-ans-aá   lasó-nne   ʔajj-i-m-ị̇   baadǫ   ʔamad-oó-jjo   kobiʔliʃ-ína
     like-FRQ-CNV   after-TDC   who-EP-too-NOM   revenge.ABS   catch.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   example-DAT
     mán-tʃ-ị̇   foórẹ   biiʔis-u   mán-tʃị̇   moólli   léh-u
     man-SG-NOM   soul.ABS   make.mistake.3SG.M-PV   man-SG.GEN   community.GEN   die.3SG.M-PV
     man-tʃị̇   moolli-nne   ʔaaloʔ-ísa   ʔiitt-am-óna   gomeʔẹ   fiss-eéna
     man-SG.GEN   community-COM   good-SIM   like-3PL.JUS   grudge.ABS   come.out.3SG.M-PURP
     baʃilị̇   luwwạ   bat'-oó-kk-o
     a.lot.of   thing.ABS   work.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'In Hadiyya tradition, once the elders made peace between the two enemies, no one hold a grudge against the other. For instance, the family of the one who committed murder has expected to do lots of things to make a genuine peace with the slain person's family or clan.'

(41) gaass-aá   forȩ   ʃ-u-kkį   mán-tʃ-į   heemattʃį geree-ttʃǫ   teʔime
     preced-CNV life.ABS kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM black   sheep-SG.ABS or
     heemattʃį fella-kkittʃǫ ʔeeb-ona   ʔidʒaadʒ-akk-(á)m-o
     black   goat-SG.ABS   bring.3SG.M-JUS order-3PL.IPV-ASM-TV
     'First, the killer would be ordered to submit or deliver a black sheep or a black goat.'

(42) ʔee=lasó-nne horoórȩ hogoos-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
     that=after-TDC head.ABS shave.3SG.M-JUS make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
     'Then, the killer will be shaved his hair.'

(43) ʔeeb-ú-kkį   fellakk-íttʃǫ teʔime gereé-ttʃǫ   horoórȩ
     bring.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   goat-SG.ABS   or   sheep-SG.ABS head.ABS
     gunguuʔl-u-kk-isámį   baállį gabó-nne dur-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
     veil.3SG.M-CNV-ASM-TDC   cliff edge-LOC slaughter.3SG.M-JUS make-3PL.IPV-ASM-TV

     'Veiling himself, he will slaughter the sheep or the goat which he has brought with him at the edge of the cliff or a river.'

(44) ka=dur-am-ú-kkį   gereéttʃį maárȩ ʔajji-mį ʔit-oó-jjo
     this=slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL sheep.GEN meat.ABS who-too eat.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
     'No one is going to eat the meat of this sheep.'

(45) ʃ-ú-kkį   mán-tʃį   moóll-i-i   leh-u   mán-tʃį   moóll-i-i
     kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG.GEN family-NOM-CNJ die.3SG.M-PV man-SG.GEN family-NOM-CNJ
     matejj-oom-i-nne-mį   hiimo-nne tunso-nne gunguʔl-am-aá   daáddʒe
     be.together-ANM₂-EP-LOC-too night-TDC dark-LOC cover-3PL-CNV   river
     ʃir-am-aá   dabaʔl-am-aá waar-am-oó-kk-o
     cross-3PL-CNV   return-3PL-CNV come-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
     'The family of the one, who committed murder, will cross the river in darkness by wrapping a cloth all over their body and return back to home.'

(46) dabʔl-am-u-kk-uulla-mį   marabǫ   kiif-am-u-kk-uulla   dʒór-į   láso dabáʔl-e
     return-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG-too   honey.ABS sprinkle-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG bad-NOM back return-JUS
     ʔiítt-į   ni   míne ʔaág-e   j-amam-u-kk-uúlla   míne dabaʔl-am-oó-kk-o
     love-NOM 1PL.GEN house enter-IMP.SG   say.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-PRG   house return-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
     'While they are walking back and sprinkling honey walking they say Go back, go away bad omen, oh love get in our homes.'

(47) ʔee=lasó-nne gunguuʔl-am-u-kk-isámį   míne ʔaag-am-oó-kk-o
     that=after-TDC cover-3PL-PV-ASM-TDC   house enter-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
     'Then, they will enter the house while they are wrapped up in clothes.'

(48) ʃ-ú-kkį   mán-tʃ-į   k'adaállį baárȩ hintʃ'aaʔ-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)m-o
     kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM white   ox.ABS provide.3SG.M-JUS make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
     'After this, the killer brings forward a white ox.'

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(49) *hintʃ'-aá   lasó-nne   lamé-mị   moollo-nné-mị   baad-i-í   gomeʔ-i-í*
provide-CNV   after-TDC   two-too   clan-LOC-too   revenge-NOM-CNJ   grudge-NOM-CNJ
heeʔ-oóne   j-aá   maasseʔ-aá   baar-oómạ dur-oó-kk-o
be.present.3SG.M-IPV.NEG   say.3SG.M-CNV bless.3SG.M-CNV ox-DEF.ABS slaughter.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'One of the elders slaughter the ox after reminding them there will be no grudge and vengeance between these two parties against one anther.'

(50) *ʔee=lasó-nne lamé-mị moll- ị-m-ị   gunguuʔl-am-ú-kkị   lúwwạ   diss-am-oó-kk-o*
that=after-TDC   both-too   clan-too-NOM   cover-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   thing.ABS   put-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
teʔime   hooʔl-am-oó-kk-o
 or   take.off-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'At this stage, both clans take off the clothes [from their head].'

(51) *ʔuul-ị   sood-aá   laso-nne   ʔodíme k'daállị   geree-ttʃ-ị*
earth-NOM   be.dawn.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   again   white   sheep-SG-NOM
dur-am-oó-kk-o   marabí-mị   hintʃ'-oó-kk-o   lami-mị   mooll-i-m-ị
slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV   honey-too   provide.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV two-too   clan-EP-too-NOM
mak'ire   ʔitt-(á)m-o   mak'ire   ʔag-(á)m-o
together   eat.3PL.IPV-ASM-TV   together   drink.3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
'On the third day, again the killer will forward (deliver) a white lamb and it will be slaughtered. Honey also offered. Then both families start having the meal and drinking and feasting together.'

(52) *ʔee=laso-nne   ʔajj-i-m-ị   baadọ   saw-oó-jjo   baadọ*
that=after-TDC   who-EP-too-NOM revenge.ABS   recall.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   revenge.ABS
saw-u-lasị   ʔitt'i   moll-ína   keeʔm-allị   duum-tʃa-a   hawwo-o
recall.3SG.M-PV-CND 3SG.M.GEN   clan-DAT   heavy-ADJZ   curse-ANM4.ABS-CNJ   problem.ABS-CNJ
ʔeeb-oó   bikk-ína   ʔajj-i-m-ị   dʒorị   luwwạ   saww-oó-jjo
bring.3SG.M-IPV   about-DAT   who-EP-too-NOM   bad   thing.ABS   rethink.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'Since that moment, no one is going contemplate and think about vengeance. If he did so, it is believed in the tribe, he is about to bring a vicious curse and hardship upon himself and the clan. So, no one will have evil thoughts.'

(01) Q: *hadíjj-į̇   k'aánk'i   Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   Ɂogoll-úww-į̇   meéɁo*
Hadiyya-NOM   culture.GEN   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way-PL-NOM   how.many
'How many marriage types are there in Hadiyya culture?'

(02) A: *hadíjj-į̇   k'aank'á-nne   Ɂontį̇ Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   Ɂogoll-úww-į̇*
Hadiyya-NOM   culture-LOC   five   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way-PL-NOM
j-oó-kk-o
exist.SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'There are five marriage types in Hadiyya culture.'

(03) A: *Ɂoo=keeni-mį̇   heer- ám-tʃa   gosano   lago   Ɂilligana-á ladiíʃʃa*
these=types-too   marry.willingly-RFX-ANM4   gosano   lago-CNJ   illigana-CNJ   ladiisha
j-amam-oo-kk-o
say-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV
'These are named *Heerancha, Gosano, Lago, Illigana* and *Ladiisha.*'

(04) Q: *ka=keeɁni   Ɂannann-aátǫ   kur-t-eéna   t'an-t-oó*
this=types.GEN   differ-ANM3.ABS   tell-2SG-PURP   be.able-2SG-IPV.QU
'Can you tell me the differences between these?'

(05) A: *Ɂeéjja kur-eéna   t'an-oó-mm-o*
yes   tel.1SG-PURP   be.able.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'Sure, I can tell.'

(06) Q: *hunkóɁo Ɂannann-íttʃo-mį̇ ɁaaloɁ-ísa tʃ'aakk-iss-aá   kúr-e   gaass-i-t-aá   gos-ánį̇*
let   each-SG-too   good-SIM   clear-CAUS-CNV   tell-IMP   preced-EP-2SG-CNV   abduct-ANM2
hinkididoɁi   Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   googdaɁę̇ kúr-e
what.type   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way.ABS   tell-IMP
'Ok, Just tell me in detail about them. First, tell me what type of marriage Gosano is.'

(07) A: *gos-ánǫ   j-ímm-į̇   land-íttʃǫ   Ɂitt-i-t-oo-Ɂné-mį̇   malaajj-í-nne*
abduct-ANM.ABS   say-VN-NOM   girl-SG.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F-IPV-without-too   force-EP- INST
mass-ímmǫ   j-ímma
take-VN.ABS   say-ANM4.COP
'Gosano (abduction) is to take away the girl out of her free will and forcefully.'

(08) Q: *ku=land-íttʃo   ka= Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃǫ   sabb-o-Ɂ-aá-re   mahǫ̇*
 this=girl-SG   this=bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS   refuse.3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND   what.ABS
Ɂiss-akk-(á)m-o
make-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
'What if the girl refuses such type of marriage?'

(09) A: *gos-ánǫ*   *ʔiitt-oó*   *lánd-į*   *beéʔe*   *maʃkaʔ-oomí-mi*   *gos-án-į*
       abduct-ANM2.ABS   like.3PL-IPV   girl-NOM   be.absent   reason-DEF-too   abduct-ANM2-NOM
       land-íttʃo   *ʔitt-i-t-oo-ʔné-mį*   *malaajj-í-nne*   *mass-akk-(á)mį*   *ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃą*
       girl-SG   like-EP-3SG.F-IPV-NEG-too force-EP- INST   take-3HON.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS
       sabb-o-ʔ-aá-ré-mį   *ʔappʔis-akk-o-ʔ-uúlla*   *taakkeʔ-ímmą*   *sabb-o-ʔ-aá-ré-mi*
       refuse.3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND-too   bit-3PL-PV-EP-PRG   walk-VN.ABS   refuse.3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND-too
       gosaas-akk-o-ʔ-uúlla *teʔíme* *ʔijj-akk-a-ʔ-aá*   *ʔísi*   *k'ármann-į*
       pull-3PL-PV-EP-PRG   or   carry-3PL-IPV-EP-CNV   3SG.F.GEN   relative-NOM
       ʔaf-oo-beéʔ i   *k'eeʔlį* *bejjó-nne*   *maat'-akk-a-ʔ-aá*   *meent-ittʃ ó-tte*
       reach.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   far   place-LOC   hide-3PL-IPV-EP-CNV   woman-SG-COP
       ʔiss-akk-(á)mį   *goógo*
       make-3HON.IPV-ASM   way.COP

       'There is no girl in her right mind, who wants Gosano (abduction). Because of it is not a type of marriage
       to be happened out of the girl's fee will. Even if she refuse and if she says no, she will be beaten and if
       she is not willing to walk away with them, she will be dragged on the ground or she will be carried on
       their shoulder and she will be taken away to a place which is far away from her relative's. It is a
       sort of a hideout place.'

(10) Q: *land-ittʃ-oómą*   *malaajj-i-nne*   *gos-oó-kk-o*   *ʔísi*   *ʔaróʔi*   *t'aleʔé-nnihe*
       girl-SG-DEF.ABS   force-EP-LOC   abduct.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV   3SG.F.GEN   husband   only-QU

       'Is the husband to be going to be the only person to take the girl forcefully? Is he just by himself?'

(11) A: *ʔisi*   *ʔaróʔ-į*   *t'aleʔé-jjo* *ʔaroʔ-oóm-į*   *ʔittʔi*   *beʃʃ-úwwą*
       3SG.F.GEN   husband-NOM   only-NEG   husband-DEF-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   friend-PL.ABS
       wittʔaaʔ-aá   *mak'iré-mį*   *mar-am-aá-tte*   *haraʔm-am-tʃ-í-nne*
       collect.3SG.M-CNV   together-too   go-3PL-CNV-COP   help-RFX-ANM4-EP-INST
       ka=land-íttʃǫ   *mass-oó-kk-o*
       this=girl-SG.ABS   take.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
       'The husband will gather his own friends and they will be involved in Gosano.'

(12) Q: *gos-akk-(á)mį*   *ʔammani-i* *bejji-i*   *j-oo-nníhe*
       abduct-3HON.IPV-ASM   time-CNJ   place-CNJ   be.present-IPV-QU
       'Is there a certain and specific time and place (when and where to carry out the abduction (Gosano)?'

(13) A: *ʔeéjja* *j-oo-ʔ- áne*   *has-akk-oo* *land-ittʃǫ*   *gos-imm-ína*   *ʔeri*
       Yes   be.present.3SG.M-IPV-EP-to.be   want-3PL-IPV   girl-SG.ABS   abduct-VN-DAT   good
       ʔammánę *j-akk-(á)m-o*   *meéra* *mar-t-oo-ʔ-uúlla*   *teʔíme* *meer-iínse*
       time.ABS   say-3PL.IPV-ASM-TV   market go-3SG.F-IPV-EP-PRG   or   market-ABL
       dabaʔl-i-t-(á)mį   *ʔammáne* *meer-iínse* *dabaʔl-i-t-(á)mį*   *ʔammáne* *googó-nne*
       return-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM time   market-ABL   return-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM   time   way-LOC
       ʔegar-akk-aá   *mass-ímma*   *laʔímekki* *ʔodíme* *wóʔǫ*   *ʔeebb-eéna*   *daáddʒe*
       wait-3PL-CNV   take-VRN.COP   second   also   water.ABS   bring.3SG.F-PURP   river
       dill-i-t-(á)mį   *ʔammáne* *mullekki* *ʔodime* *hákk'ą*   *feer-t-eena*
       go.down-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM time   other   also   fire.wood.ABS   collect-3SG.F-PURP
       mar-t-(á)mį   *ʔammáne*
       go-3SG.F.IPV-ASM   time

       'The ideal time is a time when the girl is walking to or from the market. At this specific time, they ambush
       and seize her all of a sudden. Another appropriate time is the time she went to a river (stream) to fetch
       water. The time she went out to collect fuel wood is another alternative.'

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(14) Q: *gos-án-ị   hadíjji   k'aank' á-nne   los-am-aá-kk-o*
abduct-ANM2-NOM   Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   get.used.to.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV
Ɂeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   Ɂogora-nníhe
bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   system-QU
'Is Gosano (abduction) a type of marriage which is acceptable in Hadiya's tradition?'

(15) A: *gos-án-ị   hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   los-am-aá-kk-o*
abduct-ANM2-NOM   Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   get.used.to.3SG.M-PAS-PF-ASM-TV
Ɂeeb-akk'-am-tʃi   Ɂogora-jjo
marry-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way-NEG

'Gosano (abduction) is very much unacceptable in Hadiyya's tradition.'

(16) Q: *gos-án-ị   danaámị   goóg-ị   Ɂih-u-beéɁ-lasị   mahiná-tte*
abduct-ANM2-NOM   good   way-NOM   be.3SG.M-PV-NEG-CND   what-COP
mátị mán-tʃ-ị   mátị land-íttʃo   gos-aá   Ɂeeb-oó-kk-o
one man.SG-NOM   one   girl-SG.ABS   abduct.3SG.M-CNV   bring.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'So, if it is a type of marriage which is unacceptable, why a man abducts a girl and gets married with her?'

(17) A: *mátị mán-tʃ-ị   gos-eéna   has-oó-kkị   maʃkaɁ-úwwị baʃila*
one   man-SG-NOM   abduct.3SG.M-PURP   want.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL   reason-PL   many.COP
lútt'ekkị   gágạ   dʒórị Ɂih-u-lásị   land-íttʃ-oomị   Ɂiitt-i-nne   Ɂaag-is-eéna
first   self.ABS   ugly   be.3SG.M-PV-CND girl-SG-DEF-NOM   love-EP-INST   enter.3SG.F-CAUS-PURP
haɁj-i-t-(a)mị-bee-bikk-iná-tte   mullị   maʃkaɁị   Ɂodime   hóffi   moolló-nne
want-3SG.F-ASM-NEG-reason-DAT-COP   other   reason   also   minor   tribe-LOC
k'ar-am-u-kkí-lási   Ɂisi   mooll-ị   gad-aá
born.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-CND   3SG.F.GEN   tribe-NOM   undermine.3SG.M-CNV
Ɂuww-oo-bee   bikk-ina   Ɂeeb-eéna   has-u   landittʃọ   gos-oó-kk-o
give.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   reason-DAT   marry.3SG.M-PURP   want.3SG.M-PV   girl.ABS   abduct.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'There are several of reasons to push an individual for Gosano (abduction).The first is, if he is ugly, it is obvious that the girl will not get married with him willingly. So the only option he is left with is Gosano (abduction). Another factor is, if the guy is from a clan which is despised or low in class, the girl's families despise him and not willing to allow the marriage. So, he will be forced to carryout Gosano (abduction).'

(18) Q: *Ɂiitt-i-t-oo-Ɂné-mị   malaajj-í-nne   Ɂeeb-akk-ó-Ɂ-o   meent-íttʃo   gos-ú-kkị*
like-EP-3SG.F-IPV-NEG-too force-EP-INST   bring-3PL-PV-EP-TV woman-SG abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL
mán-tʃọ   Ɂiit-i-t-eéna   t'an-t-a-m-o-nníhe   mak'íre hinkí-de   heeɁl-eéna
man-SG.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F-PURP   be.able.3SG.F-IPV-ASM-TV-QU   together   which-CND   live.3SG.F-PURP
t'an-t-(á)m-o   mine-nne   t'umm-ị   heeɁ-oo-nnihe   ku=gos-u
be.able.3G.F.IPV-ASM-TV   house-LOC   peace-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV-QU   this=abduct.3SG.M-PV
mán-tʃ-ị   Ɂísi   ɁannoɁ-í-nne   hinkíde Ɂiitt-amam-eéna   t'an-am-oó-kk-o
man-SG-NOM   3SG.F.GEN   father-EP-COM   *how*   like.3PL-RCP-PURP   be.able-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

'How could the abductor make peace between the girl's family and himself after taking the girl forcefully?'
'How could the abductor make peace between the girl's family and himself after taking the girl forcefully? And how could the abducted girl live with him in love since they haven't get married in love? Is their marriage life will be alright?'

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(19) A: *gos-ú-kkị*   *mán-tʃ-ị*   *gos-ú-kkị*   *land-íttʃọ*
       abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   girl-SG.ABS

       gos-u-kk-isámị   *ʔitt'i*   *míne*   *mass-oó-jjo*   *woʃʃ-ị*   *sigg-eebee*
       abduct.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TDC   3SG.M.GEN   house   take.3SG.M-IPV-NEG   affair-NOM be.cool.down-until

       ʔisi   *ʔannoʔ-inne*   *ʔiitt-am-eebee*   *múllị*   *bejjo-nne*   *mass-aá*   *maat'-oó-kk-o*
       3SG.F.GEN   father-COM   agree-3PL-until   another   place-LOC   take.3SG.M-CNV   hide.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

       maat'-aá   *lasó-nne*   *mátị*   *faraʃ-aán-tʃọ*   *ʔísi*   *ʔannóʔi*   *míne*
       hide-CNV   after-TDC   one   horse-AGN-SG.ABS   3SG.F.GEN   father.GEN   house

       ʔasseʔ-oó-kk-o   *faraʃ-aán-tʃ-oóm-ị*   *land-íttʃọ*   *hanno-nne*   *j-oo-dáʔe*
       send.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV   horse-AGN-SG-DEF-NOM   girl-SG.ABS   where-LOC   exist.3SG.M-IPV-CND

       kur-aá lasó-nne   *geell-íttʃ-i-nne*   *dabaʔl-aá*   *waar-oó-kk-o*
       tell-CNV after-LOC   run-EP-ANM4-EP- INST   return.3SG.M-CNV   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

       ʔee=lassó-nne   *land-íttʃi*   *ʔannóʔi*   *míne*   *lobị*   *mánnạ*   *ʔasseʔ-oó-kk-o*
       that= after-TDC   girl-SG.GEN father.GEN   house   great   man.ABS   send.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

       ʔee=lassó-nne   *lame-mi*   *moll-i-m-ị*   *ʔiitt-am-eena*   *t'an-oo-kk-o*
       that= after-TDC   two-too   tribe-EP-too-NOM   like-3PL-PURP   be.able.3PL-IPV-ASM-TV

       'The abductor does not take the abducted girl right away to his house. Until he made peace with her parents
       & until the matter calmed down, they will take her to a hide out which is far away from her place and she
       stays there. After this, he will send a messenger, a horse man, to her parents. 'The rider just told her parents
       their daughter's whereabouts and came back very fast.' After that, the two parties might be ready to make
       peace.'

(20) Q: *gosáʔni*   *bikk-ína*   *ʔaaloʔ-ísa*   *kur-t-aá-tt-o*   *kába*   *ʔodíme*   *heer-ám-tʃị*
       gosan.GEN   about-DAT   good-SIM   tell-2FSG-PF-ASM-TV   now   also   marry-RFX-ANM4

       hinkidoi   *ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi-daʔe*   *kúr-e*
       what.type   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   tell-IMP.SG
       'You have explained to me about Gosano (abduction) in a detailed manner, Now, would you please tell me
       about a type of marriage which is called *Heerancha.*'

(21) A: *heer-ám-tʃa*   *j-immị*   *ʔiitt-í-nne*   *mar-ímmạ*   *j-ímma*   *heer-ám-tʃ-ị*
       marry-RFX-ANM4   say-VN   like-EP-LOC   go-VN.ABS   say-VRN.TV   marry-RFX-ANM4-NOM

       beet-i-í   *land-íttʃó-o*   *ʔiitt-amam-aá*   *lasó-nne*   *land-íttʃo*   *ʔísị*
       boy-NOM-NJ   girl-SG.NOM-CNJ   like.3PL-RCP-CNV   after-TDC   girl-SG   3SG.M.GEN

       ʔannoʔ-iínse   *maat'-am-t-á-ʔ-a*   *ʔiitt-í-t-o*   *beéti*   *míne*   *mar-t-aá*
       father-ABL   hide-PAS-3SG.F-IPV-EP-CNV   like-EP-3SG.F-TV   boy.GEN   house   go-3SG.F-CNV

       ʔaagg-(á)mị   *ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi*   *goógo*
       enter.3SG.F.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way

       '*Heerancha* is a type of marriage in which, once the girl and the boy fell in love one another, the girl will go
       to his house, with out her parent's knowledge and resume a marriage life with him.'

(22) Q: *lánd-ị*   *heer-ám-tʃi*   *doʔl-oó-kk-o*   *mahi-ná-tte*
       girl-NOM   marry-ANM4   choose-IPV-ASM-COP   what-DAT-COP
       'How and when is a girl choosing this type of marriage (*Heerancha*) and what is the reason?'

(23) A: *mátị*   *land-íttʃo*   *heer-ám-tʃạ*   *deooʔl-i-t-(á)mị*   *maʃkáʔi*   *ʔísị*
       one   girl-SG.NOM   marry-RFX-ANM4.ABS   choose-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM   reason   3SG.F.NOM

       ʔitt-í-t-o   *beétọ*   *ʔísị*   *ʔannóʔ-ị*   *sab-u-kki-lásị*   *múlle*   *ʔodíme*
       like-EP-3SG.F-PV   boy.ABS   3SG.F.GEN   father-PL-NOM   refuse.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CND   other   also

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ʔísi   ʔannóʔ-į   diggis-ína   ʔih-oó hurbaát-į   beeʔi but'į   ʔih-u-kki-lási
3SG.F.GEN   father-NOM make.banquet-DAT   be-IPV food-NOM   NEG   poor   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL-CND
heer-am-t-eéna   t'an-t-(á)m-o
marry-PAS-3SG.F-PURP   be.able-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV

'If the parents of the girl are not willing to allow a marriage between her and the boy shhe is in love with, the girl get married in *Heerancha*. And, if her parents do not have ability to organize and prepare a feast to t he ceremony (if they do not have grain) the girl will choose this type of marriage which can be done without any expense.'

(24) Q: kába ʔodíme ʔilligánį j-akk-(á)mį   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃ-į   hinkidoʔandaʔe
          now also   illigana   say-3HON.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4-NOM   what.type
          kúr-e
          tell-IMP.SG
          'Now, you tell me about the type of marriage which is called Illigana.' (Requesting the addressee.)

(25) A: ʔilligána j-akk-(á)mį   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃ-į   land-íttʃį ʔannóʔi
          illigana   say-3HON.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4-NOM   girl-SG   father.ABS
          land-íttʃọ   t'aʔm-ú-kkį   moolli   beetʃ-ína   ʔafaʔlaattʃé-mį ʔiitt-am-aá
          girl-SG.ABS   ask.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   clan.GEN   boy-DAT   back-too   like-3PL-CNV
          land-íttʃọ   laʔ-akk'-oo-ʔné-mį   gos-aá   ʔellees-óna   ʔiss-akk-(a)m-áne
          girl-SG.ABS   know-BEN1-IPV-NEG-too   pull-CNV   take.3SG.M-JUS   make-3PL.IPV-ASM-to be
          'The type of marriage which is called Illigana is, the parents of the girl conspire secretly with the parents of the boy and agreed on the fact that the boy will abduct and take the girl away.'

(26) Q: ʔilligán-į   doʔl-am-oó-kk-o   hínka ʔammáne
          illigana-NOM   choose.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-ASM-TV   what   time
          'In what situation Illigana is to be chose?'

(27) A: ʔilligánạ   j-akk-(á)mį   ʔeeb-akk'-am-tʃạ   doʔl- akk-(a)mį
          illigana.ABS   say-3HON.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS   choose-3PL.IPV-ASM
          futt'óʔi maʃkáʔi land-íttʃị ʔannóʔ-į   land-íttʃọ   ʔaff-óna   has-am-óo
          main   reason   girl-SG.GEN father-NOM girl-SG.ABS   reach.3SG.F-JUS   want.3PL-IPV
          ʔammáne land-íttʃ-oóm-į   ʔodíme ka=beétọ   sabb-(á)mị   ʔammane-nné-tte
          time   girl-SG-DEF-NOM also   this=boy.ABS   refuse.3SG.F.IPV-ASM   time-TDC-COP
          kanni-í ʔodíme land-íttʃi   ʔannóʔ-į   land-íttʃọ   laʔ-akk'o-ʔné-mį
          this-CNJ also   girl-SG.GEN father-NOM girl-SG.ABS know-BEN1-NEG-too
          ʔafaʔlattʃé-mį diinátẹ   ʔaaʔ-am-oo-ʔ-aáre   múlle ʔodime digis-ína   diinátẹ
          back-too   money.ABS   receive-3PL-IPV-EP-CND   other also   festive-DAT   money.ABS
          fiss-am-eéna   has-am-u-beeʔ-lásị   beét-į   gos-aá   ʔellees-óna
          spend-3PL-PURP   want-3PL-PV-NEG-CND   boy-NOM abduct.3SG.M-CNV take.3SG.M-JUS
          ʔiss-am-oó-kk-o
          make-3HON-IPV-ASM-TV

          'The main reason for choosing this type of marriage (Illigana) is, if the girl does not love and refuse to marry the boy that her parents agreed to marry her, they secretly conspire and allow the boy to abduct her. Another reason for this type of marriage is, the girl's family takes money from the boy's family and in exchange for it, and they will allow him to marry her in abduction. The other reason is, if the girl's family has no money for the wedding ceremony, they might choose this marriage.'

(28) Q: *lágo   j-akk-(á)mi̠   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃa*
lago   say-3HON.IPV-ASM   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.COP
'What about the type of marriage which is called Lago? '

(29) A: *lág-i̠   ʔaróʔi   léh-u   meent-íttʃi̠   ʔaróʔi   ʔabbaájj-i   teʔíme*
lago-NOM   husband.GEN   die.3SG.M-PV   woman-SG.GEN   husband.GEN   brother-NOM   or

k'armántʃ-i̠   ta=meént-íttʃo̠   ʔaag-is-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)mi̠
relative-NOM   that.ABS.3SG.F=woman-SG.ABS   enter.3SG.M-CAUS-JUS   make-3HON.IPV-ASM

ʔidoótt'i̠   goógo
marriage.GEN   way.NOM

'Lago is the type of marriage in which the widow will get married with her late husband's brother or another close relative to her deceased husband.'

(30) Q: *meent-íttʃo̠   ka=mán-tʃo̠   ʔiitt-i-t-o-ʔ-aá-re*
woman-SG.NOM   this=man-SG.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND
'What if the girl refuses such type of marriage?'

(31) A: *ʔiitt-i-t-o-ʔ-ó-mi̠   sabb-o-ʔ-ó-mi̠   lobi̠   mánn-i̠   ʔidʒaadʒ-oó*
like-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-too   refuse.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-too   big   man-NOM   order.3SG.M-IPV

bikk-ína   hadíjji   heéttʃi   k'aánk'i̠   ʔih-ú-kki̠   bikk-ína   sabb-eéna
about-DAT   Hadiyya.GEN   life.GEN   tradition   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM   about-DAT   refuse.3SG.F-PURP

t'an-t-a-m-ó-jjo
be.able-3SG.F-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG

'Whether she likes it or not if once the elders decided the marriage, she does not have much choice to refuse it, due to the fact that it is the tradition of Hadiyya.'

(32) Q: *leh-ú-kki̠   mán-tʃi   ʔabbaájji̠   teʔíme   múlli̠   k'armán-tʃ-i̠*
die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   brother   or   other   relative-SG-NOM

ka=meent-íttʃo̠   ʔaag-is-óna   ʔiss-akk-(á)mi̠   maʃkáʔi   máha
this=woman-SG.ABS   marry-CAUS-JUS   make-3HON.IPV-ASM   reason   what
'What is the reason for letting the widow to get married with her late husband's brother or his next of kin?'

(33) A: *ku=lágo̠   gass-óna   dooʔl-am-ú-kki̠   mán-tʃ-i̠   k'ári̠   mán-tʃ-i̠*
this=lago.ABS   adminster.3SG.M-JUS   choose-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   born   man-SG-NOM

ʔih-u-bikk-ína   leh-ú-kki̠   mán-tʃ-i̠   ʔoóso̠   dan-aám-ísa
be.3SG.M-PV-about-DAT   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   child.ABS   be.good-ADJZ-SIM

liʔ-iis-oó-kk-o   ʔodíme   ka=leh-ú-kki̠   mán-tʃ-i̠   diinátȩ
grow.3SG.M-CAUS-IPV-ASM-TV   also   this=die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   cattle.ABS

múlli̠   ʔallagíttʃi̠   mass-oo-beeʔ-ísa   ʔiss-imm-iná-tte
other   stranger   take.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-SIM   do-VN-DAT-COP

'Because of she got married with a relative of the deceased husband, he will look after and take care of the children as his own. The other reason is, not to allow a stranger to take over the wealth of the deceased.'

(34) Q: *las-aán-tʃó-nne   kur-t-oó   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   goógi̠   máha*
end-AGN-ANM4.TV-TDC   tell-2SG.IPV   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way   what
'What about the last type of marriage?'

(35) A: *hadíjji   k'aank'á-nne   ʔónti̠   bejjó-nne   j-oo   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi   goóg-i̠*
Hadiyya.GEN   culture-LOC   five   place-LOC   exist.3SG.M-IPV   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN   way-

NOM

ladiiʃʃ-į	*hund-iinsé-mį*	*dooʔl-am-oo-ʔ- áne*	*maʃkaʔ-oómi-mį*	*land-íttʃo-ó*
ladiish-NOM	all-ABL-too	choose.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-EP-to.be	reason-DEF-too	girl-EP.SG.NOM-CNJ

beet-i-í	*ʔitt-amam-aá*	*lasó-nne*	*ʔiss-úwwi*	*ʔannoʔ-uww-i-m-į*	*mulli*
boy-NOM-CNJ	like.3PL-RCP-CNV	after-TDC	3PL-PL.GEN	father-PL-too-NOM	other

k'armann-i-m-į	*laʔ-aá*	*lasó-nne*	*ʔiss-akk-(á)mį*	*ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃi*
relatve-EP-too-NOM	know.3SG.M-CNV	after-LOC	make-3PL.IPV-ASM	bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN

goógi	*ʔíh-u*	*bikk-iná-tte*
way.COP	be.3SG.M-PV	reason-DAT-COP

'According to Hadiyya's tradition, the fifth type of marriage is called *Ladiisha .*' *Ladiisha* is the most respected and sought after (preferable) marriage of all them (the above listed) Because, after the girl and the boy fell in love and agreed to get married, both sides of parents know about it and agreed on.'

(36) Q:

hadíjji	*ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃì*	*googg-úwwą*	*danaam-ísa*	*tʃ'aakk-íssa*
Hadiyya.GEN	bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.GEN	way-PL.ABS	good-SIM	clearly-CND

laʔ-iss-í-ttį	*bikk-ína*	*lobakáta*	*galatt'-oó-mm-o*	*waáʔ-į*	*ʔuww-óna*
know.2SG-CAUS-EP-ASM	about-DAT	much	thank.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV	god-NOM	give.3SG.M-JUS

'I am very grateful for you have told me about Hadiyya's types of marriage and all. Thank you very much, God Bless you.'

(37) A:

hadíjji	*k'aánk'ą*	*laʔk'-eéna*	*hass-í-ttį*	*bikk-ína*	*ʔaní-mį*
Hadiyya.GEN	culture.ABS	know.1SG-PURP	want-EP-2MSG	about-DAT	1SG.NOM-too

lobakáta	*galatt'-oó-mm-o*
much	thank.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV

'I am also grateful for your desire to know about Hadiyya's tradition.'

(01) *gaási   doollé-nne máti harkʼoot-aán-tʃ-i̧   tʃʼaná-nne   tʼaaféʔȩ*
     prevous.GEN   period-TDC one   plough-ANM4-SG-NOM leather.pouch-LOC   teff grain.ABS
     ʔijj-aá   meéra mar-u-kk-uúlla   doóʔmi   woró-nne hottʃ-aán-iínse
     carry.3SG.M-CNV   market go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   forest.GEN   in-ABL   hunt-ANM4-ABL
     gib-oó   kabee-ttʃ-í-nne   ʔedam-ú-kk-o
     escape.3SG.M-CNV leopard-SG-EP-COM   come accros.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

     'Once upon a time, a farmer who carried a sack of teff (grain) and traveling to the market has come across a leopard, which is running away for dear life.'

(02) *ku=kabeé-ttʃ-i̧ man-tʃ-ína kíde   j-ú-kk-o   ʔoo=ʔi*
     this=leopard-NOM man-SG-DAT like.this say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV those.NOM=1SG.GEN
     lasó-nne   geer-u-kk-uúlla   waar-oó   mánn-i̧   ʔamad-am-ú-kki̧
     behind-LOC   run.3SG.M-PV-PRG   come.3SG.M-IPV man-NOM   catch-3PL-PV-ASM.REL
     bagad-í-nne ʔeésȩ   kʼas-am-aá   ʃ-am-eená-tte   ʔih-ú-kki̧   bikk-ína
     spear-EP-LOC 1SG.ABS   stab-3PL-CNV kill-3PL-PURP-COP be.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL about-DAT
     ka=ʔamad-í-tti̧   tʃʼaná-nne   ʔiss-í-tti̧   tʼaaféʔȩ giggisi-t-aá   ʔeésȩ
     this=catch-EP-2SG leather.pouch -LOC put-EP-2SG   teff.ABS   throw out-2SG-CNV 1SG.ABS
     ka=tʃʼáʔni   woró-nne ʔag-is-aá   maattʼ-aá   ʔi   foórȩ
     this=sack.GEN in-LOC   enter.3SG.M-CAUS-CNV   hide.1SG-CNV 1SG.GEN soul.ABS
     gat-ís-e   j-aá   ʔuunttʼ-ú-kk-o   ka=kabeé-ttʃo̧
     save-CAUS-IMP.SG say.3SG.M-CNV   beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   this=leopard-SG.ABS
     ʃ-eéna   holl-oó-kki̧   mánn-i̧   geer-am-u-kk-uúlla   waar-am-aá
     kill.3SG.M-PURP chase.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL   man-NOM   run-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   come-3PL-CNV
     ka=harkʼoot-aán-tʃì   béjjo̧   ʔaf-am-aá   ka=maatʼ-am-ú-kki̧
     this=plough-ANM4-SG.GEN   place.ABS   reach-3PL-CNV   this=hide.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL
     kabeé-ttʃo̧   siid-am-oóʔne   hig-am-aá   mar-am-ú-kk-o
     leopard-SG.ABS   find-3PL-CNV.NEG   pass-3PL-CNV   go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

     'The leopard started begging and pleading. He said to the farmer, some people are coming after me, if they get me, they will stab me to death with their spear. Please, have a kind heart, empty out the content of your leather pouch (the Teff) and spare my life by hiding me in the sack. After a moment, the hunters arrived running and brandishing their spears. But, fortunately, they just passed by the farmer with out suspecting what is hidden in his sack.'

