

DOCUMENTATION AND GRAMMATICAL DESCRIPTION OF KOLE



BY

SAMUEL GONDERIE DASHIRO

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to College of Humanities, Language Studies, Journalism and
Communication, Department of Linguistics, Addis Ababa University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

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Declaration

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

Name Samuel Gondemir DASHIRO

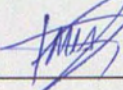
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Confirmation

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This is to certify that the dissertation written by Samuel Gonderie Dashiro, entitled *Documentation and Grammatical Description of Kole* and submitted to the Department of Linguistics in partial fulfillment for the degree of doctor of philosophy in Documentary Linguistics and Culture complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	i
LIST OF TABLES, FIGURES AND CHARTS.....	xii
ABBREVIATIONS.....	xviii
MAP	xx
ABSTRACT	xxi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1. Background	1
1.1. The Kole People	2
1.2. The Language.....	2
1.2.1. Lexical Variation.....	4
1.2.2. Morphological Properties.....	4
1.2.2.1. Number Marking in Nouns.....	5
1.2.2.2. Definiteness Marking.....	8
1.2.2.3. The Nominative Case Marking.....	10
1.2.2.4. Forms of the Third Person Singular Pronouns.....	11
1.2.2.5. The Imperative Verb Form.....	12
1.2.2.6. The Focal Verb Paradigm.....	13
1.3. The Culture	16
1.4. The Religion.....	17
1.5. The Sociolinguistic Situation.....	17
1.6. The State of Endangerment and the Language Use Situation of Kole.....	18
1.7. Objective and Significance of the Study.....	21
1.8. Previous Works on Kole and East Ometo Language Clusters.....	22
1.9. Theoretical and Methodological Preliminaries.....	24
1.10. Fieldwork and Data.....	28
1.11. Organization of the Study.....	28
CHAPTER 2: THE PHONOLOGY OF KOLE.....	30
2.1. The Consonants.....	30

2.1.1. Description of Consonant Sounds.....	30
2.1.2. The Consonant Phonemes.....	37
2.1.3. Allophonic variants of the consonant phonemes.....	41
2.2. The Vowels.....	42
2.2.1. Phonetic Description of Vowels.....	42
2.2.2. The Vowel Phonemes.....	45
2.2.3. Allophonic Variants of Vowels.....	47
2.2.4. Diphthong.....	48
2.3. Suprasegmental Features.....	49
2.3.1. Consonant Gemination.....	49
2.3.2. Vowel Length.....	50
2.3.3. Tone Accent.....	50
2.4. Phonotactics of Kole.....	53
2.5. The Syllable Structure.....	56
2.6. Phonological Processes.....	58
2.6.1. Fricativization and Allophonic Variants	58
2.6.2. Nasalization.....	60
2.6.3. Homorganic Nasal Assimilation.....	61
2.6.4. Epenthesis.....	62
2.6.5. Metathesis.....	63
2.7. Morphophonological Processes.....	64
2.7.1. Deletion of Segments	64
2.7.2. The deletion of glottalized segments /s'/ and suffixation of the element -tsts.....	65
3. Noun Morphology.....	67
3.1. Noun and Terminal Vowels.....	67
3.1.1. Predictability of Terminal Vowels.....	70
3.1.2. Stability of Terminal Vowels.....	70
3.2. Inflection of the Noun in Kole.....	71
3.2.1. Number.....	71
3.2.2. Gender	75

3.2.2.1. Gender expressed by using special lexical items.....	75
3.2.2.2. Gender expressed by using modifiers.....	75
3.2.2.3. Gender marked morphologically.....	76
3.2.3. Definiteness.....	76
3.2.4. Case.....	77
3.2.4.1. Core Cases	79
3.2.4.1.1. Nominative Case.....	79
3.2.4.1.2. Absolutive Case.....	81
3.2.4.1.3. Genitive Case.....	84
3.2.4.2. Peripheral Cases.....	85
3.2.4.2.1. Dative Case.....	85
3.2.4.2.2. Instrumental Case.....	86
3.2.4.2.3. Comitative Case.....	86
3.2.4.2.4. Ablative Case.....	87
3.2.4.2.5. Vocative Case.....	87
3.2.4.2.6. Locative Case.....	89
3.2.4.2.7. Allative or Directive Case.....	90
3.3. Derivation of Nouns.....	90
3.3.1. Nouns Derived from Nouns.....	91
3.3.2. Nouns Derived from Adjectives.....	91
3.3.3. Deverbal Nominalization.....	92
3.3.3.1. Agentive Nouns.....	92
3.3.3.2. Action nouns.....	93
3.3.3.2.1. Class-one action nouns.....	93
3.3.3.2.2. Class-two action nouns.....	94
3.3.3.3. Result nouns.....	96
3.3.3.4. Process Nouns.....	97
3.3.3.5. Nouns derived from extended verb stem.....	98
3.3.3.5.1. Nouns derived from passive verb stems.....	98
3.3.3.5.2. Nouns formed from causative verb stems.....	98

3.3.4. Compounding.....	98
CHAPTER 4: Pronouns.....	101
4.1. Short vs. long forms.....	101
4.2. The pronoun categories.....	103
4.2.1. The absolute and nominative pronouns.....	103
4.2.2. The dative Pronouns.....	104
4.2.3. The Ablative Pronouns.....	105
4.2.4. The Genitive Pronouns.....	106
4.2.4.1. Attributive Genitive Pronouns.....	106
4.2.4.2. Headless Genitive Pronouns.....	108
4.2.4.2.1. Genitive Pronouns, Referring to Feminine Possessed Subject.....	108
4.2.4.2.2. Genitive pronouns referring to a masculine possessed entity.....	109
4.2.5. Restrictive Pronouns.....	113
4.2.6. The Reflexive Pronouns.....	114
4.2.7. The Vocative Pronouns.....	118
CHAPTER 5: The Verb Morphology.....	119
5.1. The Verb Root.....	119
5.2. Inflections of the Verb.....	122
5.2.1. The Infinitive.....	122
5.2.2. Person.....	124
5.2.3. Aspect.....	130
5.2.4. Mood, Modality and Polarity.....	133
5.2.4.1. Types of Moods.....	134
5.2.4.1.1. The Indicative mood.....	134
5.2.4.1.1.1. The Declarative	134
5.2.4.1.1.2. The Interrogative.....	136
5.2.4.1.2. The Directive Mood.....	139
5.2.4.1.2.1. The Imperative.....	140
5.2.4.1.2.2. The Optative.....	141
5.2.4.1.2.3. The Pseudo-optative.....	142

5.2.4.1.2.4. The Prohibitive.....	143
5.2.4.1.2.5. The Exhortative.....	144
5.2.4.1.2.6. The Admonitive.....	145
5.2.4.2. Types of Modalities.....	146
5.2.4.2.1. The Epistemic modality.....	146
5.2.4.2.1.1. The Certainty.....	146
5.2.4.2.1.2. The Possibility.....	147
5.2.4.2.1.3. The Conditional (Potential).....	148
5.2.4.2.1.4. The Probability.....	149
5.2.4.2.2. Deontic modalities.....	149
5.3. Derivation of the Verb.....	152
5.3.1. Verb Root Final segment Deletion.....	152
5.3.2. Verb Stem Formation.....	153
5.3.3. Causativization.....	153
5.3.3.1. Causativization of Intransitive Verbs.....	153
5.3.3.2. Causativization of Transitive Verbs.....	159
5.3.4. The Passive.....	163
5.3.5. The Inchoative Verb Stem.....	165
5.3.6. The Intensive (Frequentative) Verb Stem.....	166
5.3.7. The Reciprocal.....	167
CHAPTER 6: Nominal and Verbal Modifiers.....	170
6.1. Adjectives	170
6.2. Deixis.....	176
6.2.1. Spatial Deixis.....	176
6.2.1.1. Modifying Demonstratives.....	177
6.2.1.1.1. The Proximal Demonstrative há	177
6.2.1.1.2. The Distal Demonstrative hé	178
6.2.1.1.3. The Distal Demonstrative sé	179
6.2.1.1.4. The Distal Demonstrative jé (downward).....	179
6.2.1.1.5. The Distal Demonstrative wó (upward).....	180

6.2.1.2. Nominal Demonstratives.....	180
6.2.1.2.1. Nominal Demonstratives Referring to Person/Objects near the Speaker.....	181
6.2.1.2.2. Nominal demonstratives referring objects away from the speaker.....	183
6.2.1.2.3. Nominal demonstratives referring to object far away from both the speaker and addressee horizontally.....	185
6.2.1.2.4. Nominal demonstratives referring to persons/objects far away from both the speaker and addressee downward over there.....	186
6.2.1.2.5. Nominal demonstratives referring to person/objects far away from both the speaker and addressee upward over there.....	188
6.2.2. Locative Deixis.....	189
6.2.3. Manner Deixis.....	191
6.2.4. Direction Deixis.....	193
6.2.5. Anaphoric Deixis.....	193
6.2.6. Recognitional Deixis.....	194
6.2.7. Temporal Deixis.....	194
6.3. Numerals.....	196
6.3.1. Cardinals.....	197
6.3.2. Ordinals.....	198
6.4. Adverbial Expression.....	200
CHAPTER 7: Sentence Types.....	202
7.1. The Declarative.....	203
7.1.1. The Verbal Declarative Sentence.....	203
7.1.2. The Non-verbal Declarative Sentence.....	203
7.2. The Interrogative.....	205
7.2.1. Interrogatives with Question-words.....	206
7.2.2. Personal Interrogatives.....	208
7.2.3. Impersonal Interrogatives.....	211
7.2.4. Pro-adverbial Interrogatives.....	212
7.2.5. Pro-numeral Interrogatives.....	213
7.2.6. Type/kind Interrogatives.....	214

7.2.7. Interrogative Pro-verbs.....	214
7.2.8. Elliptic Interrogative Phrases.....	214
7.2.9. Non-verbal Interrogations.....	217
7.3. Complex Sentences.....	218
7.3.1. Relative Clause.....	219
7.3.2. Complement Clauses.....	220
7.3.2.1. Nominalized Complement Clauses.....	220
7.3.2.2. Infinitival Complement Clauses.....	221
7.3.3. Adverbial Clauses.....	222
7.3.3.1. Conditional Clauses.....	222
7.3.3.2. Concessive Conditional Clauses.....	224
7.3.3.3. Temporal Clauses.....	225
7.3.3.4. Purposive Clause.....	227
7.3.3.5. Preventive Clauses.....	228
7.3.3.6. Reason Clauses.....	229
7.3.4. Quotative Clauses.....	230
7.3.5. Converb.....	230
7.3.6. Switch Reference.....	234
7.3.7. Coordination.....	235
CHAPTER 8: Negation.....	237
8.1. Negation of declarative sentences.....	237
8.2. Existential negation.....	240
8.3. Negation of being/becoming.....	241
8.4. Negation and Aspect.....	243
8.5. Negation and Mood.....	244
8.6. Negative Interrogative.....	244
8.7. The Inherently Negative Verbs.....	245
8.8. Special Negative Forms (insert at the end of Negation).....	247
8.9. Negation in Subordinate Clauses.....	249
8.10. Interrogative Pronouns as Expression of Negation.....	250

8.11. The expression except.....	252
8.12. Complete denial.....	252
CHAPTER 9: Focus.....	254
9.1. The Strategy of Focus Marking in Kole Language.....	254
9.1.1. The Simple Predicate.....	256
9.1.2. The Complex Verb.....	257
9.1.3. The Nominalized Relative Clause.....	260
9.2. The Focus Domains.....	261
9.2.1. The Default Focus Structure in Kole Language.....	261
9.2.1.1. Verbs with a Subject.....	262
9.2.1.2. Focus on Adverbial Arguments.....	263
9.2.1.3. Focus on Direct Object.....	264
9.2.1.4. Focus on Complement of the Verbs 'exist', 'become/ being'.....	265
9.2.1.5. Compound Verb Focus Marking Strategy.....	266
9.2.2. Feebly changed grammatical function of Focus System.....	267
9.2.3. Focus in Discourse.....	268
9.2.4. Focus in Content Interrogatives.....	269
CHAPTER 11: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION.....	271
References.....	275
Appendices: Texts.....	280
Appendix 1: Text 1 ʔeeja ʔadenne ʔeeja biffjo 'The Fool Husband and Wife'.....	280
Appendix 1: Text 2 Petti ʔade Durenne Petti ʔade Mank'o. 'The Rich Man and the Poor Man'.....	295
Appendix 1: Text 3 Kucha Kati Taarike 'The Story of Kucha's King'.....	316
Appendix 1: Text 4 ʔogade ʔootstso 'The Issue of Foreign Affairs inKole'.....	347
Appendix 1: Text 5 Gamo Kawo Dentsa Taarike 'The llegend of Gamo Kings'.....	366
Appendix II : Sample Dictionary.....	389
Appendix III : The Basic Word Lists of Kole.....	419

Appendix IV : Mitsi k'ommeḏe 'Types of Trees'	431
Appendix V : ʔuttsu k'ommeḏe 'Types of False banana'	432
Appendix V : k'uma k'ommeḏe 'Types of Food'	433

LIST OF FIGURES, CHARTS, AND TABLES,

CONTENTS	Page
FIGURES AND CHARTS.....	xii
Figure 1. The Map That Shows Where Kole Speakers Are Found.....	xix
Figure 2: Zayse-Zergulla and South Gamo language areas, adapted from Jordan, 2009.....	xx
Figure 3: The Omotic languages tree based on Fleming, 1976a.....	15
Figure 4: Syllable Structure.....	58
Chart I: the Consonant Phonemes	37
Chart II: Vowel Phonemes	45
Chart III: Word Medial Consonant Sequences.....	55
Table 1: Third persons.....	12
Table 2: Imperative forms.....	13
Table 3: Short and Long Pronoun Forms.....	102
Table 4: Masculine possessed genitive pronoun 1.....	110
Table 5: Feminine possessed genitive pronoun 1.....	111
Table 6: Genitive pronoun 2.....	111
Table 7: Genitive pronoun 3.....	112
Table 8: Genitive pronoun 4.....	112
Table 9 : Subject agreement markers and subject personal pronouns.....	125
Table 10: The summary of mood, modality and polarity.....	151
Table 11: Inventory of demonstrative nominals referring to persons/ things near to the speaker.....	181
Table 12: Inventory of nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker.....	183
Table 13: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee horizontally.....	185
Table 14: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee downward over there.....	186
Table 15: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee upward over there.....	188
Table 16: Cardinals one to ten.....	197
Table 17: Ordinals in Kole language.....	198

Table 18: Cardinals from 11-19.....	199
Table 19: Cardinals from 20-90 in tens.....	199
Table 20: Cardinals from 21-99 in tens.....	200

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

ABL	ablative
ABS	absolutive
ABST	abstract
ADJ	adjective
ADM	admonitive
ADV	adverb
AFF	affirmative
AFF:DCL	affirmative declarative
AGR	agreement
ALL	allative
AUG	augmentative
C	consonant
CAUS	causative
CER	certainty
CMZ	complementizer
CND	conditional
CNV	converb
COM	comitative
COMPL	completive
CONJ	conjunction
CONV	converb
DAT	dative
DCL	declarative
DF	definite
DIM	diminutive
DIR	directive
ELP	ellipsis
EMPH	emphatic
EXH	exhortative

F	female (feminine)
FUT	future
FREQ	frequentive
Gm	Gamo
GEN	genitive
GEN:NMZ	genitive nominalizer
IDEO	ideophone
IDF	indefinite
KI	Kole
IMP	imperative
INC	inceptive
INCH	inchoative
INCL	inclusive
INF	infinitive
INFO	information
INST	instrumental
INTEN	intensive
INTJ	interjection
INTR	interrogative
IPF	imperfective aspect
IPF:NEG	imperfective negative
IPF:REL	imperfective relative clause
JUSS	jussive
LOC	locative
M	male (masculine)
MANN	manner
N	noun
NEG	negative
NP	noun phrase
N:SUFF	noun suffix

NEG:DCL	negative declarative
NMZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
OPT	optative
ORD	ordinal numeral
PASS	passive
Per	person
PERM	permissive
PERM:Q	permissive question
PF	perfective aspect
PF:NEG	perfective negative
PF:REL	perfective relative clause
PL	plural
POS	possibility
POSS	possessive pronoun (possessed)
PP	postpositional phrase
PRO	pronoun
PROG	progressive
PROS	prospective
PROB	probability
PRH	prohibitive
PRVN	preventive
PURP	purposive
Q	question
QUT	quotative
RCPC	reciprocal
RDP	reduplication
REAS	reason clause
RECP	reciprocal
REL	relative

REF	reflexive
RES	restrictive
RHT:Q	rhetorical question
S	sentence
SG	singular
S:MODF	sentential modifier
SOV	subject-object-verb
SR	switch reference
SUFF	suffix
TEMP	temporal
TN	ta/ne family
TV	terminal vowel
V	verb, vowel
VP	verb phrase
V:SUFF	verb suffix
VER	veridical
VOC	vocative
VOC:F	vocative female
VOC:M	vocative male
1PL	first plural
1SG	first singular
2PL	second plural
2SG	second singular
3FS	third female singular
3MS	third male singular
3PL	third plural
ˈ	high tone (high pitch accent)
-	morpheme boundary
#	word boundary
*	ungrammatical form, ill-formed element

/ /	encloses a phoneme
[]	encloses an allophone
{ }	encloses a morpheme
~	shows alternative reading
:	more than one morpheme are involved, morpheme boundary
→	becomes

Maps

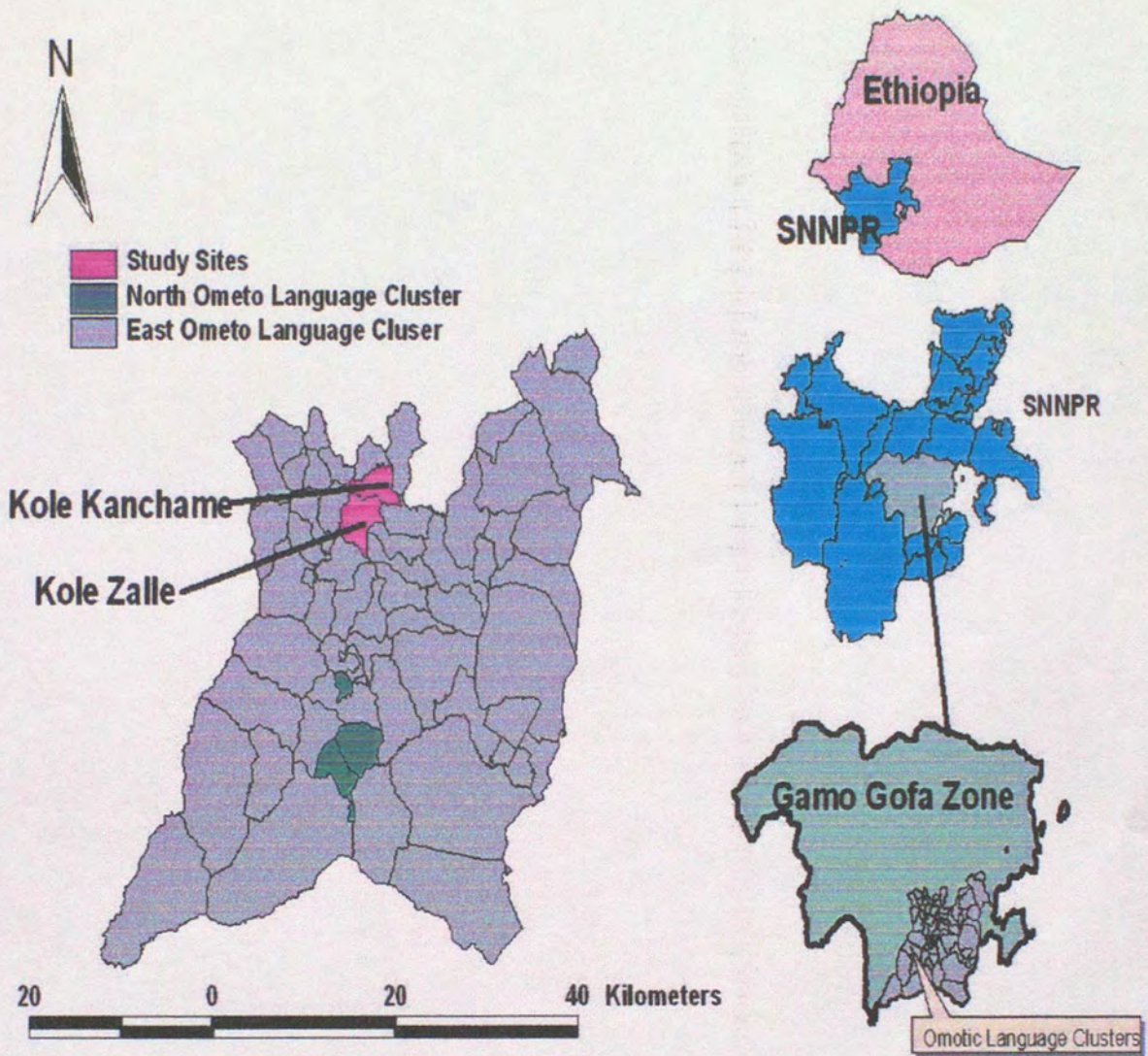


Figure 1. The Map That Shows Where Kole Speakers Are Found



Figure 2: Zayse-Zergulla and South Gamo language areas, adapted from Jordan, 2009

ABSTRACT

The present study deals with Kole language and its purpose is two-fold. The first one is providing a detailed description of the Kole language, while the second one is documenting the language. The documentation is used as the base for the grammatical description of Kole.

Kole is an endangered Omotic language spoken in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples Regional State in southern Ethiopia. The methods used to collect the data include group discussion, elicitation, audio and video recordings. The study tried to document different genres of traditional folks and to make the grammatical description of Kole by focusing on the language's own features.

Kole has twenty seven phonemes and five vowels with their long counterparts. Consonant gemination and vowel lengthening are phonemic in the language. The syllable structure of Kole can be captured by the following general formula: $C_1V(V)(C_{0-2})$, where C_{0-2} shows the range of coda. In addition to this, Kole is a tone-accent language in which high tone occurs only once per-simple word.

Kole is an interesting language from morphological perspectives. The overwhelming majority of simple nouns in Kole language are disyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns are not attested. Most polysyllabic nouns that are nouns with three or more syllables are attested to be polymorphemic as well. All nominals (nouns, adjectives and numerals) show terminal (root-final) vowels in their citation form. Besides, the Kole language shows an intricate system of focus marking that affects the morpho-syntactic properties and categorization of a verb. Following the focus marker, other grammatical inflections like person, tense, aspect and mood are suffixed to a verb. The language distinguishes between the singular and plural number values. While verbs involve one of the mood markers, pronouns and demonstratives necessarily take case suffixes in order to occur as phonological words. Pronouns and demonstratives can also occur as proclitics to other words. An elaborated system of mood and modality is also observed in Kole language.

Regarding syntax, the most frequent word order in Kole language is **SOV**. The word order is not quite rigid. As has been observed from wide variety of **SOV** languages, Subject-Object inversion and other phenomena frequently lead to the separation of verb from the object noun phrase, which leads inevitably to the question of whether a verb phrase exists in Kole language or whether it is a non-configurational language with the rule $S \rightarrow NP V$. A postpositional phrase in this language is a phrase that contains a postpositional element preceded by a noun phrase or another postpositional phrase complement. Unlike other phrases, the head postposition cannot stand alone as a postpositional phrase; it rather needs an obligatory complement. In Kole, four formal/structural/ categories or sentence types are distinguished: these are declarative, interrogative, imperative and optative sentence types. In the description of complex sentence types such as relative clause, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, quotative clauses, converb, switch reference and co-ordinations are identified with their illustrative examples.

The second part of the study deals with the documentation of Kole language. Audio and video data of the language have been documented. The documentation includes tales, legend, interviews and language game. Annotation, transcription, gloss and translation have been done on ELAN software.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

This work is the first-ever attempt to provide a grammatical description of Kole language, a previously unstudied and endangered language spoken in the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State in the Gamo Gofa Zone of the Bonke woreda in Ethiopia. The grammar is based on twenty four months of field work (2012-2014) in the Gamo Gofa zone of the Bonke woreda, in Kole Kebele, and includes eleven major chapters with their subsections devoted to describing the grammatical system of the language. The eleven major chapters comprise the introduction, the phonology, the noun morphology, the pronouns, the verb morphology, the modifiers, the sentence types, negation, focus, and a summary and conclusion of the study. Fifteen speakers of Kole language have participated in this study by providing lists of words, elicited sentences and more than two hours of natural texts. Among these texts five are annotated and described. Only those speakers who live and work within the language area and who speak Kole language as a mother tongue were consulted in an attempt to lessen the effect of language loss or contact with other languages.

In addition to this grammatical description, the Kole language research project has resulted in the compilation of a bilingual (mother tongue and English) sample dictionary by using ELAN Software during the annotation work. Both the lexicon and textual data have been utilized in the grammatical description presented here.

1. Background

This section deals with the Kole people and their language, their identity and geographic and social setting (including maps of the area), the genetic relationship of the Kole language to other East and North Omotic languages. It also offers a discussion of their identity in relation to other Gamo *deres* or societies, and the Kole culture, religion, and the researcher's observation of the sociolinguistic situation.

1.1. The People

The Kole people live in Bonke Wereda (district) of the Gamo Gofa Zone. The Gamo Gofa Zone is located within the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State in the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia.

According to the information given by the Bonke Woreda administrative office, the population of Kole comprises approximately 10,729. The residents are settled in the highland zone, ranging in altitude from 3200 to 3280 meters above sea level. There are three villages in the Kole Kebele; namely, Kanchame, Zalle and Doolla. In these villages, there are about 33 major clans registered. Among these some are recorded in text five, text number 18-20 (See appendix). The Kole people share their boundaries with the Balta and K'albo people in the West, the Laakka Bolla people in the North, the Laakka Godda and Garbansa people in the East, and the Zaalla people in the South. Although their language is different, the Kole people claim that their ethnic identity is Gamo. The people use the self-name **Kole** or **Kole Gamo** to refer to themselves or to their identity, and **Koletstso** or **Kole Biide** 'Kole language' to refer to their language.

1.2. The Language

The largest language family in Ethiopia is Omotic language family. More than half of the Ethiopian languages are classified under it. According to Fleming (1976b) and Bender (1975) the Omotic family contains about forty languages. The languages are grouped into two major branches; namely, the Eastern and the Western branches.

The Eastern branch owns fewer languages than the Western. Languages Banna, Hamer, Karo, Ari, and Dime are grouped under the Western branch.

The Western branch, on the other hand, includes various groups: the Maji languages group (Maji, Sheko, Nao), the Kefa languages group (Kefa-Mocha, South Mao, Shinasha), and the Gimojan languages group (Gimira, Janjero, Ometo). Ometo, a linguistic group under the

Gimojan branch, contains a group of related languages and dialects. It is the most diversified group of all the Omotic family. It also consists of more than 20 languages and dialects.

Based on lexicostatistical classification of Fleming (1976: 300), the Ometo cluster is further divided into four subgroups, namely North Ometo, which comprises Wolaitta, Gamo, Gofa, Dawuro (Kullo), Zala, Dache, Dorze, Oyda and others; South Ometo, which comprises only one language: Maale; East Ometo, which comprises Zayse, Zergulla, Koyra (Korette), Geditcho(Haro), Gatsame (Kachama) and Ganjule; and West Ometo, which comprises Chara, Doko-Dollo, and Basketo.

One problem identified with the internal classification of East Ometo languages is that it did not comprise some other East Ometo languages except Zayse, Zergulla, Haro and Koorete. According to Wondimu (2006: 19), South Gamo language which is known as East Ometo group consists of about thirteen speech varieties. These speech varieties are: Shaaratstso, Beelletstso, Gantatstso, Zegetstsetstso, Garbansatstso, Laakkatstso, Koletstso, Baltatstso, Zaallatstso, Zametstso, Bari'etstso, Dheshikeletstso, and Meletstso. The languages such as Koorete, Zayse, Zergulla, Haro and Ganjule are known and studied in comparison with the others. Selamawit (2004), Hirut (2005) and Wondimu (2006: 21) all are supported Ganta as an East Ometo language than North Ometo.

This study proposes similar consideration to the unclassified language Kole. Kole is closely related to East Ometo languages and it can be classified under East Omoto group. To that end, lexical and certain morphological features and language contact situation in Kole are compared and contrasted with their equivalents in the East and North Ometo languages. Concerning these features the comparative notes are given below to show the close relationships and varieties of East Ometo and North Ometo groups.

1.2.1. Lexical Variation

It is true that some lexical comparisons also show Kole is closer to East Ometo than other North Ometo languages such as Gamo. The following words are selected to illustrate the similarity and the differences that Kole has with the East Ometo and North Ometo languages.

	Kole	Ganta	Haro	Gamo	Gloss
1.	gawára	juuro	juuro	gawára	'cat'
	gaammó	garmá	gaarmá	gaammó	'lion'
	zawá	zawá	zawá	keetstse	'house'
	májdo	májdo	májdo	boorá	'ox'
	ʔáde	ʔáde	ʔáde	ʔaziná	'husband'
	muk'ó	muk'ó	muk'ó	bidintse	'ash'
	ʔoolló	ʔoolló	ʔoolló	pará	'horse'
	kunké	kunké	kunké	siidé	'nose'
	godáre	tolkó	tolkó	godáre	'hyena'
	haajé	waajé	Waajé/waafé	hajitstse	'ear'
	bidé	baadé	baadé	duuná	'mouth'
	haatstse	waatstse	waasí	haatstse	'water'
	geléjfo	gálitfi	gáltfi	geléjfo	'monkey'
	doró	doró	doró	dorsé	'sheep'
	ʔawá	ʔawá	ʔawá	ʔawá	'sun'
	kiinné	ɗatté	ɗatté/kantsó	zókko	'back'

1.2.2. Morphological Properties

Under this section about four morphological properties are discussed briefly to show that Kole is linguistically different from Gamo.

1.2.2.1. Number Marking in Nouns

The East Ometo languages clearly show different system of plural marking in nouns, apart from those of the other Ometo groups. A special plural marker for kinship nouns which is absent in North Ometo group is used in the East Ometo languages. It is also absent from other sub-branches too. Besides, the regular plural marker in the East Ometo languages differs from its equivalent in North Ometo. The two peculiarities in number marking are attested consistently demarking language of the two subgroups.

Like in the other East Ometo languages, the system of plural marking in Kole language differentiates the kinship nouns from the rest. Kinship nouns use suffix **-as'i** while other nouns use suffix **-ede** as shown in examples (1) and (2) below.

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
2.	?indo	'mother'	?ind-ás'i	'mothers'
	?addó	'father'	?add-ás'i	'fathers'
	mitsó	'sister'	mitf-ás'i	'sisters'
	?itfe	'brother'	?itf-ás'i	'brothers'
	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
3.	kaná	'dog'	kan-ede	'dogs'
	kapó	'bird'	kap-ede	'birds'
	doró	'sheep'	dor-ede	'sheep'
	kuttó	'hen'	kutt-ede	'hens'

The plural marking suffixes in Kole language, **-ede** and **-as'i** are also attested in other members of the East Ometo sub-group such as Ganta, Ganjule, Haro and Zayese. Consider examples (3a-3d) and 4a-4d below.

