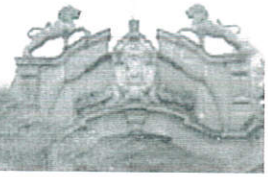
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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES, LANGUAGE STUDIES,
JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

DOCUMENTATION AND DESCRIPTION OF SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN KOORETE

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN LINGUISTICS

BY

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SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

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Appendix 5: Text 005: tukkaliyaara i nayshaara 'A goose and its chicken'
Appendix 6: Text 006: bidzi indo payankaara i adiyaara 'A clever woman and her husband'
Appendix 7: Text 007: milqaqaara e machiyaara 'Milkaka and his wife'
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1P	First Person	INF	Infinitive
1PL	First Person Plural	INS	Instrumental
2SG	Second Person	LOC	Locative
3FS	3rd Person Feminine Singular	M	Masculine
3MS	3rd Person Masculine Singular	N	Noun
3PL	3rdPerson Plural	NEG AUX	Negative Auxiliary
ABL	Ablative	NEG	Negative
ABS	Absolutive	NF	Non-Final
AFOC:DEC	Assertive Focus in Declarative	NOM	Nominative
AFOC:INT	Assertive Focus in Interrogative	NP	Noun Phrase
AUX	Auxiliary	NPST	Non-Past
CAS	Causative	OBJ	Object
CFOC	Contrastive Focus	PAi	Past 1
CMP	Complementizer	PAii	Past 2
CND	Conditional	PSV	Passive
CNJ	Coordinating Conjunction	PF	Perfective
CNV_1	Converb type one	PFT	Perfect
CNV_2	Converb type two	PL	Plural
CNV_3	Converb type three	POSS	Possessor
CNV_4	Converb type four	PRES	Present
COP	Copula	PRON	Pronoun
DAT	Dative	PROG	Progressive
DECL	Declarative	PST	Past
DEM_1	Demonstrative type one	PURP	Purposive

KEY TO SYMBOLS

? - a questionable grammatical sentence

∅- null

* - ungrammatical

C –consonant

CNV_1 –converb one

TEM_1 – temporal one

V - vowel

(<) - underlined form

/ / - phonemic transcription

[ ] - phonetic transcription or missing word(s)

HN-head noun

RC-relative clause

NPrel - relativized noun phrase

[e]-head position indicator

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 The People

According to the 2007 population and housing census of Ethiopia, the *Koore* people number 156,884. They live in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State of the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, in *Amaaro wereda Segen Akebabi Hizboch zone*.[1] The capital of the woreda is *Keele*. Hayward (1982:211) points out that the people reside in a mountainous area called *Amaaro* which is located to the East of Lake Abbaya.

The people call themselves *Koore*, and they use *Koorete* to refer to their language. The *Koore* people are also known by different names. Some of these names include *Koyra, Baaditu, Baadi, Gobbit, Afa hoyra,* and *Hoyrisate*. These names are given to the *Koore* people by Amharic, Oromo, Burji, Zagise, Konso, and Derashe speaking communities, respectively. Brenzinger (1999) reports the presence of some families of *Koorete* speakers who live on the Gidicho Island of Lake Abbaya. *Koorete* speakers use the name *Koorsso* in order to refer to the land they live in.

The *Koore* are predominantly agro pastoralists.Thier main agricultural product is *enset* or *false banana.* It is called "ʃuntʃa" in *Koorete*, which has variety of products. "*bul'a*" is one of these products and supplied to Dilla, Hawassa, and Addis Ababa markets. Coffee is also another basic agricultural product and is used for income generation. Crops such as maize, *teff*, coffee, wheat, barley, beans, pea and some other root crops such as casaba, and sweet potato are produced.

[1] The political organization of Ethiopia includes the following units from greatest to smallest: nation > regional states > zones > weredas > k'ebeles. Weredas are organized into zone which is in turn organized into regional states.

Fruits such as mango, papaya, avocado, orange, banana, lemon, and sugar cane are available in lowland areas. Some of *Koore* people rely on cattle breeding.

The highest altitude of Amaaro or *Koorsso* is 3601 meters above the sea level. It shows a variety of landscapes and micro climates according to the altitude. The highland areas are mainly used for cultivation of beans, pea, wheat, and barely are produced. The low land is rich in cultivating grains, coffee and fruits.

From their oral history, it is noted that the *Koore* People are historically interdependent with the other Omotic and Cushitic speaking group in Southern Ethiopia, and share several social and cultural characteristics. The *Koore* are internally divided into four sub clans. These include: *Koorese, Kaana'e, Mana,* and *Gaace*. Each clan branches into various lineages. Although, marriage among members of the *Koorese* and *Kaana'e* lineage of a clan is possible, *Mana* and *Gaace* clan members are not allowed to get married with others. They only get married from one at their own clan members (Awoke 1985).

According to Awoke (1985), *Koore* ancestors originally migrated from the northern part of the country in Showa. Regarding religion, most of the *Koore* people are currently followers of Protestant religion. There are also followers of Orthodox Christianity, Catholic and Islam (CSA, 2008). However, the traditional animist religion is on the verge of extinction due to the spread of Christianity in recent years.

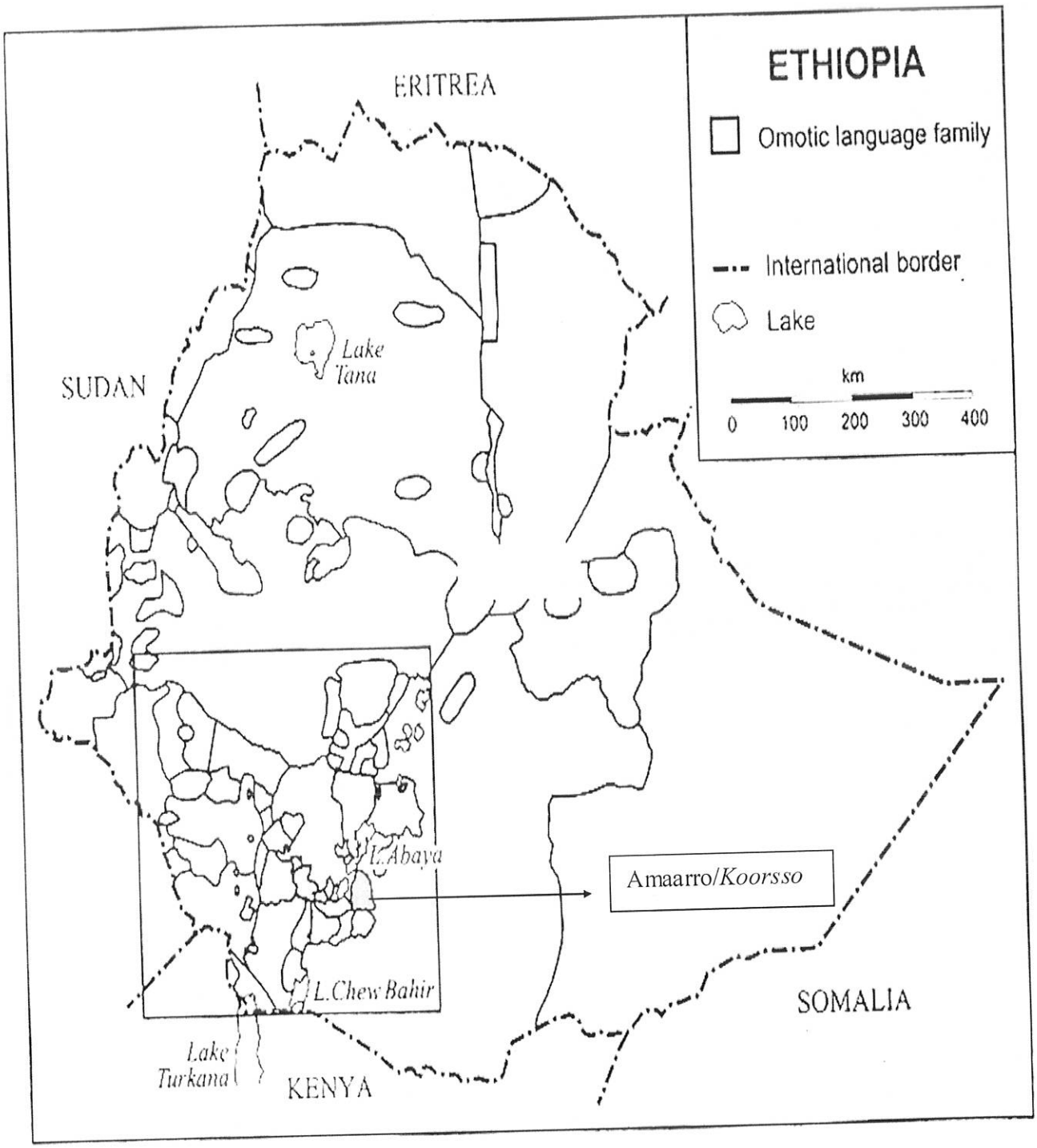
1.2 The Language

Koorete is spoken in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State in southwestern Ethiopia, in the Amaaro mountains east of Lake Abbaya, *segen akebab hizboch* zone. The people call their language *Koorete*. The language is spoken by 156, 884 native

speakers (CSA, 2008). *Koorete* is also spoken by about 60 Harro families in Harro village on Gidicho (Gidiccio) Island in Lake Abbaya, and by people who emigrated from Amaaro "in a distance past" (Brenzinger 1999).

Koorete is the most easterly Omotic language, and has been classified by Bender (1971) and Fleming (1976) as belonging to the Ometo language cluster. According to Hayward (2003), *Koorete* belongs to the Ometo group of the Gimojan branch of the Ta-Ne languages, a branch of North Omotic. North Omotic, South Omotic, and Mao constitute the Omotic language group, a branch of Afroasiatic. See the family tree page 4.

Since 1992 E.C, the language is taught as a subject from grade 1 to 4. Moreover, there is a plan to use the language as a medium of instruction for primary level from grade 1 to 4 and as a subject for secondary level from grade 5 to 8.



Map 1. The area where the *Koore* People inhabit in Southwestern Ethiopia.

(Adapted from Binyam 2008)

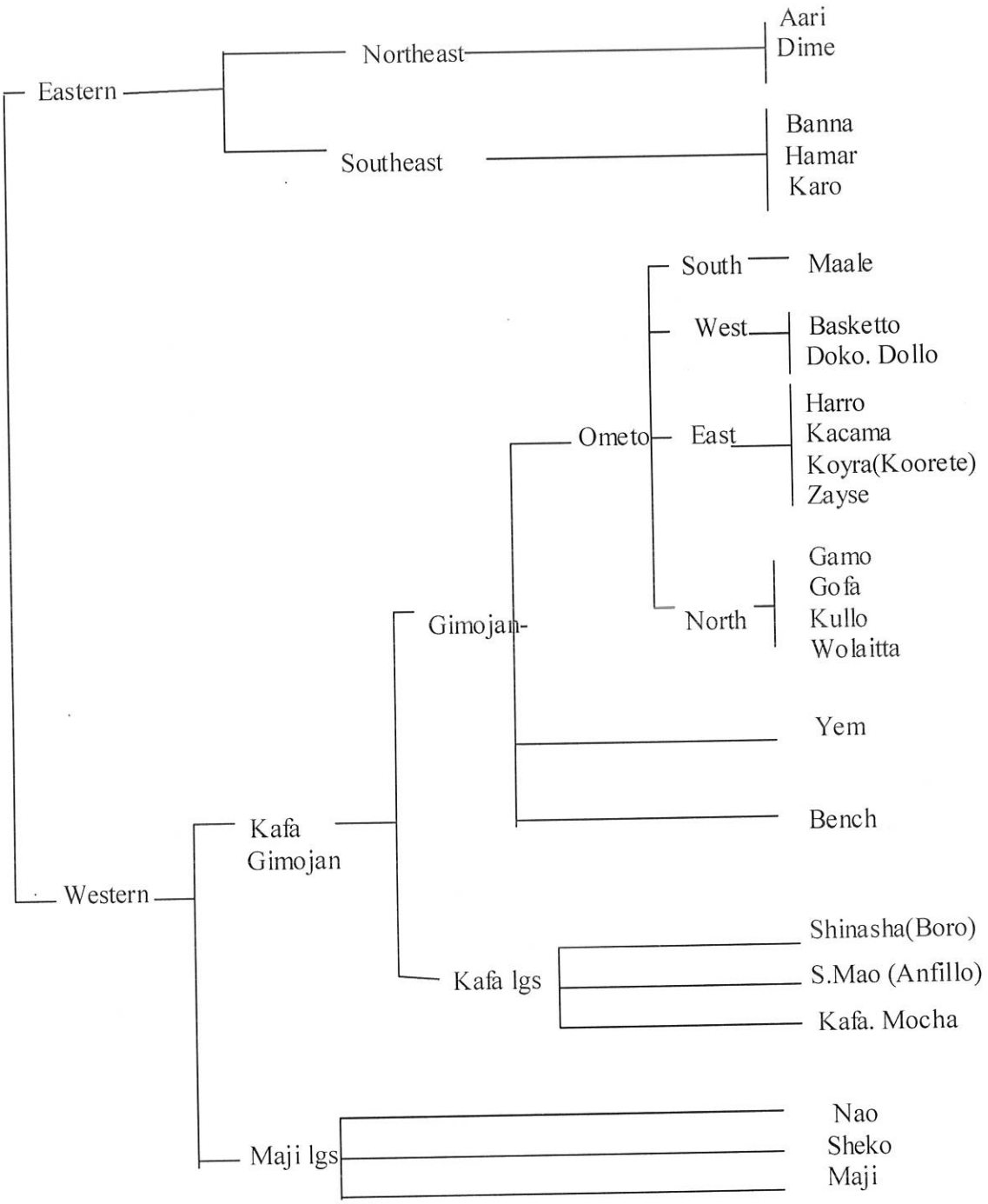


Figure 1.Omotic Language Family (Azeb, 2001:5).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Studies on the subordinate clause of the language are very scanty. These are Hayward (1982:254) and Binyam (2008:54) that treat few aspects of subordinate clauses such as relative clause and complement clause. Most importantly, there is no documentation work on the language in a systematic way. Perhaps this first attempts to document the language. The aim of the present study, therefore, is to make documentation and description of subordinate clauses in *Koorete*.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The general goal of the study is to record some naturally occurring communicative events and to make a descriptive analysis of the subordinate clauses based on the data.

The specific objectives are:

- To produce 20 minute corpus of annotated primary data.
- To describe the subordinate clause: relative clause, complement clause, adverbial clauses and converbs in *Koorete*.

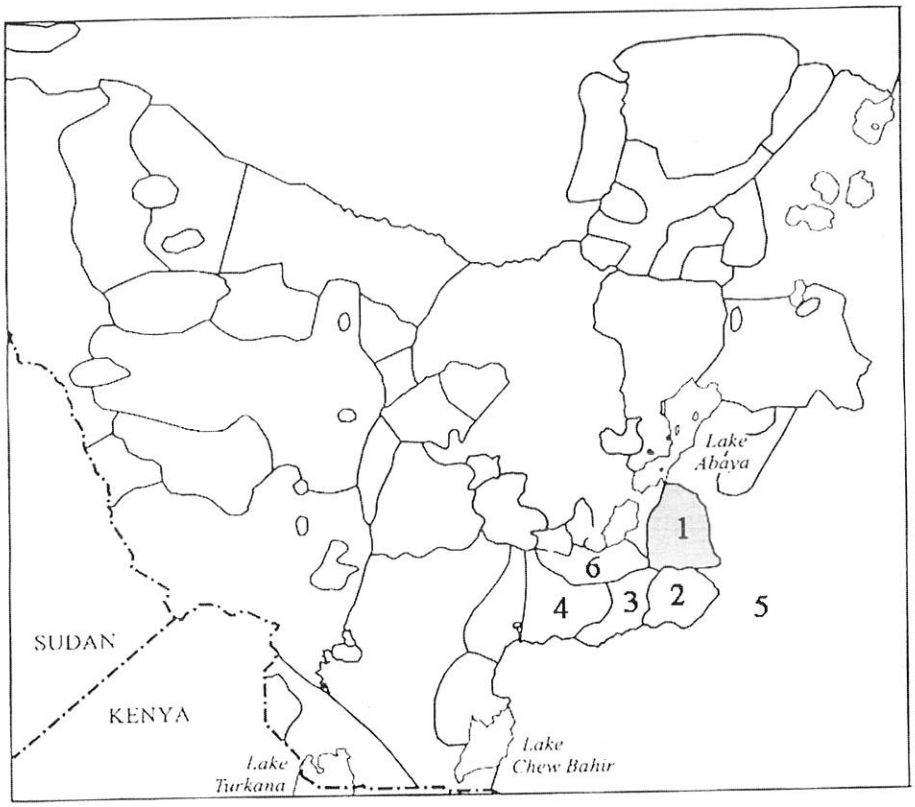
1.5 Site and Scope of the Study

The study is limited to the variety spoken in middle area of Amaaro, it does not consider *alga bade, Koyra bade,* and other dialects. The word *Alga* in *Koorete* refers to the *Burji* people located to the south of the *Koore* and *bade* means towards. Thus, *Alga bade* in *Koorete* means 'towards the direction of the Burji'. Likewise, *Koira bade* translates as 'towards the direction of Koyra'. The language consultants who provided the data for this study are from Qore and Dano where

Alga bade is predominantly used. See map 2 of Amaaro and some of its neighboring languages adapted from Binyam (2008:4).

1. Koore
2. Konso
3. Guji-Oromo
4. Burij

The study is focus only on subordinate clause; specifically, relative clause, complement clause, adverbial clause and converbs. Therefore, other dependent verb forms are not considered.



Map 2. Location of Amaaro and some neighboring groups (Binyam, 2008:4). (cf. Map 1)

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study could have the following contributions:

- It will provide transcribed, translated, and annotated primary data.
- It helps to offer general information about subordinate clause in *Koorete*.
- It helps to broaden the present linguistic knowledge in *Koorete* in particular and Omotic languages in general.
- It provides paramount significance for the preparation of teaching material in the language.
- The findings of the present study may be used as a springboard for further studies in the language.

1.7 Koorete phonology and word order

Some morphophonemic features of *Koorete* which offer a typological overview are presented in brief. Consonant and vowel phonemes, tone, syllable structure and common morphophonemic processes are briefly summarized.

1.7.1 Consonant Phonemes

Different scholars identify consonant and vowel phonemes in *Koorete*. Hayward (1982:213) identifies 29 consonant and five vowel phonemes. The consonant phonemes of *Koorete* that (Hayward 1982:213) identifies are shown below in the chart 1:

	Labial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		k	ʔ
voiced stops	b	d		g	
ejectives		ts'	tʃ'	k'	
voiced implosives	ɓ	ɗ			
nasals	m	n			
voiceless fricatives		s	ʃ		h
voiced fricatives		z	ʒ		
voiceless affricatives		ts	tʃ		
voiced affricatives		dz	dʒ		
liquids		l,r			
glides	w		j		

Chart 1: The consonant phonemes of *Koorete* according to Hayward (1982: 213)

Theil (2011:283) identifies 23 consonant phones (segments) of the language. Moreover, Theil presents suprasegmentals such as consonant gemination, vowel length, and the distribution of consonant phonemes. The consonant phonemes of *Koorete* that Theil (2011:283) identifies are shown below in the chart 2.

	Coronal			Dorsal	Laryngeal
	Alveolar		postal alveolar		
Non-sibilant			sibilant	Non-sibilant	
p	t	s	ʃ	k	h
b	d	z	ʒ	g	
ɓ	ɗ	s'	ʃ'	k'	ʔ
m	n				
	r				
	l				
w				j	

Chart 2: Consonant phonemes of *Koorete* as Theil (2011:283)

According to Theil (2011:283), the pulmonic sibilants */s z ʃ ʒ/* are realized as the affricates [*ts dz tʃ dʒ*] after a nasal (n) or liquid (r, l), and as [*s z ʃ ʒ*] elsewhere. In word initially */ʒ/* varies freely between the fricative [ʒ] and the affricate [dʒ]. As can be seen, the system differs from earlier analysis by lacking distinction between fricative and affricates.

The voiceless labial stop /p/ has two allophones, an aspirated stop [p^h] and a voiceless bilabial fricative [ɸ]. It is usually realized as a fricative word initially and intervocalically, and is most realized as a stop when it is geminated. However, the pronunciation also varies according to speaker, some pronouncing it more as a stop, whereas others more as a fricative. All words spelled with an initial vowel have a glottal stop preceding the vowel which will not be written in orthography. Both consonant and vowel length are phonemic. Length will be indicated by doubling the letter. In the case of diagraphs, only the first letter of the diagraph will be doubled.

1.7.2 Vowel phonemes

Koorete has five short and five long vowels. Furthermore, four short diphthongs and two long diphthongs are identified. In describing vowels, all scholars Hayward (1982), Ford (1990) and Theil (2011:281) agree that *Koorete* has five short and five long monophthongs.

				Diphthongs	
Short		Long		Short	Long
i	u	ii	uu	ui	
e	o	ee	oo	ei oi	eei
a		aa		ai	aai

Chart 3.Vowel Phonemes of *Koorete* adapted from Theil (2011:281)

1.7.4 Syllable Structure

Koorete has two types of syllables: open and closed syllable Theil (2011:279). Open syllables consists an onset consonant and nucleus vowels. Closed syllables, consist of an onset consonant, nucleus vowel and a coda. According to Theil, the possible syllable types in *Koorete* are CV and CVC. The CVC type does not appear word finally, since all words end in vowel. However, derivational or inflectional affixes attached to a word may terminate in glide consonant (**j**, **w**) to avoid impossible cluster.

(3)	a. kà.na	'dog'	CV.CV
	b. ʔètʃe	'rabbit'	CVC.CV
	c. zàk.ka	'elephant'	CVC.CV
	d. dìm.bil.la	'beehive'	CVC.CVC.CV

1.7.5 Morphophonemic Processes

Morphophonemic process is a process, which takes place when different morphemes undergo certain inflectional and derivational changes. Binyam (2010:53) identifies those important morphophonemic processes in *Koorete*. These are assimilation, coalescence, epenthesis, vowel raising and deletion.

1.7.5.1 Assimilation

Assimilation is one of the main processes that occur in morpheme boundaries. The morphophonemic process is mainly in suffixation of the perfective morpheme **/-d/** and the imperfective marker **/-g/**. Both total as well as partial assimilation processes are noticed in the language. Some examples are given below from Binyam (2008:53).

		Underlined form	Surface form	Gloss
(4)	a.	[kum-d-]	/kun-d- /	agree-PF-
	b.	[kum-g-]	/kun-g- /	agree-IMF-
(5)	a.	[dhab-d-]	/dhad-d- /	leave-PF-
	b.	[dhab-g-]	/dhag-g- /	leave-IMF
(6)	a.	[zimbe]	/zinbe/	'guitar'
	b.	[gombotʃ'o]	/gonbotʃ'o/	'maize'
(7)	a.	[gompa]	/gonpa/	'shorts'

Examples (4a-b) illustrate partial assimilation of the final consonant of the verb root to the aspect marker morpheme. Also, the examples given in (5a-b) show the total assimilation of the terminal consonant to the morpheme. In example (6a-b), due to the bilabial sound **b**, the alveolar nasal **n** changes to the bilabial nasal **m**. Hence, it is labial assimilation. In example (7a), due to the bilabial sound [**p**], the alveolar nasal **n** changes to the bilabial nasal **m**.

1.7.5.2 Coalescence

Coalescence is another morphophonemic process that has been noted in relation to the suffixation of the perfective marker morpheme. Some examples are given below, from Binyam (2008:54).

(8)	a.	*ee-t-o*	→	*eeh-d-o*	like-PF
	b.	*kaa-d-o*	→	*kaa'-d-o*	play-PF

In example (8), the final consonant of the verb root is deleted when the perfective suffix **-d** attached, yet the deleted consonant leaves its trace behind by altering the morpheme. Verbs that terminate in **h** and ʔ are the suffixation of **–d** followed by coalescence.

1.7.5.3 Epenthesis

Epenthesis occurs to separate impossible sequences of both vowels and consonants at morpheme boundaries. The language has two epenthetic glide: **w** and **j,** and an epenthetic vowel **i.**

1.7.5.3.1 Glide insertion

Glide insertion of **j** and ***w*** in a sequence of sounds just like vowel insertion. According to Binyam (2008:54), if the preceding vowel in a sequence is a front vowel, the glide **j** is inserted, and if it is a back vowel, the glide **w** is inserted.

(9)	a. *bud-d-uu-nts'i-j-a*	*(< bud- d- uu-nts'-a)*
	scatter-PF-PAi:1P-1PL-EP-AFOC:INT	scatter-PF-PAi:1P-1PL-AFOC:INT
	b. *bud-u-w-a*	*(< bud-o-w-a)*
	scatter-DEP-EP-AFOC:INT	scatter-DEP-EP-AFOC:INT
	c. *oo-w-ija-ko*	*(<oo-ija-ko)*
	bring-EP-PROG-AFOC:DEC	bring-PROG-AFOC:DEC

In (9a), the glide element **j** is inserted between the vowel **i** of the agreement marker and the interrogative focus morpheme **–a.** In (9b), the glide element **w** is inserted amid the dependent verb marker **–o** and the interrogative focus marker **–a.** Note that in (9b) once the glide **w** is inserted, it influences the morpheme **–o** to be raised to **–u.** In (9c), the progressive aspect marker **–ija** is added to those verb roots that terminate in back vowels. The glide **w** is inserted between the verb root that has a back final vowel and the progressive morpheme.