(03) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧   ka=kabeeé-ttʃo̧   tʃʼáʔni woró-nne maatʼ-aá*
     this=man-SG-NOM this=leopard-SG.ABS   sack.GEN in-LOC   hide.3SG.M-CNV
     leh-iínse   gat-is-ú-kk-o
     death-ABL   remain.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
     'The man hid the leopard inside the sack and saved him from death.'

(04) ʔee=lasó-nne   ku=kabeéttʃ-i̧   ka=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ína   kide   j-ú-kk-o   kabáde
   that=after-TDC   this=leparard-NOM   this=plough-AGN-SG-DAT   like ihis   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   now
   míne   mar-eéna   has-oó-mm̧i   bikk-ína   ka=tʃ'áʔni   wor-iínse
   house   go.1SG-PURP   want.3SG.M-IPV-ASM   about-DAT   this=sack.GEN   in-ABL
   físs-e   j-ú-kk-o
   take out-IMP.SG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
   'Now, I want to go home' said the leopard 'please, let me get out of the sack'

(05) ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃĭ-m-i̧   ka=kabeétʃo   tʃ'áʔni   wor-iínse
   this=plough-AGN-ANM4-too-NOM   this=leopard.ABS   leather.pouch.GEN   in-ABL
   fir-s-aá   giggiss-aá   fir-s-ú-kki̧
   take.out.3SG.M-CAUS-CNV   thrown out.3SG.M-CNV   go.out.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM.REL
   t'aaféʔȩ   dabar-aá   tʃ'áʔni   worí-nne   ʔiss-eéna
   teff.ABS   return.3SG.M-CNV   leather.pouch.GEN   in-LOC   put kill.3SG.M-PUR-PURP
   k'ubb-ú-kki̧   ʔammané-nne   ku=kabeé-ttʃ-i̧   kíde   j-ú-kk-o
    bend.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   time-TDC   this=leopard-SG-NOM   like this   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
   lobakáta sibaar-ú-mm̧i   bikk-ína   keésȩ   ʔiit-eéna   has-oó-mm-o
   much   be.hungry.3SG.M-PV-ASM   about-DAT   2SG.ABS   eat.1SG-PURP   want.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
   j-ú-kk-o
    say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

   'The farmer opened the sack and the leopard stepped out of it. At this moment, the farmer bent down to
   the ground to refill his sack with the thrown out Teff. But, the leopard told the farmer as follows. I am
   very much starved at this moment, and I will have you for a meal.'

(06) man-tʃ-oóm-i̧   lobakáta mugg-ú-kk-o   ki   foórȩ   leh-iínse gatis-ú-mm̧i
   man-SG-DEF-NOM   much   be.fearful.3SG.M-PV   2SG.GEN   soul.ABS   die-ABL   remain.1SG-PV-ASM
   bikk-ína   mik'-oó-kk-o   kane-nníhe   j-aá   lobakáta
   about-DAT   pay.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-ASM   this-QU   say.3SG.M-CNV   much
   maalal-ú-kk-o   ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-i̧   ka=kabeetʃ-ína
   surprise.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   this=plough-ANM4-SG-NOM   this=leopard-DAT
   ʔeéde   ʔih-u-lási̧   daann-úwwi̧ béjjo   ʔoogát'i̧   míne   mall-u-mm-aá-re
   like this   be.3SG.M-CND   judge-PL   place   court.GEN   house   go.1PL-PV-ASM-CNV-CND
   ʔoogáta̧   siind-oó-mm-o   j-ú-kk-o   ʔee=beeʔ-lási̧   ʔeésȩ   horémi̧
   judge.ABS   see.1PL-IPV-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M-TV   that=NEG-CND   1SG.ABS   never
   ʔitt-oó-jjo   j-ú-kk-o
   eat.3SG.M-IV-NEG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

   'The farmer caught in total shock and flabbergasted, and he asked the leopard 'Is this what I am deserved
   for what I have done for you, for saving your life from the hunters spear?' the farmer was getting very
   much astonished. Then he told the leopard 'If that is your desire, let's go to the judges and we will
   receive a judgment, you can not eat me without that'

(07) ku=kabee-tʃ-ím-i̧   ku=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-i̧   wotʃ'-ú-kki̧
   this=leopard-SG-too-NOM   this=plough-ANM4-GS-NOM   speak.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL
   luwwá-nne   ʔiitt-am-ú-kk-o
   thing-LOC   agree-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
   'The leopard agreed with the farmer's idea.'

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(08) *faraʃo-ó   baarᶏ-á   daagee-tʃo-ó   k'ama-ttʃo-ó   ʔoogat-ína dooʔl-am-aá*
horse.ABS-CNJ   ox.ABS-CNJ   baboon-SG.ABS-CNJ   monkey-SG.ABS-CNJ   judge-DAT   choose-3PL-CNV

ʔoogátt'i   míne   ʔaag-am-ú-kk-o
judgment.GEN   house   enter-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

'They assigned horse, ox, baboon and donkey for this judgment and they entered to the court room.'

(09) *gaass-aá   ka=ʔogat-aán-iínse   faráʃ-ᶖ   kíde   j-aá   ʔoogat-ú-kk-o*
pull.3SG.M-NV   this=judge-ANM4-ABL   horse-NOM   like this   say.3SG.M-CNV   judge.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

mántʃᶖ   beétᶖ   ʔi   ʔafaré-nne   saaʔl-aá   duuna-á   dak'ajje-é   geer-óna
man-SG   boy-NOM   1G.GEN   back-LOC   gallop.3SG.M-CNV   mountain-CNJ   field-CNJ   run.3SG.M-JUS

ʔis-u-kk-uúlla   malaajj-aámi   hakkammí-nne   ʔi   ʔák'ᶐ
make.3SG.M -PV-ASM-PRG   power-ADJZ   reign-INST   1SG.GEN   mouth.ABS

t'iigees-u-kk-uúlla   ʔodíme   halanggí-nne   gan-u-kk-uúlla   lobakáta
bleed.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   also   whip-INST   bit.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   much

hawwod-oó   mog-aállᶖ   ʔih-u-bikk-ína   mátᶖ   koré-jjo   lam-kore   ʔit-e
hurt.3SG.M-IPV   be.cruel-ADJZ   be.3SG.M-PV-about-DAT   one   time-NEG   two-time   eat-IMP

j-aá   ʔoogat-ú-kk-o
say-CNV   judge.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'Out of these judges the horse made his judgment as follows: human being is a very tyrant and cruel creature. He sits on my back and rides me across the plain land and mountain, by gauging (putting a reign), me, which makes blood pouring out of my mouth. As if this is not satisfied him, he keeps whipping me while he rides me. Please do not eat him once, eat him twice.'

(10) *faraʃʃᶐ   ʔawwan-aá   mirgóʔ-ᶖ   ʔitt'é-na   láb-u   ʔogátᶐ   kídᶐ   j-aá*
horse.ABS   follow-CNV   ox-NOM   like-DAT   seem.3SG.M-PV   judgement.ABS   like this   say-CNV

wotʃ'-ú-kk-o   mán-tʃì   beét-ᶖ   k'eeraáʔlᶖ   maaraʃa-á
tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   man-SG.GEN   boy-NOM   long   ploughing metal .ABS-CNJ

kadoʔo-ó   k'aaʃ-aá   ʔee=kadóʔᶐ   ʔangi-nne   lokki-nne
ploughing beam.ABS-CNJ   snare.3SG.M-CNV   that= plough beam.ABS   hand-INST   leg-INST

k'ott'-is-aá   ʔamad-aá   hantʃ'eʔ-aá   k'akk'-is-aá   harkk'oot-óna   ʔeessé-nne
be.strng-CAUS-CNV   Catch-CNV   kick.3SG.M-CNV   be.fast-CAUS-CNV   plough.3SG.M-JUS   1SG-LOC

ʃuur-u-kk-uúlla   ʔeésᶐ   lobakáta hawwod-oó   bikk-ína   ka=mán-tʃᶐ
shout.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   1SG.ABS   much   hurt.3SG.M-IPV   about-DAT   this.ABS-man-SG

ʔite   ʔoogat-aá-mm-o   j-aá   wotʃ'-ú-kk-o
eat.IMP.SG   judge.1SG-PF-ASM-TV   say-CNV   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'Following horse, Ox has given the judgment on his own way: human being hurt me a lot, by putting a heavy bondage on my shoulders with a very long plough beam. He strains the burdens deliberately to make me move faster and it hurt a lot. My judgment is the man must be eaten.'

(11) *sátt'ᶖ   ʔoogat-aán-tʃ-ᶖ   daageetʃ-í-mᶖ   kíde   j-ú-kk-o*
third   judge-ANM4-SG-NOM   baboon.SG.NOM-too   like.this   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

ʔánᶖ   ʔi   ʔabaroosi-nne   sibaar-n-oó-mmᶖ   ʔammáne   hurbaat-iínse
1SG.NOM   1SG.GEN   family-COM   be.hungry-1PL.M-IPV-ASM   time   food-ABL

mátᶖ   líttʃᶐ   ʔint-oo-mmᶖ-beeʔ-ísa   kini-nne-é   bagadi-nne-é   ʔuull-iínse
one   thing.ABS   eat.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-NEG-SIM   stone-LOC-CNJ   spear-LOC-CNJ   country-ABL

jaajj-oó   bikk-ína   mán-tʃì   beétᶖ   ʔit-am-óna   j-aá

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chase-IPV   about-DAT   man-SG.GEN   boy   eat.3SG.M-PAS-JUS   say.3SG.M-CNV

ʔoogat-aá-mm-o   j-ú-kko
Judge.1SG-PF-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-ASM-TV

'The third judge, the baboon, said as follows: when we were hungry, he chased us away with spear and stone, denying us not t eat even a particle of grain. So, I decided, that the leopard must eat a man.'

(12) k'amáttʃ-į   ʔodíme   las-aán-tʃ-į   ʔoogátǫ   ʔuww-ú-kk-o
monkey-NOM   also   back-AGN-ANM4-NOM   judge.ABS   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Monkey in its part gave the final judgment.'

(13) k'ama-ttʃ-oóm-į   ka=woʃʃá   mooʔ-aá   lasó-nne   tʃ'an-oóʔmį   suúmę
monkey-SG-DEF-NOM this=thing.ABS   see.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   leather.pouch-DEF   mouth.ABS

k'ott'-ísa   kár-e   j-aá   ka=hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ína   kur-ú-kk-o
strong-SIM   tie-IMP   say.3SG.M-CNV   this=plough-ANM4-DAT   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The farmer put the leopard inside the sack, and showed him how he saved the leopards life. Once the monkey saw the leopard is in the sack, he told the farmer to knot (tie) the mouth of the sack very tight.'

(14) ʔee=lasó-nne   k'amár-tʃ-į   hakk'-íttʃó-nne   fir-aá   kába   máhą
that=after.TDC   monkey-SG-NOM   tree-SG-LOC   climb.3SG.M-CNV   now   what.ABS

ʔegar-t-oó-lla   mug-í-nne   gan-t-aá   ʃíh-e   j-aá
keep-2SG-IPV-PRG   stick-EP-COM   hit-2SG-CNV   kill-IMP.SG   say.3SG.M-CNV

hark'oot-aán-tʃ-ína   kur-ú-kk-o   hark'oot-aán-tʃ-í-m-į   mug-í-nne
plough-AGN-SG-DAT   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   plough-AGN-ANM4.SG-EP-too-NOM   stick-EP-LOC

gan-aá   ʃ-aá   lasó-nne   t'aféʔę   tʃ'aná-nne   ʔiss-aá
hit.3SG.M-CNV   kill.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   teff grain.ABS   leather.pouch-LOC   put.3SG.M-CNV

mine   ʔelleʔ-ú-kk-o
house   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'Then, the monkey climbed up on a tree and shouted to the farmer, what are you waiting for man? Beat him up to death with your stick. The farmer clubbed the leopard to death. In return he refilled the sack with the Teff and went back to his home in peace.'

(01) *lámi̞ ʔollaʔ-úwwi bikk-ína heéssǫ kur-oó-mm-o*
two neighbor-PL.GEN about-DAT tale.ABS tell.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'Now, I will tell you a tale about two neighbours.'

(02) *gaási doollé-nne ʔollaʔ-oom-í-nne heeʔl-(a)mi máti*
previous.GEN past.time-TDC neighbor-ANM₁-EP-INST live.3PL.IPV-ASM.REL one
godd-aán-tʃ-i-í máti but'-íttʃ-i-í makiré-mi̞ ʔabáʃi
rich-AGN-SG-NOM-CNJ one poor-SG-NOM-CNJ with-too habash.GEN
suút'ǫ ʔagg-ó-ʔ-o
traditional.medicine.that.cures from.tape.warm.ABS drink.3PL-PV-EP-TV

'According to an old story, a rich and a poor guy who lived in neighborhood drank the traditional medicine, to get cured from the tape worm.'

(03) *ʔágg-o suút'-i̞ fiss-eebeé*
drink.3PL-PV traditional.medicine.that.cures from.tape.warm-NOM get.cure.3SG.M-until
lamí-mi̞ godd-aán-tʃi miné-nne ʔafuur-t-ó-ʔ-o
two-too be.wealthy-AGN-SG.GEN house-LOC sit-3PL-PV-EP-TV
'[They] both of them stayed in a rich man's house until the medicine cures them.'

(04) *hoffo-ʔ-áme ʔafuur-t-o-ʔ-isámi̞ suút'-i̞ fis-ímmǫ ʔaʃeer-ú-kk-o*
little-EP-TDC sit-3PL-PV-EP-TDC medicine-NOM get.cure-VN.ABS start.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'After a little while, they start seeing the cure.'

(05) *ka=godd-aán-tʃi miné-nne suút'ǫ ʔág-u mann-ína*
this=be.rich-AGN-SG.GEN house-LOC traditional.medicine.ABS drink.3SG.M-PV man-DAT
gud-is-akk-(á)mi̞ ʔíttʃi̞ hund-í-mi̞ gud-u-kk-ísa but'-íttʃi̞ mán-tʃ-i̞
be.ready-CAUS-3HON.IPV-ASM food all-EP-too be.ready-PV-ASM-SIM be.poor-SG man-SG-NOM
mooʔ-ú-kk-o ʔadi-í buuri-í salali-í maari-í sar-am-u-kk-ísa
see.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV milk-CNJ butter-CNJ cheese-CNJ meat-CNJ cook.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-SIM
mooʔ-aá lasó-nne ku=but'-íttʃ-i̞ ʔítt'i miné-nne ku=hurbát-i̞
see.3SG.M-CNV after-TDC this=be.poor-SG-NOM 3SG.M.GEN house-LOC this=food-NOM
heeʔ-oo-beeʔ-ísa laʔ-oó bikk-ína lobakáta kittʃeʔ-u-kk-uúlla
live.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-SIM know.3SG.M-IPV about-DAT much be.sad.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG
ʔítt'i̞ míne dabaʔl-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.GEN house return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The poor man has observed every thing which has to be prepared for people who took this traditional medicine, has been prepared abundantly in the rich guy house. Milk, butter, meat etc was there. After he saw this, he returned to his own house, very sad and in pensive mood, knowing there is no such a thing his house.'

(06) *min-oóma dabaʔl-aá lasó-nne míne ʔaag-u-kk-isámi̞ ʔítt'i*
house-DEF retun.3SG.M-CNV after-LOC house enter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TDC 3SG.M.GEN
meent-íttʃo ka=godd-aán-tʃi miné-nne mooʔ-ú-kki̞ ʔíttʃa
woman-SG.ABS this=be.rich-AGN-SG.GEN house-LOC see.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL meal.ABS
hundá-mi̞ gudis-o-ʔ-uúlla j-o-ʔ-ísa mooʔ-aá lobakáta

all.ABS-too   cook.3SG.F-PV-EP-PRG   exist.3SG.M-PV-EP-SIM   observe.3SG.M-CNV   much

liiram-ú-kk-o
be.happy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'Once he got back to his home, he is caught in surprise, to his astonishment; his wife was preparing the very same foods he has seen in the rich man house a short while before.'

(07)   *liir-am-tʃ-oom-iínse*   *hig-aá*   *ka=keteétti*   *kolló-nne*
       be.happy-RFX-ANM₂-DEF-COMP   pass.3SG.M-CNV   this= traditional.oven.GEN   side-LOC

       t'op-aá   *mar-aá*   *ʔítt'į*   *meent-íttʃo*   *suunk'-eéna*
       jump.3SG.M-CNV   go.3SG.M-CNV   3SG.GEN   woman-SG   kiss.3SG.M-PURP

       mar-oná-mį   *ʔísį*   *bukk-i-t- á-mį*   *buúrǫ*   *lokk-í-nne*
       go.3SG.M-JUS-too   3SG.F.NOM   melt-EP-3SG.F-IPV-ASM.REL   butter.ABS   leg-EP-INST

       hantʃ'aatʃ'-aá   *dun-aá*   *ʔur-ú-kk-o*   *sar-t-(á)mi*   *salal-i-í*
       kick.3SG.M-CNV   spill.3SG.M-CNV   leave.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   cook-3SG.F.IPV-ASM   cheese-NOM-CNJ

       tʃoop'aaro-ʔ-i-í   *keteétt'i*   *woró-nne*   *giíʔli*   *buttʃ-í-nne*
       cabbage.sauce-EP-NOM-CNJ   traditional.oven.GEN   in-LOC   fire.GEN   soil-EP-COM

       hamaar-am-aá   *t'aʔ-ú-kk-o*
        mix.3SG.M-PAS-CNV   do.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'Blind in his happiness, he start running to his wife who sat alongside the traditional oven to give her a hug and kiss, and on his way he stumbled and stepped on the purified (molten) butter in the pot, knocked it to the floor and in a moment the floor soaked with the molten purified butter. At the same time because of he stepped on the plate full of kitfo (traditional food) and cottage (fresh) chess without seeing them they are also gone and mixed with the ash of the traditional oven.'

(08)   *ku=but'-íttʃ-íttʃ-į*   *ka=ʔíh-u*   *lúwwǫ*   *hundá-mį*   *mooʔ-aá*
       this=be.poor-SG-NOM   this=be.3SG.M-PV   thing.ABS   all.ABS-too   see.3SG.M-CNV

       lasó-nne   *lobakáta*   *nadad-aá*   *waáʔ-į*   *j-oó*   *béjjǫ*
       after-TDC   much   be.angry.3SG.M-CNV   God-NOM   be.present.3SG.M-IPV   place.ABS

       mar-oó-mm-o   *j-aá*   *min-iínse*   *fir-aá*   *t'aʔ-ú-kk-o*
       go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-CNV   house-ABL   go.out.3SG.M-CNV   do.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The poor guy went mad in anger once he saw the damage he has done. Then he went outside to go to a place where God dwells.'

(09)   *waáʔ-į*   *j-oó-ʔ-į*   *béjjo*   *ʔaf-oó-mm-o*   *j-aá*
       God-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV-EP-NOM   place   reach.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-CNV

       lobakátį   *goógo*   *taakkeʔ-aá*   *lasó-nne*   *googó-nne*   *ʔafuur-aá*
       much   road   walk.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC   way-LOC   sit.3SG.M-CNV

       beedd-aá-kk-o   *ʔedde-ttʃǫ*   *gob-oó*   *mátį*   *but'-íttʃǫ*
       finish.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   wear-ANM4.ABS   sew.3SG.M-IPV   one   be.poor-SG.ABS

       siid-aá   *t'úmma*   *j-aá*   *hig-ú-kk-o*
       find.3SG.M-CNV   peace   say.3SG.M-CNV   pass.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'After he traveled a very long way to get to the dwelling place of God, he saw a poverty ridden guy sat along side of the road, sewing up his worn out clothes and pass him after he greeted him.'

(10) *googó-nne* *ʔafuur-aá* *ʔeddeʔ-ú-kki̧* *suusa̧* *gob-oó-kki̧*
road-LOC sit.3SG.M-CNV wear.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL rag.ABS sew.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.REL
man-tʃí-mi̧ *ka=ʔaraat-íttʃo̧* *weeʃ-aá* *hánno mar-oo-dáʔe*
man-SG-too this=traveller-SG.ABS call.3SG.M-CNV where go.3SG.M-IPV-CND
t'aʔm-ú-kk-o
ask.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The guy who sat beside the road and sewing up his worn out rag called out for the passenger and asked him where is he going to.'

(11) *ku=ʔaraat-íttʃ-í-m-i̧* *but'-oóm-i̧* *birbinn-ís-ú* *bikk-ína*
this.=traveller-SG-EP-too-NOM be.poor-ANM1-NOM tire.of.3SG.M-CAUS-PV about-DAT
ʔi *waaʔ-í-nne* *ʔedam-eéna* *mar-oó-mm-úlla* *j-aá*
1SG.GEN God-EP-COM find.3SG.M-PURP go.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG say.3SG.M-CNV
kur-ú-kk-o *googó-nne* *ʔafuur-ú-kki̧* *man-tʃ-i-m-i̧* *ki*
tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV road-LOC sit.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-EP-too-NOM 2SG.GEN

waáʔ-i̧ *ʔané-tte* *j-ú-kk-o*
God-NOM 1SG-COP say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'This traveller said, 'I am going to meet (my) God because he made me poor. The poverty stricken guy who sat by the road told him that he is his God.'

(12) *ku=ʔaraat-íttʃ-i-oóm-i̧* *ʔitt-í-m-i̧* *ʔiinn-ísa but'-íttʃi̧* *ʔih-aá*
this=traveller-EP-DEF-NOM 3SG.M-EP-too-NOM 1SG-SIM be.poor-SG be.3SG.M-CNV
hink-íde *ʔi* *waáʔ-i̧* *ʔih-eéna* *t'an-oó-kk-o* *horéme*
which-MDC 1SG.GEN God-NOM be.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV never
ʔih-eéna *t'an-oó-jjo* *ʔi* *waáʔ-i̧* *ʔih-u-lási̧* *ʔi*
be.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-IPV-NEG 1SG.GEN God-NOM be.3SG.M-PV-CND 1SG.GEN
háwwo *kur-oó-mmi̧* *ʔammáne* *hunkóʔo* *haraʔm-óna* *j-aá*
problem tell.1SG-IPV-ASM time let help.3SG.M-JUS say.3SG.M-CNV
saw-ú-kk-o *ʔee=lásó-nne* *ʔíitt'i̧* *háwwo̧* *fiss-eéna*
think.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV that=after-TDC 3SG.M.GEN problem.ABS go.out.3SG.M-PURP
t'an-oó-daʔe *t'aʔm-ú-kk-o*
be.able.3SG.M-IPV-CND ask.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The traveler gets flabbergasted when he heard this, and he hardly believed this. He thought that how come this guy as poor as he is could be his God, it is impossible. And he said to himself, if he really is my God, let me see if he is capable of solving my problem. Then, he asked him if he can solve his problem.'

(13) *ʔani̧* *ki* *waáʔa* *j-ú-kki̧* *man-tʃí-m-i̧* *kide* *j-ú-kk-o*
1SG.NOM 2SG.GEN God say.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-too-NOM like.this say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
ʔáni̧ *keésȩ* *lobakáta* *haraʔm-eéna* *t'an-oó-mm-o* *lobakáti̧ góddą*
1SG.NOM 2SG.ABS much help.1SG-PURP be.able.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV much wealth.ABS
ʔuww-eená-mi̧ *t'an-oó-mm-o* *ʔoo=ʔww-oó-mmi̧* *godd-i̧* *máha*
give.1SG-PURP-too be.able.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV that=give.1SG-IPV-ASM wealth-NOM what
lab-is-aá *ka=heéri̧* *ʔuullá-nne* *joóʔi* *sagall-úwwa̧* *hundá-mi̧ lakk'-oó*
seem.1SG-CAUS-CNV this=whole country-LOC exist.3SG.M language-PL.ABS all-too know.3SG.M-IPV
láttʃa̧ *ki-ína* *ʔuww-aá-mm-o* *heéri̧* *ʔuullá-nne* *wotʃ'-am-oó*
knowledge.ABS 2SG-DAT give.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV whole country-LOC tell.3SG.M-PAS-IPV
sagára̧ *hundámi̧* *laʔ-imm-i̧* *lobakati̧ góddi̧* *ʔih-u-kk-ísa* *múlli̧*

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language.ABS   all   know-VN-NOM   much   wealth   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   other
ʔammáne lakk'-oó-tt-o   *ka=wóʃʃa*   *ʔajje-na-mi̧ kur-títte*
time   know.2SG-IPV-ASM-TV   this=affair.ABS   who-DAT-too   tell.3SG.M-IMP.NEG.SG
kur-t-i-t-lási̧   *le-t-oó-tt-o*   *kába ʔáti̧*   *godd-aán-tʃi*
tell-2SG.M-EP-ASM-CND   die-2SG-IPV-ASM-TV   now   2SG.NOM   be.wealthy-AGN-ANM4
ʔih-i̧-kk-i-tti̧   *bikk-ína*   *míne dabáʔl-e*   *j-aá*   *ʔidʒaadʒ-ú-kk-o*
be.3SG.M-EP-ASM-EP-2SG   because-DAT   house return-IMP.SG say.3SG.M-CNV   order.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The person, who told him he is his God said, I can assist you a lot, I can give you a great deal of wealth as well. Do you know what is the wealth I am about to give you? I will give you the wisdom and knowledge of all languages in the whole world, and to understand, animals language as well. You will realize in the future, what a wealth is to know all languages in the world. But do not tell this to anyone. If you tell this to someone, you will die. Now, because of you are the richest person, go back to your home he commanded the traveler.'

(14) *míne   dabaʔl-u-kk-úulla*   *lobakáti̧ goógo taakkeʔ-aá*   *lasó-nne*
      home   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG much   road   walk.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC
      hoog-ú-kki̧   *bikk-ína*   *hakk'-íttʃi̧*   *lugumó-nne*   *ʔuʃeet'-eéna*
      tire.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   because-DAT   tree-SG.GEN   under-LOC   rest.3SG.M-PURP
      gaff-u-kk-isámi̧   *lámi̧ k'ooraánti̧ leh-ú-kki̧*   *mán-tʃi*   *leéʃa*
      sit.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CND   two   crow.NOM   die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.GEN   corpse.ABS
      siidd-ó-ʔ-o   *labiss-aá-ʔ-a*   *ʔitt-eéna*   *k'app'-am-aá*   *hintʃ'-am-ú-kk-o*
      find.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV   seem-IPV-EP-TV   eat.3SG.M-PURP   slow-3PL-CNV   be.close-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

'While on his return to his house, he sat under the shade of a tree to get some rest. While he sat there, two crows approached him cautiously; they thought they have found a corpse to be eaten.'

(15) *ka=k'ooraant-uww-iinsé-mi̧ mát-i̧*   *ʔítt'i*   *beʃ-íttʃ-ína*   *kide*   *j-ú-kk-o*
      this=crow-PL-COMP-too   one-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   friend-SG-DAT   like.this   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM
      mán-tʃi   *beéto̧*   *leh-aá-kk-o*   *j-i-t-aá*   *ʔaʔman-í-t-itte*
      man-SG.GEN   boy.ABS   die.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   say-EP-2SG-CNV   believe-EP-2SG-NEG.IMP
      leh-u-kk-ísa   *lakk'-eéna*   *hass-í-tt-i̧-lási̧*   *máti̧ ʔílȩ*
      die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   know.3SG.M-PURP   want-EP-2SG-EP-CND   one   eye.ABS
      k'ass-aá   *k'oóss-e*
      poke.3SG.M-CNV   check-IMP.SG
      'One of the crows told to his friend do not trust any human being is dead for sure. If you would like to find out whether he is alive or dead, just poke one of his eyes with your beak.'

(16) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧*   *ʔítt'i*   *waáʔ-i̧*   *ʔuww-ú-kki̧*   *k'oor-oóm-í-nne*
      this=man-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   God-NOM   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   be.clever-ANM1-EP-INST
      ka=k'ooraánti sagáro̧ mattʃees-eéna   *t'an-ú-kki̧*   *bikk-ína*   *k'ooraant-oóm-i̧*
      this=crow.GEN   voice.ABS   listen.3SG.M-PURP   be.able-PV-ASM   because-DAT   crow-DEF-NOM
      ʔatoorar-oó   *lúwwa̧*   *hundámi̧*   *mattʃees-ú-kk-o*
      talk.3SG.M-IPV   thing.ABS   all   hear.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'The traveler has been listening what the two crows are saying, by using a gift of his God.'

(17) *ka=k'ooraant-iínse mat-íttʃ-i̧*   *ka=man-tʃi*   *ʔíllȩ*   *k'as-eéna*
      this=crow.GEN-COMP one-SG-NOM   this=man-SG.GEN   eye.ABS   poke.3SG.M-PURP
      k'app'-aá   *hintʃ'-u-kk-aá*   *man-tʃ-oómi̧ k'ooraant-íttʃi̧*   *lókko̧*
      be.slow-CNV   be.close.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV   man-SG-DEF   crow-SG.GEN   leg.ABS

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ʔamad-ú-kk-o
catch.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'One of the crows approached the man slowly, to poke on his eyes, suddenly and in a swift move, the man grabbed the leg of the crow.'

(18) ʔee=ʔammáne-nne ʔamad-am-u-beéʔi   k'ooraant-íttʃ-į   ka=man-tʃ-ína   kíde
     that=time-TDC   catch.3SG.M-PAS-PV-NEG   crow-SG-NOM   this=man-SG-DAT   like.this

    j-ú-kk-o   ʔi   beʃ-íttʃọ   ʃ-i-títte   neésị   ki-ína
    say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   1SG.GEN   friend-SG-ABS   kill-EP-IMP.NEG.SG   1SG.NOM   2SG.GEN-DAT

    ʔannóʔi-beéʔi   ʔarák'   diinátẹ   siidd-óna   ʔiss-i-n-oó-mm-o
    father-NEG   a.lot.of   cattle.ABS   find.2SG-JUS   make-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV

    j-ú-kk-o   ʔee=lasó-nne   lamí-mị   k'ooraant-į   ka= mán-tʃọ
    say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV   that=after-TDC   two-too   crow-NOM   this=man-SG.ABS

    ʔawwans-am-u-kk-uúlla   ʔannoʔi-beéʔi   ʔarák'ị   diinát-į   heeʔ-oó   béjjo
    guide-3PL-PV-ASM-PRG   father-NEG   a.lot.of   cattle-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV   place

    ʔaf-is-am-ú-kk-o
    reach-CAUS-3PL-PV-ASM-TV

'At this time, the row started to beg the man. Please do not kill my friend; we will lead you to a heard of so many cattle's that has no owner. You will take as many as you want.Then, the two crows lead the man to a place swarmed by ownerless cattle.'

(19) ku=man-tʃĭ-mị ka=diinátẹ   ʔuʃeʔ-u-kk-uúlla   míne   dabaʔl-ú-kk-o
     this=man-SG-too this=cattle.ABS   ride.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG   house   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'Once the man reached there, he took them all and returned back to his house.'

(20) ʔare-é   ʔaroʔi-í   godd-áánị   ʔih-am-aá   lómbị   j-oó
     wife.NOM-CNJ   husband.NOM-CNJ   be.wealthy-AGN   be-3PL-CNV   grace   exist.3SG.M-IPV

     heeʔ-ittʃ-í-nne   makiré-mị   ʔarák'ị   doólle   heeʔ-am-ú-kk-o
     live-ANM4-EP-LOC   together-too   much   time   live-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
     'The man and his wife spent a very happy life for many years together.'

(21) ku=meent-íttʃọ   goón-tʃi   beétọ   k'ar-t-o-ʔ-aá-re
     this=woman-SG.NOM   male-SG.GEN   boy.ABS   give.birth.3SG.F-PV-EP-CNV-CND
     ʔísi   ʔaróʔ-į   geéddʒi   baárạ   dur-ú-kk-o
     3SG.M.GEN   husband-NOM   big   bull.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

     'Then, because of his wife gave a birth to a baby boy, the man slaughtered an ox for the feast.'

(22) ka=dur-am-ú-kkị   baáʔlị   mik'-íttʃọ   ʔit-ám-oo   lámị   wíʃ-į
     this=slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL   ox.GEN   bone-SG.ABS   eat-3PL-IPV   two   dog-NOM

     dʒor-amam-ú-kk-o   mán-tʃi   beet-į   ʔuww-ú-kkị
     be.in.conflict.3SG.M-RCP-PV-ASM-TV   man-SG.GEN   boy-NOM   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL

     mik'-íttʃó-nne   neésị   mahi-ná-tte   dʒor-amam-oó-kk-o   j-aá
     bone-SG-LOC   1SG.NOM   what-DAT-COP   be.in.conflict.3PL-RCP-IPV-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-CNV

     mátị   wiʃ-íttʃ-į   wotʃ'-ú-kkị   sagárạ   ku=mán-tʃ-į
     one   dog-SG.NOM   speak.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   language.ABS   this=man-SG-NOM

     ʔítt'i   waáʔ-į   ʔuww-ú-kkị   laʔ-íttʃ-í-nne   mattʃ'ees-aá   lobakáta
     3SG.GEN   God-NOM   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   know-EP-ANM4-EP- INST   hear.1SG-CNV   much

     ʔosar-ú-kk-o
     laugh.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'Two dogs engaged in fight over the bone of the slaughtered ox. Why should we fight over a piece of bone which is given to us by a man's generosity? said one of the dogs. Because of the man can listen what the dog said, (using the gift his God has given to him) he chuckled.'

(23) ʔee=ʔammané-nne   ʔitt'i   meent-íttʃo̞   mahi-ná-tte   ʔosar-t-í-tt-o
     that=time-TDC   3SG.M.GEN woman-SG-TV.ABS what-DAT-COP   laugh-2MSG-EP-ASM-TV   *j-t-aá*   *t'aʔm-i-t-ó-ʔ-o*
     say-3SG.F-CNV   ask-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
     'At this time, his wife started asking what he is laughing at.' (Text 05: No. 23)

(24) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̞* *ka=wóʃʃa̞*   *múlli̞ mann-ína* *kur-u-lási̞*   *ʔitt'i*
     this=man-SG   this=affair.ABS   other man-DAT   tell.3SG.M-PV-CND   1SG.GEN
     waáʔ-i̞   *le-t-oó-tt-o*   *j-ú-kki̞*   *bikk-ína*   *ʔisé-na*   *kur-ímma̞*
     God-NOM   die-2SG-IPV-ASM-TV   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM because-DAT   3SG.F-DAT   tell-VN.ABS
     badd-ú-kk-o
     affraid.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'But, because of his God has told him not to tell this to anyone, otherwise he will be dead, he afraid of to tell his wife the truth.'

(25) *meent-íttʃ-oómi̞*   *mahá-nne*   *ʔosar-t-i-tt-dáʔe*   *kur-t-i-tt-i-beeʔ-lási̞*
     woman-SG-DEF   what-LOC   laugh-2SG-EP-ASM-CND   tell-2SG-EP-ASM-EP-NEG-CND
     keése̞   *ʔur-aá*   *mar-oó-mm-o*   *j-i-t-aá*   *ʔísi*   *ʔaróʔo̞*   *lobakáta*
     2SG.ABS   leave-CNV   go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV   say.2SG-EP-CNV   3SG.F.GEN   husband.ABS   much
     hawwiss-ó-ʔ-o
     make.problem.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV

'But the wife insisted that he must tell her or she will leave him for good.'

(26) *ʔee=lambeʔé-nne* *miné-nne*   *joóʔi*   *ʔantabaakk-íttʃ-i̞* *ʔitt'i*   *ʔollaʔá-nne*
     that=time-TDC   house-LOC   exist.3SG.M-IPV hen-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   neighbor-LOC
     j-oó   *múlli̞*   *ʔantabaakk-íttʃ-í-nne* *ʔatoorar-oo-ʔísa* *ku= mán-tʃ-i̞*
     exist.3SG.M-IPV   other   hen-SG-EP- INST   tell.3SG.M-IPV-SIM   this=man-SG-NOM
     mattʃees-ú-kk-o   *ka=mán-tʃi*   *miné-nne*   *j-oó*   *ʔantabaakk-íttʃi̞*
     hear.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV this=man-SG.GEN house-LOC   exist.3SG.M-IPV   hen-SG.GEN
     ʔolláʔa-nne   *j-oó*   *beʃ-íttʃ-ína*   *ʔare-é*   *ʔ aroʔi-í*
     neighbor-LOC   exist.3SG.M-IPV   friend-SG-DAT   wife-CNJ   husband-CNJ
     wotʃam-u-kk-ísa   *meent-íttʃo*   *ʔisi*   *mán-tʃo̞*   *ʔiinn-iínse*
     be.in.conflict-3PL-PV-ASM-SIM   woman-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   man-SG.ABS   1SG-COMP
     maatt'-í-tti̞   *lúwwa̞*   *kúr-e*   *kur-t-i-tt-i-beeʔ-lási̞*   *keése̞*   *ʔur-aá*
     hide.2SG-EP-ASM   thing.ABS   tell-IMP.SG   tell-2SG-EP-ASM-EP-NEG-CND   2SG.ABS   leave.1SG-CNV
     mar-oó-mm-o   *j-i-t-a-m-úlla*   *ku= mán-tʃ-i̞*   *ʔodíme*
     go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV   say-EP-3SG.F-IPV-ASM-PRG   this=man-SG-NOM   also
     ka=wóʃʃa̞   *kur-ú-lasi̞*   *leh-oó-kki̞*   *bikk-ína*
     this=affair.ABS   tell.3SG.M-PV-CND   die.3SG.M-IPV-ASM   because-DAT
     badd-aá-kk-o   *máhi̞ ʔeʔl-oo-dáʔe*   *laʔ-u-mm-ó-jjo*   *j-aá*
     affraid.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV   what be.better-IPV-CND   know.3SG.M-PV-ASM-NEG   say.3SG.M-CNV
     lúwwa̞   *húnda̞*   *kur-ú-kk-o*
     thind.ABS   all.ABS   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'In the mean time, the rooster which belongs to this man told another cock of the neighbor. My owner

is in trouble with his wife because she insisted that he has got something hidden from her, and she threaten to leave him. He is afraid to tell her the secret. Because, if he did so, he will die. I do not know what to do and in what way I could help him?'