	Language	SG	Gloss	PL	Gloss
4a.	Ganta	kaná	'dog'	kan-edé	'dogs'
	Haro	kaná	'dog'	kan-edé	'dogs'
	Gandzulle	kaná	'dog'	kan-edé	'dogs'
	Zajse	kana	'dog'	kan-ir	'dogs'
	koorete	kana	'dog'	kan-ita~aste	'dogs'
4b.	Ganta	kapó	'bird'	kap-edé	'birds'
	Haro	kapó	'bird'	kap-edé	'birds'
	Gandzulle	kapó	'bird'	kap-edé	'birds'
	Zajse	kapó	'bird'	kap-ír	'birds'
	koorete	kapó	'bird'	kap-ita~aste	'birds'
4c.	Ganta	doró	'sheep'	dor-edé	'sheep'
	Haro	doró	'sheep'	dor-edé	'sheep'
	Gandzulle	doró	'sheep'	dor-edé	'sheep'
	Zajse	doró	'sheep'	dor-ír	'sheep'
	koorete	doró	'sheep'	dor-ita~aste	'sheep'
4d.	Ganta	kuttó	'hen'	kutt-edé	'hens'
	Haro	kuttó	'hen'	kutt-edé	'hens'
	Gandzulle	kuttó	'hen'	kutt-edé	'hens'
	Zajse	kuttó	'hen'	kutt-ír	'hens'
	koorete	lukkó	'hen'	lukk-ita~aste	'hens'
	Language	SG	Gloss	PL	Gloss
5a.	Ganta	?índo	'mother'	?índ-as'i	'mothers'
	Haro	?índo	'mother'	?índ-aas'i	'mothers'
	Gandzulle	?índo	'mother'	?índ-as'ii	'mothers'
	Zajse	?índo	'mother'	?índ-as'	'mothers'
5b.	Ganta	?addó	'father'	?add-ás'i	'fathers'
	Haro	?addó	'father'	?add-ás'i	'fathers'
	Gandzulle	?addó	'father'	?add-ás'ii	'fathers'
	Zajse	?addó	'father'	?add-ás'	'fathers'

5c.	Ganta	mitsó	'sister'	mitf-ás'i	'sisters'
	Haro	mitsó	'sister'	mitf-áás'i	'sisters'
	Gandzulle	mitsó	'sister'	mitf-ás'ii	'sisters'
	Zajse	mitsó	'sister'	mitf-ás'	'sisters'
5d.	Ganta	ʔitʃe	'brother'	ʔitf-ás'i	'brothers'
	Haro	ʔitʃé	'brother'	ʔitf-áás'i	'brothers'
	Gandzulle	ʔitʃé	'brother'	ʔitf-ás'ii	'brothers'
	Zajse	ʔitʃé	'brother'	ʔitf-ás'	'brothers'

As we observe from the above data, the kinship terms show almost similar forms except some spelling differences. For instance, kinship terms are marked in Haro by **-aas'i**, in Gandzulle by **-as'ii**, in Zajse by **-as'**, in Ganta and Kole by **-as'i** for plurality. Another remarkable point is that Koorete shows similarity with the North Omoto clusters in number marking by taking the element **-ita**.

From the data seen so far, one can conclude that the system of number marking in Kole nouns appears too similar to what holds in the East Omoto languages. On the contrary, some data will be presented below to show that the plural marking system attested in Kole is dissimilar from the one found in the North Omoto languages. In the case of the latter as mentioned earlier, there is no distinction between plural marking in regular and kinship nouns. A single morphological element functions as a plural marker for all nouns irrespective of their semantic class. Furthermore, the element which is used as a plural marker in the North Omoto languages differs from its equivalent attested in Kole. While the suffix **-ede/ -ir** is used in Kole as well as other East Omoto languages, on the other side the suffix **-ta** is consistently used in the North Omoto clusters. Consider the following examples from Gamo, Wolayitta and Gofa concerning the case in North Omoto.

	Language	SG	Gloss	PL	Gloss
6a.	Gamo	kaná	'dog'	kana-tá	'dogs'
	Wolaitta	kaná	'dog'	kana-tá	'dogs'
	Gofa	kaná	'dog'	kana-tá	'dogs'
6b.	Gamo	dorsé	'sheep'	dors-tá	'sheep'
	Wolaitta	dorsáá	'sheep'	dors-tá	'sheep'
	Gofa	dorsá	'sheep'	dors-tá	'sheep'
6c.	Gamo	kapó	'bird'	kapo-tá	'birds'
	Wolaitta	kapó	'bird'	kapo-tá	'birds'
	Gofa	kapó	'bird'	kapo-tá	'birds'
6d.	Gamo	náá	'boy'	naj-tá	'boys'
	Wolaitta	naʔá	'boy'	naʔa-tá	'boys'
	Gofa	naʔá	'boy'	naʔa-tá	'boys'

The system of plural marking in Kole language looks very much like that of the East Ometo languages, and differs from what is attested in North Ometo. A similar confirmation is observed with the definiteness and case marking systems of Kole language as presented below.

1.2.2.2. Definiteness Marking

The way the Ometo languages mark definite nouns is significantly different from each other (Hirut 2004:230). Most of them do not involve a distinct morphemes associated with definiteness. There are languages that mark definiteness only on a certain class of noun: some, only on masculine nouns and others only on feminine. Kole language and two other East Ometo group members Haro and Zargulla, believed to be conservative, are attested marking both masculine and feminine nouns with the suffix *-z-* and *-att-* respectively. Consider the following examples:

	Language	IDF:SG:ABS	M:DF:SG-ABS	F:DF:SG-ABS	Gloss
7a.	Kole	kaná	kaná -z-a	kan-átt-o	'dog'
	Zargulla	kaná	kaná -z-a	kan-átt-o	'dog'
	Haro	kaná	kaná -z-a	kan-átt-o	'dog'
7b.	Kole	ʔoolló	ʔoolló -z-a	ʔooll-átt-o	'horse'
	Zargulla	ʔoolló	ʔoolló -z-a	ʔooll-átt-o	'horse'
	Haro	ʔoolló	ʔoolló -z-a	ʔooll-átt-o	'horse'

In Kole language the elements **-z-** and **-att-** mark masculine and feminine definiteness respectively. The other languages like Zergulla, Haro and Ganta use the same elements for definiteness. Consider the following examples:

	DF:M :ABS or DF:ABS	Gloss
8a.	mááttfj-att-o (Ganta)	'the woman/the wife'
	bíff-att-o	'the woman/the wife'
	bíʔ-att-o (Kole)	'the girl'
8b.	ʔáde-z-a	'the man'
8c.	gawár-att-o	'the cat (F)'
	gawára-z-a	'the cat (M)'
8d.	kap-átt-o	'the bird (F)'
	kapó-z-a	'the bird (M)'

The condition attested in Kole and other East Ometo languages is not the same in North Ometo. One of the two definite marking elements is used in few members of the North Ometo sub-group. For instance, Gamo uses the element **-z-** with masculine definite nouns. The element **-j** is used to mark the feminine definite nouns in the language as shown in example (8) below. It can be noted that the absolutive case markers **-a/-o** occur following the definite marker.

IDF	Gloss	M:DF	Gloss	F:DF	Gloss
9. kaná	'dog'	kaná-z-a	'the dog'	kaná-j-o	'the bitch'
naʔá	'child'	naʔá-z-a	'the child'	naʔá-j-o	'the girl'
dorsé	'sheep'	dorsá-z-a	'the sheep'	dorsá-j-o	'the sheep(F)'

Kole appears to be closer to the East Ometo languages such as Ganta, Haro and Zergulla by using the two archaic definite markers **-att-** and **-z-**, the feminine and masculine noun respectively. On definite marking system clear difference is attested between Kole and other members of the North Ometo sub-group. The system of Nominative case marking is another aspect of noun morphology that suggests Kole is more like the East Ometo languages as discussed below

1.2.2.3. The Nominative Case Marking

Like other members of East Ometo, Kole does not distinguish gender in the system of Nominative case marking. Thus, suffix **-i** used to mark nominative case both on masculine and feminine nouns. Whereas, the elements **-a** and **-o** are the two gender sensitive portmanteaus morphs which occur with masculine and feminine genders respectively. Consider the following illustrative structures.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>10a. bifʔ-átt-i
 girl-F:DF-NOM
 'The girl came.'</p> | <p>jeett-a-k-isi-d-e
 come-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL</p> |
| <p>10b. naʔá-z-i
 boy-M:DF-NOM
 'The boy came.'</p> | <p>jeett-a-ko-si-d-e
 come-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL</p> |

As mentioned earlier, such property is peculiar to members of East Ometo groups such as Ganta, Haro, and Koorete

In contrast to what is attested in Kole and the other East Ometo languages, the Nominative case marking in North Ometo involves two gender sensitive allomorphic variants: suffix **-i** and suffix **-a**. The former occurs on masculine nouns, the latter occurs on feminine nouns. It can be noted that North Ometo groups follow the nominative-accusative system rather than nominative-absolutive system. Consider the following examples:

- 11a. **ʔiz-i** **kana-z-a** **godides**
 he-NOM dog-M:DF-ACC chase-3M:SG-PF-3M:SG-AFF:DCL
 'He chased the dog (M).'
- 11b. **ʔiz-a** **kana-z-a** **good-a-d-u-s**
 she-NOM dog-M:DF-ACC chase-3F:SG-PF-3F:SG-AFF:DCL
 'She chased the dog (F).'

1.2.2.4. Forms of the Third Person Singular Pronouns

The third person singular pronoun paradigm is the other point that separates the East Ometo subgroup from North Ometo group. The third person singular pronouns in East Ometo have a structural pattern different from that of their cognates in the rest of Ometo. The pronouns in Kole show exactly the same pattern as the ones observed in the East Ometo languages. Compare the third person singular personal pronouns in Kole with their correspondents in the East and North Ometo languages respectively. Although the citation form is Absolutive or Accusative form, the comparison here is given in the Nominative forms in order to show all forms in clear way. Consider the following examples in the table

Table 1: Third persons

	Person	East Ometo								North Ometo			
		Kole		Haro		Ganta		Koorete		Gamo		Dawuro	Wolaitta
12.	3M:SG	ʔesi	ʔe	ʔesi	ʔe	ʔesi	ʔe	ʔesi	ʔe	ʔizi	ʔi	ʔizi	ʔi
	3F:SG	ʔisi	ʔi	ʔisi	ʔi	ʔisi	ʔi	ʔisi	ʔi	ʔiza	ʔa	ʔiza	ʔa

The pronouns in the two subgroups are distinguished by long and short forms of their structure. The East Ometo subgroups have two sets of pronouns which can be labeled as long and short forms. With members of the North Ometo subgroup this is not always true. For example, Dawuro has long forms without the short counterparts whereas Wolaitta has short forms without the long counterparts. Gamo has both long and short forms. Though, the short forms in Gamo, unlike their counterpart in Kole, Haro, Ganta, and Koorete include the final segment of the respective long form. This means that the short forms involve case markers which are for instance, **-i** and **-a** in the Nominative case for masculine and feminine respectively. With the East Ometo languages, on the other hand, the initial syllable of the long form makes up the short counterpart in each category.

It is also noted that the long forms include an element **-s** or **-z**. The **-s/-z** difference in the cognates of the third person singular pronouns is an isogloss that keeps the East Ometo group apart from the rest. As shown in the above table, the element **-s-** is attested in cognates in the East Ometo languages, whereas the element **-z-** is attested in cognates in North Ometo. The Kole language third persons follow a pattern similar to the forms in East Ometo.

1.2.2.5. The Imperative Verb Form

In Ometo languages, the singular and plural categories are distinguished in the imperative verbs. A suffix **-a**, which is attached to a verb root, characterizes the singular imperative verb in the Ometo languages. On the other hand, the plural imperative verb bears structural distinction across the subgroups of Ometo. Gamo and Dawuro which are the North Ometo languages use the suffix **-ite** as a plural imperative marker. The suffix **-a-jto** is used to mark the same grammatical

category in the languages such as Haro, Zajse and other members of East Ometo groups. Kole language uses the suffix **-a-jte** which differs only with the last vowel of the element. The comparison of the plural imperative verbs of Kole language vs. North Ometo languages is given in the following table.

Table 2: Imperative forms

	East Ometo			North Ometo	Gloss
	Kole	Ganta	Haro	Gamo	
13.	kaʔ-á-jte	kaʔ-á-jto	kaʔ-a-jto	kaʔ-ité	'play !'
	ʔootsts-á-jte	ʔootsts-á-jto	Ootsts-á-jto	ʔootsts-ité	'work !'
	wos's'-á-jte	wos's'-á-jto	wos's'-á-jto	wos's'-ité	'run !'
	ʔing-á-jte	ʔing-á-jto	ʔing-á-jto	ʔimm-ité	'give !'

The plural imperative in Kole language follows the same pattern as those in Ganta and Haro except the final vowel difference as shown in the table. In contrast, these forms differ from their counterparts in Gamo. Note that the difference is not simply morphological but also lexical. The verb root for 'give', for instance, has totally different forms in the two groups. In North Ometo, **ʔimm-** is used for 'give'; while the verb form **ʔing-** is used for the same reference in the East Ometo subgroup.

1.2.2.6. The Focal Verb Paradigm

The focal verb paradigm has a complex structure, and it is exclusively used in the domain of focus. Structurally, this verb involves different components: an infinitive verb (verb root+ INF marker) + a focus marker + a pronominal suffix + aspect marker and mood marker.

In Kole language, the focal verb paradigm is attested like in other East Ometo languages. However, it is not attested in any other North Ometo languages. Consider the perfective paradigm of the verb **ham-** 'go' in Kole, Haro and Ganta from East Ometo group and Gamo from North Ometo group respectively.

Per.	Kole	Haro	Ganta	Gamo
14. 1SG	ham-a-ko-ti-d-e	hama-ta-dd-e	hama-kko-t-e	j-a-d-i-s
2SG	ham-a-ko-ni-d-e	hama-kko-ne-dd-e	hama-kko-ne-dd-e	j-a-d-a-sa
3M	ham-a-ko-si-d-e	hama-kko-?e-dd-e	hama-kko-ji-dd-e	j-i-d-e-s
3F	ham-a-k-isi-d-e	hama-kko-?i-dd-e	hama-kko-se-dd-e	j-a-d-u-s
1PL	ham-a-k-ini-d-e	hama-kko-?unu-dd-e	hama-kko-nu-dd-e	j-i-d-o-s
2PL	ham-a-k-iti-d-e	hama-kko-?ini-dd-e	hama-kk-iti-dd-e	j-i-d-e-tta
3PL	ham-a-kk-j-d-is-o	hama-kko-?u-dd-e	hama-kk-u-dd-e	j-i-d-e-tt-e-s

Note that the absence of focus marker in North Ometo language and the differences of verb roots in the East Ometo and North Ometo groups.

In general, there is no any clear classification about Kole whether it is East Ometo cluster or North Ometo cluster up now linguistically. People in the area without any linguistic justification simply consider Kole as the dialect of Gamo. However, the facts presented in the study show that Kole language should rather be regarded as a member of the East Ometo group along with Zayse, Haro, Ganta, Gandzulle, Koorete, etc.

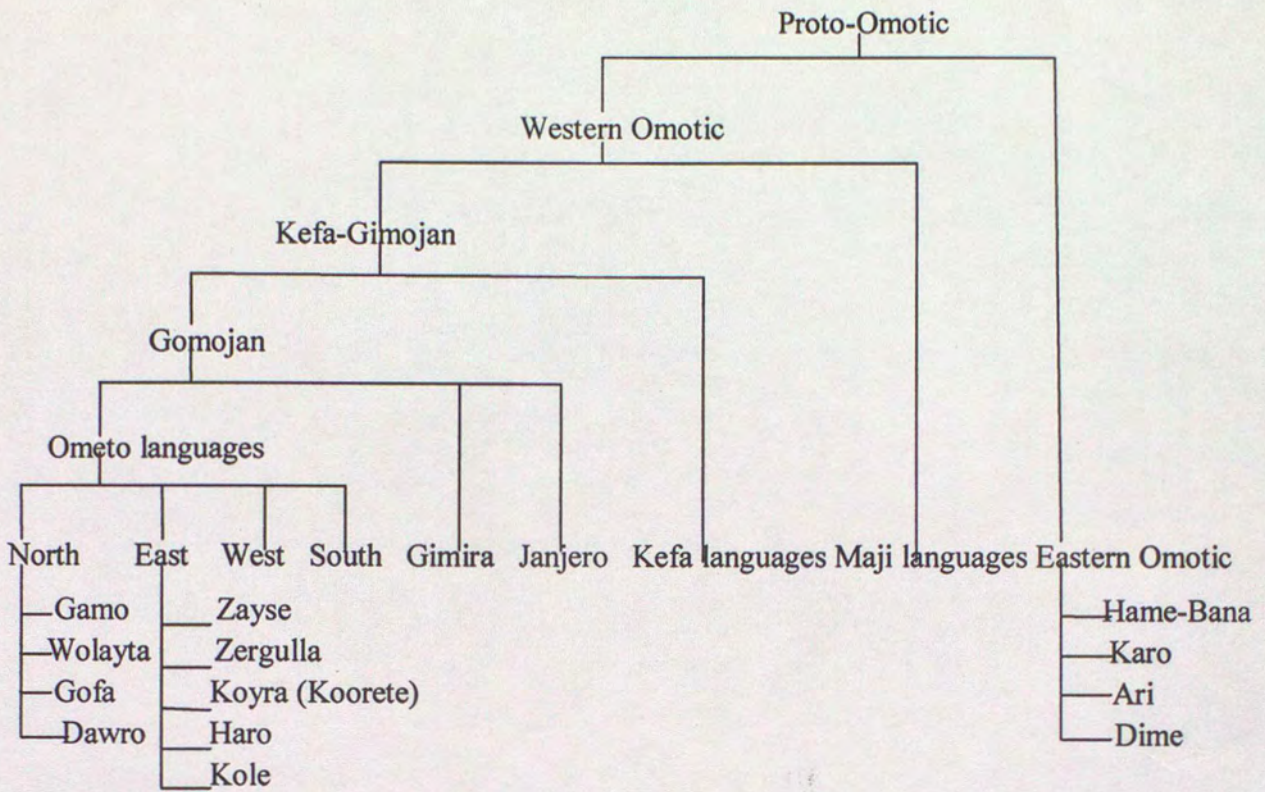


Figure 3: The Omotic languages tree based on Fleming, 1976a

According to Kole elders, the Kole language is mutually intelligible with Baltatstso, Lakkatstso, Garbantsatstso, Gantatstso, Zargullatstso, Zaysetstso and shaaratstso etc. spoken by people who live in the neighboring areas or Kebeles. This language does have its own dialects like other human languages. These dialects are known as Kole doolla, Kole kanchame and Kole zalle. For example the word 'back' is called **kiinne** by Kole kanchame, **zokko** by Kole zalle and **kantso** by Kole doolla.

1.3. The Culture

The Kole economy is based on agriculture. They grow (produce) barley, beans, chickpeas, wheat, potatoes and false banana. On the top of that, the Kole people use a trade system to augment their income. They usually trade gold, different kind of cereals and cloth.

The Kole people live in the Gamo highland. They live under Gamo sociopolitical organization. The eldest male member of the clan is usually the clan head. The clan heads are organized into non-totemic exogamous clans (Cerulli 1956: 20). These clans are patrilineal¹ and patrilocal², so most people live in smaller family groups where all the men are related by blood under the clan's head. Women move from other clans to where their husbands live.

Marriages were traditionally arranged by choice of parents between clans. However, nowadays the situation has been changed because of modernity and the influence of different religions such as protestant and catholic. Consequently, modern marriage takes place by the choice of two interested couples.

¹ Describes family relationships traced through the male line, or societies in which only such relationships are recognized.

² Describes a custom in which a wife goes to live with her husband's family or people after marriage, or a society in which this custom prevails.

Hunting is primarily men's activity in Kole land. Kole people were highly known by their hunting practices. The Kole use traps, snares and spears extensively during their hunting practice. Traps are made from bamboo for hunting larger animals like gazelles or antelope.

The people of Kole eat only the flesh of cloven-hoofed animals" but that they do not eat horse, donkey, mule or giraffe. This practice is largely lost today as elephants and other animals are no longer found in the area. They also commonly eat false banana products, barely, honey, beans, wheat, porridge, bread, potatoes, and maize- and sometimes injera.

1.4. The Religion

Today, the vast majority of the Kole people in the Bonke Wereda are Protestants and Catholics. This appears to be a relatively recent development as the older members of the community still practice parts of their traditional system of their own. The Kole people who live in the Gamo highland, however, have largely adopted Ethiopian Orthodox (Tewahedo) Christianity. This is not a surprise as many of the Gamo who live in the Gamo highland area are also Tewahedo Christians.

The Kole elders, in particular, still practice the traditional system of consulting the magician **maro** or soothsayer **sagga**, which fulfills the functions of telling the future, blessing hunts and homes and offering healing remedies and sacrificial rituals.

While the researcher had been observing the situation around the area he has noticed that many (but not all) homes continue to be constructed with altar space inside for traditional religious practices. There is apparently pressure not to talk of such things-at least not with outsiders.

1.5. The Sociolinguistic Situation

The sociolinguistic situation which characterizes the Kole area today is one marked by a high degree of bilingualism, notably with the North Ometo Cluster Dhaachetstso (Gamotstso), and to a lesser extent with Amharic. This is because social interactions in different situations or

contexts like that of the market, the mourning places and other social gathering places. On top of that, Amharic is considered as the modern civilized society's language in the area. In relation to this, the language attitude of the society is highly positive towards Amharic and all other languages. The Kole language has not enjoyed official recognition by the Gamo Gofa Zone and SNNP's (Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples') Regional government as an independent language. This lack of official recognition, however, has had a profound impact on the relative prestige of the Kole language. Many people in the area only know the name Kole in reference to the specific place or Kebele named Kole in the Bonke Wereda, but not as a name of a language.

Among speakers of languages in the East Omotic Clusters such as Zayse, Zargulla, and Ganta, the Kole language is closely related to the languages of Balta, Garbantsa Zayse, Zargulla, and Shaara since many words in Kole are similar in these language varieties. But Gamo language speakers cannot speak Kole language. When Kole lanaguage speakers meet Gamo language speakers on the road, at market or even in their homes, they use and understand Gamo language which is classified under the North Ometo Cluster. According to the Kole speakers, the Gamo language is easier to understand than the other languages in the North Ometo Cluster speakers. The East Ometo clusters like Koletstso, Baltatstso, Laakkatstso, Garbantsatstso and others languages are even more challenging to understand for the speakers of North Ometo varieties.

1.6. The State of Endangerment and the Language Use of Kole

No study has been done on the Kole language so far. This language is in loose sense categorized as Gamo language by government officials without any linguistic justification. However, both the Kole language and Gamo languages are different in many linguistic features: such as morphological and lexical features. Consider the following examples to understand the differences between the two languages. The following comparison between Kole language and Gamo language is simply to show differences that these languages exhibit lexically. Because of time constraint the researcher could not able to collect many lexical items.

Kole language	Ganta language	Gamo language	Gloss
15. dokkó	dokkó	sansté	'cabbage'

májdo	májdo	bóóra	'ox'
s'éga	s'éga	dejiffé	'goat'
boobbé	boobbé	donó	'potatoes'
haajé	waajé	hajitstsé	'ear'

Morphologically, the system of plural formation in Kole language and Gamo language also show significant variation. Consider the examples in 16 and 17:

Kole language

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
16.	faató	'child'	faw~faw-edé	'children'
	?oolló	'horse'	?ooll-edé	'horses'
	májdo	'ox'	majd-edé	'oxen'
	kaná	'dog'	kan-edé	'dogs'
	Darotá	'a name of a person'	Darot-as'í	'Darota and others'

In Kole language the plural number is marked by **-ede**. Proper nouns take the suffix **-as'i** to show plurality i.e. to refer to a group of persons consisting of **X** and others; where **X** is a name of a person as in the last word of example (16).

Gamo language

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
17.	kapó	'bird'	kapo-tá	'birds'
	kaná	'dog'	kana-tá	'dogs'
	boorá	'ox'	boora-tá	'oxen'
	pará	'horse'	para-tá	'horses'
	Darotá	'a name of a person'	Darota-ntá	'Darota and others'

In North Gamo varieties plurality is denoted by the suffix **-ta** except names of people. Proper nouns take the suffix **-nta** to show plurality, i.e. to refer to a group of persons consisting of **X** and others where **X** is a name of a person as in (17).

As can be seen from the above examples, there are two different strategies in marking number for nouns. East Ometo clusters, here represented by Kole language, mark plural in a different way than the North Ometo clusters, here represented by Gamo language. This difference is also apparent in the literature. Thus, it is possible to generalize the differences in the marking of plural into two groups.

In 1994, in the process of implementing mother tongue education in the Gamo-Gofa Zone of the SNNP region, the speakers of Kole were considered as Gamo, and made to learn in the Gamo language together. Here the phrase *brought together* means the officials assumed the two languages as one language and prepared or developed school texts by one Gamo language and introduced in the primary education system. However, as the researcher performed different observations in the area during his field work, Kole language and Gamo language are not mutually intelligible. The evidence this is when the researcher asked a seven year old boy what his name is, using the Gamo language; he did not respond any thing. But when he is asked in his mother tongue he responded what his name is.

According to the researcher's personal observation, the Kole language might be headed towards endangerment. The immediate evidence for this is the children do not learn from the elder people and the school children do not learn in their mother tongue in the primary education level. And also language shift affects language revitalization and language development.

In the current context, the Kole speech community uses their language for spoken communication purpose only. For other purposes such as religious ceremonies in different churches, in mass media communication, and for education purpose they use other languages such as Gamo languages and Amharic. Concerning these contexts, the Gamo language and Amharic play the dominant role in the area.

The majority of the Kole people can be considered bilingual; which means they speak their mother tongue and the Gamo language.

1.7. Objective and the significance of the Study

The objectives of this study are two-folds: the first one is to provide documentation of audio and video corpus of communicative events of Kole and archive the corpus; so that it will be accessible to the Kole community and interested researchers. The second concern is to provide a grammatical description of the language. In order to meet the later goal, the study presents detailed investigation of phonology, morphology and syntax.

One of the importances is that one can document the linguistic facts of Kole, an endangered language, which has never been studied before. Secondly, the study can provide data that would be an input for future comparative studies on the Omoto linguistic group. In connection with this, it should be mentioned that Omoto cluster, a group of languages and dialects of which Kole is a member, is a problematic group, as the exact number of languages in the cluster is not yet known. In general, linguistic works are scarce in Omotic languages. In reference to this fact, Hayward (2003) describes Omotic languages as the “empty quarter” of Afro-asiatic linguistics. The availability of detailed descriptions and documentation on each of the languages and dialects is vital in discriminating the languages from the dialects, akin to the present work on Kole. The Kole data in this work is used for historical comparative purpose in the future.

The study will have the following specific contributions:

- It can be used as an important source for language maintenance, since it contributes to international efforts to safeguard endangered language of Kole.
- It supports the effort of preserving and promoting the culture of the people and their language. Besides, it can be used as source materials for preparing wordlist of cultural vocabularies, literacy program, and for compiling dictionary and preparing text books for mother tongue education.
- It develops the practice of documenting, preserving, and maintaining the various indigenous linguistic practices inherited from the past generation.
- It can be used as an input to implement mother tongue education in Kole. The output of this research can be used as a resource for creating orthography of Kole, develop the curriculum , teaching materials, etc

- The findings of the study can be used as a source for the scientific community of linguistics by providing data relevant for comparative as well as typological linguistics.

In general, the whole the phonological, morphological and syntactic descriptions can provide useful information for further historical and comparative studies in the field of Omotic linguistics.

1.8. Previous Works on Kole and East Ometo Language Clusters

There is no study carried out on Kole so far. The only two works that came across the language are Wondimu (2006), and Jordan (2009). Wondimu (2006: 111), in his brief survey of the languages spoken in the Gamo area, he mentioned that Kole is a language spoken in the South Gamo area along with many other languages such as Baltatstso, Laakkatstso, Shaaratstso, Beeletstso, Meletstso, Gantatstso, Zargullatstso, Zaysetstso and zegetstsetstso.

However, there is no linguistic description given on Kole. In her study Jordan (2009), based on Wondimu's (2006) categorization, prepared a linguistic map of the area in which Kole is also included. Again, there is no linguistic information provided about the language in her work.

Fleming (1976) has provided classification of the Ometo linguistic group. However, there is no mention of Kole in the work.

However, literature shows a few works done on East Ometo languages. Hirut (2004: 75) recommends revising Fleming's system by adding a separate "Gamo Group". This would be better to represent the idea that Gamo comprises many varieties instead of just a single dialect under the umbrella of Wolayta.

As it is observed from the previous study, much of the literature on the East Ometo varieties focuses on Zayse and Zargulla. In this regard, Hirut (1988) has done some work on the noun morphology of Zayse, and Hayward (1990, 1991, 1996, and 1999) has conducted grammatical

studies on Zayse in the course of his work on Omotic classification and East Omoto verb paradigms. Mulugeta Seyoum's (1998) B.A. thesis on Phonology of Zayse contains one Zayse word list as well as a description of Zayse phonemes. Baye (1994) has done morphological analysis on Zargulla morphology. Azeb's (2007) contribution to the description of Zargulla has also added to the understanding of East Omoto verb paradigms.

A sociolinguistic survey of Zayse Zargulla (Siebert and Hoefft (2002) conducted as part of the Survey of Little known Languages of Ethiopia (S.L.L.E). The survey was primarily aimed at gaining a clear understanding of interrelations between several speech varieties spoken around Lake Abaya and on the inhabited islands of the lake itself. During the survey, the locations visited were Alge, Arba Minch, and Gatsame at the western shore of Lake Abaya, and Elgo and Sheelle Mela west of Lake Chamo. The targeted speech varieties were the following: Baiso, Gatsame, Ganjulle, Kanchama, Haro, Zayse and Zargulla.

Besides, Hirut (2004, 2005) and Selamawit (2004) have contributed to the understanding of this area's language. They both suggest that the Ganta language (spoken in ethnic Gamo territory) is East Omoto rather than North Omoto. In comparison with the work of Wondimu (2006), Garbansa and Balta languages, to North Omoto languages, constitute the only literature to date that looks in detail at the little-known Omoto varieties found north of Zargulla. It has to be carefully investigated, because the name "Gamo" includes many speech varieties from South and North Gamo areas. There has been in the past some confusion over the classification of these speech varieties. Just because North Gamo belongs to North Omoto, it should not be assumed that all other varieties spoken in ethnically Gamo areas is also North Gamo. Still, there are some other speech varieties from "South Gamo" group which are not included in these researches. The speech varieties such as Kole, Laakka, Beele, Zegetstse and others should be classified under South Gamo group.

With regard to works on individual Omoto languages and dialects, several studies are found: Bruce Adams (1983) on Wolayta; Hayward (1982) on Koyra, (1990) on Zayse; Azeb (1996) on Basketo, (1997) on Wolaitta and (2001) on Maale; Allan (1976) on Kullo, Hampo, (1990) on

Gamo; Ford (1990); Lamberti and Sottile (1997); Ohman and Hailu (1976) are some of the published descriptive studies on different issues and aspects of the said languages. Other than these, students of Addis Ababa University have produced a number of senior essays and M.A. theses on individual Ometo languages.