1.7.5.3.2 Vowel insertion

Epenthetic vowel **i** is inserted to break impossible cluster of consonants attached. The vowel is inserted between consonants when the perfective morpheme **–d** is attached to a verb root that terminates in a consonant cluster from (Binyam 2008:55).

(10) *hant-i-d-o* *(< hant-d-o)*

work-EP-PF-PAi work-EP-PF-PAi

1.7.5.4 Vowel raising

The vowels **o** and **a** are raised to **u** when they occur before a glide **w**. Similarly, the vowel **e** is raised to **i** when it appears preceding the glide **j**. The vowel raising is recurrent the interrogative focus marker **–a** is attached, which is followed by glide insertion. The following illustrations show vowel raising taken from Binyam (2008:55).

(11) a. *joo-d-uu-mbu-w-a* *(< joo-d-uu-mba-w-a < joo-d-uu-mba-a)*

come-PF-PAi-1SG-EP-AFOC:INT

b. *joo-d-i-j-a* *(< joo-d-e-j-a < joo-d-e-a)*

come-PF-3MS-EP-AFOC:INT

c. *kois-u-w-a* *(< kois-o-w-a < kois-o-a)*

shout-DEP-EP-AFOC:INT

In (11a), the vowel **a**of the agreement marker **–mba** is raised to **u** due to the glide element **w**. In (11b) and (11c) the agreement suffix **-e** and the dependent verb marker **-o** are raised to **-i** and **-u** respectively because of the glide elements **j** and **w,** in that order.

1.7.5.5 Deletion

Deletion is also common in *Koorete*. The existing auxiliary **jes-** 'exist' omits its last consonant when the past tense marker **-tʃa** is attached to it, (Binyam 2008:57).

(12) *je-tʃa* *(< jes-tʃa)*

exist-PAii exist-PAii

In another case, the vowel **i** is deleted from the progressive aspect morpheme **-ija** when it is added to verb roots that terminate in the vowel **i, e** and **a** as in Binyam (2008:57).

(13) a. *bee-ja* *<bee-ija*

see-PROG see-PROG

b. *ba-ja* *<ba-ija*

disappear-PROG disappear-PROG

The example in (13) illustrate the fact that the initial vowel of the progressive morpheme **-ija** is deleted as in the verbs shown above.

1.7.6 Word Order of the Language

The basic word order in *Koorete* is SOV (subject-object-verb), an example below illustrates.

(14) *ade-j* *mitse* *burs-s-o*

man-NOM tree:ACC ut-PF-MV

S O V

'The man cut the tree'.

(15) *tan-i* *mina?e* *zal?-o*

1SG-NOM calf:ACC sell:PF-MV

S O V

'I sold the calf'

1.8 Review of Previous Works

Indeed, there is no much work done on the language that has direct relation to the present study. Nevertheless, some studies with different degree of emphasis have been found on *Koorete*, which includes books, articles, MA theses and senior essays and PhD theses. The studies may be divided into three based on the focus area: phonology, morphology and syntax.

Several scientific publications are available on the language. Binyam (2008) is the most recent available material, and Awoke Amzaye (1985), an undergraduate thesis written at Addis Ababa University on the history of the *Koore*. Cerulli (1929) writes some notes on *Koorete* grammar in Italian, the ethnography of the speakers. In his note, he identifies two tenses for the language: present and past. The present is shown by the suffixes **–oo** and **–e**, and the past is expressed by the markers ***–odo*** and ***–udo***. In addition he tried to describe about the phonology and word structure of *Koorete*. However, some of his analysis is challenged by Binyam (2008).

Hayward (1982), offered a short sketch of *Koorete* grammar entitled "Notes on the Koyra Language." In this article, he examined the phonological and grammatical structures of the language. Regarding the description of the phonology, he identifies 29 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes. He also identifies that gemination and vowel length are phonemic in the language. Furthermore, he described some inflectional morphemes that mark nouns. Besides, he also identifies few demonstratives that signify near and far objects from the speaker. Concerning the verbs, Hayward et al classified the verbs into three groups, such as the infinitive, the perfective and the imperfective forms. According to Hayward (1982:257), the complementizer morpheme ***–ssa*** is attached to subordinate verb. Moreover, a temporal clause ***–nijaka*** which have two morpheme ***–ni*** 'noun' and ***–jaka*** 'locative' is mentioned.

The next piece of work was published by Ford (1990). She made a linguistic analysis of the sound system of *Koorete* by reconsidering and making some modifications on Hayward's (1982) work. In the study, 30 consonant and 5 vowel phonemes have been identified and the supersegmental features were also discussed. Theil 2011 writes, on "*Koorete* segmental phonology." This study is comprehensive endeavor to fully describe the phonological system of *Koorete*. Rolf Theil et al identified 23 consonant phonemes, 5 short and long monophthongs.

Azeb (1994) tries to show the similarities and differences of the language based on the derivations and inflections with *Basketo, Male, Koorete* and *Kullo* representing West, South, East and North Ometo, respectively. She has also tried to show the internal relation of these languages based on their bound morphemes, which indicate the genetic relationship of the language. Another study on the language is Bender's (2000) work. In his book "Comparative Morphology of the Omotic Languages", he deals with some aspects of the North West Omotic languages. He attempts to analyze the verbal system of these related languages.

Binyam (2002), attempts to provide a descriptive account of the structure of the noun phrase in the language. Beletu (2003) provided a descriptive account of the inflection and derivation of *Koorete* nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, postpositions, and numerals and some compound nouns and adjectives are also discussed.

Binyam (2008) also wrote his PhD thesis on the language under the title "Aspects of *Koorete* Verb Morphology." It is the most recent and detailed analysis on the descriptive account of both the inflectional and derivational verb morphology of the language. He discussed the verb root, verb derivation, verb inflection, negation and focus of main verbs. He also tries to mention a relative clause and complement clause as a springboard for further discussion.

According to Binyam (2008:67), *Koorete* is a morphological agglutinating language. Different grammatical, inflectional and derivational morphemes are suffixed to the verb. The verb root does not stand on its own. He made distinction between verb forms: simple, compound and complex. Let us see example from Binyam (2008).

Simple verb form

(16) *tan-i waatse [uʃ-ʃ-o]*

I-NOM water drink-PF-PAi

'I drank water.'

Compound verb form

(17) *waatse [uʃ-o-ko ta uʃ-e]*

water drink-DEP-AFOC:DEC 1SG drink-PRES

'I DRINK water.'

Complex verb form

(18) *waatse [uʃ-ija-ko ta jes-e]*

water drink-PROG-AFOC:DEC 1SG exist-PRES

'I am DRINKING water.'

As can be seen a 'simple' verb form contains a single component: the verb stem with its different suffixes. Then, the 'compound' verb form is characterized in having the occurrence of the verb stem twice. Finally, the 'complex' verb form is comprised of a main verb and an auxiliary.

Binyam (2008) stats the verb inflection is categorized as aspect, tense, person and mood. According to his analysis, aspect plays a great role. The distinction is made between the perfective **–d**, the imperfective aspect marker **–g** and the perfect **-i**. In fact, Hayward (1982),

identified the morpheme **-d** as perfect, but Binyam verify **–d** as perfective. The imperfective marker **–g** is analyzed as a final labial consonant root, Binyam (2008), has come with different example that assures **–g** is imperfective marker. The perfect morpheme is always preceded by the perfective suffix **–i**; the same morpheme is used for converb. However, in my analysis, the morpheme **–i** is realized as converb marker since the perfective marker is embedded there.

According to Binyam (2008: 89), categories of tenses are identified as present tense and past tense. The present tense is marked by **–e**, when it occurs with verb root it realized as **–ne**. The past tense is marked by morpheme **–o** and **–tʃa**. The negative auxiliary is marked **ba-** 'not_exist' and imperative/optative mood negation is expressed by morpheme **–pp-**. Focus markers are identified: as assertive focus marker **-ko** in declarative, **–a** is the interrogative and **–ma** in contrastive.

Both Hayward (1982:259) and Binyam (2008:55) point out some points but the topic needs yet more analysis. Having the gap in the area made me inspire to conduct my thesis. I hope this paper may fulfill the gap between the former researches on language.

Finally, Binyam (2008:50) discussed three types of subordinate clauses. They are relative clause, conditional clause and complement clauses. He identified if the subject of a sentence is in focus and a relative verb is marked by **–a**. The conditional clause is shown by **–ete** and the complement clause is marked by **–nike** following the aspect or tense marker. Hayward (1982:257) identified that the sentential complementizer is **–ssa** which, suffixed to the subordinate verb.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Methodology

2.1.1 Data Collection

Different data collection methods are implemented. These are: recording, elicitation and introspection. Some narratives are selected and recorded using digital audio-video recorders. Self-generated as well as standard linguistic fieldwork questionnaires by Bouquiaux & Thomas (1992) have been used while data processing to identify the form which does not exist in the data. As the researcher is native speaker of the language, introspection method is used to identify the relevant examples from the recorded corpus. Secondary sources (story text) are also used.

The fieldwork was carried out in January 2013. The informants have been selected from Amaaro Woreda, specifically from Dano Bulto and Qore Kebele where a representative variety is thought to be spoken. Stories were collected from Metene Kalida who is 70 years old and Tadesse Kekusa who is 75 years old.



Picture1. Ato Metene Kalida (Informant)

2.1.2 Data Processing and software

Different software is used for data processing (transcription, interlinearization and transcription).

The following tools are used to process the primary data.

1. Audacity is us ed to edit and digitalize the data.
2. ELAN is used to annotate audio data.
3. Keyman is used for transcription.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

According to Haspelmath (2007:46), **coordination** and **subordination** does not correspond to a similar conceptual symmetry. First of all, while *coordination* is applied to the combination of both phrases and clauses, subordination is generally restricted to clauses. For instance, in the sentence, *If you see Pat, tell me immediately*, we would say that the clause *if you see Pat* is subordinate (to the main clause), but not that the direct objects *Pat* and *me* or the adverb immediately are subordinate (to the verb). Instead, the term dependency is used as a general term for both phrases and clauses.

The relationship between 'subordinate' and 'main' (coordinate) clauses is clearly a continuum according to Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (cited in Shopen 2007:237). They distinguish three types of subordinate clauses: those which function as noun phrases (called complements), those which function as modifiers of nouns (called relative clauses), and those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses (called adverbial clauses). Among these th ree types, complement clauses and relative clauses usually represent an embedding structure at the subordinate end of the continuum. Adverbial clauses, however, are viewed as clause combining

languages of the world for marking subordinate clauses, all of which are found with adverbial clauses. They are:

(a) Subordinating morphemes: There are two types of subordinating morphemes:

(i) Grammatical morphemes with no lexical meaning (e.g., English *to*, as in *to buy beer*)

(ii) Grammatical morphemes with lexical content (e.g., English *before, when, if*).

These morpheme may occur as conjunctive elements and adpositions, may be prepositional or postpositional. They tend to occur before the clause in a head-initial language (mostly with the basic word order of VSO or SVO, it is prepositional like English as in (1a), and they occur after the clause in a head-final language (SOV order it is *Postpositional* like Japanese, in (1b).

(1) a. When he saw the picture, he immediately recognized his old friend.

b. *ame ga* *agaru* *to,* *Gon* *wa* *hotto* *ʃite* *ana*

rain nom stop when Gon top relief performing hole

kara *haidemaʃita*

from snuck. out

'When the rain stopped, Gon got relieved and came out of the hole'

(b) Special verb forms: This is not used in independent clauses. In languages with subject–verb agreement, it may be a nonfinite form which lacks one or more agreement categories. In Latin, for example, in independent clauses the verb must agree with its subject in person and number:

(2) *duts* *scrib-it* *epistol-as*

leader:(NOM.SG) write-PERS.3SG letter-ACC.PL

'The leader writes letters'

However, in adverbial subordinate clause, the verb may take an ending which signals nothing about the person or number of the subject:

(3) *ter-it* *temp-us* *scrib-endo* *epistol-as*

spend-PERS.3SG time-ACC.SG write-gerund letter-ACC.PL

'He spends time writing letters'

(c) Word order: Some languages have a special word order for subordinate clauses; German is a well- known example, where the finite verb appears at the end of the subordinate clause:

(4) a. *wir* *wohn-ten* *auf* *dem* *Lande,* *wie* *itʃ* *dir*

we live-PAST on ART(DAT) land as I you(DAT)

stʃon *gesagt* *habe*

already told have(SG)

'We lived in the country, as I have already told you'

b. *itʃ* *habe* *dir* *stʃon* *gesagt*

I have(SG) you(DAT) already told

'I have already told you'

In (4a), the finite verb *habe* 'have' in the *wie* 'as' clause appears at the end, while in the independent simple sentence, (4b), it appears in its standard second position. This distinction between verb-final and verb-second order for subordinate and main clauses respectively is fairly regular in German (R. P. Ebert (1973) cited in Shopen (2007:240).

According to Croft (2002:321), the traditional analysis of complex sentences divides subordinate clauses, into three types, a

forms fund in complex sentences are classified in terms of their relational verb forms found in simple main clauses (Givòn 1980b: 337-8; Stassen 1985:77; Croft 1991:83).

Verb forms found in complex sentence are found to different from those in main clauses in a limited number of ways.

a. Elimination of tenses, mood, and aspect markings, or use of special forms distinct from those used on simple main clause verbs.

b. Elimination of agreement markings used on simple main clause verbs, or use of special forms distinct from those used on simple main clause verbs.

c. Overt morpheme attached to verb form.

The phenomena in (a-c) define what has been called DERANKING (Stassen 1985:77; Koptjevskaia -Tamm 1993; Cristofaro 1998), desententialization (Lemann 1988:193-200), and deverbalization (Croft 1991:83). Clauses containing verb form that possess one or more of the properties are called DERANKED. Clauses that containing verb forms that are identical to main clause verb forms, that is, that lack all of the properties are called BALANCED (Stassen 1985).

2.3 Types of Subordinate Clause

2.3.1 Relative Clause

According to Culicover (1976), Keenan (1985), Planner (1994), Stockwell (1977) and Lehman (1986), relative clause is subordinate or dependent clause and is nominal modifier. A subordinate clause like independent clause, contains both subject and verb; a subordinate by it self does not express a complete thought. Consequently, subordinate clause can not stand alone as a complete sentence i.e. it is not independent sentence. The entire subordinate relative clause functions in a sentence just like a single word or adjective modifying noun or pronoun. Let us consider an English example from Croft (2002:322)

(5) a. [I found the book [that you lent me]]

b. [From [filled out improperly] will be returned].

Relative clauses, like other subordinate clauses, can be balanced or deranked; traditional analysis describes the verbs of deranked relative clauses as PARTICLES.

According to Huddleston and Pullum (2002:78), the relative clause contains within their structure an anaphoric element whose interpretation is determined by the antecedent. This anaphoric element may be overt. In the covert case relative clause is marked by the presence of one of the relative words who, whose, which etc. This type of clause is called WH relatives. On the bases of the above definition, relative clause is a dependent clause that is realized as a modifier of head noun and the overt or covert anaphoric element's interpretation is determined by antecedent in a noun phrase.

Andrews (2007:206) points out, a relative clause is a subordinate clause which delimits the reference of a noun phrase by specifying the role of the referent of that noun phrase in the situation described by the relative clause. We will follow Andrews (1985:11) in calling the former type 'embedded', Hale (1976) in calling the latter 'adjoined'. Embedded relative clauses have relative clause which may be reduced or nominalized inside noun phrase matrix. They have three major typological subdivisions, which are based on the relationship between nominalized relative clause and some additional nominal material, which we will call the 'domain nominal'. These possibilities result in the three categories of external, internal and free (embedded) relative clauses.

2.3.1.1 Types of Relative Clause

The first typological parameter by which relative clauses can vary is the position of the clause with respect to the head. Since relative clauses are noun modifiers, one might expect that they would occur in the same position as other noun modifiers, e.g., descriptive adjectives, numerals, etc.

2.3.1.1.1 External Headed Relatives

External relative clause is a relative clause where head occurs outside of relative clause. There are many languages which have external headed relatives. External headed is prenominal or postnominal RC.

2.3.1.1.1.1 Postnominal Relative Clause

In the postnominal relative clause, the clause occurs *after* the head. It is the linear arrangement of elements of relative clause in which the relative clause follows the headed noun. A language with a postnominal relatives has an SVO word order, as English and Oromo (Payne 1997) and Gumuz (Asfaw 1993), respectively. Let us reflect on the following English (6a), Oromo (6b) and Gumuz (6c) relative clauses.

(6) a. The man [who bought the book]

b. *omusajja [omukasi swe-ja kuba]*

man woman rel-ʃe hit

'The man that the woman hit.'

c. *dua-(we) d-a –suk gumbba-(ja)*

boy-NOM PST-3S-kill lion-ACC

'The boy killed a lion.'

The head nouns 'man' in (6a), omusajja 'man' in (6b) and duw- 'the boy' in (6c) is found at the left side of the relative clause. English, Oromo and Gumuz are said to have postnominal relatives.

2.3.1.1.1.2 Prenominal Relative Clause

Relative clauses can be prenominal in which the clause occurs *before* the head. It is the linear arrangement of elements of relative clause the relative clause preceding the head noun. According to Downing (1978:391) a language with a prenominal has an SOV word order, and is head final language as Amharic.

(7) [and gäbbäre tinantina jä – säbbärat] wänbär

One farmer yesterday REL -broke chair

'The chair that a farmer broke yesterday'

As can be observed in example (7) the word order of Amharic is SOV. The relative clause is prenominal relative, which occurs at the left side of the head noun 'wänbär' 'chair.'

2.3.1.1.2 Internal Headed Relatives

Internally headed relative clause is a clause whose head occurs within the relative clause. When a head noun occurs inside a relative clause it is called internal relatives. The following example is a case of internal relative, cited from Navajo language (Keenan 1985:143).

(8) *ti'eedaa'* *hastilt* *ya?ti-ee* *a?hosh*

last night man spoke-REL sleep

'The man who spoke last night is sleeping.'

In (8) the head noun hastilt 'man' occurs inside the relative clause ti'eedaa'...ya?ti'–ee a?hosh 'who spoke last night.'

2.3.1.1.3 Headless Relative Clauses or Empty Headed Relatives

A relative clause can be empty headed in contrast to lexically head relatives. Consider the following example from English, Amharic, and Gumuz, in (9a), (9b) and (9c), respectively. The Gumuz example is taken from Asfaw (1993:4).

(9) a. we knew [e] what we eat.

b. *issu iňňa jä-bällä-n-w-n j- awk'-all*

he we REL-ate-PL-3SGM(S)-ACC 3SG-know-be(PERS)

'He knew what we ate.'

c. *[e] int-i-s-a ah d-ä-gim*

comp-PL-ate-1PL he PST-3SGM-know

'He knew what we ate.'

In (9), the relatives have no head nouns as the positions are indicated by an empty element [e]. Thus, they are empty headed relatives.

2.3.1.2 Structure of Relative Clause

According to Payne (1997:325), a RC construction consists of the following pertinent parts:

A. the head noun (HN)

B. the relative clause (RC)

C. the relativized noun phrase (NP rel)

D. the relativizer (REL)

A relative clause is one that functions as a nominal modifier (Keenan 1985), for example:

(10) The oaf *that [0 trod on Lady Lucretia's toe}*

In (10), the relativizer is *that.* If the relativizer reflects some properties of the relativized noun phrase within the restricting clause (e.g., humanness, grammatical relation in the restricting clause, etc.), then it can be termed a relative pronoun (REL).

The relativized NP is co-referent to the head noun within the relative clause. The head noun is modified by the relative clause. The (REL) is a morpheme or particle that signals the relative clause. The relative clause is the modifier clause. Let us consider the following English example:

(11) The man [who killed a lion]

In (11) 'the' is determiner, 'man' is the head noun, 'who killed a lion' is the relative clause, 'who' is the relativized NP. There is no relativizer.

There are several typological parameters by which relative clauses can be grouped. They are: (1) the position of the clause with respect to the head noun, (2) the mode of expression of the relativized NP (sometimes called the "case recoverability strategy") (3) which grammatical relations can be relativized.

1.9 Complement Clause

A complement clause is a clause introduced by a complementizer like **that** or **whether.** A complement clause is attached to a preceding noun, adjective or verb. In the sentence '*The news that she was dead shocked us all*', '*that she was dead*' is a noun complement clause attached to the noun *news*. In '*I am sure that she is coming*', '*that she is coming*' is an adjective-complement clause attached to the adjective *sure*. In clausal complement selecting verbs, there will be a structure of two clauses: matrix clause and embedded clause.[2] The matrix clause is the root clause, which is meaningful and stands by itself whereas the embedded clause is dependent which cannot be

[2] Complement clause is a clause, which is used as the complement of a verb.

meaningful by itself. Hence, the embedded clause is structurally embedded on the matrix clause and becomes complement to the verb of the matrix clause. As a result, embedded complement clauses are subordinate to the matrix clauses. Generally, complement clauses can be divided into finite and non-finite depending on the tense and agreement morphology of their verb. Finite complement clauses are clauses, which contain finite verb (a verb, which can inflect for agreement and/or tense). Non-finite clause on the other hand, is a clause containing finite verb (a verb that does not inflect for either agreement or tense). Complement clauses are introduced by the particles called complementizers.[3]

Complement clauses are clauses that function as argument of the verb in the main clause: example from English.

(12) a. [She told him [that she had found a job]]

b. [She wanted [to cook dinner]].

c. [She said, ["Will you cook dinner tonight?"]]

Complements, like adverbial clauses, may be balanced (as in (12a)) or deranked (12b). In addition, the there exist complements which directly express another utterance without alteration, as in (12c); these are called DIRECT SPEECH complements.

The assumption that a complement clause functions as an argument of the main predicate usually implies that this clause is embedded in the main clause as a nominal constituent of it (Crirofaro 2003:96).

A prototypical **complement clause** is a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause (Noonan 1985). A **main** (or **matrix**) clause is a clause that has another

[3] Not all complement clauses are introduced by complementizer; there are complement clauses that need no complementizers.

clause (a complement clause) as one of its core arguments slot as in (13), or the object slot, as in (14) (the complement clause is underlined).

(13) That Rufus was late angered his boss.

(14) Rufus could see that he had angered his boss.

In the unmarked case (13) the complementizer *that* is optional, and consequently the complementizer does not occur frequently in the naturalistic speech of children or adults (Diessel & Tomasello 2001, Thompson & Mulac 1991).

A number of syntactically distinct complement clauses can be identified. First, a distinction is made between finite and non-finite complements. In (15) the complement clause is finite, since the subordinate verb is tensed. In sentence (16) the complement clause is nonfinite; the subordinate verb is tenseless.

(15) I see Elena walked to the Institute this morning.

(16) Mike enjoys chatting with his students.

Finite and non-finite complement clauses are not subject to the same grammatical constraints. Notably, non-finite clauses frequently lack an overt subject (15), and do not require subject-verb agreement (McCawley 1988). Non-finite complement clause constructions like (16) have been the subject of much acquisition research investigating children's understanding of control structures, where the focus has been on how children assign coreference (e.g., Cairns, McDaniel, Hsu, & Rapp 1994, Hsu, Cairns, Eisenberg, & Schlisselberg 1989, Sherman & Lust 1986).

According to Dixon (20010:370), a complement clause is a type of clause which fills an argument slot in the structure of another clause. Most languages have a restricted set of

complement-taking verbs (CTVs) which may have either an NP-as in (17a) and (17c) from English –or a complement clause-as in (17b) and (17d)-corresponding to a core argument slot.

(17) a. I_A remembered [John's birthday] $_{NP:O}$

b. I_A remembered [that John was born on the eighth of August]$_{CoCl:O}$

c. I_A want [an Indian meal] $_{NP:O}$

d. I_A want [to eat a hot curry]$_{Co:Cl:O}$

The defining characteristics of a complement clause are:

(I) It has the internal structure of a clause, at least as far as core arguments are concerned.

(II) It functions as core argument of another clause. The range of functions available to a complement clause always includes O (object in the transitive clause).

(III) It describes a proposition, which can be a fact, an activity, or a sate (not a place or time).

The majority of the world's language do have complement clause. There is a fair degree of variation concerning which verb takes complement clauses, and in which syntactic function. If a language has an indirect speech construction, then verbs like 'tell' will take a complement clause.