(27)   *ka=wóʃʃạ*   *mattʃees-ú-kkị*   *ʔantabaakk-íttʃ-ị*   *mattʃees-aá*   *lasó-nne*
         this=affair.ABS   hear.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   hen-SG-NOM   hear.3SG.M-CNV   after-TDC
         ku=mán-tʃ-ị   *leh-imm-iínse*   *ʔísị*   *ʔur-t-á-ʔ-a*
         this=man-SG-NOM   die-VN-COMP   3SG.F.NOM   leave-3SG.F-IPV-EP-TV
         mar-t-o-ʔ-aá-re   *ʔeʔl-oo-jjó-nne*   *j-aá*   *sog-ú-kk-o*
         go-3SG.F-IPV-EP-CNV-CND be.better.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-QU say.3SG.M-CNV advise.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         ʔítt'i   *sawwitẹ*   *wótʃ-ú-kk-o*
         idea.ABS   speak.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'The other hen has been listening quietly, then said rather than a man die, she would better leave him and go. Do not you think so?'

(28)   *ka=sogt-ánị*   *sagára*   *mattʃees-oó*   *man-tʃ-oomí-m-ị*   *ʔítt'i*
         this=advise-ANM2   voice.ABS   hear.3SG.M-IPV   man-SG-DEF-too-NOM   3SG.M.GEN
         leh-imm-iínse   *ʔítt'i*   *meent-íttʃọ*   *holl-ímm-ị*   *ʔeʔl-oo-ʔísa*
         die-VN-COMP   3SG.M.GEN   woman-SG   chase-VN-NOM   be.good.3SG.M-IPV-SIM
         hindi-j-ú-kkị   *bikk-ína*
         remind-say.3SG.M-PV-ASM   because-DAT
         meent-íttʃ-oóma   *holl-ú-kk-o*
         woman-SG-DEF   chase.3SG.M-PV-ASM
         'The man, who has been listening all this conversation, observed that chasing away is much better than death. So he chased away [divorced] his wife.'

(29)   *meéntọ*   *holl-ímm-ị*   *ʔaʃeer-am-ú-kk-o*   *ʔee=ball-iínse*   *kiʔis-aá*
         woman.ABS   chase-VN-NOM   start.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV   that=day-ABL   start.3SG.M-CNV
         ʔih-u-kk-ísa   *hadíjji*   *ʔagganá-nne* *wotʃ-am-oo-ʔ-áne*
         be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   Hadiyya.GEN   history-LOC   tell.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-EP-to.be
         'There is an anecdote which says divorce is started in this way, believes the Hadiyya tribe.'

PROVERBS

(01) *baadoo bek'eraa k'app'akkoʔuulla firakkamo*
'Vengeance and a high steep road will be done slow by slow.'

(02) *baado ʔuraa gassubeeʔibeeti beeʔe jitoʔuulla dissitoʔbeeʔ meentittʃo bare t'op'ubeeʔi faraʃʃi balli dʒoriinse gatisamoojjo*
'The one who does not administer without vengeance, a woman does not save while she always says 'I do not have it. A horse that can't be a horse that can't cross cliffs in a leap all can't be trusted on bad times.'

(03) *baddakkoʔi ʔaduuntʃo kabeettʃo jakkamo*
'If someone afraid of a certain cat, then keep saying it is a loepard.'

(04) *bak'u ttʃina k'attʃi beeʔe mogaallina ʔangi beeʔe*
'A mule has no child, a stingy has no hand.'

(05) *bak'uttʃo ʔati ʔajjane jakkoʔaare faraʃʃi ʔiʔeeʃimma jukko*
'When a mule being asked who is his father, he answered horse is my uncle.'

(06) *bak'uttʃo ʔille baddakkaʔa hallittʃi ʔille giirakkoʔo*
'They afraid of a mule's eye, they burns a donkey's.'

(07) *bak'uttʃi ʔusa muʔlukkaare ʔitt'i gaginami gunditt'ookko*
'If a mule broke the rope on its own leg, it minimizes its own free movement.'

(08) *batt'onne gadaammoo mantʃo ʔittʃanne galatt'aammo*
'I undermined him while he work, but he took me in surprise when he eat.'

(09) *biimbeʔi lamar ʔottʃo fook'aaʔoojjo*
'A bunch of files never open a pot's lid.'

(10) *bitiraami mantʃina woʃʃa kuttitte*
'Do not tell you secret to a person with a loose tongue.'

(11) *biʔiisookki waaʔi ballanne diriirsookko*
'A bad god sends over sleep at a broad day light.'

(12) *biʔookki moollonne baaʔjaati heeʔoojjo*
'There is no prophecy in a tribe which is doomed for destruction.'

(13) *boonkeʔi geedʒdʒoomi bagado hooroojjo*
'The fatness of the pig can't spare him from spear.'

(15) *but'ittʃina sani beeʔe*
'The poor one has no nose for bad smell.'

(16)　*buudii ʃeerimii laʔisoobeeʔ wotʃ'a*
　　　'A thing which is hard to tell which one is it its head and which one is its tail.'

(17)　*diriiri lehina ʔabbaajjo*
　　　'Sleep is the younger brother of death.'

(18)　*duubiinse firookki ʔeelliintʃii k'awwiinse firookki ʔallabii malaajjaamo*
　　　'The sunlight which comes from cloudy and an expression which come out from the poor are powerful. (Proverb: An expression of the poor and the sunlight which comes after cloudy day, both strikes fiercely.'

(19)　*fareeʔni fugaʔi wiʔlo ʔaagisooko*
　　　'An idle person attends the funeral of the potter.'

(20)　*fellakkittʃi maagi kabeettʃinne kasamookko*
　　　'A short tempered goat would fight with a leopard.'

(21)　*foori tefinne firoojjo*
　　　'A soul does not escape out in buttock.'

(22)　*gaassaa heeʔukkii mattʃ'e laso warukki buudi higukko*
　　　'A new comer horn is taller than the older ear.'

(23)　*gadakkoʔi moollo hallinne gaadakamo*
　　　'If they undermine a tribe, they invade it with a host of donkey.'

(24)　*gaggabukki gotittʃi buudo gaʔmookko*
　　　'The hastened hyena bites on the horn.'

(25)　*galatt'aakka laʔoobeeʔaannina gaandʒe muʔillakkohaarem ʔaagoojjo*
　　　'Who he is not grateful, will not be thankful if someone dies for the sake of him.'

(26)　*gamaantʃi ʔama ʔoso ʔammaʔnitamojjo*
　　　'A thief mother does not believe her sons.'

(27)　*gamaantʃi ʔinddiiddi gaassaa firookko*
　　　'A thief cries before he is questioned.'

(28)　*gawwi gaassi lallo lalookko*
　　　'A deaf man always talks about stuffs that he knows before he became deaf.'

(29)　*gawwi mattʃ'eesukki balla mattʃaaroohane*
　　　'If a deaf start hearing, he will go mad on the very same day.'

(30)　*gereettʃi beeʔaannina wengereellittʃi moottʃittʃo laboojjo*
　　　'If someone does not have a sheep, a fox is not a beast for him.'

(31)　*goddakkoaʔare gongimi hirfaana*
　　　'When the belly is full a plank is like comfortable matters.'

(32) *goddakkoʔlas   marabimi k'araarookko*
'A honey is sour for a full bellied person.'

(33) *gamaantʃi ʔama ʔooso ʔammaʔnitamojjo*
'A thief mother does not believe her sons.'

(34) *goddukkoki tʃ'irukkiuulla fiink'eesookko*
'A guy with full belly whistles while peeing.'

(35) *gúndi̱ ʔánn-i̱   ʔoos-ína   darabi̱ mán-tʃo̱ lab-oó-kk-o*
'A short father seems a friend for his own sons.'

(36) *dʒabbo maat'akkoʔaare k'araari siidamojjo*
'If you do not tell the illness, you won't get a medicine.'

(37) *dʒori dʒorajjo dʒora ʔawwadukkokdu dʒora*
'The bad guy is not bad, really bad guy is the one who assisted the bad guy.'

(38) *hakk'anne firakkamoki luguminnette*
'Climbing up on the tree starts from beneath.'

(39) *halli kadeʔamtʃi halla ʃoojjo*
'A kick of a donkey do not kill a donkey.'

(40) *hallittʃibeeʔeki bak'uttʃaamo gadukko*
'The one who does not have a donkey undermines the owner of a mule.'

(41) *hallittʃi ʔaroʔi gotiinse hooroojjo*
'A donkey can't spare his wife from a hyena's bite.'

(42) *hallittʃina marabi t'eeʔoojjo*
'Honey is not sweet for a donkey.'

(43) *hamaa hosukkoki wotʃ'aa t'anoojjo*
'The one, who back bites the whole day, has no power to speak.'

(44) *hamaʃʃittʃonne muggukkoki ʔusanne   bobarookko*
'The one frightened by the sight of a snake, would jump in fear in the sight of rope.'

(45) *hantʃ'eʔleena beeʔi lokkinne kadeʔleena hassoʔo*
'Her leg is slightly sufficient to walk with, but she wanted to kick with it.'

(46) *hawwi ʔannittʃinne heeʔoojjo hallittʃim ʔijjinne heeʔoojjo*
'Suffer does not last long with someone, and a donkey does not live forever with a load on its back.'

(47) *hawwo ʔeebbitti waaʔa tʃ'aaralla ʔeebe*
'The God who brought down a hardship will bring down the escape gate together as well.'

(48) *heedoottʃina k'aaʃakkoʔi k'aaʃi hobbittʃo ʔamadaa ʔegerukko*
'A trap which is set down for a bird, turned out to captivate a lion.'

(49) *heellisakkoʔi ʔidaajjittʃo harattʃonne tʃʼittoʔo*
'The spoilt bride pees on a pot.'

(50) *higoohaare gaabittʃi hiimoohaare geerittʃi*
'When night comes it rushes itself there, but once it's over it gets regret.'

(51) *higooki tʼeeni ʔappʼisoone lehookki lobi mantʃi duumoone*
'Do not get hit with a passer by rain; do not be cursed at by a dying old man.'

(52) *higuki woʔo ʔinkiiramoojjo*
'A passed by water can not be fetched.'

(53) *hobbittʃi ʔebeeroohaare saajji ʔille ʔaallookko*
'A senile lion licks a cow's forehead.'

(54) *holluki mantʃi ʔurubeeʔlas gibukkii mantʃi tʼorojjo*
'If the chaser does not stop, the one who runs can't escape.'

(55) *hori siidamookko lamijjennette horoori siidamookko sorennette*
'Wealth comes on the age of twenties; wisdom comes at the age of forty.'

(56) *hossoʔi bejjonne hossaʔa nafara ʔaffaʔa geettoʔo*
'She spent the day somewhere and she runs when she gets closer to the door.'

(57) *hoʔla laʔubeeʔeki ʔantabaakkittʃina hitʼe ʔuwwukko*
'Who he does not know about poultry feeds a grass to a chicken.'

(58) *hungubbittʃi hosukki hakkʼittʃo labookko*
'Chameleon looks a like with the wood it hangs on.'

(59) *kaʃari maara godduki woraabi saajja ʃigigukko*
'The one who is full of red meat, is disgusted in the sight of red cow.'

(60) *kʼasukkoki tʼadukkaare kʼasamukkoki tʼadojjo*
'If the one who stabbed forgets, the victim never forgets.'

(61) *kʼawwi nafariinse kadoʔo murakamoo*
'They cut a beam of plough from a foolish guy's backyard.'

(62) *kʼookʼi ʔilli barbaroʔo baddoojjo*
'A blind eye is not afraid of a chili powder.'

(63) *kʼookʼukki ʔilli barbaroʔo baddoojjo*
'A blind eye is not afraid of a chili powder.'

(64) *kʼotii dilliisoommo jitaʔa koʼotʼootʼii ʔubbuussoʔo*
'She drops from her armpits while she is stretching to pick up from a roost.'

(65) *lamaagge t'ummaatisimmi gameʔlato*
'To greet someone twice is equivalent with an insult.'

(66) *landittʃo ʔamana t'uuttʃa kurtoʔo*
'The daughter teaches to her mom, how to labor.'

(67) *laro ʔallaarukkane bagaani manna ʔallaarukkoki goddoojjo*
'The one who herds cattle will be wealthy but not the one who herds people.'

(68) *lasonne warukki buudi gaassaa heeʔukki mattʃ'e higukko*
'A new comer horn is taller than the older ear.'

(69) *leellaʔaami ʔama ʔooso liʔisamojjo*
'A selfcentered mother does not raise her children.'

(70) *lehubeeʔi mantʃi lamome ʔafookko*
'The one who is alive will achieve anything.'

(71) *lehbeeʔi ʔuulla ʔafoommo jaa waammi beeʔi ʔuulla ʔafukko*
'He wanted to go to a country where there is no death, but he arrived in a country where there is no funeral.'

(72) *lehukki hallittʃi gota baddoojjo*
'A dead donkey does not afraid of a hyena.'

(73) *leellaʔaami ʔama ʔooso liʔisamojjo*
'A selfcentered mother does not raise her children.'

(74) *lobakata biidʒaalli landittʃo ʔambeetina siirtoʔo*
'A very generous girl conceives from her own brother.'

(75) *lobakata ʔamatt'aamina kobi duta*
'A wealthy [person] has got lots of friends.'

(76) *liʔisukki t'eena ʔarasi sabookko*
'Wheat grew to hate a rain which is its guardian.'

(77) *maagina huuʃakkoʔoki maʃalaala ʔapp'isukko*
'A gun aimed for a bad guy hits a good guy.'

(78) *maara ʔuwwa mak'ulanta hoorukko*
'He offered a steak, but denied a knife.'

(79) *mantʃ gotittʃi waarookko jukkiuulla gotittʃi ʔodime mantʃi beeti waarookko googi diihaa garookko*
'The hyena afraid of man to hit the road, the man afraid of the hyena to hit the road, the road deserted because of two cowards.'

(80) *manni horoore kaʔlukkaare dabajjittʃo mattʃ'e kaʔlitoʔo*
'A mice saw a human being braded his hair and she did the same with her ears.'

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(81) *mat meggara ʔuwwobeeʔi mantʃi ʃoohoʔo haraasitaa mure jukko*
'The one who is not willing to contribute tone brick advises about the houses foundation to be wide and large.'

(82) *mati ʔilli buttʃinne lalloojjo*
'One eyed person does not play with dust.'

(83) *meentittʃo baddaakka barkuma ganukko*
'When he afraid of this wife he punches the pillow.'

(84) *meentittʃo ʔasseloʔoki leho baddoojjo*
'The one who is sent by a woman does not even afraid to die.'

(85) *mirgoʔi bat'ohaare faraʃi ʔitookko*
'While the ox sweating in the farm, the horse relaxing in the meadow.'

(86) *murakkoʔbeeʔi ʔangi t'iigeʔoojjo*
'A hand isn't bleed unless it has a cut.'

(87) *niʔaakka lasage tefo ʔamatt'immi ʔawwaadoojjo*
'Once the fart escaped out, it does not help much to grab the ass.'

(88) *saajja hoʔillonneme salalo ʔiitaalla*
'He wishes to have a fresh cheese without having a cow.'

(89) *saajjina buudi keʔimoojjo*
'The horn its not a burden for the cow.'

(90) *sawwitinaa googinaa beeddittʃi beeʔe*
'There is not harbor for thought and road.'

(91) *saaʔillaa laʔobeeʔekki ʃeeriminne dillukko*
'They cut a beam of plough from a foolish guy's backyard.'

(92) *soodina jitobeeʔette soodaraaronne ʔittoʔo*
'She, who does not care about tomorrow, had finished the meal through the night.'

(93) *tiiri mooʔoonne ʔilli mooʔoojjo*
'If a brain is not looking at, eyes can't see a thing.'

(94) *t'iikk'i t'iintt'ittʃi maára ʔitisookko*
'Stubbornness makes some one even to eat a poisoned meat.'

(95) *waaʔa balli tunsiise gatise*
'Oh God! Spare me from darkness of during day light.'

(96) *witʃittʃi minennemi waattʃimma losukko*
'A dog learned how to swim while he stayed indoors.'

(97) *woʔi waattʃaantʃi beeto ʔagukko*

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'A life savers son has drowned in the water.'

ʔaajja gat'anne dʒorisa kaddami ʔammane ʔabbaajji hiironne tuurookko
'While the sister dances absurdly in the dining room, a brother gets small in his chair with embarrassment.'

(98) ʔaaʃakkoʔilas t'eena baddakammojjo
'Once you got wet of the rain, you do not afraid it anymore.'

(99) ʔabuulla tʃ'eemukki mantʃi ʔaboʔinne ʔuuntt'ookko
'Who he does not like to work, begs even after his hair turned grey.'

(100) ʔado ʔuwwakoʔaare galatt'ubeeʔek saajja ʔuwwakoʔaarem galatt'oojjo
'Who he is not thankful when you give him milk, will not be thank for if you give him a cow itself.'

(101) ʔado ʔuwwakkoʔaare galatt'ubeeʔeki saajja ʔuwwakkoʔaaremi galatt'oojjo
'Who he is not thankful when you give him milk, will not be thank for if you give him a cow itself.'

(102) ʔaduuntʃi worworonne kabeettʃo
'A cat is a beast (leopard) inside of it.'

(103) ʔafukki beeʔek k'ot'ara
'Who he didn't experience something hard, is very hard.'

(104) ʔallabaami bagadaammo hollukko
'A sharp tongued chases away the warrior.'

(105) ʔallabi horoorina ʔeebookko
'A tongue is its own enemy.'

(106) ʔallabi lawwilaww ʔafarina muga ʔeebookko
'A swinging tongue brings a whip to the back.'

(107) ʔallapp'i madiinse bagatt'i madi fajjeeʔookko
'A wound from a stab gets heal but a wound from tongue strike never get heal.'

(108) ʔamaajja ʔama labbamojjo
'An ant can't replace a mother's place.'

(109) ʔamalaami daageettʃi baalle t'op'a t'anoojjo
'A manner less monkey does not climb a cliff .'

(110) ʔama leellaʔaami ʔooso liʔisamojjo
'A selfcentered mother does not raise her children.'

(111) ʔama leto beetii ʔama meera marto beetii gudo wiʔlamookko
'A bady whose mother died and a baby whose mother went to market cries shockingly.'

(112) ʔama mooʔakkaʔa landittʃo t'aʔmakkamo
'First look at the mother to marry daughter.'

(113) *ʔamana landittʃo t'uuttʃa kuttoʔo*
'The daughter teaches to her mom, how to labor.'

(114) *ʔamannee woʔonnee dʒori beeʔe*
'There is no bad water or malevolent mother.'

(115) *ʔaboʔ-aám-i̧   ʔamatt'-aam-ína   bat'-oó-kk-o*
white hair-ADZ-NOM   be.reach-ADJZ-DAT   work.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'A white haired old man kneels down for a wealthy one.'

(116) *ʔamatt'aamina kobi   duta*
 'A wealthy person has got lots of friends.'

(117) *ʔambaantʃi maraa lasage wiʃittʃi muunookko*
'A dog barks since a burglar long gone.'

(118) *ʔammaʔnamamoobeeʔi beʃʃuwwi ʔaffamukki daaddʒenne hideʔamamookko*
'Friends, who do not trust each other, make a covenant every now and then.'

(119) *ʔani meera gadoommo meeri ʔeese gadookko*
'I despise the market, the market despises me.'

(120) *ʔannabbaajji ʔanna laboojjo*
'An uncle can't replace a father's place.'

(121) *ʔannare godabo ʔafakamojjo*
'You never know the thoughts of a step mom.'

(122) *ʔanni gundi ʔoosina darabimantʃo labookko*
'A short father seems a brother for his own sons.'

(123) *ʔanni heeʔukkiuulla heellame ʔeelliintʃi heeʔukkiuulla geere*
'Enjoy while your dad is alive, run while it is daylight.'

(124) *ʔannittʃi laarukkiibeeʔaare ʔollakkittʃi ʔagaagoojjo*
 'If you do not shout when you come under attack, no neighbor comes for your rescue.'

(125) *ʔannittʃina horoori keeʔmoojjo*
'A head is not a burden for oneself.'

(126) *ʔantabaakkittʃo gatiseena fellakkittʃo kitimukko*
 'To save his chicken, he sacrificed his goat.'

(127) *ʔantabaaʔi geellittʃi gatt'iinse higoojjo*
'The escape of a chicken does not go beyond a dinning room.'

(128) *ʔantabaaʔi gooni ʔaʔneera holloojjo*
'A rooster can't chase a wild cat away form his wife.'

(129) *ʔantabaaʔika wonaa ʔilmuttʃo laʔakamojjo*
'You can't tell who is older and who is younger between chicks.'

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(130)   *ɁaramakkaɁa   niiɁakkoɁi niiɁi boboojjo*
'A fart which is done in agreement does not smell bad.'

(131)   *ɁarwwaɁa   godditooɁn   ɁaroɁo   tiitamojjo*
'She does not remember her husband unless she filled her belly.'

(132)   *Ɂijjanni   Ɂagiʃʃo jookkoki   beeɁe*
'No one says my dad is a slave.'

(133)   *Ɂille   ɁuwwakkoɁi tʃ'iri   Ɂoota   Ɂiik'a   firookko*
'If you allow a chance for a shit, it would wash away a wall.'

(134)   *Ɂiibbukkaare k'aʃʃinne siggukkaare Ɂanginne*
'When it's hot, you have it with spoon; once it gets cold you have it by hand.'

(135)   *ɁiimaɁinn   mantʃ   haww   Ɂuull   mantʃina   Ɂaagoojjo*
'He who is in the upper class does not feel the pain of the lower class.'

(136)   *ɁiittakkoɁoka   hoogakkam   balla sabakkoɁokka   k'ulut'akkamo*
'When you lose the loved one you would be desperate to have the hated.'

(137)   *Ɂiitʃ'ukkanninse lik'itʃ'ukkoki lopp'ookko*
'The one's he swallowed are much than he chewed.'

(138)   *Ɂitaakka laɁobeeɁeki ʃaana murakkamaare   liiramookko*
'Who he didn't eat, enjoys himself at the sight of cabbage.'

(139)   *ɁitakkoɁuulla   ɁasseɁakkoɁi Ɂoosisa   Ɂikkitte*
'Do not be like a child who is sent to deliver a message while they are eating.'

(141)   *Ɂitimma hoogummaare fintʃ'imma hoogoommojjo jukko Ɂantabaakkittʃi*
'If I failed to eat I will not be failed to scatter it a chicken said.'

(142)   *Ɂubukki hakk'ittʃonne   meesaani dutookko*
'Every one wants to axe a fallen down tree.'

(143)   *Ɂuullittʃa   k'eeraɁliinse   tiiro k'eeraɁli lobane*
'A person with long thought is much better than a person who is tall.'

(144)   *Ɂuunt'ataantʃi   mattʃaarukaaremi tʃ'ana   Ɂuundʒoojjo*
'Even if a beggar went mad, he never drops his begging bag.'

(145)   *Ɂuwwimma laɁoojjo   ɁaaɁimma Ɂiitaalla*
'The one who does not want to give out but likes to be given.'

RIDDLES

(01) *balli ballanne ʔullanne hiimi hiimo k'ot'anne*
'During day time he dwells on the ground, during night time, he dwells on roost.'
Ans: *ʔantabaakittʃo* = 'hen'

(02) *baalli woronne dufuki kaʃari hamaʃʃittʃo*
'A red snake sleeping under a cliff.'
Ans: *ʔallabo* = 'tongue'

(03) *duuʔni gabonne lami gootʃ'i mine*
'A house at the corner of the mountain which has two doors.'
Ans: *sane* = 'nose'

(04) *foori beeʔane ʔamadamobeeʔane hund ʔammaneme taakkeʔoohane*
'It's lifeless, never captured, it ravels all the time.'
Ans: *hafattʃa* = 'air'

(05) *goottoʔi k'urekkittʃonne sarakkoʔi ʃaanni hundiname ʔihookko*
'A cabbage cooked in a small pot is sufficient for everyone.'
Ans: *niiʔo* = 'fart'

(06) *heemattʃi saajja kiʔiisaa k'adaall saajj giʔiimmukko*
'The white guy woke up the black guy and laid himself down in his place.'
Ans: *ʔaboʔo* = 'White hair'

(07) *hanaaʔni mini hundi ʔammaneme t'uʃamoojjo*
'The upper door, never get closed all the time.'
Ans: *sane* = 'nose'

(08) *kaballame fiitaa kaballame giggiroo hakk'ittʃ maha*
'What is a wood which blossoms over night and dried the very same day.'
Ans: *meera* = 'market'

(09) *dʒori ʔama ʔoosi hanénne ʃumeʔlamo*
'A cruel mother who pees on her children.'
Ans: *dʒabanaa siinéʔe* = 'coffee pot and cup'

(10) *kannenne huuʃakamaare waaʔ lugumo ʔaagookko*
'When you throw it from here, it reaches at the edge of the earth.'
Ans: *ʔille* = 'eye (sight)'

(11) *kaʃari gereettʃi kutura guullukko*
'A red sheep consumed all the grass.'
Ans: *giira* = 'fire'

(12) *keejje dissakamaare ʔeekkeʔe ʔafookko*
'When you put it here, it reaches over there.'
Ans: *dabaak'ula* = 'pumpkin'

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(13) *k'araa lasonne k'erep'a mooʔobeeʔ liittʃo*
  'Who never looks back, once he begat.'
  Ans: *dabaak'ula* = 'pumpkin'

(14) *k'adaali mantʃi murukko kaʃari mantʃi   gugguurukko tʃ'ananne naaramukko*
  'A white guy cuts, the red guy transports, stored in the leather pouch.'
  Ans: *ʔink'eé ʔallaboo godabo* = 'teeth tongue and stomach'

(15) *k'uut'i beeʔekame meera firukko*
  'The one who go to market, without having any business.'
  Ans: *wiʃittʃo* = 'dog'

(16) *lami ʔabbaajjuwwi   mooʔakk'amamoojjo*
  'Two brothers never see one another.'
  Ans: *ʔille*   'two eyes'

(17) *manninne   maqire ʔitukkuulla   natʃ'a*
  'The one who grows thin, since he is eating equally with others.'
  Ans: *k'aʃʃo* = 'spoon'

(18) *maraa maraa hoogoobeeʔ littʃo*
  'Never get tiers whatever it travels.'
  Ans: *daadʒdʒe* = 'river'

(19) *marumuujja jookko waarumuujja beeʔe*
  'It was here when I go, but it has vanished when I return.'
  Ans: *k'iibata* = 'frost'

(20) *mattʃ' beeʔ mangist bak'uttʃo*
  'A deaf mule which belongs to the government.'
  Ans: *kaameʔe* = 'car'

(21) *muunooʔisi hobbiittʃisa ʔiinseeʔooʔisi leeʃisa*
  'When it roars it's like a lion, when it lie down it is like a corpse.'
  Ans: *birata* = 'gun'

(22) *saaʔlitaa fittam ʔidaajjittʃo ʃuurukkujja geegeeso hamaamoota*
  'A bride went out of the house on the shoulder of others and a crowd shouting for farewell.'
  Ans: *leeʃaa wiʔlaanoo* = 'corpse and mourners'

(23) *salalo ʔintooʔnemi deegara tʃ'illummo*
  'We poo ranger without eating a fresh cheese.'
  Ans: *ʔantabaaʔa* = 'hens'

(24) *sammo giira ʔijja ʃuuro fandaantʃo*
  'A religious person who shouts, with a fire on his head.'
  Ans: *gaawwa* = 'traditional smoking instrument'

(25) *ʃaa diraamoobeeʔeki ʔajjette*
  'The one who does not boast after he killed, who is he?'
  Ans: *waaʔa* = 'God'

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(26) *waaʔa mooʔookkokii ʔuulla mooʔookkokii mak'ireme heeʔlamo*
'The one who looks up the sky and the one who looks down ward stays together.'
Ans: *buudoo ʃeerimo* = 'horn and tail'

(27) *ʔaadaagoo ʔiimaagoo wit'amo*
'To be put on downward, to be put on upward, to be wrapped around.'
Ans: *kootaa surreʔee gaabeʔe* = 'coat trouser and blanket like garment'

(28) *ʔaagisaa fissoobeeʔi gootʃ'a*
'A thing that allows entrance but never let you go out of it.'
Ans: *mattʃ'e* = 'ear'

(29) *ʔaagukkuujja biira mooʔookko ʃirukkuujja mine mooʔookko*
'It looks outside on entrance but looks inside on exit.'
Ans: *fellaʔ buudo* = 'horn of goats'

(30) *ʔabbaaʔi biiranne ʔarasi binnaakko*
'A wheat scattered over my dad's farmland.'
Ans: *boollaanka* = 'stars'

(31) *ʔabbaaʔi wejjakka gobakaʔa t'anakamojjo*
'It is impossible to sew my dad's blanket.'
Ans: *ʔuul bek'eek'a* = 'crack of land'

(32) *ʔabbaaʔi biiranne ʔont giraara*
'Five acacias on the yard's of my dad.'
Ans: *matt'aara* = 'five fingers'

(33) *ʔabbaaʔi bullukkoʔo ʔamadakkaʔa t'anakkamojjo*
'It is impossible to sew my dad's blanket.'
Ans: *waaʔa* = 'sky'

(34) *ʔadili beeʔehame ʔawwaʔnamoo minaadaba*
'People who travel in order, without a leader.'
Ans: *ttʃ'uuma* = 'ants'

(35) *ʔagakkambeeʔi woʔo*
'A water that never to be a drink,'
Ans: *ʔinddiidda* = 'tears'

(36) *ʔamaa mallona jitamo landdittʃo honsona jitamo*
'The mom says let's go, the daughter say let's stay here.'
Ans: *woʔoo ʃaʃʃara* = 'water and sand'

(37) *ʔamadakkambeeʔi t'uda*
'A creeper that can't be hold.'
Ans: *hamaʃʃittʃo* = 'snake'

(38) *ʔamadakkaʔa t'anakkambeeʔ luwwa*
'A thing which is impossible to grab.'
Ans: *giira* = 'fire'

(39) *ʔama dʒora ʔoos hanenne ʃumeʔlamo*
'A cruel mother who pees on her children.'
Ans: *dʒabanaa siineʔe* = 'coffee pot and cup'

(40) *ʔama heemattʃa ʔoos k'adaalla*
'A black mother and white children.'
Ans: *dʒabanaa siineʔe* = 'coffee pot and cup'

(41) *ʔamatt'i hallittʃi   ʔijjinne   garukko*
'Arrogant donkey spent the night with its load.'
Ans: *ʔaraʔa* = 'bed'

(42) *ʔamasaa ʔitiso ʔannaresaa k'aso*
'Generous like a mother cruel (stingy) like a stepmother.'
Ans: *diiʃittʃo* = 'bee'

(43) *ʔawwansso ʔawwano*
'A guy who goes a head of and who follows him.'
Ans: *marʃaa fatira* = 'needle and thread'

(44) *ʔaʔlummoki heemattʃa ʔawwatt'ummokki kaʃara ʔuundʒummokki k'adaalla*
'I bought black, I used red and finally what I removed as a waste is white.'
Answer: *kasalaa giiraa giiʔlibuttʃa* = 'Coal, fire and ash'

(45) *ʔeek'ido kaʔidoo karoo ʔusa*
'A bond which ties here and yonder.'
Ans: *diriiro* = 'asleep'

(46) *ʔeekk'itt' ʔabbaajji kaʔitt' ʔabbaajjo ʔanginne ganookko*
'A brother yonder slaps a brother over here.'
Ans: a tree wth glamorous branch

(47) *ʔiʔama ʔaʃukkoki hundimi suunk'ookko*
'Every one who arrived here kisses my mother.'
Ans: gaawwa = 'cultural smoking instrument'

(48) *ʔiʔami ʔoosi hundimi horrore gudo*
'All my mom's daughters are equal in height.'
Answer: *saajj hant'a* = 'cow's breast'

(49) *ʔijjummi ʔoosi hundimm bagadaammuwwa*
'All children of my mom are warriors.'
Ans: *bokk'olloʔo* = 'maize'

(50) *ʔijjumma ʔaʃukkokk hundimm suunk'ookko*
'Every one who arrived here kisses my mother.'
Ans: *gaawwa* = 'cultural smoking instrument'

(51) *ʔink'ibeéʔi lumi ʔuulla guullookko*
'A toothless guy destroyed the whole nation.'

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Ans: *giira* 'fire'

(52) *ʔijjummi landiki ʔeddettʃi duta*
'My mother's daughters have so many clothes.'
Ans: *bokk'olla* = 'maize'

(53) *ʔoosoomanonne ʃaanoʔo lommananonne kaʃara*
'He is green when he is infant, but red at old age.'
Ans: *barbaroʔo* = 'green pepper'

(54) *ʔuulla kululukuujjame hoogoobeeʔek maha*
'He travels around the globe, but never get tired, what is it?'
Ans: *daadʒdʒe* = 'river'

(55) *ʔuulli woronne maroo hemattʃi mantʃo*
'A black guy traveling in the tunnel.'
Ans: *maaraʃa* 'Ploughing beam'

(54) *ʔuulittʃanne ʔanniinse lopp'ookko ʔamaanse hoffeʔookko*
'He is taller than his dad, but shorter than his mom.'
Ans: *bak'uttʃo* = 'mule'

This section provides Hadiyya sentences. The data is systematically structured so that it gives information about the morphological and syntactic structures. An attempt is made to include all elements of the language such as number, gender, case, tense, and mood. The sentences are coded for easy reference. They are also transcribed phonemically.

Code   Sentence

(S001)   *suunk'-ú-mm-o*
         kiss.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
         'I kissed.'

(S002)   *suunk'i-n-ú-mm-o*
          kiss.1PL-PV-ASM-TV
         'We kissed.'

(S003)   *suunk'i-t-í-tt-o*
         kiss-EP-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
         'You kissed.'

(S004)   *díss-e*
         put-2SG.JUS
         'You, put!'.

(S005)   *fír-e*
         go out-2SG.JUS
         'You, go out!'
(S006)   *guúll-e*
         finish-2SG.JUS
         'You, finish!'

(S007)   *már-e*
         go-2SG.JUS
         'You, go!'

(S008)   *máss-e*
         take-2SG.JUS
         'You, take!'

(S009)   *waár-e*
         come-2SG.JUS
         'You, come!'

(S010)   *ʔafuúr-e*
         sit down-2SG.JUS
         'You, sit down!'

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(S011)   *ʔuúll-e*
         stop-2SG.JUS
         'You, stop!'

(S012)   *diss-éhe*
         put-IMP.PL
          'You, put!'

(S013)   *fill-éhe*
         go out-IMP.PL
         'You, go out!'

(S014)   *guull-éhe*
         finish-IMP.PL
         'You, finish!'

(S015)   *mall-éhe*
         go-IMP.PL
         'You, go!'

(S016)   *mass-éhe*
         take-IMP.PL
         'You, take!'

(S017)   *waall-éhe*
         come-IMP.PL
         'You, come!'

(S018)   *ʔafuull-éhe*
         sit down-IMP.PL
         'You, sit down!'

(S019)   *ʔuull-éhe*
         stand-IMP.PL
         'You, stop!'

(S020)   *ʔuww-i-n-oó-mm-o*
         give.-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV
         'We give /We will give.'

(S021)   *waattʃ-oo-mm-úlla*
         swim.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG
         'I am swimming.'

(S022)   *waattʃ-i-n-oo-mm-úlla*
         swim-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV-PRG
          'We are swimming.'

(S023)   *waattʃ-oó-lla*
         swim.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
         'He is swimming.'

(S024) *waattʃ-i-n-oo-mm-ullá-jjo*
swim-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV-PRG-NEG
'We are not swimming.'

(S025) *mar-ú-kk-o*
go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He went.'

(S026) *mar-am-ú-kk-o*
go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'They went.'

(S027) *mass-i-t-í-tt-o*
take-EP-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
'You took.'

(S028) *diss-i-n-ú-mm-o*
put-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We put.'

(S029) *dooʔl-ú-mm-o*
choose.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I selected.'

(S030) *dooʔl-aá-mm-o*
choose.1SG-PF-ASM-TV
'I have selected.'

(S031) *ʔuunt'-ú-kk-o*
beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He begged.'

(S032) *ʔuunt'-aá-kk-o*
beg.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
'He has begged.'

(S033) *holl-i-n-ú-mm-o*
chase-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We chased.'

(S034) *holl-i-n-oó-mm-o*
chase-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'We will chase.'

(S035) *ʔánị̣   ʔuull-oó-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   stand.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'I stand/I will stand.'

(S036) *neesẹ̣   ʔuull-i-n-ú-mm-o*
1PL.NOM   stand-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We stand/you will stand.'

(S037) *bat'-aá   bat'-aá   hoog-ú-kk-o*

work.3SG.M-CNV   work.3SG.M-CNV   get tire.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Working repeatedly, he got tired.'

(S038)   *guull-aá-mm-o*
work.1SG-PF-ASM-TV
'I have finished.'

(S039)   *ka=diinátẹ   ʔitt'é-na   mass-i-t-aá   ʔúww-e*
this=money.ABS   3SG.M-DAT   take-EP-2SG-CNV   give-IMP.SG
'Take the money and give it to him.'

(S040)   *waásạ   ʔit-aá   ʔádọ   ʔag-aá   bát'o   mar-ú-mm-o*
enset food.ABS   eat.1SG-CNV   milk.ABS   drink.1SG-CNV   work   go.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'Having eaten enset food and having drunk milk, I went to work.'