1.9. Theoretical and Methodological Preliminaries

The theoretical frameworks are the theories found in language documentation and language description. Language documentation is a long-lasting and permanent record of a language which is designed to be used for several different disciplines. Language documentation, according to Himmelmann (2006: 1-2), “should strive to include many and varied records of communicative events, covering all aspects of the set of interrelated phenomena of a language.”

The general sense of description is found in linguistics to give a comprehensive, systematic, objective and precise explanation of the patterns and use of a specific language at a particular point in time. A descriptive approach involves the nonjudgmental description of language use. Descriptive linguistics aims to describe a language synchronically. It is the description of individual languages through generalization from corpus analysis (Crystal 2008).

Therefore, the researcher assessed the linguistic framework recently developed and techniques of gathering data suggested by different linguists. The frameworks are given different names; but the central issues in their approaches bring them to the common assumption. Some among them include the ethnographic methods; ‘ethno-methodology’, methods of linguistic anthropology, and Community Based Language Research (CBLR).

The assumptions of the different terms centrally focused to make the documentation corpus-based, to maintain good relationship between the researcher and the stakeholders (the speech community), to follow the appropriate sampling of the active participants in the study, and to create the linguistic corpus and metadata reliable as much as possible for the descriptive analysis of the study project.

Cameron et al (1992), Grinevald (2003), Dweyer (2006:32), Messino (2008: 278-280) are the scholars who support the use of Community Based Language Research model. According to these scholars, it is one of the frameworks (theory of descriptive and documentary linguistics) that maintains the maximum collaboration between the researchers and the speech community, and also empowers the members of the speech community.

Due to this, the researcher has tried to live with the community about 24 months. The CBLR model of study would allow combining both the insider's and the outsider's views as effectively as possible. It would open the door to understand the people, their language and their culture, and then to create a wider range of interaction with the speech community and test the fieldwork model in this particular study time (Czaykowski 2009).

The design of the present study is based on the CBLR model. Since the design of the study would be further polished with the collaboration of the members of the speech community, efforts would be made to make the data a good representative of the real life situations of the speech community.

With regard to making the documentation, a good amount of sample data, the same social and cultural context was recorded at different occasions. This also allowed the researcher to eliminate the extraneous variables which might lead to hasty generalization or distortion of the findings of the study. The researcher has implemented the appropriate theoretical framework suggested by documentary linguists such as Franchetto (2002). As to this scholar, the ethnographical data could serve as a strong resource for linguistic documentation. Supporting the idea of Franchetto, Hill (2006: 113-128) requests us to integrate the ethnographical information with that of the linguistic data. Furthermore, Dixon (2007) suggests using the theoretical framework of the Field methods–Basic Linguistic Theory (BLT) and Community Based Language Research (CBLR) commonly applied by the Descriptive Linguists, to collect varieties of texts that reflect the day–to–day life of the speech community. According to this scholar, “Texts are the life blood of linguistic field work: the only way to understand the grammatical structure of a language is to analyze recorded texts in that language”, Dixon (2007) Based on Dixon's (2007) theory, the

researcher deployed a descriptive approach of linguistics that treats languages in terms of their internal structures in order to describe the grammatical system of Kole. The Kole data do not fit into the traditional approach “item and arrangement morphology” which regards words as realizing ordered sequences of morphemes.

A single morph can stand for more than one grammatical exponent in Kole. For instance, each of the two grammatical features: *definiteness* and *gender* are expressed jointly via a single element. The notion of *Word and Paradigm Morphology* as expressed by Matthews (1972, 1974, 1991), and Anderson (1977, 1982, 1985) in Hirut (2004: 9), can handle the data in Kole better.

This project aimed at documenting linguistic practices of the Kole people, and describing the grammatical properties of the language based on a documentary corpus. Standard linguistics fieldwork practices have been employed in collecting data for the project. For this purpose, several months were spent in the area selected for intensive study of the Kole language. The data collecting tools were elicitation, interview, focus group discussion and observations.

The recording and documentation of the linguistic corpus was based on sound documentation principles, but differs from linguistic description that consists of only a grammar and dictionary. To make a comprehensive documentation of Kole language, a wide range of linguistic events were collected and analyzed. Linguistic elicitation sessions were conducted with native speakers individually as well as in groups. The lexical data included words of certain semantic fields such as body parts, place names, flora and fauna, kinship terms, color terms etc. The linguistic data were collected for the purpose of analyzing the phonological, morphological and syntactic structure of the Kole language and consist of inflectional paradigms, derived morphological forms and elicited simple and complex sentences.

About 20 hours of audio and video recordings of texts which covered extensive ranges of language genres such as greeting, brief talks, discussion, narrations, teachings procedures, talks of a chief, different speeches, formal address, curing and magic and songs were collected. About one hour of representatives of each recorded and collected linguistic corpora were annotated

accompanied by transcription, translation, and when necessary, comments on the content and linguistic phenomena would be made. In addition to that, where unique cultural information was relevant, a digital camera and video recorder were used to make high quality records of objects and actions. All these audio and video recordings and photographs were transferred to a computerized data base. On top of that, audio and video versions of texts were digitalized for the purpose of annotation, transcription and translation. The texts collected in the Kole language were transcribed by using the International Phonetic Alphabet, together with the English translation for each line.

Different softwares which were suitable for this project were used to analyze the data. These data analysis were processed and explained as follows:

VirtualDub and *Audacity* were used for video and audio editing purposes respectively. The purpose of editing here is to create manageable chunks, file size and for the exact synchronization of the video and audio file. The formats of the audio and video file were *WAV* and *MPEG2* for archiving. The edited sound files and video files were imported to and synchronized in *ELAN* for annotation, transcription, linguistic and ethnographic glossing and commentary. Some audio files were imported to Praat for phonetic analysis. Toolbox was also used for documenting lexical items.

Furthermore, metadata of all relevant files were presented and collected in Arbill or in a manual chart.

Finally, the annotated and transcribed recordings were sent to ELAR (Endangered Language Archive) - <http://www.hrelp.org>, DoBeS (DOKumentation BEdrohter Sprachen; Documentation of endangered languages) - <http://www.mpi.nl>, OLAC (Open Language Archive Community) - <http://www.language-archive.org> for archiving. A copy was given to Addis Ababa University and the speech community.

The following methods of investigation were employed in the study. The linguistic data was elicited by using a linguistic questionnaire. The questionnaire outlined by Bouquiaux and Thomas (1992) was mainly used. The non-linguistic information is collected by using participant observation and interviewing.

1.10. Fieldwork and Data

The Kole data used in this study were collected in consecutive fieldworks carried out by the researcher in the Kole Kebele. The first fieldwork was conducted during the period between February 2012 to August 2012, and the second period of fieldwork was conducted between April 2005 and September 2006. A short period of fieldwork was also carried out by the researcher in May 2006, in order to check his data neutrality and appropriateness.

Both elder as well as younger members of the community were used as informants of the Kole language. The principal informants were Elias Karche, Gumayde Gum'a, Adanech Aba, Buluma Boshorko, Edane Ela, Kalbe Chonde and Sore Shogole.

In addition to the primary data, secondary sources are used for languages which have literature (Books and Research papers) such as Gamo, Wolayta, Zargulla, Zayse, Jaara, Maale and Koorate.

1.11. Organization of the Study

This dissertation is structured into ten chapters. The first chapter presents the background part of the study. The second chapter deals with the sound system of Kole language. The third chapter discusses the morphology of nouns. The fourth chapter presents the pronoun systems of the language. The fifth chapter provides the discussion of verb morphology.

The sixth chapter deals with nominal and verbal modifiers. The seventh chapter presents the analysis on sentence types. The eighth chapter analyzes the system of negation in Kole language.

The ninth chapter discusses the focus system of the language. The tenth chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

Phonology

This chapter deals with the sound system of Kole. The speech sounds in the language are identified and described. Besides, some common phonological processes, syllable structures, and co-occurrences of sounds found in the system are treated. Just like all other human languages the speech sounds in Kole are divided into two main categories known as consonants and vowels.

2.1. The Consonants.

Consonants can be defined in terms of both phonetics and phonology. Phonetically, they are sounds made by a closure or narrowing in the vocal tract so that audible friction is produced. Consonant articulations are relatively easy to feel, and as a result are most conveniently described in terms of place and manner of articulation. In addition, a routine phonetic description of consonants would involve information about the mode of vibration of vocal folds, and it is always necessary to specify the duration of the sound, the airstream mechanism involved and the direction of airflow (Odden, 1996). From a phonological point of view, consonants are those units which function at the margins of syllables, either singly or in clusters. Hence, the consonant sounds in Kole are given according to their place and manner of articulation.

2.1.1. Description of Consonant Sounds.

[p] Voiceless bilabial stop. This sound occurs elsewhere except word finally. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1. /ʃenpo/ | [ʃempó] | ‘soul’ |
| /gilpe/ | [gilpé] | ‘leather sack for giving air’ |
| /pooʔo/ | [p ^h ooʔó] | ‘light’ |
| /pito/ | [p ^h itó] | ‘dirty’ |

[ɸ] Voiceless bilabial fricative. It occurs between two vowels. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|------------|---------|----------|
| 2. /ʔaape/ | [ʔaaɸé] | ‘eye’ |
| /gape/ | [gaɸé] | ‘hungry’ |

[b] Voiced bilabial stop. It occurs elsewhere except word finally. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-------------|----------|----------|
| 3. /boobbe/ | [boobbé] | ‘potato’ |
| /budo/ | [budó] | ‘fire’ |

[β] Voiced bilabial fricative. It occurs between two vowels. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----------|--------|---------|
| 4. /ʔibo/ | [ʔiβó] | ‘gate’ |
| /gube/ | [guβé] | ‘field’ |

[ɓ] Voiced bilabial implosive. It does not occur word finally like other consonants. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 5. /kɔɓɓa/ | [k ^ɓ óɓɓa] | ‘sandals’ |
| /tʃ ^ɓ aɓa/ | [tʃ ^ɓ áɓa] | ‘wet’ |

[t̪] Voiceless alveolar stop. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----------|-------------------------|------------|
| 6. /guta/ | [gutá] | ‘neighbor’ |
| /pettiro/ | [p ^h éttiro] | ‘one’ |
| /tijo/ | [t ^h íʃo] | ‘paint’ |
| /tukke/ | [t ^h ukké] | ‘coffee’ |

[d] Voiced alveolar stop. It occurs word initially and word medially. Consider the following examples:

7. /dokko/ [d^wok^wk^wó] 'cabbage'
/doro/ [d^wor^wó] 'sheep'

[d] Voiced alveolar implosive. It occurs to word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

8. /daadde/ [daad^{dé}] 'snail'
/dube/ [du^{βé}] 'obstacle'

[s] Voiceless alveolar fricative. It occurs word initially, word medially, and sometimes word finally in the form of morphological category Consider the following examples:

9. /sino/ [sīnó] 'face'
/suule/ [súúle] 'hot'
/ʔatstsús/ [ʔatstsú-s] 'for man'

[z] Voiced alveolar fricative. It occurs word initially, and word medially. Consider the following examples:

10. /wozana/ [w^wozāna] 'heart'
/zuulla/ [z^wuullá] 'rainbow'

[s'] Ejective alveolar fricative. It occurs word initially, and word medially. Consider the following examples:

11. /gus'ine/ [gus'iné] 'worm'
/s'ega/ [s'éga] 'goat'

[n] Voiced alveolar nasal stop. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

12. /binna/ [bínna] ‘warm’
 /namʔu/ [namʔú] ‘two’

[l] Voiced alveolar lateral. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

13. /galala/ [galála] ‘long’
 /lankutʃe/ [laŋkutfé] ‘eight’

[r] Voiced alveolar flap. It always occurs between vowels. Consider the following examples:

14. /dure/ [dúre] ‘rich’
 /s'ura/ [s'úra] ‘dust’

[r] Voiced alveolar trill. It only occurs word medially. It never occurs word initially and finally. Consider the following examples:

15. /ʔirs'a/ [ʔírs'a] ‘wet’
 /ʔorde/ [ʔordé] ‘fat’

[ʃ] Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative. It never occurs word finally.. Consider the following examples:

16. /biʃfo/ [bíʃfo] ‘wife, woman’
 /ʃida/ [ʃída] ‘honey’

[ʒ] Voiced palatal fricative. It never occurs word finally. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|--------|-------------|
| 17. | /ʔaʒo/ | [ʔáʒo] | ‘hear’ |
| | /maʒo/ | [maʒó] | ‘tree type’ |

[tʃ] voiceless palato-alveolar affricate. It never occurs word finally. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|------------|
| 18. | /ʔatʃo/ | [ʔatʃó] | ‘meat’ |
| | /hatʃe/ | [hatʃé] | ‘shoulder’ |

[tʃ̥] voiceless palato-alveolar ejective affricate. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|------------|---------|
| 19. | /ʔetʃ̥ere/ | [ʔetʃ̥eré] | ‘rat’ |
| | /tʃ̥elo/ | [tʃ̥eló] | ‘black’ |

[dʒ] voiced palato-alveolar affricate. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------|----------------|
| 20. | /gandʒe/ | [gandʒé] | ‘stomach’ |
| | /wadʒdʒe/ | [wadʒdʒé] | ‘living house’ |

[j] Voiced palatal glide. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|----------|------------|
| 21. | /haaje/ | [haajé] | ‘ear’ |
| | /jeepe/ | [jeepeó] | ‘mourning’ |

[ɲ] Voiced palatal nasal stop. It occurs before palatal sounds. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| 22. | /boontʃo/ | [bóɲtʃo] | ‘respect’ |
| | /bontʃ'o/ | [bóɲtʃ'o] | ‘leaf’ |

[m] Voiced bilabial nasal stop. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

23. /gamma/ [gammá] ‘capital investment’
 /mitstsi/ [mítstsj] ‘tree’

[k] Voiceless velar stop. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

24. /konke/ [koŋké] ‘nose’
 /?okka/ [ʔokká] ‘calf’

[kʰ] voiceless velar ejective. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

25. /kʰupe/ [kʰuǰé] ‘cough’
 /mankʰo/ [máŋkʰo] ‘poor’

[g] Voiced velar stop. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

26. /gawo/ [gawó] ‘belly’
 /muge/ [mugé] ‘back, behind’

[ŋ] Voiced velar nasal stop. It occurs before velar sounds word medially. Consider the following examples:

27. /dinke/ [diŋké] ‘musical instrument’
 /?ingo/ [ʔíŋgo] ‘give’

[w] Voiced labial glide. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

28. /ʔawa/ [ʔawá] ‘sun’
 /worge/ [wóрге] ‘wanting’

[ʔ] Voiceless glottal stop. It occurs before vowels word initially and word medially. Consider the following examples:

29. /sʔii'e/ [sʔiiʔé] ‘gland’
 /ʔil'o/ [ʔilʔó] ‘sack’

[ts] Voiceless alveolar affricate. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

30. /dantsi/ dántsj] ‘breast’
 /haatstse/ [haatstsé] ‘water’

[dz] Voiced alveolar affricate. It occurs word medially. Consider the following examples:

31. /dondza/ [dóndza] ‘adult’
 /ʔedzdzo/ [ʔedzdzó] ‘circle’

[h] Voiceless glottal fricative. It occurs word initially and medially. Consider the following examples:

32. /guuhe/ [guuhé] ‘goiter’
 /haaje/ [haajé] ‘ear’

2.1.2. The Consonant Phonemes.

According to traditional phonological theories, phoneme is the minimal unit in the sound system of a language. In other words it can be defined as a perceived unit of language that functions to signal a difference in meaning when contrasted to another phoneme (Crystal 2008: 361). In reality, in spoken language, a phoneme is a class of sounds or phones that speakers and listeners perceive as being one sound. According to the data, twenty seven consonant phonemes are identified in Kole language. These consonant phonemes are presented in the chart given below.

Chart I: The Consonant Phonemes of Kole.

Manner of articulation		Place or Point of articulation				
		bilabial	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop	voiceless	p	t		k	ʔ
	voiced	b	d		g	
	ejective				k'	
	implosive	ɓ	ɗ			
fricative	voiceless		s	ʃ		h
	voiced		z	ʒ		
	ejective		s'			
affricate	voiceless		ts	tʃ		
	voiced		dz	dʒ		
	ejective			tʃ'		
lateral	voiced		l			
trill	voiced		r			
nasal	voiced	m	n			
semi vowel	voiced	w		j		

Minimal pair is one of the discovery procedures used in phonology to determine which sounds belong to the same class, or phoneme. As a result, two words can be differed in meaning when only one sound is changed. On the other hand, a group of words differentiated by each having only one sound different from all others is sometimes called a minimal set. Thus, in order to identify the consonant phonemes in Kole the following examples of minimal pairs are presented.

/p,b/

33. /pito/ 'dirty'
/bito/ 'let him foretell disaster'

/p,b/

34. /bino 'hole on the neck of pot'
/pino/ 'bladder'

/n,m/

35. /gamma/ 'capital investment'
/ganna/ 'nape or neck'

/d,t/

36. /dupo/ 'hot chilly'
/tupo/ 'knot'

/t,ts/

37. /hatte/ 'now'
/hatstse/ 'staying for moment'

/s',s/

38. /s'abo/ 'root'
/sabo/ 'stayed wound'

/s,ʃ/

39. /siik'o/ 'love'
/ʃiik'o/ 'gathering'

/r,l/

40. /malo/ 'create new idea'
/maro/ 'mediates, intervene'

/g,k/

41. /gare/ 'cheap'
/kare/ 'outside'

/tʃ,tʃʰ/

42. /gatʃʰtʃʰe/ 'purifying'
/gatʃtʃe/ 'drink'

/k,kʰ/

43. /koro/ 'pile up'
/kʰoro/ 'differentiate'

/d,dʰ/

44. /sʰade/ 'down'
/sʰade/ 'flea'

/s,z/

45. /suule/ hot
/zuule/ 'stomach ache'

/ʔ,h/

46. /goʔo/ 'benefit'
/goho/ 'male sheep'

/w,j/

47. /kawo/ 'dinner'
/kajo/ 'sorrow'

/d,dz/

48. /piddo/ 'let it stretch'
/pidzdzo/ 'shorts'

/ʔ,dʒ/

49. /doldʒa/ 'cold place'
/dolʔa/ 'loosely spread cloth'

/z,ʒ/

50. /hazo/ 'water hen'
/haʒo/ 'type of fly'

2.1.3. Allophonic variants of the consonant phonemes.

The relationship between allophones and phonemes is one of realization: a phoneme is realized by its allophones. The difference between allophones can also be stated using phonological rules. Therefore, the following allophonic variants of phonemes are presented in the Kole language.

A phoneme /p/ has a variant form [ɸ] occurring between vowels. Consider the following examples:

51. /ʔaape/ [ʔaaɸé] 'eye'
/gape/ [gaɸé] 'straw'

A phoneme /b/ has a variant form [β] that occurs between vowels. Consider the following examples:

52. /gube/ [guβé] 'field'
/ʔibo/ [ʔiβó] 'gate'

A phoneme /n/ has heterorganic allophonic variants [m], [ɲ] and [ŋ] occurring before bilabials, palatals and velars respectively. Consider the following examples:

53. /ʃenpo/ [ʃẽmpó] 'soul'
/singo/ [sĩ̃ŋgɸ] 'smell'
/dinke/ [dĩ̃ŋké] 'musical instrument'
/bontʃo/ [bóɲtʃ'o] 'leaf'
/boontʃo/ [bóoɲtʃo] 'respect'

2.2. The Vowels.

Vowel is one of the two general categories used for the classification of speech sounds, the other being consonants. Vowels can be defined in terms of both phonetic and phonology. Phonetically, they are sounds articulated without a complete closure in the mouth or a degree of narrowing which would produce audible friction; the air escapes evenly over the centre of the tongue. From phonological point of view, vowels are those units which function at the centre of syllables. (Crystal 2008: 517)

2.2.1. Phonetic Description of Vowels.

The Vowel sounds of Kole and their phonetic description are given below.

[i] is a high front vowel. It occurs word medially and finally. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------|---------|--------------|
| 54. | /ʔibo/ | [ʔiβó] | ‘door, gate’ |
| | /ʔilʔo/ | [ʔilʔó] | ‘sack’ |

[ĩ] is a high front nasalized vowel. It occurs before a nasal consonant. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|-----------|----------|
| 55. | /binna/ | [bĩnna] | ‘warm’ |
| | /sino/ | [sĩnó] | ‘face’ |
| | /gayiddi/ | [gajiddi] | ‘cattle’ |

[i̥] is a high front voiceless vowel. It occurs in word finally after voiceless consonant. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------|------------|----------|
| 56. | /biitʃi̥/ | [bíitʃi̥] | ‘urine’ |
| | /mitstsi/ | [mítstsi] | ‘tree’ |
| | /ʔatstsi/ | [ʔatstsi̥] | ‘person’ |

[e] is a mid front vowel. It appears word medially and finally. Consider the following examples:

57. /muge/ [mugé] ‘behind, back’
 /s'ega/ [s'éga] ‘goat’

[ẽ] is a mid front nasalized vowel. It occurs before nasal consonants. Consider the following examples:

58. /gene/ [gẽ n] ‘evil deed’
 /fene/ [fẽné] ‘angry’

[a] is a low back vowel. It appears word medially and finally. Consider the following examples:

59. /gape/ [gaφé] ‘straw’
 /gawo/ [gawó] ‘stomach’

[ã] is a low back nasalized vowel. It occurs before nasal sounds. Consider the following examples:

60. /hamo/ [hámo] ‘go’
 /hana/ [haná] ‘here’
 /hano/ [háno] ‘happen’

[u] is a high back rounded vowel. It occurs word medially and finally. Consider the following examples:

61. /muk'o/ [muk'ó] ‘ash’
 /?udda/ [?uddá] ‘all’

[ɥ] is a high back rounded voiceless vowel. It occurs to word finally after a voiceless consonant. Consider the following examples:

62. /ʔabussu/ [ʔabússɥ] ‘dream’
 /boottsu/ [bóóttsɥ] ‘white’

[ũ] is a high back rounded nasalized vowel. It occurs before a nasal consonant. Consider the following examples:

63. /ʔumma/ [ʔũmma] ‘head’
 /dunʔe/ [dũnʔé] ‘dull’

[o] is mid back rounded vowel. It appears word medially and finally. Consider the following examples:

64. /ʔatfo/ [ʔatfó] ‘meat’
 /ʔoollo/ [ʔoolló] ‘horse’

[õ] is mid back rounded nasalized vowel. It occurs before a nasal consonant. Consider the following examples:

65. /gome/ [g^wõmé] ‘forbidden’
 /ʔoommo/ [ʔõõmmó] ‘under’

2.2.2. The Vowel Phonemes

Like other varieties of Gamo, Kole does have five short and five long vowels as indicated in the following chart.

Chart II: Vowel Phonemes in Kole.

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

The following are examples of minimal pairs used to attest the status of the above vowel phonemes.

/a,e/

66. /gade/ 'ground'
/gede/ 'there'

/a,i/

67. /sango/ 'castrate'
/singo/ 'smell'

/a,o/

68. /kalo/ 'satisfy'
/kolo/ 'to take off'

/e,u/

69. /k'upe/ 'cough'
/k'epe/ 'wing'

/e,i/

70. /lek'o/ 'neglect'
/lik'o/ 'make smooth'

/o,u/

71. /ʔolo/ 'fight, throw'
/ʔulo/ 'steaming'

In Kole vowels length has a phonemic value. Therefore, the following are examples of minimal pairs illustrating the phonemic contrast between short and long vowels in the language under study.

/o/ vs /oo/

72. /ʔolo/ 'to leave'
/ʔoolo/ 'to murmur'

/i/ vs /ii/

73. /lik'o/ 'to make smooth'
/liik'o/ 'fine'

/e/ vs /ee/

74. /geda/ 'back leg of cattle'
/geeda/ 'later, behind'

/u/ vs /uu/

75. /sule/ 'down'
/suule/ 'very hot'

/a/ vs /aa/

76. /gafe/ 'few, small'
/gaafe/ 'teff'

2.2.3. Allophonic Variants of Vowels

As it is indicated in the examples below, the two high vowels do show allophonic variations in Kole. The high front vowel /i/ and high back vowel /u/ have devoiced variants occurring after voiceless sibilant consonants. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|--------------|------------|--------------|
| 77. /mitsti/ | [mítstsj] | 'tree, wood' |
| /biitftʃi/ | [bíitftʃí] | 'urine' |
| /boottsu/ | [bóótstsy] | 'white' |
| /ʃutftʃu/ | [ʃúftʃy] | 'stone' |

Vowels have nasalized allophones when they precede a nasal consonant. Consider the following examples:

78.	/ʔumma/	[ʔúm̃ma]	‘head’
	/diina	[dĩĩna]	‘local beer’
	/songe/	[sóng̃e]	‘curse’
	/ʔamo/	[ʔãmó]	‘neck’
	/dendo/	[dẽ́ nd̃]	‘stand (V).’

2.2.4. Diphthong

A presence of diphthong is not easy to decide. However, in the case of the Kole language there are three phonological environments that might help to clarify the situation. First, we find the sequence vowel+glide when the consonant that follows is not geminated. Consider the following examples:

79.	ai/aj	/ʔaide/	[ʔajdé]	‘when’
	ai /aj	/maido/	[májdo]	‘ox’
	au /aw	/dauʔa/	[dawʔá]	‘a type tree’
	ui/uj	/guido/	[gújdo]	‘hit’
	ei/ej	/beiso/	[béjso]	‘show’

Secondly, glide insertion occurs between the two vowels, when the following consonant is geminated. Consider the following examples:

80.	oi /oj	/ʔoiddu/	[ʔojíddu]	‘four’
	ai/aj	/gaiddi/	[gajíddi]	‘cattle’

Thirdly, a grammatical formative that begins with a vowel is a glide rather than forming a diphthong with the preceding vowel. Consider the following examples

81. oi/oj /ʔindo-i/ [ʔíndo-j] ‘mother-NOM’
 ai/aj /zawa-i/ [zawá-j] ‘house-NOM’

In general, based on the above examples we can identify five diphthongs in Kole language, namely, **ai, oi, au, ei** and **ui**. They always occur word medially.

2.3. Suprasegmental Features

Suprasegmental is a term used in phonetics and phonology to refer to a vocal effect which does not extend over more than one sound segment in an utterance, such as pitch, stress, or juncture pattern (Crustal, 2008:466).

2.3.1. Consonant Gemination

Gemination is a term used in phonetics and phonology for a sequence of identical adjacent segments of a sound in a single morpheme. In other words, it is a process by which consonants are doubled. Germination of consonants in the Kole language has a phonemic status. In relation to this, consonant germination is not allowed word initially and word finally in the language. It is attested that all consonants, except /ʔ/, /h/ and /r/ do geminate word medially. Among these three phonemes, the phoneme /r/ never appears word initially³ in the language. The following are examples of words contrasting in meaning as a result of germination.

82. /bazo/ [bázo] ‘God, will’
 /bazzo/ [bázzo] ‘desert’
 /woga/ [wogá] ‘culture’
 /wogga/ [woggá] ‘Sunday’
 /ʔola/ [ʔolá] ‘war’
 /ʔolla/ [ʔollá] ‘well’

³The borrowed words like ‘roster’ and ‘report’ can be read as /ʔorostere/ and /ʔirporte/ in the language.

2.3.2. Vowel Length

Vowel lengthening is very frequent in Kole language. It has also phonemic status as indicated above in section 2.2.2. Concerning the distributions of vowels, all words begin with a consonant and end in a vowel. When a word begins with a vowel, a glottal stop precedes that vowel underringly.

2.3.3. Tone Accent.

Tone is a term used in phonology to refer to the distinctive pitch level of a syllable. Accent is defined as a phonological unit realized by auditory prominence, especially within a word (Matthews, 1997: 4). In relation to this, pitch is the property of sounds as perceived by the hearer that corresponds to the physical property of frequency (Matthews, 1997: 282).

Consequently, pitch accent is an accent which is primarily realized by a difference of pitch between accented and unaccented syllables. As Matthews (1997: 282) illustrated, accented syllables always carry the higher pitch. In pitch accent language, a single syllable per word is underlyingly associated with high pitch. In other words, high pitch bearing syllable is determined for each word and one of the syllables is assigned a high pitch. Therefore, there is only one high pitch per-word. According to Hayward's (1994) observation regarding Chenchu variety of Gamo high pitch is a once-pre-phrase element whose location is always in the first word. He also described that there are only two possibilities for the location of high pitch and concluded that penultimate or ultimate vowel carries the high pitch. Furthermore, he pointed out that nominative suffixation and definite marker suffixation do not affect the original location of high pitch. However, he states that the case of plural forms with respect of high pitch presents some interesting pattern. According to his investigation, nominals whose singular have high pitch located on the penultimate vowel does not show any change in location. Whereas nominals, whose singular have high pitch on the terminal vowel, does show a change in locations; we find accent shift on the final vowel of the plural form.

Like other Ometo languages such as Wolayta (Azeb, 1996), Zayse (Haywar, 1990), Haro (Hirut 2004) and Gamo (Hayward, 1994) Kole is a pitch-accent language in which high tone occurs only once per-simple word.

With great majority of the disyllabic nouns, the high pitch occurs at the ultimate syllable. Consider the following examples:

83.	/gawo/	[gawó]	'belly'
	/doro/	[doró]	'sheep'
	/ʃaato/	[ʃaató]	'child'
	/ʔatfo/	[ʔatfó]	'meat'
	/kapo/	[kapó]	'bird'
	/zawa/	[zawá]	'house'
	/budo/	[budó]	'fire'
	/giro/	[giró]	'mole'
	/geleʃʃó/	[geleʃʃó]	'baboon'
	/ʔabba/	[ʔabbá]	'lake'

There are also disyllabic nouns with an accented penultimate syllable, as in the following:

84.	/demba/	[démba]	'plain'
	/k'ook'e/	[k'óók'e]	'blind'
	/kutʃe/	[kútʃe]	'hand'
	/tuke/	[túke]	'foot'
	/ʔulo/	[ʔúlo]	'belly'
	/gaʔo/	[gáʔo]	'beg'(V)

With trisyllabic or polysyllabic nouns, the high pitch occurs ultimate or penultimate syllables. Consider the following examples

85. /godare/	[godaré]	'hayna'
/wozina/	[woziná]	'heart'
/goopina/	[goopína]	'lung'
/dangarsi/	[dangársi]	'elephant'
/s'uguntsu/	[s'ugúntsu]	'nail'
/wuzins'e/	[wuzíns'e]	'fly'
/zayzare/	[zayzáre]	'sieve'

On the other hand, with infinitive forms, the accent occurs initial syllable. Consider the following examples:

86. /maʔo/	[máʔo]	'to wear'
/hamo/	[hámo]	'to go'
/bayso/	[báyso]	'to sell'
/kaʔo/	[káʔo]	'to play'
/dendo/	[déndo]	'to sand'

In the case of extended phrase, no matter what the category of the modifying element that precedes the head is, we find a consistent pattern; namely the first (left most) word has High Tone located where it would be if the word were uttered in isolation, but in the word(s) that follow, there is no occurrence of High Tone. It appears if High Tone is a once-pre-phrase element, and that its location is always in the first word. Consider the following examples:

- 87a. **bóóttsu kana**
'white dog'
- 87b. **zoʔó sak'k'e**
'red belt'
- 87c. **támmu mittsi**
'ten trees'

- 87d. **nám?u tuke**
‘two feet’

Therefore, one can expect high pitch accent in one place per simple word in the construction of Kole phrase.