According to Noonan (2007:1) a complement type can vary even with in a single language. English, for example, has four main forms for its complements, *i.e.* it has four main *complement types*. These complement types are illustrated in (18):

(18) a. *That Cartier defeated Dugué* would be significant. (*That-clause*)

b. *For Cartier to defeat Dugué* would be significant. (Infinitive clause)

c. *Cartier's defeating Dugué* is significant. (Gerundial or verbal noun clause)

d. Nelson saw *Cartier defeating Dugué*. (Participial clause)

Other languages may have a greater or lesser number of complement types. For in-stance, Irish has only two complement types, illustrated in (19) (NZN = nominalization):

(19) a. *dúirt sé go dtiocfad' sé*

said-3SG he CMP come(CND) he

'He said that he would come.' (*Go-clause*)

b. *is maith liom iad a fheiceáil*

CMP good with-me them CMP see-NZN

'I like to see them'. (Verbal noun)

Some languages may have the same number of complement types as English, but may have different sorts of complements. For example, Lango, a Nilotic language, has four main complement types:

(20) a. *àtîn òpòjò nî àtʃ'égò dɔ́ggɔlâ*

child remembered-3SG CMP closed-1SG door

'The child remembered that I closed the door.' (Indicative)

b. *àtîn òpòjò òtʃ'égò dɔ́ggɔlâ*

child remembered-3SG closed-3SG door

'The child remembered to close the door.' (Paratactic complement)

c. *àtîn òpòjò tʃ'éggò dɔ́ggɔlâ*

child remembered-3SG close-INF door

'The child remembered to close the door.' (Infinitive)

d. *àtîn òmoìtò ní àtʃ'ég dɔ́ggɔlâ*

child wanted CMP close-1sg-SJNCT door

'The child wanted me to close the door.' (Subjunctive)

A complement type is identified basically identified as, the morphology of the predicate, the sorts of syntactic relations the predicate has with its arguments [complement-internal syntax], and the syntactic relation of the complement construction as a whole with the rest of the sentence [complement-external syntax].

1.10 Adverbial clause

Subordinate adverbial clauses are clauses those which function as modifiers of verb phrases or entire clauses (Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007:243)). The adverbial clauses which have been reported for languages around the world can be divided into two basic types. These are:

(a) Clauses which can be substituted by a single word: time, location, manner.

(b) Clauses which cannot be substituted by a single word: purpose, concessive, reason, substitutive, circumstantial, additive, simultaneous, absolutive, and conditional.

The distinction between (a) and (b) is that, in general, languages have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs expressing the time, location, and manner relationships, but they do not have such adverbs expressing purpose, reason, concession, etc. The distinction between group (a) and group (b) is that, languages have monomorphemic non-anaphoric adverbs expressing time, location and manner relationships, but they do not have such adverbs expressing purpose, reason, concession, etc.

Adverbial clauses can be expressed by a wide range of constructions that differ in terms of the verb forms and arguments they include. In a recent study, (Cristofaro 2003) argues that subordinate clauses can be divided into two basic types: balanced and deranked clauses (cf. Stassen 1985). Balanced subordinate clauses include the same verb forms and arguments as main clauses, but deranked subordinate clauses are different. They include a reduced verb form

and do not always require an overt subject. For instance, in English adverbial clauses are commonly realized by participial constructions that do not carry tense and person markers and lack an overt subject. Let us consider example 21:

(21) a. [He read the newspaper] after [he mowed the lawn].

b. [He read the newspaper] after [mowing the lawn].

The two clauses are not syntactically equal. In (21a-b), the clause following *after is the* subordinate clause, and the unit consisting of *after* plus the subordinate clause is analyzed as a dependent of the Main Clause. Also, the subordinate may be in a form that differs from the form that normally occurs in the main clause (see (21b), either lacking typical main clause inflections, traditionally called nonfinite, or with special set of inflections often called subjunctive.

As noted by Quirk et al. (1985) and Huddleston and Pullum (2002), concessive clauses in the subordinate clause indicate that the event denoted by the matrix clause is 'contrary to expectation in the light of what is said in the concessive clause.' There are two types of concessive clauses, those which we might label 'definite' and those which we might label 'indefinite'. 'Definite' concessive clauses are simply those marked by a concessive subordinator like 'although'. Examples from English include:

(22) *Although* she hates Bart´ok, she agreed to go to the concert

(23) *Even though* it's still early, we'd better find our seats

Tagalog (Schachter and Otanes (1972:479)) is a language which has a rich variety of 'definite' concessive clause subordinators. Here is one example:

(24) *bagaman at hindi sila mag-aaral, umaasa silang pumasa*

although not they will-study expect they(LINK) to. pass

terminologies, respectively) is used when the situation expressed by it precedes chronologically that of the main verb.

A basic semantic distinction between types of conditionals which is signaled by most languages is the distinction between *reality* conditionals and *unreality* conditionals, from Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang (2007:255). Reality conditionals are those which refer to 'real' present, 'habitual/generic', or past situations, (Schachter (1971)). Examples from English are:

(27) a. If it's raining out there, my car is getting wet

b. If you step on the brake, the car slows down

c. If you were at the party, then you know about Sue and Fred

In (27a), the sentence is present, in (27b), the sentence is habitual /generic and in (27c), the sentence is past.

Unreality conditionals', is used for conditionals which refer to 'unreal' situations. There are two types of unreal situations: those in which we *imagine* what might be or what might have been, and those in which we *predict* what will be. We can label these two types of unreality *imaginative* and *predictive*, respectively. Examples from English:

(28) a. If I saw David, I'd speak Barai with him. *(Imaginative)*

b. If you had been at the concert, you would have seen Ravi Shankar.

(what might be –*hypothetical*)

c. (what might have been – *counterfactual*)

d. If he gets the job, we'll all celebrate. *(Predictive)*

As can be seen from these examples, among the imaginative conditionals, a further distinction can be made. Some imaginative refer to situations which might happen, as in (28a) above,

ha-ká:l-gà-m-bìʃ-á

AFF-make.porridge-FUT-3-NPST:AUX-DECL

'Whether I eat (or not), s/he will make porridge tomorrow.'

e. *tí-kí-t-an* *int'-gà-tí-ntè*

1SG-come-REL-INS see-FUT-1SG-HYP:AUX

'If I were to come, I would see you.'

f. *mì-mìs-ìʃ* *hí-bí-t-an* *mí-gà-tí-ntè*

eat:INF-thing-SBJ 3SG-EXIST-REL-INS eat-FUT-1SG-HYP:AUX

'If there were food, I would eat.'

In (29a) and (29b), the simple conditional clause is realized as Subject Prefix +Finite Verb Stem + / -ʃìn/ for same and different subject. In (29c) and (29d), an uncertain conditional subject prefix + M toned Verb Stem (on H toned Finite Stems) + /-ʃìn/ for same subject. In (29e) and (29f) a hypothetical conditional (with counterfactual), realized as Relative Clause + /-an/ INS + Counterfactual Final Verb for same and different subje

CHAPTER THREE

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN KOORETE

Subordination is the embedding of a clause within another phrase or clause. Subordinate clause is a cover term for all these embedded forms. In this study dependent forms include both subordinate and non-final clauses. But not all dependent structures are considered subordinate in this analysis. Subordinate clauses are clauses which function as noun phrases, as modifiers of nouns, and as modifiers of verb phrases or entire propositions, (Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang cited in Shopen (2007:243)).[4] Most, but not all, languages have subordinate clauses, called relative clauses, which serve to modify a noun phrase. Clauses which function as noun phrases are found in nearly all languages as sentential expansions of subject/object slots. These are called complement clauses. Finally, clauses which are modifiers of verbs and propositions are adverbial clauses which function as sentence margins.

3.1 Relative Clauses in Koorete

Koorete has three strategies of relative clauses: internal headed relative clause, prenominal relative clause and headless relative clause. Internal headed relative clauses have the domain nominal within the relative clause itself, either in the position that would be expected on the basis of the noun phrase relative function, or perhaps displaced from that position. Relative clauses are characterized by the fact that one pivot element plays a role in two clauses. According to Hellanthal (2008), relativization is characterized as the relation between two states of affairs, in which the dependent state of affairs provides additional information about a

[4] If a clause can stand alone as a sentence, it is an independent clause. Some clauses, however, cannot stand alone as sentences. In this case, they are dependent clauses or subordinate clauses.

participant (or notion) in the main state of affairs; and this modified referent is involved in the dependent situation. The relative clause contains the dependent state of affairs, modifying the head in the matrix clause. The way the relative clause and its head are related to each other forms a relative construction or strategy.

As we discussed in (§ 2.3.1.1.1.2), prenominal relative clauses occur in some OV languages. In this clause, the relative clause precedes the head noun. Let's consider example from *Koorete*.

(30) a. *[[gadesa-pa zine joo-d-a] [ade-j]]*

market-ABL yesterday come-PF-REL man-NOM:SBJ

'The man who came yesterday from the market'

b. [[*mits-e burs-s-a]* *[ats-i]]*

tree-OBJ cut-PF-REL person-NOM:SBJ

'The person who cut the tree.'

c. [[*gat-e woot-t-a]* *[majdo-j]]*

garden-OBJ plough-PF-REL ox-NOM:SBJ

'The ox which ploughed the garden.'

Example (30) illustrates a relative clause precedes the head noun. The head noun occurs with nominative following the relativized verb. The relative clause occurs at the left of the head noun **adej** 'man', **atsi** 'person', and **majdoj** 'ox'. Languages in which relative clauses precede the domain nominal are especially likely to be verb final. This is the same with Amharic language (see § 2.3.1.1.1.2).

When a head noun occurs inside a relative clause we can say internal relative clause[5] , (see § 2.3.1.1.2). Let's consider some example from *Koorete*:

(31) a. [[*zine* *gadesa-pa* *joo-d-a]* *[ade-j]]* *ta* *igina-ko*

yesterday market-ABL come-PF-REL man-NOM:SBJ 1SG family-AFOC:DEC

'The man who came yesterday from the market is my family.'

b. [[*mits-e* *burs-s-a]* *[ats-i]]* *han-d-o*

tree-OBJ cut-PF-REL person-NOM:SBJ go-PF-PAi

'The person who cut the tree went.'

c. [[*gat-e* *woot-t-a]* *[majdo-j]]* *ʃup-ut-t-o*

garden-OBJ plough-PF-REL ox-NOM:SBJ slaughter-PSV-PF-PAi

'The ox which ploughed the garden slaughter.'

In (31), the head nouns ***adej*** 'man', ***atsi*** 'person' and ***majdoj*** 'ox' occur inside the relative clause, '***zine gadesa-pa joo-d-a...ta igina-ko mits-e,*** 'who came yesterday', '***mits-e burs-s-a...han-d-o'*** who cut the tree' and ***gat-e woot-t-a...ʃup-ut-t-o*** 'which ploughed.' As we observed from the example above the head nouns occur inside the relative clauses; so we can say *Koorete* has internal head relative clauses.

Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify. Languages in which nominal modifiers are themselves nouns are more likely to employ headless relative clauses as a major relative clause strategy than languages for which there is a distinct

[5] According to Comrie (1989: 145), 'In the clearest examples of the internal-head type of relative clause, the head noun remains expressed within the relative clause, in the usual form for a noun of that grammatical relation within a clause, and there is no overt expression of the head in the main clause.'

In (36), the relative clause is realized with of perfective aspect. In my discussion *Koorete* is an aspectual language except the presence of past marker of ***–ttʃ-o***.[6] In this regard, the past marker is occurs as perfective relatives.

(36) a.[[*miiʒe* *u* *gara-pa* *nu* *et-t-e-tʃ-o]* *[ger-i]]*

money 3PL on-ABL 1PL take-PF-EP-HAB-PAi.REL people-NOM

ale *han-d-o*

highland area go-PF-PAi

'The people whom we have taken the money went to the highland area.'

b. [[*ger-i* *e* *gara* *get-t-e-tʃ-o*] *[iʃila-j]]* *kille-ko*

people-NOM 3MS on sleep-PF-EP-HAB-PAii.REL skin-NOM new-AFOC:DEC

'The skin which the people slept on was new.'

In (36), the relative clause occurs preceding the head noun **geri** 'people' and the relativizer suffix is **–o**. So as we mentioned the above section is object relativizer.

In (37), the relativized verb is realized with habitual marker **-tʃ-** and relativizer **–a** follows. The relative clause carries the noun phrase which has imperfective habitual with in relative verb. The head noun is marked with nominative suffix **-i**.

(37) a. [[*maaʔo* *sik-i-tʃ-a]* *[naʔ-i]]* *kaamole* *woon-d-o*

cloth sew-EP-HBA-REL boy-NOM car buy-PF-PAi

'The boy who is sewing the cloth bought the car.'

b. [[*keemo* *jeen-g-i-tʃ-a]* *[naʔ-i]]* *garma* *bee-d-o*

cattle look after-IPF-EP-HAB-REL boy-NOM lion see-PF-PAi

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[6] Cerulli (1929) identifies that Koorete has aspect and tense markers. And Binyam (2008) agrees with their analysis, but in my analysis I could realized that Koorete is more aspect language; except two existential auxiliaries jes-e 'exist' and jetʃa 'was exist'. The rest verbs are marked for perfective and imperfective aspect.

'The boy who is looking after cattle saw the lion.'

In (37), the head noun is relativized and follows the relative clause. The relative verb carries habitual imperfective with subject relativizer **–a.**

Headless relative clause may occur with nominalizer suffix ***–s*** and nominative marker ***–i,*** within the relative verb as in (38).

(38) a.[e] *joo-d-a-s-i* *[e]* *atʃ-o* *muu-d-o*

come-PF-REL-NMZ-NOM meat-OBJ eat-PF-PAi

'The one who came ate meat.'

b. [e] *woot-t-a-s-i-ti* *[e]* *joo-d-o*

plough-PF-REL-NMZ-NOM-PL come-PF-PAi

'Those who ploughed have come.'

In (38a), a headless relative clause may occur with nominalizer marker /**–s**/ and nominative marker /**–i**/ in relativized verb as subject relativizer. In (38b), a headless relative clause may carry the plural marker /**-it**/ in relativized verb.

As we can observe which, *Koorete* has three structures of relative clauses. These features are attested in some SOV word order languages which *Koorete* shares. First, these relative clauses are prenominal relative, which the relative clause occurs at the left of the head noun as in (30). Second, an internal relative clause is a clause the head noun occurs within the relative clauses. In (31), the head noun **adej** 'man', **atsi** 'person' and **majdoj** 'ox' occurs inside the relative clause. Third, headless relative clause is a clause that the head noun is empty. In (32), the head noun is empty; the subject relativizer appears with nominalizer and nominative marker. The subject relativized verb is marked by suffix **–a** and the object relativized verb is marked by suffix **–o,** as in (33) and (34). When the relative clause is realized with infinitive form, the

However, I identified that the morpheme is realized as ***–nnike.*** Let us consider example from *Koorete*:

(39) a. *sii-d-o* *baa-sa* *bishe-na* *us-i-ni*

hear-PF-PAi exist not-CMP seem-INST 3PL-NOM-INCL

'...by resembling not informed, they ...' (cf.KLD_NARRA_COW_002_021)

b. *woota-a* *u* *han-d-o-sa / nnike* *er-a-ko* *ta* *er-e*

garden-LOC 3PL go-PF-PAi-CMP know-DEP-AFOC:DEC 1SG know-PERS

'I know that they went to garden.'

c. *na?-i* *mango* *muu-d-o-sa / nnike* *er-a-ko* *ta* *er-e*

boy-NOM mango eat-PF-PAi- CMP know-DEP-AFOC:DEC 1SG know-PERS

'I know that the boy ate the mango.'

A nominalized complement clause is realized in imperfective aspect. It can occur with complementizer suffix **–sa** marked following the present marker.

(40) a. *ta* *lagge-j* *guta* *joo-ne-sa / nnike* *er-a-ko*

1SG friend-NOM tomorrow come-PERS-CMP know-DEP-AFOC: DEC

ta *er-e*

1SG know-PERS

'I know that my friend will come tomorrow.'

b. *erusats-i* *guta* *mako* *in-g-e-sa* *ta* *sii-d-o*

teacher-NOM tomorrow exam give-IPF-PERS-CMP 1SG hear-PF-PAi

'I heard that the teacher will give the exam tomorrow.'

construction differ from each other in their temporal interpretation. The former expresses a situation which occurs simultaneously with that expressed by the main verb, whereas the latter basically-though not exclusively-expresses a situation which is anterior to that expressed by the main verb. Despite the formal and functional similarity, the same-subject simultaneous construction and the same-subject anterior constructions have been analyzed as belonging to two totally different construction types. Approaching these constructions from the point of view of participant vs. event orientation has the advantage of allowing a more precise statement of their morphosyntactic and semantic similarities and differences. Moreover, such an approach brings to light the fact that the same-subject/different-subject system, which has been central in the discussion of clauses expressing simultaneous or anterior action in *Koorete*, is not the main function of these suffixes.

3.3.1.1 Sequential Clause

Sequential clauses are typically functioning as clauses which give for storyline events. In sequential clause we analyze weather the subject of the main clause is identical to the dependent clause or not and the event that one action takes place next to the other.

The different subject sequential clause is marked by morpheme ***-ine*** (TEM_1), which occurs following the perfective stem in time sequential as in (45).

(45) a. *burs-e* *nu* *gel-l-ine* *gande-j* *tuute* *wod-d-i*

cut-PERS 1PL start-PF-TEM_1.DS axe-NOM handle break-PF-C

e *als-s-o*

3MS finish-PF-PAi

'The axe broke the handle while we cut.' (cf.KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_008)

b. *be atʃo gara-pa burs-s-i i dar-d-ine e muu-d-o*

self meat on-ABL cut-PF-CNV$_1$ 3FS throw-PF-TEM$_1$.DS 3MS eat-PF-PAi

'When she cut from the meat and throw, it ate. (cf. KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_014)

c. *erusats-i oone-ni ne sunts-i hi-d-i*

teacher-NOM whom-INCL 2SG name-NOM say-PF-CNV$_1$

ojtʃ'-ine be suntse i ot-o

ask-TEM$_1$.DS self name 3FS tell. PF-PAi

'When the teacher asked 'what is your name?' she told her name.'

d. *tork'a-j gawo-j id-d-ine dale e ood-d-o.*

torka-NOM abdomen-NOM ache-PF-TEM$_1$.DS medicine 3MS swallow-PF-PAi

'Torka swallowed the medicine when his abdomen feel ache.'

In (45), different-subject sequential clauses realized preceding the main verb; the dependent verb is marked by **-ine**, whereas the co-occurring main verb is distinctly inflected for perfective aspect.

In same subject sequential clauses the dependent verb is marked by the morpheme ***-tʃ-∅-ine*** (TEM$_3$), which is suffixed with the imperfective aspect, as in (46). In same-subject sequential clause the subject is not marked overtly.

(46) a. *keemo kak-i-tʃine zawa ta han-d-o*

cattle wait-EP-TEM$_3$.SS house 1SG go-PF-PAi

'I went home [when I was waiting for cattle].'

b. *kera-j gadesa joo-tʃine og-ija un-d-i*

kera-NOM market come-TEM$_3$:SS road-LOC fall-PF-CNV$_1$

gaggo e gut-t-o

teeth 3MS fall-PF-PAi

'When Keray is coming to the market, he fall down and removed the teeth.'

In different subject sequential clause the dependent verb is marked by the morpheme ***-tʃ-o-ine*** (TEM_4), which is attested with imperfective aspect, as in (47).

(47) a. zeere er-e-s-i je-tʃ-o-jne ess-o han-d-i

thing know-PERS-NMZ-NOM exist-HAB-PAi-TEM1 3MS-ABL go-PF-CNV1

'S/he went to a wise an old man and...' (cf. KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_003)

b. *katsa ta muu-tʃ-o-ine tama-j baa-d-o*

food 1SG eat-TEM_7:DS fire-NOM off-PF-PAi

'The light was off [when I was eating food].'

c. *mako ta diiz-i-tʃ-o-ine peene-j it-t-o*

exam 1SG write-EP-TEM_7:DS pen-NOM finish-PF-PAi

'A pen was finished [when I was writing exam].'

In (47), the subject of the sequential clause and the main verb is different. The sequential clause occurs with imperfective and precedes the main clause. Different-subject sequential clause has the suffix -o- which modifies the subject of the subordinate clause is different from the subject of the main clause.

3.3.1.2 Simultaneous Clauses

Simultaneous clauses code the relationship called 'overlap' of that two events occurred simultaneously, it appears to be universally the case that languages allow one of the simultaneous events to be signaled as providing the context or background for the other, or for

grounded, event by (Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang cited in Shopen (2007:243))[8]. The choice of which clause serves as the background is, of course, determined essentially by the nature of the discourse (see Hopper 1979), and Hopper and Thompson 1980). It expresses a situation which occurs simultaneously with that expressed by the main verb and dependent verb and whether the subjects of both these two verbs are the same or different.

The same subject simultaneous clauses are marked by ***–sine,*** or ***–sidi,*** it express a situation which occurs simultaneously with that expressed by the main verb. It occurs, when two actions are considered to take place roughly at the same time for the same subject following imperfective, as in (48) and (49).

(48) a. hi-d-i hi-sine e soot-t-o

say-PF-CNV$_1$ say-TEM$_4$ 3MS went-PF-PAi

'...by saying like this he went to visit...'

(cf. KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_007)

b. indo-j wots'a gaatʃ'-i-sine zingal-e

woman-NOM mill grind-EP-TEM$_4$:SS sing-PERS

'The woman sings while grinding.'

c. *keemo kak-i-sine piʃʃaro ta zeer-us-s-o*

cattle wait-EP-TEM$_4$:SS book 1SG read-CAS-PF-PAi

'I read a book while looking for cattle].'

(49) a. *buʃʃ-i zaaginda pit-i-sidi i zingal-I-o*

girl-NOM floor clean-EP-TEM$_4$:SS 3FS sing-PF-PAi

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[8] A simultaneous form is used to emphasize imperfectivity (i.e. continuity or habitualness) of a situation described by it and at the same time to indicate that the situation and that described by a verb (or cognate word of a verb) in its super ordinate clause temporally overlap each other Wakasa (2008:831).

'The girl sings while cleaning the room.'

b. *buʃʃ-i* *katsa* *muu-sidi* *telebiʒine* *i* *bee-d-o*

girl-NOM food eat-TEM$_4$:SS television 3FS see-PF-PAi

'The girl watches TV while she is eating the food.'

The different subject simultaneous clause is marked by the suffix ***-sune***, which occurs with imperfective aspects, as in (50). The event expressed by the dependent verb occurs simultaneously to that expressed by the main verb.

(50) a. *hajsso* *burs-s-o* *dap-o* *i* *hi-sune-wo* *i* *buro*

third cut-DEP throw-DEP 3FS say-TEM$_5$-only 3FS in front

e *joo-d-o*

3MS come-PF-PAi

'While she cut and throws for the third, and it come front.'

(cf. KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_015)

b. *je* *be* *najʃ-i* *gara* *baar-ija-wo* *i* *je-sune*

DEM2 self chicken-NOM on sat.on-PROG-only 3FS exist-TEM$_5$

is-o *je* *tama-j* *joo-d-i* *muu-d-o*

3FS-ABS DEM2 fire-NOM come-PF-CNV$_1$ eat-PF-PAi

'While she is lying on her chicken, the fire has come and burned her.'

(cf. KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_014)

c. *indo-j* *gaatʃ'-u-sune* *nu* *zingal-e*

woman-NOM having ground-EP-TEM$_5$:DS 1PL(excl) sings-PERS

'While the woman grinds, we sing.'

d. *zawa* *ta* *pit-u-sune* *najʃ-i* *joo-d-o*

home 1SG clean-EP-TEM$_5$:DS child:PL-NOM come-PF-PAi

'While I was cleaning the house the children has come.'

3.3.1.3 "When" Clause

'When' clause expresses the moment, some action takes place for specific purpose. In *Koorete*, 'when' clause is marked by the morpheme ***–nija*** following the aspect marker, as in (51).

(51) a. *buʃʃ-i* *taa* *e* *har-g-e* *i* *hi-d-o-nija* *i*

girl-NOM 1SG:ABS 3MS sick-IPF-PERS 3FS say-PF-PAi-TEM$_6$: DS 3FS

ger-i *hakime* *ts'ej-d-o*

parent- NOM doctor call-PF-PAi

'When the girl said 'I'm sick' her family called a doctor.'

b. *boora* *e* *muu-d-o-nija* *ta* *huul-l-o*

bread 3MS eat-PF-PAi-TEM$_6$:DS 1SG angry-PF-PAi

'When he ate the bread, I got angry.'

In (51a-b) 'when clause' of subordinate verb is marked by **–nija,** when the subject of dependent verb and main or matrix verb are different.

The progressive aspect is marked by ***–ija*** and existential auxiliary is marked for temporal with suffix ***–sune*** as example (52).

(52) a. *wolko* *lagget-ija* *u* *jes-sune* *je* *zawa* *ade*

together commit.adultery-PROG 3PL exist-TEM$_5$:DS DEM$_2$ house man

maakk-i *aʒ-ʒ-o*

servant-NOM catch. sight-PF-PAi

b. *e* *el-i-o-sume* *buro* *zawa* *nu* *han-d-o*

3MS arrive-PF-PAi-NEG before home 2PL(excl) go-PF-PAi

'Before he arrived, we had already gone home.'

(56) a. *be* *hajbo-me* *buro* *be* *najʃe* *e* *kaʃ-ʃ-o*

self die-NEG before self child: PL 3MS admonish-PF-PAi

'Before he died, he admonished his children.'

b. *ne* *joo-w-e-me/sume* *buro* *ʃoh-ut-u-wa.*

2SG come-EP-PERS-NEG before wash-PSV-PERS-IMP.S

'Wash before you come.'

In (55) and (56) before clause is realized with the negative marker **–sume** or **–me** and carries free morpheme **buro** 'before' in subordinate verb following an aspect marker. In the above sentence the event of main verb occurs firstly, that of before clause.