(S041)   *beetoó   mantʃoó   mooʔ-ú-mm-o*
boy.ABS.CRD   man.ABS.CRD   see.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I saw a/the boy and a/the man.'

(S042)   *ʔeeseé   keeseé   weeʃ-ú-kk-o*
1SG.ABS.CRD   2SG.ABS.CRD   call.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He called me and you.'

(S043)   *ʔiseé   ʔísi   ʔaroʔoó   meerạ-nne   mooʔ- ú-mmo*
3SG.F.ABS.CRD   3SG.F.GEN   husband.ABS.CRD   market-LOC   see.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I saw her and her husband at the market.'

(S044)   *waattʃamoó   gimbittʃoó   mar-ú-kk-o*
waachamo.CRD   gimbicho CRD   go.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I went to Waachamo and Gimbicho.'

(S045)   *mar-óna*
go.3SG.M-JUS
'Let him go.'

(S046)   *bagad-í-nne   k'ás-e*
spear-EP-INST   kill-IMP.SG
'Kill him with a spear.'

(S047)   *beét-ị̥   waar-ú-kk-o*
boy-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The boy came.'

(S048)   *min-iínse   fír-e*
house ABL   go out-IMP.SG
'Leave the house.'

(S049)   *saajj-ína   hít'e   ʔúww-e*
cow-DAT   grass.ABS   give- Imp.SG
'Give grass for a cow.'

(S050) *ʔánį̇ goot̮ʃ'-ína k'úlfą̇ bitaaʔ-ú-mmo*
1SG.NOM door-DAT key.ABS buy.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I bought a key (keys) for a door (doors).'

(S051) *ku=beét-į̇ min-iínse fir-ú-kk-o*
this=boy-NOM house-ABL come out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The (this) boy came out from house.'

(S052) *ʔoo=fellakk-íttʃ-į̇ hít'ę̇ ʔit-ú-kk-o*
that.NOM=goat-SG-NOM grass.ABS eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The goat ate grass'

(S053) *ʔoo=ʔoós-į̇ t'orbéʔę̇ lell-am-oó-lla*
those.NOM=child-NOM ball.DAT play-3PL-IPV-PRG
'The (these) children are playing.'

(S054) *mátį̇ beét-į̇ waar-ú-kk-o*
one boy-NOM come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'A boy came.'

(S055) *mátį̇ hall-íttʃ-į̇ leh-ú-kk-o*
one donkey-SG-NOM die.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'A donkey died.'

(S056) *ʔítt'į̇ wiʃ-íttʃ̣o holl-ú-kkį̇ beéto sog-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM dog-SG.ABS chase.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL boy.ABS advise.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He advised the boy who chased the dog.'

(S057) *kúkį̇ ʃaana-nníhe ʃaaná-jjo gudéʔe*
this.M.MOM cabbage.COP-QU cabbage.COP-NG edible weed.COP
'Is it a cabbage? No it is no. it is an edible weed.'

(S058) *ku=mántʃ-į̇ biiʔli-ʔuull-iínse waar-ú-kk-o*
this=man.SG-NOM outside.GEN-country-ABL come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man came from abroad.'

(S059) *miʃ-íttʃ-į̇ hakk'-íttʃ-iínse ʔub-ú-kk-o*
fruit-SG-NOM tree-SG-ABL fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The fruit has fallen from the tree.'

(S060) *ʔítt'į̇ waattʃam-iínse kabálla waar-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.Nom waacham-ABL today come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He came from Waachamo today.'

(S061) *ʔítt'į̇ zaraaʔm-iínse ʔub-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM bridge-ABL fall.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He fell from a bridge.'

(S062) *ʔángą̇ ʔanʃ-akk'-imm-ínne dʒabb-iínse gant-óna*
hand.ABS wash-BEN1-VN-LOC disease-ABL prevent.1PL-JUS

'Let's prevent from disease through washing our hands.

(S063) ʔánɨ̲ waattʃámo mar-imm-iínse gat-oo-mm-ó-jjo
1SG.NOM waachamo go-VN-ABL remain.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'I do not remain from going to Waachamo.'

(S064) ʔánɨ̲ ʔítt'o̲ leh-iínse gat-is-ú-mm-o
1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ABS death-LOC remain.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'I saved his life.' Lit: 'I prevented him from death.'

(S065) gimbíttʃ-ɨ̲ waattʃam-iínse ʔiibb-aálla
gimbittʃ-NOM waacham-ABL be hot-ADJZ.COP
'Gimbicho is hotter than Waachamo.'

(S066) ku=mán-tʃ-ɨ̲ ka=mantʃ-iínse k'eeraáʔla
this=man-SG-NOM this=man-Sg-ABL tall.COP
'This man is taller than that man.'

(S067) ku=moóll-ɨ̲ ʔee=mooll-iínse dúta
this=people-NOM that=people-ABL many.COP
'The number of this people is more than that people.'

(S068) ku=tʃˈiil-íttʃ-ɨ̲ laar-imm-iínse bagaánɨ̲ múlli lúwwa̲
this=child-SG-NOM cry-VN-ABL except other thing.ABS
laʔ-oó-jjo
know.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'A child knows nothing other than crying.'

(S069) beét-ɨ̲ ʔaraʔá-nne ʔiinseʔ-ú-kk-o
boy.NOM bed-LOC sleep.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The boy slept on the bed.'

(S070) dak'ajjé-nne lobakátɨ̲ ʔoós-ɨ̲ lall-am-oó-lla
field-LOC many boy-NOM play-3PL-IPV-PRG
'Many children are playing in the field.'

(S071) ʔaráki ʔoós-ɨ̲ biirá-nne lall-am-oó-lla
many boy-NOM field-LOC play-3PL-IPV-PRG
'Many boys are playing in the field.'

(S072) ʔítt'ɨ̲ duuná-nne hákk'a̲ kaas-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM mountain-LOC tree.ABS plant.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He planted trees on the mountain.'

(S073) ʔissúwwɨ̲ kaameʔé-nne ʔafuur-am-ú-kk-o
3PL.NOM car-LOC sit-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'They sat in the car.'

(S074) ʔissúwwɨ̲ kaaméʔi woró-nne ʔafuur-am-ú-kk-o
they (nom) car.GEN in-LOC sit-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'They are in the car.'

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(S075) *maaddeéb-į̄   sási   saatá-nne   ʔaf-oó-kk-o*
maaddeeb-NOM   three   o'clock-TDC   arrive.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'My friends will arrive at 9 o'clock.'

(S076) *maaroʔó-nne   waár-e*
night-TDC   come-IMP.SG
'Come at night.'

(S077) *ʔánį̄   dará-nne   waar-oó-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   morning-TDC   come.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'I will come in the mornig.'

(S078) *mán-tʃ-į̄   waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
man-SG-NOM   come-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'The man (polite) came.'

(S079) *meent-íttʃo   waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
woman-SG.NOM   come-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'The woman (polite) came.'

(S080) *ʔánį̄   los-aán-tʃo*
1SG.NOM   learn-AGN-SG
'I am a student.'

(S081) [*ʔánį̊*]   *ʔit-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   eat.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I ate.'

(S082) *wiʃ-íttʃ-į̄   ʔítt'ǫ   holl-ú-kk-o*
dog-SG-NOM   2MSG.ABS   chase.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'A dog chased him.'

(S083) *ʔánį̄   keésę   laʔ-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
1SG.NOM   2SG.ABS   know.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'I do not know you.'

(S084) *ʔíssį̊   kíʔnę   weeʃ-akk-(á)m-úlla*
3SG.HON.NOM   2SG.HON.ABS   call-3SG.HON-IPV-ASM-PRG
'He/she (polite) is calling you (polite).

(S085) *ʔítt'į̄   ʔísę   haraʔm-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   3SG.F.ABS   help.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He helped her.'

(S086) *ʔítt'į̄   neésę   los-is-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   1PL.ABS   lerrn.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'He taught us.'

(S087) *gam-aán-tʃ-į̄   ʔitt'-iínse   diinátę   gammeʔ-ú-kk-o*
steal-AGN-SG-NOM   3SG.M-ABL   money.ABS   steal.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The thief stole money from him.'

(S088) *ku=ʔassé-tʃ-į̄   ʔitt'uww-iínse ʔasseʔ-am-ú-kk-o*
this=send-ANM4-NOM 3PL-ABL   send.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'This letter sent from them.'

(S089) *ʔítt'į̄   niinn-iínse diinátę̄   lik'aájję̄ ʔaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   1PL-ABL   money.ABS   credit.ABS receive.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He borrowed money from us.'

(S090) *ʔátį̄   ʔiin-iínse k'oóra*
2SG.NOM   1SG-ABL   clever.COP
'You are clever than me.'

(S091) *ʔissúwwį̄   niinn-iínse gitann-úwwa*
3PL.NOM   1PL-ABL   hereo-PL.COP
'They are heroes than us.'

(S092) *ʔís'e   kiinn-iínse danaamó-tte*
3SG.F.NOM   2SG-ABL   beautiful-COP
'She is more beautiful than You.'

(S093) *ʔítt'į̄   ʔitt'i-gágą   t'agaʔl-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   3SG.M.GEN-self.ABS   hung.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He hung himself.'

(S094) *ʔísi   ʔisi   gágą   t'agaʔl-i-t-óʔo*
3SG.F.NOM   3SG.F.GEN   self.ABS   hung-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'She hung herself.'

(S095) *ʔissúwwį̄   ʔissuwwi gágą   t'agaʔl-am-ú-kk-o*
3PL.NOM   3PL.GEN   self.ABS   hung-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'They hung themselves.'

(S096) *ʔísi   ʔisi   gági   haráttʃǭ ʔiikk'-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.F.NOM   3SG.F.GEN self.GEN pot.ABS   break.3SG.F-PV-ASM-TV
'She herself broke the pot. (Lit: no one else, but she broke the pot by herself).'

(S097) *ʔíssį̄   ʔissi   gág-į̄   waar-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.HON.NOM   3SG.HON   self-NOM   cone-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'He/she himself/herself came. (Lit: no one else, but he/she (HON) himself/herself came).'

(S098) *ki   beét-į̄   ʔajjé-nne waattʃámo mar-ú-kk-o*
2SG.GEN   boy-NOM who-LOC   *waachamo*   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'With whom did your son go to Waachamo?'

(S099) *kúkį̄   ʔájjį̄   mine*
this.NOM   whóGEN   house
'Whose house is this?'

(S100) *ʔájjį̄   hakk'-íttʃǭ   mur-ú-kk-o*
who.NOM   tree-SG.ABS cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Who cut a tree?'

(S101) *ʔíssį̄   ʔájję̄   haraʔm-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.HON.NOM   whóABS   help-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV

'Whom did he/she (HON) help?'

(S102) *Ɂítt'ị̄*   *Ɂajjé-na*   *diinátę*   *ɁasseɁ-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   who-DAT   money.ABS   send.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'For whom did he send money?'

(S103) *ki*   *beʃ-íttʃ-ị̄*   *Ɂajjé-tte*
2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM who-COP
'Who is your friend?'

(S104) *Ɂájjị̄*   *hakk'-íttʃọ*   *mur-ú-kk-o*
Who.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   cut.MSG-PV-ASM-TV
'Who cut a tree?'

(S105) *Ɂájjị̄*   *hakk'-íttʃọ*   *mur-ú-kk-o*
Who.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   cut.MSG-PV-ASM-TV
'Who cut a tree?'

(S106) k*i*   *beʃ-úww-ị̄*   *Ɂajj-aámo*
2SG.GEN   friend-PL-NOM   who-PL.COP
'Who are your friends?'

(S107) *Ɂajj-aám-ị̄*   *hakk'-íttʃọ*   *mur-am-ú-kk-o*
who-PL.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   cut-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'Who (PL) cut a tree?'

(S108) *kúkị̄*   *máhi*   *korshóɁo*
this.NOM   what.GEN   bread.COP
'What crop's bread is this?'

(S109) *Ɂítt'ị̄*   *máhạ*   *mooɁ-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   what.ABS   see.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did he see?'

(S110) *Ɂítt'ị̄*   *land-íttʃó-na*   *k'óótạ*   *máhạ*   *Ɂuww-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   girl-SG-DAT   gift.ABS   what.ABS   givé3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did he give a marriage gift to the girl?

(S111) *Ɂítt'ị̄*   *hakk'-íttʃọ*   *mahí-nne*   *mur-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   tree-SG.ABS   what-LOC   givé3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'With what did you cut tree?'

(S112) *Ɂátị̄*   *mah-ína*   *wiɁl-i-t-oó-lla*
2MSG.NOM   why-DAT   cry-EP-2SG-IPV-PRG
'Why are you screaming?'

(S113) *Ɂítt'ị̄*   *mah-ína*   *doóma*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   why-DAT   forest   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Why did he go to forest?'

(S114) *hínkị̄*   *land-íttʃo*   *lobakáta*   *danaamó-tte*
which.NOM   girl-SG.NOM   most   good-3SG.F.COP

'Which girl is the most beautiful?'

(S115)   *hínkį̇*   *ʔoós-i*   *torbéʔę*   *lall-am-oó-lla*
         which.NOM   child-NOM   ball.ABS   play-3PL-IPV-PRG
         'Which children are singing?'

(S116)   *ki*   *beʃ-íttʃ-į̇*   *hínkạ*   *land-íttʃọ*   *ʔeeb-ú-kk-o*
         2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   which.ABS   girl-SG.ABS   bring.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'Which girl is the most beautiful?'

(S117)   *ʔátį̇*   *hurbaátạ*   *hinkí-de*   *sar-t-í-tt-o*
         2SG.NOM   food.ABS   which-how   cook-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
         'How did you (FSG) cook the food?'

(S118)   *ki*   *heéttʃ-į̇*   *hinki-dé-tte*
         2SG.GEN   life-NOM   which-CND-COP
         'How's your life?'

(S119)   *ki*   *ʔaróʔ-į̇*   *hinki-dé-tte*
         2SG.GEN   husband-NOM   which-CND-COP
         'How is your husband?'

(S120)   *ʔátį̇*   *hiki-dé-tte*
         2SG.NOM   which-CND-COP
         'How are you ?'

(S121)   *dukkát-į̇*   *hánno-nne*   *bat'-oó-lla*
         dukkat-NOM   where-LOC   work.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
         'Where is Dukkato working?'

(S122)   *ki*   *beét-į̇*   *hanno-nné-tte*
         2SG.GEN   boy-NOM   where-LOC-COP
         'Where is your son?'

(S123)   *bat'-ímmạ*   *sabb-í-ti*   *mántʃ-i*   *ʔate-tte-nníhe*
         work-VN.ABS   refuse-EP-2SG   man-NOM   2SG-COP-QU
         'Are you the one who refused to work?'

(S124)   *daanéttʃọ*   *bagad-í-nne*   *ʃi-n-ú-mmį̇*   *mánn-į̇*   *neesé-tte*
         daaneettʃ.ABS   spear-EP-INST   kill-1PL-PV-ASM.REL   man-NOM   1PL-COP
         'We are the guys who killed an elephant with a spear.'

(S125)   *goógọ*   *bat'-am-ú-kkį̇*   *mann-ína*   *diinátę*   *mik'-am-u-kk-ó-jjo*
         road.ABS   work-3PL-PV-ASM.REL   man-DAT   money.ABS   pay-3PL-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
         'They didn't pay the money for them who built the road.'

(S126)   *ka=wóʃʃạ*   *mattʃ'ees-ú-kkį̇*   *mán-tʃ-į̇*   *lobakáta*   *nadad-ú-kk-o*
         this=affair.ABS   listen.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   much   annoy.3SG.M-PV-
         ASM-TV
         'The man who listened the secret annoyed verymuch.'

(S127) *leh-ú-kkį̧   hall-íttʃ-į̧   gótą̧   badd-oó-jjo*
die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   donkey-SG-NOM   hyena.ABS   frighten-IPV-NEG
'A carcass of a donkey does not afraid of a hyena.'

(S128) *wattʃam-iínse waar-ú-mmį̧ beét-į̧   ʔané-tte*
wattʃam-ABL   come.1SG-PV-ASM.REL   boy-NOM   1SG-COP
'I am the guy who came from waachamo.'

(S129) *kabálla ʔaráki goógo taakkeʔ-n-ú-mm-o*
today   much   road   walk-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We traveled a very long way today.'

(S130) *neésę̧   waáʔą̧   ʔuunt'-i-n-ú-mm-o*
neésį̧   God.ABS   beg-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We begged to god.'

(S131) *ni   beʃ-íttʃ-į̧   wattʃam-iínse kabálla dára   waar-ú-kk-o*
1PL.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   *wattʃam-iinse*   today   morning come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'A friend of us came this morning from Waachamo.'

(S132) *ʔánį̧   beebálla kojj-ína   búną̧   kaas-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   yesterday guest-DAT coffee.ABS   put on fire.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I made coffee for the guests yesterday.'

(S133) *dooʔl-u-mm-ó-jjo*
choose.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'I didn't select.'

(S134) *ʔuunt'-u-kk-ó-jjo*
beg.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'He didn't beg.'

(S135) *waattʃ-am-oó-kk-o*
swim-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'They swim/They will swim.'

(S136) *waattʃ-akk-(á)m-o*
swim-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV
'S/he (HON) swim/ S/he (HON) will swim.'

(S137) *ka=bát'ǫ   ʔonsoódo   guull-i-t-oó-tt-o*
this=work.ABS   theday.after. tomorrow   finish-EP-2SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'You will finisk the work the day after tomorrow.'

(S138) *maaróʔo   mar-oó-mm-o*
night   go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'I will go in the evening.'

(S139) *soódo   waar-oó-kk-o*
tomorrow   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'He will come tomorrow.'

(S140)   *daridára*   *waar-oó-kk-o*
morning morning   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'He comes every morning.'

(S141)   *matmáti ?ammáne*   *ga?n-oó-kk-o*
one one   time   rain.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'It sometimes rains.'

(S142)   *hundi ?ammáne*   *daaddʒé-nne waattʃ-i-n-oó-mm-o*
all   time   river-LOC   swim-EP-1PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'We always swim in the river.'

(S143)   *gos-áni̧*   *bikk-ína*   *?aalo?-ísa kur-t-aá-tt-o*
abduct-ANM2   about-DAT   good-SIM   tell-2SG-PF-ASM-TV
'You have explained to me about abduction in a detailed manner.'

(S144)   *?abuúlla̧*   *tʃʼeem-ú-kki̧*   *mán-tʃ-i̧*   *?abo?-í-nne*
ploug.ABS   be.lazy.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   grey hair-EP-INST
?uuntt'-oó-kk-o
beg.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Who he does not like to work, begs even after his hair turned grey.'

(S145)   *?antabaa-kíttʃo gat-is-eéna*   *fella-kkíttʃo*   *kitim-ú-kk-o*
hen-SG.ABS   save.3SG.M-CAUS-PURP   goat-SG.ABS   sacrifice.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'To save his chicken, he sacrificed his goat.'

(S146)   *?ítt'i̧*   *soódo*   *waar-oó-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   tomorrow come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'He will come tomorrow.'

(S147)   *?áni̧*   *?ítt'o̧*   *moo?-u-mm-ó-jjo*
1SG.NOM   2MSG.ABS   see.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'I did not see him.'

(S148)   *?antabaá?i geer-ímm-i̧*   *gatt'-iínse*   *hig-oó-jjo*
hen.GEN   run-VN-NOM   dinning room-ABL   pass.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'The escape of a chicken does not go beyond a dinning room.'

(S149)   *ka=?eeb-akk'-am-tʃ-úwwi*   *?annann-aáto̧*   *kur-t-oo-nníhe*
this=marry-BEN1-RFX-ANM4-PL.GEN   differ-ANM3.ABS   tell-2SG-IPV-QU
'Can you tell me the differences between these?'

(S150)   *ki*   *bét-i̧*   *guull-u-kk-o-nníhe*
2MSG.GEN   boy-NOM   finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
'Did the boy finish the work?'

(S151)   *waattʃam-iínse waar-u-kk-o-nníhe*
waacham-ABL   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-QU
'Did he come from waachamo?'

(S152)   *?áti̧*   *?ítt'o̧*   *?iitt-i-t-oo-jjo-nníhe*
2SG.NOM   3SG.M.ABS   love-EP-2SG-IPV-NEG-QU
'Did not you love him?'

(S153) ʔissúwwį   kaballa   waar-am-oo-kk-o-jjo-nníhe
       3PL.NOM   today   come-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG-QU
       'Do not/will not they come today?'

(S154) hákk'ą   kaass-éhe
       tree.ABS   grow-IMP.PL
       'Grow trees!' (Giving advice.)

(S155) ʔoóso   míne   ʔaagg-éhe
       Children.VOC house   enter-IMP.PL
       'Hey, you children get in to home!'

(S156) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-óna
       this=work.ABS finish.3SG.M-JUS
       'Let him finish the work.'

(S157) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-i-t-óna
       this=work.ABS finish-EP-3SG.F-JUS
       'Let her finish the work.'

(S158) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-am-óna
       this=work.ABS finish-3PL-JUS
       'Let them finish the work.'

(S159) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-akk-óna
       this=work.ABS finish-3SG.HON-JUS
       'Let him/her (HON) finish the work.'

(S160) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-i-n-óna
       this=work.ABS finish-EP-1PL-JUS
       'Let's finish the work.'

(S161) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-oóne
       this=work.ABS finish.3SG.M-JUS.NEG
       'Let him not finish the work.'

(S162) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-i-t-oóne
       this=work.ABS finish-EP-3SG.F-JUS.NEG
       'Let her not finish the work.'

(S163) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-am-oóne
       this=work.ABS finish-3PL-JUS.NEG
       'Let them not finish the work.'

(S164) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-akk-oóne
       this=work.ABS finish-3SG.HON-JUS.NEG
       'Let him/her (HON) not finish the work.'

(S165) ka=bát'ǫ   guull-i-n-oóne
       this=work.ABS finish-EP-1PL-JUS.NEG
       'Let's not finish the work.'

(S166) *búttʃa̧   ʔít-e*
soil.ABS   eat-2SG.IMP.SG
'Be dead!' (Lit: eat soil')!' (Cursing)

(S167) *t'úmma   gár-e*
peace   spend-IMP.SG
'Good night' (Lit: May you spend (be) the night in peace.)

(S168) *t'úmma   hoss-éhe*
peace   pass/be-IMP.PL
'Good day' (Lit: May you pass (be) the day in peace.)

(S169) *waáʔ-i̧   liʔ-is-óna*
God-NOM   grow.3SG.M-CAUS-JUS
'May let God grow up what you birthed (baby) grow up,' (blessing)'

(S170) *waáʔ-i̧   neésȩ   t'umm-í-nne   ʔed-óna*
God-NOM   1PL.ABS   peace-EP-INST   meet-3SG.M.JUS
'Let God meet us again in peace.'

(S171) *waáʔ-i̧   neésȩ   t'umm-í-nne   dabar-óna*
God-NOM   1PL.ABS   peace-EP-INST   return.3SG.M-JUS
'Let God come back us in peace.' (i.e. may God protect us from any danger during the journey until we come back to home.)

(S172) *ʔáti̧   waar-t-i-tt-i-dáʔne   ʔitt'-i̧   waattʃámo̧   mar-oo-jjo*
2SG.NOM   come-2SG-EP-ASM-EP-CND 3SG.M.NOM waachamo.ABS   go.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
'If you had come, we would have gone to Waachamo together.'

(S173) *ʔee=kíde   hig-u-kki̧-dáʔne   ʔub-am-heeʔ-oó-jjo*
that=direction   pass.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CND   fall.3SG.M-UCND-be-IPV-NEG
'If he had passed towards that direction, he wouldn't have been sprained.'

(S174) *ku=mán-tʃ-i̧   k'adaálli   gereé-ttʃo̧   dur-ú-kk-o*
this=man-SG-NOM   white   sheep-SG.BS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He slaughtered white sheep.'

(S175) *k'adaálli̧   gereé-ttʃ-i̧   dur-am-ú-kk-o*
white   sheep-SG-NOM   slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'The white sheep was slaughtered.'

(S176) *ʔáni̧   doomá-nne   hákk'a̧   ʔiik'-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   forest-ABL   wood.ABS   bring.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'I broke the wood in the forest.'

(S177) *hákk'-i̧   ʔiik'-am-ú-kk-o*
wood-NOM   break.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'The wood was broken.'

(S178) ʔíttʼi̱   wóʔo̱   daaddʒ-iínse   ʔinkiir-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM   water.ABS   river-ABL   pour.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He fetched water from the river.'

(S179) wóʔ-i̱   ʔinkiir-am-ú-kk-o
water-NOM   pour.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'The water was fetched.'

(S180) ʔíttʼi̱   bátʼo̱   lóhi̱   saatá-nne   guull-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM   work.ABS   six   o'clock-TDC   finish.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He finished the work at six.'

(S181) bátʼ-i̱   lóhi̱   saatá-nne   beedd-ú-kk-o
work-NOM   six   o'clock-TDC   be.finished.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The work was finished at six.'

(S182) tʃʼiil-íttʃ-i̱   ʔuull-ú-kk-o
child-SG-NOM   stand.3SG.M-TV-ASM-TV
'The child stood.'

(S183) ʔíttʼi̱   tʃʼiil-íttʃo̱   ʔuull-is-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM   child-SG.ABS   stand.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'He made a child stand.'

(S184) dukkát-i̱   lapʼ-ú-kk-o
dukkat-NOM   sleep.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Dukkato slept.'

(S185) ʔíttʼi̱   dukkáto̱   lapʼ-is-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM   Dukkato.ABS   sleep.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'He made Dukkato sleep.'

(S186) beét-i̱   wóʔo   ʔag-ú-kk-o
boy-NOM   water   drink.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The boy drank water.'

(S187) dukkát-i̱   beéto̱   wóʔo̱   ʔag-is-ú-kk-o
dukkat-NOM   boy.ABS   water.ABS   drink.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Dukkato made the boy drink water'

(S188) makkeéb-i̱   hooʃʃóʔo̱   ʔit-ú-k-ko
Makkeeb-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Maakeebo ate lunch.'

(S189) makkeéb-i̱   beéto̱   hooʃʃóʔo̱   ʔit-is-ú-kk-o
makkeebo-NOM   boy.ABS   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Makkeebo fed the boy lunch.'

(S190) makkeéb-i̱   beéto̱   hooʃʃóʔo̱   ʔit-isiis-ú-kk-o
Makkeeb-NOM   boy   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Makkeebo made the boy eat lunch.'

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(S191) Ɂaré-e   ɁageoɁí-i̧   suunk'-amam-ú-kk-o
        wife.NOM-CNJ   husband.NOM-CNJ   kiss.3PL-RCP-PV-ASM-TV
        'The wife and husband kissed each other.'

(S192) Ɂoós-i̧   t'oreet'-amam-ú-kk-o
        child-NOM   compete.3SG.M-RCP-PV-3PL
        'The runners (athletes) competed each other.'

(S193) Ɂítt'i̧   mass-akk'-ú-kk-o
        3SG.M.NOM   take.3SG.M-BEN1-PV-ASM-TV
        'He took for himself/he took for his own benefit.'

(S194) Ɂísi̧   lobakáta   k'oorá-tte
        3SG.F.NOM   too.much   clever-COP.3SG.F
        'She is very clever.'

(S195) gimbíttʃ-i̧   waattʃam-iínse   Ɂiibb-aálla
        gimbich-NOM   waacham -COMP   be hot-ADJZ.COP
        'Gimbicho is hotter than Waachamo.'

(S196) dʒawwoór-i̧   niinn-iínse   k'oóra
        Jawwoor-NOM   3PL-COMP   clever.COP
        'Jawwoore is more intelligent than all of us.'

(S197) Ɂáni̧   Ɂitt'-iínse   gúnda
        1SG.NOM   3SG.M-COMP   short.COP
        'I am shorter than him.'

(S198) Ɂísi̧   Ɂitt'o̧   Ɂitt'-iínse   Ɂiitt-i-t-(á)m-o
        3SG.F.NOM   3SG.M.ABS   3SG.M-COMP   like-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
        'She loves more than him.'

(S199) Ɂotoór-i̧   dʒaadʒur-íínse   kiid-aámo
        Ɂotoor -NOM   dʒaadʒur-COMP   be cold-ADJZ
        'Otooro is colder than Jaajura.'

(S200) ku=ball-úww-i̧   geeddʒ-úwwa
        this=ox-PL-NOM   big-PL.COP
        'These oxen are bog.'

(S201) ku=Ɂoós-i̧   k'ooll-úwwa
        this=child-NOM   clever-PL.COP
        'These boys are clever.'

(S202) Ɂitt'-úww-i̧   heemattʃ-úwwa
        3SG.M-PL-NOM   black.ABS-PL.COP
        'They are blacks.'

(S203) ku=baár-i̧   geéddʒa
        this=ox-NOM   big.COP
        'This ox is big.'

(S204)   *ku=beét-i̧   k'oora*
     this=boy-NOM   clever.COP
     'This boy is clever.'

(S205)   *ʔítt'i̧   heemáttʃa*
     he-NOM   black.COP
     'He is black.'

(S206)   *k'ot'ári̧   land-íttʃo   bát'o̧   guul-i-t-ó-ʔ-o*
     intelligent   girl-SG.NOM   work.ABS   finish-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
     'An intelligent girl finished the work.'

(S207)   *ku=beét-i̧   k'áwwa*
     this=boy-NOM   foolish.COP
     'The boy is tall.'

(S208)   *tu=land-íttʃ-o   k'eeraaʔlá-tte*
     this.F=girl-SG.NOM   tall-COP.3SG.F
     'The boy is tall.'

(S209)   *ʔítt'i̧   dan-aámo*
     3SG.M.NOM   be.good-ADJZ.COP
     'He is handsome.'

(S210)   *ʔísi̧   dan-aamó-tte*
     3SG.F.NOM   be.good-ADJZ-COP.3SG.F
     'She is beautiful.'

(S211)   *goottóʔi   beét-i̧   min-iínse   fir-ú-kk-o*
     little   boy-NOM   house-ABL   go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'The little boy went out from the house.'

(S212)   *goottóʔ-i̧   min-iínse   fir-ú-kk-o*
     little-NOM   house-ABL   go.out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'The little one went out from the house.'

(S213)   *k'eeraáʔli̧   mán-tʃ-i̧   ni   baára̧   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
     tall   man-SG-NOM   1SG-GEN   ox.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'The tall man bought our ox.'

(S214)   *k'eeraáʔl-i̧   ni   baára̧   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
     tall-NOM   1SG.GEN   ox.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'The tall one bought our ox.'

(S215)   *ʔabbeéb-i̧   mah-ína   t'eeʔ-aálli̧   saáta̧   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
     ʔabbeeb-NOM   what-DAT   be.expensive-ADJZ   watch.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     Why did Abebo buy an expensive watch?'

(S216)   *saáti   bít-i̧   t'eeʔ-ú-kk-o*
     watch.GEN   price-NOM   be expensive.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
     'The price of the watch was expensive.'

(S217) *ʔánị̧   hemmáttʃị̧   kaamáʔẹ   btaaʔ-ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM black   car.ABS   buy.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I bought a black car.'

(S218) *ʔád-ị̧   mah-ína   heemattʃ-ú-kk-o*
    milk-NOM   what-DAT   be black.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'Why did the milk blacken?'

(S219) *ʔissúwwị̧   haraárị̧   goógọ   bat'-am-ú-kk-o*
    They.NOM   wide   road.ABS   work-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
    'They constructed a wide road.'

(S220) *goóg-ị̧   haraar-ú-kk-o*
    road-NOM   be.wide-PV-ASM-TV
    'The road is broadened wide.'

(S221) *kaballa matimátị̧ mánn-ị̧   dumm-íttʃa   mar-am-ú-kk-o*
    today   one one   man-NOM   meet-EP-ANM4   go-3PL-PV-PV-TV
    'Some of the people went to a/the meeting today.'

(S222) *matimátị̧ ʔuullá-nne   t'úmm-ị̧   beéʔe*
    one.one   country-LOC   peace-NOM   be.absent
    'There is no peace in some countries.'

(S223) *ku=mán-tʃ-ị̧   hooʃʃóʔọ   ʔit-ú-kk-o*
    this=-boy-SG-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
    'This boy ate lunch.'

(S224) *ku=mánn-ị̧   hooʃʃóʔọ   ʔit-am-ú-kk-o*
    this=man-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
    'These men ate lunch.'

(S225) *tu=land-íttʃ-o   hooʃʃóʔọ   ʔit-t-ó-ʔ-o*
    this.F=girl-SG.NOM   lunch.ABS   eat-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
    'This girl ate lunch.'

(S226) *ku=lánd-ị̧   hooʃʃóʔọ   ʔit-am-ú-kk-o*
    this=girl-NOM   lunch.ABS   eat-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
    'These girls ate lunch.'

(S227) *ku=meént-ị̧   k'aww-úwwa*
    this=woman-NOM   foolish-PL.COP
    'These women are foolish.'

(S228) *tu=meent-íttʃo   k'oorá-tte*
    this.F=woman-SG.NOM   clever-COP.3SG.F
    'This woman is clever.'

(S229) *ʔánị̧   ka=beétọ   sog-ú-mm-o*
    1SG.NOM this=boy.ABS   advise.1MSG-PV-ASM-TV
    'I advised the boy.'

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(S230) *Ɂánɪ̯   ka=Ɂoósọ   sog-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   this=boy.ABS   advise.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
"I advised these children.'

(S231) *Ɂi   beeʃ-íttʃ-ɪ̯   ta=land-íttʃọ   Ɂiitt-ú-kk-o*
1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   this.ABS.F=girl-EP-3SG.ABS   like.3SG.M-PV-3SG.M
'My friend loved this girl.'

(S232)
ka=Ɂoos-ína   hooʃʃóɁọ   Ɂúww-e
this=boy-DAT   lunch.ABS   give-IMP-SG
'Give the children lunch.'

(S233) *ka=mann-iínse   Ɂarák'ɪ̯   saw-ímmạ   ɁaɁli-n-ú-mm-o*
this=man-ABL   much   think-VN.ABS   take-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We got a vital advice from these men.'

(S234) *ka=Ɂoos-í-nne   makíre   már-e*
this=children-EP-LOC   with   go-IMP.SG
'Go with these children.'

(S235) *Ɂoo=mán-tʃ-ɪ̯   keésẹ   Ɂiitt-oó-kk-o*
that.NOM=man-SG-NOM   2SG.ABS   like.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'That man loves you.'

(S236) *Ɂoo=meent-íttʃọ   makkeébi   Ɂamá-tte*
that.NOM=woman-SG-NOM   Makkeeb.GEN   mother-COP.3SG.F
'That woman is Makkeebo's mother.'

(S237) *Ɂoo=hottʃ-aánɪ̯   Ɂeésẹ   holl-am-oó-lla   j-ú-kk-o*
that.NOM=hunt-AGN.NOM   1SG.ABS   chase-3PL-IPV-PRG   say.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
kabeé-ttʃ-ɪ̯
leopard-SG-NOM

'Those hunters are chasing me said the leopard.'

(S238) *ku=mán-tʃ-ɪ̯   Ɂee=Ɂoos-ína   Ɂeddé-ttʃạ   bitaaɁ-ú-kk-o*
this=man-SG-NOM   those=child-DAT   wear-ANM4.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man bought clothes for those children.'

(S239) *Ɂánɪ̯   Ɂee=land-íttʃọ   Ɂiitt-ú-mm-o*
1SG.NOM   that=girl-SG.ABS   love.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I love that girl.'

(S240) *Ɂi   beʃ-íttʃ-ɪ̯   Ɂee=min-iínse   fir-ú-kk-o*
1MS.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   that=house-ABL   go out.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'My friend came out from that home.'

(S241) *Ɂoo=beét-ɪ̯   Ɂee=Ɂoos-í-nne   mak'íre   meérạ*
that.NOM=boy-NOM   those=child-EP-COM   with   market.ABS
mar-ú-kk-o
go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'My son went to school with those children.'

(S242) *ʔo=land-íttʃo*   *dan-aamó-tte*
that.DST=girl-SG.NOM   be.good-ADJZ-COP.3SG.F
'That girl is beautiful.'

(S243) *ku=beét-i̥*   *ʔe=land-íttʃó-na*   *diináte̥*   *ʔasseʔ-ú-kk-o*
this=boy-NOM   that.DST=girl-SG-DAT   money.ABS   send.3SG.M-PV-ASM.TV
'The boy sent money for that girl.'

(S244) *ʔítt'i̥*   *ʔe=min-iínse*   *waar-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM   that.DST=house-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He came from that house.'

(S245) *kúki̥*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
this.NOM.M   waachamo   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'This one (M) went to Waachamo.'

(S246) *túte*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-t-ó-ʔ-o*
this.NOM.F   waachamo   go-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'This one (F) went to Waachamo.'

(S247) *kukeéni̥*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-am-ú-kk-o*
these.NOM   waachamo   go-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'These ones went to Waachamo.'

(S248) *ʔoókki*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
that.NOM.M   waachamo   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'That one (M) went to Waachamo.'

(S249) *ʔoótt-i̥*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-t-ó-ʔ-o*
that.NOM.F   waachamo   go.FSG-PV-EP-TV
'That one (F) went to Waachamo.

(S249) *ʔookeéni*   *waattʃámo*   *mar-am-ú-kk-o*
those.NOM   waachamo   go.3PL-PV-ASM.TV
'Those ones went to Waachamo.'

(S250) *ʔókki*   *bátt'o̥*   *guull-aá-kk-o*
that.NOM.M   work.ABS   finish-IPV-ASM-TV
'That one (M) finished the work.'