It is possible to have contrastive words that differ only in their tone pattern to bring about meaning difference. The following are examples of minimal pairs which contrast in the tone-accent pattern.

- 88a. /wóla/ ‘together’
 /wolá/ ‘type of tree’
88b. /gúta/ ‘tomorrow’
 /gutá/ ‘neighbor’
88c. /ʔámo/ ‘wish’
 /ʔamó/ ‘neck’
88d. /kápo/ ‘wait’
 /kapó/ ‘bird’

As we can see from the above examples, the shift of high pitch from one syllable to another syllable results in lexical, morphological and grammatical changes.

2.4. Phonotactics of Kole

Phonotactics is a term used in phonology to refer to the sequential arrangements of phonological units which occur in a language - what counts as a phonologically well-formed word (Cyrstal 2008: 366). Based on this fact, the Kole language allows two sequences of identical (geminated) or non-identical consonants juxtaposed to each other only word medially. In other words, the position where consonant cluster can appear is word medial. Therefore, one can easily conclude that in this language there are no words which begin or end with a cluster of

consonants. The possible consonant cluster which are observed in the language are: lb, rb, jl, rʔ, lʔ, nts, ng, mʔ, nd, ns', ndʒ, ntʃ',rt, lt, rg, lg, rm, np, jz, zd, ʒg, ʃk, rk', lk', jk', nk, st, nt, nb, js, rb, rs, rts, rʒ, nʔ,jtʃ',ntʃ, rʃ, rtʃ, rk, lk, ndz.

As it is shown in the list given above, the first member of a consonant cluster in Kole language is a nasal, a liquid, a glide or a sibilant consonant. The second member can possibly be any consonant except consonants /d, j, w, h, r, n/.

The following are some examples of words illustrating the sequential occurrence of consonants word medially. Consider the following examples:

89. /wonde/	[wónde]	'before now'
/tanbo/	[tambó]	'tobacco'
/banga/	[baŋgá]	'barley'
/mente/	[menté]	'twin'
/konke/	[koŋké]	'nose'
/dunpe/	[dʌmpé]	'uncivilized'
/giste/	[gisté]	'wheat'
/gozda/	[gozdá]	'coral, shell'
/salke/	[salké]	'peel'
/korbe/	[korbé]	'male goat'
/shark'e/	[ʃark'é]	'thigh'
/galsi/	[galsi]	'ram'
/marfe/	[marfé]	'competition'
/tortfe/	[tortfé]	'spring'
/dondza/	[dóndza]	'adult'
/maido/	[májdo]	'ox'
/difko/	[dífko]	'hairy or having hair'

Chart III Word Medial Consonant Sequences in Kole

C ₁	m	n	s	z	ʃ	ʒ	r	l	j
C ₂									
p	+	+					+	+	+
b	+	+					+	+	+
β							+		
m							+		+
w									
t		+	+				+	+	+
d		+		+			+	+	+
d̥									+
s							+	+	+
z							+	+	+
s'		+					+	+	+
ts		+					+		
dz		+							
l									+
r									+
n									+
ʃ							+		+
ʒ									
tʃ		+					+	+	+
dʒ		+					+	+	
tʃ'		+					+	+	+
j									
g		+		+		+	+	+	+
k		+	+		+		+	+	+
k'		+					+	+	+
ʔ	+	+					+	+	+
h									

The above chart presents the permissible consonant sequences. The first member (C₁) comprises all sonorants (nasals, trills, laterals, glides) and some exceptional cases fricatives (s, z, ʃ, ʒ) occur first member of the sequenc. The second member (C₂) comprises all obstrunts (stops, implosives, ejectives, affricates, fricatives). The fricatives share the membership of the two members.

2.5. The Syllable Structure

A syllable in Kole language comprises an onset, a nucleus and a coda. Onset can be defined as the opening segment of a syllable; whereas coda can be defined as the closing segment of the syllable. Both segments are filled in by consonants. On the other hand, nucleus can be defined as the central segment of the syllable. Besides, in the Kole language, it is always filled in by a vowel segment. Concerning their constraints, the coda is optional, as against the nucleus and onset which are obligatory. A consonant-vowel (CV) sequence is a pattern, which seems to be found in all languages; because the syllable is not closed by another consonant; this type of syllable is called an open syllable type. The pattern CVC is known as close syllable type (Crystal, 2008: 468). Both syllable types are possible syllable structures in the Kole language. Since all vowels are preceded by a glottal stop word initially; thus, we do not find a short or a long vowel patterned syllable structure in the language under study word initially. The syllable structure of Kole can be captured by the following general formula: C₁V (V) (C₀₋₁), where C₀₋₁ shows the range of coda.

A syllable with a short vowel preceded by onset consonant is CV. Consider the following examples:

90.	/ʔaddo/	[ʔad- <u>dó</u>]	<u>CV</u>	‘father’
	/ʔindo/	[ʔín- <u>do</u>]	<u>CV</u>	‘mother’
	/ne/	[né]	<u>CV</u>	‘you’

A syllable with an onset followed by a long vowel is **CVV**. Consider the following examples:

91. /hoo/ [hóó] CVV 'yes'
/ʔaatfo/ [ʔáá-tfo] CVV-CV 'to hide'
/ʔoole/ [ʔoo-lé] CVV-CV 'murmur'

A syllable with an onset consonant, a nucleus vowel and a coda is **CVC**. Consider the following examples:

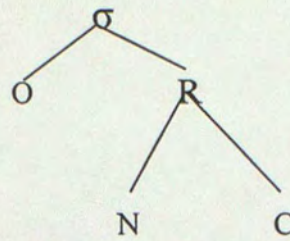
92. /gande/ [gan-dé] CVC-CV 'axe'
/ganʔa/ [gan-ʔá] CVC-CV 'insult'

A syllable with onset, a long vowel and a coda is **CVVC**. Consider the following examples:

93. /ʔoollo/ [ʔool-ló] CVVC-CV 'horse'
/tʃuutʃe/ [tʃuut-tʃé] CVVC-CV 'louse'

The syllable structures CV, CVV, CVC and CVVC are found in the Kole language. But there are restrictions as to the occurrence of heavy syllables which are not preceded by a glottal stop, i.e. syllables with VC, VVC or VVC. However, stems with four syllables are very rare and occur only in loan words; more syllables may occur in inflected words, especially verbs with many suffixes.

Fig 4: Syllable Structure



σ = syllable

O = onset

R = rhyme

N = nucleus

C = coda

2.6. Phonological Processes

Process is any approach to linguistic description which sees some elements (structures, etc.) as being the result of a change operating on some other element in the language. The process of change is real (as in attested processes of diachronic change) or part of the abstract system of relationships found in a particular model of description (Crystal, 2008: 388).

In the Kole language the following common phonological processes are attested.

2.6.1. Fricativization and Allophonic Variants

The process of fricativization takes place when stops /p/ and /b/ occur between vowels and become voiceless fricative [ɸ] and [β] respectively. Consider the following examples:

- 94a. /k'upe/ [k'uφé] 'cough'
 /kapo/ [káφo] 'wait'
 /kapo/ [kaφó] 'bird'
- 94b. /ʎibo/ [ʎiβó] 'door, gate'
 /ɖube/ [ɖuβé] 'obstacle'
 /gooba/ [gooβá] 'brave'

The above process can be captured by the following general rule.

$$[+stop] \rightarrow [+fricative] / V _ V$$

/r/ becomes a flap [r], when it occurs between vowels. Consider the following examples:

95. /wora/ [worá] 'forest'
 /giro/ [giró] 'mole'
 /ʎira/ [ʎirá] 'rain'

The above process can be generalized by the following rule.

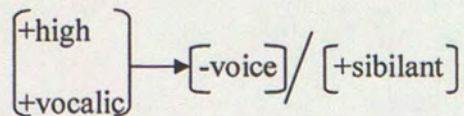
$$/r/ \rightarrow [r] / V _ V$$

The high front vowel /i/ and the high back vowel /u/ are devoiced⁴ after /s/, /ʃ/, /ts/, and /tʃ/ in word final position. Consider the following examples:

⁴ process or change by voice is lost or restricted

96. /bootstu/	[bóótstu]	‘white’
/biitftʃi/	[bíitftʃí]	‘urine’
/miisi/	[míísí]	‘cow’
/fooffu/	[fóóffú]	‘snake’

The above process can be captured by the following rule:



2.6.2. Nasalization.

Nasalization is a process whereby an oral segment acquires nasality from a neighboring segment. Nasalization is a common feature affecting vowels in Kole language. An oral vowel is phonetically nasalized when it precedes a nasal consonant. On the hand, there is no phonemic contrast between an oral and a nasalized vowel in the language. So, the nasal assimilation rule follows the general process of regressive assimilation in the language under study. Consider the following examples:

97. /sino/	[sínó]	‘forehead’
/gande/	[gāndé]	‘axe’
/kun’e/	[kūnʔé]	‘narrow’
/gondalle/	[gõndallé]	‘shield’
/fene/	[fēné]	‘angry’

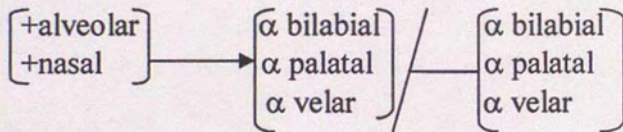
This process can be captured by the following rule;

$$V \rightarrow [+nas] / -[C+nas]$$

2.6.3. Homorganic Nasal Assimilation.

In Kole, there is a homorganic assimilation of /n/ to the point of articulation of the bilabial⁵, palatal and velar segments as can be seen in the following examples.

98a.	/zanbo/	[zambó]	‘brave’
	/denba/	[démba]	‘field’
	/s'onpe/	[s'ompé]	‘torch’
98b.	/gantʃe/	[gãntʃe]	‘chewing’
	/boontʃo/	[bóntʃo]	‘honor’
	/andʒo/	[ʔãndʒo]	‘bless’
98c.	/fanka/	[ʃaŋká]	‘hunting’
	/ʔanko/	[ʔaŋkó]	‘vulture’
	/banga/	[baŋgá]	‘barely’
	/dank'o/	[dáŋk'o]	‘tick’



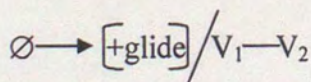
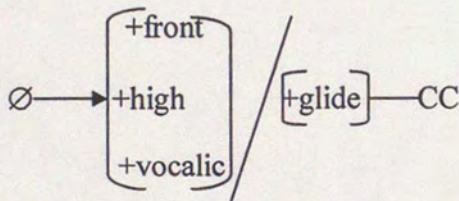
⁵ examples given in 99 below are bilabial assimilation

2.6.4. Epenthesis.

Epenthesis is the insertion of one or more sounds within a word, particularly in loan words, to conform to the phonological pattern of borrowing language. New segments may appear from zero in formerly occupied marginal positions in the word or morpheme or between two previously abutting segments (Lass, 1976: 184).

In the case of the Kole language, the insertion of the segment /j/ takes place where the front vowel /i/ is preceded by a non-identical vowel, and followed by geminated consonant. Besides, when front vowel /i/ and back vowel /u/ occur as the second member of a diphthong, they will automatically be changed into segments /j/ and /w/ respectively.

99. /ʔoiddu/	[ʔojíddu]	'four'
/gaiddi/	[gajíddi]	'cattle'
/ʔoide/	[ʔojdé]	'stool'
/gauo/	/gawó/	'belly'



In general, segment insertion takes place in order to avoid the impermissible sequences of vowels or consonant clusters. When impermissible sequences of vowels happen, we insert one of the glides which are known as /j/ and /w/ accordingly. On the other hand, the impermissible sequence of consonant occurs; the segment /i/ will be inserted.

2.6.5. Metathesis

Metathesis is a term used in linguistics to refer to an alteration in the normal sequence of elements in a sentence - usually of sounds, but sometimes of syllables, words, or other units. Metatheses are well recognized in historical linguistics, but they can also be seen in performance errors - in tongue slip. Metathesis may also involve switching non-continuous sounds - non-adjacent metathesis, long-distance metathesis or hyper thesis. Most commonly, it refers to switching of two or more continuous sounds, known as adjacent metathesis⁶. This type of metathesis occurs in some examples in the Kole language. Consider the following examples:

100. /bak'ulo/ [bak'uló] → baluk'o [baluk'ó] 'mule'
 /gawara/ [gawará] → garawa [garawá] 'cat'

This process can be captured by the following rule.

$$C_1VC_2VC_3 \longrightarrow C_1VC_3VC_2$$

⁶ neighboring alternation of sound sequences

2.7. Morphophonological Processes

This section presents some morphophonological processes that are observed at morpheme boundaries in Kole language.

2.7.1 Deletion of Segments

Elision is the omission of sounds at the beginning or end of syllables or words in connected speech, usually for ease of pronunciation (Samuel 2004: 52). Elision or segment deletion can be processed in different positions. Two instances of deletion of segments are attested in the Kole language. The first one occurs in word compounding, where we observe the deletion of the terminal vowel of the first word and the deletion of the word initial glottal stop of the second word. Except those vowels that are preceded by a different consonant. Consider the following examples:

- 101a. /mehé/ 'cattle'
 /ʔadé/ 'man, male'
 /meháde/ 'owner of the cattle'
- 101b. /wolk'á/ 'power'
 /ʔadé/ 'male, man'
 /wolk'áde/ 'powerful'

It noted that the high pitch accent is deleted from the scnd word in compounding process. The above processes can be captured by the following rule.

$$/ʔ/ \rightarrow \emptyset / \# - V$$
$$/V/ \rightarrow \emptyset / - \#$$

The second instance of segment deletion is the deletion of the terminal vowel of nominals before the suffixal elements such as plural marker {-ede} and feminine definite marker {-att-}. It is

noted that the pitch accent is shifted from its singular position to its plural position; whereas in the case of definite marker, pitch accent shift is not attested. Consider the following examples:

	ABS:SG	ABS:PL	Gloss
102.	kaná	kan-edé	'dogs'
	kútfe	kutf-edé	'hands'
	ʔóto	ʔot-edé	'pots'
	míttsi	mitstst-edé	'trees'
	ʔúútstsy	ʔuutsts-edé	'false bananas'
	IDF:SG:ABS	F:DF:ABS	Gloss
103.	kaná	kan-átt-o	'dog'
	kútfe	kútf-att-o	'hand'
	ʔóto	ʔót-att-o	'pot'
	míttsi	mítsts-att-o	'tree'
	ʔúútstsu	ʔúútsts-att-o	'false banana'

2.7.2. The deletion of glottalized segments /sʔ/ and suffixation of the element -tsts

The deletion of segments /sʔ/ and suffixation of the element -tsts- occur in order to change the verb root to noun stem. Finally the nominalizer element -e and -i are attached to form noun in Kole language. Consider the following examples:

104.	wos'-	'run'	wotstse	'running'
	kas'-	'cook'	katstsi	'food'
	mis'-	'collect wood'	mitstsi	'wood'

The process can be captured by the following phonological rule:

$sʔ \rightarrow tsts/V \text{ root-}$

Similarly, the deletion of affricate / tʃ/ and suffication of non-ejective geminated counterpart /tʃtʃ/ occur in order to change verb root into noun stem or root. Consider the following examples:

105.	gaatʃ-	'grind'	gaatʃtʃe	'grinding'
	?atʃ-	'tie'	?atʃtʃi	'tying'
	miitʃ-	'laugh'	miitʃtʃe	'laughter'

The process can be captured by the following rule:

tʃ → tʃtʃ / V root-

In general, under this chapter twenty seven consonant phonemes and five vowel phonemes are identified. Consonant gemination and vowel lengthen are phonemic in Kole language. Besides, all other phonological aspects such as Tone Accent, Phonotacts, Syllable structure, Phonological processes and morphophonological processes are well discussed.

CHAPETER 3

Noun Morphology

In this chapter, the morphological structure of nouns in Kole language is examined. In all languages, words can be divided into two broad classes of content words and function words. Nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs are content words, whereas adpositions, conjunctions, and articles, as well as auxiliaries and words classified as 'particles' are function words.

Concerning the morphological profile of a word, Kole exhibits suffixing morphology. In relation to this fact, agglutination up to more than three suffixes to a word stem is allowed in Kole language. Both derivational and inflectional morphemes are attested. In the Kole language, a single morph can stand for more than one grammatical exponent. For instance, each of the grammatical features – case and gender, definiteness and gender, tense and modality, are expressed jointly via a single element. A similar situation is attested for other languages of the Omoto clusters, such as Male (Azeb, 2001), and Haro (Hirut, 2004: 64). In the following section the morphology of nouns is presented.

3.1. Noun and Terminal Vowels

Noun is one of the grammatical classifications of words, traditionally defined as the name of concrete and abstract entities. In linguistic terms, then, nouns are items which display certain types of inflection (ex. Case and Number), have specific distribution and perform a specific syntactic function (ex. Subject or Object or Complement of sentence).

Most of nouns in Kole language are nouns with two syllables. One syllabic noun hasn't been attested. Nouns with three or more syllables have been found. There are nouns with three or more syllable that cannot be analyzed and these nouns can be taken as basic. Words consisting of more than three syllables are mostly morphologically complex; i.e. they are inflected or derived

or compound ones as it is indicated in Haro, another related Ometo language, by Hirut (2004: 40). There are small polysyllabic nouns. Consider the following examples:

1. **jurufúdde** 'a kind of tree'
bolibótʃʹtʃʹo 'a kind of butterfly'
lakʹilátstsi 'a kind of worm'
ʔajitʃʹáwa 'abortion'

Nouns in Kole never end in a consonant when it occurs as a simple word. All nouns in Kole language end with vowels /a/, /u/, /i/, /e/ and /o/ in citation form. These vowels are called terminal vowel. Terminal vowels of nouns and nominals constitute the most complex aspect of noun morphology in Kole language. Hayward, (1987: 221), mentioned in Hirut, (2004: 40), the following.

The language ancestral to the Ometo group had four classes of nominals distinguished by four distinct terminal vowels: **-e**, **-a**, **-o** and **-i**. In the development of different languages of Ometo, changes in terminal vowels of nominals has taken place and nominal cognates across members of Ometo show variation in terminal vowels of nominals.

In this study, feature of terminal vowels has been given. Besides, investigation of the association between a terminal vowels and a noun stem has been made.

In Kole language, five phonemic vowels have been found to be terminal vowels of nouns. The five terminal vowels are **-a**, **-e**, **-o**, **-i**, and **-u**.

The high pitch-accent feature of a terminal vowel is lexically determined, and it is impossible to predict. Consider the following examples from the five classes.

Table 3: Examples of the four TVs of nouns in Kole

	TV-a	Gloss	TV-e	Gloss	TV-o	Gloss
2a.	mára	'calf'	kutʃé	'hand'	ʔóto	'pot'
	kuttó	'hen'	kéja	'kind'	kapó	'bird'
	ʔawá	'sun'	gomé	'sin'	metó	'problem'
	ʔána	'where'	kétʃa	'fence'	s'ééro	'tip,edge'
	worá	'forest'	k'epé	'wing'	k'eerá	saterday
	TV-i	Gloss	TV-u	Gloss		
2b.	ʔimátstsi	'guest'	súútstsu	'blood'		
	mítstsi	'wood'	dóótstsu	'neighbour'		
	míisi	'cow'	bútstsu	'wart'		
	miiʃʃé	'money'	ʃútʃʃu	'stone'		
	ʃida	'honey'	ʔabússu	'dream'		

As stated in Hirut (2004: 42) terminal vowels are complex. When terminal vowels are attached to verbs, they function as nominalizing element. It doesn't seem that terminal vowels that are found with verb stems and simple noun stems that haven't verbal counterpart are homonyms. Phonologically conditioned terminal vowels are attested in simple nouns and nouns with verbal counterpart. This is examined in the following section. Nominals are realized with a terminal vowel whose function is nominal class marker. This shows that terminal vowels are elements that form nominals from bound forms, which do not belong to a specific word category:

ROOT-TV = NOUN STEM

Association of a terminal vowel with a noun stems are lexically determined. But, in some cases, the phonological feature of the noun stems is likely to determine occurrences of a terminal vowel in a noun stem.

3.1.1. Predictability of Terminal Vowels

From the phonological characteristics of the stem, the occurrence of the terminal vowels **-i** and **-u** are predictable from the phonological feature of the stem. This is exceptional situation. The terminal vowels, **-i** and **-u**, are found with noun stems, which have a sibilant-final consonant (see for instance nouns in example 2b).

The terminal vowels **-i** and **-u** in Kole are the marginal terminal vowels restricted to a post sibilant position. These terminal vowels that occur at a post sibilant position is reduced to devoiced vowels (see section 2.2.1 ex.56 and ex. 62 in chapter 2).

3.1.2. Stability of Terminal Vowels

In the process of plural suffixation, terminal vowel may not remain stable. It can be automatically deleted and the pitch accent is shifted to plural final vowel. Consider the following examples:

	IDF:SG	DF:PL	Gloss
3.	kan-á	kan-edé	'dog'
	dor-ó	dor-edé	'sheep'
	har-é	har-edé	'donkey'
	ʔátsts-i	ʔátsts-edé	'men'
	ʔúss-u	ʔúss-edé	'heifer'

Stability of the terminal vowel is determined by the quality of the vowel and the gender feature of the suffix when a consonantal suffix is added to a noun. This is observed with suffixation of a definite marking suffix, which is gender sensitive to a noun stem. The high vowels **-i** and **-u** are always deleted, in contrast to the terminal vowels **-a**, **-e** and **-o**, which remains stable in the same position when the masculine definite marker **{-z}** is added to the nouns.

Terminal vowels are deleted when the feminine definite marker {-att} is added on the nouns. The deletion of the terminal vowels -i and -u is took place. The suffixation the terminal vowel -a occurs when the suffixation of masculine definite marker occurs. Consider the following examples:

	IDF:ABS	M:DF:ABS	F:DF:ABS	
4.	dor-ó	dor-ó-z-a	dor-att-o	'sheep'
	kan-á	kan-á-z-a	kan-att-o	'dog'
	har-é	har-é-z-a	har-att-o	'donkey'
	ʔátsts-i	ʔátsts-á-z-a	ʔatsts-att-o	'person'
	fútfjf-u	fútfjf-á-z-a	futftf-att-o	'stone'

3.2. Inflection of the Noun in Kole.

Nouns in the Kole language are inflected to express different grammatical categories such as definiteness, gender, number and case. Each morpheme which stands for each of the inflectional exponence is attached to a noun stem in the following order: NOUN-NUMBER-DEFINITENESS-CASE. The same order has also been mentioned in Hirut, (2004: 47). Each of the inflectional categories is provided below.

3.2.1. Number

Number is a grammatical category used for the analysis of word classes, displaying such contrast as singular, dual, trial and plural. Number is, minimally, an opposition of *singular* to *plural*. Less common numbers are *dual* (two individuals), *trial* (three individuals), and *paucal* (few individuals). The contrasts generally correspond to the number of real world entities referred to, but a linguist has drawn attention to the problems involved in proposing any such straight forward one-to-one correlation.

In the case of Kole language, number is the distinction between singular and plural marked on a noun. Nouns in Kole language make two-way number distinction between the singular and the plural. Singularity is marked by zero morphemes while plurality is designated by the morpheme {-ede}. Consider the following examples which show the occurrence of singular and plural marker:

Singular	Gloss	Morphologically marked PL	Gloss
5. kaná	'dog'	kan-edé	'dogs'
s'egá	'goat'	s'eg-edé	'goats'
doró	'sheep'	dor-edé	'sheep'
faató	'child'	faat-edé	'children'
?átstsi	'person'	?átstsi-edé	'persons'
míisi	'cow'	míis-edé	'cows'

With a group of nouns in Kole language, plurality is rather expressed lexically. Hence, plural forms are expressed by using different lexical items, as illustrated below. (Taken from Text 2, No.6, line 1)

Singular	Gloss	Lexically marked PL	Gloss
6. doró	'sheep'	?óós's'u	'sheep'
faató	'child'	ǰáw	'children'
?átstsi	'person, man'	géri	'persons, men'
míisi	'cow'	gajiddi	'cows and oxen'

The plural nouns shown in the above examples are bound forms and cannot be manifested as surface forms in the case of marked plural. All the final vowels in the citation for singular nouns are deleted when the plural marker {-ede} is suffixed to show the plural form of the noun. This is because of the sequence of two different vowels is not allowed in the language. On the other

hand, the absolutive case markers, for definite singular masculine and definite singular feminine nouns are denoted by different bound morphemes. So, the absolutive case suffix {-a} and {-o} are used with masculine definite singular and feminine definite singular nouns respectively.

The plural forms which are designated lexically assigned words use the plural marker {-ons'-} which is differently assigned for animate nouns redundantly. Consider the following illustrations:

	Singular	Gloss	Lexical PL	Lex.PL:Mor.PL	Gloss
7.	doró	'sheep'	ʔóóttsu ~	ʔóótts-ons'-a	'sheep'
	ʔáttsi	'person'	géri ~	gér-ons'-a	'persons'
	jaató	'child'	jáw ~	jáw-ons'-a	'children'
	mísi	'cow'	gajiddi ~	gajidd-ons'-a	'cow, oxen'

When we observe the above examples, the absolutive case marker {-a} occurs for plural nouns in contrast to the previously mentioned ones. In this case, it is also possible to use the regular plural marker {-ede-} as an alternative. However, we do not see any meaning differences because of these kinds of changes.

All proper nouns in Kole language take the morpheme {-as'} to show plurality, i.e. to refer to a group of persons consisting of X and others, where X is a name of a person. Consider the following examples.

	Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
8.	daróta	'a name of person'	darót-as'-a	'Darotaa and others'
	kártje	'a name of person'	kártj-as'-a	'Karche and others'
	gijáte	'a name of woman'	giját-as'-a	'Giyate and others'
	ditftjá	'a title name'	ditftj-as'-a	'Ditchcha and others'

As can be noted from the above examples, plural number marking process takes place according to the environment needed. As observed from the data, the absolutive case marker for proper

nouns is the same as the second mechanism which is attested in redundantly used plural nouns. Thus, one can conclude that the suffixes {-as'-} and {-ons'-} are the allomorphs of the regular suffix {-eǰe}.

With mass nouns, different quantifiers are used to express large or small amount of them. The common quantifiers are **ʔeere** or **s'ik'k'e** 'small' and **daro** or **matfo** 'many, much' that indicate small and large amount of nouns respectively. Consider the following examples:

Nouns with quantifiers	Gloss
9. ʔeere haatstse	'some water'
s'ik'k'e maatstsi	'some milk'
daro haatstse	'much water'
matfo maatstsi	'much milk'

Numerals and other quantifiers are also used to indicate quantity of countable nouns as shown below:

Nouns with numerals	Gloss
10. namʔu kana (eǰe)	'two dogs'
hajitstsi kana (eǰe)	'three dogs'
matfo kana (eǰe)	'lots of dogs'
ʔúuga kana (eǰe)	'some dogs'

It can be noted from the above examples that the plural marker can be optionally omitted, with quantifier elements.

3.2.2. Gender

Gender can be distinguished in three ways in Kole language: First, by special lexical items, second, by using gender marking suffixes; and third, by using modifier words. Therefore, each type of expressing gender is presented below.

3.2.2.1. Gender expressing by using special lexical items

As stated earlier, one way of expressing gender in Kole nouns is using separate lexical items for masculine and feminine nouns. The following examples are given for further illustrations.

	Feminine	Gloss	Masculine	Gloss
11.	bíjfo	'wife'	?áde	'husband'
	?índo	'mother'	?addó	'father'
	mitfó	'sister'	?ítje	'brother'
	wudurá	'girl'	saabá	'adolescent'
	mísi	'cow'	májdo	'ox'

3.2.2.2. Gender expressed by using modifiers

As can be noted from the following illustrations, using modifiers **?ade** 'male' and **bíjfo** 'female' for Masculine and Feminine nouns can also express gender in Kole nouns respectively.

	Nouns with modifiers	Gloss
12.	ʔáde astamare	'male teacher'
	bíffí astamare	'Female teacher'
	ʔítfe jaato ⁷	'brother's son or daughter'
	mitfí jaato	'sister's son or daughter'

It should be noted that discussion concerning gender marking suffixes is included within definiteness and case discussions.

3.2.2.3. Gender marked morphologically

Gender marking suffixes in Kole language are portmanteau morphemes that simultaneously mark gender and definiteness or gender and case. Hence, 'Gender' is analyzed in association with 'Definiteness' and 'Case'. All necessary examples are given in the following two sections.

3.2.3. Definiteness

In Kole language, indefinite nouns are not morphologically marked. Thus, citation forms are used as indefinite and generic forms. On the other hand, definite nouns are marked via two gender sensitive elements, namely, **-z-** and **-att-**. The former occurs with masculine nouns whereas the latter occurs with feminine nouns. Consider the following examples:

⁷ This word is the direct translation of the English word child.

IDF:N	Gloss	M:DF	F:DF	Gloss
13. ʔokká	'calf'	ʔokká-z-	ʔokk-att-	'the calf'
doró	'sheep'	doró-z-	dor-att-	'the sheep'
zawá	'house'	zawá-z-	zaw-att-	'the house'
godaré	'hyena'	godaré-z-	godar-att-	'the hyena'

As it is illustrated in the above examples, the terminal vowels of indefinite nouns are deleted when the feminine definite marker is suffixed to citation forms of indefinite nouns, whereas the terminal vowels of indefinite nouns are retained when masculine definite marker is suffixed to the citation forms of indefinite nouns. It is noted that the definite marking elements in Kole language have to be followed by the appropriate case marking morphemes in order to show the surface form of the word. In the citation form, the absolutive marking morpheme {-a} is suffixed to the noun stem following the masculine definite marker {-z-} which is attached following the noun forms; whereas the absolutive Feminine marking morpheme {-o} is suffixed to the noun stem following the Feminine definite marker {-att-} which is attached to citation forms. Concerning nominative case, both masculine and feminine definite nouns are denoted by the nominative marking morpheme {-i}.

M:DF:ABS	M:DF:NOM	F:DF:ABS	F:DF:NOM	Gloss
14. ʔokká-z-a	ʔokká-z-i	ʔokk-att-o	ʔokk-att-i	'the calf'
doró-z-a	doró-z-i	dor-att-o	dor-att-i	'the sheep'
zawá-z-a	zawá-z-i	zaw-att-o	zaw-att-i	'the house'
godaré-z-a	godaré-z-i	godar-att-o	godar-att-i	'the hyena'

3.2.4. Case

Blake (2001: 1) defined case as a system of marking dependent nouns for type of relationship they bear to their head. He further notes that the term traditionally refers to inflectional marking, and, typically, case marks the relationship of nouns to a verb at the clause level or of a noun to a preposition, postposition or another noun at the phrase level. Case is a morphological

phenomenon that can have syntactic and semantic functions. It is morphological in that it is marked with an inflectional ending on the noun.