In "After" clause the negation morpheme ***–me/-sume*** marked in subordinate verb of perfective and an independent morpheme "**geede**" which appears immediately following an element suffixed to the verb:

(57) a. *e* *katts'-o-sume* *geede* *ger-it-i* *et-t-o*

3MS ripen-PF-PAi-NEG after people –PL-NOM take-PF-PAi

'After it became ripe, the people took it.'

b. *e* *med-o-sume* *geede* *ger-it-i* *et-t-o*

3MS break: PF-PAi-NEG after people –PL-NOM take-PF-PAi

'After it broke, the people took it.'

c. *e* *med-o-me* *geede* *ger-it-i* *et-t-o*

3MS break: PF-PAi-NEG after people –PL-NOM take-PF-PAi

'After it broke, the people took it.'

Here an interesting point is that the imperfective aspect may not occur with **geede** "after" clause. It is ungrammatical in the language, as in (58).

(58) a. *e* *kats'-e-sume* *geede* *ger-it-i* *et-t-o*

3MS ripen: IPF-PERS-NEG after people –PL-NOM take-PF-PAi

'After it ripe, the people took it.'

b. *e* *me?-e-me* *geede* *ger-it-i* *et-t-o*

3MS break-IPF-PERS-NEG after people –PL-NOM take-PF-PAi

'After it broke, the people took it.'

3.3.1.6 "Manner" Clause

As the name suggests, an adverb clause of manner tells us 'how' you do something. Sometimes a dependent clause specifies how someone does something or how something is completed. The connectors used in an adverb clause of manner in English are: as, as if, and as though. They all have the same meaning. For example:

(59) Good students come to class on time as the teacher tells them to.

(60) He ate as if he were starving for months.

Manner adverbs indicate the manner in which the action is carried out. Same-subject non-final verbs can function as adverbials of manner, indicating the manner in which an event occurs:

(61) a. *huul-i* *dà-d-i* *i* *wotts'-o*

angry-CNV$_1$:SS away-PF-CNV$_1$ 3FS run.PF-PAi

'She was angry and ran away.'

b. *gat-i* *ɗa-d-i* *e* *get-o*

tire-CNV$_1$:SS away-PF-CNV$_1$ 3MS sleep.PF-PAi

'He was tired and slept away.'

Manner adverbials can also be formed by the use of the adverb **hade** 'like' positioned before a same-subject non-final verb as in (62) below. The free morpheme **hade** occurs with suffix **–nnike** to illustrate adverbial manner clause.

(62) a. *ade-j* *hade* *haj-ɗ-a-nnike* *hi-d-i* *get-t-o*

man-NOM like die-PF-DEP–TEM$_2$ say-PF-CNV$_1$ sleep-PF-PAi

'The man slept, as if he died.'

b. saate-j h*ade* *me-ɗ-a-nnike* *hi-d-i* *un-d-o*

watch-NOM like break-PF-DEP–TEM$_2$ say-PF-CNV$_1$ do-PF-PAi

'The watch failed, as if it broke.'

The third structure used for manner adverbials is simply an infinitive verb stem followed by the instrumental postposition. In (63), the adverbial is translated as 'by singing.'

(63) a. *og-ija-na* *sule* *zingal-e-na* *i* *han-d-o*

road-LOC-INST down sing-INF-INST 3FS go-PF-PAi

'She went down the road by singing.'

In example (64), the manner clause is expressed by the auxiliary '***yes-***'exist and follows the morpheme ***–nnike*** and ***–sa.*** A manner clause occurs with as complement clause.

(64) a. *hatte* *ha* *ne* *jes-e-nnike* *maak'-u-waa-na-ko*

now DEM$_1$ 2SG being-PERS-manner become-PERS-not_exist-2SG-AFOC:DEC

'You will not be as you are now.'

b. *hatte* *ha* *ne* *jes-e-sa* *biʃ-u-waa-na-ko*

now DEM_1 2SG being-PERS-manner like/seem-PERS-not_exist-2SG-AFOC:DEC

'You will not be as you are now.'

3.3.2 Locative Clause

Locative clauses in English and other languages are introduced by the subordinator *where*, as in (68). Let us see example from English; I'll meet you *where the statue used to be*. But, as with time clauses, locative clauses in some languages have the shape of relative clauses. In Turkish, for example, locative clauses can only be expressed with a head noun meaning 'place' and a prenominal relative clause *as in Thompson, Longacre, and Hwang*: (2007:247)

(65) *Sen* *Erol-un* *otur-dug-u* *yer-e* *otur*

you Erol-GEN sit-OBJ-POSS place-DAT sit

'You sit where Erol was sitting'

In *Koorete*, adverbial of locative can be expressed by relative clauses headed by the noun ***godo*** 'place,' followed by the focus postposition **-ko** as in (66)[9].

(66) a. *tan-i* *i* *hant-o* *godo-ko* *ta* *hant-e*

1SG-NOM 3FS work-REL place: AFOC:DEC 1SG work-PERS

'I will work at the place she worked.'

b. tan-i *i* *pit-e* *godo-ko* *ta* *ut-e*

1SG-NOM 3FS clean-REL place-AFOC:DEC 1SG sit-PERS

'I will sit at the place she clean.'

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[9] Locational and temporal adverbial clauses in Sheko can be formed by simply employing a relative clause and case marking, Hellenthal (2008:356).

The same subject purposive clause is marked by ***-orosa*** following the imperfective aspect, as in (71). However, it is possible that this form consists of two morphemes, namely the object relativization of future tense marker **-oro** followed by the object nominalizer**-s** and accusative **-a**.[10]The same subject of purposive clause is marked by **-se,** as in (71a-f). In (71g) the purpose clause is realized as **-ʃe** because of the neighboring phoneme -tʃ' influences; **-se** becomes -ʃe.

3.3. 4 Reason Clauses

Reason clauses express a motivating event which may be *realized* at the time of the main clause event. A reason clause (REAS) is a type of subordinate clause that describes the motivation for an event or state of affairs to take place Mulugeta (2008:160). Reason clause is realized by the auxiliary free morpheme ***'giʃʃa'*** following the aspect.

In *Koorete*, reason clause is marked by free morpheme 'giʃʃa' occurs following the dependent verb, as in (69) and (70). Whether the subject of the main clause and the dependent clause is the same or different it is marked by the same free morpheme.

(69) a. *je i najʃ-i -ni esu-na be dende pange mud-o*

DEM2 3FS chicken-NOM -INCL 3MS-INST self escape wing grow: PF-PAi

ba-d-i u je-tʃo giʃʃa is-i-wo-j jaha be

Not_exist-PF-CNV1 3PL exist-PAii REAS 3FS-NOM-only-NOM there self

najʃu-me at-t-o

Chicken-ALL remain-PF-PAi

'Because the chicken was not enough grown the feather, in order to fly as well so the mother stayed there. (cf. KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_011)

[10] In Maale the purposive clauses are marked **-óm** for different subject and **-aní** for the same subject of main clause and dependent clause Ahzb (2001:185).

b. je i najʃ-i-ni i pange oomo be je-tʃo giʃʃa

DEM2 3FS chicken-NOM -INCL 3FS wing under self exist-PAii:REL REAS

mode-wo be uddi-na u at-t-o

good-only self all-INST 3PL remain-PF-PAi

'All her chicken were saved because they were under her feather.'

(cf. KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_015)

(70) a. *mode be je-tʃo giʃʃa katsa e muu-d-o*

well self exist-PAii:REL REAS food 3MS eat-PF-PAi

'He ate food because he was well.'

b. *es-i be gat-t-o giʃʃa e get-o*

3MS-NOM self tire-PF-REL REAS 3MS sleep-PF-PAi

'Because he was tired he slept.'

c. *woota ta woot-t-o giʃʃa taa e gaf-us-s-o*

farm-OBJ 1SG plough-PF-REL REAS me-OBJ 3MS make tire-CAS-PF-PAi

'Because I plough a garden, it made me tired.

d. *be har-d-o giʃʃa hant-u-wa-s-so*

self sick-PF-REL REAS work-PERS-NEG-3MS-FOC

'Because he is sick, he does not work.'

Reason clause in imperfective stem is expressed by '***giʃʃa***' for the same and different subject, as in example (71).

(71) a. *is-i-w-o-j* *je* *be* *najʃ-i* *giʃʃa* *je* *tama-na*

3FS-NOM-EP-ABS-NOM DEM2 self chicken-NOM REAS DEM2 fire-INST

meg-utt-i *i* *haj-ɗ-o*

burn-PAS-CNV_1 3FS die-PF-PAi

'She was burned by the fire because of her chicken.

(cf. KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_016)

b. *boora* *e* *muu-negiʃʃa* *ta* *mag-g-e*

bread 3MS eat-PERS REAS 1SG happy-IPF-PERS

'Because he ate the bread, I got angry.'

c. *ade-j* *joo-ne* *giʃʃa* *is-i* *k'amʔo* *polʔ-us-o-ko*

man-NOM come-PERS REAS 3SF-NOM coffee boil-CAS-REL-AFOC:DEC

i *polʔ-us-e*

3FS boil-CAS-PERS

'She makes coffee because the man will come.'

Some same or different-subject non-final clause constructions can be interpreted as cause-effect or reason-result, as in (72)

(72) a. ta wotts'-o giʃʃa taa e gaf-us-s-o

1SG run: PF-PAi REAS me 3MS tair-CAS-PF-PAi

'Because I ran a race, it made me tired.'

3.2. 3 Conditional Clauses

In *Koorete*, there are two types of conditional clauses: reality conditional clause and hypothetical conditional clauses.

A real conditional clause for 'past' is marked by ***-sso*** which is mainly realized with the perfective aspect, in example (73) below.

(73) a. *piʃʃaro zawa ne gad-d-e-sso ta ek-k-oose*

book house 2SG put-PF-EP-R.CND 1SG take-IPF-HRT.1S

'If you put the book in the house, I can take it.'

b. *bolto-j katts'-e-sso nu mij-eese*

lunch-NOM cook:PF-EP-R.CND 1PL(excl) eat-IPF-HRT

'If the food was cooked, we can eat.'

c. *e joo-d-e-sso bolto in-g-u-wa*

3MS come-PF-EP-R.CND lunch give-IPF-PERS-IMP:2SG

'If he came, give him lunch.'

In *Koorete*, a reality conditional clause for 'future' or imperfective is marked by morpheme ***-ete*** to the verb which is mainly realized with the imperfective aspect, as in example (74) below.

(74) a. *bolto muu-kk-ete zawa pit-u-wa*

lunch eat-IPF-R.CND house clean-PERS-IMP:2SG

'If you have eaten lunch, clean the house.'

b. *miiʒe degets-ete maaʔo woon-g-u-wa*

money get-R.CND cloth buy-IPF-PERS-IMP:2SG

'If you have gotten money, buy the cloth.'

conditions. In (77), a hypothetical conditional clause occur with suffix **–ako** in if clause and focus marker in main clause.

A typical adverbial conditional construction, as illustrated by the English Conditional sentence *If she leaves, then I will leave too*, consists of a PROTASIS (the if-clause), which sets up a hypothetical situation, and an APODOSIS (the then-clause), which describes a consequence of the state of affairs described in the protasis. Iconic sequence involve strongly liked sequential events; the link between the protasis and the apodosis is generally causal in character, although the protasis is hypothetical (Haiman 1986).

In *Koorete,* apodosis of a hypothetical conditional clause is marked by **–ako** in protasis in perfective stem and ***-aʃeeʃa*** or ***–aane*** **in** apodosis in imperfective stem, as in (78). So, it occurs as co-referent with the hypothetical conditional clause.

(78) a. *gaɗesa* *han-d-ako* *saamo* *ta* *woom-aʃeeʃa / woon-g-aʃeeʃa*

market go-PF-HYP.CND cabbage 1S buy-IPF-APOD.HYP.CND

'If I went to the market, I would buy cabbage.'

b. *maaruts'o-j* *be* *piʃʃaro* *ep-e-ɗeedd-ako* *zawa* *hanta*

marutso-NOM self book take-PERS-NEG-HYP.CND house work

es-aɸa-ko *ta* *hant-aane*

3MS-ABL-AFOC:DEC 1SG do-IPF-APOD.HYP.CND

'If Maarutso had not taken the book by herself,

I would have done the homework with it.'

c. *katsa* *ne* *in-d-ako-ko* *e* *miij-aane*

food 2SG give-PF-CND-FOC 3MS eat:IPF-APOD.HYP.CND

expectation in the light of what is said in the concessive clause.' For example, in (84a) his running fast is contrary to the expectation from his being old.

These concessive clauses can appear at the beginning, internally, or at the end of the sentence.

(81) a. Though it seemed impossible, I tried hard to complete the task.

b. I tried hard to complete the task though it seemed impossible.

c. I tried hard, though it seemed impossible, to complete the task.

There are at least two types of subordinate clauses with respect to their functional uses: concessive and circumstantial (reason or casual) clauses.

(82) a. Although he was old, he could run as fast as the other men.

b. Because he was old, he could not run as fast as the other men.

In (81a), a concessive one while (81b) is a circumstantial one. In (81a), the concessive clause contrasts with the event denoted by the matrix clause, whereas in (82b) the event in the matrix clause is according to the expectation described by the subordinate casual clause (Huddleston and Pullum 2002, Vergaro 2008). *Concessive* is a general term for a clause which makes a concession, against which the proposition in the main clause is contrasted (Haiman (1974)).

According to Azeb (2001), a concessive clause is formed by adding the Inclusive marker **–a** to conditional verb. She use the term 'concessive conditional' to refer this structure because of the presence of the conditional marker (Haspelmath and König (1998), Crevels (2000) for semantic explanations for the overlap between concessive and conditionals).[11] Let us consider the Azeb (2001:183) Maale example:

[11] Concessive clause is marked by **–to**, the glide **w** inserted between the vowel of the conditional marker and the inclusive marker –a Azeb (2001).

(83) *ʔízá* *mázáɓɓi* *maʔ-ibá-tu-wa* *k'amítsi* *lóʔ-andá-ne*

3FS-NOM beautiful happen-PF: NEG-CND-INCL$_1$ short marry-F.IPF-A:DECL

'Although she is not beautiful, she will marry soon.

In *Koorete,* concessive clause is formed by adding the inclusive marker ***-ni***[12] to a conditional clauses marker **-ako** as in (84).

(84) a. *tan-i* *han-g-e* *eet-ako-ni* *nen-i* *eeh-u-wa-na-ko*

1SG-NOM go-IPF-PERS like-HYP.CND-INCL 2SG-NOM like-EP-NEG-2SG-FOC

'Although I want to go, you won't let me.'

b. *ts'ulge-j* *kaamole* *keen-d-ako-ni* *uddi* *wogga*

tsulge-NOM car have-PF-HYP.CND-INCL all time

iʃ-u-wa-s-so

drive-EP-NEG-3MS-AFOC:DEC

'Though Tsulge has a car, he doesn't drive often it.'

The other concessive conditional clause is realized by ***abani*** 'whatever' independent morpheme and follows the real conditional marker ***-ake*** and the inclusive suffix ***-ni,*** as in (85).

(85) a. *aba-ni* *galtʃo-j* *bik'ilo* *keen-d-ako-ni* *uddi* *wogga*

whatever-INCL galcho-NOM horse have-PF-CND-INCL all time

guur-u-waa-s-so

gallop-EP-NEG-3MS-AFOC:DEC

'Although Galcho has a car, he doesn't often drive it.'

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[12] Concessive clauses also take the morpheme **-ɲtà**, but in addition have the inclusive marker **k'arà** (~ **k'arà** ~ **k'eenà**) 'also, even'. It usually occurs preceding the verb Hellenthal (2007).

b. *aba-ni* *woduma* *maak'-e-ɗeed-ako-ni* *atsu-se* miiʒe

whatever-INCL rich happen-VN-NEG-R.CND-INCL person-DAT money

in-g-a-ko *i* *in-g-e*

give-IPF-DEP-AFOC:DEC 3FS give-IPF-PERS

'Whatever she is not rich, she gives money to people.'

c. *aba-ni* *woduma* *maaɗ-ako-ni* *miiʒe*

whatever-INCL rich happen-PF-R.CND-INCL money

in-g-u-waa-ni-ko

give-IPF-EP-NEG-3FS-AFOC:DEC

'Although she is rich, she does not give money away.'

In (84) a concessive clauses marker **–ako** occurs with inclusive suffix **–ni** as concessive conditional clauses. The overlaps of concessive and conditional clauses are typological similarities with the recent analysis in Maale. In (85) we have a conjunction **abani** 'whatever' like English and this conjunction is coreferent with the concessive conditional clause. This concessive conditional clause conjunction is presented as though it is a single unit. However, it is possible that this form consists of two morphemes, namely the interrogative pronoun marker **–aba** 'what' followed by the inclusive marker **–ni**.

3.4 Converbs

In the discussion in the former sections subordinate clauses we have seen that relative clause, complement clause and adverbial clause are marked for modes and aspects. However, converbs are depends on the final verb for modal and aspect marking. The major storyline consideration in Ethiopian SOV languages which are represented is the matter of the storyline scheme status of

various kinds of "gerunds" (non-final verbs) as opposed to final verbs in chaining structures as Dimmendaal (2010:3)

According to Rapold (2006, 2008), converbs do not carry person-sensitive markers (and thereby are less finite), and are subordinate. However, Medial verbs carry person-sensitive markers, and are co-subordinate. Medial verbs are dependent on final verbs; this type of clause combination is regarded as co-subordination (Van Valin and LaPolla 1997:454, following Olson 1981). Converb defined as subordinated in cross-linguistic typological work (Givón 1990; Haspelmath 1995:20-27), although in Omotic studies the term 'converb' is used for dependent-but-not-subordinated verb forms as well Azeb and Dimmendaal (2006).

> ...most linguists agree that a converb is a verb form specialized for combining clauses and, more specifically, marking a dependent verb form that is neither argumental nor adnominal (Rapold 2007:9)

According to Haspelmath et al, converbs and converbial clauses are essentially subordinate adverbial constructions whose primary function is modification of a final verb or clause (1995:7). While Azeb Amha and Dimmendaal's definition of *converb* involves adverbial modification as a central component of converbial function as Haspelmath (1995), they also use the term to encompass what are often called non-final or medial verbs in clause chains (e.g. sequences of events) in the literature.

The functions of the affirmative non-final clauses can be divided into two groups based on whether the events expressed in the non-final and following clause are interpreted as sequences (as in the same- and different-subject non-final verbs) or as temporally overlapping and thus non-sequential (as in the temporally-integrated non-final verb). Longacre (1985:264) notes that

the structural distinction between chronological succession and chronological overlap is frequently attested in clause chaining systems.

In *Koorete,* a converb may be sensitive for the same and different subject of non final verb and main or final verb. It may used as temporal (simultaneous or sequential) or manner adverbial to the main clause. However, while other dependent verbs may inflect for aspect and negation, with one exception the manner adverbial converb **–sidi** inflect for negation.

When the subject of the converb and the main verb is the same, *Koorete* is marked into three different suffixes. However, there are slight meaning difference between **–i**, **-o,** and **–a**. A conveb marker **–ine** is used when the subject of the converb is different from the subject of the main clause. The interesting thing in *Koorete* is that, when the subject of converb and main verb is the same the suffix **–i** occurs with perfective stem as in (86).

(86) a. *indo-j* *ʃoore-pa* *joo-d-i* *gaɗesa* *han-d-o*

mother-NOM river-ABL come-PF-CNV_1 market go-PF-PAi

'The mother came back from the river and went to the market.'

b. *najʃ-i* *katsa* *muu-d-i* *eruntʃ-i* *zawa* *han-d-o*

child:PL-NOM food eat-PF-CNV_1 teaching-NOM house go-PF-PAi

'Having eaten their food, the children went to the school.'

c. *indo-j* *zawa* *jele* *gad-d-i* *kes-s-o*

woman-NOM house child put-PF-CNV_1 go out-PF-PAi

'Having put the child at home, the woman went out.'

d. *guta* *nu-uso* *indo-j* *gaɗesa* *han-d-i* *miiʒe* *woon-d-i*

tomorrow 1PL-PSS mother-NOM market go-PF-CNV_1 thing buy-PF-CNV_1

(i) *joo-ne*

(3FS) come-PERS

'Tomorrow our mother will go to the market and buy things.'

e. *ade-j* *bolto* *muu-d-i* *han-d-o*

man-NOM lunch eat-PF-CNV_1 go-PF-PAi

'The man, having eaten his lunch, went away.'

When the subject of converb and the subject of main verb is the same the converb marker **–a** may occur and the perfective stem **–t-** precede it. However, the auxiliary verb '***hido***' 'said' realized as main verb of the sentence as in (87).

(87) a. es-i zeere dents-a tan-i zeere dents-a hikete-ko

3MS-NOM thing raise-CNV_2 1SG-NOM thing raise-CNV_2 therefore-AFOC:DEC

'...'he raise quarrel and i raise, so our home always...' (cf. KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_006)

b. *ade-j* *bolto* *muu-tt-a* *han-g-a* *hi-d-o*

man-NOM lunch eat-PF-CNV_2 go-IPF-CNV_2 say-PF-PAi

'The man, having eaten his lunch, he went away.'

c. *buʃ-i* *garma* *beet-t-a* *ʒaʃ-ʃ-o* *hi-d-o*

girl-NOM lion see-PF-CNV_2 fear-PF-CNV_3 say-PF-PAi

'The girl saw the lion and feared.'

The converb morphemes **-*o***, is realized as converb in dependent verb for the same-subject converb construction. However, the same with the preceding one it also follows the auxiliary independent morpheme **hido** 'say' as final verb of the main clause, as in (88).

(88) a. *buʃ-i* *waatse* *uʃ-ʃ-o* *miʃ-ʃ-o* *hi-d-o*

girl-NOM water: ACC drink-PF-CNV$_3$ satisfy-PF-CNV$_3$ say-PF-PAi

'Having drunk the water, the girl satisfied.'

b. *índo-j* *zawa* *jele* *gad-a* *kes-s-o.*

mother-NOM house child put-PF-CNV$_2$ go out-PF-PAi

'The mother left the child at home and went out.'

The converb morpheme ***–i,*** is realized with the temporal markers ***-sidi,*** or ***–sine*** to express the manner of adverbs as in (89).

(89) a. *erusats'-i* *ut-t-i* *diiz-o*

teacher-NOM sit-PF-CNV$_1$:SS write: PF-PAi

'The teacher sat and writ.'

b. *erusats'-i* *ut-t-i-sidi-ko* *diiz-e*

teacher-NOM sit-PF-EP-TEM$_4$:SS-AFOC:DEC write-PERS

'The teacher writes while sitting.'

c. e matʃ-i-ni" aba hi-sine-wo ne zeer-us-so

3MS wife-NOM-INCL what say-TEM4-only 2SG talk-CAS-AFOC:DEC

'How you talked' asked his wife. (cf.KLD_NARRA_COW_002_12)

d. *erusats'-i* *ut-t-i-sine* *diiz-e*

teacher-NOM sit-PF-EP-TEM4:manner:SS write-PERS

'The teacher writes while sitting.'

In *Koorete,* when the subject of converb is different from the subject of the main verb the subordinate clause of the converb is marked by **-ine** following the perfective stem.

(90) a. es-i mitse burs-s-ine nu-ni kaamole gara tsaan-d-o

3MS-NOM tree cut-PF-CNV_4 1PL-INCL car on loaded-PF-PAi

'Having he cut the tree, we loaded on a car'

b. ade-j maata buuttʃ'-ine keemo-j muu-d-o

man:NOM grass collect:PF-CNV_4 cattle-NOM eat-PF-PAi

'Having the man collected the grass, the cattle ate it.'

Deferent subject of the converb and main verb marker **-ine** realized with negation marker **–ɗeed** apart from others as in (91) below.

(91) ira-j bukke-ɗeed-ine katsa-j mel-l-o

rain-NOM raining-NEG-CNV_4 grain-NOM dry-PF-PAi

'Having the rain was not rained, the grain became dry.'

In (89), a converb with suffix **–i** can be used to express simultaneous or sequential events in relation to that expressed by the verb in main clauses. Where as, in (90) and (91) a converb marker of same subject **–a** and **–o** are used only to express the sequential i.e. an action which takes place immediately before that expressed by the main verb. Moreover, the converb suffix **–a** and **–o** can be used with auxiliary '**hido** 'say' as main verb of the sentence. The converb morpheme ***–i,*** is realized with the temporal markers ***-sidi,*** or ***–sine*** to express the manner of adverbs as in (92). In (93) when subject of a converb and main verb are different the converb is marked by **–ine** with the perfective aspect. Finally, as it discussed above the converb marker **–i, -a**, and **–o** express the adverbial of manner; However, the converb marker **–ine** is not used to express manner and it can be used with negative marker **–ɗeed** whereas others not as in (94).

CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

In this paper, an attempt has been made to describe the subordinate clause of *Koorete*. The first chapter contains general information about the language and the people, statement of the problem, objective, significance, delimitation and methodology, some notes on the phonology of the language and review of previous works. Chapter two presents about methodology and theoretical frame work in subordinate clauses. The third chapter is concerned about subordinate clauses in *Koorete*: relative clause, complement clause, adverbial clause and converbs while the fourth chapter presents conclusion about the points discussed in the thesis as a whole.

Hence, in chapter two different theories can classify subordinate clause as relative clause, complement clause and adverbial clauses. Relative clauses can be grouped as external headed relative clause, internal headed relative clause and headless relative clause according to the typology of the language. Complements clausal were also explored; the subsections of this section are complementizers (their syntactic and semantic analysis), higher predicates, and syntactic variations and tense distinctions in complement clause were discussed. Also, attempt was made to classify subordinate of adverbial clauses according to the adverbial types they take.