(S251) *ʔótti̥*   *ki*   *meent-íttʃ-o-tte-nníhe*
that.NOM.F   2SG.GEN   woman-SG-TV-COP-QU
'Is that one (F) your wife?'

(S252) *ʔokeéni̥*   *ni*   *beʃʃ-uwwá-jjo*
those.NOM   1PL.GEN   friend-PL-COP-NEG
'Those are not our friends.'

(S253) *kéjje*   *ʔafuúr-e*
here   sit-IMP.SG

'Sit down here.'

(S254) *ʔeekkéʔe már-e*
there   go-IMP.SG
'Sit down there.'

(S255) *ʔi   beʃ-íttʃ-i̥   ʔekkéʔe mar-ú-kk-o*
1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   there   go.2SG-PV-ASM-TV
'My friend went there.'

(S256) *kejj-iínse dára   waattʃámo mar-ú-kk-o*
here-ABL   morning   waachamo   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He left here and went to Waachamo.'

(S257) *ʔeekkeʔ-iínse waar-ú-kk-o*
there-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He came from there.'

(S258) *ʔítt'i̥   kejjé-nne   lall-oó-lla*
3SG.M.NOM   here-LOC   play.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
'He is playing here.'

(S259) *ʔáni̥   ʔeekkeʔé-nne heeʔ-oo-mm-úlla*
1SG.NOM   here-LOC   live.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG
'I am living there.'

(S260) *ʔáni̥   ʔekkeʔé-nne heeʔ-oo-mm-úlla*
1SG.NOM   there-LOC   live.1SG-IPV-ASM-PRG
'I am living there.'

(S261) *ʔissúwwi̥ kejjé-nne ʔafuur-am-aá-kk-o*
3PL.NOM   here-LOC   sit-3PL-PF-ASM-TV
'They have sat down here.'

(S262) *ʔissúwwi̥ ʔeekkeʔé-nne ʔafuur-am-ú-kk-o*
3PL.NOM   there-LOC   sit-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
'They sat down there.'

(S263) *ʔítt'i̥   kejjé-nne heeʔ-oó-lla*
3SG.M.NOM   here-LOC   live.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
'He is working here.'

(S264) *ʔítt'i̥   ʔekkeʔé-nne   lall-oó-lla*
3SG.M.NOM   there-LOC   play.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
'He is playing there.'

(S265) *ka=hegeegó-nne   dan-aámi̥ mín-i̥   beéʔe*
this=around-LOC   be.good-ADJZ   house-NOM   be.absent
'There is no a nice house around.'

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(S266) ki   kitaábạ   ʔee=kolló-nne   hás-e
      3SG.GEN   book.ABS   that=side-LOC   look for-IMP.SG
      'Look for your book over there.'

(S267) ni   míʔni   ʔillagé-nne   geéddʒ-ị   hakk'-íttʃ-ị   joó-kk-o
      1PL.GEN   house.GEN   infront-LOC   big   tree-SG-NOM   exist-3SG.M
      'There is a big tree in front of our house.'

(S268) dʒóri   ʔáma   ʔoósi   hané-nne   ʃumeʔl-(á)m-o
      bad   mother.NOM   children.GEN   on-LOC   pee.3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
      'A cruel mother who pees on her children'
      Ans: dʒabanaá sinéʔe   'coffee pot and cup'

(S269) ʔee=meénti   lambeʔé-nne   joóʔi   mán-tʃ-ị   ʔísi
      those=woman.GEN   between-LOC   present   man-SG-NOM   3SG.F.GEN
      ʔánna
      father.COP
      'The man between those women is her father.'

(S270) ʔi   beʃ-íttʃ-ị   ʔi   lasagé-nne   ʔafuur-aá-kk-o
      1SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM   1SG.GEN   behind-LOC   sit.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
      'My friend has sat down behind me.'

(S271) ʔítt'ị   kíde   waar-oó-lla
      3SG.M.NOM   towards here   come.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
      'He is coming here (toward the speaker from far away).'

(S272) ʔeekíde   már-e
      towards there   go-IMP.SG
      'Go there.'

(S273) ʔítt'ị   ʔiíme   fir-ú-kk-o
      3SG.M.NOM   upward   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'He went up ward.'

(S274) ʔoós-ị   duun-iínse   ʔaáde   dill-am-ú-kk-o
      Child-NOM   mountain-ABL   downward   come down-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
      'The children came down from the top of the mountain.'

(S275) ʔi   beét-ị   dan-aam-ísa   kananaaʔ-oó-lla
      1SG.GEN   boy-NOM   be good-ADJZ-SIM   read.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
      'My son can read in a right way (in a good manner).

(S276) kaa   beéto ʔaaloʔ-ísa   wótʃ”-e
      2MSG.VOC   boy   good manner-SIM   speak-IMP.SG
      'Speak clearly.'

(S277) leh-ú-kkị   mán-tʃ-ị   bikk-ína   dan-aam-ísa ʔarad-am-oó-kk-o
      die.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL man-SG-NOM   about-DAT   be good-SIM   announce-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
      'They annonce clearly (indetail) about

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(S278)   *k'ott'-all-ísa   bat'-ú-kk-o*
         be strong-ADJZ-SIM   work.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'He did strongly.'

(S279)   *t'oreet'-ám-tʃạ   kaaʔ-eéna   malaajj-aam-ísa geer-ú-kk-o*
         compete-RFX-ANM4.ABS   win.3SG.M-PURP   orce-ADJZ-SIM   run-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'He ran toughly so as to win the race.'

(S280)   *kaʔ-ísa   bát'-e*
         this-SIM   do-IMP
         'Do like this.'

(S281)   *ʔeeʔ-ísa   bát'-e*
         that-SIM   do-IMP
         'Do like that.'

(S282)   *kíde   bát'-e*
         like.this   do-IMP.SG
         'Do like this.'

(S283)   *ʔeéde   bát'-e*
         that.MDC   do-IMP.SG
         'Do like that.'

(S284)   *ka=bálla   waar-e*
         this=today   come-IMP.SG
         'Come today.'

(S285)   *ka=maaráge losáno   guull-oó-mm-o*
         this=year   lesson   complete.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
         'I will complete the lesson this year.'

(S286)   *ʔánị   ʔee=bálla   t'ad-.oo-mm-ó-jjo*
         1SG.NOM   that=day   forget.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
         'I never forget that day.'

(S287)   *ʔoo=ʔammán-ị   t'ad-am-oó-jjo*
         that=time-NOM   forget.3SG.M-PAS-IPV-NEG
         'That moment is unforgettable.'

(S288)   *kejje balliballa gaʔn-oó-kk-o*
         here   day day   rain.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
         'It rains here daily.'

(S289)   *ʔi   beét-ị   meéra dardára   mar-oó-kk-o*
         1SG.GEN boy-NOM   market morning morning go.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
         'My son goes to market every morning.'

(S290)   *ʔítt'ị   hiimihiímo   ni   míne   waar-oó-kk-o*
         3SG.M.NOM   evening evening   3PL.GEN house   come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
         'He comes to our home every evening.'

(S291) *Ɂáni̱* *ka=mán-tʃo̱* *Ɂilláge* *mooɁ-aá-mm-o*
1SG.NOM this=man-SG.ABS before see.1SG-PF-ASM-TV
'I saw this man before'

(S292) *Ɂi* *beʃ-íttʃ-i̱* *waattʃam-iínse* *kaballibálla* *waar-oó-kk-o*
1SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM waacham-ABL a week after come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'My friend will come a week after from Waachamo.'

(S293) *Ɂítt'i̱* *beebálla* *hall-íttʃo̱* *bitaaɁ-ú-kk-o*
3SG.M.NOM yesterday donkey-SG.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He bought a donkey yesterday.'

(S294) *makeeb-i-í* *maaddaam-i-í* *waar-am-oó-lla*
makeeb-NOM-CNJ maaddaam-NOM-CNJ come-3PL-IPV-PRG
'Makkeebo and Maaddaamo are coming.'

(S295) *makeéb-i̱* *Ɂítt'i* *Ɂabbaajj-o-ó* *Ɂíttt'i* *Ɂaajj-a-á*
makkeebo-NOM 3SG.M.GEN brtother.ABS-CNJ 3SG.M.GEN sister.ABS-CNJ
weeʃ-ú-kk-o
call-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Makkeebo called his brother and his sister.'

(S296) a) *Ɂani-í* *Ɂitt'i-í* *Ɂabbaajj-úwwa*
1SG.NOM-CNJ 3SG.M.NOM-CNJ brother-PL.COP
'I and he are brothers.'

(S297) b) *Ɂíssi̱* *Ɂeese-é* *keese-é* *sog-akk-ó-Ɂ-o*
3SG.HON.NOM 1SG.ABS-CNJ you.ABS-CNJ advise-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
'S/He (HON) advised you and me.'

(S298) *Ɂoo=geer-am-oo-kk-ó-kki̱* *makkeebo-tte-é* *liiransó-tte*
that.NOM=run-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL Makkeebo-COP-CNJ Liiranso-COP
'The ones who are running are Makkeebo and Liiranso.'

(S299) *Ɂítt'i̱* *ka=beéti* *lokk-o-ó* *ta=land-íttʃi* *horoor-e-é*
3SG.M.NOM this=boy.GEN leg.ABS-CNJ this.ABS.F=girl-SG.GEN head.ABS-CNJ
Ɂaanʃ-ú-kk-o
wash.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He washed that boy's leg and this girl's cut.'

(S300) *Ɂoo=mín-i̱* *geeddʒa-á* *haraára*
that.NOM=house-NOM big.COP-CNJ wide.COP
'That house is big and wide.'

(S301) *Ɂoo=k'eeraal-i-í* *danaam-i-í* *makeébi* *Ɂabbaájjo*
that.NOM=tall-NOM-CNJ handsome-NOM-CNJ makkeeb.GEN brother.COP
'That tall and handsome boy is Mekebo's brother.'

(S302) *minaadáb-i̱* *beeballa-á* *kaballa-á* *kejjé-nne* *dumm-ú-kk-o*
people-NOM yesterday-CNJ today-CNJ here-LOC gather.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'People gathered here yesterday and today.'

(S303) *ʔeekkide-é kide-é   dabaʔl-am-aá   ʔarad-am-oó-kk-o*
there-CNJ   here-CNJ   return-3PL-CNV   announce-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'They announce about the death moving to every corner.'

(S304) *gaʔn-u-kk-aá-re   waar-oo-mm-ó-jjo*
rain.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND   come.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'If it rains, I will not come.'

(S305) *ʔátị̩   sukaara-á   buna-á   hamaár-e*
2SG.NOM   sugar.ABS-CNJ   coffee.ABS-CNJ   mix-IMP.SG
'Mix sugar with coffee.'

(S306) *ʔátị̩   sukkaárạ̩ ʔeebb-aá   búnạ̩   kaás-e*
2SG.NOM   sugar.ABS   bring-CNV   coffee.ABS   make-IMP.SG
'Bringing sugar make coffee.'

(S307) *ʔissúwwị̩   keeraʔl-uwwa-á   danaam-úwwa*
3PL.NOM   tall-PL.COP-CNJ   beautiful-PL.COP
'They are tall and beautiful.'

(S308) *kiʔnuwwí-mị̩   danaam-ísa   batt'-éhe*
3PL.NOM-INC   gaod-SIM   work-IMP.PL
'You too, do it in a good manner.'

(S309) *mán-tʃ-ị̩   ʔítt'i   ʔanná-mị̩   ʃ-ú-kk-o*
man-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   father-INC   kill-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man kiiled his brother too.'

(S310) *ʔánị̩   lar-ína   hít'ẹ̩   ʔuww-ú-mm-o   ʔi   meent-íttʃọ̩*
1SG.NOM   cow-DAT   grass.ABS   give.1SG-PV-ASM-TV   1SG.GEN   woman-SG
ʔodíme búnạ̩   kaass-ó-ʔ-o
also   coffee.ABS   make.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'I fed the cows grass, my wife in her part made coffee.'

(S311) *ka=dur-am-ú-kkị̩   gereé-ttʃ-ị̩   maárạ̩   ʔajjí-m-ị̩*
this=slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM.REL   sheep-SG-NOM   meat.ABS   who-too-NOM
ʔit-oó-jjo
eat-IPV-NEG
'No one is going to eat the meat of this sheep or goat.'

(S312) *hínkị̩   mán-tʃọ̩   ʔiitt-i-t-oó-tt-o   gundá-nni geéddʒa*
what   man-SG.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F-IPV-ASM-TV   short-or   fat
witʃ'á-nni   k'eeraáʔla
slim-or   tall.COP
'What type of man do you (2FSG) like, a short, fat, slim or tall?'

(S313) *hínkị̩   land-íttʃo   keésẹ̩   ʔarák'a   ʔiitt-i-t-(á)m-o*
which   girl-SG.NOM   2MSG.ABS   much   love-EP-3SG.IPV-ASM-TV
lattʃaamé-nni   ʔeraájje
Lachaame-or   ʔeraajje
'Who girl will you (MSG) love more, Lachaame or Erayye?'

(S314) kúkị ki ʔabbaajjó-nnị ki beʃ-íttʃo
this.NOM.M 2SG.GEN brother-or 2SG.GEN friend-SG.COP
'Is it your brother or friend?'

(S315) ʔátị ʔaaloʔ-ísa bat'-oo-llá-nnị googó-nne kululi-t-oó-lla
2MSG.NOM good-SIM do-IPV-PRG-or street-LOC wander-2MSG-IPV-PRG
'Are you working properly or wasting your time wandering the streets?'

(S316) danaamó-tte ʔih-óna bagaánị k'awwá-tte
good-COP.3SG.F be.3SG.M-JUS nevertheless foolish-COP.3SG.F
'She is beautiful bur foolish.'

(S317) dara-á maaroʔo-ó bat'-oó-kk-o ʔih-óna bagaáni
morning-CNJ night-CNJ work.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV be.3SG.M-JUS nevertheless
godd-aan-tʃó-jjo
rich-AGN-SG.TV-NEG
'He works day and night but he is poor.'

(S318) ʃaameéb-ị las-aán-tʃo
Shaameeb-NOM learn-AGN-SG.COP
'Shaameebo is a student.'

(S319) ʃaameéb-ị dʒabb-aán-tʃ ʔih-ú-kk-o
Shaameeb-NOM sick-AGN-SG be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Shaameebo became sick.'

(S320) ʔarák'ị goógo lokk-í-nne taakkeʔ-ímm-ị fajjaʔ-oom-ína danaámo
long way leg-EP-INST walk-VN-NOM be healthy-ANM1-DAT good.COP
'Walking long distance is important for health.'

(S321) ʃaameéb-ị míne mar-ú-kk-o
Shaameeb-NOM house go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Shaameebo went home.'

(S322) geré-ttʃ-ị dur-am-ú-kk-o
sheep-SG-NOM slaughter.3SG.M-PAS-PV-ASM-TV
'The sheep was slaughtered.'

(S323) ʔísi ʔaróʔ-ị geéddʒị baárạ dur-ú-kk-o
3SG.F.GEN husband-NOM big ox.ABS slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Her husband slaughtered an ox.'

(S324) kába ʔodíme ʔollaʔ-oom-í-nne heeʔ-am-oó lamị ʔollaʔ-úwwi
now also neighbor-ANM1-EP-INST live-3PL-IPV two neighbor-PL.GEN
bikk-ína heéssọ kur-oó-mm-o
about-DAT story.ABS tell.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'Now, I will tell you a tale about two neighbours.'

(S325) ki beʃ-íttʃ-ị waar-oó-lla
2SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM come.3SG.M-IPV-PRG
'Your friend is coming.'

(S326) ʔánị ʔitt'ọ weeʃ-ú-mm-o
1SG.NOM 3SG.M.ABS call.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I called him.'

(S327)   *neési̧   ni   bát'o̧   guull-i-n-ú-mm-o*
          1PL.NOM   1PL.GEN   work.ABS   finish-EP-1PL-PV-ASM-TV
          'We finished our work.'

(S328)   *ʔáti̧   kitaabb-oó-lla*
          2SG.NOM   write.2SG-IPV-PRG
          'You are writing.'

(S329)   *ʔítt'i̧   batt'-oó-lli̧   heeʔ-ú-kk-o*
          3SG.M.NOM   work.3SG.M-IPV-PRG   be-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
          'He was working.'

(S330)   *ʔissúwwi̧   kananaaʔ-am-oó-lli   heeʔ-am-ú-kk-o*
          3PL.NOM   read-3PL-IPV-PRG   be-3PL-PV-ASM-TV
          'They were writing.'

(S331)   *diʔri̧   maar-i̧   fajjaʔ-oóm-ína   danaámo*
          fat   meat-NOM   be healthy-ANM1-DAT   good.COP
          'Fatty meat is good for health.'

(S332)   *ʔáni̧   ʔítt'o̧   weeʃ-ú-mm-ó-jjo*
          1SG.NOM   3SG.M.ABS   call.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
          'I did not call him.'

(S333)   *neési̧   ni   bat'o̧   guull-í-n-ú-mm-ó-jjo*
          1PL.NOM   1PL.GEN   work.ABS   finish-EP-1PL-PV-TV-NEG
          'We did not finish our work.'

(S334)   *ʔáti̧   kitaabb-oo-llá-jjo*
          2SG.NOM   write.2SG-IPV-PRG-NEG
          'You are not writing.'

(S335)   *ʔítt'i̧   batt'-oó-lli̧   heeʔ-ú-kk-ó-jjo*
          3SG.M.NOM   work.3SG.M-IPV-PRG   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
          'He was not working.'

(S336)   *ʔissúwwi̧   kananaaʔ-am-oó-lli̧   heeʔ-am-u-kk-ó-jjo*
          3PL.NOM   read-3PL-IPV-PRG   be-3PL-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
          'They were not writing.'

(S337)   *díʔri̧   maár-i̧   fajjaʔ-oom-ína   danaam-ó-jjo*
          fat   meat-NOM   be healthy-ANM1-DAT   good-NEG
          'Fatty meat is not good for health.'

(S338)   *ka=miné-nne   mánn-i̧   beéʔe*
          this=house-LOC   man-NOM   be.absent
          'No body is in the house.'

(S339)   *ʔisé-na   maandár-i̧   beéʔe*
          3SG.F-DAT   manner-NOM   be.absent
          'She does not have good manner.'

(S340)   *ki   beet-ína   wodán-i̧   beéʔe*
          2SG.GEN   boy-DAT   heart-NOM   be.absent
          'Your son does not have consciousness.'

(S341)   *ki   beʃ-íttʃ-ína   Ɂarák'į   k'armánn-į beéɁe*
        2SG.GEN   friend-SG-DAT   many   relatve-NOM do no exist
        'Your friend has no a lot of relatives.' (Lit: There are no relatives for your friend).'

(S342)   *Ɂi-ína   Ɂaajj-úww-į   beéɁe*
        1SG-DAT   sister-PL-NOM   be.absent
        'I have no sisters (Lit: There are no sisters for me).'

(S343)   *ki   beʃ-íttʃ-ína   Ɂarák'į   k'armánn-į   j-oó-kk-o*
        2SG.GEN   friend-SG-DAT many   relatve-NOM   exist.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
        'Yor friend has a lot of relatives.' (Lit: There are relatives for your friend).'

(S344)   *Ɂi-ína   Ɂaajj-úww-į   j-oó-kk-o*
        1SG-DAT   sister-PL-NOM   exist-IPV-ASM-TV
        'I have sisters (Lit: There are sisters for me).'

(S345)   *mar-imm-iínse   gat-ú-kk-o*
        go-VN-ABL   fail.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
        'He didn't go.'

(S346)   *t'oreett'-antʃ-iínse láso gat-ú-kk-o*
        compete-VN-ABL   back   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'He failed to win the race.'

(S347)   *bát'o   guull-ímmạ   hoog-ú-kk-o*
        work.ABS   finish-VN.ABS   be. unable.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
        'He failed to finish a/the work.'

(S348)   *dʒabb-aán-tʃ-į   Ɂit-ímmạ   hoog-ú-kk-o*
        be sick-AGN-SG-NOM   eat-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
        'The patient was unable to eat.'

(S349)   *mar-imm-iínse gat-u-kk-ó-jjo*
        go-VN-ABL   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'He went.'

(S350)   *t'oreett'-am-tʃ-iínse láso gat-u-kk-ó-jjo*
        compete.BEN3-RFX-ANM4-ABL   back   fail.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'He won a/the race.'

(S351)   *bát'ọ   guull-ímmạ   hoog-u-kk-ó-jjo*
        work.ABS   finish-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'He finished a/the work.'

(S352)   *dʒabb-aán-tʃ-į   Ɂit-ímmạ hoog-u-kk-ó-jjo*
        be sick-AGN-SG-NOM   eat-VN.ABS   be.unable.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'The patient was able to eat.'

(S353)   *ki   beʃ-íttʃ-į   waattʃam-iínse waar-ú-kk-o*
        2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM waacham-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'Your friend came from Waachamo.'

(S354)   *ki   beʃ-íttʃ-į   waattʃam-iínse waar-ú-kk-o*
        2SG.GEN   friend-SG-NOM waacham-ABL   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV.QU
        'Did your friend come from waachamo?'

(S355)   *ku=mán-tʃ-į   ka=diinátẹ ɁuʃeɁ-u-kk-uúlla*
        this=man-SG-NOM   this=cattle.ABS   ride.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG

míne   dabaʔl-ú-kk-o
house   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The man took the cattle and returned back to his house.'

(S356) *ku=mántʃ-į̄   ka=diinátȩ   ʔuʃeʔ-u-kk-uúlla*
this=man-NOM   this=cattle.ABS   ride.3SG.M-PV-ASM-PRG
míne   dabaʔl-u-kk-o-nníhe
house   return.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
'Did the man take the cattle and return back to his house?'

(S357) *ʔíssį̄   kabálla   waar-akk-(á)m-o-nníhe*
3SG.HON.NOM   today   come-3SG.HON.IPV-ASM-TV-QU
'Will he (POL) come today?'

(S358) *ʔi beéto   t'orbéʔȩ lell-i-t-eéna   dak'ájje mar-t-eena-nníhe*
1SG.GEN-boy.VOC   ball.ABS   play-EP-2SG-PURP   field   go-2SG-PURP-QU
'My son! Are you going to stadium to play foot ball?'

(S359) *ʔitt-akk-(a)m-o-jjo-nníhe*
eat-3HON.IPV-ASM-TV-NEG-QU
'Do not you eat?'

(S360) *ki   meent-íttʃo   búnạ   kaass-o-ʔ-o-nníhe*
2SG.GEN   woman-SG.NOM   coffee.ABS   make.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-QU
'Did your wife make coffee?'

(S361) *ʔaʔáʔe [búnạ   kass-o-ʔ-ó-jjo   wásạ   sar-t-ó-ʔ-o]*
no   coffee.ABS   make.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-NG   waasa.ABS   make-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'No, she did not make coffee, she baked waasa (bread).'

(S362) *ʔeéjja búnạ   kaass-ó-ʔ-o*
yes   coffee.ABS   make-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'Yes, she made coffee.'

(S363) *míne   mar-u-kk-o-nníhe*
house   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
'Has he gone home?'

(S364) *ʔeéjja [mar-aá-kk-o]*
yes   go.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
'Yes, (she has gone)'

(S365) *ʔaʔáʔe [mar-u-kk-ó-jjo]*
no   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'No, (she did not go)'

(S366) *mar-u-kk-o-jjo-nníhe*
go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG-QU
'Has not he gone?'

(S367) *ʔeéjja [mar-u-kk-ó-jjo]*
yes   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'Yes, [she has not gone]'

(S368) *hadíjji   kaankk'á-nne goón-tʃi beét-į   bárę   hin-oó-kk-o*
hadiyjj.GEN   culture-LOC   male-SG   boy-NOM   grave.ABS   dig.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
hin-oo-jjo-nníhe
dig.3SG.M-IPV-NEG-QU
'The boy will start digging the grave during funeral ceremony, Won't he?

(S369) *hadíjji   kaankk'á-nne goón-tʃi beét-į   bárę   hin-oó-jjo*
hadiyjj.GEN   culture-LOC   male   boy-NOM   grave.ABS   dig.3SG.M-IPV-NEG
hin-oo-nníhe
dig.3SG.M-IPV-QU
'The boy won't start diging the grave during funeral ceremony, Will he?'

(S370) *ki   ʔuúll-į   keéʔla-nnį ʔabbíso*
2SG   country-NOM   far-or   near
'Is your home village is far or near.'

(S371) *kojjiíntʃ-į   kéjje ʔaffuur-eená-nni ʔítt'i   míne   mar-eéna*
guest-NOM   here   sit.2SG-PURP-or   3SG.M.GEN   house   go.3SG.M-PURP
has-oó-kk-o
want.3SG.M-IPV-3SG.M
'Does the guest like to stay here or to return his home?'

(S372) *ki   ʔabbaájj-į keen-átǫ   hig-u-kk-ó-nnį*
2SG.GEN   brother-NOM   examine-ANM3.ABS   pass-3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV-or
ʔub-ú-kk-o
fail.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV

'Did your brother pass his exam or fail?'

(S373) *bunaá-nnį   ʔádǫ   hass-oó-tt-o*
coffee.ABS-or   milk.ABS   want.3SG.M-IPV-2SG-TV
'Do you want coffee or milk?'

(S374) *wattʃamó-nnį   gimbíttʃǫ   ʔiitt-í-tt-oó-tt-o*
waachamo.ABS-or   gimbich.ABS   like-EP-2SG-IPV-2SG-TV
Do yo like Waachamo or gimbicho?'

(S375) *kejjé-nnį   ʔeekkeéʔe   ʔafuur-t-oó-tt-o*
here-or   there   sit-2SG-IPV-2SG-TV
'Will you sit here or there?'

(S376) *tʃ'iil-íttʃ-į   ʔítt'i   ʔánni   ʔillage-nné-nni lasagé-nne*
child-SG-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   father.GEN   before-LOC-or   behind-LOC
taakkeʔ-oó-kk-o
walk.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Does a child walk before or behind his father?'

(S377) *ʔísį   daaddʒ-iínse máhą   ʔeebb-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.F.NOM river-ABL   what.ABS bring.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'What did she bring from river?'

(S378) *ʔísį   daaddʒ-iínse wóʔǫ   ʔeebb-ó-ʔ-o*
3SG.F.NOM river-ABL   water.ABS bring.3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'She brought water.'

(S379) *ʔájj-į   beebálla   leh-ú-kk-o*
who-NOM   yesterday die-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Who died yesterday'

(S380) *lóbį mán-tʃ-į   beebálla   leh-ú-kk-o*
big   man-SG-NOM   yesterday die-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'An old man man died yesterday.'

(S381) *ʔísį   ʔájje   ʔiitt-i-t-(á)m-o*
3SG.F.NOM   who.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
'Whom does she like?'

(S382) *ʔísį   keésę   ʔiitt-i-t-(á)m-o*
3SG.F.NOM   2SG.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F.IPV-ASM-TV
'She likes you.'

(S383) *ʔísį   ʔájje   ʔiitt-i-tt-ó-ʔ-o*
2FSG.NOM   who.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
'Whom did she see?'

(S384) *ʔájje   ʔiitt-í-tt-ó-ʔo   ʔísį*
who.ABS   like-EP-3SG.F-SP.3SG.F   3SG.F.NOM
'Whom did she see?'

(S385) *waattʃámo mah-ína   mar-t-í-tt-o*
waachamo   what-DAT   go-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
'Why did you go to Waachamo?'

(S386) *mah-ína   waattʃámo mar-t-í-tt-o*
what-DAT   waachamo   go-2SG-EP-ASM-TV
'Why did you go to Waachamo?'

(S387) *ʔoo   mán-tʃ-į   ʔajjé-tte*
that.NOM   man-SG-NOM   who-COP
'Who is that man?'

(S388) *ʔajjé-tte ʔoó   mán-tʃ-į*
who-COP   that.NOM   man-SG-NOM
'Who is that man?'

(S389) *ʔaaʃaám-į   baárą   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   ox.ABS   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
' Aashaamo bought an ox.'

(S390)   *ʔájj-į̥   baárą̥   bitaaʔ-ú-kk-o*
who-NOM ox.ABS buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Who bought an ox?'

(S391)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   gereé-ttʃǫ   dur-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
' Aashaamo slaughtered sheep.'

(S392)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   máhą̥   dur-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   what.ABS   slaughter.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did Aashaamo slaughter?

(S393)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   hít'ę̥   dʒaddʒar-í-nne   mur-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   grass.ABS   sickle-EP-INST   cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Aashaamo cut grass with a sickle.'

(S394)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   hí't ę̥   mah-í-nne   mur-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM grass.ABS   what-EP-LOC   cut.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'With what did Aashaamo cut grass?'

(S395)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   ʔeddéttʃą̥   ʔaanʃ-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   cloth.ABS   wash.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Aashaamo washed clothes.'

(S396)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   máhą̥   bat'-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   what.ABS   work.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'What did Aashaamo do?'

(S397)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   kejje-nné-tte*
Aashaam-NOM   here-LOC-COP
'Aashaamo is here'

(S398)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   hanno-nné-tte*
Aashaam-NOM   where-LOC-COP
'Where is Aashaamo?'

(S399)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   godd-ám-tʃi   ʔih-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   be wealthy-RFX-ANM4   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
' Aashaamo became rich'.

(S400)   *ʔaaʃaám-į̥   máhą̥   ʔih-ú-kk-o*
Aashaam-NOM   what.ABS   be.3SG.M-ASM-TV
'What did Aashaamo become?'

(S401)   *kúkį̥   lopp'isó-tte*
this.NOM   Lopp'iso-COP
'This is Lopp'iso.'

(S402)   *ʔise   los-aan-tʃó-tte*
3SG.F.NOM   learn-AGN-SG.TV-COP
'She is a student.'

(S403)   *lattʃaáme   k'oorá-tte*
Lachaame.NOM   clever-COP
'Lachaame is clever.'

(S404) *taaddás-į̇   ʔeekkeʔe-nné-tte*
Taaddas-NOM   there-LOC-COP
'Taaddasa is there.'

(S405) *ku=diinát-į̇   kii-ná-tte*
this=money-NOM   2SG.GEN-DAT-COP
'The money is for you.'

(S406) *lattʃaámę   ʔi   ʔaajjá-tte*
Lachaame.NOM   1SG.GEN   sister-COP
'Lachaame is my sister.'

(S407) *ʔánį̇   lattʃaamé-tte*
1SG.NOM   lattʃaame-COP
'I am Lachaame.'

(S408) *ʔísi   súmm-į̇   ʔermoollé-tte*
3SG.F.GEN   name-NOM   ʔermoolle-COP
'Her name is Ermoolle.'

(S409) *ʔítt'į̇   leereebó-tte*
3SG.M.NOM   leereebo-COP
'He is Lerebo.'

(S410) *ʔánį̇   taaddasá-tte*
1SG.NOM   Taaddasa-COP
'I am Taaddasa.'

(S411) *ku=béjj-į̇   waattʃámǫ*
this=place-NOM   waachamo.COP
'This place is Waachamo.'

(S412) *ʔoo=beet-į̇   los-aán-tʃǫ*
that.NOM=boy-NOM   leran-AGN-SG.COP
'That boy is a student.'

(S413) *ki   ʔánn-į̇   hanno-nné-tte*
2SG.GEN   father-NOM   where-LOC-COP
'Where is your father?'

(S414) *ʔi   ʔánni   mín-į̇   woro-nné-tte.*
1SG.GEN   father.GEN   house-NOM   in-LOC-COP
'My-father house is in the house.'

(S415) *ʔissuwį̇   mín-į̇   hinkeʔe-nné-tte*
3PL.GEN   house-NOM   where-LOC-COP
'Where is their house?'

(S416) *ʔissúwwi   mín-į̇   kejjé-tte*
3PL.GEN   house-NOM   here-COP
'Their house is here.'

(S417) *ʔísi   ʔuúll-į̇   hanno-nné-tte*
3SG.F.GEN   country-NOM   where-LOC-COP
'Where is her home town?'

(S418)   *ʔísi*   *ʔuúll-į̄*   *ʔekkeeʔé-tte*
        3SG.F.GEN   country-NOM   there-COP
        'Her village is there.'

(S419)   *ʔissuww-iná-tte*
        3PL-DAT-COP
        'It is for them.'

(S420)   *kiʔinnuww-iná-tte*
        2PL-DAT-COP
        'It is for you.'

(S421)   *ʔi*   *súmm-į̄*   *taaddasa-tté-jjo*
        1SG.GEN   name-NOM   Taaddasa-COP-NEG
        'My name is not Taaddasa.'

(S422)   *ʔísį̄*   *los-is-aan-tʃo-tté-jjo*
        3SG.F.NOM   learn-CAUS-AGN-SG.COP-NEG
        'She is not a teacher.'

(S423)   *ʔísį̄*   *lattʃaame-tté-jjo*
        3SG.F.NOM   Lachaame -COP-NEG
        'She is not Lachaame.'

(S424)   *ʔissúwwį̄*   *los-aanó-jjo*
        3PL.NOM   learn-AGN.TV-NEG
        'They aren't students.'

(S425)   *ʔane-tté-jjo*
        1SG-COP-NEG
        'It is not me.'

(S426)   *ʔise-tté-jjo*
        3SG.F-COP-NEG
        'It is not them.'

(S427)   *ʔissuwwa-tté-jjo*
        3PL-COP-NEG
        'It is not them.'

(S428)   *ʔátį̄*   *taddasa-tte-nníhe*
        2SG.NOM   Taaddasa-COP-QU
        'Are you Taaddasa?'

(S429)   *ʔátį̄*   *lattʃaame-tte-nníhe*
        2SG.NOM   Lachaame-COP-QU
        'Are you Lachaame?'

(S430)   *ʔítt'į̄*   *lateebo-tte-nníhe*
        3SG.M.NOM   Lateebo-COP-QU
        'Is he Lateebo?'

(S431)   *kúkį̄*   *ki*   *mine-nníhe*
        this.NOM   2SG.GEN   house-QU
        'Is this your house?'

(S432) *ʔoo=mán-tʃ-į* *ki* *ʔanna-nníhe*
that.NOM=man-SG-NOM 2SG.GEN father-QU
'Is that your father?'

(S433) *ku=lánd-į* *loss-aano-nníhe*
this=girl-NOM learn-AGN.TV-QU
'Are these girls students?'

(S434) *kúkį* *ʔajjé-tte*
this.NOM who-COP
'Who is this?'

(S435) *ki* *súmm-į* *ʔajjé-tte*
2SG.GEN name-NOM who-COP
'What is your name?'

(S436) *ʔátį* *ʔajjé-tte*
2SG.NOM who-COP
'Who are you'

(S437) *ʔané-tte* 'It's me.'

(S438) *neesé-tte* 'It's us.'

(S439) *ʔaté-tte* 'It's you (SG).'

(S440) *kiʔnuwwá-tte* 'It's you (PL).'

(S441) *kiʔné-tte* 'It's you (2SG.HON).'

(S442) *ʔisó-tte* 'It's him.'

(S443) *ʔisé-tte* 'It's her.'

(S445) *ʔissuwwá-tte* 'It's them.'

(S446) *ʔissé-tte* 'It's him (SG.HON).'

(S447) *ʔane-tté-jjo* 'It's me.' 'It's not you (SG).'

(S448) *neese-tté-jjo* 'It's us.' 'It's not you (PL).'

(S449) *ʔate-tté-jjo* 'It's not you (SG.HON).'

(S450) *kiʔnuwwa-tté-jjo* 'It's not him.'

(S451) *kiʔne-tté-jjo* 'It's not her.'

(S452) *ʔiso-tté-jjo* 'It's not them.'

(S453) *ʔise-tté-jjo* 'It's not him (SG.HON).'

(S454) *ʔissuwwa-tté-jjo* 'It's not them.'

(S455) *ʔisse-tté-jjo* 'It's not him (SG.HON).'

(S456) *kúkį* *ʔi* *kitaabį* *heeʔ-ú-kk-o*
this.NOM 1SG.GEN book be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'This/it was my book.'

(S457) neési̜   ʔabuull-aáni̜   heeʔ-n-ú-mm-o
1PL.NOM   farm-AGN   be.1PL-PV-ASM-TV
'We were farmers.'

(S458) taaddás-i̜   los-aán-tʃi   heeʔ-u-kk-o-nníhe
Taaddasa-NOM   learn-AGN-SG   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-QU
'Was Taddasa a student?'

(S459) ʔáni̜   los-aán-tʃi   heeʔ-ú-mm-o
1SG.NOM   learn-AGN-SG   be.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
'I was a farmer.'

(S460) ʔissúwwi̜   ʔaraʔá-nne   heeʔ-am-u-kk-o-nníhe
3PL.NOM   bed-LOC   be-3PL-PV-3SG.M-QU
'Were they on the bed?

(S461) ʔáni̜   ʔabbuull-aán-tʃo
1SG.NOM   plough-AGN-SG.COP
'I am a farmer.'

(S462) hobb-íttʃ-i̜   biiʔilli   moottʃ-íttʃo
lion-SG-NOM   wild.GEN   animal-SG.COP
'A lion lion is a wild animal.'

(S463) ku=mán-tʃ-i̜   k'oóra
this=man-SG-NOM   clever.COP
'This man is clever.'

(S464) ku=mín-i̜   geéddʒa
this=house-NOM   big.COP
'This house is big.'

(S465) ku=meént-i̜   ʔéri̜   bat'-aáno
this=woman-NOM   good   work-AGNCOP
'These women are good workers.'

(S466) neési̜   daddar-aáno
1PL.NOM   trade-AGN.COP
'We are traders.'

(S467) ʔítt'i̜   los-is-aán-tʃo
3SG.M.NOM   learn-CAUS-AGN-SG.COP
'He is a teacher.'