Concerning the nominative case, suffix {-i} is attached to both masculine and feminine bound stems respectively. It is also attached to plural noun forms in order to show the nominative case.

As it is stated earlier, the suffix morpheme {-a} is suffixed to the plural nouns in order to indicate the absolutive cases. Here the grammatical function is similar to Haro (Hirut 2004). The Gamo language and other North Ometo clusters mark nominative and absolutive markers by suffixing different elements. The morpheme {-i} is suffixed to masculine noun and plural nouns in order to show nominative cases. Whereas the morpheme {-a} is suffixed to feminine nouns in order to show nominative case. In Kole language when the plural marker {-ede} attaches to a singular noun, in order pluralize the absolutive marker is indicated by the same form. The absolutive case is marked at the end of indefinite nouns by the terminal vowel of the citation form, whereas it is marked at the end of definite nouns and plural nouns overtly. At this level, the citation form and absolutive case are indicated by similar element which is known as terminal vowel. That is why this study considers the absolutive instead of accusative. Below are some illustrative examples of citation/absolutive and nominative forms of some nouns in Kole language.

	SG:ABS	SG:NOM	Gloss
15a.	kaná	kaná-i	'dog'
	doró	doró-i	'sheep'
	s'éga	s'éga-i	'goat'
	PL:ABS	PL:NOM	Gloss
15b.	kan-ede	kan-ede-i	'dogs'
	dor-ede	dor-ede-i	'sheep'
	s'eg-ede	s'eg-ede-i	'goats'

Case marking in the Kole language is not limited to only nouns. The other classes such as relative clauses, adjectives and demonstratives involve case marking when they occur without a

head noun they modify in a noun phrase (Wondimu, 2010: 88). Hirut (2004) has also confirmed this in the analysis of case in Haro. Thus, case marking is a property of nominals.

According to grammatical descriptions for related Ometo languages, namely Maale (Azeb 2001), and Haro (Hirut 2004: 63), case marking morphemes are divided into two hierarchal levels or strata. In the first level, we have what is called 'core case', which includes the nominative and absolutive cases. In the second level we have 'peripheral' cases comprising genitive, dative instrumental, locative, ablative, and vocative cases.

As identified for Haro by Hirut (2004) the Genitive case belongs to the 'Core case'. The reason given for this is that the Genitive case in Haro functions as a base for 'Peripheral case' marking. Besides, the Nominative case and Genitive case are marked by a similar suffixal form. The same situation as attested for Haro is attested for the Kole language. In this language, case interacts with definiteness. Thus, the discussion about the two hierarchal levels is given in the following sections.

3.2.4.1. Core Cases

According to this study, the core case comprises the three groups which are known as nominative, absolutive, and genitive cases. Thus, the discussion about these groups is given below.

3.2.4.1.1. Nominative Case

In Kole language, the nominative case morpheme is {-i}. The same form is used for indefinite nouns, definite masculine nouns, definite Feminine nouns and plural nouns. So, the following sentences illustrate the occurrence of nominative case marker in the above mentioned contexts. The following examples are taken from Text 2, No 23, and line 5.

- 16a. **kaná-i** **botf'o -ko-si-d-e**
 dog-NOM bark-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'A dog barked.'
- 16b. **kaná-z-i** **botf'o -ko-si-d-e**
 dog-M:DF-NOM bark-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The dog barked.'
- 16c. **kan-att-i** **botf'o-k-isi-d-e**
 dog-F:DF-NOM bark-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'A bitch barked.'
- 16d. **kan-edē-i** **botf'o-ko-j-d-is-o**
 dog-PL-NOM bark-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'The dogs barked.'

The following examples are taken from Text 1 No.25, line 1.

- 17a. **faató-i** **jepa-ko-si-d-e**
 boy-NOM cry-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'A boy cried.'
- 17b. **faató-z-i** **jepa-ko-si-d-e**
 boy-M:DF-NOM cry-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The boy cried.'
- 17c. **faat-att-i** **jepa-k-isi-d-e**
 girl-F:DF-NOM cry-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The girl cried.'
- 17d. **jaw-edē-i** **jepa-ko-ji-d-is-o**
 boys-PL-NOM cry-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'The boys cried.'

Like nouns, personal pronouns in Kole language take the suffix {-i} to mark the nominative case, irrespective of their gender and number features. Consider the following examples: (Taken from Text 2, No.5, line 2)

- | | | |
|------|---|---|
| 18a. | ʔés-i
he-NOM
'He came.' | jetta-ko-si-d-e
come-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL |
| 18b. | ʔís-i
she-NOM
'She came.' | jetat-k-isi-d-e
come-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL |
| 18c. | ʔusún-i
they-NOM
'They came.' | jetta-ko-ji-d-is-o
come-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL |
| 18d. | baalót-i
baalote-NOM
'Balote came.' | jetta-k-isi-d-e
come-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL |
| 18e. | gumʔá-i
gumʔa-NOM
'Gum'a came.' | jetta-ko-si-d-e
come-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL |

As indicated in the above examples, Masculine, Feminine, proper and plural nouns take the morpheme {-i} in order to mark nominative case.

3.2.4.1.2. Absolutive Case

As it is for Haro in Hirut (2004: 67), the term absolutive⁸ here, should not be confused with its sense in ergative system of case marking whereby the absolutive refers to the subject of an

⁸ Following the practice of many scholars working on Omotic and Cushitic languages, the term 'absolutive' is used instead of 'accusative, in this study (cf. Hayward 1990 on Zayse, Azeb 2001 on Maale, Hirut 2004 on Haro, Binyam

intransitive verb and the direct object a transitive verb as opposed to nominative that marks subject of a transitive verb. The absolutive case in Kole language is like that of Haro, Maale and Zayse (see also Hirut 2004: 66). It refers to a core case having a wider range of syntactic functions. It includes the citation form of a noun. It is true that, in Kole language, the familiar nominative accusative pattern is not adequate to describe the case system. The accusative form of a noun is not restricted to the direct object grammatical relation, but as just mentioned, it also occurs in the predicative and citation forms. Hence, absolutive is used in this study instead of accusative.

The absolutive is the unmarked case, used for the direct object of a verb, as citation form. In many languages, it is distinguished by the absence of an affix. However, there is rare type of case system, which we call 'marked nominative/absolutive' occurs in Kole language. The defining characteristic of these systems is that there is an overt case-morpheme for the nominative/absolutive case in contrast to a non-overt (zero) morpheme for the accusative/ergative case.

The term absolutive here does not imply morphological unmarkedness. The Absolutive case is characterized by a special morphological signal that paradigmatically contrasts with the nominative and genitive. However, like the case in Haro (Hirut 2004: 68), we still use the term absolutive because of its wider syntactic functions, unlike the nominative and genitive

With indefinite nouns, the absolutive case in Kole language has the same form as that of the citation form. Apart from this, the absolutive case marking element is overtly marked in definite nouns in Kole language. In Kole language, the absolutive case is marked by the morpheme {-a} for masculine and, sometimes, plural nouns; whereas it is marked by the morpheme {-o} for feminine nouns. All indefinite nouns use their citation form as absolutive case marking elements.

2008 on Koorete). The main reason for this is the fact that nouns occurring as direct object in Kole are the same as the citation form of nouns in the majority of the cases.

The following examples illustrate the use of absolutive case in Kole sentences.

- 19a. **ʔés-i** **dor-att-o** **ʃuapa-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM sheep-F:DF-ABS slaughter-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He slaughtered the sheep (F).'
- 19b. **ʔés-i** **doro-z-a** **ʃupa-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM sheep-M:DF-ABS slaughter-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He slaughtered the sheep (M).'
- 19c. **ʔís-i** **godere-z-a** **wofa-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM hyena-M:DF-ABS kill-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She killed the hyena (M)
- 19d. **ʔís-i** **godar-att-o** **wofa-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM hyena-F:DF-ABS kill-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She killed the hyena (F).'

The absolutive case markers, {-a} and {-o} are also attested with pronouns and proper nouns. Consider the illustrative examples:

- 20a. **ʔés-i** **ʔis-o** **gujdo-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM her-ABS hit-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He hit her.'
- 20b. **ʔís-i** **ʔes-a** **gujdo-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM he-ABS hit-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She hit him.'
- 20c. **tán-i** **gumʔ-a** **beetta-ko-ti-d-e**
 I-NOM gumʔ-ABS see-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I saw Gumʔa.'
- 20d. **tán-i** **baalot-o** **beetta-ko-ti-d-e**
 I-NOM baalot-ABS see-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I saw Balote.'

As it is indicated in the above examples, the Feminine pronoun and proper noun are marked by the suffix {o} in order to show the Feminine definite absolutive case; whereas the Masculine definite absolutive is marked by the suffix {-a}.

3.2.4.1.3. Genitive Case

Genitive case is included under core case in Kole language. The first reason is that like other core cases, it involves differential case marking, that is only definite nouns allow overt case marking. Besides, it is used to derive peripheral cases such as the dative, ablative, locative, and instrumental. The situation is attested in Hirut (2004: 69) for Haro and in Azeb (2001) for Male.

The Genitive case marker in Kole language is {-i}, which has the same form as that of the nominative case marker. The use of {-i} as a genitive marker is attested only with definite nouns, as given in the following examples: (Taken from Text 3 No. 32, line 1)

- 21a.** *míís-att-i* *katf'e-i* *me?a-ko-si-d-e*
 cow-F:DF-GEN horn-NOM break-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The horn of the cow broke.’ Or ‘The horn of the cow is broken.’
- 21b.** *jaató-z-i* *kutje-i* *ma?a-ko-si-d-e*
 child-M:DF-GEN hand-NOM break-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The hand of the child broke’
- 21c.** *májdo-z-i* *katf'e-i* *?eeresu-kko*
 ox-M:DF-GEN horn-NOM small-FOC
 ‘The ox’s horn is small.’ Or ‘The horn of the ox is small.’

It is noted that in the case of indefinite nouns, all terminal vowels which are involved in the citation form are used as a genitive marking elements. Consider the following examples:

- 22a. **míís-i** **katf'e-i** **meʔa-ko-si-d-e**
cow-GEN horn-NOM break:PASS-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
‘The horn of a cow is broken.’
- 22b. **jaató** **kutʃe-i** **maʔa-ko-si-d-e**
child-IDF:GEN hand-NOM break:PASS-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
‘The hand of a child is broken.’
- 22c. **májdo** **katf'e-i** **gita-kko**
ox-IDF:GEN horn-NOM big-FOC
‘An ox’s horn is-big.’ Or ‘A horn of the ox is big.’

We have been analyzing the three core cases of Kole language in the above section. The peripheral cases of Kole language are presented below.

3.2.4.2. Peripheral Cases

The word peripheral refers to units or processes which operate at the margins of a structure or within a representation in linguistics (Crystal, 2008: 358). Dative, instrumental, comitative, ablative, vocative, locative, and directive are the ‘peripheral’ cases in Kole.

3.2.4.2.1. Dative Case

The dative case marker in Kole language is denoted by the morpheme {-ro}. In addition to that, suffix {-s} sometime occurs as alternative. Consider the following examples (Taken from Text 2, No, 27, line 3

- 23a. **bofórk'o-i** **mojdo-z-u-ro~s** **maata** **ʔinga-ko-si-d-e**
bofork'o-NOM ox-M:DF-DEEP-DAT grass:ABS give-FOC-3M-PF-AFF:DCL
‘Boshorko gave the grass to the ox.’
- 23b. **ʔés-i** **jaato-z-u-ro~s** **k'uma** **ʔinga-ko-si-d-e**

he-NOM child-M:DF-DEEP-DAT food:ABS give-FOC-3M-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He gave food to the child.'

3.2.4.2.2. Instrumental Case

In Kole language, the instrumental case is marked by the bound morpheme {-**nna**}, as shown in the following examples. (Taken from Text 2, No. 33, line 6)

24a. **ʔés-i mitstsi gande-nna ʔiis'o-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM tree-ABS axe-INST cut-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He cut a tree with an axe.'

24b. **tán-i jaato-z-a futʃfu-nna ʔitʃ'a-ko-ti-d-e**
 I-NOM child-M:DF-ABS stone-INST kick-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I hit the child with stone.'

24c. **tán-i jaato-z-a futʃfu-nna-ko-ti ʔitʃʔi-d-e**
 I-NOM child-M:DF-ABS stone-INST-FOC-1SG kick-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I hit the child with stone.'

It is noted from the example (23, line 1) that the agreement and focus markers are shifted from verb to indirect object noun. This change does not bring any grammatical mistake.

3.2.4.2.3. Comitative Case

The comitative case in Kole, denoted by the morpheme {-**ra**} as shown in the following examples: (Taken from Text 2, No.32, and line 5)

25a. **ʔés-i be-lagge-ra kaʔa-ko-si-n-e**
 he-NOM self-friend-COM play-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'He plays with his friend.'

- 25b. **ʔis-i** **be-ʔitfe-ra** **kaʔa-k-isi-n-e**
 she-NOM self-brother-COM play-FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She plays with her brother.’

3.2.4.2.4. Ablative Case

The ablative case marker in Kole language is expressed by the morpheme {-pa}, as indicated in the following examples. (Taken from Text 1, No, 25, line 1)

- 26a. **tán-i** **gaaja-pa** **jeetta-ko-ti-d-e**
 I-NOM market-ABL come-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I came from the market.’
- 26b. **ʔés-i** **be-dere-pa** **jeetta-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM self-country-ABL come-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He came from his country.’

3.2.4.2.5. Vocative Case

Vocative is also a case which expresses a grammatical relationship by means of inflection. It is used in the function of addressing in the second person position. Vocative nouns in Kole language are formed by suffixing the elements {-ó} or {-é} on the nouns. The former is used with masculine nouns, whereas the latter is used with feminine nouns. Consider the following illustrative example:

- 27a. **ʃaato-z-ó** **hana** **yaw-ane**
 child-M:DF-VOC here come-IMP:2SG
 ‘You boy! Come here.’
- 27b. **ʃaat-att-é** **gede** **hamm-ane**
 girl-F:DF-VOC there go-IMP:2SG
 ‘You girl! Go there’

- 27c. **ʔaaj-é** **ʔank-it-i** **hang-ee**
 mother-VOC where-2PL-NOM go-INTR
 ‘You mother! Where are you going?’
- 27d. **ʔaabb-ó** **ʔajt-i** **ʔootsts-ee**
 father-VOC what-NOM do-INTR
 ‘You father! What are you doing?’

As already mentioned in section (3.2.1 no. 8), honorific nouns are indicated by the suffix *-as’*. With honorific terms, suffix *-ó* is used to express the Vocative case irrespective of the gender of the addressee with honorific nouns, which take the plural marker *-as’*, a plural subject agreement is used with the verb predicate. In the following examples, the vocative marker is preceded by the honorific marker in order to express respect to the addressee. (Taken from Text 1, No.16, line 10)

- 28a. **ʔaaj-as’-ó** **ʔutt-a-jte**
 mother-2PL(HON)-VOC sit down 2PL(HON)
 ‘You mother! Sit down. (RESP)’
- 28b. **ʔaabb-as’-ó** **kaʔ-a-jte**
 father- 2PL(HON)-VOC play-IMP-2PL(HON)
 ‘You father! (HON) play.’
- 28c. **mitʃ-as’-ó** **mij-ajte.**
 sister-2PL(HON)-VOC eat-IMP:HON
 ‘You sister! Eat.’

With proper nouns, a clitic like element, *je*, is used to express vocative case. The remarkable point here is that when masculine and feminine proper nouns are finalized by the vowels /a/ and /e/, they retain their final vowels and take clitic like element *je* to differentiate the vocative form from the proper noun as shown in the following examples: (Taken from Text 1, No.23, and line 3, 31).

	Proper noun	Vocative form
29a.	daróta 'Name for male'	je darota 'You Darota!'
29b.	kártje 'Name of male'	je kartje 'You Karche!'
29c.	gijáte 'Name of female'	je gijate 'You Giyate!'

3.2.4.2.6. Locative Case

Locative case is defined as the case that indicates the location, direction or spatial orientation of the event, state or action identified by the verb. In addition to that, according to Wondimu (2010: 113), location can be considered as spatial or temporal semantically. In this regard, spatial can be static or dynamic. In Kole language, static can be denoted by the morphological forms {-ga} and {-so}; whereas the dynamic forms can be denoted by the morpheme {-nna} and {-ko}. The morpheme {-nna} can be also used for temporal purpose. Concerning the order, {-so} comes first then {-ga} follows it in the case of static; whereas in the case of dynamic {-nna} comes first; then {-ko} follows it. Thus, consider the following illustrations for the above discussion.

30a. **nén-i** **majja-z-a** **hiitstse-ga** **gada-ko-ni-d-e**
 you-NOM knife-M:DF-ABS bed-LOC put-FOC-2SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He put the knife on the bed.'

30b. **faató-z-i** **jiik'o-so** **hama-ko-si-d-e**
 boy-M:DF-NOM meeting-LOC go-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DC
 'The boy went to the meeting place.'

30c. **nén-i** **jawa-z-u-ko** **hama-ko-ni-d-e**
 you-NOM children-DF-DEEP-LOC go-FOC-2SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'You went to the children.'

30d. ʔés-i ʃawa-z-u-so-nna ʔaadfo-ko-si-d-e
 he-NOM children-DF-DEEP-LOC-LOC pass-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He went along the area around the children.'

30e. tán-i wode-nna jeetta-ko-ti-d-e
 I-NOM time-LOC come-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I came on time.'

3.2.4.2.7. Allative or Directive Case

Kole has a special morpheme **-ko**, used to express a directional relation 'towards' occurring in structures like the following examples:

31a. ʔés-i taa-ko jeetta-ko-si-d-e
 he-NOM me-DIR come-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He came to me.'

31b. ʔís-i ʔee-ko hama-k-isi-d-e
 she-NOM he-DIR go-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She went to him.'

3.3. Derivation of Nouns

This section deals with the mechanisms of derivation of nouns in Kole. In Kole, nouns can be derived from other nouns, adjectives, and verb forms by attaching different suffixes. Besides, nouns can be formed by derivational processes. In what follows each type of noun formation is presented.

3.3.1. Nouns Derived from Nouns

In Kole, abstract nouns are formed from concrete ones by suffixing a derivational morpheme {-tetstsi}. Consider the following examples:

	Concrete noun	Gloss	Abstract noun	Gloss
32a.	ʔitʃe	'brother'	ʔitʃe-tetstsi	'brotherhood'
32b.	mitʃó	'sister'	mitʃó-tetstsi	'sisterhood'
32c.	ʃaató	'child'	ʃaató-tetstsi	'childhood'
32d.	ʔaddó	'father'	ʔaddó-tetstsi	'fatherhood'
32e.	ʔíndo	'mother'	ʔíndo-tetstsi	'motherhood'
32f.	lágge	'friend'	lágge-tetstsi	'friendship'

3.3.2. Nouns Derived from Adjectives

The suffix -tetstsi, which is used to derive abstract nouns from their concrete counterparts, is used to derive nouns from adjectives, as presented below.

	Adjectives	Gloss	Derived Nouns	Gloss
33a.	ʔadá	'big'	ʔadá-tetstsi	'bigness'
33b.	tʃ'eló	'black'	tʃ'eló-tetstsi	'blackness'
33c.	galála	'tall'	galála-tetstsi	'tallness'
33d.	lééʔo	'thin'	lééʔo-tetstsi	'thinness'
33e.	bóóttsu	'white'	bóóttsa-tetstsi	'whiteness'
33f.	ʔááko	'wide'	ʔááko-tetstsi	'wideness'

The following structures illustrate the occurrence of abstract nouns in a sentence.

- 34a. **ʔátstsi** **ʔadfa-tetstsi** **dosa-ko-si-n-e**
 man-NOM big-ABST like-FOC-3M:SG-FUT-AFF:DCL
 'Man likes bigness or gentleness'
- 34b. **k'áántsa-tetstsa-pe** **galala-tetstsi** **loʔo**
 short-ABST-ABL tall-ABST good
 'Tallness is better than shortness.'
- 34c. **ʔórde-tetstsa-pe** **leeʔe-tetstsi** **ʔiita**
 fat-ABST-ABL thin-ABST bad
 'Thinness is worse than fatness.'

3.3.3. Deverbal Nominalization

Deverbal nominalization is a very productive process in Kole language. Verb roots, extended verb stems and relative clauses are used to form nouns. The following sections show nouns derived from verb roots. Verb roots are further classified into agentive/experiencer nouns, action nouns and result nouns. Then, nouns which are based on extended verb stems are presented. Finally, nominalizations of clauses are described.

In Kole, different types of nouns are derived from verb roots by attaching different suffixes. Consider the different types of nouns from the following illustrations.

3.3.3.1. Agentive Nouns

In Kole, agentive nouns are derived by suffixing one of the two morphemes, namely, {-antfa} or {-atstsi}. The two suffixes are used interchangeably.

	Verb root	Gloss	Agentive nouns	Gloss
35a.	joh-	'talk'	joh-antfa ~ joh-atstsi	'killer'
35b.	zalʔ-	'trade'	zalʔ-antfa ~ zalʔ-atstsi	'trader'
35c.	goff-	'farm'	goff-antfa ~ goff-atstsi	'farmer'

35d.	wos'-	'run'	wos'-antfa ~ wos'-atstsi	'runner'
35a.	?er-	'know'	?er-antfa ~ ?er-atstsi	'intelligent'
35b.	dog-	'forget'	dog-antfa ~ dog-atstsi	'forgetful'
35c.	hiill-	'skill'	hiill-antfa ~ hiill-atstsi	'skillful'

Words like **nagara** 'sin' **yoho** 'matter', and **toora** 'spear' do not suffix the morpheme {-atstsi}. Such types of restrictions need further investigation.

The suffix **-antfa** seems a borrowed element from the Gamo language; whereas, **-atstsi** belongs to Kole language.

3.3.3.2. Action nouns

In the Kole language, a derivational relationship between nouns referring to names of the actions and verbs expressing actions is attested. The noun includes a verb root followed by a vocalic suffixal entity, which function as the derivational elements. The verbal counterpart involves the verb root and a verbal inflectional suffix which is preceded by derivational suffixes (Hirut 2004: 87). There are two types of action nouns in Kole, namely class-one and class-two.

Certain verbs in Kole language have two action nominal correspondents. The two classes of nominals indicate various features at the phonological and morpho-syntactic levels. Each class is described in turn as follows.

3.3.3.2.1. Class-one action nouns

Terminal vowels **-a**, **-o**, **-e** or **-i** are the four suffixes used to form class-one action nouns in Kole language. Other than the suffix **-i**, which is restricted to a sibilant final consonant, elsewhere, association of a suffix with a verb root is unpredictable and remains lexically determined. It cannot be predicted when the suffixes **-a**, **-o**, or **-e** are suffixed to the set of verbs. In the case of **-i**, a very similar phonological restriction is observed also in its occurrence of terminal vowel in

simple (non-verbal) noun stems. The deletion of the segment /tʃ/ from the verb root and suffixation of the segment /tʃ/ then again another /tʃ/ to form noun stem or root is attested. Action nouns show instances that the meaning is mostly lexically determined. Consider the following action nouns in Kole language.

	Verb root	Gloss	Noun	Gloss
36a.	dítʃ-	'grow up'	dítʃtʃ-i	'growing up'
36b.	késs-	'get out'	késs-i	'getting up'
36c.	jéss-	'exist'	jéss-i	'existing, life'
36d.	gáátʃ-	'grind'	gáátʃtʃ-i	'grinding'
36e.	míj-	'eat'	míj-e	'eating'
36f.	záʔ-	'trade'	záʔ-e	'trade N.'
36g.	s'ók-	'drop'	s'ók-e	'dropping'
36h.	jéw-	'come'	jéw-e	'telling'
36i.	ǰám-	'buy'	ǰám-a	'buying'
36j.	wóɗ-	'kill'	wóɗ-a	'killing'
36k.	hasáʔ-	'speak'	hasáʔ-a	'speech'
36l.	más'-	'pick'	más'-a	'picked one'
36m.	gáʔ-	'beg'	gáʔ-o	'begging'
36n.	tʃ'út-	'spit'	tʃ'út-o	'spitting'
36o.	gél-	'enter'	gél-o	'entering'
36p.	ménts-	'break'	ménts-o	'breaking'

3.3.3.2.2. Class-two action nouns

Class one action nouns have already been described above. There are other action nouns which are known as class-two action nouns. Class-two action nouns differ from class-one action nouns in many ways. One way of class-two action nouns difference from class-one action nouns is that the nominalizing suffixes, -é or -ó, and -á, in class-two have high tone accent. The suffix -i is not found in class-two action nouns. As it has been said before, the suffix, -i, is used

to derive nominals from sibilant final verb roots in class-one action nouns. The tone accent in the following examples is nominizer. Consider the following examples:

	Verb root	Gloss	Nominals	Gloss
37a.	ʔér-	'know'	ʔer-á	'knowledge'
37b.	dójs-	'cook'	dojs-á	'cooked one'
37c.	gánʔ-	'insult'	ganʔ-á	'insult N.'
37d.	hánt-	'walk'	hant-á	'walk N.'
37e.	báás'-	'struggle'	baas'-é	'struggling'
37f.	wós'-	'run'	wotsts-é	'running'
37g.	gátʃ'-	'grind'	gaatʃʃ-é	'grinding'
37h.	gáns'-	'sip'	gants-é	'sip N.'
37i.	dém-	'find'	dem-ó	'found one'
37j.	júp-	'slaughter'	jup-ó	'slaughter N.'
37k.	hám-	'go'	ham-ó	'going'
37l.	sáw-	'smell'	saw-ó	'smelling'

Action nouns in Kole, like any simple noun, can involve inflectional processes such as definiteness and case marking as illustrated below.

38a.	ʔés-i	ʔootst-o-z-a	ʔootsts-i	ʔalts-i
	he-NOM	work-NMZ-M:DF-ABS	work-CNV	finish-CNV

hama-ko-si-d-e

go-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

'He worked the work finished it and went.'

38b.	ʔóótsts-o-z-i	ʔaala-ko-si-d-e
	work-NMZ-M:DF-NOM	finish-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

'The work is finished.'

Action nouns can be marked for a peripheral case such as ablative or locative as illustrated below.

- 39a. **tán-i** **?ootsts-o-ga-pa** **?att-ikki**
 I-NOM work-NMZ-LOC-ABL be absent-1SG:NEG:DCL
 'I will not be absent from work.'
- 39b. **zal?-é-nna-kka** **goff-e-nna-kka** **nu** **jes-e**
 trade-NMZ-INST-INCL Farming-NMZ-INST-INCL we live-AFF:DCL
 'We live from trade and farming.'

3.3.3.3. Result nouns

Apart from action nouns, a group of verbs have result nouns in Kole language. When **-i** or **-u** suffixed into Kole verb roots, result nouns are formed. The verbs in this class show the body actions whereas the nouns refer to result of body actions mostly body discharges. In most of such nouns the deletion of the segments /t/, /ʔ/ from verb root and suffixation of the element **-tsts-** and **-f** is observed. Consider the following examples:

	Verb root	Gloss	Result Noun	Gloss
40a.	súút-	'to bleed'	súútsts-u	'blood'
	bíʔ-	'to urinate'	bíítʃf-i	'urine'
	máás'-	'to milk'	máátsts-i	'milk'
	míítʃ'-	'to laugh'	míítʃf-i	'laughter'
	Verb root	Gloss	Result Noun	Gloss
40b.	tʃ'út-	'to spit'	tʃ'útʃf-u	'saliva'
	ʃíʔ-	'to excrete'	ʃííʃ-i	'excrement'
	tʃ'óóʃ-	'to vomit'	tʃ'óóʃf-u	'vomit'

Action nouns distinguished from result nouns as shown in (41) below.

41.	Action noun	Gloss
	dánts-o	'breast feeding'
	tj'út-o	'spitting'
	súút-o	'bleeding'

On top of that, the morpheme {-uttsu} derives result nouns from verb roots as exemplified below (Taken from Text 1, No.9 line 1).

	Verb root	Gloss	Result noun	Gloss
42.	tj'áár-	'grow'	tj'aar-úttsu	'a grown one (for seed)'
	gáátj'-	'grind'	gaatj'-úttsu	'power'
	?íís'-	'cut'	?iis'-úttsu	'a cut one'
	ʃóg-	'wash'	ʃog-úttsu	'a washed one'
	kúnts-	'fill'	kum-úttsu	'full'

3.3.3.4. Process Nouns

Another suffix {-e} can derive similar types of nouns from verb roots in the language under study. Consider the following illustrative examples:

43.	Verb root	Gloss	Derived noun	Gloss
	?íís'-	'cut'	?íís'-e	'process of cutting'
	ʃóg-	'wash'	ʃóg-e	'process of washing'
	báj?-	'rush'	báj?-e	'process of crushing'
	s'úúg-	'burn'	s'úúg-e	'process of burning'

3.3.3.5. Nouns derived from extended verb stem

This section deals with formation of nouns from extended verb stems. Nouns derived from passive and causative verb stems are presented with illustrated examples below.

3.3.3.5.1. Nouns derived from passive verb stems

The passive verb marker **-utt-** is added into verb stem which is a base for passive verb stem, then the element **-e** is attached to passive verb stem in order to form nominals. Consider the following examples: (Taken from Text 1, No. 5, line 1)

Passive verb root	Gloss	Passive nominals	Gloss
44. ʔootsts-útt-	'be worked'	ʔootsts-útt-e	'being worked'
bal-útt-	'be mistaken'	bal-útt-e	'being mistaken'
s'ejg-útt-	'be called'	s'ejg-útt-e	'being called'
k'ang-útt-	'be cursed'	k'ang-útt-e	'being cursed'
ʔep-útt-	'be taken'	ʔep-útt-e	'being taken'
bajs-útt-	'be sold'	bajs-útt-e	'being sold'
wotf-útt-	'be seen'	wotf-útt-e	'being seen'

A passive nominal in Kole language is often used as a subject. In example (45a), **wos'-utt-e-i** 'running' is the subject of the sentence. Examples have been given below.

- 45a. **hiná hana wos'-utt-e-i loʔo-kko**
 here there run-PASS-NMZ-NOM good-FOC
 'Running here and there is good'
- 45b. **lág-pa miifje talʔ-utt-e-i ʔiita-kko**
 friend-ABL money:ABS borrow-PASS-NMZ-NOM bad-FOC
 'Borrowing money from a friend is bad.'

3.3.3.5.2. Nouns formed from causative verb stems

Morpheme *-o* is suffixed to the causative verb stem in order to form causative nominals in Kole language. It has a meaning of ‘causing an action’. Consider the following example.

CAUS.V stem	Gloss	CAUS.nominals	Gloss
46. s’ejg-ús	‘cause to call’	s’ejg-ús-o	‘causing to call’
ʔing-ús	‘cause to give’	ʔing-ús-o	‘causing to give’
k’ang-ús	‘cause to curse’	k’ang-ús-o	‘causing to curse’
ɖab-ús	‘cause to discard’	ɖab-ús-o	‘causing to discard’

The following are illustrative examples which show the occurrence of causative in the sentences.