In chapter three the form of subordinate clauses in *Koorete* are tried to discuss in each topic. Three features of relative clauses are clearly attested in the language; namely internal relative clause, which the head noun occurs inside the relative clause. Prenominal relative clauses, which the relative clause precedes head noun. Headless relative clauses are those clauses which themselves refer to the noun that they modify, the relative have no head noun. The subject

relativizer morpheme **–a,** and object relativizer is morpheme **–o**; infinitival relative clauses may occur in imperfective aspect. A headless relative clause may carry the plural marker-**it** in relativized verb.

In this dissection two forms of complement clauses are identified: namely nominalized complement clauses and infinitival complement clauses. In *Koorete,* nominalized complement clauses are marked by **–sa** or **-nnike** and infinitival complement clauses are marked by **–e.** In the discussion the difference between nominalized complement and infinitival complement clauses are presented as the presence of aspect marker in nominalized complement clause and the absence of aspect marker in infinitival complement clauses.

Next, in this study, six adverbial clauses are identified. These are: time or temporal: - (sequential, simultaneous, when, as, manner, before and after clauses), locative, purpose, reason, concessive, and conditional clauses. Adverbial clause of time or temporal clauses can inflect for aspect and sensitive for same subject and different subject. The same-subject simultaneous construction and the same-subject anterior construction differ from each other in their temporal interpretation. The former expresses a situation which occurs simultaneously with that expressed by the main verb, whereas the latter basically—though not exclusively—expresses a situation which is anterior to that expressed by the main verb. The different subject sequential clause is marked by morpheme ***–ine*** which is marked following the perfective aspect. An adverbial of when clause is marked by **–nija,** in different subject. An adverbial of "As" clause is marked by **–nnike,** for the same subject of dependent verb following perfective aspect. 'As' clause and manner clauses are morphological similarities; both they are marked by suffix – **nnike,** but manner clause occurs with imperfective aspect.

In *Koorete*, a purposive clauses is marked by **–orosa**, when the subject of the main clause is different from the subject of the dependent clause, but when the subject is different it is marked by–**se** following the imperfective aspect. Reason clauses are expressed by a free morpheme **giʃʃa** following the dependent verb. In the language, two types of conditional clauses are attested: reality conditional clause and hypothetical conditional clauses. Concessive conditional clause is formed by adding the inclusive marker ***–ni***[13] to a conditional clauses marker **–ako.**

Finally, four features of converbs are identified in this discussion. The morphemes are **–i –a,** and **-o** are marked, when the subject of the main verb and the dependent verb is the same. In *Koorete*, when the subject of converb is different from the subject of the main verb the subordinate clause of the converb is marked by **-ine** following the perfective stem.

[13] Concessive clauses also take the morpheme **-ǹtà**, but in addition have the inclusive marker **k'arà** (~ **k'arà** ~ **k'eenà**)'also, even'. This word usually occurs preceding the verb Hellenthal (2007).

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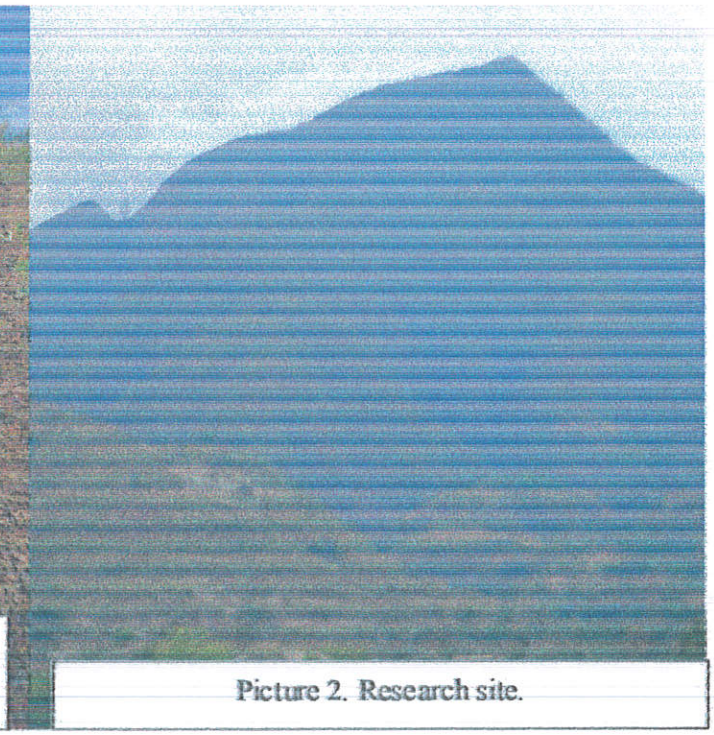
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Picture 1. When the researcher was traveling to the field.



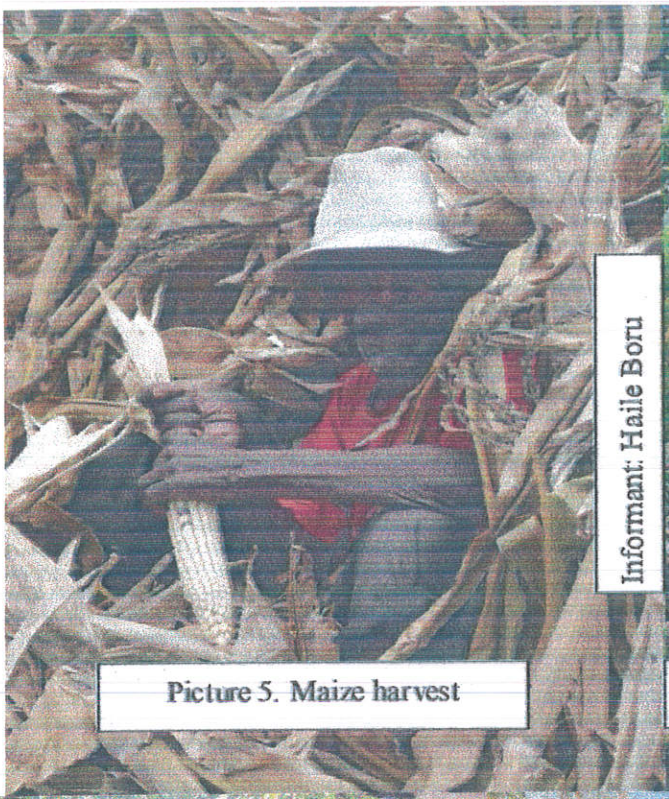
Picture 2. Research site.



Picture 3. Informant Ato: Tadesse Kekusa



Picture 4. Informant Ato: Metene Kalida



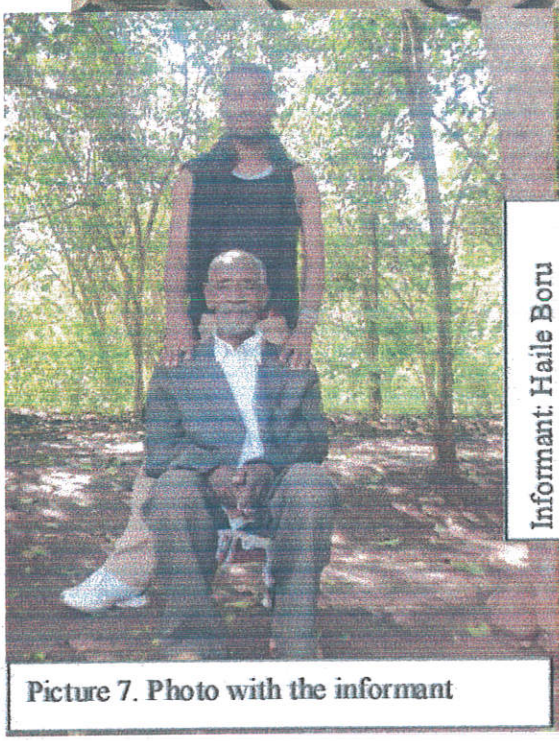
Informant: Haile Boru

Picture 5. Maize harvest



W/ro: Bogalech Bekele

Picture 6.Cultural preparation of Enset



Informant: Haile Boru

Picture 7. Photo with the informant



Picture 8. Back from field work.

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\Title 001_ Indo kaate 'A story about queen'
\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_001

\orth oloko koori wude indo kaati kaatto.
\phonemic oloko koori wude indo kaati kaatto.
\mb olo ko koor i wude indo kaat i kaat t o.
\ge long time ago AFOC:DEC koore NOM land woman queen NOM become king PF PAi
\ft A long time ago a woman become queen in Koore land.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_002
\orth be kaatto geedekko be beraaka uddi yecha asanxi uuxha wodhussi i also.
\phonemic be kaatto geedekko be beraaka uddi jettʃa asantsi uuts'a woɗ ussi i also.
\mb be kaat t o geede kko be bera aka uddi je tʃa
\ge self become queen PF PAi after AFOC:DEC self year LOC all exist PAii
\mb asants i uuts'a woɗ us s i i als s o.
\ge male NOM aged kill CAS PF CNV1 3FS finish PF PAi
\ft After becoming queen she killed all elder men's.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_003
\orth ye e geede asanxe madhunxese hidi "kishira biddo asanxi oodi e gara keexe taase keexhuttuwaye" hidi i hido.
\phonemic je e geede asantse maɗuntsese hidi "kiʃʃira biddo asantsi oodi e gara keetse taase keets'uttuwaje" hidi i hido.
\mb je e geede asantse maɗuntse se hi d i "kiʃira biddo
\ge DEM2 3MS after male oppress PURP say PF CNV1 "kiʃira" pillar
\mb asants i oo d i e gara keetse taa se keets' utt u
\ge male NOM bring PF CNV1 3MS on house me DAT build PAS PERS

\mb wa j e" hi d i i hi d o.
\ge IMP EP 3MS say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi
\ft Inorder to influence the male's she ordered them to bring the pillar of "kiʃira"(kind of small plant) and build the house on it.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_004
\orth asanxitini kishira biddo worgi worgi hidi degexe u dheeddo.
\phonemic asantsitini kishira biddo worgi worgi hidi degetse u ɗeeddo.
\mb asants it i ni kiʃira biddo worg i worg i hi d i
\ge male PL NOM INCL "kishira" pillar find CNV1 find EP say PF CNV1
\mb degets e u ɗeed d o.
\ge get PERS 3PL not_exist PF PAi

\mb ite ni uddi ko ta woɗɗ us e' hi d i i hinne
\ge PL INCL all AFOC:DEC 1SG kill CAS PERS say PF CNV1 3FS then

\mb kko nu degets e godo nu ɗeed o" hi d i u
\ge AFOC:DEC 1PL get PERS place 1PL NEG:PF PAi say PF CNV1 3PL
\mb hi d o
\ge say PF PAi

\ft They said to an old man that " bring the pillar of kiʃira and build a house by using it, unless i would kill you, she said, then we couldn't find'.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_008
\orth ye asanxi uuxhay mati "esuna iso hi iicheshi 'kishira biddo nu degesinekko burse nu gelline gandey tuute woddhi e also.

\phonemic je asantsi uuts'aj mati "esuna iso hi iitʃeʃi 'kiʃira biddo nu degesinekko burse nu gelline gandej tuute woɗɗi e also.

\mb je asants i uuts'a j mat i "es una is o hi
\ge DEM2 male NOM aged NOM return CNV1 3MS INST 3FS ABS 2PL

\mb iitʃ e ʃ i 'kiʃira biddo nu deges ine kko
\ge win PERS NMZ NOM "kishira" pillar 1PL get TEM1 AFOC:DEC

\mb burs e nu gel l ine gande j tuute woɗ ɗ i e als s o.
\ge cut PERS 1PL start PF TEM1 axe NOM handle break PF CNV1 3MS finish PF PAi

\ft What you have to say is, 'We have already got the pillar of kiʃira but when we cut it has broken the handle of an axe' said to them.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_009
\orth ye e gissha harre ushume tuute inguwa.

\phonemic je e giʃʃa harre uʃume tuute inguwa.

\mb je e giʃʃa harre uʃume tuute ing u wa.
\ge DEM2 3MS REAS donkey horn handle give PERS IMP
\ft So that give us the handle of donkey's horn.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_010
\orth gande essa gelsi nu bursoore' hidi hi hikketekko 'harrey ushume keema keenge?' hidi i hikkete 'kishiray biddo keema keenge?' hidi hiwayte.

\phonemic gande essa gelsi nu bursoore' hidi hi hikketekko 'harrej ushume keema keenge?' hidi i hikkete 'kiʃiraj biddo keema keenge?' hidi hiwajte.

\mb gande essa gel s s i nu burs oore' hi d i
\ge axe into insert CAS PF CNV1 1PL cut HRA say PF CNV1
\mb hi hikkete kko 'harre j ushume keem a keen g e?'
\ge 2PL then AFOC:DEC donkey NOM horn have DEP have IPF PERS

\mb hi d i i hikkete 'kiʃira j biddo keem a keen g e?'
\ge say PF CNV1 3FS then "kishira" NOM pillar have DEP have IPF PERS

\mb hi d i hi wa jte.
\ge say PF CNV1 say IMP 2PL
\ft if you say we insert an axe in it, then she may respond 'does a donkey has horns? then, you say 'does kishira has a pillar?.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_011
\orth esunako iso hi iiche" hidi ye asanxi uuxhay erusi hinne usini hanke yoodi harre ushume tuute u oycinekko "harrey ushume keema keenge?" hidi i hinnekko "kishiray biddo keema keenge?" hidi sekke u mato.
\phonemic esunako iso hi iitʃe" hidi je asantsi uuts'aj erusi hinne usini hanke joodi harre uʃume tuute u ojtʃ'inekko "harrej uʃume keema keenge?" hidi i hinnekko "kiʃiraj biddo keema keenge?" hidi sekke u mato.
\mb es una ko is o hi iitʃe" hi d i je asants i
\ge 3MS INST AFOC:FOC 3FS ABS 2PL win say PF CNV1 DEM2 male NOM
\mb uuts'a j er us i hinne us i ni hanke joo d i
\ge aged NOM teach CAS CNV1 then 3PL NOM INCL toward come PF CNV1
\mb harre uʃume tuute u ojtʃ' ine kko "harre j uʃume keem
\ge donkey horn handle 3PL ask TEM1 AFOC:DEC donkey NOM horn have
\mb a keen g e?" hi d i i hinne kko "kiʃira j
\ge DEP have IPF PERS say PF CNV1 3FS then AFOC:DEC "kishira" NOM
\mb biddo keem a keen g e?" hi d i sekke u mat o.
\ge pillar have DEP have IPF PERS say PF CNV1 again 3PL respond.PF PAi
\ft An old man advised them to as. then they came back ask the horn of donkey, she said 'does a donkey has horn? then they respond, answered ' does kishira has a pillar?.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_012
\orth hinneko ye kaate maaqicha indo ye ade cimana iishi u yesso.
\phonemic hinneko je kaate maak'itʃa indo je ade tʃ'imana iiʃi u jesso.
\mb hinne ko je kaate maak' i tʃa indo je ade tʃ'ima na
\ge then AFOC:DEC DEM2 queen become EP PAii woman DEM2 man old INST
\mb iiʃ i u jes s o.
\ge win CNV1 3PL exist PF PAii
\ft Then they won the queen by the older wise man.

\ref KLD_NARR_QUEEN_001_013
\orth cima garafa ohe eruwa mudduno garapa tama ekuwa.
\phonemic tʃ'ima garapa ohe eruwa mudduno garapa tama ekuwa.
\mb tʃ'ima gara pa ohe er u wa mudduno gara pa tama ek
\ge old on ABL good talk know EP IMP "gutto" on ABL fire take
\mb u wa.
\ge PERS IMP
\ft Learn from an old man and take fire from the root of a tree.

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Tuesday, July 23, 2013 11:57 AM

Title	002_Ha bidzi ta miise ekuwa 'Take my single cow'
\ref	KLD_NARR_COW_002_001
\orth	bidzi wudiyaka bidzi adey e yecha.
\phonemic	bidzi wudijaka bidzi adej e jetʃa.
\mb	bidz i wud ij aka bidz i ade j e je tʃa
\ge	one NOM country NOM LOC one NOM man NOM 3MS exist PAii
\ft	There was a man in a country.
\ref	KLD_NARR_COW_002_002
\orth	pettonani jhi'o e maaqicha.
\phonemic	pettonani ʒiʔo e maak'itʃa.
\mb	petto na ni ʒiʔo e maak' i tʃa.
\ge	absolutely INST INCL poor 3MS become EP PAii
\ft	He was very poor.
\ref	KLD_NARR_COW_002_003
\orth	wodumiti laga wogga aallo be keemena be wude kaataara u peyshicha.
\phonemic	wodumiti laga wogga aallo be keemena be wude kaataara u pejʃitʃa.
\mb	wodum it i laga wogga aallo be keeme na be wude kaat
\ge	rich PL NOM many period since self treasure INST self country king
\mb	ara u pejʃ i tʃa.
\ge	CNJ 3PL spent the day EP PAii
\ft	Rich people were spent the day with the king by their treasure.
\ref	KLD_NARR_COW_002_004
\orth	bidzi bidzi zeeriti gara ye be kaataara sekke hanke wolko u hasaawicha.
\phonemic	bidzi bidzi zeeriti gara je be kaataara sekke hanke wolko u hasaawitʃa.
\mb	bidz i bidz i zeer it i gara je be
\ge	one NOM one NOM thing PL NOM on DEM2 self
\mb	kaata ara sekke hanke wolko u hasaaw i tʃa.
\ge	king CNJ there here together 3PL talk EP PAii
\ft	They were talk about something with their king.
\ref	KLD_NARR_COW_002_005
\orth	ye bidzi jhi'oy "waa hidakowa kaataara ta zeerane?" hidi e masso.
\phonemic	je bidzi ʒiʔoj "waa hidakowa kaataara ta zeerane?" hidi e masso.

\mb je bidz i ʒiʔo j "waa hi d a ko wa kaata ara ta
\ge DEM2 one NOM poor NOM how say PF REL AFOC:DEC IMP king CNJ 1SG
\mb zeer a ne?" hi d i e mas s o.
\ge thing REL PERS say PF CNV1 3MS think PF PAi
\ft How i can speak with the king? said the poor man.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_006
\orth yeydini e hido "bidzi miise ta keengicha, hatte iso etti handi 'kaato, ta miise neese ekkuwa' hidikko ta hiyye" hissine e masso.

\phonemic jejdini e hido "bidzi miise ta keengitʃa, hatte iso etti handi 'kaato, ta miise neese ekkuwa' hidikko ta hijje" hissine e masso.

\mb je j d i ni e hi d o "bidz i miise ta keen g i
\ge DEM2 say PF CNV1 INCL 3MS say PF PAi one NOM cow 1SG have IPF EP
\ft He thouth 'i have to take my cow to him and say 'please take my cow!

mb tʃa, hatte is o et t i han d i 'kaato, ta
\ge PAii now 3FS ABS take PF CNV1 go PF CNV1 king 1SG
\mb miise nee se ek k u wa' hi d i
\ge cow 2SG DAT take IPF PERS IMP say PF CNV1
\mb kko ta hi j j e" hi ssine e mas s o.
\ge AFOC:DEC 1SG say EP IPF PERS say TEM4 3MS think PF PAi

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_007
\orth ye be wude ahiya yecha kaati badiya handi "kaato, bidzi miisukko ta keengicha, ne soolle ansi handi neese ekkuwa!" hidi e hido.

\phonemic je be wude ahija jetʃa kaati badija handi "kaato, bidzi miisukko ta keengitʃa, ne soolle ansi handi neese ekkuwa!" hidi e hido.

\mb je be wude ah ija je tʃa kaat i bad ija han
\ge DEM2 self country administer PROG exist PAii king NOM side LOC go
\mb d i "kaato, bidz i miis u kko ta keen g i tʃa, ne
\ge PF CNV1 king one NOM cow EP AFOC:DEC 1SG have IPF EP PAii 2SG
\mb soolle ans i han d i nee se ek k u wa!"
\ge soldier send NOM go PF CVN1 2SG DAT take IPF PERS IMP
\mb hi d i e hi d o.
\ge say PF CNV1 3MS say PF PAi
\ft He went to the king of the country and said please i have a cow so send your solider and take it.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_008
\orth kaatini "modhekko, ayana ne zaway?" hidi e oycco.

\phonemic kaatini "moɗekko, ajana ne zawaj?" hidi e ojttʃ'o.

\mb kaat i ni "moɗe kko aja na ne zawa j?" hi d i
\ge king NOM INCL well AFOC:DEC where INST 2SG house NOM say PF CNV1

\mb e ojttʃ' o.
\ge 3MS ask:PF PAi
\ft 'Ok where is your house' asked the king.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_009
\orth esini essa be yese wude e oto.
\phonemic esini essa be jese wude e oto.
\mb es i ni essa be jes e wude e ot o.
\ge 3MS NOM INCL into self live PERS country 3MS talk:PF PAi
\ft He told the place where he lives.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_010
\orth kaatini guta ketiya be soolita densi be anxoronnike esaara kiito u ayto.
\phonemic kaatini guta ketija be soolita densi be antsoronnike esaara kiito u ajto.
\mb kaat i ni guta ket ija be sool ita dens i
\ge king NOM INCL tomorrow morning LOC self soldier PL wake:PF CNV1
\mb be ants:IPF oronnike esa ara kiito u ajt o.
\ge self send CMP 3MS CNJ appointment 3PL cache:PF PAi
\ft The king appointed to send his soldier in the following day.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_011
\orth ye jhi'oni be zawa yoodi be machikoni "ta mache, tani hanzo handikko kaate zeerusso" hidi e hido.
\phonemic je ʒiʔoni be zawa joodi be matʃikoni "ta matʃe, tani hanzo handikko kaate zeerusso" hidi e hido.
\mb je ʒiʔo ni be zawa joo d i be matʃ i ko ni
\ge DEM2 poor INCL self house come PF CNV1 self wife NOM AFOC:DEC INCL
\mb "ta matʃe, tan i hanzo han d i kko kaate zeer us
\ge 1SG wife 1SG NOM today go PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC king talk CAS
\mb so" hi d i e hi d o.
\ge AFOC:DEC say PF CNV1 3MS say PF PAi
\ft The poor man ' today i talked with the king' said to his wife.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_012
\orth e machini "aba hissinawo ne zeerusso?" hidi i oycco.
\phonemic e matʃini "aba hissinawo ne zeerusso?" hidi i ojttʃo.
\mb e matʃ i ni "aba hi ssina wo ne zeer us so?" hi d
\ge 3MS wife NOM INCL what say TEM4 only 2SG talk CAS AFOC:DEC say PF
\mb i i ojttʃ' o.
\ge CNV1 3FS ask:PF PAi
\ft 'How you talked' asked his wife.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_013
\orth esin "ha yecha ni miisi bidziyoma ni kaatuse ta indosi" hidi e hido.
\phonemic esin "ha jetʃa ni miisi bidzijoma ni kaatuse ta indosi" hidi e hido.
\mb es i ni "ha je tʃa ni miis i bidz
\ge 3MS NOM INCL DEM1 exist PAii INCL cow NOM one
\mb i j o ma ni kaat use ta in d o
\ge NOM EP ABS FOC INCL king DAT 1SG give PF PAi
\mb si" hi d i e hi d o.
\ge RESU say PF CNV1 3MS say PF PAi
\ft ' I gave the only cow to our king' he said.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_014
\orth e machini "ade, goojhikko ne yese? ha bidzi inge worgusuwaso" hidi i hido.
\phonemic e matʃini "ade, gooʒikko ne jese? ha bidzi inge worgusuwaso" hidi i hido.
\mb e matʃ i ni "ade, gooʒ i kko ne jes e? ha
\ge 3MS wife NOM INCL man abnormal EP AFOC:DEC 2SG exist PERS DEM1
\mb bidz i in g e worg us u wa so" hi d i
\ge one NOM give IPF PERS need CAS EP NEG AFOC:DEC say PF CNV1
\mb i hi d o.
\ge 3FS say PF PAi
\ft His wife ' oh you are abnormal you couldn't give the only cow!' she said.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_015
\orth adey "hinne am malay?" hidi e hido.
\phonemic adej "hinne am malaj?" hidi e hido.
\mb ade j "hinne am mala j?" hi d i e hi d o.
\ge man NOM then what solution NOM say PF CNV1 3MS say PF PAi
\ft Then the man said 'what is the soluton?'.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_016
\orth indoni guta ketiya u yoone gisha neese burona sho'e dendi muqo kaashi esaaka woy'uwa! niya u zeerusa'aykko neni zeerdoppuna, tambakko zeerara " hidi indoy hido.
\phonemic indoni guta ketija joone u giʃa neese burona ʃoʔe dendi muk'o kaaʃi esaaka wojʔuwa! nija u zeerusaʔajkko neni zeerdoppuna, tambakko zeerara " hidi indoj hido.
\mb indo ni guta ket ija u joon e giʃʃa nee se buro
\ge woman INCL tomorrow morning LOC 3PL come PERS REAS 2SG DAT early
\mb na ʃoʔe dend i muk'o kaaʃ i esa aka wojʔ u wa!
\ge INST morning wake NOM ash make NOM into LOC sleep PERS IMP.S
\mb ni j a u zeer u sa ajkko nen i zeer d o pp (u)na,
\ge 2SG EP ABS 3PL talk EP CMP R.CND 2SG NOM talk PF PAi NIMP 2SG
\mb ta mba kko zeer ara hi d i indo j hi d o.
\ge 1SG ABS AFOC:DECL talk CNJ say PF CNV1 woman NOM say PF PAi
\ft 'wake tommorow early in the morning and sleep in the ash, if they speak to you don't talk i will talk to them' said the woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_017
\orth i otonnike ketiya sho'e dendi ye muqo kaashi essaaka e woydho.
\phonemic i otonnike ketija ʃoʔe dendi je muk'o kaaʃi essaaka e wojɗo.
\mb i ot o nnike ket ija ʃoʔe dend i je muk'o kaaʃ
\ge 3FS tell:PF PAi as morning LOC morning wake CNV1 DEM2 ash make
\mb i essa aka e woj ɗ o.
\ge CNV1 into LOC 3MS sleep PF PAi
\ft As she told he waked early in the morning and slept in the ash.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_018
\orth ye kaati anso soolitini u yoodo.
\phonemic je kaati anso soolitini u joodo.
\mb je kaat i ans o sool it i ni u joo d o.
\ge DEM2 king NOM send:PF PAi soldier PL NOM INCL 3PL come PF PAi
\ft The soldier of the king has come.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_019
\orth usini ye zawayndokko "ay adey hando? miisukko kaatuse zine e indecha, kessuwayte, etti nu hammese!" hidi u hido.
\phonemic usini je zawajndokko "aj adej hando? miisukko kaatuse zine e indetʃa, kessuwajte, etti nu hammese!" hidi u hido.
\mb us i ni je zawa jndo kko "aj ade j han d o? miis
\ge 3PL NOM INCL DEM2 house woman AFOC where man NOM go PF PAi cow
\mb u kko kaat use zine e in d e tʃa,
\ge EP AFOC:DEC king DAT yesterday 3MS give PF EP PAii
\mb kes s u wa jte, et t i nu hamm e se!" hi d
\ge get it out-CAS PERS IMP.S PL take PF CNV11PL go INF PURP say PF
\mb i u hi d o.
\ge CNV1 3PL say PF PAi
\ft They asked the woman,'where is the cow that he has given fore the king, we came to take it'.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_020
\orth indoni "aba miisu?" hidi i oycco.
\phonemic indoni "aba miisu?" hidi i ojttʃ'o.
\mb indo ni "aba miis u?" hi d i i ojttʃ' o.
\ge woman INCL what cow 3PL say PF CNV1 3FS ask:PF PAi
\ft The woman asked 'what cow?'