(S468) ʔítt'uww-i̜   godd-aáno
3PL.NOM   be wealthy-AGN.COP
'They are rich.'

(S469) lóbi̜   mánn-i̜   ʔítt'i   ʔabbaájjo̜   [ʃ-ú-kki̜]   mán-tʃo̜
big   man-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   brother.ABS   kill.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG.ABS
duum-ú-kk-o

(S470) maaddeéb-i̜   sog-ú-kki̜   beét-i̜   waar-ú-kk-o
Maaddeeb-NOM   advise.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   boy-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'The boy who maaddeebo insulted came.'

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(S471)   *maaddeéb-į*   *gameʔl-ú-kkį*   *waar-ú-kk-o*
        maaddeeb-NOM   insult.3SG.M-PV-ASM-ASM.REL   come.3SG.M- PV-ASM-TV
        'The one who Maaddeebo insulted came.'

(S472)   *maaddeéb-į*   *ʔeeb-ú-kkį*   *meent-íttʃi*   *ʔabbaájj-į*
        Maaddeeb-NOM   marry.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   woman-SG.GEN   brother-NOM
        mán-tʃ-į   *waar-ú-kk-o*
        man-SG-NOM   come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The man whose sister maaddeebo married came.'

(S473)   *maaddeéb-į*   *ʔeeb-ú-kkį*   *meent-íttʃi*   *ʔabbaájj-į*
        Maaddeeb-NOM   marry.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   woman-SG.GEN   brother-NOM
        waar-ú-kk-o
        come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The one whose sister Maaddeebe married came.'

(S474)   *dumm-am-oó-kk-o*   *lóbi mánn-į*   *t'aleʔé-jjo*
        meet-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV   great man.NOM   only-NEG
        'Not only the elders who are involved in the meeting.'

(S475)   *tu=land-íttʃo*   *ku=mán-tʃ-į*   *wotʃ'-ú-kkį*   *lúwwą*
        this.F=girl-SG.NOM   this=man-NOM   speak-PV-3SG.M-REL   thing.ABS
        ʔiitt-i-t-ó-ʔ-o
        like-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
        'The girl agreed with the idea of a man.'

(S476)   *ku=mán-tʃ-į*   *ka=mann-ína*   *ka=wóʃʃą*   *kur-ú-kk-o*
        this=man.SG-NOM   this=man-DAT   this=affair=ABS   tell.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The poor man told them the issue.'

(S477)   *hadíjji*   *k'aankánne mán-tʃ-į*   *land-íttʃó-na*   *k'oótą*
        hadijj.GEN   culture-LOC   man-SG-NOM   girl-SG.TV-DAT   dowery.ABS
        ʔuww-oó-kk-o
        give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'According to Hadiyya culture a man has to give a dowery to a/the girl'

(S478)   *beét-į*   *míne*   *ʔiss-akk'-eéna*   *has-u-kk-ísa*   *ʔitt'i*
        boy-NOM   house   make.3SG.M-BEN1-PURP   want.3SG.M-PV-ASM-SIM   3SG.M.GEN
        beʃʃ-uww-ína   *kur-ímm-į*   *has-is-oó-kk-o*
        friend-PL-DAT   tell-VN-NOM   want-CAUS-IPV-ASM-TV

        'The boy has to tell his friends that he is planning to get married.'

(S479)   *mátį*   *woraad-íttʃ-į*   *mínę*   *ʔiss-eéna*   *has-u-kk-aá-re*
        one   youngster-SG-NOM   house.ABS   make.3SG.M-PURP   want.3SG.M-PV-CNV-CND
        míne   *bat'-akk'-imma-á*   *k'oot-ína*   *diinátę*
        house   make-BEN1-VN.ABS-CNJ   marriage gift-DAT   money.ABS
        gud-is-akk'-imma-á   *tad-oó-jjo*
        prepare-CAUS-BEN1-VN.ABS-CNJ   forget.3SG.M-IPV-NEG

        'A youth shouldn't fail to build a shelter and make money for engagement, if he wants to
        marry.'

(S480)   *daánn-i̧*   *ʔitt'é-na*   *lab-ú-kki̧*   *ʔogáto̧*   *ʔuww-oó-kk-o*
        judge-NOM   3SG.M-DAT   seem.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   judge.ABS   givé3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
        'The judge has given the judgment on his own way'

(S481)   *mán-tʃ-i̧*   *beebálla*   *gereé-ttʃo̧*   *dur-ú-kk-o*
        man-SG-NOM   yesterday   sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'A man slaughtered a sheep yesterday.'   (non-relativized)

(S482)   *gereé-ttʃo̧*   *dur-ú-kki̧*   *mán-tʃ-i̧*   *beebálla*
        sheep-SG.ABS   slaughter.3NSG-PV-ASM.REL   man-SG-NOM   yesterday
        waar-ú-kk-o
        come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'The man who slaughtered a sheep yesterday came.'   (subject relativized)

(S483)   *mán-tʃ-i̧*   *beebálla*   *bataaʔ-ú-kki̧*   *gereé-ttʃ-i̧*   *leh-ú-kk-o*
        man-SG-NOM   yesterday   buy.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL   sheep-SG-NOM   die.3SG.M PV-ASM-TV
        'The sheep that a man slaughtered yesterday came.'   (object relativized)

(S484)   *hooʃʃóʔo̧*   *ʔit-aá*   *búna̧*   *ʔag-aá*   *mar-ú-kk-o*
        lunch.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CNV   coffee.ABS   drink.3SG.M-CNV   go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'Having eaten lunch and having drunk coffee, he went.'

(S485)   *ʔi*   *beét-i̧*   *gindʒíra̧*   *ʔit-aá*   *los-áni*   *mínȩ*
        1SG.GEN   boy-NOM   breakfast.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CNV   learn-ANM2.GEN   house.ABS
        mar-ú-kk-o
        go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'Having eaten his breakfast, my son went to school.'

(S486)   *ʔánga̧*   *ʔaanʃ-akk'-aá*   *ʔit-ú-mmo*
        hand.ABS   wash.1SG-BEN1-CNV   eat.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
        Having washed my hands, I ate.'

(S487)   *ʔi*   *beét-i̧*   *gindʒíra̧*   *ʔit-oóʔni̧*   *los-áni*   *mínȩ*
        1SG.GEN   boy-NOM   breakfast.ABS   eat.3SG.M-CNV.NEG   learn-ANM2.GEN   house.ABS
        mar-ú-kk-o
        go.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

        'My son went to school without having eaten his breakfast.'

(S488)   *ʔánga̧*   *ʔaanʃ-akk'-oóʔne*   *ʔit-ú-mm-o*
        hand.ABS   wash.1SG-BEN1-CNV.NEG   eat.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
        'I ate without washing my hands.'

(S489)   *soódo*   *bát'o̧*   *guull-i-t-oóʔne*   *waár-e*
        tomorrow   work.ABS   finish-EP-2SG-CNV.NEG   come-IPM.2SG
        'Come tomorrow having finished your work.'

(S490)   *biíʔli*   *ʔuullá-nne*   *heeʔ-aá*   *heeʔ-aá*   *kába*
        abroad.GEN   country-DAT   live.3SG.M-CNV   live.3SG.M-CNV   now
        waar-ú-kk-o
        come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'He lived long time abroad and came now.'

(S491) *ʔit-aá*   *ʔit-aá*   *geedʒ-ú-kk-o*
eat.3SG.M-CNV   eat.3SG.M-CNV   be huge.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He ate more and more food and became huge.'

(S492) d*ʒabb-aá*   d*ʒabb-aá*   *leh-ú-kk-o*
be sick.3SG.M-CNV be sick.3SG.M-CNV die-MSG-PV-ASM-TV
'Having been sick a long time he died.'

(S493) *batt'-aá*   *batt'-aá*   *hoog-ú-kk-o*
work.3SG.M-CNV   work.3SG.M-CNV   tire.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Having worked and worked he became tired.'

(S494) *menk'-aá*   *meenk'-aá*   *neésẹ*   *tʃ'een-siis-ú-kk-o*
talk.3SG.M-CNV talk.3SG.M-CNV   1PL.ABS   bore.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Having talked and talked he made us bored.'

(S495) *jak-aá*   *jak-aá*   *ʔítt'i*   *beéti*   *foórẹ*
try.3SG.M-CNV try.3SG.M-CNV   3SG.M.GEN   boy.GEN   soul.ABS
ɣat-is-ú-kk-o
save.3SG.M-CAUS-PV-ASM-TV
'Having tried and tried he saved his son's life.'

(S496) *ka=k'araárẹ*   *likitʃ'-í-tt-aá-re*   *le-t-oó-jjo*
this=medicine.ABS   swallow-EP-2MSG-CNV-CND die-2SG-IPV-NG
'If you drink this medicine, you won't die.'

(S497) *keene*   *mar-ú-mm-í-daʔne*   *ʔub-ú-mm-í-heeʔ-ú-mm-ó-jjo*
there   go.1SG-PV-ASM-EP-CND   fall.1SG-PV-ASM-EP-be.1SG-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
'If I had gone this way, I wouldn't have fallen.'

(S498) *ʔi-ína*   *ʔammáni*   *heeʔ-u-dáʔne*   *keésẹ*
1SG.GEN-DAT   time   be.present.3SG.M-PV-CND   2SG.ABS
haraʔm-u-m-heeʔ-ú-mm-o
help.1SG-PV-ASM-AUX.1SG-PV-ASM-TV

'If I had had enogh time, I would have helped you.'

(S499) *godd-aán-tʃ-ị̄*   *ʔih-ú-kki-beeʔ-aa-ré-mị̄*   *bút'ạ*
be wealthy-AGN-SG-NOM   be.3SG.M-PV-ASM-NEG-CNV-CND-INC   poor.ABS
haraʔm-oó-kk-o
help.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
'Although he is not rich he helpes poor people.'

(S500) *him-ú-kk-aa-ré-mị̄*   *ʔítt'i*   *míne*   *mar-eéna*
be night.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND-INC 3SG.M.GEN   house   go.3SG.M-PURP
has-ú-kk-o
want.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Even if it is midnight, he decided to go home.'

(S501) ʔánį̧ lobakátį̧ karaáʔlį̧ míne mar-aá-mm-o ʔih-óna bagaánį̧
1SG.NOM many medicine house go.1SG-PF-ASM-TV be.3SG.M-JUS however

ɸajjeʔ-u-mm-ó-jjo
be healthy.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG

'I went to many health centres for clinical treatment; however, I haven't been healthy.'

(S502) biʔ-ú-kkį̧ hall-íttʃọ ʔarák'a has-ú-kk-o
miss.3SG.M-PV-ASM.REL donkey-SG.ABS much look for.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

ʔih-óna bagaánį̧ siid-eéna tan-u-kk-ó-jjo
be.3SG.M-JUS however find.3SG.M-PURP be.able.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG

'He looked for the lost donkey; however, he couldn't find it.'

(S503) ʔánį̧ gereé-ttọ dur-ú-mm-o
1SG.NOM sheep-SG.ABS slaughter.1SG-PV-ASM-TV

'I slaughtered a sheep.'

(S504) ʔi beʃ-íttʃ-į̧ waar-oó-kk-o
1SG.GEN friend-SG-NOM come.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'My friend will come.'

(S505) ʔítt'į̧ geer-oó-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM run.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV

'He runs.'

(S502) ka=ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃạ lánd-į̧ sab-am-oó-kk-o
this=bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS girl.NOM refuse-3PL-IPV –ASM.TV

'Girls refuse such type of marriage.'

(S503) gereé-ttʃọ ʔánį̧ dur-ú-mm-o
sheep-SG.ABS 1SG.NOM slaughter.1SG-PV-ASM-TV

'I slaughtered a sheep.'

(S504) ʔísį̧ tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína wóʔọ ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o ʔádọ
3SG.F.NOM baby-SG-DAT water.ABS give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV milk.ABS

ʔuww-i-t-o-ʔ-ó-jjo
give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-NEG

'She gave water to the child.' (She didn't give the child milk.)

(S505) ʔísį̧ wóʔọ tʃ'iil-íttʃ-ína ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o ʔádọ
3SG.F.NOM water.ABS baby-SG-DAT give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV milk.ABS

ʔuww-i-t-o-ʔ-ó-jjo
give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV-NEG

'She gave water to the child.' (She didn't give to me.)

(S506) ʔánį̧ ʔitt'é-na moókk'ạ sar-ú-mm-o
1SG.NOM 3SG.M-DAT porridge.ABS cook.1SG-PV-ASM-TV

'I coocked porridge for him.'

(S507) ʔánį̧ moókk'ạ ʔitt'é-na sar-ú-mm-o
1SG.NOM porridge.ABS 3SG.M-DAT cook.1SG-PV-ASM-TV

'I coocked porridge for him.'

(S508) ʔitt'é-na   ʔánɪ   moókk'ạ   sar-ú-mm-o
        3SG.M-DAT   1SG.NOM   porridge.ABS   cook.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'I coocked porridge for him.'

(S509) ʔitt'e-na   moókk'ạ   ʔánɪ   sar-ú-mm-o
        3SG.M-DAT   porridge.ABS   1SG.NOM   cook.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'I coocked porridge for him.'

(S510) ʔátɪ   ʔisé-na   diinátẹ   ʔúww-e
        2SG.NOM   3SG.F-DAT   money.ABS   give-IMP.SG
        'You! Give her money.'

(S511) ʔisé-na   hooʃʃóʔọ   meent-íttʃọ   ʔuww-i-t-ó-ʔ-o
        3SG.F-DAT   lunch.ABS   woman-SG.NOM   give-EP-3SG.F-PV-EP-TV
        mán-tʃ-ɪ   ʔuww-u-kk-ó-jjo
        man-SG-NOM   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV-NEG
        'The woman gave her lunch. The man didn't.' (It is no one but the woman who gave
        her lunch.)

(S512) kojj-ína   búnạ   ʔánɪ   kaas-ú-mm-o
        guest-DAT   coffee.ABS   1SG.NOM   make.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
        'I made coffee for the guests.' (It is no one but I made coffee for the guests.)

(S513) ʔánɪ   beebálla   waar-ú-mm-o
        1SG.NOM   yesterday   come.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
        'I came yesterday.'

(S514) beebálla   ʔánɪ   waar-ú-mm-o
        yesterday   1SG.NOM   come.1SG-PV-ASM-TV
        'I came yesterday.'

(S515) ʔoo=tte   ʔi   meent-íttʃó-tte
        that.NOM=3SG.F   1SG:GEN   woman-SG-COP.3SG.F
        'That is my wife.' (*Lit:* that is my woman)'

(S516) ʔi   land-íttʃọ   ʔisé-tte
        1SG.GEN   girl-SG.NOM   3SG.F-COP.3SG.F
        'My daughter is this.'

(S517) ʔájj-ɪ   keésẹ   haraʔm-ú-kk-o
        who-NOM   2SG.ABS   help.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
        'Who helped you?'

(S518) lánd-ɪ   hínka   ʔeeb-akk'-ám-tʃạ   doʔl-am-oó-kk-o
        girl-NOM   which   bring-BEN1-RFX-ANM4.ABS   choose-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
        'Which marriage type do girls choose?'

(S519) ku=mán-tʃ-ɪ   máhạ   ʔijj-aá-kk-o
        this=man-SG-NOM   what.ABS   carry.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
        'What has the man carried?'

(S520) miʃaám-ɪ   ʔajjé-na   kitaábạ   ʔuww-ú-kk-o
        miʃaam-NOM   who-DAT   book.ABS   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV

'To whom mishamo gave the book?

(S521) ʔítt'į   hiiʔmóʔo hannó-nne gar-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM night   where-LOC   spend.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Where did he spend last night?'

(S522) ʔi   beʃ-íttʃ-į   ʔeésę   haraʔm-ú-kk-o
1SG:GEN friend-SG-NOM 1SG.ABS help.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'My friend helped me.'

(S523) lánd-į   heer-ám-tʃą   doʔl-am-oó-kk-o
girl-NOM type of marriage-RFX.ABS choose-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'Girls choose heerantʃa.'

(S524) ku=mán-tʃ-į   tʃʻaná-nne   t'aaféʔę ʔijj-aá-kk-o
this=man-SG-NOM leather.pouch.LIC teff.ABS carry.3SG.M-PF-ASM-TV
'The man has carried a sack of teff.'

(S525) miʃaám-į   makeeb-ína   kitaábą   ʔuww-ú-kk-o
Mishaam-NOM makeebi-DAT book.ABS give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'Mishaamo gave the book to Makebo.'

(S526) ʔítt'į   hiiʔmóʔo ni   miné-nne   gar-ú-kk-o
3SG.M.NOM night   1PL.GEN house-LOC spend.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'He spent in our home last night?'

(S527) beét-į   waar-u-kk-aá-re   ʔánį   mar-oó-mm-o
boy-NOM come.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND 1SG.NOM go.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV
'If the boy comes, I will go.'

(S528) wiʃ-íttʃ-į   moóttʃą   siid-oó   ʔammáne lobakáta
dog-SG-NOM wild animal.ABS watch.3SG.M-IPV time   much
muun-oó-kk-o
bark.3SG.M-IPV-ASM.TV
'When a dog sees a wild aimal, it barks uninterruptedly.'

(S529) gaʔn-u-kk-aá-re   waar-oo-mm-ó-jjo
rain.3SG.M-PV-ASM-CNV-CND come.1SG-IPV-ASM-TV-NEG
'If it rains, I will not come.'

(S530) ʔeekkide-é kide-é   dabaʔl-am-aá   ʔarad-am-oó-kk-o
there-CNJ here-CNJ   return-3PL-CNV announce-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
'They announce about the death moving to every corner.'

(S531) minaadáb-į beeballa-á   kaballa-á kejjé-nne dumm-ú-kk-o
people-NOM yesterday-CNJ today-CNJ here-LOC   gather.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
'People gathered here yesterday and today.'

(S532) ʔoo=k'eeraal-i-í   danaam-i-í   makeébi   ʔabbaájjo
that.NOM=tall-NOM-CNJ handsome-NOM-CNJ makkeeb.GEN brother.COP
'That tall and handsome boy is Mekebo's brother.'

(S533) *ʔoo=mín-į̂*   *geeddʒa-á*   *haraára*
         that.NOM=house-NOM   big.COP-CNJ   wide.COP
         'That house is big and wide.'

(S534) *ʔítt'į*   *ka=beéti*   *lokk-o-ó*   *ta=land-íttʃì*   *horoor-e-é*
         3SG.M.NOM   this=boy.GEN   leg.ABS-CNJ   this.ABS.F=girl-SG.GEN   head.ABS-CNJ
         ʔaanʃ-ú-kk-o
         wash.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'He washed that boy's leg and this girl's cut.'

(S535) *makeeb-i-í*   *maaddaam-i-í*   *waar-am-oó-lla*
         Makkeeb-NOM-CNJ   Maaddaam-NOM-CNJ   come-3PL-IPV-PRG
         'Makkeebo and Maaddaamo are coming.'

(S536) *ʔoo=geer-am-oo-kk-ó-kkį̂*   *makkeebo-tte-é*   *liiransó-tte*
         those.NOM=run-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV-ASM.REL   makkeebo-COP-CNJ   liiranso-COP
         'The ones who are running are makkeebo and liiranso.'

(S537) *makkeéb-į̂*   *ʔítt'i*   *ʔabbaajj-o-ó*   *ʔíttt'i*   *ʔaajj-a-á*
         Makkeeb-NOM   3SG.M.GEN   brtother.ABS-CNJ   3SG.M.GEN   sister.ABS-CNJ
         weeʃ-ú-kk-o
         call-3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'Makkeebo called his brother and his sister.'

(S538) *ʔani-í*   *ʔitt'i-í*   *ʔabbaajj-úwwa*
          1SG.NOM-CNJ   3SG.M.NOM-CNJ   brother-PL.COP
          'I and he are brothers.'

(S539) *ʔíssį̂*   *ʔeese-é*   *keese-é*   *sog-akk-ó-ʔ-o*
         3SG.HON.NOM   1SG.ABS-CNJ   you.ABS-CNJ   advise-3SG.HON-PV-EP-TV
          'S/He (HON) advised you and me.'

(S540) *ʔítt'į̂*   *ka=beet-ína*   *kitaábą̂*   *ʔuww-ú-kk-o*
         3SG.M.NOM   this=boy-DAT   book.ABS   give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
         'He gave books to this boy.'

(S541) *ʔánį̂*   *man-tʃ-o-ó*   *meent-íttʃ-o-ó*   *mooʔ-ú-mm-o*
         1SG.NOM   man-SG.ABS-CNJ   woman-SG.ABS-CNJ   see.1SG-PV-ASM.TV
         'I saw a man and a woman.'

(S542) *ʔánį̂*   *mán-tʃo̧*   *mooʔ-ú-mm-o*
         1SG.NOM   man-SG.ABS   see.1SG-PV-1SG-TV
         'I saw a man.'

(S543) *ʔi*   *beet-i-í*   *ʔi*   *land-íttʃo-ó*   *biíʔli*   *ʔullá-nne*
         1SG.GEN   boy-NOM-CNJ   1SG.GEN   girl-SG.NOM-CNJ   outside.GEN   country-LOC
         heeʔ-am-oó-kk-o
         live-3PL-IPV-ASM-TV
         'My son and my daughter live abroad.'

(S544)   *ʔi*   *beét-i̧*   *biíʔli*   *ʔuullá-nne*   *heeʔ-oó-kk-o*
      1SG.GEN   boy-NOM   outside.GEN   country-LOC   live.3SG.M-IPV-ASM-TV
      'My son lives abroad.'

(S545)   *ʔítt'i̧*   *ka=beet-ina-á*   *ta=land-íttʃ-o-na-á*   *kitaába̧*
      3SG.M.NOM this=boy-DAT-CNJ   this.DAT.F=girl-SG-TV-DAT-CNJ book.ABS
      ʔuww-ú-kk-o
      give.3SG.M-PV-ASM-TV
      'He gave books to this boy and to this girl.'

C. WORD LIST (HADIYYA-ENGLISH)

All the sentential examples, proverbs, riddles and word list in this study are structured and ordered in light of the Latin based Hadiyya orthography as follows:

Hadiyya Orthography	a	b	C	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m	n	o	q	r	s	t	u	w	x	y	z	ch	ph	sh	,
Phonemes	a	b	tʃˀ	d	e	f	g	h	i	dʒ	k	l	m	n	o	kˀ	r	s	t	u	w	tˀ	j	z	tʃ	pˀ	ʃ	ʔ

B

baabura (Amh) NOUN train

baadees- VERB grudge

baado NOUN revenge, grudge

baadulla NOUN meadow

baadʒa [1] NOUN hair style of girls [2] cow or an ox with curved horn

baadʒaame ADJECTIVE young (unmarried) girl

baak'eela NOUN bean

baakkara [1] ADJECTIVE fearful [2] cow without milk

baaldeʔe (Amh) NOUN bucket

baalle NOUN valley, cliff

baalleʔe NOUN feather

baamuun- VERB yearn

baan- VERB separate

baanaʔa NOUN blanket

baara NOUN ox

baaraʔa NOUN yellow (for horse)

baarzaafa NOUN eucalyptus tree

baat'iilo NOUN sin

baaʔ- VERB to fear

baaʔjaata NOUN judgment

babgan- VERB to roast

badano NOUN credit, debit

badar- VERB work very hard

badawwaattʃo NOUN one of the dialects pf Hadiyya

badd- VERB be afraid

badda NOUN plain

baddimma NOUN fear

baddinna ADJECTIVE coward

badʒala ADJECTIVE foolish, immature

baga NOUN near

bagaag- VERB isolate, separate

bagaane PREPOSITION otherwise

bagado [1] NOUN spear [2] war

baha NOUN doll made of calf skin

bahita NOUN dirty, filthy

bak'- VERB wake up

bak'uttʃo NOUN mule

bakbak- VERB wave

bakkeʔ- VERB rest on

bakkiis- VERB support

bakko PREPOSITION near

balatoʔo ADJECTIVE strong

balaʔa ADJECTIVE conscious

balla NOUN day, date

ballattʃ- VERB circumcise

ballattʃa NOUN marriage, circumcision, wedding ceremony

ballittʃo NOUN a brother of one's wife

ballo NOUN mother-in-law

balluwwa NOUN in-law, relatives by marriage

banda NOUN scratch

bandaamo NOUN bald

bank'a [1] NOUN thunderstorm [2] ADJECTIVE huge

bantʃ'a NOUN basalt

barada NOUN snow, ice

barar- VERB fly

barbaroʔo NOUN red pepper, hot pepper

bare NOUN hole

barkuma NOUN wooden pillow

bartʃuma NOUN stool

bartʃeʔe NOUN trouble

baʃila ¹ ADJECTIVE far² a lot of

bat'- VERB do, work

bat'aantʃo NOUN worker

bat'ara NOUN small pox

bat'o NOUN work, job

batbat- VERB be unsettled, mess around. keep on fussing about

batʃ- ¹ VERB gash out, make a hole, bore, drill² VERB win in court cases³ VERB lay egg for the first time (hen)⁴ VERB able to speak the first language (babies)⁵ VERB shorten

batt'ans- VERB divide

batt'antʃa ¹ NOUN division² class

battʃ- VERB to clear land for ploughing

baʔla NOUN plank (flat wood)

baʔliwoʔo (Compound) NOUN well water

bedd- VERB stretch

bedeed- VERB scatter

beeba ADJECTIVE covered

beeballa NOUN yesterday

beeballibeeʔiʔoomballaa (compound) NOUN the day before/ prior day'

beedd- VERB finish, terminate

beelaajja NOUN back

beenk'ara NOUN tick

beeroʔo NOUN town, city

beetiʔare (Compound) NOUN daughter-in-law

beeto NOUN boy

bejjo NOUN space/place

bek'eek'- VERB crack

bek'era ADJECTIVE cracked, cleaved area

beleel- VERB reflect, shine

bella NOUN support

beniʔendʒer- VERB puf up with conceit

beʃa NOUN friend

beʃittʃo NOUN friend

betʃ'aʔ- VERB neglect, undermine, disperse

bett'- VERB emerge

bidoʔo NOUN talking untrue statement

bidʒaalla ADJECTIVE emotional, bad tempered

biibeela NOUN violent incident, atrocity

biidʒaalla ADJECTIVE generous

biimbeʔe NOUN mosquito, fly

biintʃa NOUN sweat

biira ¹ PREPOSITION outside² ADJECTIVE plain

biiroorijja NOUN a kind bird

biiroʔo NOUN office

biiʃʃa ADJECTIVE light black

bik'e ¹ NOUN chest² NOUN slope

bik'iik'- VERB roll

bikke NOUN substitute

bikkina PREPOSITION because, about

bikkiraata NOUN boil, swelling

bilbilaantittʃo NOUN butterfly

billawwa NOUN knife

bille NOUN hot and dry season in Ethiopia

bilt'oʔo NOUN stick with pointed sharp metal end

binnaʔ- VERB scatter

bir- VERB glorify, admire

bira ¹ NOUN silver² NOUN money

biram- VERB be proud

birata (Amh) NOUN gun

birbinn- VERB tire of, caused to be fed up, disgust, irritate

birʃ- VERB dignify, appreciate

bisso NOUN vagina

bitaaʔ- VERB buy

bitees- VERB sell

bitira NOUN front teeth with small space in between

bito NOUN price

bitt'ira NOUN plate made of clay

bittʃo NOUN stick is used to looking after cattle/ which is used as instrument to protect oneself from any danger

biʔ- ¹ VERB disappear, get lost, miss, lose² VERB quarrel

biʔam- VERB disagree

bob- VERB stank, smell bad

boba NOUN bad smell, stink

bobar- VERB to bolt, be shy, startle

bobbaʔa NOUN road

bog- VERB plunder, rob, grab, take by force

bokk'a [1] ADJECTIVE (be) crooked, curved[2] ADJECTIVE misbehaved

bokk'olla (Amh) NOUN maize, corn

bolaaleʔe NOUN trousers

bolol- VERB shine

bolotika NOUN politics

bolt'- VERB be proud

bona NOUN open place

bonk'a ADJECTIVE good, well prepared (for waasa, traditional enset food)

bontʃ'a NOUN pharynx

boobeeta NOUN red mantle of women

boobittʃo NOUN buffalo

boohoʔo NOUN canal, inland waterway

boojja [1] NOUN name of a woman[2] ADJECTIVE a cow with white spot on the forehead

boojjinna NOUN bald

boollaanka NOUN star

boona NOUN lime stone

boonkeʔe NOUN pig

boorad- VERB train

boordʒoʔo NOUN chalk

booso NOUN pot for collecting milk, milking can

bootaar- VERB be alert

bork'a ADJECTIVE dirty water

borkeʔe NOUN the stem from which leafs of enset grow

boronʃa NOUN scab, wound of head as a result of fungal infection

borosa NOUN type of a grass

bottolla ADJECTIVE explicit, obvious

bubb- VERB burn

bujja NOUN leaf

buk'- VERB flow of liquid with high pressure

buk'uro NOUN yeast

bukk- VERB melt

bula NOUN light grey (for horse)

bullukkoʔo NOUN traditional blanket

buluk'- VERB emerge, apear

buna NOUN coffee

buntʃ- VERB remove the maize from the cob

bura NOUN road

buraʔa NOUN straw

burtʃuk'oʔo (Amh) NOUN glass

burtukaana (Amh) NOUN orange

burza ADJECTIVE visually impaired

buʃa NOUN stream

buʃaalla ADJECTIVE cheap

but'- VERB be poor

but'ittʃo NOUN poor

butʃuk'- VERB spit

butt- VERB break in to pieces

buttʃa NOUN soil

buttʃi dista NOUN cooking pot made from clay (earthenware)

buttʃi galaʔa NOUN cooking stone made from clay

buttʃi muuta NOUN materials made from clay

buubbeesaantʃo NOUN widow

buudo NOUN horn

buufaalla ADJECTIVE moist, humid

buuha NOUN mold

buuna [1] NOUN elephant's trunk[2] ADJECTIVE old

buupp'aalla ADJECTIVE thick

buuro NOUN butter

buutta [1] ADJECTIVE grey[2] NOUN pipe made of bamboo

buuzal- VERB cook

buʔana NOUN muscle

buʔo [1] NOUN spring[2] NOUN the product of enset or waasa

tʃ

tʃaaful- VERB write roughly

tʃaakka NOUN light

tʃaall- VERB cross

tʃaaralla NOUN narrow opening, hole

tʃaaʔma NOUN mornig sun light

tʃabab- VERB relax

tʃabbar- VERB scrap

tʃafa NOUN swamp

tʃak'as- VERB check (with scrutiny), hear

tʃaltʃal- VERB hung up something

tʃambalak'a NOUN ocean

tʃana NOUN leather pouch

tʃ'antʃ- VERB make loud noise

tʃ'antʃano NOUN noise, shouting

tʃ'ap'araata NOUN groin

tʃ'arak'a ADJECTIVE thin

tʃ'atʃa NOUN fence

tʃ'attʃa NOUN bushy area

tʃ'aww- VERB become quiet

tʃ'ebba NOUN lowland

tʃ'eek'ite NOUN mark

tʃ'eem- VERB be lazy

tʃ'eeʔmaalla ADJECTIVE lazy

tʃ'ef- VERB soak

tʃ'emera ADJECTIVE thin

tʃ'etʃʃ'ef- VERB sprinkle

tʃ'gimma NOUN to become stunted

tʃ'ibeʔe NOUN louse

tʃ'iikka NOUN clue

tʃ'iila NOUN child

tʃ'iim- VERB influence

tʃ'iins- VERB squeeze, wring out

tʃ'iitʃ- VERB roast

tʃ'iitʃoollittʃo NOUN chick

tʃ'iiʔa NOUN birds

tʃ'iiʔittʃo NOUN bird

tʃ'ingiraalla NOUN falcon, merlin, hawk

tʃ'ir- VERB walk for pleasure

tʃ'iro NOUN urine

tʃ'iʔla NOUN rust

tʃ'ok'ota NOUN white dirt from the eye

tʃ'ollonga NOUN a person with attractive face

tʃ'oobaaroʔo NOUN dish of minced cabbage with butter

tʃ'ooʔ- VERB strip off (bark)

tʃ'op'- VERB drop

tʃ'oreʔe NOUN riverside

tʃ'oroʔo NOUN noise

tʃ'uk'uluusittʃo NOUN type of a bird

tʃ'ukk- VERB rub

tʃ'uma NOUN intestine

tʃ'up'a NOUN pestle, pounding stick

tʃ'uuma NOUN ant

tʃ'uung- VERB pour to the last drop, drink the rest

tʃuup'a NOUN ring

tʃaajite NOUN talk to each other

tʃabab- VERB strech up

D

daabboʔo (Amh) NOUN bread

daabuloosa NOUN devil

daad- VERB flow

daadaantʃo ADJECTIVE liquid

daaddӡe NOUN river

daadees- VERB observe, watch carefully

daafa NOUN reason, cause

daageera NOUN baboon

daajjam- VERB share

daamaʔa reddish (horse)

daamma NOUN honey

daaneʔe NOUN elephant

daanna NOUN judge

daapp'- VERB watch at a long distance

daat'eʔe NOUN strawberry

daaʔmaantʃo NOUN traveller

dabaak'ula NOUN pumpkin

dabajja NOUN rat

dabar- VERB alter, change

dabaʔl- VERB return, go back

daboʔo NOUN frame work

dad- VERB twist, interweave

daddaraantʃo NOUN trader

daddaro NOUN trade

dak'ajje NOUN field

dak'uura NOUN worm

dallittʃo NOUN hump (of cow)

damaalla NOUN deer

damaallittʃo NOUN female deer

dambak'a NOUN terror

dambala NOUN depth (of water)

dambalak'a NOUN ocean, sea

damuuma NOUN headache

danaamo ADJECTIVE good

danaanaantʃo NOUN provider, distributor

dango NOUN accident

dank'aleʔe NOUN cabbage

dara NOUN morning

darab- VERB throw

darabo NOUN peers, friends of the same age group

darbaʔa NOUN wandering with cattle through milky grassland

das- VERB be slow

dasa ADJECTIVE slow

dass- VERB cut in to pieces

dassa NOUN crash

daʃʃ- VERB sweel

daʃʃa NOUN swelling

dawwa NOUN communal labor

deeda ADJECTIVE colorful

deegara ADJECTIVE spotted, black and white (for animals)

deemma NOUN eye brow

deeʔa ADJECTIVE disable

dereer- VERB tear

dibbeʔe NOUN drum

dibino NOUN tape worm

diddabba NOUN skin of sheep or goat uses to put under bed and brush up leg during sleep

diddeenna NOUN mess

didok'ola NOUN mess

didʒinoʔo NOUN axe

diggisa NOUN banquet, festive meal

digiba NOUN podocarpo (podocarpus gracillor)

digin- VERB roar (for lion)

diidaar- VERB list, arrange

diiha ADJECTIVE empty

diinate ¹ NOUN domestic animals² money

diinaʔa NOUN enemy

diindaallittʃo NOUN dung beetle

diiʃʃittʃo NOUN bee

diiʃʃiʔadila (compound) NOUN queen bee

dik'aasa NOUN mead, a kind of drink made of honey

dill- VERB descend, go down

dim- VERB limp

dima ADJECTIVE a living thing that can move and limp when it walks

dimara NOUN clod

dimbaantʃo NOUN drunk (a person)

dinb- VERB get drink

dinnittʃa (Amh) NOUN potato

dira NOUN dust

dirifa NOUN stream

diriir- VERB sleep

diriiro NOUN asleep

dirisa NOUN flood, erosion

diss- VERB put, place, set

dista NOUN pot

dittʃira NOUN ditch

diʔaattʃ- VERB belch, bring up wind

diʔra NOUN fat

doba NOUN weed

donda NOUN local umbrella made of bamboo

dondeʔe NOUN cover of bamboo

doojj- VERB went, died, migrate

doojja NOUN migration

doola NOUN bell

doolle NOUN time which grouped from years or decades

dooma NOUN forest

doon- VERB register

doona NOUN suck, store

doonijja NOUN sack

dooʔl- VERB choose

dora NOUN clay soil

doʔ- VERB turn over

doʔna NOUN nest

dub- VERB sink

dubba NOUN bush

duduk'- VERB stammer

duf- VERB lie on

duma separated part of a room (for bride/ utensils)

dummittʃa NOUN meeting

dun- VERB spill (liquid)

dunkaana NOUN tent

dur- VERB slaughter, kill (animal for butchering)

dut'- VERB hit

duta ADJECTIVE plural, a lot of

duuba NOUN cloud

duubaana NOUN a kind of plant whose fruit is edible

duubbo NOUN garden

duuda NOUN deaf

duufa NOUN calf (of leg)

duug- VERB scrape

duuhaʔa NOUN condition, direction, way, method

duukʼ- VERB take into the mouth

duum- VERB curse

duuna NOUN mountain

duuʔmantʃa NOUN cursing

F

faangaajj- VERB mock, speak fun

faanoosa (Amh) NOUN lamp

faareʔ- VERB motivate

faareʔaalla ADJECTIVE motivated, inspired, interested to do something

faasa NOUN axe

faateʔe NOUN words of wishing (blessing) or cursing (condemnation) taken by a group of people

faatʃʼoʔo NOUN commotion

faf- VERB become abundant

fajjaʔa ADJECTIVE healthy, well

fajjeʔ- VERB be well, recover

fakkaakk- VERB stretch

fandaano NOUN followers of traditional religion

farara NOUN a gap between wooden barsused to tie cows

faraʃʃo NOUN horse

fareʔaalla ADJECTIVE energetic, one who tries his best

fargaʔa ADJECTIVE wide

faroʔo NOUN guilt, wickedness

fatak- VERB leave, release

fatira NOUN thread

fatto NOUN use

feena NOUN food made of blood and pices of meat

feer- VERB collect, pick up

feero NOUN buttock

feeroʔo NOUN a place behind a house

fellaʔa NOUN goat

fenga NOUN eaves, the top of entrance (door) of traditional house

fenkʼ- VERB segregate

fereffeer- VERB investigate, examine

ferkʼ- VERB make a fuss over

fess- VERB straighttened up a little

fidala (Amh) NOUN letter

fidiitt- VERB stretch out

fiida NOUN type of creeping plant

fiig- VERB escape, run away

fiinda NOUN excrement of horse, mule, donkey

fiindeʔ- VERB excrete (for herses, donkeys, mules

fiinkʼees- VERB whistle

fiiʃʃa NOUN plant

fiiʃʃoʔo NOUN seedling

fiita NOUN flower

fiitte NOUN autumn

fiiʔ- VERB clean, sweep

fikkaann- VERB increase , multiple

finaddʒa NOUN exposition

finkʼill- VERB turn up side down, return

fint- explain, describe

fintʼiriikʼ- VERB gambol

fintimma NOUN segement

fintoʔo NOUN details

fintʃʼ- VERB scatter

fir- [1] VERB go/come out[2] climb

firaffiit- VERB evaporate

firafiita NOUN evaporation

firiitʼ- VERB gallop

firkita NOUN back door

fiʃʃa NOUN a place of harvest

fitfit- VERB be in death throes, agony

fitiis- VERB spread out in the sun

fito NOUN debate

fitʃʼitʃʼ- VERB leak

fokkoʔo NOUN immoral act

foolisa NOUN police

fongoga NOUN gap, break

fookʼ- VERB open

foon- Verb 'take'

foore Noun soul, spirit (of living person)

fooʃʃ- Verb breathe

fooʃʃa Noun breath

footʃoʔo Noun grain gift for children

footʃˀ- Verb grasp

foʔo Noun waterfall

fug- Verb blow (horn)

fugaʔa Noun potter

fuguuga Noun bladder

funaano Noun the act of scrounging

futt'oʔo Adjective main

fuuleʔe Noun window

fuunta ¹ Adjective decompose² too old

fuut'eʔe Noun mole

fuutʃˀ- Verb breathe heavily, pant

fuuʔl- Verb be fat

fuʔn- Verb snore, sulk, strop

G

gaaba Noun straw

gaabb- Verb regret

gaabbo Noun regret

gaabeʔe Noun robe (man's gown)

gaabo Noun blessing

gaad- Verb campaign

gaadaano Noun fighters

gaadanna (compound) Noun a title for a war front leader

gaadira Noun a lodging for cows and oxen

gaado Noun campaign, battle

gaafaar- Verb encourage

gaaggaab- Verb be in a hurry

gaak'a Noun eagle

gaallittʃo Noun male kudu

gaaltʃa ¹ Noun peers² group

gaama Adjective not well cooked

gaameela Noun camel

gaamulla Adjective ugly

gaana Noun juice of kocho (enset food)

gaanaʔa Noun pot (used for accumulating water)

gaandʒakk'a (compound) Noun yolk

gaandʒe Noun neck

gaanga Noun edge of a cliff

gaangeera Noun molar tooth

gaangujj- Verb stutter

gaasse Noun older times

gaatura Adjective a cow with white spot and red

gaawwa Noun tobacco pipe

gabala Noun border, boundary, territory

gabbeena Adjective medium

gabo Noun edge

gad- Verb neglect

gadano Preposition near (place)

gadara Adjective white and black (for animal)

gadaʔa Noun fortune, luck, opportunity

gadʒara Noun machete (a farm tool with long wide blade attached to a wooden handle which used to cut grass and plant)

gafeʔ- Verb push-

gaff- Verb sit

gaga Noun self

gaggab- Verb stagger, stumble, become greedy, stingy

gagmoott'a (compound) Noun miror

gala Noun broken piece of pottery

galata Noun praise

galatt'- Verb thank

galaʔa Noun cooking stone

gamaama Noun yeast made of enset

gamaantʃo Noun thief

gambabba Noun darkness

gambajjaato Noun experience

gambat'a Noun back wound of the beast of burden

gambawwiita Noun flute, fife

gameʔ- Verb steal

gameʔe Noun stomachache

gameʔl- Verb insult

gameʔlato Noun insult

gammaamo Noun horses family

gammala Noun border, edge

gammo mane (of horse, mule)

gan- Verb beat

gandadda Noun porcupine

gandeʔe NOUN disease of horses

gandisa NOUN village

gandʒihakk'a [1] NOUN yoke[2] burden

gandʒoʔo ADJECTIVE rigid

gannittʃo NOUN mare (female horse)

ganʃa NOUN nasal mucus, snot, cold (illness)

gantokkeʔe NOUN ????