47a. ʔís-i ʔatstsu-nna ʔootsts-us-o
 she-NOM person-INST work-CAUS-NMZ
 ʔer-a-k-isi-n-e
 know-FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She knows how to make a person to work’

47b. tá- ʔindo-i jel-us-o
 1SG:POSS mother-NOM give birth-CAUS-NMZ
 ʔer-a-k-isi-n-e
 know-INF-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘My mother knows assisting in delivery.’

3.3.4. Compounding

Nouns in Kole can also be formed via compounding mechanism. Compounding is a word formation process in which two or more words are combined together in order to give one meaning (Crystal, 2088: 96). In Kole, combining two nouns together or an adjective with a noun

forms compound noun. During this process the tone accent of second member of the compound word is deleted. This is exemplified in the following:

	Nouns and nouns	Gloss	Nouns	Gloss
48a.	kutfé gawo	'palm'	kutfé	'hand'
			gawó	'belly'
48b.	kapó keetstsi	'nest'	kapó	'bird'
			keetstsé	'house'
48c.	?átstsi ?aape	'evil eye'	?átstsi	'man'
			?aapé	'eye'
48d.	mántsi biráǎǎe	'thumb'	mántsi	'big'
			biráǎǎe	'finger'
48e.	gitá ?atstsi	'gentleman'	gitá	'big'
			?átstsi	'person'

As shown above, in Kole language, compound nouns are exocentric. These kinds of compound nouns are formed without head word. The compound nouns tend to have a meaning that is more or less unpredictable.

CHAPTER 4

Pronouns

As defined in Crystal,(2008: 391), pronouns are terms used in the grammatical classification of words, referring to the closed set of items which can be used to substitute a noun phrase or single noun.

In short, pronouns are words that can replace nouns. As in other Ometo languages, like in Gamo language (Hirut 1999: 73), and in Male (Azeb 2001: 80), pronouns in Kole language can be distinguished in seven ways. Person, number, gender and case are the four widespread systems underlying the Kole pronouns. Gender is applicable only in third person.

Although there is no special honorific form in Kole, the plural forms of the second and third person are used to express honorific. These forms are usually applied to the people older than the speaker, village elders, chief and to any person the speaker wants to express honour.

Like in most Omotic languages, pronouns in Kole language show two forms. These are known as phonologically reduced short forms and full or long forms.

Pronouns are marked for cases in Kole language. Therefore, pronouns in Kole language can be grouped into different classes such as nominative, absolutive, genitive, dative, ablative, restrictive, vocative and reflexive. Following the discussion of short and long forms, all listed classes of pronouns are presented.

4.1. Short vs. long forms

Morpho-syntactic and formal features of long and short pronoun forms are compared to indicate their distinctions in this section.

As stated in Hirut (2004: 106) for Haro, the short and long forms differ basically in their morpho-syntactic and phonological features, giving rise to distinctive complementary patterns. Except when the short pronouns occur as a subject of a sentence, they lack the autonomy associated with lexicon. The short pronoun and long pronoun alternatively occur in the subject position. But, never occur as an object of a sentence.

Short pronouns lack a lexical independence anticipated from free morphemes, and appear as clitics in the position of genitive case, hence, they occur as pronominal elements. In addition to this, they rather occur as oblique in which they can attach to another free morpheme. On the other hand, the long pronouns are free words. They appear as a subject and object arguments. The table below shows the short and long pronoun examples in the Kole language.

Table 3: Short and Long Pronoun Forms

Persons	Short forms			Long forms		
	Attributive-Genitive, Headless-Genitive (class-one)	Dative, Ablative (class two)	Reflexive	Absolutive	Nominative	Reflexive
1SG	tá	táá		taná	táni/tá	
2SG	né	née		néna	néni/né	
3M:SG	ʔé	ʔési	be	ʔésa	ʔési/ʔé	béna
3F:SG	ʔí	ʔísi	be	ʔíso	ʔísi/ʔí	béna
1PL	nú	núú		núna	núni/nú	
2PL	híti	hitú		hitúna	hitúni/hití	
3PL	ʔú	ʔusú	be	ʔusúna	ʔusúni /ʔú	béna

The long paradigm pronoun form constitutes a short form pronoun and a suffixal element **-na/ -ni**. The third person singular form has different feature. As mentioned in Hirut (2004: 106) quoted from Hayward and Tsuge 1998, “The element **-n-** is reported to be a fossilized element of the Proto-Omoti Accusative case marker.” The absolutive case is marked by final vowel **-a**

preceded by element **-n** whereas nominative case is marked by final vowel **-i** preceded by element **-n**. The third person singular pronoun does not have the element **-n**. A subject and an object can be formed by the long forms; however, a subject of a sentence can be formed by the short forms. An object cannot be formed by short forms. Examples are given below.

- 1a. **nén-i** **tán-a** **guupe-nna** **guujdo-ko-n-on-e**
 you-NOM me-ABS stick-INST hit-FOC-2SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 'you will hit me with a stick.'
- 1b. **né** **tan-a** **guupe-nna** **guujdo-ko-n-on-e**
 you:NOM me-ABS stick-INST hit-FOC-2SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 'you will hit me with a stick.'
- 2a. ***tan-i** **ne** **guupe-nna** **Guujdo-ko-t-on-e**
 I-NOM you Stick-INST Hit-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
- 2b. ***tá** **ne** **guupe-nna** **guujdo-ko-t-on-e**
 I:NOM you stick-INST hit-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL

4.2. The pronoun categories

It has been illustrated that Kole language makes a formal distinction among absolutive, nominative, dative, ablative, genitive, restrictive, reflexive, and vocative pronouns. Each of these is discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1. The absolutive and nominative pronouns

The absolutive and Nominative pronouns in Kole language are formed by long forms (see Table 1). But the nominative has short forms. The Absolutive pronoun occurs as a complement of a predicative construction and as a direct object of a verb.

Like definite nouns, absolutive pronouns in Kole language end in -á or -ó which occur with masculine and feminine forms respectively. Regardless of gender, nominative pronouns are marked with suffix -i.

4.2.2. The dative pronouns

The suffix -ro or -s expresses dative pronoun in Kole language. The suffix -s is widely attested in the North Omoto languages. The short pronoun forms are used as a base for dative case marking with vowel lengthening in the first and second person pronouns. Consider the following examples:

- 3a. **nén-i táá-ro miiŋŋe talʔ-a-ne**
 you-NOM I-DAT money:ABS borrow-IMP-2SG
 ‘You borrow me money.’
- 3b. **miiŋŋé-z-a néé-ro ʔepp-a-ne**
 money-DF-ABS you-DAT take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take the money to you.’
- 3c. **miiŋŋé-z-a ʔésu-ro ʔing-a-ne**
 money-DF-ABS he-DAT give-IMP-2SG
 ‘Give the money to him’
- 3d. **miiŋŋé-z-a ʔísi-ro ʔing-a-ne**
 money-DF-ABS she-DAT give-IMP-2SG
 ‘Give the money to her.’
- 3e. **miiŋŋé-z-a núú-ro ʔing-a-ne**
 money-DF-ABS we-DAT give-IMP-2SG
 ‘Give the money to us.’
- 3f. **miiŋŋé-z-a híti-ro ʔepp-a-jte**
 money-DF-ABS You(PL)-DAT Take-IMP-2PL
 ‘Take the money to you.’

- 3g. **miiǰǰé-z-a** **ʔúsu-ro** **ʔing-a-jte**
 money-DF-ABS they-DAT give-IMP-2PL
 ‘Give the money to them.’

It can be noted that the forms of the second and third person plural pronouns occur as respect forms (indicators) of their respective singular counter parts. Therefore, **hituni** ‘you’ can refer to ‘you’ (SG respect), and **ʔusuni** ‘they’ can be used to refer to he/she (respect). The same strategy is applied for object/absolutive forms.

Attaching the suffix {-ro} to the basic pronoun form derives the dative pronouns in Kole language for the third person singular/plural and second person plural. In the case of the first person singular/plural and second person singular short forms are used with the feature of vowel lengthening.

4.2.3. The Ablative pronouns

The ablative pronouns in Kole are formed by the suffix **-pa**. The short paradigm with vowel lengthening is used as a base of suffixation in the formation of the ablative pronouns for first and second person singular. Consider the following examples:

- 4a. **núú-pa** **ʔepp-a-ne**
 I-ABL take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take from us.’
- 4b. **née-pa** **ʔing-a-ne**
 you-ABL give-IMP-2SG
 ‘Give from you.’
- 4c. **ʔésu-pa** **ʔepp-a-ne**
 he-ABL take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take from him.’

- 4d. **ʔisi-pa ʔepp-a-ne**
 she-ABL take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take from her.’
- 4e. **núú-pa ʔepp-a-ne**
 we-ABL take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take from us.’
- 4f. **híti-pa ʔing-a-jte**
 you(PL)-ABL give-IMP-2SG
 ‘Give from you.’
- 4g. **ʔúsu-pa ʔepp-a-jte**
 they-ABL take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take from them.’

4.2.4. The Genitive Pronouns

Like that of other Ometo languages, such as Zayse (Hayward 1990), Male (Azeb 2001), Haro (Hirut 2004), Kole language has two sets of genitive pronouns: attributive and headless genitive pronouns. As it is observed from the recorded texts, members of the two sets differ from each other morpho-syntactically. An attributive pronoun functions as a modifier element and always appears preceding a head noun, whereas a headless pronoun functions as a head noun, and occurs independently, i.e. without a head noun. A pronoun in the former set indicates a possessor but not a possessed, while a pronoun in the latter set indicates both a possessor as well as the possessed.

4.2.4.1. Attributive Genitive Pronouns

As mentioned earlier, the genitive pronouns in this group indicate the possessor but not the possessed. The short forms of nominative pronouns are used as genitive pronouns and are followed by nouns. Forms in the genitive pronoun paradigm, unlike those in the dative and

Ablative, contain short vowels. Consider the following illustrative examples which indicate the occurrence of attributive genitive pronouns with a head noun *zawa* 'house'.

- 5a. *né zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 you:GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He bought your house.'
- 5b. *nú zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 our:GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He bought our house.'
- 5c. *ʔé zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 he:GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He bought his house.'
- 5d. *ʔí zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 she:GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He bought her house.'
- 5e. *tá zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 my:GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He bought me house.'
- 5f. *híti zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 you(PL):GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 He bought your (PL) house.'
- 5g. *ʔú zawa fam-ko-si-d-e*
 they:GEN house buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 He bought their house.'

4.2.4.2. Headless Genitive Pronouns

As it is explained above, the headless genitive pronouns in Kole language express not only the possessor but also the possessed one. Such types of pronouns occur without a head noun following them. Forms of the genitive pronouns in this group, therefore, show variation according to the gender and number of the possessed as well. Hence, the different categories of headless genitive pronouns are presented in the following sections.

4.2.4.2.1. Genitive Pronouns, Referring to Feminine Possessed Subject

The headless genitive pronouns, which refer to feminine possessed Absolutive pronouns, are characterized by the suffixes {-jr-o} that are attached to the short or basic pronoun forms. It is also possible to use the long forms of third persons. It is noted that the element {-jr-} occurs as Feminine marker; whereas the element {-o} denotes absolutive case for Feminine as usual. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----|--|----------------------------------|
| 6a. | tá-jr-o
1SG-F:POSS-ABS
'You take mine.' | ʔepp-a-ne
take-IMP-2SG |
| 6b. | né-jr-o
2SG-F:POSS-ABS
'You take yours.' | ʔepp-a-ne
take-IMP-2SG |
| 6c. | ʔé-jr-o/ʔisu-jr-o
3M:SG-F:POSS-ABS
'You take his.' | ʔepp-a-ne
take-IMP-2SG |
| 6d. | ʔí-jr-o/ʔisi-jr-o
3F:SG-F:POSS-ABS
'You take hers.' | ʔepp-a-ne
take-IMP-2SG |

6e.	nú-jr-o 1PL-F:POSS-ABS 'You take ours.'	ʔepp-a-ne take-IMP-2SG
6f.	híti-jr-o 2PL-F:POSS-ABS 'You take yours.'	ʔapp-a-jte take-IMP-2PL
	ʔú-jr-o 3PL-F:POSS-ABS 'You take theirs.'	ʔapp-a-ne take-IMP-2SG

4.2.4.2.2. Genitive pronouns referring to a masculine possessed entity

A headless genitive pronoun, which refers to masculine possessed entity are characterized by suffix {-jiss-} to the short form of a pronoun. The element {-jiss-} is always followed by the appropriate case marker. When the genitive construction appears as a subject of a sentence, the nominative marker {-i} follows the element {-jiss-}. On the other hand, the genitive construction takes place as a direct object of a sentence, the absolutive case marker {-a} follows the element {-jiss-} for masculine possessed element as shown in the following examples.

7a.	tá-jiss-a 1SG-M:POSS-ABS 'You put mine.'	gadd-a-ne put-IMP-2SG
7b.	né-jiss-a 2SG-M:POSS-ABS 'You put yours.'	gadd-a-ne put-IMP-2SG
7c.	ʔé-jiss-a 3M:SG-M:POSS-ABS 'You put his.'	gadd-a-ne put-IMP-2SG

- 7d. **ʔí-jiss-a** **gadd-a-ne**
 3F:SG-F:POSS-ABS put-IMP-2SG
 ‘You put hers.’
- 7e. **nú-jiss-a** **gadd-a-ne**
 1PL-M:POSS-ABS put-IMP-2SG
 ‘You put ours.’
- 7f. **híti-jiss-a** **gadd-a-ne**
 2PL-M:POSS-ABS Put-IMP-2SG
 ‘You (PL) put yours.’
- 7g. **ʔú-jiss-a** **gadd-a-ne**
 3PL-M:POSS-ABS put-IMP-2SG
 ‘You put theirs.’

The headless genitive pronouns are formed by using short pronoun forms identified as class-two (see Table 4) as a base and suffixing the element {-jiss-} to show masculine possessed elements. The suffixes {-jiss-} and {-a} occur with the Absolutive form whereas suffixes {-jiss-i} occur with the Nominative form. On the other hand, the suffixes {-jr-o} and {-jr-i} are attached on the base in order to show feminine possessed elements. The former indicates the absolutive form. Whereas later indicates the nominative form as shown below in the tables 2 and 3.

Table 4: Masculine possessed genitive pronoun 1

IDF:M:ABS	Gloss	IDF:M:NOM	Gloss
tá-jiss-a	‘my one’	tá-jiss-i	‘my one’
né-jiss-a	‘your(SG) one’	né-jiss-i	‘your(SG) one’
ʔé-jiss-a	‘his one’	ʔé-jiss-i	‘his one’
ʔí-jiss-a	‘her one’	ʔí-jiss-i	‘her one’
nú-jiss-a	‘our one’	nú-jiss-i	‘our one’
hítu-jiss-a	‘your(PL) one’	hítu-jiss-i	‘your(PL) one’
ʔú-jiss-a	‘their one’	ʔú-jiss-i	‘their one’

Table 5: Feminine possessed genitive pronoun 1

IDF:F:ABS	Gloss	IDF:F:NOM	Gloss
tá-jr-o	'my one'	tá-jr-i	'my one'
né-jr-o	'your(SG) one'	né-jr-i	'your(SG) one'
ʔé-jr-o	'his one'	ʔé-jr-i	'his one'
ʔí-jr-o	'her one'	ʔí-jr-i	'her one'
nú-jr-o	'our one'	nú-jr-i	'our one'
hítu-jr-o	'your(PL) one'	hítu-jr-i	'your(PL) one'
ʔú-jr-o	'their one'	ʔú-jr-i	'their one'

The headless genitive pronouns in Kole language take all the inflectional properties of the omitted head noun to show the identity of the possessum. The same suffixal elements that occur with nouns, occur with the headless phrase to express definiteness, number, and case features of the absent head noun. Because of this, genitive pronouns referring to the masculine possessed are formed by suffixing the masculine definite marker {-z-} to the Absolutive form of the elliptic genitive phrase, which is shown below in table 4. A case-marking suffix follows the definite marker. The meaning of such genitive constructions is 'that one of mine/his/her etc., which is masculine'. Consider table 4 below.

Table 6: Genitive pronoun 2

M:DF:ABS	M:DF:NOM	Gloss
tá-jissa-z-a	tá-jissa-z-i	'mine (the masculine one)'
né-jissa-z-a	né-jissa-z-i	'yours(SG) (the masculine one)'
ʔé-jissa-z-a	ʔé-jissa-z-i	'his (the masculine one)'
ʔí-jissa-z-a	ʔí-jissa-z-i	'hers (the masculine one)'
nú-jissa-z-a	nú-jissa-z-i	'ours (the masculine one)'
híti-jissa-z-a	híti-jissa-z-i	'yours (the masculine one)'
ʔú-jissa-z-a	ʔú-jissa-z-i	'theirs (the masculine one)'

Similarly, suffixation of the feminine definite **-att-** to the same forms derives Genitive pronouns referring to the feminine possessed. A genitive pronoun of this type has a meaning ‘that one feminine, which is mine/ his/ etc’. In the Absolutive case, the feminine Absolutive case marker **-o** follows the definite marker, while in the Nominative case, suffix **-i**, which is the only Nominative case marker, is added. See the following table.

Table 7: Genitive pronoun 3

F:DF:ABS	F:DF:NOM	Gloss
tá-jr-att-o	tá-jr-att-i	‘mine (the feminine one)’
né-jr-att-o	né-jr-att-i	‘yours(SG) (the feminine one)’
ʔé-jr-att-o	ʔé-jr-att-i	‘his (the feminine one)’
ʔí-jr-att-o	ʔí-jr-att-i	‘hers (the feminine one)’
nu-jr-att-o	nu-jr-att-i	‘ours (the feminine e one)’
híti-jr-att-o	híti-jr-att-i	‘yours (the feminine one)’
ʔú-jr-att-o	ʔú-jr-att-i	‘theirs (the feminine one)’

Suffixation of the plural marker **{-ede}** to the same forms shown above, expresses plurality of the absent possessed noun. This form can also be marked for definiteness. As in the case of nouns, the plural forms take **-z-**, masculine form of the definite marker.

Table 8: Genitive pronoun 4

IND:PL:ABS/NOM	DF:PL:ABS	DF:PL:NOM	Gloss
tá-jiss-ede/-ede-i	tá-jiss-ede-z-a	tá-jiss-ede-z-i	‘mine ones’
né-jiss-ede/-ede-i	né-jiss-ede-z-a	né-jiss-ede-z-i	‘your(SG) ones’
ʔé-jiss-ede/-ede-i	ʔé-jiss-ede-z-a	ʔé-jiss-ede-z-i	‘his ones’
ʔí-jiss-ede/-ede-i	ʔí-jiss-ede-z-a	ʔí-jiss-ede-z-i	‘her ones’
nú-jiss-ede/-ede-i	nú-jiss-ede-z-a	nú-jiss-ede-z-i	‘our ones’
híti-jiss-ede/-ede-i	híti-jiss-ede-z-a	híti-jiss-ede-z-i	‘your(PL) ones’
ʔú-jiss-ede/-ede-i	ʔú-jiss-ede-z-a	ʔú-jiss-ede-z-i	‘their ones’

The following examples illustrate occurrence of the above Genitive phrasal pronouns in sentences. The 'place-holding' elements {-jiss-} and {-jr-} are interpreted as the omission of implied words.

- 8a. **né-jissa-z-i** **jeetta-ko-si-n-e**
 2SG-POSS-M:DF-NOM come-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Yours comes (Lit:the masculine ones which is yours comes)'
- 8b. **né-jiss-att-i** **jeetta-k-isi-n-e**
 2SG-POSS-F:DF-NOM come-FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Yours comes (Lit: the feminine one which is yours comes)'
- 8c. **né-jiss-ede-z-i** **jeetta-ko-js-o**
 2SG-POSS-PL-M:DF-NOM come-FOC-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'Yours come (Lit: the ones which are yours come)'
- 8d. **né-jr-ede-z-i** **jeetta-ko-js-o**
 2SG-POSS(F)-PL-M:DF-NOM come-FOC-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'Yours are coming (Lit: the ones which are yours (come) (are coming))'

4.2.5. Restrictive Pronouns

The suffix **-nna** is used to form restrictive pronoun in Kole language. It is suffixed to the short pronoun forms with vowel lengthening. It also functions as locative case marker. The element **bée** is used as a base in the case of third person and it suffixes **-nna** to form reflexive pronoun.

Consider the following examples:

- 9a. 1SG **táá-nna** 'myself/alone'
- 9b. 2SG **née-nna** 'yourself(SG)/alone'
- 9c. 3SG,PL **bée-nna** 'himself, herself, themselves /alone'
- 9d. 1PL **núú-naa** 'ourselves/alone'
- 9e. 2PL **híti-nna** 'Yourselves (PL)/alone'

Sentential examples of restrictive pronoun have been given below.

- 10a. **nén-i nee-nna ?oottsa-ko-n-on-e**
 you-NOM 2SG-RES work-FOC-2SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You will do it by yourself.’ (Lit: you will do it with yourself ;)’
- 10b. **?és-i bee-nna hama-k-is-on-e**
 she-NOM REF-RES go-FOC-3F:SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She will go by herself.’ Or ‘She will go herself’

The absolutive form occurs along with restrictive pronoun for emphasis. The order of the two forms is flexible.

- 11a. **tán-i taa-nna tan-a dosa-ko-ti-n-e**
 I-NOM 1SG-RES I-ABS love-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I love myself.’
- 11b. **tán-i tan-a taa-nna dosa-ko-ti-n-e**
 I-NOM I-ABS 1SG-RES love-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I love myself.’

4.2.6. The Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive in Kole, as in other Ometo languages such as Haro (Hirut 2004), Maale (Azeb 2001), and Zayse (Hayward 1990, cited in Hirut 2004: 114) is limited to the third person. The element **béna** is a special form of reflexive pronoun of Kole. It indicates third persons and characterizes coreferentiality between subject and object within a simple clause.

The third person singular reflexive pronoun shows neutralization of gender and number features. Therefore, all the masculine, feminine and plural reflexive pronouns have the same form. Consider the following examples:

- 12a. **ʔís-i bena ʔiixo-k-isi-d-e**
 he-NOM 3REF cut-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She cut herself.’
- 12.b. **ʔés-i bena ʔiixo -ko-si-d-e**
 she-NOM 3REF cut-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She cut herself.’
- 12c. **ʔusún-i bena ʔiixo -ko-j-d-is-o**
 they-NOM 3REF cu-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 ‘They cut themselves’

The element **bé-** is a short counterpart of the reflexive pronoun **béna**. The first and second person short pronoun forms differ from their long forms by lacking the element **-na**.

The full form expresses a co-reference between subject and object. The short form shows co-reference of another argument and the subject. Thus, the short form occurs suffixed to a peripheral case marker to show coreferentiality between subject and genitive, dative or instrumental argument. Such a complementary distribution between short and long forms of a pronoun is attested with other pronouns in the language.

The short reflexive pronoun shows slight variation. The element **bé** or **béé** is realized. **bé** occurs to show co-reference between subject and possessor whereas **béé** occurs elsewhere to show other peripheral cases.

When the dative marker **-ro** is suffixed to the short reflexive pronoun, it expresses coreferentiality of subject and indirect object. This shows a benefactive event. Examples have been given below.

- 13a. **ʔés-i bee-ro maaʔo ʃama-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM REF-DAT cloth:ABS buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He_i bought cloth for him_i. (Lit: He bought cloth for himself.)’

- 13b. **ʔés-i ʔesu-ro maaʔo ʃama-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM he-DAT cloth:ABS buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He_i bought cloth for him_j'
- 14a. **bitáne-z-i bee-ro doro ʃama-ko-si-d-e**
 man-M:DF-NOM REF-DAT sheep-ABS buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The man_i bought a sheep for him_i.' (The man bought a sheep for himself.)
- 14b. **bitáne-z-i ʔesu-ro doro ʃama-ko-si-d-e**
 man-M:DF-NOM he-DAT sheep:ABS buy-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The man_i bought a sheep for him_j.'

The occurrence of the reflexive pronoun **be-** in a genitive construction is illustrated in the examples below. The examples show a coreferentiality between a subject and a genitive noun.

- 15a. **ʔís-i be- maaʔo gada-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM REF- cloth:ABS put-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She_i put her_i cloth.'
- 15b. **ʔís-i ʔe- maaʔo gada-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM REF- cloth:ABS put-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She_i put his_j cloth.'

The short reflexive pronoun appears as part of a headless genitive phrase. It appears with a short vowel, **bé-**, as the situation with other short pronoun forms in the same context (see Table 4 and Table 5). In such case, the reflexive pronoun occurs before the headless genitive marker **{-jiss-}** or **{-jr-}**, which is also attested with non-reflexive pronouns shown in the section 4.2.6. The headless reflexive pronoun can also mark for definiteness and case. Consider the following examples:

- 16a. **ʔés-i be-jiss-a-z-a ʃogo-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM REF-M:POSS-NMZ-M:DF-ABS sell-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He sold his own one. (Lit: the masculine one which is his)'

- 16b. **bitáne-z-i** **be-jr-att-o** **bajsa-ko-si-d-e**
 man-M:DF-NOM REF-F:POSS-F:DF-ABS sell-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The man sold his own one. (Lit: the feminine one which is his)’

When **-nna** is suffixed to the short reflexive pronoun, it expresses ones being alone. The restrictive pronoun is commonly accompanied by a focus marker **-ko** and the agreement marker **-si** in Kole language.

17. **pétti** **ʔatstsi** **bee-nna-ko-si** **baa-d-e**
 one man:NOM REF-RES-FOC-3M:SG go-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Only one man/person went.’

Both the object reflexive pronouns as well as the instrumental form occur in the sentential construction in the emphatic reflexive interpretation. During this occurrence, the order of the two forms can be flexible. This structure has the meaning of ‘by one’. It expresses that the agent accomplishes an action without assistance.

- 18a. **ʔés-i** **bee-nna** **bena** **ganʔa-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM REF-RES REF:ABS insult-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He insulted himself. (Lit: He insulted himself by himself.)’
- 18b. **ʔés-i** **bena** **bee-nna** **ganʔa-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM REF:ABS REF-RES insult-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He insulted himself. (Lit: He insulted himself by himself.)’
- 18c. **ʔís-i** **bena** **bee-nna-k-isi** **ganʔ-i-d-e**
 he-NOM REF:ABS REF-RES-FOC-3F:SG Insult-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She insulted herself. (Lit: She insulted herself by herself.)’

4.2.7. The Vocative Pronouns

The vocative pronouns are specified for gender and number features in Kole language. Consider the following examples:

19a. **jen-ó**

2M:SG-VOC

'You boy!'

19b. **jebif-ó**

2F:SG-VOC

'You girl!'

19c. **jef-ó**

2PL(RESP)-VOC

'You men! or You people!'

CHAPTER 5

The Verb Morphology

As its formal definition, a verb refers to an element which can display morphological contrast of tense, aspect, mood, person and number. Functionally, it is an element which, alone or in combination with other verbs (i.e. as a verb phrase) used as the minimal predicate of a sentence, co-occurring with a subject. Many linguists consider the verb as the most important element in sentence structure.

Kole language allows concatenation of two or more suffixes on verb stems. The language has suffixal, agglutinative and transparent morphology. Consonant alternation, gemination and deletion on the final consonant in a verb root are common occurring.

There are simple and complex types of verb stem in Kole language. Regarding the distribution of the two types, it is pragmatically determined. The complex type of verb stem is focus-oriented but the simple type of verb stem is not. The forms have specific morphological features. They also have different componential units. The simple verb stem includes elaborated systems of mood and modality features and aspect. The complex verb does not make tense, mood and modality distinction but it makes aspectual distinction.

This section discusses the structure of the verb roots, the changes that occur in the final consonant(s) of the verb roots, verb stem formations and inflections of the verbs as follows.

5.1. The Verb Root

In Kole language there is no verb root which can be formed from a single consonant. The majorities of the verb roots are monosyllabic. Verb roots in Kole language end in consonant or consonants. The patterns of verb roots are given in examples below.

CVC-

- 1a. ʔud- 'push'
- 1b. ʃam- 'buy'
- 1c. gaʔ 'beg, pray'
- 1d. zor- 'advise'
- 1e. bal- 'mistaken'
- 1f. dos- 'like, love'
- 1g. wos'- 'run'
- 1h. baʔ- 'not exist'

CV (V) C (C)-

- 2a. makk- 'measure'
- 2b. botʃʃ- 'touch'
- 2c. good- 'chaise'
- 2d. door- 'choose'
- 2e. gaatʃ'- 'grind'
- 2f. baatt- 'scoop, remove'
- 2g. gootʃʃ- 'pull'
- 2h. moot- 'sue'

CV (V) C₁C₂-

- 3a. gars'- 'lend'
- 3b. gord- 'shut'
- 3c. ʔandʒ- 'bless'
- 3d. dend- 'stand'
- 3e. doonts- 'destroy'
- 3f. boontʃ- 'respect'

CV(V)CVC-

- 4a. haasa?- 'talk, speak'
- 4b. malat- 'show, indicate'
- 4c. galat- 'thank, praise'
- 4d. gerer- 'chant, boast'

CVC₁C₂VC-

- 5a. gender- 'roll'
- 5b. fender- 'make forage'
- 5c. mask'al- 'enjoy'
- 5d. zingag- 'murmur, grumble'

CVCVCC-

- 6a. mis'ill- 'spit'
- 6b. zak'ull- 'lay on chest'
- 6c. balutt- 'forget'

CVVCCVC-

- 7a. goottar- 'moan'
- 7b. haattur- 'snore'

CVC₁C₂VCC-

- 8a bongott- 'lay on back'

CVCVC₁C₂

9a. tʃogunt- 'to extend foot'

CVC₁C₂VC₁C₂-

10a. k'oltʃint- 'vomit'

5.2. Inflections of the Verb

The categories person, aspect and mood are involved in the inflectional systems of verbs most of the time. The verb morphology is transparently agglutinative and marks features by overt signals. The order of the morphemes follows the following pattern with the simple verb:

VERB ROOT- ASPECT-MOOD

The following order is observed with complex verbs (see also Hirut 2004:141). This order is not necessarily true always. Note the occurrence of infinitive form.

VERB ROOT-INF-FOC-AGREEMENT-ASP-MOOD

The order given above has been illustrated as follows.

5.2.1. The Infinitive

In Kole language, two classes of infinitive verbs are distinguished, **O class** and **A class**. The infinitives are formed according to the following rules:

The first rule is that verbs of the **O class** form their infinitives by means of suffixing **-e**. The second rule is that verbs of the **A class** form their infinitives by means of a suffixing **-o**. The last

rule is that in the majority of cases, infinitive forms have pitch accent on their first syllable in the stem.