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_021
\orth siido baasa bishena usini "zine ne adey kaatuse indecho miisema" hidi u hido.
\phonemic siido baasa biʃena usini "zine ne adej kaatuse indetʃo miisema" hidi u hido.

\mb sii d o baa sa biʃ e na us i ni
\ge hear PF PAi not_exist NMZ:ACC seem\like PERS INST 3PL NOM INCL

\mb "zine ne ade j kaat use in d e tʃo miise ma" hi d
\ge yesterday 2SG man NOM king DAT give PF EP PAii cow FOC say PF
\mb i u hi d o.
\ge CNV1 3PL say PF PAi
\ft They asked 'The cow that your husband gave for the king'.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_022
\orth ye zawayndoni "adey goojhinekko tani taase esaara madhumiya yese.

\phonemic je zawajndoni "adej gooʒinekko tani taase esaara maɗumija jese
\mb je zawa jndo ni "ade j gooʒ i ne kko tan i
\ge DEM2 house woman INC man NOM abnormal CNV1 2SG AFOC:DEC1SG NOM

\mb taa se esa ara maɗum ija jes e
\ge me DAT 3MS CNJ suffer PROG exist PERS
\ft 'The man become abnormal and i am suffering' said the woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_023
\orth hay, beewayte, ha muquwa woy'iya e yesesa" hidi indoy hido.

\phonemic haj, beewajte, ha muk'uwa wojʔija e jesesa" hidi indoj hido.

\mb ha j, bee wa jte ha muk'u w a wojʔ ija e jes e
\ge DEM1 NOM see IMP.S PL DEM1 ash EP-LOC sleep PROG 3MS exist PERS
\mb sa" hi d i indo j hi d o.
\ge CMP say PF CNV1 woman NOM say PF PAi
\ft 'look he is sleeping in the ash' she said.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_024
\orth usini eedhi e aafiya mici be beedo geede "zine kaatuseni mikkewokko esukko handi 'ta miise ekuwa, kaato!' hidi e hidecha.

\phonemic usini eeɗi e aafija mitʃ'i be beedo geede "zine kaatuseni mikkewokko esukko handi 'ta miise ekuwa, kaato!' hidi e hidetʃa.

\mb us i ni ee ɗ i e aaf ija mitʃ':PF i be bee d
\ge 3PL NOM INCL stand PF CNV1 3MS eye LOC astonish CNV1 self see PF
\mb o geede "zine kaat use ni mikke wo kko esu
\ge PAi after yesterday king DAT INCL with out think FOC AFOC:DEC 3MS
\mb kko han d i 'ta miise ek u-wa, kaato!' hi d i
\ge AFOC:DEC go PF CNV1 1SG cow take PERS-IMP\OPT king say PF CNV1

\mb e hi d e tʃa.
\ge 3MS say PF EP PAii
\ft after looking in amazing 'with out understand yesterday he told to the king to take his cow'.

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_025
\orth aadewo, goojhiwokko e yese" be hidosi geede ye kaati sooliti etto badi dhadi u hando.

\phonemic aadewo, gooʒiwokko e jese" be hidosi geede je kaati sooliti etto badi ɗadi u hando.
\mb aade wo, gooʒ i wo kko e jes e" be hi d o
\ge true only abnormal CNV1 FOC? AFOC:DEC 3MS exist PERS self say PF PAi
\mb si geede je kaat i sool it i et t o ba d i
\ge NMZ after DEM2 king NOM soldier PL NOM take PF PAi not_exist PF CNV1
\mb ɗad d i u han d o.
\ge leave PF CNV1 3PL go PF PAi
\ft true, he become abnormal'after saying the soldier of the king has gone'.

Title 002_ha ta bidzi miise ekuwa 'take my single cow'

\ref KLD_NARR_COW_002_026
\orth ye ade machi payanketena adeni be wordecho kaataara zeerdo ye e miisini e zawaaka atto hidikko e mamakutte.

\phonemic je ade matʃi pajanketena adeni be wordetʃo kaataara zeerdo je e miisini e zawaaka atto hidikko e mamakutte.
\mb je ade matʃ i pajank ete na ade ni be word e tʃo kaata
\ge DEM2 man wife NOM clever CND? INST man INCL self find EP PAii king
\mb ara zeer d o je e miis i ni e zawa aka at t o
\ge CNJ talk PF PAi DEM2 3MS cow NOM INCL 3MS house LOC remain PF PAi
\mb hi d i kko e mamak utt e.
\ge say PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 3MS narrate PAS PERS
\ft by the cleverness of the woman, the has talked to the king, their cow is also remained at home.

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Title 003_Zawaade eehana iiche 'Dominaing the husband by love"

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_001
\orth be macho iitana jheechicha bidzi adey olo e yecha.
\phonemic be matʃo iitana ʒeetʃitʃa bidzi adej olo e jetʃa.
\mb be matʃo iita na ʒeetʃ i tʃa bidz i ade j olo
\ge self wife very INST oppress EP PAii one NOM man NOM long time ago
\mb e je tʃa.
\ge 3MS exist PAii
\ft Once there was a man whom hate his wife.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_002
\orth hinneko e machi be maaqesa dheedi uddi woggaa iitanawo i yeekicha.
\phonemic hinneko e matʃi be maak'esa ɗeedi uddi woggaa iitanawo i jeekitʃa.
\mb hinne ko e matʃ i be maak' e sa ɗee d
\ge then AFOC:DEC 3MS wife NOM self become:IPF PERS NMZ:ACC lose PF
\mb i uddi wogga a iita na wo i jeek i tʃa.
\ge CNV1 all time LOC very INST only 3FS cry EP PAii
\ft Then his wife was crying often.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_003
\orth bidzi wonte i doodet-iya bidzi ade cimay zeere eresi yechoyne esso handi taaso adeseni taaseni amu bishesha dhadiko nuwaadeso ta hange hidi i hido.
\phonemic bidzi wonte i doodet-ija bidzi ade tʃ'imaj zeere eresi jetʃojne esso handi taaso adeseni taaseni amu biʃeʃa ɗadiko nuwaadeso ta

hange hidi i hido.

\mb bidz i wonte i doodet ija bidz i ade tʃ'ima zeere er e

\ge one NOM day 3FS neighbor LOC one NOM man old thing know PERS

\mb s i je tʃo ine es so han d i taa so ade se ni taa

\ge NMZ NOM exist PAii TEM1 3MS DAT go PF CNV1 me DAT man DAT INCL me

\mb se ni amu biʃe ʃa ɗa d i ko nu w a de

\ge DAT INCL what better PURP leave PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 1PL EP man

\mb so ta han g e hi d i i hi d o.

\ge AFOC:DEC 1SG go IPF PERS say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi

\ft One she went to a wise an old man and near asked,' 'what i shall do? i have to go to my parent's.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_004

\orth 'amu' hidi e oycco.

\phonemic 'amu' hidi e ojttʃ'o

\mb amu hi d i e ojttʃ' o

\ge what say PF CNV1 3MS ask PAi

\ft 'what?' he asked.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_005

\orth isini jheechako e jheeche.

\phonemic isini ʒeetʃako e ʒeetʃe.

\mb is i ni ʒeetʃ a ko e ʒeetʃ e

\ge 3FS NOM INCL oppress REL AFOC:DEC 3MS oppress PERS

\ft She said, he mariginalize.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_006

\orth esi zeere denxa tani zeere denxa hiketeko nu zaway uddi woggaa koysewo maaqe hidi i hido.

\phonemic esi zeere dentsa tani zeere dentsa hiketeko nu zawaj uddi woggaa kojsewo maak'e hidi i hido.

\mb es i zeere dents a tan i zeere dents a hikete ko

\ge 3MS NOM thing raise CNV2 1SG NOM thing raise CNV2 then AFOC:DEC

\mb nu zawa j uddi wogga a kojse wo maak' e hi d i i

\ge 1PL house NOM all time LOC noisy only become PERS say PF CNV1 3FS

\mb hi d o.

\ge say PF PAi

\ft she said that 'he raise quarrel and i raise, so our home always become noisy.'

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_007

\orth ye ade cimani isuse ne adeke hidi yese modhey baasso.

\phonemic je ade tʃ'imani isuse ne adeke hidi yese moɗej baasso.

\mb je ade tʃ'ima ni is use ne ade ke hi d i jes e

\ge DEM2 man old INCL 3FS DAT 2SG man like say PF CNV1 exist PERS

\mb moɗe j baa s so

\ge good NOM not_exist 3MS AFOC:DEC

\ft 'There is no good person like your husband' said an old man.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_008

\orth mee handi garma kuukunxe shiti oowa ne iiche ogeko yesa hidi e hido

\phonemic mee handi garma kuukuntse ʃiti oowa ne iitʃe ogeko jesa hidi e hido

\mb mee han d i garma kuukuntse ʃit i oowa ne iitʃ e

\ge well go PF CNV1 lion eyebrow pull CNV1 bring:IMP 2SG win PERS

\mb oge ko jes a hi d i e hi d o

\ge way AFOC:DEC exist REL say PF CNV1 3MS say PF PAi

\ft There is a way how to overcome your life, first bring me the eye brow of a lion said the man.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_009

\orth hinneko ye indoy woraa handi garmaara i muto.

\phonemic hinneko je indoj woraa handi garmaara i muto.

\mb hinne ko je indo j wora a han d i garma ara i

\ge then AFOC:DEC DEM2 woman NOM forest LOC go PF CNV1 lion CNJ 3FS

\mb mut o.

\ge meet:PF PAi

\ft then she went to the bush and meet a lion.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_010

\orth garmay iso col'i zara eedho.

\phonemic garmaj iso tʃ'olʔi zara eeɗo.

\mb garma j is o tʃ'olʔ i zara ee ɗ o.

\ge lion NOM 3FS ABS interested NOM far stand PF PAi

\ft The lion interested and stand far.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_011

\orth isini garma kuukunxe efese massi zara eedho hinneko hidi woli badiya peyshi u budutto.

\phonemic isini garma kuukuntse efese massi zara eeɗo hinneko hidi woli badija pejʃi u budutto.

\mb is i ni garma kuukuntse ef e se mas s i zara ee

\ge 3FS NOM INCL lion eyebrow take INF PURP think PF CNV1 far stand

\mb ɗ o hinne ko hi d i wol i bad ija

\ge PF PAi then AFOC:DEC say PF CNV1 together NOM side LOC

\mb pejʃ i u budut t o.

\ge spent the day CNV1 3PL isolate PF PAi

\ft She thought to take the eye brow of the lion and stand near by,then

they spent the day and departed.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_012

\orth be zawa be yoodo geede ye indoy guta beesopa acho garmase i indo.

\phonemic be zawa be joodo geede je indoj guta beesopa atʃo garmase i indo.

\mb be zawa be joo d o geede je indo j guta bee

\ge self house self come PF PAi after DEM2 woman NOM tomorrow self

\mb so pa atʃo garma se i in d o.

\ge AFOC:DEC ABL meat lion DAT 3FS give PF PAi

\ft After coming back to her house, the next day she gave meat to the lion.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_013

\orth hade zineke woraa wolko u muto.

\phonemic hade zineke woraa wolko u muto.

\mb hade zine ke wora a wolko u mut o.

\ge like yesterday manner forest LOC together 3PL meet:PF PAi

\ft They meet each other in the bush like yesterday.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_014

\orth be acho garapa burssi i dardine e muudo.

\phonemic be atʃo garapa burssi i dardine e muudo.

\mb be atʃo gara pa burs s i i dar d ine e muu d o.

\ge self meat on ABL cut PF CNV1 3FS throw PF TEM1 3MS eat PF PAi

\ft when the girl cut from the meat and throw, it ate.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_015

\orth lakko burso dapo haysso bursso dapo i hisunewo i buro e yoodo.

\phonemic lakko burso dapo hajsso bursso dapo i hisunewo i buro e joodo.

\mb lakko burss o dap o hajsso burss o dap o i hi

\ge second cut DEP throw DEP third cut DEP throw DEP 3FS say

\mb sune wo i buro e joo d o.

\ge TEM5 only 3FS front 3MS come PF PAi

\ft While she cut and throw for the second, and thrid it came front.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_016

\orth be kuchena be hicho e kuukunxe shiti i etto.

\phonemic be kutʃena be hitʃo e kuukuntse ʃiti i etto.

\mb be kutʃe na be hi tʃo e kuukuntse ʃit i i et t o

\ge self hand INST self say PAii 3MS eyebrow pull:PF CNV1 3FS take PF PAi

\ft She took the eye brow of the lion.

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_017

\orth be etto geede hangisina ye ade cimako i hando.

\phonemic be etto geede hangisina je ade tʃ'imako i hando.

\mb be et t o geede han g i sina je ade itʃ'ima ko i

\ge self take PF PAi after go IPF EP TEM4 DEM2 man old AFOC:DEC 3FS

\ft After having, while she back, she went to an old man.

\mb han d o.

\ge go PF PAi

\ref KLD_NARR_LOVE_003_018

\orth hinneko ye ade cimay isuse ne ade esuna ne iicheshi ha garmase ne beyso payanketiyaara eehara ne adeseni ne beyso geede iishiko esaara ne cinge hidi e hinne e otonnike eehana be ade iishi esaara i cindo.

\phonemic hinneko je ade tʃimaj isuse ne ade esuna ne iitʃeʃi ha garmase ne bejso pajanketijaara eehara ne adeseni ne bejso geede iiʃiko esaara ne tʃ'inge hidi e hinne e otonnike eehana be ade iiʃi esaara i tʃ'indo.

\mb hinne ko je ade tʃima j is use ne ade es una ne iitʃ

\ge then AFOC:DEC DEM2 man old NOM 3FS DAT 2SG man 3MS INST 2SG win

\mb e ʃ i ha garma se ne bej s o pajanke t ij aara

\ge PERS NMZ NOM DEM1 lion DAT 2SG see CAS PAi clever ness NOM CNJ

\mb eeh ara ne ade se ni ne bej s o geede iiʃ i ko

\ge love CNJ 2SG man DAT INCL 2SG see CAS PAi after win CNV1 AFOC:DEC

\mb es a ara ne tʃ'inge hi d i e hinne e

\ge 3MS ABS CNJ 2SG become old say PF CNV1 3MS then 3MS

\mb ot o nnike eeh a na be ade iiʃ i es a

\ge tell PF as love DEP INST self man win CNV1 3MS ABS

\mb ara i tʃ'in d o.

\ge CNJ 3FS become old PF PAi

\ft 'The patience which you shown for the lion, if you show for your husband you can make an agreement, said an old man then they agreed in the way.

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Title 004_ bidzi ade tʃ'imaara e maatʃ'aara 'An old man and his wives'

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_001
\orth bidzi adey e yecha.
\phonem bidzi adej e jetʃa.
\mb bidz i ade j e je tʃa.
\gl one NOM man NOM 3MS exist PAii
\ft There was a man.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_002
\orth lam'i induwaaxita etti e yecha.
\phonem lamʔi induwatsita etti e jetʃa.
\mb lamʔ i indu w ats ita et t i e je tʃa.
\gl two NOM woman EP PL PL take PF CNV1 3MS exist PAii
\ft He has two wives.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_003
\orth bidzi indoy cima puulunxe keengesa i maaqicha.
\phonem bidzi indoj tʃ'ima puuluntse keengesa i maak'itʃa.
\mb bidz i indo j tʃ'ima puuluntse keen g e sa i
\gl one NOM woman NOM old grey hair have IPF REL NMZ:ACC 3FS EP
\mb maak' i tʃa.
\gl become PAii
\ft The woman had grey hair.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_004
\orth lakko indoni puulundo baasa mulla i maaqicha.
\phonem lakko indoni puulundo baasa mulla i maak'itʃa.
\mb lakko indo ni puulun d o baa sa mulla i
\gl second woman INCL grey hair PF PAi not_exist NMZ:ACC young 3FS
\mb maak' i tʃa.
\gl become EP PAii
\ft The second wife was young and that has not grey hair.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_005
\orth ye uso ettecha ade qinoy puulunxe mu'e e ayto.
\phonem je uso ettetʃa ade k'inoj puuluntse muʔe e ajto.
\mb je us o et t e tʃa ade k'ino j puuluntse muʔe e
\gl DEM2 3PL ABS take PF EP PAii man head NOM grey hair grow 3MS

\mb aj t o.
\gl start PF PAi
\ft Their husband started growing grey hair.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_006
\orth hinneko ye puulunxe beese keengicha e machi "haballe ta adey taa bissho!" hidi maggiya i yecha.

\phonem hinneko je puuluntse beese keengitʃa e matʃi "haballe ta adej taa biʃʃo!" hidi maggija i jetʃa.

\mb hinne ko je puuluntse bee se keen g i tʃa e matʃ i
\gl then AFOC:DEC DEM2 grey hair self DAT have IPF EP PAii 3MS wife NOM

\mb "haballe ta ade j taa biʃ ʃ o!" hi d i magg ija i
\gl well 1SG man NOM me seem/like PF PAi say PF CNV1 happy PROG 3FS

\mb je tʃa.
\gl exist PAii
\ft Then the woman was happy, because her husband's hair was the same.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_007
\orth ye e geedekko ye mulla maaqicha e machi "wuy! ta adey cingesukko hine" hissine ye e qino puulundi yechase "ta adey taa bisheere!" hisine shoddi i oosso.

\phonem je e geedekko je mulla maak'itʃa e matʃi "wuj! ta adej tʃ'ingesukko hine" hissine je e k'ino puulundi jetʃase "ta adej taa biʃeere!" hisine ʃoddi i oosso.

\mb je e geede kko je mulla maak' i tʃa e matʃ i "wuj!
\gl DEM2 3MS after AFOC:DEC DEM2 young become EP PAii 3MS wife NOM oh!

\mb ta ade j tʃ'in g e s u kko hi ne" hi ssine je
\gl 1SG man NOM old IPF PERS PURP EP AFOC say PERS say TEM4 DEM2

\mb e k'ino puulun d i je tʃa s-e "ta ade j taa
\gl 3MS head grey hair PF CNV1 exist PAii NMZ-ACC 1SG man NOM me

\mb biʃ eere!" hi sine ʃod d i i oos s o.
\gl seem\like HRT say TEM4 snatch PF CNV1 3FS refuse CAS PAi
\ft Then after, the young woman "ho! my husband is going to be an old" by saying and removed the grey hair.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_008
\orth se puulundi yecha indoni be badena yeydiwo "am taa bishecha ta ade puulunxe etta!"hisidi karxe yecha ye be ade qino ufuxe maxhi i oosso.

\phonem se puulundi jetʃa indoni be badena jejdiwo "am taa biʃetʃa ta ade puuluntse etta!"hisidi kartse jetʃa je be ade k'ino ufutse mats'i i oosso.

\mb se puulun d i je tʃa indo ni be bade na je j d
\gl DEM2 grey hair PF CNV1 exist PAi woman INCL self side INST DEM2 NOM PF

\mb i wo "am taa biʃ e tʃa ta ade puuluntse et t a!"
\gl CNV1 only what me shall\like EP PAii 1SG man grey hair take PF DEP

\mb hi sidi kartse je tʃa je be ade k'ino ufutse mats' i i
\gl say TEM5 black exist PAii DEM2 self man head hair pick up NOM 3FS
\mb oos s o.
\gl refuse CAS PAi
\ft That the woman who has grey hair also "oh! what took my husband's grey hair?!" by saying removed the black hair.

\ref KLD_NARR_OLD_MAN_AND_WOMAN_004_009
\orth hinnekko ye ade qinoy uddinawo gutti bo'a e maadho hidikko e mamakutte.

\phonem hinnekko je ade k'inoj uddinawo gutti boʔa e maaɗo hidikko e mamakutte.

\mb hinne kko je ade k'ino j uddi na wo gut t i boʔa e
\gl then AFOC:DEC DEM2 man head NOM all INST only fall PF CNV1 bold 3MS

\mb maa ɗ o hi d i kko e mamak utt e.
\gl become PF PAi say PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 3MS narrate PAS PERS
\ft Then the man became bold.

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Title 005_Tukkaliyara i nayshaara 'A goose and its chicken'

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_001
\orth olopa tukale hidi hisso kafoy gadha i yecha.
\phonemic olopa tukale hidi hisso kafoj gadha i jetʃa
\mb olo pa tukale hi d i hi s so kafo j
\ge long time ago ABL guinea fowl say PF CNV1 say PF AFOC:DEC bird NOM
\mb gaɗa i je tʃa.
\ge low land area 3FS exist PAii
\ft There was a bird called guinea fowl in low land area.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_002
\orth laga bhuubhule i bhuubhulo.
\phonemic laga ɓuuɓule i ɓuuɓulo.
\mb laga ɓuuɓule i ɓuuɓul o.
\ge many egg 3FS laid PAi
\ft She laid many eggs.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_003
\orth hinne naayeni maaqe bemba elle madha uddina dandadhi ye bhuubhuliti gara baarisinawo penga ufuxe gutti i duxho.
\phonemic hinne naajeni maak'e bemba elle maɗa uddina dandaɗi je ɓuuɓuliti gara baarisinawo penga ufutse gutti i duts'o.
\mb hinne naaje ni maak' e be mba ell e maɗa uddi na
\ge then hungry INCL become PERS self ABS reach PERS problem all INST
\mb danda ɗ i je ɓuuɓul it i gara baar isina wo penga
\ge resist PF CNV1 DEM2 egg PL NOM on laying TEM4 only chest
\mb ufutse gut t i i duts' o.
\ge hair fall PF CNV1 3FS hatch PAi
\ft She hatched the egg by resisting the hungry and the sufferings, While laying on the eggs, however, she removed her chest hair.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_004
\orth be duxho geedeni be degexe abako beese miye dhaddi be nayshewo i muusicha.
\phonemic be duts'o geedeni be degetse abako beese mije ɗaddi be najʃewo i muusitʃa.
\mb be duts' o geede ni be degetse abako bee se mi j
\ge self hatch PAi after INCL self get thing self DAT eat EP
\mb e ɗa d i be najʃe wo i muu s i tʃa.
\ge INF leave PF CNV1 self chicken only 3FS eat CAS EP PAii
\ft After hatching the egg she was feeding every thing to her chiken.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_005
\orth i nayshi be degexesa beesewo maxhi u muucha.
\phonemic i najʃi be degetsesa beesewo mats'i u muutʃa.
\mb i najʃ i be degetse sa bee se wo mats' i u muu
\ge 3FS chicken NOM self get NMZ:ACC self DAT only all NOM 3PL eat
\mb tʃa.
\ge PAii
\ft Her chicken were feed them selves what they get.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_006
\orth isini be nayshe qiironi maaqe xhuqali yeydiwo pede bo'iti efese hikkete modhusiwo i kakkicha.
\phonemic isini be najʃe k'iironi maak'e ts'uk'ali jejdiwo pede boʔiti efese hikkete moɗusiwo i kakkitʃa.
\mb is i ni be najʃe k'iiro ni maak' e ts'uk'al i
\ge 3FS NOM INCL self chicken eagle CNJ become PERS "durtʃe" NOM
\mb je j d i wo pede boʔ it i ef e se hikk
\ge like this EP PF CNV1 only other animal PL NOM take INF PURP then
\mb moɗ us i wo i kakk i tʃa.
\ge good CAS NOM only 3FS wait EP PAii
\ft she was keeping her chiken from eagle and other animals.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_007
\orth uddi wogga ye be nayshewo i hoodicha.
\phonemic uddi wogga je be najʃewo i hooditʃa.
\mb uddi wogga je be najʃe wo i hood i tʃa.
\ge all time DEM2 self chicken only 3FS fear EP PAii
\ft All the time she was worry about her chiken.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_008
\orth wontaapa bidzi wonte bono ichicha tamay gadha undi megge e ayto.
\phonemic wontaapa bidzi wonte bono itʃitʃa tamaj gaɗa undi megge e ajto.
\mb wonta apa bidz i wonte bono itʃitʃa tama j gaɗa
\ge day ABL one NOM day winter january fire NOM low land area
\mb un d i megge e ajt o.
\ge all PF CNV1 burn 3MS start:PF PAi
\ft Once upon a time in the winter time(january) the fire begun to burn a low land area.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_009
\orth laga bo'iti dhaddi woxhi be tokena kesso.