gantʃ'ar- NOUN be angry

gapp'oʔo NOUN stool, small chair

gar- VERB spend the night

garasa NOUN skin

garaʃama NOUN bat

garbaʃoota NOUN recover

gardaaamo NOUN millert

garo NOUN anus

gasha NOUN moustache

gat- VERB prevent, save, protect, be absent

gat'a NOUN floor

gatʃ'aʔa ADJECTIVE old aged

gatte NOUN village

gawdʒeʔe NOUN three cooking stones

gawwa [1] ADJECTIVE deaf[2] fool, naive person

gaʔm- [1] VERB bite[2] VERB eat

gaʔn- VERB rain

gaʔna NOUN address

gedʒa NOUN group work

geeddʒa ADJECTIVE big

geegeejja NOUN wedding present of cattle

geegees- VERB accompany

geek'- VERB look somebody fiercely

geemmar- VERB sing

geemmoʔo NOUN song

geer- VERB run

geeriba NOUN huge, old, respected person

geet'a NOUN lamb, young goat/sheep

gejjoʔo NOUN cottage

genk'- VERB sit idly for long time

geraar- VERB roar

gereebba NOUN sheep

gereeroʔo NOUN competition

gereettʃo NOUN ewe

getʃ'eetʃ'a ADJECTIVE cruel

gib- VERB escape, flee, run away from

gibba NOUN antelope

giira NOUN fire

giittʃo NOUN tribe, ethnic group, community

giiʔlibuttʃa (compound) NOUN ash

giiʔlihakk'a (compound) NOUN firewood

giiʔm- VERB (be) lying down (for cattle)

gilboota NOUN may

gimma NOUN churned milk

gindʒira NOUN breakfast

gip'- VERB be sluggish

gip'ite NOUN pause

giraara NOUN acacia

girba NOUN cave

git'- [1] VERB arrange[2] write poem

git'a NOUN rhyme

git'oʔo NOUN poem

gita NOUN source of a stream

gitanna NOUN hero

giteʔe NOUN pea

giʔ- VERB couplate, fuck

giʔiin- VERB coagulate, clot

giʔiina NOUN yohrgut

gob- VERB sew

godabo NOUN stomach, belly

godd- VERB (be) rich

godda NOUN wealth

goddaantʃo NOUN rich

goddeera NOUN area

goddʒ- VERB keep standing

godʒa NOUN mischief, malice

godʒaalla ADJECTIVE harmful

gog- [1] VERB dry out [2] be sterile (for wmen)[3] be rude, impolite, bad mannered

gogaalla [1] ADJECTIVE dry[2] bad mannered

gogota NOUN army

gokka NOUN upper part of the chest

gola NOUN a lodging for horses, mules and donkeys

golfaʔa NOUN guardian spirit

goll- VERB eat too much, be gluttonous

goloʔo NOUN bias, unfairness, partiality, prejudice

gomeʔe NOUN grudge, ill will

gomora ADJECTIVE ripen

gondoʔo NOUN a pest that damages crop plants

gonga NOUN thick and flat wood to cut waasaa on

gonoda NOUN May

gonoona NOUN traditional bag/sack

googo NOUN path, road

gooll- VERB tie conclude

goolla NOUN evaporation

goolloʔo ¹ NOUN ending, edge² conclusion³ wild cat

goolluunsa NOUN vultures

goondaaʔla NOUN black and white colored monkey

goonn- VERB erect

goonooma NOUN penis

goontʃo ¹ NOUN male² brave³ husband

goorat'- VERB graze

gooreʔe NOUN good wish

gootara NOUN stock for grain

gootoʔo NOUN tool

gootʃʼa NOUN door

goottoʔo ADJECTIVE small, little

gora NOUN raspberry, type of thorn

gora

gorbaʔa NOUN cattle

gormota NOUN evil eye

gortanna NOUN wall

gos- ¹ VERB pull out² kidnap, abduct

gosaas- VERB pull

gosaas- VERB pull

gosano NOUN kidnapping

goʃ- VERB milk

goʃimma NOUN milking

gotittʃo NOUN hyena

gott- VERB be high

gubaanata NOUN herds

gubano ADJECTIVE pregnant (for animals)

gubbam- VERB fight

gubeedo NOUN thigh

gud- VERB be ready

gudd- NOUN tie

gudda ¹ NOUN oath² ADVERB tie

gudeera NOUN stem, trunk

gudeʔe ADJECTIVE edible weed

gudo ADJECTIVE equal

gudumo NOUN shoulder

guffa NOUN a type of grass which is used for covering the houses

guga ¹ NOUN disturbance² ADJECTIVE a lot of

gugguur- VERB take away repeatedly

gugitano NOUN thunder

guguma NOUN short, strong and hindering plant, stump

gulaʔa NOUN edge

gulumma NOUN resource

gumagana (compound) NOUN engagement

gumaʔa NOUN large ring bracelet

gunda ADJECTIVE short

gunguuʔl- VERB cover, wrap

gunʃuura NOUN warm water

gurda (Amh) NOUN skirt

gurub- VERB teas

gurubbo ¹ NOUN knee² internode

gurubo NOUN mock

gurumba NOUN grain in the field

gurupp'- VERB kneel

gutansa NOUN owl

guud- VERB burn

guugg- VERB chase away

guull- VERB finish, complete

guur- VERB weigh

guutoʔo NOUN short haircut for boys

guzumoʔo NOUN compensation payment

H

haab- VERB straighten

haabba NOUN grown hair style

haabbis- VERB comb

haabbitt'imma NOUN comb one's hair

haadima NOUN cutting edge, circumcision blade/ small sharpen knife

haadʒaʔa NOUN affair

haafa NOUN excuse

haalato NOUN conduct

haandʒoʔo ADJECTIVE stupid

haankur- VERB fry, cook

haar- VERB scratch (one's body)

haareedda NOUN beard

haarees- VERB rub lightly, scratch smoothly

haareettʃo [1] ADJECTIVE new [2] NOUN beginner

haasaaww- VERB chat, discuss

haat- VERB roast grain on the cooking stone

haata NOUN attractiveness

habgaalla ADJECTIVE foolish

habiillo NOUN cloth

habull- VERB become crazy

habusa NOUN devil

habuuba NOUN dry season

habuutanna NOUN butter fly

hadaaʃʃ- VERB approach, come closer to finish

hadadda NOUN dew

haddʒa ADJECTIVE weak

haddʒis- VERB approaching to be completed

hadíjji   manna (compound) NOUN Hadiyya people

Hadíjji   sa NOUN Hadiyya language

hadíjji   suume (compound) NOUN Hadiyya language

hadíjji   ttʃo NOUN Hadiyya man

hadʒiga NOUN loan (Leemo dialect)

hafa NOUN shadow

hafaafeʔ- VERB yawn

hafaamo ADJECTIVE shaded

hafalla ADJECTIVE light

hafattʃa NOUN wind, air

haft'an- VERB be in a hurry

hafura NOUN heat

hagag- VERB separating meat from bone by teeth

hagajje NOUN summer

hagara NOUN type, colour

hagaʔa NOUN group

hajda NOUN honor, respect

hajja ADVERB bravo, well done

hajje NOUN foreleg of animals

hajjoonda NOUN dark brown cow

hak'aatʃ'eʔe (Leemo dialect) NOUN butcher

hak'aawwo NOUN dream

hak'aweeʔ- NOUN dream

hakk'ittʃo NOUN tree

hala NOUN money or food given to a person on the occasion of death

halanga NOUN whip

hallaama NOUN a fiber like soft inside the stem of enset

hallakk'a(compound) NOUN stretcher

hallittʃo NOUN dinkey

hallo NOUN part of human body which is above the buttock

ham- VERB slander

hamaar- [1] VERB mix [2] act as a pimp

hamaaramma ADJECTIVE mixed

hamaat'- VERB refuse

hamannato NOUN respect

hamaʃittʃo NOUN snake

hambalaattʃ- VERB mess up, create chaos

hambaraalla NOUN dribble

hamleʔe (Amh) NOUN july

hamo NOUN gossip

hamuduunda NOUN bruise

hamusa NOUN thursday

hanaane PREPOSITION above

hanak'ala ADVERB food made from butter and roasted barely

handareʔe NOUN pigeon, dove

hane PREPOSITION on

hank'a NOUN truth

hanno Q UNKNOWN where

hansawwa NOUN highland

hansawwi-k'aalaʔa NOUN moderate

hanʃibaʔl- VERB wake up suddenly

hant'a NOUN udder, breast (of animals)

hantaara NOUN harmful act

hantʃ'aatʃ'- VERB kick

hara NOUN mud

haraandʒa NOUN a plant whose fruit is used as a soap

haraara ADJECTIVE wide

haralla NOUN pots

harattʃo NOUN pot

haraʔm- VERB help
haraʔmaʃ- VERB support
harba NOUN friday
hardeʔe NOUN middle age
hark'oota NOUN ox
harraaʃʃa ADJECTIVE unskilled, ignorant
harʃa ADJECTIVE fertile soil
hart'at'- VERB grind
has- VERB look for, want, desire
hassa NOUN an insect like butterfly which comes from underground while raining
haʃʃu ADVERB well done
hat'aareʔe NOUN butcher
hat'ara NOUN taatto
hat'o NOUN far away, out side
hattaaww- VERB move restlessly
hattʃ'a NOUN rubish
hawwaankanna NOUN shadow
hawwo NOUN problem, trouble
hawwod- VERB hurt
haʔj- VERB agree, accept, want
haʔmittʃo NOUN edible root part of enset
heeda NOUN axe
heedoora NOUN reddish-black striped bird, partridge
heefeʔ- VERB breathe
heegan- VERB revive
heekkees- VERB shake
heekkeʔ- VERB be move, shook
heelal- VERB accumulate
heeleʔ- VERB wish
heell- VERB cherish
heemattʃa ADJECTIVE black
heenk'aar- VERB provoke
heera ADJECTIVE entire/all
heerantʃa NOUN type of marriage conducted through agreement of couples
heereettʃo NOUN brother in law (husband's brother), sister in law (brother's wife)
heeruulla (compound) NOUN world
heesso NOUN story (tale)
heeʃ- VERB bow
heettʃa NOUN life

heettʃo NOUN rope
heeʔ- VERB live, dwell, inhabit
hegeego NOUN environment, around
hekk- VERB go away
hellenk- VERB sprain
hereg- VERB show compassion
hetereeʔl- VERB ripe
hibba NOUN grace
hibbaamo ADJECTIVE gilorious
hidaara NOUN November
hideʔ- VERB swear (an oath)
hidiro NOUN oath
hig- VERB overtake, pass
higa ADJECTIVE best
hiimo NOUN night
hiintʃo NOUN year
hiinza ADJECTIVE too old
hiir- VERB be pregnant (for a cow)
hiiro NOUN wall
hijjeessa ADJECTIVE orphan
hilleeffa NOUN pancreas
hilleenna NOUN intestine
himba NOUN bubble
hin- VERB dig
hindibaajjo NOUN instinct
hindik'- VERB dance
hinka (Q) which
hinkeʔe (Q) where
hinkide (Q) how
hintʃ'- VERB be in a nearby position
hiraago NOUN prophecy
hirabadʒa NOUN ass
hirfana NOUN nut
hirga ADJECTIVE actual, real
hirill- VERB fed up, tire of
hirimo NOUN culturally forbidden to do, eat, etc.
hirkaaba NOUN stirrups
hisimm- VERB be quiet
hit'e ADJECTIVE grass
hit'it'aʔ- VERB pull
hiʔlaaʔl- VERB stretch up to reach
hobara NOUN bark, scab

hobba NOUN lions

hobbittʃo NOUN lion

hoffaʔa NOUN saturday

hoffeʔ- VERB be insufficient

hog- VERB scoop, shovel, remove something e.g. ash, dung, flour in great quantity

hogoog- VERB echo one's word rudely

hogoos- VERB shave

hojjobb- VERB limp

hokk- VERB stand up without movement

holl- ¹ VERB chase² VERB divorce

homba ADJECTIVE cracked clay material

honsajje ADJECTIVE ninety

honso ADJECTIVE nine

hoog- VERB tire, lack, lose, miss, not be able to hoog-

hookkoʔo NOUN hook

hooma NOUN coniferous tree

hoor- VERB forbid, prevent, hider, impede

hooʃʃoʔo NOUN lunch

hora NOUN wealth of cattle

hordoof- VERB follow to reach something or some body

horeme ADVERB never

horoore ¹ NOUN head² NOUN main, core

hottʃ- VERB hunt

hottʃa NOUN hunting

hottʃaano NOUN hunters

huduud- VERB clean a dirt which is attached to something

hudʒuba ADJECTIVE huge

hufaaʔ- VERB boil

hugum- VERB murmur

hukk'a NOUN a type of strong grass which is used to cover the roof of a hut

humba NOUN mouth

humbullo NOUN pot like material made from clay as a drinking glass

hummanta NOUN stork (marabou)

hunaʔa ADVERB let

hungubbittʃo NOUN type of a bird

hunki Q which

hurbaata NOUN food, meal, crop

hurguf- VERB shake

hurtʃuutʃ- VERB pierce, stab

huruur- VERB drill, make a hole

hut'eʔ- VERB shiver, tremble

huuf- ¹ VERB comb² VERB sharpen, make the surface smooth

huuʃ- ¹ VERB miss, make mistake² throw

dʒ

dʒaandʒibeela NOUN ginger

dʒaara NOUN spirit (of dead person) (invisible)

dʒabanaa NOUN coffee pot (Amh)

dʒabbaantʃo NOUN patient

dʒabbo NOUN disease

dʒaddʒara NOUN sickle

dʒagara NOUN hut, cottage

dʒagiira NOUN a wooden pole to support roof

dʒakk- VERB be hurry

dʒalaga ADJECTIVE forgetful

dʒaliila ADJECTIVE foolish

dʒambora NOUN big dish made of clay

dʒamunantʃo NOUN silly, thoughtless, too much foolish

dʒanantʃa NOUN quarrel

dʒendʒeʔna NOUN skin disease

dʒibba NOUN mat

dʒiddʒiira NOUN bed for delivered woman

dʒigaʔn- VERB stop giving milk (cow)

dʒinna NOUN appointment

dʒiraafa NOUN plough man's whip

dʒomoga ADJECTIVE foolish

dʒora ADJECTIVE bad

dʒuudʒa ADJECTIVE dull

K

kaa 'VOC' UNKNOWN You (male)

kaabba NOUN mantle

kaameʔe NOUN car

kaas- ¹ VERB plant² VERB boil

kaaʃʃa NOUN plant

kaaʔ- VERB win, conquer, defeat

kabaalla NOUN today

kabade ADVERB now

kabeetʃtʃo NOUN leopard

kad- VERB dance

kadeʔ- VERB kick out, trample

kadoʔo NOUN beam of plough(agricultural tool with blades which digs the earth in fields)

kafkaf- VERB be restless

kallemara ADJECTIVE naked

kalloʔo ¹ NOUN christmas ² NOUN a kind of game as hockey

kaloʔo NOUN reserved grazing land

kambaatittʃo NOUN a person from Kambaata ethinic group

kambaatt'isa NOUN the Kambaata language

kankaʃʃa NOUN dry bark (of an Enset plant)

kar- ¹ VERB tie ² VERB arrest

kaʃara ADJECTIVE red

kattʃisa NOUN malaria

kaʔido PREPOSITION this side

keefan- VERB shroud (cover) with burial garment

keen- VERB measure

keesamma ADJECTIVE holly

keeʔm- VERB be heavy, difficult

keeʔmaalla ADJECTIVE heavy

kejje ADVERB here

kemeʔla ADJECTIVE cross eyed

kereeta NOUN terrace

keteera ADJECTIVE ugly

keteeta NOUN fire place

kiffala NOUN fire brand

kiir- VERB act as a wizard

kiiraantʃo NOUN sorcerer /witch/ witchcraft, fortune teller

kiisa NOUN pocket

kikkiro NOUN armpit

kimbiʔl- VERB turn back

kina NOUN stone

kint'aaʔ- VERB fold

kiraallato NOUN duodenum

kiʃitt'- VERB be kind

kit'iit'a NOUN kinky

kitaab- VERB write

kitaaba NOUN book

kitaaboʔo NOUN text

kitim- VERB scrifice

kitimoʔo NOUN sacrifice

kitʃʼoʔo NOUN gland Tubeculosis

kittʃettʃa NOUN sorrow

kittʃeʔ- VERB be sad

kitseera- NOUN spelling

kiʔ- ¹ VERB stand up ² wake up

kiʔnuwwa PRONOUN you (PL)

koba NOUN friends

kobborta NOUN overcoat

kobeʔe NOUN shoe

kobiʔliʃa NOUN example

koboota NOUN cattle dung for fire

kojiintʃo NOUN guest, stranger

kok- VERB become empty

koka ADJECTIVE empty

kokkeʔe NOUN neck, throat

kolb- ¹ VERB disturb ² VERB pollute

kollo ADJECTIVE half

konkoona NOUN bridge (of nose)

konn- VERB erect

konteʔe NOUN foot print

konteʔe NOUN foot print

koob- VERB get print

koonda NOUN handcraft

koonʃ- VERB clean up

koora NOUN saddle

kooraana NOUN a small pot to melt butter

koosa NOUN drought

kora NOUN flea, tick

koraʔa ADVERB without

kore NOUN turn

koror- VERB snore

kortʃ- VERB dig

kosarata NOUN a type of spice

koʃa NOUN back room, kitchen

koʃʃ- VERB gulp down

koʃʃoʔo NOUN tobacco

kota NOUN type of soil

kotoot- VERB claw, hook, scratch

kotʃ'- VERB insert

kotʃˁeʔe NOUN tortoise

kotʃaʔna NOUN grasshopper

kotta NOUN wrinkled

kottʃeʔe NOUN type of meal

koʔna NOUN solid mucus

ku PRONOUN this

kuffeʔe NOUN chicken-pox

kulul- VERB turn around, go around

kululeessa NOUN round

kuma ADJECTIVE thousand

kumbuuba ADJECTIVE oval shape

kumutʃ'- VERB contract

kup'aʔa NOUN ring

kur- VERB tell, recount (story)

kurraaza (Amh) NOUN lamp

kuruma NOUN testicle

kuruura NOUN immature crop

kutt- VERB be serious

kutt'- VERB cough

kutura NOUN reserved area so as to grow grass of cattle

kuula ADJECTIVE brown

kuʔaasa NOUN diarrhea

L

laabo NOUN breast (of animals)

laaga NOUN ray

laaheeda NOUN winnowing fan

laakka NOUN bracelet

laam- VERB bore

laangees- VERB chew slowly

laar- ¹ VERB shout, cry² apply

laaro NOUN penis

laattʃa NOUN knowledge

laaʔl- VERB search

laaʔwa NOUN light

lab- ¹ VERB paint² VERB resemble

labakk'ama NOUN synonym

labana ¹ NOUN flame² ADJECTIVE clever

labasa NOUN skin (of tanned)

labeena NOUN young bull

ladeʔ- VERB gird

ladiiʃʃa NOUN a type of marriage

lado NOUN wing

lafa NOUN smooth

lago NOUN inheritance

lall- VERB play

lallabo NOUN speech, discourse

lamaage (compound) NOUN twice

lamado NOUN waist

lamakk'a (compound) NOUN double

lamanga (compound) NOUN double

lamara NOUN seven

lamarajje NOUN seventy

lambeʔe NOUN middle

lamfoore (compound) NOUN pregnant

lamijje saso ADJECTIVE twenty three

lamijje sooro ADJECTIVE twenty four

lamijje ʔonto ADJECTIVE twenty five

lamijjelamo ADJECTIVE twenty two

lamijjemato ADJECTIVE twenty one

lamo ADJECTIVE two

landa NOUN girls

lap'- VERB lie

lap'imma NOUN lying

lapp'imma NOUN painting

laro NOUN cattle(cows and oxen)

lasage ADVERB after, back (of something)

lasees- VERB follow, survey, monitor

lasgata (compound) NOUN backward

laso ¹ NOUN back² PREPOSITION after

lat'lat'a NOUN storm, very cold air

latʃoonge (compound) ADJECTIVE ignorant

lattʃaamo ADJECTIVE knowledgeable, educated

lattʃi-mantʃo (compound) NOUN wise, scholar

lattʃi-ʃoga NOUN branches of knowledge

laʔ- VERB know

laʔantʃa NOUN acquaintance

laʔliʔaagga NOUN night

laʔmi ADJECTIVE second

lebetʃa ADJECTIVE flexible

leejja NOUN bees wax

leellaʔa NOUN throat

leema NOUN bamboo tree

leemo NOUN one of dialects of Hadiyya

leendʒa NOUN type of a grass

leep'oʔo NOUN marsh

leeʃa NOUN corpse

leet'aʔa ADJECTIVE naked

leh- VERB die

leho NOUN death

lello NOUN play

lenk'- VERB wave

lenk'et'a NOUN grounded green paper

libitt'isa NOUN the Libido language

liddʒa ADJECTIVE unproductive, barren (for mammals)

liiram- VERB be happy

liit- VERB grind

liitimma NOUN grinding stone

lik'aajj- VERB borrow

lik'aajjo NOUN debt

lik'itʃ'- VERB swallow

littʃo NOUN thing

liʔ- [1] VERB grow up become ripe [2] VERB become ripe

liʔintʃo [1] NOUN bridge [2] NOUN mashroom

liʔlaalla ADJECTIVE smooth

lobakata ADJECTIVE many

lodʒa NOUN frost

lohajje ADJECTIVE sixty

loho ADJECTIVE six

lok'ook'a NOUN hollow

lokko NOUN leg, foot

lombe NOUN respect

lommantʃo NOUN old person

lommaʔn- VERB be old

looba NOUN hippopotammus

lookka NOUN a skin used as rope, belt, etc.

loomeʔe NOUN lemon

loor- VERB grow

loot'eʔe NOUN thief

los- VERB learn

losaano NOUN students

losaantʃo NOUN a/the student

losano NOUN lesson, subject, education, study, experience, habit, custom

lositt'a NOUN exercise

loʃa NOUN long stick

lotʃ'- VERB eat too much

loʔa NOUN stick

lub- VERB immerse

lubbato NOUN surety

ludo NOUN apex, peak, top

luga NOUN frogs

lugga [1] ADJECTIVE shy [2] NOUN a place whre two or more rodas meet

lugittʃo NOUN a/the frog

lugumo NOUN root, source, base

luk'ut'a NOUN statue

luma ADJECTIVE teeth less

lumbut'a ADJECTIVE uncircumcised

lummaaʔ- VERB swallow

lunga ADJECTIVE cross eyed

lut'uunt'a NOUN slippery

lutt'i ADJECTIVE first

luwwa NOUN something

M

maadʒa NOUN wealth

maaga ADJECTIVE rude, dishonorable behavior

maak'aka ADJECTIVE crooked

maalal- VERB be ashamed

maandara [1] NOUN chopper [2] quality of goodness

maank'ur- VERB be in conflict

maant'oganna NOUN lizard

maara NOUN meat

maaroʔo NOUN dusk, twilight (after sunset)

maasseʔ- VERB praise, bless some one

maasso NOUN blessing

maat'- VERB hide

maat'aareettʃo [1] NOUN the cow which eats cloth [2] NOUN thief

maat'ak'a NOUN secret

maateʔe [1] NOUN soldier [2] ADJECTIVE many in number

mada NOUN wound, sore

mafuluusa Noun toothless

magaaza Noun saw

maggaabiita Noun march

magisanna Noun tuesday

maha Q what

mahime UNKNOWN nothing

mahina Q why

majjaka Noun concern about public opinion

mak'a Noun straw

mak'ire PREPOSITION with, together

mak'ulanta Noun knife

makk'a Noun swelling, clot

makka Noun right

malaajje Noun strength, power

malo Noun assumption, doubt

mangalatʃa ADJECTIVE wide

mank'atta Noun monster

mankaʔa Noun behavior, norm

mantalaala ADJECTIVE very weak

mantʃo ¹ Noun man² husband

mar- VERB go

mara Noun pus

marabo Noun honey

marar- VERB filter

marees- VERB study, think, remember

mareʔe Noun sign, symbol

marfeʔe Noun needle

masalaala Noun ladder

masgiida Noun mosque

mask'ala Noun cross festival

masoʔo Noun enemy

mass- VERB take

maʃalaala ADJECTIVE peaceful, innocent

maʃara Noun female

maʃkaʔa Noun cause, reason

maʃʃaʔa Noun a broad knife like instrument used to chop waasa (enset food).

mat'- VERB pick up

mat'ak'- VERB accustomed to

mataage (compound) ADVERB once

matajj- VERB be busy

matajja ADJECTIVE busy

matandara ADJECTIVE singular

mataraʃ Noun barrel

mateejja Noun together

mateentʃo Noun scare

matfira (compound) Noun uniform

matille (compound) Noun one eyed person

matmataage ADVERB sometimes

mato ADJECTIVE one

matt'aara Noun finger

mattʃe Noun ear

mattʃʼe Noun ear

mattʃʼees- VERB hear

mattʃaar- VERB be nervous, mad

mattʃaaraantʃo Noun mad

mattʃo Noun belt

mazaar- VERB pack neatly, arrange

maʔna Noun place

meeggara Noun thin stick which is used to connect standing wall woods

meentittʃo ¹ Noun woman² Noun wife

meera Noun market

meesaana Noun big hoe, axe

meeta Noun flat timber for scratching enset stem

meetʃoʔo Noun stem of enset

meeʔo Q how many

melk'eek'a Noun semen

mell- VERB talk too much

menk'- VERB talk too much

menn- VERB treat lavishly

met'ek'enna Noun cooking stones

metoʔo Noun problem

metʃoʔo Noun stem of enset

mett'oʔo ADJECTIVE only one, single

midaado ¹ Noun waist, beside² Noun rib

midid- VERB conceit boastfully

miilijoona ADJECTIVE million

miimma Noun front

miine Noun forehead

miink'ees- VERB brush (for tooth)

mik'- VERB pay

mik'e ¹ Noun bone² Noun relative

mik'iitʃa Noun cancer

mik'oʔo NOUN payment

mikmik- VERB move

minaadaba NOUN people

mine NOUN house

mirgoʔo NOUN ox

miʃa ¹ NOUN fruit, seed² NOUN product, result

miʃira NOUN lentil

miʃiraattʃa (exclamation) UNKNOWN congratulations!

mit'- VERB wish

mit'ano NOUN desire

mittʃa NOUN draft

miʔnama NOUN householder (F)

miʔnanna NOUN husband/householder (M)

mog- VERB be cruel

mogaalla ADJECTIVE greedy

moggeʔe NOUN molar

mogoleʔe NOUN biceps of thigh

mok'onta NOUN ankle

mokk'oʔo NOUN secret

molot'- VERB see suddenly

moojjeʔe NOUN pounding pot, mortar, (for grinding coffee, grain, etc.)

mookkʼa NOUN porridge

moolliʔanna NOUN lord

moollo NOUN clan

moora NOUN a leader (bull) in a particular animal group, especially cattle

moosira ADJECTIVE old

moottʃo NOUN wild animal

mooʔ- VERB see

mosoroʔo NOUN September

motʃʼeʔe ADJECTIVE immature

muddʒa NOUN tall weed grass

mudeʔ- VERB milk

muga NOUN cane, walking stick

muguunga NOUN short club

muk'a NOUN thorn that covers the seed of barely

muk'ureeda NOUN cooking stick

mukk'a NOUN minority

mukk'ittʃo ADJECTIVE neutral

mukkuʔla ADJECTIVE dark blue (for cows)

muleesaʔa NOUN eunach, castrated person (M)

mulgaʔa ADJECTIVE toothless

mulla ADVERB alone

muna ADJECTIVE bitter

mur- VERB cut

mureʔe NOUN a disease of liver that affects animals

muro NOUN kidney

murteʔaalla ADJECTIVE conscientious, hard worker

murug- VERB become bare

musa ADJECTIVE broken, defective

muʃʃa NOUN gland

mut- VERB sprout

mut'- VERB suck', lick

muta NOUN sewing instrument

mutt'- VERB emerge

muttʃʼura ADJECTIVE clean

mutura ADJECTIVE sharpen

muun- VERB make a loud noise (for animals)

muundʒa NOUN design

muuneʔe NOUN thorn

muuta NOUN thing, instrument, furniture

muuza NOUN banana

N

naakk'aroʔo NOUN component of green paper and spices mixed with butter

naar- VERB accumulate

naara NOUN pile, heap

naasa NOUN enemy

naattʃa NOUN crocodile

nada NOUN germinating seeds, fresh green shoots, sprouting grain

nadad- VERB be angry

nadda NOUN neck lace

nafa NOUN cover of bee-hive

nafara NOUN out of doors, entrance, doorway, front yard oef a house

nagaariita NOUN kettle, large ceremonial drum

nak'- ¹ VERB beat² VERB fuck

nak'aaʃa NOUN witness

nakk- VERB touch

nann- VERB paint

nat'ala NOUN garment made of a single layer of cloth and worn by women

natʃa ADJECTIVE skinny, thin

natʃeʔ- VERB wound

neeggar- VERB defend, win in argument

neejjato NOUN hope

neese PRONOUN we

nigga NOUN muscle, vessel

niiʔo NOUN fart

nugula ADJECTIVE useless

nunnur- VERB nag

nuura NOUN prestige

Kʼ

k'aafunta NOUN piece of cloth

k'aajj- VERB damage, destroy

k'aak'umeʔe NOUN intercalary month (5-10 september), the 13th month of Ethiopia

k'aalaʔa NOUN lowland

k'aallentʃo NOUN shaft

k'aamafeeta NOUN body

k'aank'a NOUN culture, system, means of doing something

k'aanneʔe NOUN famine, starvation

k'aapi- VERB embrace-

k'aapp'a NOUN bundle

k'aaʃa NOUN trap

k'aaʃimma NOUN combining

k'aat'- VERB reduce, pour liquid from one container to another

k'abara ADJECTIVE wide

k'adaalla ADJECTIVE white

k'adafara NOUN lung

k'addite NOUN caption

k'afa [1] NOUN twins [2] branch

k'affit- VERB be in a hurry

k'affite NOUN toil

k'ak'a NOUN stick

k'ak'uulla ADJECTIVE unripe (for fruit), raw for not well cooked food

k'akk'as- VERB awaken by touching ones side

k'akk's- VERB be fast

k'akkeʔe NOUN tuberculosis, dry cough

k'alaandʒa NOUN flag

k'alaʃeʔe NOUN suggest irrelevant idea

k'alima NOUN fruit of ensat that indicates the final growth of it

k'ama NOUN flour

k'amaraar- VERB be useless

k'amaraara ADJECTIVE useless

k'amattʃo NOUN ape

k'amb- VERB to have sexual intercourse (of hen)

k'amisa NOUN dress

k'ammaat'a ADJECTIVE very thin

k'ammano NOUN yeast of the milk

k'ananaaʔ- VERB read

k'ang- VERB curse

k'annax- VERB undermine, emasculate

k'ansa NOUN sperm

k'ant'aaaʔ- VERB give clue about something

k'ant'ite NOUN index

k'ap'a NOUN tongs

k'app'- VERB be slow

k'ar- VERB bear (child), give birth

k'ara NOUN direction

k'araar- VERB be bitter (to the taste)

k'araare NOUN medicine

k'araare NOUN medicine

k'arantʃa NOUN birth

k'arees- VERB sharpen (knife)

k'areʔaalla [1] ADJECTIVE sharp [2] fast, hurried

k'arittʃo NOUN lord

k'aro NOUN relative (by blood)

k'aroʔo NOUN profit

k'art'a NOUN partition

k'artʃ'aata NOUN basket

k'as- VERB pierce, stab

k'asoʔo NOUN fatigue

k'aʃʃa NOUN spoon

k'at'a ADJECTIVE extent

k'at'i- VERB taste

k'atʃ'aleʔe ADJECTIVE youth, teenager

k'atʃʼaalla ADJECTIVE weak

k'attʃo NOUN one's son or daughter

k'awwa ADJECTIVE foolish

k'awwe?e NOUN gun

k'ebbela ADJECTIVE cross eyed

k'edda ¹ NOUN left² NOUN misfortune

k'eefad- VERB capture

k'eeraa?la ADJECTIVE long, tall

k'eess- VERB avoid

k'ee?la ADJECTIVE far

k'elo?o NOUN snail

k'erep'- VERB look at (glance)