The class employed as in infinitive formation is not to be identified as the one found in forms such as the affirmative declarative perfect. It can be argued that the formation of infinitives involves a morphologically determined process of degemination which may affect a stem-final geminate. It is observed that this is a lexically determined phenomenon, for not all verbs with stem-final geminates have alternates with single consonants. Consider the following examples:

	O class V root	Infinitive	Gloss
11a.	bajʔ-	bájʔe	'split'
	fool-	fóóle	'strip, peel'
	tʃʊod-	tʃʊóde	'chop up'
	dúuʔ-	dúúʔe	'burst'
	ʔatʃ-	ʔátʃe	'tie'
	A class V root	Infinitive	Gloss
11b.	gof-	gófo	'farm'
	book-	bóoko	'dig'
	dol-	dólo	'grow'
	gumʔ-	gúmʔo	'squeeze'
	mas'	más'o	'pick'

In addition to the existential verb **jes-**, somewhat irregular morphologies have been observed. All of them are frequently occurring verbs. These are **jew-** 'come', **mij-** 'eat', **sij-** 'hear', **hij-** 'say', and **ʔew-** 'bring'. On comparative grounds, it seems likely that the idiosyncrasies displayed by these verbs have arisen because they have a root-final glide. These irregular verbs often seem to form infinitives after the pattern of both **O** and **A** classes; their pitch accent patterns are also unpredictable. Consider the following examples:

	Infinitive forms	Gloss
12.	jéwo/jéwe	'to come'
	ʔééwo/ʔééwe	'to bring'
	hámo/háme	'to go'
	híje	'to say'
	sije	'to hear'
	míje	'to eat'
	ʔábo	'to leave'
	ʔépo	'to take'

The following sentence structures illustrate the occurrence of infinitive forms.

13a. **ʔúf-e-ko-ti** **worg-e**
 drink-INF-FOC-1SG want-AFF:DCL
 'I want to drink.'

13b. **míj-e-ko-ni** **worg-e**
 eat-INF-FOC-2SG want-AFF:DCL
 'It is to eat that you want.'

13c. **ʔátstsi** **ganʔ-o-i** **ʔiita-kko**
 someone insult-INF-NOM bad-FOC
 'To insult someone is bad.'

5.2.2. Person

Like other Omotic languages, verbs in Kole language involves subject agreement markers and object agreement markers. A verb agrees with its subject noun phrase by suffixing a pronominal to the verb stem. Personal pronouns which are the agreement marking elements are phonologically reduced. As segments that occur at the final position of the independent pronouns

are absent from the agreement markers, the agreement markers differ from their independent counterparts. Comparison of the subject markers of verbs with the independent pronoun counterparts has been given in the following table.

Table 9 : Subject agreement markers and subject personal pronouns

Persons	SUBJ AGR markers	SUBJ Pers.Pronouns	Gloss
1SG	-ti-	táni	'I'
2SG	-ni-	néni	'you'
3M:SG	-si-	?ési	'he'
3F:SG	-isi-	?ísi	'she'
1PL	-ini-	núni	'we'
2PL	-iti-	hítini	'you'
3PL	-ji-is/-us	?úsuni	'they'

Most of the time an agreement marker occurs with focused verbs as shown in the following examples.

- 14a.** **faató-z-i** **gaaja** **ham-a-ko-si-d-e**
 boy-M:DF-NOM market:ABS go-SUFF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The boy went to market.'
- 14b.** **nún-i** **mas'ine** **jaam-a-k-ini-d-e**
 we-NOM salt:ABS buy-SUFF-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We bought salt.'
- 14c.** **?és-i** **?oto-z-a** **ments-a-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM pot-M:DF-ABS break-SUFF-FOC-3M:SG-FOC-AFF:DCL
 'He broke the pot.'

With non-focused verbs, there is no agreement marker involved but the subject noun phrase expresses the identity of the subject. Besides, when there is absolutive object noun in the clause, both the focus marker and the agreement marker marked on it. Consider the following examples:

- 15a. **faató-z-i** **gaaja-ko-si** **hang-i-d-e**
 boy-M:DF-NOM market-FOC-3M:SG go-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The boy went to market.'
- 15b. **nún-i** **mas'ine-k-ini** **fang-i-d-e**
 we-NOM salt-FOC-2PL buy-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We bought salt.'
- 15c. **?és-i** **?oto-z-a-ko-si** **ments-i-d-e**
 he-NOM pot-M:DF-ABS-FOC-3M:SG break-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He broke the pot.'

On the other hand, we can see some differences on person markers occurring with negative and interrogative verbs. In this section, the occurrence of person markers is illustrated with affirmative declarative verbs. Consider the first group which presents perfective paradigm below

- 16a. **tán-i** **gawara-z-a** **wodá-ko-ti-d-e**
 I-NOM cat-M:DF-ABS kill-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I killed the cat (M).'
- 16b. **nén-i** **kana-z-a** **wodá-ko-ni-d-e**
 you-NOM dog-M:DF-ABS kill-FOC-2SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'You killed the dog (M).'
- 16c. **?ís-i** **doro-z-a** **wodá-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM sheep-M:DF-ABS kill-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She killed the sheep (M).'
- 16d. **?és-i** **?etj'ere-z-a** **wodá-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM rat-M:DF-ABS kill-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He killed the rat (M).'
- 16e. **nún-i** **?etj'er-att-o** **wodá-k-ini-d-e**
 we-NOM rat-F:DF-ABS kill-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We killed the rat (F).'

16f. **hítun-i** **gaammo-z-a** **woda-k-iti-d-e**
 you-NOM lion-M:DF-ABS kill-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You(PL) killed the lion (M).’

16g. **ʔúsun-i** **s’eg-att-o** **woda-ko-ji-d-is-o**
 they-NOM goat-F:DF-ABS kill-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 ‘They killed the goat (F).’

The person markers {-isi-}, {-ini-} and {-iti-} are suffixed to the focus marker {-k-} as shown in 51c, 51e, and 51f; during this process, final vowel {-o-} is deleted from focus marker.

The perfective paradigm comprises the completed action whereas the imperfective paradigm comprises habitual, present and future actions. Sentential examples of the habitual and present progressive forms of the verb have been given below.

17a. **tán-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-ti-n-e**
 I-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I eat potato.’ or ‘I am eating potato.’

17b. **nén-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-ni-n-e**
 you-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You eat potato.’ or ‘You are eating potato.’

17c. **ʔís-i** **boobbe** **muutta-k-isi-n-e**
 she-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She eats potato.’ or ‘She is eating potato.’

17d. **ʔés-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-si-n-e**
 he-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He eats potato.’ or ‘He is eating potato.’

- 17e. **nún-i** **boobbe** **muutta-k-ini-n-e**
 we-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘We eat potato.’ or ‘We are eating potato.’
- 17f. **hítun-i** **boobbe** **muutta-k-iti-n-e**
 you-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You eat potato.’ or ‘You are eating potato.’
- 17g. **ʔúsun-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-jis-o**
 they-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-3PL:IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘They eat potato.’ or ‘They are eating potato.’

It can be noted from the examples that the element **-n-** that marks imperfective is not present in the third person plural form. Compare example (52f) and (52g). The concept of imperfective in example (52g) is included in the person marking element **-jis-** ‘3PL: IPF’. Thus, both third person plural and imperfective are expressed by the same element. The future imperfective form of the verb is exemplified as follows.

- 18a. **tán-i** **boobbe** **muuta-ko-t-on-e**
 I-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I will eat potato.’
- 18b. **nén-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-n-on-e**
 you-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You will eat potato.’
- 18c. **ʔís-i** **boobbe** **muutta-k-is-on-e**
 she-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She will eat potato.’
- 18d. **ʔés-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-s-on-e**
 he-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He will eat potato.’

18e. **nún-i** **boobbe** **muutta-k-in-on-e**
 we-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'We will eat potato.'

18f. **hítun-i** **boobbe** **muutta-k-it-on-e**
 you-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'You will eat potato.'

18g. **?úsun-i** **boobbe** **muutta-ko-j-od-o**
 they-NOM potato:ABS eat-FOC-3PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'They will eat potato.'

As it is indicated in the examples above, there are some irregularities of aspect markers, especially in the third person plural forms of perfective and imperfective aspects. For instance, the affirmative declarative marker is denoted by the morpheme {-e} in all persons except in the third person plural. On the contrary, the third person plural form is marked by the morpheme {-o}.

Another remarkable point is that imperfective form is also marked by the morpheme {-on} in all persons except in the third person plural. The third person plural is denoted by the morpheme {-od} in order to show imperfective. In this process a part of imperfect marker or suffix {-o-}, is retained in its position; but the other part of the element, {-n} is deleted from its position. Instead of the element {-n}, the perfective marking element {-d} appears in this position. Besides, all the final vowels of the agreement markers are deleted when imperfective marking element {-on} is affixed to them. These types of processes or changes have been left for further investigation.

5.2.3. Aspect

The perfective and the imperfective features of the language have been treated in section (5.4.1) as person agreement is influenced by perfective and imperfective aspect. In this section, perfective and imperfective aspects have been illustrated thoroughly.

Aspect can generally be divided into two main categories known as perfective and imperfective aspects. Perfective aspect can semantically imply an action/state that took place before the moment of speech. On the other hand, the imperfective aspect subsumes various meanings like habitually, continuity (progressivity), prospectivity etc.

In an analysis of the interaction of Tense, Aspect and Agreement in Amharic syntax, Baye (2006, cited in Wondimu 2010: 156) identifies four sub-aspectual categories in addition to the Canonical perfective and imperfective aspects. These sub-aspectual categories are identified by Baye are progressive, inceptive, prospective and completive. Consider the following examples:

- 19a. **tán-i bonke-pa jeetta-ko-ti-d-e** (completive)
I-NOM bonke-ABL come-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'I came from Bonke.' or 'I have come from Bonke.'
- 19b. **tán-i gaaja-pa jeetta-ko-ti-n-e** (Present, habitual, Present progressive)
I-NOM market-ABL come-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
'I always come from market.' or 'I am coming from market.'
- 19c. **tan-i gaaja-pa jeetta-ko-t-on-e** (Prospective)
I-NOM market-ABL come-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
'I will come from market.'
- 19d. **tán-i gaaja-pa hamm-ada-ko-ti-n-e** (Inceptive or choative)
I-NOM market-ABL go-INC-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
'I want to go from the market.' or 'I am going to go from the market.'

As can be noted from the above illustrations, Kole language makes a morphological distinction between perfective and imperfective aspect. The perfective aspect is marked by the morpheme {-d} and it mainly expresses completed actions/events. The actual time difference between the completion of the action/events and the speech event does not affect the form of the verb itself. Aspectual adverbs help to locate the situation in time relative to the moment of speaking. Consider the following examples:

- 20a. **tán-i wonde banga gaatʃ'a-ko-ti-d-e**
 I-NOM earlier barely-ABS grind-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I have crushed barely earlier.'
- 20b. **?és-i hantso keta jeetta-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM today morning come-FOM-3MS-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He has come this morning.'
- 20c. **?és-i be- lagge-ra wola zinbere jeetta-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM self friend-COM together last year come-FOC-3MS-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He came last year with his friend.'
- 20d. **tán-i tʃ'ag-att-o hatte jukk-i**
 I-NOM antelope-F:DF-ABS now slaughter-CNV
?alsa-ko-ti-d-e
 finish-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I just finished slaughtering the antelope.'
- 20e. **?és-i hatte petti dak'ik'a**
 he-NOM now one second
bira-ti-ko-si hangi-d-e
 front-PASS-FOC-3MS go-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He just left a minute ago.'

On the other hand, the imperfective aspect, in Kole language, is further divided into two: the present imperfective and the future imperfective. The former is marked by the morpheme {-n-},

whereas the later is marked by the morpheme {-on-}. The former refers to the speech and the action taking place at the same time. The present imperfective also refer to general truth or timeless statement. Present perfective shows both present progressive and habitual actions. Consider the following examples:

- 21a. **tán-i** **banga** **gaatʃ'a-ko-ti-n-e**
 I-NOM barely:ABS grind-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'I am crushing barely.'
- 21b. **kaná-i** **?atfo** **dosa-ko-si-n-e**
 dog-NOM meat:ABS like-FOC-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Dog likes meat.'
- 21c. **?ís-i** **?udda wode** **keta** **denda-k-isi-n-e**
 she-NOM all time morning stand-FOC-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Every day she gets up early.'

The other imperfective morpheme {-on} is mainly used to express situation which have not been started or initiated yet at the moment of speaking, as illustrated below.

- 22a. **tán-i** **?esu-ro** **guta** **?oottsa-ko-t-on-e**
 I-NOM he-DAT tomorrow work-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'I will work for him tomorrow.'
- 22b. **hantsó** **tan-i** **fempa-ko-t-on-e**
 today I-NOM rest-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Today I will take rest.'
- 22c. **?és-i** **guta** **jeetta-ko-s-on-e**
 he-NOM tomorrow come-FOC-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'He will come tomorrow.'

As it can be noted from the above examples, the imperfective, in contrast with the perfective aspect, denotes situations which are not completed. Furthermore, the imperfective marker

morphemes share some formal similarity whereas the perfective marker is distinct from imperfective. The most common imperfective marker is {-n-}.

5.2.4. Mood, Modality and Polarity

In Bybee et al. (1994: 176-179), mood and modality are classified into three types: speaker-oriented modality, agent-oriented modality and epistemic modality. All directives are categorized as speaker-oriented modality. They propose some course of action such as imperative, optative, etc. which were considered as mood.

Halliday (1994: 43-89) makes use of three categories: mood, modality and polarity to deal with the issues in question. Mood is either indicative or imperative. If it is indicative, it can be either declarative or interrogative. If it is interrogative, it can be either polar interrogative ('yes-no' type) or content interrogative. Any proposition appears to be either positive (assertive) or negative depending on position of the notion of polarity.

A verb in Kole language can be divided into two general moods: indicative, and directive. The indicative mood constitutes the declarative and interrogative whereas the directive mood refers to imperative, optative, and exhortative. Both directives and indicatives can be categorized into affirmative or negative, to command 'do' or 'do not do'. Thus, there are affirmative declarative verbs contrasting with the negative declarative verbs. In contrast with imperative, optative and exhortative, there are prohibitive verbs. A verb can be marked for various kinds of modalities to show the different intermediate degrees between the positive and negative poles. For example, degrees of probabilities, possibilities and certainties, which are presented under 'modality', can be marked for various modalities that show different degrees.

5.2.4.1. Types of Moods

This section presents the indicative and directive moods.

5.2.4.1.1. The Indicative mood

Indicative mood contains declarative and interrogative moods.

5.2.4.1.1.1. The Declarative

The declarative mood can be identified as affirmative and negative declaratives. In Kole language, a declarative verb shows polarity and can be affirmative or negative in its sentence construction. Each type is presented below in turn.

1. *The affirmative declarative*

There is no independent morpheme marking affirmative, unlike the negative. The affirmative is expressed by a zero morpheme that contrasts paradigmatically with the negative marker {-á}.

In contrast to the negative declarative that involves distinct morphemes for polarity and mood, the suffix {-e} is a marker for affirmative declarative. At the final position of a verb stem, next to an aspect marker, the affirmative declarative marker can be found. The element {-n-} is an imperfective marker which occurs in simple irregular verb type. The present imperfective is marked by zero morpheme when the verb type is regular in a simple verb form, instead {-e} gets attached directly to the verb root. Consider the following examples:

- 23a. **tán-i** **bang-a** **boora** **muu-n-e**
 I-NOM barely-NMZ bread-ABS eat-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'I eat the bread which is prepared from barley.'

- 23b. **ʔés-i** **doro-kko** **bays-e**
 he-NOM sheep-FOC sell-Ø-AFF:DCL
 'He sells sheep.'
- 23c. **ʔís-i** **ʔapilla** **bajs-a-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM cloth:ABS sell-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She sold clothes.'
- 23d. **nén-i** **taa-ro** **petti** **hajsuʔe** **ʔoho-ko-n-on-e**
 you-NOM I-DAT one tale tell-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'You will tell me one tale.'

2. *The Negative declarative*

The negative declarative verb, in Kole language, is distinguished by negative marker {-á}. The element {-á} is followed by the negative declarative marker **-ʔa**. The negative declarative form contrasts paradigmatically with the negative interrogative. Consider example (59a) below.

- 24a. **nén-i** **wos'-a-ʔa**
 you-NOM run-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'You do not run.'
- 24b. **ʔés-i** **wos's'-enn-ee**
 he-NOM run-NEG-INTR
 'Doesn't he run?'
- 24c. **ʔés-i** **wos's'-enn-ee-ʃin**
 he-NOM run-NEG-Q-PROB
 'May he not run?'

It can be noted that, unlike the situation with the affirmative declarative verb, no agreement-marking element occurs with the negative declarative verb forms except in the case of simple verb form.

A complex structure containing a converb and a negative existential element **b-** ‘not exist’ express the perfective form of a negative verb. The negative existential verb carries the negative marker **-á** and the negative declarative marker **{-?a}**, but the main verb does not. The word **baaso** ‘absent’ can be used in place of **ba?a**. Consider the following examples:

25a. **nún-i** **ne- ?itf-edfe** **beed-i** **b-a-?a**
 we-NOM 2SG- brother-PL:ABS see-CNV not exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘We did not see your brothers.’

25b. **nún-i** **ne-?itf-edfe** **beed-i** **b-a-aso**
 we-NOM 2SG- brother:PL:ABS see-CNV not exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘We did not see your brothers.’

5.2.4.1.1.2. The Interrogative

There are two types of interrogatives: polar interrogatives and content interrogatives. Polar interrogatives involve inflectional ways of signaling interrogation. This section deals with polar interrogative. Interrogative verbs in Kole language are subject to polarity and show affirmative and negative forms.

1. *The Affirmative polar interrogative*

Informative and permissive are the two types of affirmative polar interrogative verbs in Kole language. Informative is applied in order to have information about something whereas permissive is used to get permission for doing something. Informative polar interrogative verbs differ structurally in simple and complex verbs. Polar interrogative verbs have different forms compared to the declarative ones with simple verb stems and differ in their vowel lengthening

pattern. The vowel lengthening pattern and present imperfective marker are associated to the verb in a polar question.

26a. **hítin-i** **boobbe** **mutt-a-j-n-ee**
 you-NOM potato:ABS eat-INF-INFO-IPF-INTR
 'Do you eat potato?'

26b. **ʔés-i** **loʔo** **biffo** **ʔep-a-j-d-ee**
 he-NOM good wife:ABS marry-INF-INFO-PF-INTR
 'Did he get married to a good wife?'

A polar interrogative form, with complex verbs, differs from its declarative counterpart because it lacks the focus marker {-ko} and has vowel lengthening. Compare the following structures.

27a. **ʔís-i** **k'amma** **ham-a-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM yesterday go-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She went yesterday.'

27b. **ʔís-i** **k'amma** **ham-a-isi-d-ee**
 she-NOM yesterday come-INF-3M:SG-PF-INTR
 'Has she gone yesterday?' or 'Did she go yesterday?'

Affirmative and negative forms that contrast paradigmatically characterize the permissive polar interrogative verb. The suffix {-ana} shows the affirmative form. It is attached to the verb root and has a similar form as the first person singular optative. The permissive interrogative is characterized by vowel lengthening, and a rising intonation that accompanies the sentence as a whole. Sentential examples of permissive interrogative structures are given below.

28a. **ʔútt-i** **ʔisi-ra** **búʔe** **kaʔ-an-aa**
 sit-NOM she-COM together play-PERM-INTR
 'Having sat, may I play with her?'

28b. **gúta ta- ʔindo s'ejg-an-aa**
 tomorrow 1SG- mother help-PERM-INTR
 'May I call my mother tomorrow?'

2. *The Negative polar interrogative*

As it can be noted {-a-} marks a negative polar interrogative verb. It also similarly occurs in the negative declarative form shown in the above examples. In addition to that, following it, the person and interrogative markers occur. The informative and permissive negative polar interrogative verb forms are the two forms of negative polar interrogative verbs.

Negative marker **-ikk** which occurs before person marker suffix, vowel lengthening-ii, distinguishes the negative informative interrogative. Examples have been given below.

29. **ʔés-i ʔoh-e-sa ʔohe-k-et-ii**
 he-NOM tell-AFF:DCL-REL tell- NEG-2PL-INTR
 'Don't you (PL) tell what he tells?'

The perfective is expressed by a complex verb form involving a converb and a negative copula, **b-**, in the case of negative interrogative verbs. Sentential examples have been given below.

30. **ʔés-i ʔusun-i his-e-sa**
 he-NOM they-NOM say-AFF:DCL-REL
ʔer-i b-a-jee
 know-CNV not exist-NEG-3M:SG:INTR
 'Hasn't he (SG) known what they are saying?'

In a situation where the speaker has already posed the question, the negative permissive interrogative is deployed; but it doesn't receive both a positive and a negative response. The speaker is rather wondering whether the silence means it is not allowed, therefore, the meaning is 'Shall I not do that?'

The double negative suffixes {-kk-} and {-a-} are suffixed to the verb root in order to mark the negative permissive interrogative verb preceded by person marker. Consider the following examples:

- 31a. **ʔútt-i ne-ra búʔe ʔohutt-i-kk-a-mm-aa**
 sit-CNV you-COM together talk-INF-NEG-NEG-2SG:PERM:INTR
 ‘May I not sit and talk with you?’
- 31b. **gúta ne- ʔaddo sʔjig-i-kk-a-mm-aa**
 tomorrow 2SG:GEN father call-INF-NEG-NEG-1SG:PERM:INTR
 ‘May I not call your father tomorrow?’

The words **hóó** ‘yes’ and **ʔifʔe** ‘no’ are the two responses to polar interrogative. They also function as acknowledgement to a statement and as an undertaking to a command. They carry a tonic prominence phonologically. The responses may occur elliptically or with a thematic sentential response, as a clause on their own. The following are illustrative examples.

- 32a. **ʔóótsts-anaa**
 work-PERM:INTR
 ‘Can I work?’
- 32b. **hóó ʔootsts-a-ne**
 yes work-IMP-2SG
 ‘Yes, work!’
- 32c. **ʔifʔe ʔootsts-idoppu**
 no work-PRH:2SG
 ‘No, don’t work.’

5.2.4.1.2. The Directive Mood

This section deals with verbs that express commands, demands, requests, entreaties and warnings, exhortations, and recommendations. Bybee, (1994: 1794) cited in Hirut, (2004: 154)

terms all such directives and utterances as 'speaker-oriented modalities'. Thus, Kole language distinguishes imperative, optative, prohibitive and exhortative moods.

5.2.4.1.2.1. The Imperative

The imperative indicates polarity. It also has a negative counterpart that contrasts with the affirmative form paradigmatically. In contrast to the affirmative that expresses a semantic meaning 'do', the prohibitive has the meanings 'don't do'.

The suffix **-á** marks the imperative mood. After the suffix, either a second person singular subject marker **{-ne}** or a second person plural subject marker **{-jite}** is suffixed to the verb root. Consider the following examples taken from ext 1, No. 13, line 2:

	Verb root	IMP:2SG	IMP:2PL	Gloss
33a.	wos'-	wos'-á-ne	wos'-á-jite	'run'
33b.	s'ejg-	s'eyg-á-ne	s'ejg-á-jite	'call'
33c.	dend-	dend-á-ne	dend-á-jite	'stand'
33d.	gad-	gad-á-ne	gad-á-jite	'put'

The imperative is also used as exhortative. It expresses a desire or blessing for a second person.

- 34a. **ditʃ'tʃ-á-ne**
 be grow-IMP-2SG
 'May you be blessed or, May you be great!'
- 34b. **boontʃ-utt-á-ne**
 be prosperous-PASS-IMP-2SG
 'May you be prosperous'

Regarding the sequences of imperatives, only the last verb is marked for imperative mood and the pre-final imperative verbs take the shape of a converb. Examples have been given below

35a. boobbé book-i ʔekk-i jeed-i katsts-a-ne
 potato dig-CNV take-CNV come-CNV cook-IMP-2SG

‘Dig the potato, come with it and cook it.’

35b. né ʔep-es-a gadd-i hamm-a-ne
 2SG take-AFF:REL-ABS put-CNV go-IMP-2SG

‘Put what you take and go.’

5.2.4.1.2.2. The Optative

It is a mood used for indirect blessings delivered to first and third persons, wishes, prayers, and commands. In Kole language, the optative does not have a different form that can paradigmatically contrast with the imperative form except in the case of the first person plural optative marker which is {-i}. Attachment of a subject-agreement element on the imperative marker {-a} results in optative forms.

	IMP-OPT paradigm	Gloss
36a.	jew-á-ne	‘come:2SG’
36b.	jew-á-jite	‘com:2PL’
36c.	jew-á-je	‘let him come’
36d.	jew-á-ja	‘let her come’
36e.	jew-á-jo	‘let them come’
36f.	jew-á-na	‘let me come’
36g.	jew-á-nno	‘let us come’
36h.	sing-á-ne	‘smell:2SG’
36i.	sing-á-jite	‘smell:2PL’
36j.	sing-á-je	‘let him smell’
36k.	sing-á-ja	‘let her smell’
36l.	sing-á-jo	‘let them smell’
36m.	sing-á-na	‘let me smell’
36n.	sing-á-nno	‘let us smell’

As one can observe from the above data, to avoid sequences of consonants, the imperative marker **á** inserted and considered as a phonetic element.

As can be observed below, good wishes, blessings, and indirect commands are expressed by optative in Kole language.

- 37a. **dáro** **lajitstsi** **jes-i-nno**
 many year exist-IMP-1PL
 'May we live long.'
- 37b. **zarúma-nna** **jes-a-ja**
 peace-INST live-IMP-3F:SG
 'Let her live in peace.'
- 37c. **bázo-i** **nee-ro** **saro** **?eew-a-je**
 god-NOM you-DAT peace bring-IMP-3M:SG
 'Let God bring you peace.'

5.2.4.1.2.3. The Pseudo-optative

In Kole language, suffixing the element **{-abaff-}** to the verb root after the infinitive marker followed by the agreement marker forms the pseudo-optative. It is used to express the meaning of 'let something happen to him/her/them, I don't care'. Consider the following examples:

	V.root & Pseudo-OPT	Gloss
38a.	jes-abaff-e	'Let him live: I don't care!'
38b.	jes-abaff-a	'Let her live: I don't care!'
38c.	jes-abaff-o	'Let them live: I don't care!'
38d.	pas'-abaff-e	'Let him cure: I don't care!'
38e.	pas'-abaff-a	'Let her cure: I don't care!'
38f.	pas'-abaff-o	'Let them cure: I don't care!'

5.2.4.1.2.4. The Prohibitive

In Kole language, second and third persons are related to prohibitive. The prohibitive proposes 'don't do' or 'let not do' in contrast to the imperative and optative forms that propose 'do' or 'let do'.

On the one hand, the suffixes {-idopp-} and {-idipp-} are prohibitive verb markers which occur with second singular and plural persons respectively. On the other hand, the suffixes {-idepp-}, {-idipp-} and {-idopp-} are prohibitive verb markers which occur with third singular masculine, third singular feminine and third plural persons respectively. These markers come before the agreement marker in Kole language. The morpheme {-ons'i} occurs with third person plural as agreement markers. Consider the prohibitive forms of the verbs **gadd-** 'put' **dents-** 'pick' and **s'ejg-** 'call' in for second person and third person in the following examples.

	Prohibitive:2SG		Prohibitive:2PL	Gloss
39a.	gadd-idopp-una		gadd-idipp-ita	'don't put'
39b.	dents-idopp-una		dents-idopp-ita	'don't pick'
39c.	s'ejg-idopp-una		s'ejg-idipp-ita	'don't call'
	PROH:3M:SG	Gloss	Prohibitive:3PL	Gloss
39d.	gadd-idepp-e	'let him not put'	gadd-idopp-onsi	'let them not put'
39e.	dents-idepp-e	'let him not pick'	dents-idopp-ons'i	'let them not pick'
39f.	s'ejg-idepp-e	'let him not call'	s'ejg-idopp-ons'i	'let them not call'
	PROH:3F:SG	Gloss	Prohibitive:3PL	Gloss
39g.	gadd-idipp-a	'let her not put'	gadd-idopp-onsi	'let them not put'
39h.	dents-idipp-a	'let her not pick'	dents-idopp-ons'i	'let them not pick'
39i.	s'ejg-idipp-a	'let her not call'	s'ejg-idopp-ons'i	'let them not call'

The sentences given below illustrate the occurrence of prohibitive. Some examples are taken from Text 1, No. 29, line 1

- 40a. **nén-i ʔojitʃʔtʃ-are ʔoh-idopp-una**
 you-NOM ask-NEG:REL tell-PROH-2SG
 ‘Don’t tell what you do not ask for.’
- 40b. **wááss-idipp-ita nu- ʔaddi dǐsk-a-ko-si-d-e**
 shout-PROH-2PL 1PL- father sleep-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Don’t shout (2PL), our father has slept.’
- 40c. **wááss-idopp-ons’i nu- ʔaddi dǐsk-a-ko-si-d-e**
 shout-PROH-3PL 1PL- father sleep-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Let them not shout, my father has slept.’
- 40d. **wááss-idepp-e nu- ʔaddi dǐsk-a-ko-si-d-e**
 shout-PROH-3M:SG 1PL- father sleep-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Let him not shout, my father has slept.’
- 40e. **wááss-idipp-a ta- ʔaddi dǐsk-a-ko-si-d-e**
 shout-PROH-3F:SG 1PL- father sleep-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Let her not shout, my father has slept.’

5.2.4.1.2.5. The Exhortative

The exhortative is used in a clause when a speaker wants to realize the event along with the addressee. The speaker exhorts the addressee to participate.

In Kole language the exhortative is used to convey the fact that the speaker encourages the person to participate in the action and wants to know why the addressee left behind. The exhortative is used to a lenient person, who has received the same order earlier or somehow knows that he is expected to take part in an action, but has not yet admitted to carry it out. The exhortative can be used with first person plural subject in that the speaker himself is inclusively intended to involve in the action. The optative form takes place with the same function.

The suffixes **-ek-etii** and **-ok-onii** are attached to a verb root for second person plural and first person plural subjects respectively to express exhortative mode. In order to achieve exhortative

mode, the vowel lengthening occurs following the agreement markers. In English, the literal translation is ‘why don’t you/we do it? /come on, do it /let’s do it’. Consider the following illustrative examples:

- 41a. **hítun-i ʔuf-ek-et-ii**
 you-NOM drink-NEG-2PL-INTR
 ‘Why don’t you(PL) drink? (Come on! You(PL) drink)’
- 41b. **nén-i ʔuf-ok-on-aa**
 you-NOM drink-NEG-1PL-INTR
 ‘Why don’t you drink? (Come on! Let you drink.)’

5.2.4.1.2.6. The Admonitive

Issuing a warning to a second person is used to express admonitive in Kole language. It is non-polite and indicates the speaker’s anger with someone who has failed to do a certain action. It can be applied to an addressee who has received and ignored a prior command to perform an action. No tense-aspect difference is made with such forms as in the case with imperative verb. This verb does not make a distinction between the singular and plural subjects unlike the imperative forms.

Admonitive verb is formed by attaching the suffix {-jfin} to a verb root in Kole language. The admonitive marker can also be interpreted as a sequence of the imperative marker and the suffix {-jfin}. Consider the following examples:

- 42a. **faató-tstso zawa gel-i ʔutt-a-jfin**
 child-like house get in-CNV sit-IMP-ADM
 ‘Don’t you go into a house and sit like a child’

42b. ʔóótsts-i nu- dere maadd-a-jfin
work-CNV 1PL- country support-IMP-ADM

‘Don’t you work and support our country!’