\phonemic laga boʔiti ɗaddi wots'i be tokena kesso.

\mb laga boʔ it i ɗadd i wots' i be toke na kes s o.
\ge many animal PL NOM away NOM run NOM self leg INST escape PF PAi
\ft Many animals escaped by running.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_010
\orth laga kafitini pangena dendi dhadi hando.

\phonemic laga kafitini pangena dendi ɗadi hando.

\mb laga kaf it i ni pange na dend i ɗa d i han d o
\ge many bird PL NOM INCL wing INST fly CNV1 away PF CNV1 go PF PAi
\ft Many birds flew away by feather.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_011
\orth ye i nayshini esuna be dende pange mudho badi u yecho gissha isiwoy yaha be nayshume atto.

\phonemic je i najʃini esuna be dende pange muɗo badi u jetʃo giʃʃa isiwoj jaha be najʃume atto.

\mb je i najʃ i ni es una be dende pange mu ɗ o
\ge DEM2 3FS chicken NOM INCL 3MS INST self escape wing grow PF PAii
\mb ba d i u je tʃo giʃʃa is i wo
\ge not_exist PF CNV1 3PL exist PAii REAS 3FS NOM only
\mb j jaha be najʃ u me at t o.
\ge NOM there self chicken EP instead remain PF PAi
\ft Because the chicken was not enough grown the feather, in order to fly as well so the mother stayed their.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_012
\orth hanke be nayshe be oomo gadi etti u gara i baardo.

\phonemic hanke be najʃe be oomo gadi etti u gara i baardo.

\mb hanke be najʃe be oomo gad i et t i u gara i
\ge toward self chicken self under put:PF CNV1 take PF CNV1 3PL on 3FS
\mb baar d o.
\ge sat on PF PAi
\ft She put the chiken under her feather and sat on it.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_013
\orth tamay shanka iitanawo muusine yoodi uso ello.

\phonemic tamaj ʃanka iitanawo muusine joodi uso ello.

\mb tama j ʃanka iita na wo muu sine joo d i us o
\ge fire NOM low land area very INST only eat TEM4 come PF CNV1 3PL ABS
\mb el l o.
\ge arrive PF PAi

\ft while burning the bush the fire arrived them.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_014
\orth ye be nayshi gara baariyawo i yesune iso ye tamay yoodi muudo.
\phonemic je be najʃi gara baarijawo i jesune iso je tamaj joodi muudo.
\mb je be najʃ i gara baar ija wo i je sune is o
\ge DEM2 self chicken NOM on sat on PROG only 3FS exist TEM5 3FS ABS
\mb je tama j joo d i muu d o.
\ge DEM2 fire NOM come PF CNV1 eat PF PAi
\ft while she is lying on her chicken, the fire has come and burned her.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_015
\orth ye i nayshini i pange oomo be yecho gissha modhewo be uddina u atto.
\phonemic je i najʃini i pange oomo be jetʃo giʃʃa mɗewo be uddina u atto.
\mb je i najʃ i ni i pange oomo be je tʃo giʃʃa mɗe
\ge DEM2 3FS chicken NOM INCL 3FS wing under self exist PAii REAS good
\mb wo be uddi na u at t o.
\ge only self all INST 3PL remain PF PAi
\ft All her chicken saved because they were under her feather.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_016
\orth isiwoy ye be nayshi gisha ye tamana megutti i haydho.
\phonemic isiwoj je be najʃi giʃʃa je tamana megutti i hajɗo.
\mb is i wo j je be najʃ i giʃʃa je tama na megut
\ge 3FS NOM only NOM DEM2 self chicken NOM REAS DEM2 fire INST burn
\mb utt i i haj ɗ o.
\ge PAS CNV1 3FS die PF PAi
\ft She was burned by the fire because of her chicken.

\ref KLD_NARR_GUINEA FOWL_005_017
\orth hanzo ha saha gara yese tukkali be uddina i shawe hidikko e mamakutte.
\phonemic hanzo ha saha gara jese tukkali be uddina i ʃawe hidikko e mamakutte.
\mb hanzo ha saha gara jes e tukkal i be uddi na i
\ge today DEM1 land on exist PERS guinea fowl NOM self all INST 3FS
\mb ʃawe hi d i kko e mamak utt e.
\ge generation say PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 3MS narrate PAS PERS
\ft The present guinea fowl in the world is the gene of that goose.

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Title 006_ bidzi indo pajankaara i adijaara 'A clever woman and her husband

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_001
\orth bidzi indo payankaara i adiyaara
\phonemic bidzi indo pajankaara i adijaara
\mb bidz i indo pajank aara i ad i j aara
\ge one NOM woman clever CNJ 3FS man EP NOM CNJ
\ft A clever woman and her husband.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_002
\orth bidzi induwara i adiyaray u yecha
\phonemic bidzi induwara i adijaraj u jetʃa
\mb bidz i indu w ara i ad i j ara j u
\ge one NOM woman EP CNJ 3FS husband EP NOM CNJ NOM 3PL
\mb je tʃa
\ge be_exist PAii
\ft once there was a clever woman and her husband.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_003
\orth mara u keengicha.
\phonemic mara u keengitʃa.
\mb mara u keen g i tʃa.
\ge sheep 3PL have IPF Ep PST
\ft They had a sheep.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_004
\orth ye zawaadey oge sookisidi ha bidzi mara maata gara modhusi ganuwa.
\phonemic je zawaadej oge sookisidi ha bidzi mara maata gara moɗusi ganuwa.
\mb je zawa ade j oge sook i sidi ha bidz i mara
\ge DEM2 house man NOM journey visit EP TEM4:SS DEM1 one NOM sheep
\ft when he leaves for trip, he said, 'grazes this sheep in a good grass'.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_005
\orth ha mara shutti achuwaapa dooxuse inguwa.
\phonemic ha mara ʃutti atʃuwaapa dotsuse inguwa.
\mb ha mara ʃut t i atʃ uwa apa doots u se ing
\ge DEM1 sheep slaughter PF CNV1 meat LOC ABL neighbor 3MS DAT give
\ft slaughter the sheep and give from meat to neighbor.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_006
\orth esapani apaa micci taase gaduwa.
\phonemic esapani apaa mittʃ'i taase gaduwa.
\mb esa pa ni apa a mittʃ' i taa se gad uwa.
\ge ABS LOC INCL up LOC burn:PF CNV1 1SG DAT put IMP.S
\ft put up some of it for me.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_007
\orth hidi hisine e sootto.
\phonemic hidi hisine e sootto.
\mb hi d i hi sine e soot t o.
\ge say PF CNV1 say TEM4 3MS leave PF PAi
\ft while saying and he went.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_008
\orth ye zawayndoy waa ta hiyee yey hidi be hido geede ye mara naxe i burso.
\phonemic je zawajndoj waa ta hije jej hidi be hido geede je mara natse i burso.
\mb je zawa jndo j waa ta hi j e je j d i
\ge DEM2 house woman NOM how 1SG say EP PERS DEM2 say PF CNV1
\ft while suffering,the woman cut the tail of a sheep.
\mb be hi d o geede je mara natse i burs s o.
\ge self say PF PAi later DEM2 sheep tail 3FS cut PF PAi

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_009
\orth mara aandi maata gara i gand o
\phonemic mara aandi maata gara i gand o
\mb mara aan d i maata gara i gan d o
\ge sheep take PF CNV1 grass on 3FS tie PF PAi
\ft She took the sheep and put on the grass.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_010
\orth ye be burso naxe shutti achuwaapa be dooxuse i indo.
\phonemic je be burso natse ʃutti atʃuwaapa be dootsuse i indo.
\mb je be burs s o natse ʃut t i atʃ uwa apa
\ge DEM2 self cut PF PAi tail slaughter PF CNV1 meat LOC ABL
\ft She slaughtered the tail that she cut and gave some of the meat to her neighbor.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_011
\mb be doots use i ind o.
\ge self neighbor DAT 3FS give:PF PAi
\orth ataseni apaa i micco.
\phonemic ataseni apaa i mitʃ'o.
\mb atase ni apa a i mittʃ' o.
\ge remain INCL up LOC 3FS place: PF PAi

\ft She put up the remained.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_012
\orth ye naxe kom'eni awwaa i tollo.
\phonemic je natse komʔeni awwaa i tollo.
\mb je natse komʔe ni awwa a i tol l o.
\ge DEM2 tail skin INCL sun light LOC 3FS hit into ground PF PAi
\ft She put the skin of the tail to the sun light.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_013
\orth zawaadeni be sootecho godopa yoodi ta marachi hidi e oyco.
\phonemic zawaadeni be sootetʃo godopa joodi ta maratʃi hidi e ojtʃ'o.
\mb zawa ade ni be soot e tʃo godo pa joo
\ge house man CNJ self visit EP PAii:REL place ABL come
\mb d i ta mara tʃ i hi d i e ojttʃ' o.
\ge PF CNV1 1SG sheep INTR DF say PF CNV1 3MS ask:PF PAi
\ft The man came back and asked, where is my sheep?

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_014
\orth hay maata gara gandiko ta yese hidi i hido.
\phonemic haj maata gara gandiko ta jese hidi i hido.
\mb ha j maata gara gan d i ko ta
\ge DEM1 NOM grass on tie PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 1SG
\ft she said that she put on the grass.
\mb jes e hi d i i hi d o.
\ge exist PERS say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_015
\orth acho oowa hidi e hinne apaa be micechoshapa i indo.
\phonemic atʃo oowa hidi e hinne apaa be mitʃ'etʃoʃapa i indo.
\mb atʃo oowa hi d i e hinne apa a be mitʃ'e
\ge meat bring say PF CNV1 3MS then up LOC self put
\ft he asked the meat and she gave some of it.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_016
\mb tʃo wa pa i in d o.
\ge PAii REL ABL 3FS give PF PAi
\orth kom'echi hidi e hinne hay awwaako ta tolesse hidi i hido.
\phonemic komʔetʃi hidi e hinne haj awwaako ta tolesse hidi i hido.
\mb komʔe tʃ i hi d i e hinne ha j awwa a
\ge skin question? NOM say PF CNV1 3MS then DEM1 NOM sun light LOC
\mb ko ta tol l e se hi d i i hi d o.
\ge AFOC:DEC 1SG hit down PF INF DAT say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi

\ft She put up the remained.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_012
\orth ye naxe kom'eni awwaa i tollo.
\phonemic je natse komʔeni awwaa i tollo.
\mb je natse komʔe ni awwa a i tol l o.
\ge DEM2 tail skin INCL sun light LOC 3FS hit into ground PF PAi
\ft She put the skin of the tail to the sun light.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_013
\orth zawaadeni be sootecho godopa yoodi ta marachi hidi e oyco.
\phonemic zawaadeni be sootetʃo godopa joodi ta maratʃi hidi e ojtʃ'o.
\mb zawa ade ni be soot e tʃo godo pa joo
\ge house man CNJ self visit EP PAii:REL place ABL come
\mb d i ta mara tʃ i hi d i e ojttʃ' o.
\ge PF CNV1 1SG sheep INTR DF say PF CNV1 3MS ask:PF PAi
\ft The man came back and asked, where is my sheep?

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_014
\orth hay maata gara gandiko ta yese hidi i hido.
\phonemic haj maata gara gandiko ta jese hidi i hido.
\mb ha j maata gara gan d i ko ta
\ge DEM1 NOM grass on tie PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 1SG
\ft she said that she put on the grass.
\mb jes e hi d i i hi d o.
\ge exist PERS say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_015
\orth acho oowa hidi e hinne apaa be micechoshapa i indo.
\phonemic atʃo oowa hidi e hinne apaa be mitʃ'etʃoʃapa i indo.
\mb atʃo oowa hi d i e hinne apa a be mitʃ'e
\ge meat bring say PF CNV1 3MS then up LOC self put
\ft he asked the meat and she gave some of it.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_016
\mb tʃo wa pa i in d o.
\ge PAii REL ABL 3FS give PF PAi
\orth kom'echi hidi e hinne hay awwaako ta tolesse hidi i hido.
\phonemic komʔetʃi hidi e hinne haj awwaako ta tolesse hidi i hido.
\mb komʔe tʃ i hi d i e hinne ha j awwa a
\ge skin question? NOM say PF CNV1 3MS then DEM1 NOM sun light LOC
\mb ko ta tol l e se hi d i i hi d o.
\ge AFOC:DEC 1SG hit down PF INF DAT say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi

\ft where is the skin? he asked and she told that she put in on the sun light.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVER WOMAN_006_017
\orth acho dooxuse induwa hidi e oyccine, eewa indiko ta yese hidi i hido.
\phonemic atʃo dootsuse induwa hidi e ojttʃ'ine,eewa indiko ta jese hidi i hido.
\mb atʃo doots use indu w a hi d i e ojttʃ' ine.
\ge meat neighbor DAT give EP AFOC:INT say PF CNV 3MS ask:PF TEM1
\mb ee wa in d i ko ta jes e
\ge yes IMP/OPT give PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 1SG exist PERS
\mb hi d i i hi d o.
\ge say PF CNV1 3FS say PF PAi
\ft 'did you give meat for neighbors?' he asked and she respond "yes" i have already given.

\ref KLD_NARR_CLEVAER WOMAN_006_018
\orth ye indo payankay ye zawaade iishi ess ara i yesso.
\phonemic je indo pajankaj je zawaade iiʃi ess ara i jesso.
\mb je indo pajanka j je zawa ade iiʃ i ess ara i
\ge DEM2 woman clever NOM DEM2 house man win CNV1 3MS CNJ 3FS
\mb jes s o
\ge exist PF PAi

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Title 007_milk'ak'aara e matʃijara 'Milkaka and his wife'

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA_AND_SHUGUNO_007_001
\orth bidzi adiyara bidzi induwaray u yecha.
\phonemic bidzi adijara bidzi induwaraj u etʃa.
\mb bidz i adi j ara bidz i indu w ara j u je tʃa.
\gl one NOM man NOM CNJ one NOM woman EP CNJ NOM 3PL exist PAii
\ft There was a man and a woman

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_002
\orth u sunxini adey milqaqa sungicha indoy shuguno sungicha.
\phonemic u suntsini adej milk'ak'a sungitʃa indoj ʃuguno sungitʃa.
\mb u sunts i ni ade j milk'ak'a sung i tʃa indo j ʃuguno
\gl 3PL name NOM INCL man NOM milkaka named EP PAii woman NOM shuguno
\mb sung i tʃa.
\gl named EP PAii
\ft The husband name is milikaka and his wife name is shuguno.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA_AND_SHUGUNO_007_003
\orth yesese danda'iyaka u yesune machi shugunoy na'i yele i yello.
\phonemic jesese dandaʔijaka u jesune matʃi ʃugunoj naʔi jele i jello.
\mb jes e se dandaʔ ija ka u je sune matʃ i ʃuguno j
\gl exist PERS PURP able PROG LOC 3PL exist TEM5 wife NOM shuguno NOM
\mb naʔ i jele i jel l o.
\gl son NOM child 3FS bear PF PAi
\ft while they were living the woman bear a boy.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_004
\orth na'i yele i yeline hanguwa nuwaadeso ohena ta yelosadi machi shugunoy hidine,
\phonemic naʔi jele i jeline hanguwa nuwaadeso ohena ta jelosadi matʃi ʃugunoj hidine,
\mb naʔ i jele i jel ine han g u w a nu w
\gl son NOM child 3FS bear TEM1 go IPF PERS EP AFOC:INT 2PL EP
\mb aade so ohe na ta jelo s a d i matʃ i ʃuguno
\gl man AFOC:DEC tell INST 1SG bear NMZ ACC PF CNV1 wife NOM shuguno
\mb j hi d ine,
\gl NOM say PF TEM1
\ft while she bear a son, please go to my father's home and tell them
that i bear the son, she said.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_005
\orth handi isadeso ta machiko yela hidi hisisidi e otine,
\phonemic handi isadeso ta matʃiko jela hidi hisisidi e otine,
\mb han d i is ade so ta matʃ i ko jel l a
\gl go PF CNV1 3FS father ABS 1SG wife NOM AFOC:FOC give birth PF REL
\mb hi d i hi s i sidi e ot ine,
\gl say PF CNV1 say NMZ NOM TEM4 3MS tell TEM1
\ft he went to her father's home and told the by saying my wife gave birth,

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_006
\orth yeli i hinneko ta sunxesa ta dheedo hidi e hidine,
\phonemic jeli i hinneko ta suntsesa ta ɗeedo hidi e hidine,
\mb jel i i hi nne ko ta suntse sa ta ɗeedo
\gl bear CNV1 3FS say PERS AFOC:FOC 1SG name NMZ:ACC 1SG lose
\mb hi d i e hi d ine,
\gl say PF CNV1 3MS say PF TEM1
\ft 'she beard and i could not naming, he said.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_007
\orth aba ade muyana ha adey hidi isadiyara isinduwaray hidine,
\phonemic aba ade mujana ha adej hidi isadijara isinduwaraj hidine,
\mb aba ade muja na ha ade j hi d i is adi j ara
\gl what man ignorant INST DEM1 man NOM say PF CNV1 3FS man NOM CNJ
\mb is indu w ara j hi d ine,
\gl 3FS woman EP CNJ NOM say PF TEM1
\ft 'he is a polish man' by saying her father and her mother,

\ref KLD_NARR MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_008
\orth yey muyako ta yeley sunge hidi hisisidi e sunxi halutope ta buropa,
\phonemic jej mujako ta jelej sunge hidi hisisidi e suntsi halutope ta buropa,
\mb je j muja ko ta jele j sunge hi d i hi s
\gl DEM2 NOM ignorant AFOC:DEC 1SG child NOM name say PF CNV1 say NMZ
\mb i sidi e sunts i halut o p e ta kahe pa,
\gl NOM TEM4 3MS name NOM miss PF NIMP 3MS 1SG mind ABL
\ft by saying that my child will be named ignorant, let me don't forget the name...,

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_009
\orth muya mya muya muya muya muya muya muya muya yedi hisisidi etti e yoocha.
\phonemic muja mja muja muja muja muja muja muja muja jedi hisisidi etti e jootʃa.
\mb muja muja muja muja muja muja muja muja
\gl ignorant ignorant ignorant ignorant ignorant ignorant ignorant ignorant

\mb muja je d i hi s i sidi et t i
\gl ignorant like this PF CNV1 say NMZ NOM TEM4 take PF CNV1

\mb e joo tʃa.
\gl 3MS come PAii
\ft he was coming by saying ignorant ignorant ignorant...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_010
\orth ye wogako adiyara induwaray keemoko ezina hiyenxodi hido.
\phonemic je wogako adijara induwaraj keemoko ezina hijentsodi hido.
\mb je woga ko adi i j ara indu j keemo ko ezi na hi
\gl DEM2 time FOCman NOM EP CNJ woman NOM cattle AFOC:DEC with INST 2PL
\mb jents o d i hi d o.
\gl look for with him:CAS PAi PF CNV1 say PF PAi
\ft 'then you will keep cattle with him' said mother and father.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_011
\orth muya muya hisidi etti e yoochoyne bukutese xheefe cide aydaaka beedi,

\phonemic muja muja hisidi etti e jootʃojne bukutese ts'eefe tʃ'ide ajdaaka beedi,

\mb muja muja hi sidi et t i e joo tʃo jne
\gl ignorant ignorant say TEM4 take PF CNV1 3MS come PAii TEM1

\mb buk ut e se ts'eefe tʃ'ide ajda aka bee d i
\gl hit CAS PERS DAT teff garbage of teff flat area LOC see PF CNV1
\ft while he was coming by saying ignorant ignorant he saw the garbage of *teff* in a flat area,

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_012
\orth ye xheefe cide aafiyaka beyaaka e yesune ye sunxi e buropa dhadi baado.

\phonemic je ts'eefe tʃ'ide aafijaka bejaaka e jesune je suntsi e buropa ɗadi baado.

\mb je ts'eefe tʃ'ide aaf ija ka bej a aka e jes une je
\gl DEM2 teff garbege eye PROG LOC see DEP LOC 3MS exist TEM5 DEM2

\mb sunts i e buro pa ɗad i baa d o.
\gl name NOM 3MS from his mind ABL away CNV1 not_exist PF PAi
\ft while he is looking on the garbege of the *teff*, he forgot the name.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_013
\orth ta yele sunxe ettay nemakodi ye cide bukiyaka bukiyaka bukiyaka e yesune oge garicha adey yoodo.

\phonemic ta jele suntse ettaj nemakodi je tʃ'ide bukijaka bukijaka bukijaka e jesune oge garitʃa adej joodo.

\mb ta jele suntse et t a j nema ko d i je tʃ'ide
\gl 1SG child name take PF CNV2 NOM you AFOC:DEC PF CNV1 DEM2 garbege

\mb buki j ka buk j aka buki j aka e jes sune oge gar i tʃa
\gl hit EP LOC hit EP LOC hit EP LOC 3MS exist TEM1 road pass EP PAii

\mb ade j joo d o.
\gl man NOM come PF PAi
\ft while he is hitting the garbege of *teff* the passenger has come.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_014
\orth amu ha ade ne hisedi e hidine ta yele sunxuko sunsi isadey isindoy hine etti ta yoochosha ha cidey aytti ettine bukiyaka ta yese hidi e hidine,

\phonemic amu ha ade ne hisedi e hidine ta jele suntsuko sunsi isadej hine etti ta jootʃoʃa ha tʃ'idej ajtti ettine bukijaka ta jese hidi e hidine,

\mb amu ha ade ne hise d i e hi d ine ta jele suntsu
\gl what DEM1 man 2SG do PF CNV1 3MS say PF TEM1 1SG child name
\mb ko suns i is ade j is indo j hi ne et
\gl AFOC:DEC named CNV1 her father NOM her mother NOM say PERS take
\mb t i ta joo tʃo ʃa ha tʃ'ide j ajt t i et t ine
\gl PF CNV1 1SG come PAii DAT DEM1 garbege NOM hold PF CNV1 take PF TEM1
\mb buk ija ka ta jes e hi d i e hi d ine,
\gl hit PROG LOC 1SG exist PERS say PF CNV1 3MS say PF TEM1
\ft when the passenger asks 'what are you doing?' the man said 'my wife's father and mother named the child and while i bring the name, this garbage has taken and i am hitting it.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_015
\orth aba ade muyana ha adey ye adey hido yey ta yele sunxe datoni datoni yeydi hisidi
\phonemic aba ade mujana ha adej je adej hido jej ta jele suntse datoni datoni jejdi hisidi
\mb aba ade muja na ha ade j je ade j hi d o
\gl what man ignorant INST DEM1 man NOM DEM2 man NOM say PF PAi
\mb je j ta jele suntse dato ni
\gl DEM2 NOM 1SG child name drop INCL
\mb dato ni je j d i hi sidi
\gl drop INCL DEM2 say PF CNV1 say TEM4
\ft 'what an ignorant person is this' the passenger said then oh he let my child name while saying,..

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_016
\orth zawa be handosuse geri modhiya yechadi iidine modheko u yecha,

\phonemic zawa be handosuse geri mod̠ija jetʃadi iidine mod̠eko u jetʃa,

\mb zawa be han d o s u se ger i mod̠ ija je tʃa d
\gl house self go PF PAi NMZ EP DAT people NOM good PROG exist PAii PF
\mb i hi d ine mod̠e ko u je tʃa,
\gl CNV1 say PF TEM1 good AFOC:DEC 3PL exist PAii
\ft after reach home the woman asked 'were family fine?' and respond 'yes the were.'