k'ett'a NOUN dress, traditional leather skirt

k'e?mela ADJECTIVE stubborn

k'iibata NOUN frost

k'iida NOUN cold weather

k'iis- VERB separate bad from good

k'iiʃa NOUN fence

k'ilt'o?o NOUN oak tree

k'imiit'- VERB pinch, take small amount of somthong

k'imitʃ- VERB bend

k'ink'i?naantʃo NOUN not willing to offer

k'int'aa?- VERB fold

k'irifa NOUN ulcer, infected wound, running sore

k'irkire?e NOUN part of the door which uses to lock it

k'it'ii't'a ADJECTIVE kinky

k'itimma NOUN stingy

k'itin- VERB groan with pain

k'itt'inna NOUN syphilis

k'i?w- VERB hung

k'obbo?o NOUN castor plant

k'offite NOUN hill

k'okk'ob- VERB dam

k'okk'oba NOUN dam

k'ombila ADJECTIVE wise

k'ondood- VERB exhaust

k'onk'ona NOUN room of a bride

k'ont'a?a NOUN shorts

k'ont'ola ¹ ADJECTIVE too short (human being)² rude, disobidient

k'oobe?e NOUN hat

k'ood- VERB divide

k'ooda NOUN part, share

k'oodo?o NOUN plan

k'ook'a ADJECTIVE blind

k'ooma NOUN gourd, calabash

k'oontʃa NOUN scare

k'oora ADJECTIVE clever

k'ooraanta NOUN crow

k'ooss- VERB be aware

k'oot'o?o NOUN stage, layer

k'oota NOUN dowry, wedding gift

k'oottʃ- VERB create, make

k'opp'ano NOUN false

k'ork'oraantʃo ADJECTIVE greedy

k'orʃo?o NOUN bread

k'ort'o?o NOUN a type of grass

k'oʃa NOUN scratch

k'ot'a NOUN up stair

k'ot'ar- VERB (be) strong (physically)

k'ot'ara ADJECTIVE courageous, brave

k'ot'oot'a NOUN kind of dress from leather

k'ota ADJECTIVE broken

k'otʃe?e NOUN tortoise

k'otʃootʃa ADJECTIVE too short

k'ott'aalla ADJECTIVE strong

k'ottʃ- VERB knock, hit some circle sharp thing into some other thing by force

k'ottʃa NOUN new settlement area

k'o?lo NOUN nape of neck

k'ubb- VERB bend down, stoop

k'ulaa?- VERB afraid, frighten

k'ulk'ul- VERB wish

k'ulut'- VERB be eager, longing for something

k'umutʃ- VERB contract

k'unna NOUN measurement of grain made of hard grass

k'unt'- VERB be ready

k'untʃe?e NOUN rope made from enset (a dry long tread equivalent part of ensat which is used to tie things and to make mat)

k'untʃ'ulle?e NOUN chunk of knife

k'ununaato NOUN growl

k'up'a?a NOUN ring (of finger)

k'ure?e NOUN small pot

k'urk'ure?e NOUN excrement of sheep and goats

k'urt'ume?e NOUN fish

k'uruuttʃo ¹ NOUN back bone² NOUN top (of mountain)

k'ut'umoʔo NOUN cooking spoon (a thin and short stick used as tool for cooking meals)

k'uuk'- VERB to get angry

k'uunk'a NOUN egg

k'uunk'eʔ- VERB lay egg

k'uunk'uun- VERB grumble, complain, murmur

k'uut'a NOUN hunch back

k'uut'o NOUN reason, issue, topic, subject

k'uuta ADJECTIVE hunchback

k'uʔan- VERB mix water with milk

k'ananaaʔ- VERB read

k'aʃʃa NOUN spoon

k'attʃo NOUN offspring

S

saad- VERB appreciate

saafura NOUN breakfat (during coffee ceremony)

saajja NOUN cow

saamo NOUN luck, chance

saamuna (Amh) NOUN soap

saank'a NOUN door

saanta NOUN week

saantima NOUN cents, money

saarajj- VERB examine

saarajja NOUN research, study

saaroʔo NOUN gazelle

saat'ina NOUN box

saata NOUN watch, clock, time

saateʔe NOUN a type of tree to be burnt during mask'al (cross) festival

saato NOUN problem

saawwo NOUN close friend

saaʔl- VERB ride (mount) animals

sab- ¹ VERB refuse² VERB hate

sabbata NOUN sash, belt

sadda NOUN type of a grass

sade ADJECTIVE thirty

sadeentajje ADJECTIVE eighty

sadeento ADJECTIVE eight

sado NOUN fame, one's biography

sagad- VERB bow

sagada NOUN slope (an area that has low topography)

sagara NOUN language, voice

sagaʔli-doona (compound) NOUN dictionary

sah- VERB keep quiet

sakk'a NOUN belt

sakkatiite NOUN February

salaata NOUN midday

salalo NOUN cheese

sambatʃa (compound) NOUN headache

samfo NOUN big basket uses to winnow or measure grains

sammo NOUN top of the head

sananna NOUN basket

sane NOUN nose

saneʔe NOUN june

sanguddʒ- VERB ba sad

sanguugga (compound) NOUN nosebleed

sanna ¹ NOUN monday² NOUN period, season

sar- VERB cook

saraata NOUN hair

sarata NOUN sorghum

sareewwaana NOUN hero's trousers

sask'afa (compound) NOUN triple

saso ADJECTIVE three

satt'i ¹ ADJECTIVE third² VERB regret

sawwi- VERB think, remember

saʔ- VERB be silent

seemma NOUN colourful edge of shawl-like garment made of a single layer of cloth

seendan- VERB live luxuriously

seera ¹ NOUN law, regulation, culture² local association

seeta NOUN sister in law

settʃo ¹ NOUN granary, grain storage² beehive

seʔoʔo NOUN play of children i.e undertaking by kicking each other

sibaar- VERB be hungry

sibaaro NOUN hunger

sibiriit'a NOUN fraction, division, fragmented

sif- VERB suit

sifila NOUN entourage, a group of people who accompanies a bridegroom during wedding ceremony

sigaalla ADJECTIVE cold

sigg- VERB be cold (objects)

sigga NOUN cold

sigreʔe NOUN fowl

siid- VERB find out

siif- VERB sharpen

siifa ADJECTIVE sharp

siimmaroʔo NOUN a type of cabbage

siineʔe NOUN cup

siinsinneʔe NOUN temporal friendship

siint'a NOUN ankle

siint'ittʃo NOUN heel

siira ADJECTIVE pregnant

siissoʔo NOUN one third

siita NOUN crude drinking

siittʃama NOUN milking-cow

sikka NOUN walking stick to support

sina NOUN pattern

sinabal- VERB translate

sinnaara NOUN tares

sint'ira NOUN splinter

siraʔiilla NOUN death

sireʔe NOUN seed

sissa NOUN scratcher made from bamboo

sissipp'- VERB irritate

sitit- VERB be slow

sittek'opp'a NOUN chicken pox

sog- VERB advise

sogita NOUN advice

sokkoʔo NOUN pattern

som- VERB attach, connect

somoʔo NOUN affix, attachment

songajje NOUN the highest peak in Hadiyya

sonoʔo NOUN order

soodaraaro NOUN dawn

sooddanna ADVERB dawn (before sun rise)

soodo NOUN tomorrow

sook'ido NOUN salt

soommano NOUN fasting

sooro ¹ ADJECTIVE four² NOUN one of the dialects Hadiyya

sooʔli ADJECTIVE fourth

sore ADJECTIVE forty

soroob- VERB investigate

sorooba PREPOSITION investigation

soroʔo NOUN a small basket usesto put things like grain

soʔo NOUN barely

subur- VERB break in to pieces

suga NOUN dignity

sula NOUN vulture

sull- VERB hang

sulla NOUN community

summa NOUN name

sunkuruutta NOUN onoin

sureʔe NOUN trousers

suro NOUN umbillicus, navel

sussuqa NOUN type of a disease

susuq- VERB go down

sut- VERB insert

suto'o NOUN gulf

suume ¹ NOUN mouth² NOUN language

suunk'- VERB kiss

suusa NOUN patched cloth

suut'o NOUN a tree growing on the highland areas

suuto NOUN hip

T

taa 'VOC' UNKNOWN you (female)

taaboo NOUN week

taakkeʔ- VERB walk

taakko NOUN journey

taap'ana ADJECTIVE suitable, comfortable

taareʔaalla ADJECTIVE fast

taattʃoʔo NOUN hand span

tafaafur- VERB unable to speak fluently

taftaf- VERB be in a hurry

tak'eʔe NOUN various sources of information

tam- VERB help

tambaaʔa NOUN tobacco

tamuna NOUN coin

tartar- VERB stagger

taʃ- VERB like, wish

tataba VERB cover, shelter

tefo NOUN buttock

telebidʒiina NOUN television

teʔaalla ADJECTIVE delicious, expensive

teʔime PREPOSITION or

tiga ADJECTIVE huge

tiir- VERB recall

tiiro NOUN mind

tiisiiʃʃa NOUN notice

tikkajjittʃo NOUN fly

tima NOUN piece of waasa bread

timaatima NOUN tomatoes

tinkiraajja NOUN complex

tir- VERB untie

tirato NOUN meaning

tiwwa NOUN dense forest

tofortʃa NOUN chickens coop

tokk'i- VERB agree with

tokkoʔo ADVERB only

toll- VERB stretch

tommo ADJECTIVE ten

tommolamara NOUN seventeen

tommoohonso ADJECTIVE nineteen

tommoolamo ADJECTIVE twelve

tommooloho ADJECTIVE sixteen

tommoomato ADJECTIVE eleven

tommoosadeento ADJECTIVE eighteen

tommoosaso ADJECTIVE thirteen

tommoosooro ADJECTIVE fourteen

tommooʔonto ADJECTIVE fifteen

tontoomma NOUN fist

toobbeʔe NOUN assault

toonna ADJECTIVE irritating smell

tooʔ- ¹ VERB switch off² VERB dry up (spring)

topp'eʔe NOUN Ethiopia

tottʃo NOUN edge, border

toʔattʃ- VERB discriminate

tuh- VERB spit

tukaana NOUN bedbug

tum- VERB grind

tuma NOUN garlic

tummaato NOUN greeting

tuna ADJECTIVE valueless

tunga NOUN end

tunkuʔla NOUN elbow

tunni- VERB move without any special purpose

tunso NOUN darkness

tuub- VERB accumulate

tuudeʔ- VERB fainted, lost consciousness, lost self control

tuuk'- VERB move with a long stick

tuulle NOUN shame

tuur- VERB be ashamed

tuuta NOUN members

W

waaddʒoʔo NOUN millet

waagga NOUN dim

waamma NOUN grave

waang- VERB be greedy

waangaantʃo ADJECTIVE greedy

waankeʔ- VERB to cry loud

waar- VERB come

waardijja NOUN guard

waasa NOUN baked enset food

waataanna NOUN new born calves

waattʃ- VERB swim

waachamo NOUN an alternative name of Hosaana town

waaʔa NOUN God

waaʔidamuuntʃo PREPOSITION rainbow

weesa NOUN enset

weeʃ- VERB call

weeʔittʃo NOUN calf

wejjaka NOUN traditional blanket

welleella ADJECTIVE curved

wengereellittʃo NOUN fox

weriira ADJECTIVE strong

wila ADJECTIVE cross eyed

wiling- VERB come in to view at glance

wint'oʔo ADJECTIVE little, small mount

wint'iriillittʃo ADJECTIVE tiny

wirginna ADJECTIVE cmplllex

wiriira NOUN smoke

wiswis- VERB move

wiʃittʃo NOUN dog

wit'- VERB sow, plant

witʃa ADJECTIVE thin

witʃiibba NOUN itching skin disease

witt'- VERB gather

witt'aʔ- VERB collect

witt'ite NOUN meeting, being together

wittara NOUN gate, entrance

wiʔl- VERB cry, weep

wiʔlaano NOUN mourners

wiʔlo NOUN mourning

wobiliila ADJECTIVE blue

woda NOUN arm

wodala NOUN male donkey

wodano NOUN heart

wodaroʔo NOUN piece of land

woddalla NOUN previous time(in weeks)'

woga NOUN culture

wogana NOUN cow counting ceremony

wokk'aattʃa NOUN blacksmith

wolla NOUN clearing axe

wollaadoʔo NOUN raw meat

wollis- VERB check, identify

wollis- VERB count.control

wona NOUN elder

wonana NOUN a hole (place) where the product of inset is accumulated

wonata NOUN moth

wondaroʔo NOUN meal made of various cereals

wongeʔe NOUN cabbage

wongira NOUN bowl, hallow wooden, container

wonnanna NOUN digging tool made of sharpened wood

wonʃ- VERB fill

woraaba ADJECTIVE red (cow)

woraada NOUN youngsters

woraʔa NOUN a type tree grows on highland areas

work'a NOUN gold

woro PREPOSITION in

woroone PREPOSITION bottom

wossa NOUN entertainment

woʃʃa NOUN affair

wot'al- VERB kick

wotʃ- VERB talk

wotʃam- VERB disagree

woʔla NOUN calves

woʔma ADJECTIVE full

woʔo NOUN water

T'

t'aalla NOUN quality

t'aaloota NOUN pray

t'aaloott'imine (compound) NOUN church

t'aara NOUN metal

t'aat'- VERB cover/wrap

t'abak'ata NOUN action of nagging, bickering, quarrelling

t'abano NOUN cheek, riverside

t'abbeena ADJECTIVE straight

t'abso'o NOUN problem

t'ad- VERB forget

t'afeliik'a NOUN a small bird

t'afira NOUN strap

t'agaʔl- VERB choke

t'aggagga ADJECTIVE accurate

t'ak'af- VERB perspire, sweat

t'ak'afa NOUN sweat

t'ak'aʃa NOUN stool

t'aleʔe ADVERB only

t'aliga ADJECTIVE strong

t'aliila ADJECTIVE clean

t'ambo NOUN sign, trace, information, news

t'an- VERB do, perform

t'ank'is- VERB light (fire)

t'ank'oʔo NOUN parasite

t'ant'ano NOUN vagina

t'apo NOUN root

t'araʔa NOUN python

t'arbeʔe NOUN small drum

t'aʔ- VERB subtract, reduce, diminish

t'aʔm- VERB ask

t'eebeʔ- VERB be thirsty

t'eena NOUN rain

t'eeʔ- VERB be sweet

t'eeʔantʃa NOUN get engaged (marriage)

t'effoʔo NOUN slice

t'ett'ef- VERB make something flat and smooth

t'ibbe ADJECTIVE hundred

t'idd- VERB mourn

t'ig- NOUN count

t'iga NOUN number

t'iib- VERB push

t'iiga NOUN blood

t'iigeʔ- VERB bleed

t'iillo NOUN chin

t'iint'iʔtʃo NOUN a type of disease that spoils meat

t'iint'oʔo ADJECTIVE tiny

t'iiteʔe NOUN dense forest

t'ikinta NOUN october

t'ilafaʔ- VERB relapse

t'inak'as- VERB focus

t'iniins- VERB focus-

t'ire NOUN time

t'iribba NOUN stake

t'iriire NOUN january

t'isaasa NOUN december

t'iss- VERB be sick, be ill

t'isso NOUN disease

t'iʃʃ- VERB catch strongly

t'omboora (t'ombora in Leemo dialect) NOUN flame

t'oobbeʔe NOUN elephantiasis

t'ook'- VERB burst, explode

t'oominaaseʔe NOUN august

t'oot'a NOUN cause

t'op'- VERB jump

t'or- VERB escape

t'orbeʔe NOUN ball

t'ork'eʔe NOUN ploughman's whip

t'ortoʔo ADJECTIVE fluent

t'ot'ank'a NOUN spark

t'uda NOUN creping plant

t'uf- VERB close

t'ufa NOUN door

t'ukk'a ADJECTIVE narrow

t'ulbeʔe NOUN ball

t'umma NOUN peace

t'ummato NOUN greeting

t'unt'uumma NOUN shin

t'ur- VERB be dirty

t'ura NOUN dirt

t'urank'a NOUN fingernail

t'uraʔa NOUN nail

t'urunbulla NOUN horns

t'utt'- VERB be quiet

t'uur- VERB be inconvenient

t'uut'- VERB suck, absorb

t'uut'imma NOUN sucking

t'uut'ulla NOUN puppy

t'uuttʃa NOUN labor, birth pain

t'aafeʔe NOUN teff (cereal whose flour is used for injera)

t'aargana (compound) NOUN engagement

t'aarmuuza NOUN bottle

t'ank'is- VERB light (fire)

t'iint'itʃtʃo NOUN a type of disease that spoils meat

J

jaajj- VERB discriminate

jaala NOUN shame

jaaʔa NOUN meeting

jaburo NOUN lip

jagooreʔe NOUN velum

jak- VERB try

jee UNKNOWN yes! a response of an adresee

jesuusa NOUN Jesus

jor- VERB nag

jora ADJECTIVE aggressive

junbersiteʔe NOUN university

Z

zaakkoot- VERB trade local beer near the road

zajita NOUN oil

zalabata NOUN belt

zaraaroʔo NOUN flower

zaraʔma NOUN bridge

zeretta NOUN seed

zerka NOUN flower of maize and sorghum

zigiiga NOUN fence

ziilla NOUN grey

zinnaara NOUN chain

zolt'obba ADJECTIVE tall (of human being)

zoofaaroʔo NOUN irrigation

zubbeʔe NOUN elephantiasis

tʃ

tʃabb- VERB float

tʃaftʃaf- VERB move unconsciously

tʃareʔe NOUN type of bird that sucks cows blood

tʃirtʃir- VERB wander

tʃokaat- VERB eject

tʃubb- VERB jump

tʃufa NOUN dregs,waste

ʃ

ʃaagga NOUN mold

ʃaak'- VERB shout

ʃaamo NOUN luck, chance

ʃaana NOUN cabbage

ʃaanoʔo ADJECTIVE green

ʃaap'a NOUN river

ʃaara NOUN a residue of water

ʃaaʃiga NOUN easter

ʃaaʃoogo NOUN one of the dialects of Hadiyya

ʃaaʃʃa NOUN head scarf

ʃaateʔe NOUN bowl made of clay

ʃabula NOUN not fully ripe or grown grain

ʃafeʔe NOUN wheel

ʃafʃaf- VERB shake repeatedly

ʃaha NOUN light

ʃallagoʔo NOUN mathematics

ʃama ADJECTIVE wet

ʃamiiza NOUN shirt

ʃap'a NOUN wedge

ʃarada NOUN share

ʃaʃʃara NOUN sand

ʃeekk'ara NOUN structure

ʃeelat- VERB take off

ʃeello NOUN penis

ʃeerimo NOUN tail

ʃeet'aana NOUN devil, satan, evil spirit

ʃekeleela ADJECTIVE skinny

ʃeneʔe NOUN appetite

ʃenk'eeʔla NOUN algae

ʃetta ADJECTIVE weak

ʃifa NOUN bush

ʃigig- VERB hate

ʃih- VERB kill

ʃiiha [1] ADJECTIVE thousand [2] ADJECTIVE lame

ʃiila ADJECTIVE thin, skinny

ʃiinnaat- VERB agree

ʃiinʃ- VERB brush, clean

ʃiinʃa NOUN soot

ʃiintʃ'aara NOUN split wood

ʃiireʔe ADJECTIVE grey

ʃiiʃa NOUN sour

ʃikk'eena ADJECTIVE senior

ʃiʃina NOUN manure (of sheep)

ʃiʃira NOUN leprosy

ʃob- VERB sharpen, bring to point (arrow)

ʃoga NOUN branch

ʃokk- VERB burn

ʃokona NOUN hoof

ʃolleʔ- VERB become light

ʃollleʔaalla [1] ADJECTIVE easy, simple, light [2] ADJECTIVE a person who does not keep his/her dignity

ʃololok'- VERB incline, become oblique

ʃomba NOUN hair around human sexual organs

ʃombok'oʔo NOUN bamboo like tree tall tropical tree

ʃonk'obb- VERB go a head

ʃonk'olla NOUN name of a mountain

ʃonkoora NOUN sugar cane

ʃoodira NOUN stick with pointed metal end

ʃoohoʔo NOUN basement

ʃooma NOUN hunger

ʃooteʔe NOUN cultural pot used for urine

ʃootoʔo NOUN basement

ʃop'- VERB climb

ʃoroot'- VERB tremble with fear

ʃoroott'aalla ADJECTIVE alert

ʃoʔa ADJECTIVE loose

ʃudakk'a NOUN comb

ʃufa NOUN shell (of seed)

ʃufuro NOUN waste/ dirt/ dry pieces of trees which fall on the ground

ʃugutt'a (Amh) NOUN pistil

ʃuk'un- VERB to hoe

ʃuk'oota NOUN fenugreek

ʃuk'una NOUN weed

ʃukkaara NOUN sweet potato

ʃukkuʔla NOUN hoof

ʃukuk- VERB walk slowly

ʃuma NOUN urine

ʃumagittʃo NOUN rabbit

ʃumeʔ- VERB urinate

ʃumoʔo NOUN generation

ʃuraaba NOUN sweater

ʃurubba NOUN plaited hair style

ʃuujja ADJECTIVE single, only

ʃuur- VERB shout

ʃuuʃa VERB appetite, sense

ʔ

ʔaabba NOUN credit selling or buying of cattle

ʔaade PREPOSITION downward

ʔaadite [1] PREPOSITION down ward[2] NOUN diarrhea

ʔaadora NOUN diarrhea

ʔaag- VERB enter

ʔaagga NOUN beginning

ʔaajja NOUN sister

ʔaajjibeeto (compound) NOUN nephew

ʔaall- VERB lick

ʔaaloʔo NOUN character, conduct, behavior

ʔaanʃ- VERB wash

ʔaanʃakk'- VERB wash oneself

ʔaantʃ'a NOUN fiber

ʔaarada NOUN stick like wood used for fence

ʔaaʃ- VERB be wet

ʔaaʃaalla ADJECTIVE wet

ʔaatt'aga NOUN floor

ʔaattʃe (ʔaa) 'VOC' NOUN mother! mummy!

ʔaaʔ- [1] VERB receive[2] VERB buy

ʔaaʔaaʔe UNKNOWN no

ʔabaabun- VERB look after

ʔabagudo NOUN of the same age

ʔabarooso NOUN family

ʔabba (ʔabbaajjo) 'VOC' NOUN father! daddy!

ʔabbaajjo NOUN brother

ʔabbaas- VERB wipe, clean floor

ʔabbaattʃ- ADJECTIVE Mr.

ʔabbaattʃo NOUN Mr. (mister), used to address a man

ʔabballa [1] ADJECTIVE bald[2] NOUN albinio

ʔabbaʔa NOUN sunday

ʔabbiso PREPOSITION near

ʔabdaad- VERB waste

ʔabee yes! Yes sir!

ʔabgaʔa NOUN discipline

ʔaboojj- VERB take care of

ʔaboojja NOUN taking care of

ʔaboora NOUN ear wax

ʔaboʔo NOUN white /grey hair

ʔabukattʃa NOUN struggle

ʔaburuuk'a NOUN nipple

ʔaburuura ADJECTIVE aged

ʔabuull- VERB plough

ʔabuulla NOUN farm

ʔabuullaantʃo NOUN farmer

ʔada NOUN aunt

ʔadaamma NOUN cactus (euphorbia)

ʔadaba NOUN patience

ʔadabeel- VERB become rude

ʔadapp'- VERB become patient

ʔadaraara NOUN orphan

ʔadbeeto (compound) NOUN cousin, son of father's sister

ʔaddittʃo NOUN 'heifer (young female cow)'

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ʔaddʒeʔe NOUN ear infection

ʔaddʒeʔe NOUN a disease that attacks ear

ʔadila NOUN king

ʔadiʔlimine (compound) NOUN palace

ʔado NOUN milk

ʔaduuntʃo NOUN cat

ʔadʒaara ADJECTIVE grey

ʔadʒabaan- VERB become angry

ʔadʒandʒara ADJECTIVE busy

ʔadʒuluum- VERB be retarded mentally

ʔaf- VERB arrive

ʔafaateʔe NOUN mourning

ʔafare ¹ NOUN back² NOUN liver

ʔafeefana NOUN dowry

ʔafuur- VERB sit

ʔag- VERB drink

ʔagaag- VERB support

ʔagana ¹ NOUN month² NOUN moon

ʔaganna NOUN history

ʔagannoota NOUN progress, success

ʔageebbar- VERB train

ʔagga NOUN drink

ʔaggiis- VERB lend

ʔaggiiʃʃa NOUN lending

ʔagiddano NOUN slavery

ʔagira NOUN shield

ʔagiʃʃo NOUN a/the slave

ʔajdaara NOUN local beer

ʔajjaamo ¹ NOUN day² who (PL)

ʔajjaana ¹ NOUN spirit, good luck² NOUN holy day

ʔajjara NOUN air

ʔajje (Q) who

ʔak'eetʃa NOUN chin

ʔak'oomada NOUN gum, resin (of tree)

ʔakeek- VERB compare

ʔakeekkans- VERB contrast

ʔakk'a NOUN flood

ʔakkiiʃʃa NOUN smoking

ʔalallaato NOUN proclamation

ʔalbaattʃa NOUN sex

ʔallabo NOUN tounge

ʔallaggittʃo NOUN outsider, stranger

ʔallar- VERB keep, look after, take care of (cattle)

ʔallattʃuulla NOUN pasturage

ʔalleʔ- VERB ruminate, chew cud

ʔaloojja NOUN viral disease of enset plant

ʔaloojja NOUN disease that affects inset plant

ʔaltʃeeʔna ADJECTIVE barren, sterile

ʔama NOUN mother

ʔamaado NOUN boasting, bragging, show off

ʔamaaja (compound) NOUN mother's sisters (aunt)

ʔamaajj- VERB force a baby to drink things like milk by putting one palm on his/her mouth

ʔamaajja (compound) NOUN mother's sister

ʔamaattʃo NOUN a person from Amhara nationality

ʔamaaʔlisa NOUN Amharic

ʔamad- VERB catch, hold

ʔamaddʒa NOUN handling

ʔamala NOUN conduct

ʔamama grandmother (Lit: mother's mother)

ʔamanna (compound) NOUN mother's father

ʔamatt'a ¹ NOUN wealth, resource² NOUN content

ʔamaʔn- VERB believe

ʔamb- VERB cover

ʔambaantʃo NOUN neighbor

ʔambaʔa NOUN village

ʔambula NOUN ram

ʔameettʃo ADJECTIVE very old (human being)

ʔammane NOUN time

ʔammara NOUN birds

ʔammata UNKNOWN please

ʔammaʔnato NOUN belief, religion, trust

ʔammooma NOUN kinship

ʔan- VERB split

ʔanabbaajjo (compound) NOUN uncle

ʔandʒa NOUN saliva

ʔane PRONOUN I

ʔanga NOUN hand

ʔangahoffiitt'a (compound) ADJECTIVE poor

ʔangeddʒa (compound) NOUN participation

ʔangiʔoobba (compound) NOUN palm

ʔangoʔo NOUN aid

ʔankakkar- VERB crawl

ʔankulittʃo Noun mumps

ʔanna Noun father

ʔannabbaajjo (compound) Noun uncle

ʔannanna Adjective different

ʔannannaato Noun difference

ʔannittʃo ¹ Noun owner² Noun subject

ʔanniʔama (compound) Noun father's mother

ʔanniʔanna Noun grandfather (Lit: father's father)

ʔanniʔare (compound) Noun step mother

ʔansa Noun appointement

ʔapp'is- Verb hit

ʔapp'itt'antʃa Noun conflict

ʔaraata Noun traveller

ʔarad- Verb announce the death of a famous person

ʔarak'a Adjective much

ʔaram- Verb discuss

ʔarasa Noun wheat

ʔaraʔa Noun bed

ʔare Noun wife

ʔarees- Verb improve, renew

ʔarguttʃo ¹ Noun cock² Noun clitoris

ʔarguugg- Verb chase

ʔariim- Verb live long

ʔarkeʔ- Verb become thirsty very much

ʔaroʔo Noun husband

ʔasir- Verb become dry (weather)

ʔasira Noun drought

ʔasnaad- Verb organize

ʔasseʔ- Verb send

ʔasso Noun message

ʔaʃaboʔo Noun sand

ʔaʃeer- Verb begin

ʔaʃuura Noun esteem, reverence, dignity

ʔat'ak'a Noun yoke

ʔat'araass- Verb identify, check, notice

ʔat'eer- ¹ Verb control² Verb punish

ʔat'is- Verb straighten

ʔat'uruuss- Verb know something very well

ʔataaloʔo Noun leakage

ʔataara Noun violence, aggresion

ʔatanaattʃa Noun violince, disturbance

ʔatara (Amh) Noun pea

ʔate Pronoun you (SG)

ʔatiwwonna Noun prediction

ʔatoorar- Verb talk each other

ʔatoota Noun production

ʔatorattʃa Noun dialogue, discussion

ʔatʃeek'as- Verb criticize

ʔatʃeek'as- Verb criticize

ʔatt'ibooso (compound) Noun milkpot

ʔatura Noun thorn

ʔawsaara Noun flower

ʔawukareʔe Noun imagery

ʔawuraak'a Noun warthog

ʔawusaʔa Noun blanket

ʔawwaad- Verb be useful

ʔawwaado Noun service

ʔawwaaww- Verb confuse

ʔawwan- Verb follow

ʔawwansa Noun guideline, instruction

ʔawwansaantʃo Noun leader

ʔaʔneera Noun wild cat

ʔebare Noun somebody (used when failing to remember the name of somebody, female)

ʔebaro Noun somebody (used when failing to remember the name of somebody, male)

ʔebeellano Noun oldness

ʔebeer- Verb become old

ʔebeera Noun old person

ʔed- Verb add

ʔedam- Verb meet

ʔeddettʃa Noun clothes

ʔeddeʔ- Verb wear

ʔeddʒa ¹ Noun increment² Noun joint

ʔedʒebera Adjective boastful, conceited

ʔeeb- ¹ Verb bring² Verb marry

ʔeebakk'antʃa Noun marriage

ʔeehaaʔname Unknown seldom, not often, rarely, scarcely

ʔeejja Unknown yes

ʔeejjite Noun agreement

ʔeek'ido (compound) Noun yonder, opposite (side), across

ʔeek'soodo (compound) NOUN three days from now

ʔeekka ADJECTIVE that one

ʔeekkeʔe ADVERB there

ʔeekkujjato NOUN showing agreemenet

ʔeelliintiʔaagga (compound) NOUN west

ʔeelliintʃifira (compound) NOUN east

ʔeelliintʃilaaga NOUN sunshine

ʔeelliintʃo NOUN sun

ʔeera NOUN mineral water

ʔeeʃimma NOUN uncle, mother's brother

ʔeeʔn- VERB suspect

ʔegar ¹ VERB wait² VERB keep

ʔeleela NOUN goal, objective

ʔellawwa ADJECTIVE white and black of cow

ʔellees- VERB take away

ʔelleʔ- VERB go, leave

ʔendʒa NOUN spice

ʔendʒees- VERB smell

ʔereera NOUN coral

ʔeroomma NOUN kindness

ʔett'oʔo NOUN sum, extension

ʔibiiba NOUN louse

ʔidaajjano NOUN honeymoon

ʔidaajjittʃo NOUN bride groom

ʔidiid- VERB save

ʔidoota ¹ NOUN marriage fortune for girls² NOUN spider³ NOUN witch spirit

ʔidʒaadʒ- VERB command, order

ʔidʒaadʒo NOUN order, command

ʔifa NOUN cover

ʔifiis- VERB cover

ʔifittʃo NOUN upper grinding stone

ʔigg- VERB dare

ʔih- VERB become

ʔihona VERB let it be

ʔiibado (compound) NOUN fresh milk

ʔiibb- VERB be hot (objects)

ʔiibba NOUN heat, warmth

ʔiibbaalla ADJECTIVE warm

ʔiik'- VERB break

ʔiill- VERB come

ʔiimane- NOUN sky

ʔiime PREPOSITION upward

ʔiinseʔ- VERB sleep

ʔiinsimine (compound) NOUN bed room

ʔiintʃakk'a (compound) NOUN chewing gum

ʔiitʃ- VERB chew

ʔiitt- VERB like, love

ʔijj- VERB carry

ʔijjakk'a NOUN patient

ʔillaans- VERB blow

ʔillaantʃo NOUN sieve, winnowing basket

ʔillafunta (compound) NOUN pimple

ʔille NOUN eye

ʔillibeetittʃo (compound) NOUN pupil

ʔilligana (compound) NOUN a type of marriage

ʔillimoottʃa (compound) NOUN marriage ceremony

ʔillimura (compound) NOUN 'the last child of a family'

ʔilliʃura (compound) NOUN eye brow

ʔillittʃo NOUN center, main

ʔinddidda NOUN tear,drop of liquid that comes out of one's eye

ʔinf- VERB blow nose

ʔink'alo NOUN rosted grain (e.g. bareley, wheat, peas, beans, etc.)

ʔink'e NOUN tooth

ʔink'imaara (compound) NOUN gum

ʔinkaaʃʃa NOUN leftovers

ʔinkiir- VERB pour, fetch

ʔinkiiʔn- VERB recognize

ʔinsaara NOUN scratched stem of 'enset'

ʔintʃiittʃ- VERB twist

ʔiradoona (Amh) NOUN radio

ʔirdʒidʒa NOUN ooze

ʔirifoʔo NOUN marriage gift the groom's relatives give to the bride

ʔirta NOUN obligation

ʔise PRONOUN she

ʔiss- ¹ VERB do² VERB put

ʔissadoora NOUN mat

ʔissuwwa/ʔitt'uwwa PRONOUN they

ʔiʃtigg- VERB be peaceful, calm, quite

ʔit- VERB eat

ʔitt'o/ʔiso PRONOUN he

ʔittʃa NOUN meal

ʔobbol- VERB become boastfull

ʔodaʔa NOUN fig tree (ficus sycomorus)

ʔodda NOUN hair

ʔodime PREPOSITION again, also

ʔodoʔo NOUN threshing floor

ʔogora NOUN way, system, style

ʔolb- VERB glorify

ʔolba NOUN glory

ʔollakkittʃo NOUN neighbour

ʔollaʔa NOUN nevillage

ʔomba NOUN traditional clothing leather

ʔommattʃo NOUN skin

ʔomogoga ADJECTIVE rigid

ʔonkorooll- VERB roll-

ʔonnoʔo NOUN behaviour

ʔonsoodo (compound) NOUN day after tomorrow

ʔontajje ADJECTIVE fifty

ʔonto ADJECTIVE five

ʔoobba NOUN palm (of hand)

ʔoodoʔo NOUN winnowing floor

ʔoogat- VERB judge

ʔoogata NOUN judgement

ʔookk ADJECTIVE that (a person, M)

ʔoomballa NOUN day before yesterday

ʔoora NOUN termite

ʔooso NOUN children

ʔoosoomano NOUN childhood

ʔoot- VERB make fence

ʔoota NOUN fence

ʔora NOUN war

ʔoram- VERB fight

ʔorattʃo NOUN body

ʔoraʔa NOUN dung

ʔoreeta NOUN manure, dung

ʔorodo NOUN a small pen used as lodging for calves

ʔorooba NOUN wednesday

ʔoropp'eʔe (Amh) NOUN air plane

ʔoroʔo NOUN wild dog

ʔosar- VERB laugh

ʔosattʃa NOUN laugh

ʔottʃo NOUN traditional milk jug made of grass, used for churning milk (cultural)

ʔoʔlaʔla NOUN cockroach

ʔub- VERB fall

ʔubbuus- VERB drop

ʔudmaʔa NOUN field

ʔududda NOUN mucus

ʔufees- VERB winnow-

ʔuggaata NOUN whey of cheese

ʔuguda NOUN holyday

ʔuluʔma NOUN doorway

ʔumbuʔla NOUN cloud

ʔumuro NOUN age

ʔur- VERB leave, abandon, avoid, ignore, neglect

ʔuraaga NOUN heroic honour, esp. in ancient times for killing enemies

ʔurkoʔo NOUN hair style

ʔurub- VERB choke

ʔurullittʃo PREPOSITION leech

ʔusa NOUN rope

ʔusula NOUN system

ʔuʃa NOUN heritage

ʔuʃeet'- VERB rest

ʔuʃeʔ- VERB drive

ʔutta NOUN thorn

ʔutuba NOUN wooden pillar (a centeral pole which will be used in the center of a traditional house as a main support)

ʔuulik'ootʃa (compound) NOUN earth shape

ʔuull- VERB stand

ʔuulla NOUN earth, land, country, ethinic area

ʔuullibeeto (compound) NOUN citizen

ʔuullimura (compound) NOUN cliff

ʔuullimuuta (compound) NOUN local product

ʔuulliʃep'ite (compound) NOUN earth quake

ʔuullit'inta (compound) NOUN pole

ʔuullittʃa NOUN height

ʔuumoʔo NOUN shape, posture, nature

ʔuunddʒ- VERB leave, drop

ʔuunt'- VERB beg-

ʔuww- VERB give

ʔuwwa NOUN vomit

ʔuwwantʃa Noun gift
ʔuʔna Noun troubl

Appendix D: Summary of the Consultants' Data

Time of Data Collections: October, 2010 - September 2011

Places of Data Collections: Hosaana, Duuna, Gimbichu

No.	Name of the Informants	Age	Sex	Aca. level	Address	Profession	Type of Data provided by the Interviewees
1	Alebachew Kemiso	33	M	MA	Waagabata	Teacher	Annotator/Participant : All the textual data
2	Samuel Handamo	32	M	MA	AA	Teacher	Informant for linguistic data
3	Wondimu Abule	35	M	BA	Hasaana	Civil servant (Zone Communication office)	Informant for cultural data
4	Tesfaye Woldemeskel	50	M	BA	Hosaana	Civil servant (Zone Education office)	Informant for cultural data
5	Eersiido Antese	39	M	BA	Hosaana	Civil servant (Zone cultural office)	Informant for cultural data
6	Rahel Goobe	25	F	12	Sooro	student	Informant for both linguistic and cultural data
7	Gennet Giirsiido	45	F	12	Sooro	student	Informant for both linguistic and cultural data

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Appendix E: Photographs

☞   **Photographs**   (*Open the Hyperlink to see the photographs*)

Appendix F: Maps

☞   **Maps**   (*Open the Hyperlink to see the maps*)