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_017
\orth yeleni sunxutosso keemoni ezina yeenxuwate hidiko u hido yeydi e hido.
\phonemic jeleni suntsutosso keemoni ezina jeentsuwate hidiko u hido jejdi e hido.
\mb jele ni sunts ut o s so keemo ni ezi na
\gl child INCL name PAS EP PF AFOC:DEC cattle INCL with INST
\mb jeentsu w a te hi d i ko u hi d o je j
\gl wait for EP AFOC:INT PL say PF CNV1 AFOC:DEC 3PL say PF PAi DEM2 NOM
\mb d i e hi d o.
\gl PF CNV1 3MS say PF PAi
\ft 'they named the child and let watch the cattle for you' he said.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_018
\orth yeydi beydosuse yeley muyako sunge,
\phonemic jejdi bejdosuse jelej mujako sunge,
\mb je j d i be hi d o s u se jele j
\gl DEM2 NOM PF CNV1 self say PF PAi NMZ EP DAT child NOM
\mb muja ko sun g e,
\gl ignorant AFOC:DEC named IPF PERS
\ft then after 'the child is named ignorant',

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_019
\orth hatte ha ni keenge bidzi maydo guta kaxa ne kaxetese muudiko ha yeley yeemiyka kese hidi adey hido.
\phonemic hatte ha ni keenge bidzi majdo guta katsa ne katsetese muudiko ha jelej jeemijka kese hidi adej hido.
\mb hatte ha ni keen g e bidz i majdo guta katsa ne
\gl now DEM1 1PL have IPF PERS one NOM ox tomorrow food 2SG
\mb katse te se muu d i ko ha jele j jeem ij ka
\gl prepare PF DAT eat PF CNV1 FOC DEM1 child NOM shepherd NOM LOC
\mb kes e hi d i ade j hi d o.
\gl go out PERS say PF CNV1 man NOM say PF PAi
\ft ' now you should prepare food tomorrow in the morning and the child would go to shepherd the cattle' said the man.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_020
\orth hatte yelutay hatte yeeme eruwasso hidi machi hido.
\phonemic hatte jelutaj hatte jeeme eruwasso hidi matʃi hido.
\mb hatte jel ut a j hatte jeem e eru wa s so hi
\gl now bear PAS DEP NOM now shepherd PERS know NEG 3MS AFOC:DEC say
\mb d i matʃ i hi d o.
\gl PF CNV1 wife NOM say PF PAi
\ft "A new born child can not shepherd" said the woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_021
\orth yeemoko e yeenge yeluti e yesune tani keemuwara yena madhunguwassohdi beydosuse e geede
\phonemic jeemoko e jeenge jeluti e jesune tani keemuwara jena maɗunguwassohidi bejdosuse e geede
\mb jeemo ko e jeen g e jelu t i e je sune
\gl shepherd AFOC:DEC 3MS shepherd IPF PERS born PF CNV1 3MS exist TEM6
\mb tan i keemu w ara jena maɗungu wa s so hi d i
\gl 1SG NOM cattle EP CNJ again suffer NEG 1SG AFOC:DEC say PF CNV1
\mb be hi d o s u se e geede
\gl self say PF PAi NMZ EP DAT 3MS after
\ft 'already he is beard so i would not like to suffer with cattle' said and...'

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_022
\orth kaxa i kassine e muusine miye yeley dheedine cuboko i keenge guta ha yeley diceteseni cubachuko
\phonemic katsa i kassine e muusine mije jelej ɗeedine tʃ'uboko i keenge guta ha jelej ditʃ'eteseni tʃubatʃ'uko
\mb katsa i kas s ine e muu sine mij e jele j ɗeed
\gl food 3FS cook PF TEM1 3MS eat TEM4 eat PERS child NOM not_exist
\mb ine tʃ'ubo ko i keen g e guta ha jele j
\gl TEM1 sin AFOC:DEC 3FS have IPF PERS tomorrow DEM1 child NOM
\mb ditʃ'e te se ni tʃubatʃ' u ko
\gl grow IPF PURP INCL sinful EP AFOC:DEC
\ft while he is eating the food, the child refused and he said, the child is sinful even if he grows.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_023
\orth yeydi hidi yele kuche maydo naxiya tuti e datto.
\phonemic jejdi hidi jele kutʃe majdo natsija tuti e datto.
\mb je j d i hi d i jele kutʃe majdo nats ija tut t i
\gl DEM2 NOM PF CNV1 say PF CNV1 child hand ox tail LOC tie PF CNV1
\mb e dat t o
\gl 3MS leave PF PAi
\ft by saying he tie the hand of the child on an ox tail.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_024
\orth ye maydoy etti ye yele etti hantisidi hantisidi yeley duuda maaqicho gissha e kuche be naxe gara shitti yele sena wodho.
\phonemic je majdoj etti je jele etti hantisidi hantisidi jelej duuda maak'itʃo giʃʃa e kutʃe be natse gara ʃitti jele sena woɗo.
\mb je majdo j et t i je jele et t i hant i sidi
\gl DEM2 ox NOM take PF CNV1 DEM2 child take PF CNV1 do CNV1 TEM4

\mb hant i sidi jele j duuda maak' i tʃo giʃʃa e kutʃe be
\gl do CNV1 TEM4 child NOM baby become EP PST REAS 3MS hand self

\mb natse gara ʃit t i jele sena wod ɗ o
\gl tail on cut PF CNV1 child there kill PF PAi
\ft The child is killed during the ox move here and there because, the child was baby.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_025
\orth yeley yaha haydhese gate maydoy zawa yoodine beewayte be cuboke be yele be kuchena,

\phonemic jelej jaha hajɗese gate majdoj zawa joodine beewajte be tʃ'uboke be jele be kutʃena,

\mb jele j jaha haj ɗ e se gate majdo j zawa joo d ine bee
\gl child NOM there die PF EP DAT place ox NOM house come PF TEM1 see

\mb wa jte be tʃ'ubo ke be jele be kutʃe na,
\gl IMP/OPT PL self sin manner self child self hand INST
\ft when the ox came where the baby died the man says 'look as her sin her child by her hand....

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_026
\orth maydo zawa anxa beese sena atto i hidosadi worgiya e kesso.
\phonemic majdo zawa antsa beese sena atto i hidosadi worgija e kesso.
\mb majdo zawa antsa bee se sena at t o i hi d o sa d
\gl ox house send self DAT there remain PF PAi 3FS say PF PAi CMP PF
\mb i worg ija e kes s o.
\gl CNV1 find PROG 3MS go out PF PAi
\ft He went to get her, by saying 'she sent an ox to home, and she remained there'

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_027
\orth worgiyaka kessi handi yele e degesso aacay yele gara kesesune.

\phonemic worgijaka kessi handi jele e degesso aatʃaj jele gara kesesune.
\mb worg ija ka kes s i han d i jele e deges s o
\gl find PROG LOC go out PF CNV1 go PF CNV1 child 3MS find PF PAi

\mb aatʃ'a j jele gara kes s e sune.
\gl ant NOM child on climb PF EP TEM5
\ft He got the body of the child when the ant climbed on it.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_028
\orth beewayte kaxa miye inxhadhi cubadhi kessi be yechonikeko

\phonemic beewajte katsa mije ints'aɗi tʃ'ubaɗi kessi be jetʃonikeko

\mb bee wa jte katsa mij e ints'a ɗ i tʃ'ubaɗ ɗ i
\gl see IMP/OPT PL food eat PERS refuse PF CNV1 make sin PF CNV1

\mb kes s i be je tʃo ni ke ko
\gl go out PF CNV1 self exist PAii INCL manner AFOC:DEC
\ft look as he refused to eat food and went out...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_029
\orth aaca miyaaka haya i utticha hidi hisisidi ye yele yaha dati taykete kayna yeekisidi yowukuna hisisidi yaha dati dhadi e yoodo.

\phonemic aatʃ'a mijaaka haja i uttitʃa hidi hisisidi je jele jaha dati tajkete kajna jeekisidi jowukuna hisisidi jaha dati ɗadi e joodo.

\mb aatʃ'a mij a aka haja i ut t i tʃa hi d i hi s i
\gl ant eat DEP LOC here 3FS sit PF EP PAii say PF CNV1 say NMZ EP
\mb sidi je jele jaha dat i ta hik ete kajna jeek i sidi jow
\gl TEM4 DEM2 child there leave CNV1 1SG sat CND later cry EP TEM4 come

\mb u k una hi s i sidi jaha dat i ɗad i e joo d o
\gl EP INT INST say PF CNV1 TEM4 there leave CNV1 away CNV1 3MS come PF PAi
\ft he leave there while saying 'you are eating an ant, later you would come while crying' said the man.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_030
\orth ha geri nuurani yessope, ha geri yesoni numba iichako iishodi akebabey ha hi keengicho maydoni shutti muuta,

\phonemic ha geri nuurani jessope, ha geri jesoni numba iitʃako iiʃodi akebabej ha hi keengitʃo majdoni ʃutti muuta,

\mb ha ger i nuu ra ni jes s o p e, ha ger
\gl DEM1 people NOM 1PL CNJ INCL exist PF PAi NIMP 3MS DEM1 people

\mb i jeso ni nu mba iitʃ ako iiʃ o d i akebabe j ha hi
\gl NOM life INCL 1PL ABS win CND win PAi PF CNV1 villager NOM DEM1 2PL

\mb keen g i tʃo majdo ni ʃut t i muu t a,
\gl have IPF EP PAii ox INCL slughter PF CNV1 eat PF CNV2
\ft we could not live with these people, their living style is not much, the villagers say, slaughter your ox....

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_031
\orth dhadi gatiyapa dendi baatawaytedi akebabey hido.

\phonemic ɗadi gatijapa dendi baatawajtedi akebabej hido.

\mb ɗadi gat ija pa dend i baat a wa jte d i
\gl away land LOC ABL stand CNV1 disappear CNV2 IMP/OPT PL PF CNV1
\mb akebabe j hi d o.
\gl villager NOM say PF PAi
\ft migrate from the home land said the villager's.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_032
\orth ye be keengicho maydo shutti acho dali yaha gadi esapa acho kassi,
\phonemic je be keengitʃo majdo ʃutti atʃo dalli jaha gadi esapa atʃo kassi,
\mb je be keen g i tʃo majdo ʃut t i atʃo dal
\gl DEM2 self have IPF EP PAii ox slaughter PF CNV1 meat put together
\ft They slaughter the only ox, put the meat together and cooked from it...
\mb l i jaha gad i es apa atʃo kas s i,
\gl PF CNV1 there put CNV1 3MS ABL meat cook PF CNV1

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_033
\orth be kassosuse e geede bidzi basuko ni botodi machi hido abna ni botodi adey hidine,
\phonemic be kassosuse e geede bidzi basuko ni botodi matʃi hido abna ni botodi adej hidine,
\mb be kas s o s u se e geede bidz i basu ko ni
\gl self cook PF PAi NMZ EP DAT 3MS after one NOM thing AFOC:DEC 1PL
\mb boto d i matʃ i hi d o abna ni boto d i ade j
\gl forget PF CNV1 wife NOM say PF PAi what INCL forget PF CNV1 man NOM
\mb hi d ine,
\gl say PF TEM1
\ft after cooking, we forget one thing said the woman, what said the man...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_034
\orth xhinqako gaggo piqesa hani gede maydo acho muudi abanani gaggo nu piqe hidi machi hido.
\phonemic ts'ink'ako gaggo pik'esa hani gede majdo atʃo muudi abanani gaggo nu pik'e hidi matʃi hido.
\mb ts'ink'a ko gaggo pik'e s a hani gede majdo atʃo muu d i
\gl grass AFOC:FOC teeth pick NMZ ACC this much ox meat eat PF CNV1
\mb aba na ni gaggo nu pik'e hi d i matʃ i hi d o.
\gl what INST INCL teeth 1PL pick say PF CNV1 wife NOM say PF PAi
\ft 'how we pick our teeth since we eat this much ox meat' said the woman

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_035
\orth adey xhinqa buuce gondare etto machi xhinqa iddara suke etto,
\phonemic adej ts'ink'a buutʃ'e gondare etto matʃi ts'ink'a iddara suke etto,
\mb ade j ts'ink'a buutʃ'e gondare et t o matʃ i ts'ink'a idd
\gl man NOM grass collect sickle take PF PAi wife NOM grass carry
\mb ara suke et t o,
\gl CNJ rope take PF PAi

\ft The man took a sickle in order to collect grass and the woman took a rope in order to carry.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_036
\orth shanka hamiyaka u yesune haydzi nagaadey harre raradhi yoosusune, haydzi nagaade u degesso.

\phonemic ʃanka hamijaka u jesune hajdzi nagaadej harre raraɗi joosusune, hajdzi nagaade u degesso.

\mb ʃanka ham ija ka u je sune hajdz i nagaade j
\gl low land area go PROG manner 3PL exist TEM5 three NOM trader NOM

\mb harre raraɗ i joo s u sune, hajdz i nagaade u deges s o
\gl donkey loaded CNV1 come PF EP TEM65 three NOM trader 3PL meet PF PAi
\ft while they are going to the low land area, they met three traders who are coming with loaded donkey.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_037
\orth nuuso gelopita nuni nu keengicho maydo bidziko shutti,

\phonemic nuuso gelopita nuni nu keengitʃo majdo bidziko ʃutti,

\mb nuu so gelo p ita nu ni nu keen g i tʃo majdo bidz i
\gl 1PL ABS enter NIPM PL 1PL INCL 1PL have IPF EP PAii ox one NOM

\mb ko ʃut t i,
\gl AFOC:DEC slaughter PF CNV1
\ft don't enter in our home, we have slaughtred our only ox and..

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_038
\orth dhadi muudi gatiyapa denduwaytedi gatey numa ululi hinne

\phonemic ɗadi muudi gatijapa denduwajtedi gatej numa ululi hinne

\mb ɗad i muu d i gat ija pa dend u wa jte d i
\gl away CNV1 eat PF CNV1 land LOC ABL leave PERS IMP/OPT PL PF CNV1
\mb gate j nu ma ulul i hi nne
\gl land NOM 1PL FOC isolate NOM say TEM1
\ft the villagers isolated us and said go away from the land...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_039
\orth nu keengicho nu bidzi maydo shutti hay acho yaha dalli gad xhinqase shanka hamiyaka nu yese hidi u hido.

\phonemic nu keengitʃo nu bidzi majdo ʃutti haj atʃo jaha dalli gad ts'ink'ase ʃanka hamijaka nu jese hidi u hido.

\mb nu keen g i tʃo nu bidz i majdo ʃut t i ha j
\gl 1PL have IPF EP PAii 1PL one NOM ox slaughter PF CNV1 DEM1 NOM

\mb atʃo jaha dal l i gad ts'ink'a se ʃanka ham
\gl meat there put together PF CNV1 put grass DAT low land area go

\mb ija ka nu jes e hi d i u hi d o.
\gl PROG manner 1PL exist PERS say PF CNV1 3PL say PF PAi
\ft we slaughter our only ox and we are going to collect the grass for teeth pick.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_040
\orth amu goojhuwa nu goojhe hinxo nu gelesi nuuse nuni gadhesako nadaade hange hinxoy ayana maaqicha hidi u oyco.

\phonemic amu gooʒuwa nu gooʒe hintso nu gelesi nuuse nuni gaɗesako nadaade hange hintsoj ajana maak'itʃa hidi u ojtʃ'o.
\mb amu gooʒ u wa nu gooʒe hintso nu gele s i
\gl why abnormal PERS IMP/OPT 1PL abnormal your house 1PL entere PF NOM

\mb nuu se nu ni gaɗesa ko nagaade han g e
\gl 1PL DAT 1PL INCL market AFOC:DEC buy and sell go IPF PERS

\mb hintso j aja na maak' i tʃa hi d i u ojtʃ' o
\gl your house NOM where INST become EP PST say PF CNV1 3PL ask PF
\ft we are not abnormal, we are going to buy and sell in the market, 'where is your home land' said the traders.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_041
\orth beeso milkitena u oto geli nagaadey ye kaxhecha acho maxhi muudi,

\phonemic beeso milkitena u oto geli nagaadej je kats'etʃa atʃo mats'i muudi,
\mb bee so "milkite" na u ot o gel i nagaade j je
\gl self ABS sign INST 3PL tell PAi enter CNV1 trader NOM DEM2

\mb kats' e tʃa atʃo mats' i muu d i,
\gl food EP PAii meat all NOM eat PF CNV1
\ft they told their house by sign, then these trader eat all the meat

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_042
\orth be muudosuse e geede ye acho atechashe maxi caandi etti dhadi nagadey kesso.

\phonemic be muudosuse e geede je atʃo atetʃaʃe mats'i tʃ'aandi etti ɗadi nagadej kesso.

\mb be muu d o s u se e geede je atʃo at e tʃa ʃe
\gl self eat PF PAi PURP EP DAT 3MS after DEM2 meat remain EP PAii DAT

\mb mats' i tʃ'aan d i et t i ɗad i nagade j kes s o
\gl all NOM load PF CNV1 take PF CNV1 away CNV1 trader NOM go out PF PAi
\ft after having the meat they carried the remained.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_043
\orth be xhinqa oodi karaaka u ollo gasa dodhi zawa u gello,

\phonemic be ts'ink'a oodi karaaka u ollo gasa doɗi zawa u gello,
\mb be ts'ink'a oo d i kara aka u ol l o
\gl self grass bring PF CNV1 out the door LOC 3PL drop PF PAi

\mb gasa doɗ i zawa u gel l o,
\gl door open CNV1 home 3PL enter PF PAi

\ft They brought thier grass, open the door and entered

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_044
\orth gasa dodhi zawa u gelline wuxhuxhewoy uddi wuv hidi
\phonemic gasa doɗi zawa u gelline wuts'uts'ewoj uddi wuv hidi,
\mb gasa doɗ i zawa u gell ine wuts'uts'e wo j uddi wuv hi d i
\gl door open CNV1 home 3PL enter TEM1 fly only NOM all ww say PF CNV1
\ft when they open the door only the fly is crowded the room.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_045
\orth ye otaka yecha iqaka uddina wuxhuxhewoy yese
\phonemic je otaka jetʃa ik'aka uddina wuts'uts'ewoj jese
\mb je ota ka je tʃa ik'a ka uddi na wuts'uts'e wo j jes e
\gl DEM2 pot LOC exist PAi thing LOC all INCL fly only NOM exist PERS
\ft there was flies in the pot.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_046
\orth ade ade maxhiko hay e muudodi machi hidi
\phonemic ade ade mats'iko haj e muudodi matsi hidi
\mb ade ade mats' i ko ha j e muu d o d i
\gl man man all EP AFOC:DEC DEM1 NOM 3MS eat PF PAi PF CNV1
\mb matsi hi d i
\gl all say PF CNV1
\ft you you it has eaten all said he woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_047
\orth hatte waani taye hidi miliqaqay hido?
\phonemic hatte waani taje hidi milik'ak'aj hido?
\mb hatte waa ni ta je hi d i milik'ak'a j hi d o?
\gl now how INCL 1PL say say PF CNV1 milkaka NOM say PF PAi
\ft what I shall do? said Milkaka,

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_048
\orth daagna handi oowadi machi hido, shugunoy.
\phonemic daaɲa han d i oo w a hi d i matʃi hido, ʃugunoj.
\mb daaɲa han d i oo wa hi d i matʃi hi d o, ʃugunoj.
\gl referee go PF CNV1 bring IMP/OPT say PF CNV1 wife say PF PAi shuguno
\ft 'tell to the referee inorder to come' said the woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_049
\orth handi daagna etti miliqaqay yoodo,
\phonemic handi daaɲa etti milik'ak'aj joodo,

\mb han d i daaɲa et t i milik'ak'a j joo d o
\gl go PF CNV1 referee take PF CNV1 milkaka NOM come PF PAi
\ft milkaka went and brought the referee.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_050
\orth daagnay ta zeeresako tamba ta buro baada baqa tanko halaapinate ekesa maxhi wodhi alisuwayte hidi daaganay hido.

\phonemic daaɲaj ta zeeresako tamba ta buro baada bak'a tanko halaapinate ekesa matsi woɗi alisuwajte hidi daaɲaj hido.

\mb daaɲaj ta zeer e s a ko ta mba ta buro baada
\gl referee 1PL thing PERS NMZ ACC AFOC:DEC 1SG ABS 1SG front miss
\mb bak'a tan ko halaapinate ek e sa mats'i
\gl enough 1SG AFOC:DEC responsibility take PERS NMZ-ACC all
\mb woɗ i alisu wa jte hi d i daaɲa j hi d o.
\gl kill:PF CNV1 finish IMP/OPT PL say PF CNV1 referee NOM say PF PAi
\ft ' it is ambiguous to judge, kill the flies i can take the responsibility.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_051
\orth machi shuguno sumaa garssi essi ade miliqaqay beese zanzana etti ezzina

\phonemic matʃi ʃuguno sumaa garssi essi ade milik'ak'aj beese zanzana etti ezzina

\mb matʃ i ʃuguno suma a gars s i es i ade milik'ak'a j
\gl wife NOM shuguno door LOC pass CAS CNV1 3MS NOM man milkaka NOM
\mb bee se zanazana et t i ezz i na
\gl self DAT "zenezena" take PF CNV1 with EP INST
\ft he stand his wife milkaka on the door and he took "zanazana"...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_052
\orth mute kalodiko e hiyute nusso koorsona kalodi hiyutichashuna,

\phonemic mute kalodiko e hijute nusso koorsona kalodi hijutitʃaʃuna,
\mb mute kalo d i ko e hi j ut e nuu so koorso na
\gl short stick PF EP AFOC:DEC 3MS say EP PAS PERS 1PL ABS koorso INST
\mb kalo d i hi j ut i tʃa ʃu na,
\gl stick PF CNV1 say EP PAS EP PAii DAT INST
\ft we call it mute "short stick" in koorso with it...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_053
\orth bukiyaka ye wuxhuxhe maxhi wodhiyaka e yesusune ayzo wodhiyako ne yese wodhiyako ne yesedi machi hisusune

\phonemic bukijaka je wuts'uts'e mats'i woɗijaka e jesusune ajzo woɗijako ne jese woɗijako ne jesedi matʃi hisusune

\mb buk ija ka je wuts'uts'e mats'i woɗ ija ka e jes u sune
\gl hit PROG LOC DEM2 fly all kill PROG LOC 3MS exist EP TEM5

\mb ajzo woɗ ija ko ne jes e woɗ ija ko ne jes
\gl bravo kill PROG AFOC:DEC 2SG exist PERS kill PROG AFOC:DEC 2SG exist

\mb e d i matʃi hi su sune
\gl PERS PF CNV1 wife NOM say PAS TEM5
\ft while he was killing the flies and his wife is wondering by saying 'bravo you are killing'...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_054
\orth machi punuwaaka yoodi bidzi wuxhuxhey utto.

\phonemic matʃi punuwaaka joodi bidzi wuts'uts'ej utto.

\mb matʃi punu w aka joo d i bidz i wuts'uts'e j ut t o.
\gl wife NOM mouth EP LOC cme PF CNV1 one NOM fly NOM sit PF PAi
\ft a fly has come and sit on the mouth of the woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_055
\orth ade ade (whistle) ade ade hisi woke be siidhe gara beysi i wuydho.

\phonemic ade ade (whistle) ade ade hisi woke be siiɗe gara bejsi i wujɗo.

\mb ade ade (whistle) ade ade hi s i woke be siiɗe gara be j
\gl man man whistle man man say PAS 3FS up self nose on see NOM

\mb s i i wujɗ o.
\gl PAS CNV1 3FS whistle PAi
\ft while she is showing toward her nose, she whistled.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_056
\orth ye indo siidhiyaka ye ade miliqaqay kalona oxho ye indoy yaha haydho,

\phonemic je indo siiɗijaka je ade milik'ak'aj kalona ots'o je indoj jaha hajɗo,

\mb je indo siiɗi j aka je ade milik'ak'a j kalo na ots'o
\gl DEM2 woman nose EP LOC DEM2 man milkaka NOM stick INST hit

\mb je indo j jaha haj ɗ o,
\gl DEM2 woman NOM there kill PF PAi
\ft when milikaka kicked on the nose of the woman she died.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_057
\orth baqa adey dhadi woxhi be kessosuse

\phonemic bak'a adej ɗadi wots'i be kessosuse

\mb bak'a ade j ɗa d i wots' i be kes s o s u se
\gl then man NOM leave PF CNV1 run CNV1 self go out PF PAi PAS EP DAT
\ft then the man run away...

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_058
\orth adey hando ogeni erutuwaase machi yaha yechoyne akebabey gooshi moodo.

\phonemic adej hando ogeni erutuwaase matʃi jaha jetʃojne akebabej gooʃi moodo.

\mb ade j han d o oge ni er ut u wa se matʃ i jaha
\gl man NOM go PF PAi road INCL know PAS EP NEG DAT wife NOM there
\mb je tʃo jne akebabe j gooʃ i moo d o.
\gl exist PAii TEM1 village NOM pull NOM put under the ground PF PAi
\ft the villagers put the body of the woman.

\ref KLD_NARR_MILKAKA AND SHUGUNO_007_059
\orth hidese gerituko muyay miliqaqa sungesaara shuguno sungesaray adiyara machiyaray olo u yecha.
\phonemic hidese gerituko mujaj milik'ak'a sungesaara ʃuguno sungesaraj adijara matʃijaraj olo u jetʃa.
\mb hide se ger i tu ko muja j milik'ak'a sunge s
\gl like DAT people NOM PL AFOC:DEC ignorant NOM milkaka name NMZ
\mb ara ʃuguno sun g e s ara j adi j ara matʃi j ara
\gl CNJ shuguno name IPF PERS NMZ CNJ NOM man NOM CNJ wife NOM CNJ
\mb j olo u je tʃa.
\gl NOM ancient 3PL exist PAii
\ft there was such an ignotant people once, who called milikaka and shuguno.