42c. tá ʔoh-e-sa sij-a-jeḡina
1SG tell-AFF:DEC-REL listen-IMP-ADM

‘Does not he listen to what I am saying?’

5.2.4.2. Types of Modalities

Two types of modalities are identified in Kole language. These are known as epistemic modalities and deontic modalities

5.2.4.2.1. The Epistemic modality

Epistemic modality shows the extent to which the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition. Possibility, probability, and certainty are the commonly expressed epistemic modalities. The epistemic modality that is deployed for more hypothetical situations, including situations that represent inductive generalizations and predictions about the future is also known as irrealis modality. Certainty, possibility, conditionality and probability are all morphologically marked epistemic modalities in Kole language.

5.2.4.2.1.1. The Certainty

The certainty verb expresses the proposition is true. The speaker has a good reason for supposing the proposition. In Kole language, the certainty modality is marked by suffix {-one}. It is noted that the element {-one} carries the meaning of certainty. Consider the following examples:

43. **ʔésu-pa ne- git-esa gamʔu-k-ini**
 2PL-ABL 1PL-big-REL later-FOC-2PL
wotʃtʃ-one
 see-CER:AFF:DCL

‘It is later that you will see you are bigger than him.’

The verb encodes the meaning of certainty of the speaker about the proposed event with a first person subject. It also encodes a strong desire and determination on his part to carry out the action with a first person subject as there is an overlap, in such a particular circumstance, between the first person speaker and agent of the action.

The occurrence of {-ón-e} as an expression of the agent’s strong desire and determination to carry out the action has been illustrated in the following examples.

44a. **hantso jeed-i-ko-ini nu- ʔindo gaagg-on-e**
 today com-INF-FOC-1SG 2PL- mother meet-FUT:CER-AFF:DCL
 ‘Today, you will come and meet our mother.’

44b. **nen-i hantso bonke-ko-ni hamm-on-e**
 you(SG)-NOM today bonke-FOC-2SG go-FUT:CER_AFF:DCL
 Today you will go to Bonke.’

5.2.4.2.1.2. The Possibility

According to Bybee et al (1994:3 20) cited in Hirut (2004: 162), the possibility modality expresses the situation described in the proposition is possibly true. It is marked by the element {-eso}. Consider the following examples:

- 45a. sé - dere-ga ?i- jesutt-e ?ik'aro-kko
 that- country-LOC 3F:SG-live-PASS-AFF:DCL refuse-CND
 ha-dere-ga jeed-i ?ak'-utt-eso
 this-country-LOC come-CNV live-PASS-POS
 'If it is not possible to live in that country, it will be possible to live in this country.'
- 45b. kofá -ro katstsa-kko mij-eso
 hungry-DAT food-FOC eat-POS
 'For hungry food will be eaten.'

5.2.4.2.1.3. The Conditional (Potential)

The element **-kko** marks the conditional sentence. The element **-kko**, which is a portmanteau morpheme, indicates the focus marker and occurs following nominals and nominal like elements. Hence, separate aspect marker does not occur in the verb. The verb marked for the potentiality occurs in a complex clause having an independent temporal clause (switch reference marker).

- 46a. nún-i hamo-kko nen-i zawa-kko
 we-NOM go-CND you-NOM house-DIR
 gel-on-e
 enter-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'If we go, you will enter to the house.'

- 46b. ?és-i jee-ʃʃ-unnu ?is-i ?agg-i-kko
 he-NOM come-PROG-SR she-NOM leave-CNV-FOC
 hamm-on-e
 go-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'When he comes, she will leave and go out.'

5.2.4.2.1.4. The Probability

The probability sentence is expressed by the combination of three morphemes. The suffix used to mark a progressive aspect marker-**iff**, and the certainty modality marker **-óne**, encodes that the speaker is indicating the situation described in the proposition would be probably true. Consider the following examples:

47a. **ʔes-i** **hansto** **ta-** **jew-iff-one**
3M:SG-NOM today 1SG- com-PROB-CER:AFF:DCL
hid-i-kko **k'opp-e**
say-CNV-FOC think-AFF:DCL
'He thinks that he might come today.'

47b. **ʔookko** **ʔer-esa** **nen-i** **gel-iff-one**
who:NOM know-AFF:REL you-NOM enter-PROB-CER:AFF:DCL
'Who knows, you might be married. (Who knows, you might be entered.)'

5.2.4.2.2. Deontic modalities

Deontic modalities are agent-oriented modality. The existence of internal and external conditions on an agent with respect to the completion of the action expressed in the main predicate is reported by the agent-oriented modality. Obligation, necessity, ability and desire are the most common notions in this set (Hirut 2004: 163, quoted from Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 177-178).

The language expresses deontic modality lexically. Obligation is consistently expressed by a causative verb **worg-uss-** 'cause to need'. Consider the following examples:

48a. **ditʃ'-o-s** **mij-e-ko-si** **worg-uss-e**
grow-INF-DAT eat-INF-FOC-3M:SG need-CAUS-AFF:DCL
'Eating is needed to grow up.'

48b. **jes-o-s** **lo?o** **?ootsts-o-ko-si** **worg-uss-e**
 live-INF-DAT good work-INF-FOC-3M:SG want-CAUS-AFF:DCL
 'To live, hard work is needed'

The verb **danda?**- 'able' is used to express internal enabling conditions compelling an agent to complete the predicate action in Kole language. Consider the following example :

49. **tan-i** **?ootsts-i** **danda?-a-?a**
 I-NOM work-CNV able-NEG-NEG:DCL
harg-utt-o-ko-ti-d-e
 sick-CAUS-INF-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I cannot work, I am sick.'

The existence of internal volitional conditions in the agent with respect to the predicate action is reported by desire. Consider the following example:

50. **tan-i** **?is-o** **wotftf-e-s-ko** **?amo-tt-e**
 I-NOM she-ABS see-INF-DAT-FOC wish-PASS-AFF:DCL
 'I wish (would like) to see her.'

Inventory of mood, modality, and polarity markers expressed morphologically are summarized in the following table.

Table 10: The summary of mood, modality and polarity

Indicative		Directive	Epistemic
Declarative	Interrogative	<u>Imperative</u>	Certainty -one
Affirmative -e	<u>Affirmative polar</u>	2SG -a	Possibility -eso
Negative -ee,-oo	Informative -a	2PL -jite	Conditional -kko
	Permissive -aj....aa	<u>Optative</u>	Probability -iff...-one
	<u>Negative polar</u>	3M:SG -a-je	
	Informative -ikkii-	3F:SG -a-ja	
	Permissive -ikk-a-	3PL -a-jo	
		1SG -a-na	
		1PL -i-nno	
		<u>Prohibitive</u>	
		2SG -i-doppu-na	
		2PL -i-dipp-ita	
		3M:SG -i-depp-e	
		3F:SG -i-depp-a	
		3PL -i-dopp-ons'	
		<u>Exhortative</u>	
		1PL -ok-onii	
		2PL -ek-etii	
		<u>Admonitive -jifin</u>	
Polarity in indicative mood: Affirmative Ø; Negative á			

5.3. Dervition of the Verb

5.3.1. Verb Root Final segment Deletion

In Kole language, the perfective and imperfective verb stems can be distinguished by final consonant (ejectives) deletion and suffixation of affricates in order to form nominals. It is commonly attested between the verb and its nominal counterpart. It occurs with transitivization (causativization of intransitive verbs). It is rarely attested with verb inflections. Consonant deletion frequently found between the ejective consonants /s', tʃ'/ and suffixation of the affricate consonants /ts, tʃ/. As mentioned above, these deletion and suffixation occur in a verb root and its nominal counterpart. It is noted that the suffixed consonants are geminated as exemplified in (51).

	Verb root	Gloss	Nominal	Gloss
51.	gaatʃ'-	'grind'	gaatʃtʃ-é	'grinding'
	míitʃ'-	'laugh'	miitʃtʃ-é	'laughter'
	wos'-	'run'	wotsts-é	'running'
	sas'-	'bite'	satsts-í	'biting'

A less frequent alternation is attested between -ʔ- and -b-. Consider the following example.

	Verb root	Gloss	Nominal	Gloss
52.	hajʔ-	'die'	hájb-u	'death'

On top of that, with a handful of verbs, the final root alternation is encountered among different derivational and inflectional categories. It is not, however, possible to characterize this change.

	Verb root/stem	Gloss
53a.	mij-	'eat/eating'
	mutt-	'ate/will eat/ be eaten'
	mu-us-	'cause to eat'

53b.	bej-	'see/seeing'
	bent-	'be seen'
	bej-s-	'show'
53c.	jew-	'come/coming'
	jeett-	'came/will come'
	jew-us-	'cause to come'

5.3.2. Verb Stem Formation

There are numerous and productive verb driving patterns in Kole language. Verbs can be formed from verb roots, verb stems, adjectives and nouns. Causative, passive, frequentative, reciprocal, inchoative and infinitive verbs are the derived verb stems in Kole language. Frequentative and reciprocal verb stems involve reduplication whereas the others involve suffixation of a derivational morpheme to a verb root in the formation of verb stem pattern in Kole language. Change in the meaning of the verbal root and eventually alternation of its valence is the result of the verb root extension process in Kole language. In order to show the kinds of relations that hold between derived verbs and the forms they are derived from, some examples are given.

5.3.3. Causativization

Morphological suffixation, consonant alternation, and change in argument-structure are involved in causativization of Kole language. Transitivity indicates distinctive properties from that of transitive verbs. It allows allomorphic variations and root final consonant deletion and suffixation of suffix elements processes (see section 5.4.3.1).

5.3.3.1. Causativization of Intransitive Verbs

The transitive and intransitive verbs in Kole language are morphologically related. The verbs **wod-** 'kill' and **haj?**- 'die' are exceptional to this. Intransitive verbs, adjectival inchoative verbs and reflexive verbs take morphological transitivity.

The process allows resubcategorization of the base verb as a transitive one by adding a 'cause' relation and an agent argument. There are eight classes of transitivity changing patterns in Kole language. The eight classes have been treated below.

1. Suffixation of -tsts-/-ss-

The final consonant of an intransitive verb is deleted in the process of transitivization. Besides, long vowels are shortened when the -tsts-/-ss- suffixation occurs. The derivational suffixes used with such verb stems are -tsts- and -ss-. The phonological processes we below are because of phonotactics constraints. Examples have been given below.

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
54.	boott-	'get bleached'	boo-tsts-	'bleach'
	pas'-	'get cured'	pa-tsts-	'cure'
	guukk-	'get splashed'	gu-ss-	'splash'
	ʔeeʔ-	'stand'	ʔe-ss-	'erect'
	ʔaad-	'pass (int)'	ʔaa-tsts-	'pass (tv)'

2. Suffixation -ts-

The intransitive verb stems have a base with a final consonant cluster in this category. The last consonant in the cluster is deleted. The following example has been given to illustrate the idea.

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
55a.	dend-	'get up (int)'	den-ts-	'get up (tv)'
55b.	gans'-	'get sip'	gan-ts-	'cause to sip'
55c.	pinn-	'cross (int)'	pin-ts-	'cross (tv)'

There are a few other verbs with a single final consonant that is undeleted in the transitivizing suffix **-ts-**. Consider the following example:

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
56a.	gel-	'get in'	gel-ts-	'take in'
56b.	ʔal-	'be ended'	ʔal-ts-	'finish'
56c.	kal-	'get satisfy'	kal-ts-	'satisfy'

When the verb stem ends in palatal and velar consonants, the suffix **-ts-** changes to **-f-** and the final consonant of the base is deleted. This is because of phonotatic constraints.

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
57a.	giij-	'produce pus'	gii-ff-	cause to produce pus'
57b.	geeʒ-	'clean(int)'	gee-ff-	'clean(tv)'
57c.	ʃiik'-	'be closer'	ʃii-ff-	'make closer'

3. Deglottalization and gemination

Intransitive verbs with glottal final consonant **-s'** and **-tʃ'** get deglottalized and then geminated in the transitivization. For instance, in example 18a-18e below, **s'** is changed to **tsts** and **tʃ'** is changed to **tʃtʃ** in transitivization process. This process can be referred to as assimilation in Kole language.

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
58a.	pas'-	'heal(int)'	pa-tsts-	'heal(tv)'
58b.	ʔees'-	'burn'	ʔee-tsts-	'make fire'
58c.	kas'-	'cook(int)'	ka-tsts-	'cook(tv)'
58d.	laatʃ'-	'lick'	laa-tʃtʃ-	'cause to lick'
58e.	ditʃ'-	'grow'	di-tʃtʃ-	'cause to grow'

4. Suffixation of -atsts-

Adjectival inchoative verbs suffix **-atsts-** to form transitive verb and there is no final deletion in this case. Examples have been given below.

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
59a.	s'ind-	'become erect'	s'ind-atsts-	'make erect'
59b.	binn-	'become warm'	binn-atsts-	'make warm'
59c.	goob-	'become brave'	goob-atsts-	'make brave'
59d.	k'it-	'become dirty'	k'it-atsts-	'make dirty'
59e.	lo?-	'become good'	la?-atsts-	'make good'
59f.	ho?-	'become hot'	ho?-atsts-	'heat'

5. Suffixation of -ss-

Suffixation of **-ss-** is employed to form transitive verbs. During this process, final consonant deletion is involved. Consider the following example:

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
60.	?iit-	'become bad'	?ii-ss-	'make bad'
	siit-	'hear'	sii-ss-	'make hear'

6. Suffixation of -us-

Causative transitive stems are formed by suffixing **-us-**. It also transitivizes inchoative adjectival intransitive verbs.

	Intransitive	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
61.	ʔord-	'become fat'	ʔord-us-	'make fat'
	ʔirs'-	'become wet'	ʔirs'-us-	'make wet'
	mool-	'become straight'	mool-us-	'make straight'
	gord-	'become shut'	gord-us-	'cause to shut'

7. Final Consonant Deletion and suffixation of -tsts

Apart from suffixation of the element **-tsts**, final consonant deletion takes place in order to form transitivization process. Consider the following example:

	Verb root	Gloss	Transitive	Gloss
62.	maas'-	'become milk'	maatsts-	'make milk'
	mak'-	'return'	mah-	'make return'
	gah-	'arrive'	gatsts-	'make arrive'

8. Suffixation of -nts-

An element **-nts-** is suffixed to the verb root **meʔ-** 'break' to transitivize it. The result is transitive, **me-nts-** 'break (tv.)' in which the glottal stop is deleted. This is because of impossible sequences of sonorants.

A transitive verb, **me-nts-**, can be causativized by the use of the suffix **-us**, **me-nts-us-** 'cause something to break'. For instance, **méʔ-o** 'break (tv)', **mé-nts-o** 'make break' and **me-nts-us-o** 'causing someone to make something break' are some of the examples.

A derived nominal cognate of a verb occurs as an object argument of an intransitive verb in the language. The focus marker **-ko** marks the verbal nominal. The presence of this second marker is also attested in other Ometo languages. Consider the following example:

63. **ʔotó-z-i** **meʔ-o-ko-si** **meʔi-d-e**
 pot-M:DF-NOM break-NMZ-FOC-3M:SG break-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The pot to get BREAK is broken down.’

If the verb occurs in a focal (complex verb) structure, or if there is a focalized adverbial argument in the sentence, the occurrence of a focalized verbal nominal as an object of an intransitive verb is not allowed.

Transitivization introduces one more valency, the causer, which does not appear with the intransitive verb like in example (24a). Similarly, causativization of the transitive verb adds one more argument to the structure like in example (24b).

- 64a. **nún-i** **guupe-k-ini** **ments-i-d-e**
 we-NOM stick-FOC-1PL break-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘We broke the stick(He made the stick broke down)’

- 64b. **nún-i** **nen-a** **guupe-k-ini** **ments-us-i-d-e**
 we-NOM you-ABS stick-FOC-1PL break-CAUS-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘We made you broke the stick (We caused you to make the stick break down)’

For further illustration of some intransitive and transitive verbs discussed earlier, the following examples have been given.

- 65a. **ʔínd-att-i** **ʔiita-nna-k-isi** **ʔeeʔ-i-d-e**
 mother-F:DF-NOM bad-INST-FOC-3F:SG stand-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The child stood badly.’

- 25b. **ʔís-i** **faat-att-o-k-isi** **ʔe-ss-i-d-e**
 he-NOM chil-F:DF-ABS-FOC-3F:SG stand-TRV-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He erected the child (He made the child stand up)’

- 65c. **ʔís-i loʔo ʔoots-antfa-k-isi maak'k'-i-d-e**
 she-NOM good work-NMZ-FOC-3F:SG become-INT-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She became a good worker.'
- 25d. **nún-i ʔis-o loʔo ʔoots-antfa-k-ini mah-i-d-e**
 we-NOM she-ABS good work-NMZ-FOC-1PL become-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We made her a good worker.'

In examples 26a and 26b below, **s'ink'**- 'stink', literally 'take the offensive smell', is a transitive verb found peripherally. Hence, transitivity is attested in this case.

- 66a. **gawará-z-i ʔiita-nna-ko-si s'ink'-e**
 cat-M:DF-NOM bad-INST-FOC-3M:SG stink-AFF:DCL
 'The cat is stinking badly.'
- 66b. **nén-i gawara s'ink'-o-ko-ni ʔekk-e**
 you-NOM cat-ABS stink-NMZ-FOC-2SG take-AFF:DCL
 'You smelled the bad smell of the cat.' (You took the bad smell of the cat)'

5.3.3.2. Causativization of Transitive Verbs

A transitive verb shows more regularity in their causative forms when compared to causativization of intransitive verbs. However, there are a few exceptions. The process involves suffixation of **-us-** to a verb root. Consider the following example.

	Verb root	Gloss	Causative stem	Gloss
67a.	patsts-	'heal'	patsts-us-	'cause to heal'
67b.	dem-	'find'	dem-us-	'cause to find'
67c.	ʔing-	'give'	ʔing-us-	'cause to give'
67d.	ʔep-	'take'	ʔep-us-	'cause to take'
67e.	ʔandʒ-	'bless'	ʔandʒ-us-	'cause to bless'

It is attested that the Kole language allows double causativization. Hence, verb stems can be used as input for the same process. They are the output of causativization.

	TVZ verb stem	Gloss	CVZ verb stem	Gloss
68a.	?iit-atsts-	'make dirty'	?iit-atsts-us	'cause to make bad'
68b.	k'it-atsts-	'make dirty'	k'it-atsts-us-	'cause to make dirty'
68c.	binn-atsts-	'make warm'	bin-atsts-us-	'cause to make warm'
68d.	ho?-atsts-	'make hot'	ho?-atsts-us-	'cause to make hot'
68e.	pent-atsts-	'boil (tv)'	pent-atsts-us-	'cause to boil'
68f.	mal?-utsts	'make sweet'	mal?-utsts-us	'cause to make sweet'
68g.	lo?-atsts-	'make good'	lo?-atsts-us-	'cause to make good'

A handful of verbs with a final consonant are causativized by suffixing **-s-** /**-ss-**. The final consonant of the verb stems are deleted. This suffix is also used to transitive intransitive verbs.

	TV stem	Gloss	Causative verb stem	Gloss
69a.	beett-	'see'	bej-s-	'show'
69b.	siitt-	'hear'	sii-ss-	'cause to hear'
69c.	?iit-	'bad'	?ii-ss-	'make bad'

The element **-f-** seems to be a causative marker in the case of the verb stem **?uf-** 'drink' whose causative is **?uf-f-** 'make drink' by doubling the final consonant. Other verb stems, as illustrated in example (30) below, take the regular causative marker **-us-**.

	TV stem	Gloss	CAUS.V.stem	Gloss
70a.	marf-	'compete'	marf-us-	'cause to compete'
70b.	jarf-	'sacrifice'	jarf-us-	'cause to scarify'
70c.	def-	'deform'	def-us-	'cause to deform'
70d.	waf-	become noisy'	waf-us-	'cause to make a loud noise'
70e.	naf	'appreciate'	naf-us-	'cause to appreciate'
70f.	gaf-	'become small'	gaf-us-	'cause to make small'

Verbs encrypting actions that have idiophonic expressions and non-controllable by the agent, occur in the forms causative. Such verbs do not have non-causative basic forms. Examples have been given below.

	Causative form	Gloss
71a.	dee?-us	'belch'
71b.	tʃ'oof-us	'vomit'
71c.	gabb-us	'swell'
71d.	gus-us	'produce diarrhea'

The valency change of the verb and the changing of the argument structure are syntactical features of causative construction in Kole language. It introduces a new subject argument, namely 'the causer', and changes the subject of the non-causative verb into a 'cause', which may appear optionally followed by the instrumental case marker **-nna**.

72a.	ʔés-i	ʔapilla-z-a	mitʃ'-o-ko-si-d-e
	he-NOM	cloth-M:DF-M:ABS	stretch-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
	'He stretched the cloth'		

74b. **biff-att-i** **mehe-z-a** **gel-atsts-k-isi-d-e**
 woman-F:DF-NOM cattle-M:DF-M:ABS get in-TRV-FOC-3F:SG-AFF:DCL
 'The woman got the cattle in (to the house)'

74c. **biff-att-i** **be-** **?itfe-nna** **mehe-z-a**
 man-F:DF-NOM REF- brother-INST cattle-z-M:DF
kes-s-usa-k-isi-d-e
 take out-TRV-CAUS-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The woman sent her brother and made him to take the cattle out of the house.'

5.3.4. The Passive

The passive marker in Kole language is identified by the morpheme **{-utt-}**. Some examples of passive verb stems and passive marker are given below.

	Verb root	Gloss	Passive verb root	Gloss
75a.	pock'-	'peel'	pok'-utt-	'be peeled'
75b.	?andʒ-	'bless'	?andʒ-utt-	'be blessed'
75c.	sip-	'sew'	sip-utt-	'be sewed'
75d.	?ootsts-	'work'	?ootsts-utt-	'be worked'
75e.	fog-	'wash'	fog-utt-	'be washed'
75f.	waas-	'shout'	waas-utt-	'be shouted'
75g.	gujd-	'hit'	gujd-utt-	'be hit'

Passivization in Kole language promotes an object of a transitive clause to a subject, and reduces the subject to oblique. Both of them are morphologically characterized through case marking and subject agreement markers. The reduced subject can either be omitted from the structure or introduced by the instrumental case marker **-nana**. Consider the following illustrative examples.

- 76a. **né** **ʔitfe-i** **mitstsa-z-a** **ments-a-ko-si-d-e**
 2SG- brother-NOM tree-M:DF-M:ASB break-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Your brother broke the tree.’
- 76b. **mítstsa-z-i** **ments-utt-o-ko-si-d-e**
 tree-M:DF-NOM break-PASS-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The tree was broken.’
- 76c. **mítstsa-z-i** **ne-** **ʔitfe-nna** **ments-utt-o-ko-si-d-e**
 tree-M:DF-NOM 2SG- brother-INST break-PASS-INF-FOC-3M:SG AFF:DCL
 ‘The tree was broken by your brother.’
- 76d. **ʔínd-att-i** **boora-z-a** **ʔojiddu** **ʔolla**
 mother-F:DF-NOM bread-M:DF-M:ABS four place
batst-a-k-isi-d-e
 divide-INF-FOC-3F:SG-AFF:DCL
 ‘The mother divided the bread into four pieces.’
- 76e. **boorá-z-i** **ʔojiddu ʔolla** **batsts-utt-o-ko-si-d-e**
 bread-M:DF-NOM four place:ABS divide-PASS-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF AFF:DCL
 ‘The bread has been divided into four pieces.’
- 76f. **boorá-z-i** **ʔínd-att-i-nna** **ʔojiddu ʔolla**
 bread-M:DF-NOM mother-F:DF-NOM-INST four place:ABS
batsts-utt-o-ko-si-d-e
 divide-PASS-INF-FOC-3M:SG-AFF:DCL
 ‘The bread has been divided into four pieces by the mother.’

In the active sentences (36a and 36d), the agents, **né- ʔitfe-i** ‘your brother’ and **ʔínd-att-i** ‘the mother’ are subjects and the ‘the tree’ and ‘the bread’ are patients and objects. The passive versions (36c and 36e) however, have the patients as subject and the agent as instrumental.

Passive verbs ‘be hungry’ and ‘be in problem’ require a Dative noun phrase argument. Consider the following examples:

77a. **nén-i katstsu-ro gap-utt-o-ko-ni-d-e**
 you-NOM food-DAT hungry-PASS-INF-FOC-2SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'You are hungry for food.(Lit Your hungry is for food.)'

77b. **nú n-i maʔo-ro waaj-utt-o-k-ini-d-e**
 we-NOM cloth-DAT be in problem-PASS-INF-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We have been in problem'

5.3.5. The Inchoative Verb Stem

In Kole language, the inchoative verb stem is formed by suffixing the element {-ada-} to a noun or an adjective, and this suffix transforms the noun/adjective into a verb that expresses 'getting into a certain state'. The terminal vowel of the base is dropped in the process. A different element {-etada-} is suffixed to some nouns. It is different from the previous one by its pattern. Consider the following examples:

	Noun/Adj	Gloss	Inchoative V.stem	Gloss
78a.	ʔóóʃʃu	'quarrel'	ʔooʃʃ-ada-	'being in quarrel'
78b.	zigúre	'gossip'	zigur-ada-	'being in gossip'
78c.	gánʔa	'insult'	ganʔ-ada-	'being in insult'
78d.	wááso	'shout'	waas-ada-	'being in shout'
78e.	daanná	'boss'	daann-etada-	'become boss'
78f.	dábbo	'family'	dabb-etada-	'become family'

The occurrence of the inchoative verb stem is illustrated in sentential structures below.

79a. **ʔís-i meto medd-ada-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM problem:ABS create-INCH-FOC-3F:SG-AFF:DCL
 'She created a problem.'

- 79b. **nún-i** **lagg-etada-k-ini-n-e**
 we-NOM friend-INCH-FOC-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'We are going to become a friend.'

The use of the noun followed by the verb stem **maak'**- 'become' is also equally possible to express an inchoative verb. Consider the following example:

80. **nén-i** **dure** **maak'-o-ni-d-e**
 you-NOM rich:ABS become-INF-2SG-AFF:DCL
 'You became rich.'

Inchoative verbs cannot be made by suffixal elements with adjectives. This is because of that it occurs here in the form of verb with other verbal elements. When the terminal vowels are dropped and the verbal markers are suffixed into the root, an inchoative of adjective is attested. Consider the following examples:

81. **tukké-z-i** **?irs'-o-ko-si-d-e**
 coffee-M:DF-NOM cool-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The coffee became cool.'

5.3.6. The Intensive (Frequentative) Verb Stem

In Kole language, verbs with intensive, distributive or frequentative meaning can be formed by the process of reduplication. The verbs express the idea of plurality, intensity or distributiveness to the predicate. The element **{-uru-}** is suffixed to the active form of the verb root, and the passive form of the verb root to intensive or frequentative verb meanings. Following this suffix other verbal suffix elements can be added. Furthermore, frequentative verb denotes an action carried out frequently by a singular agent or by more than one agent. Consider the following examples:

	Verb root	Gloss	Intensive verb root	Gloss
82a.	hant-	'walk'	hant-uru-tsts-	'walk here and there'
82b.	kaatf-	'scoop up'	kaatf-uru-tsts-	'scoop up here and there'
82c.	ʔatf'-	'tie'	ʔatf'-uru-tsts-	'tie this and that'
82d.	mejtf'-	'bite'	mejtf'-uru-tsts-	'bite here and there'
82e.	bajʔ-	'split'	bajʔ-uru-tsts-	'split into pieces'
82f.	ments-	'break'	ments-uru-tsts-	'break into pieces'
82g.	sip-	'tear'	sip-uru-tsts-	'sew here and there'
82h.	s'ejg-	'call'	s'ejg-uru-tsts-	'call repeatedly'
82i.	ganʔ-	'insult'	ganʔ-uru-tsts-	'insult repeatedly'
82j.	zeer-	'talk'	zeer-uru-tsts-	'talk here and there'

It is common to find frequentative verbs in focal constructions since these indicate intensity. Consider the following example:

- 83a. **nún-i boora-z-a batsts-urutsts-a-k-ini-d-e**
 we-NOM bread-M:DF-ABS split-FREQ-INF-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We split the bread into pieces.'
- 83b. **nún-i beni ʔohe zeer-urutt-a-k-ini-d-e**
 we-NOM ancient affair:ABS speak-FREQ-INF-FOC-2PL-AFF:DCL
 'We told the old affair repeatedly.'

5.3.7. The Reciprocal

As determined by Kemmer (1993: 96f) cited in Hirut (2004), a prototypical reciprocal context expresses two-participant event in which there are two relations; the participant functions as the initiator in one of those relations and as the endpoint in the other. An action performed by two or more persons who are both agents and patients at the same time are expressed by the reciprocal verb. The semantic relation found between the participants is prototypically of the direct

affectedness type. A simultaneous or sequential relation of actions is involved in the reciprocal situations.

Two reciprocal constructions are found in Kole language. They involve a frequentative verb stem formed by using partial reduplication of the root. A frequentative verb stem shows the action takes place frequently. In addition, a collective pronoun **buʔé** 'together' takes part in the construction. In the case of Kole language, the pronoun **búʔe** has a reading of 'together'. Consider the following example:

84. **molé-i-kka** **hajlasho-i-kka** **búʔe**
 fish-NOM-INC crocodile-NOM-INC together
jes-uru-ko-j-d-is-o jin
 live-RCPC-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL-PROG
 'A fish and a crocodile were living among each other.'

The two reciprocal structures differ in their use of voice of the verb stem. The first involve a frequentive passive stem. The other one uses the active form. The reciprocal/collective pronoun structurally varies in the two constructions.

With the passive verb stem, the form **búʔe** is used whereas with the active stem, the pronoun gets suffixed to the locative case marker **-gidda** to express a relational concept 'inside'. The expression **búʔe** will be changed to **be gidda**. Compare the structures in 45a with their respective counterpart in 45c.

- 85a. **májd-ede-z-i** **be gidda** **ʔijʔ-utt-o-ko-j-d-is-o**
 ox-PL-M:DF-NOM LOG inside fight-PASS-INF-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'The oxen fought each other. (Lit: they were fought repeatedly together.)'
- 85b. **bíʃʔ-ede-z-i** **be gidda** **zeer-utt-o-ko-j-d-is-o**
 girl-PL-M:DF-NOM LOG LOC talk-PASS-INF-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'The girls talked each other.'

85c. **gawár-ede-z-i** **be** **gidda**
cat-PL-M:DF-NOM LOG LOC
mejtʃ-utt-o-ko-j-d-is-o
bite-PASS-INF-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
'The cats bit each other.'

85d. **bíʃʃ-ede-z-i** **be** **gidda**
woman-PL-M:DF-NOM LOG LOC
?oosh-utt-o-ko-j-d-is-o
quarrel-PASS-INF-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
'The women quarreled each other.'

CHAPTER 6

Nominal and Verbal Modifiers

This section deals with adjectives, deixis, numerals and adverbial expressions which are words functioning as nominal and verbal modifiers.

6.1. Adjectives

Adjectives in Kole language can be treated as derived forms as adjectives share with semantic content and phonological structure noun. Hence, adjectives in the language have a verbal counterpart.

Adjectives indicate states and their verbal counterparts indicate change of state. This shows the relationship between semantic adjectives and their verbal counterparts. The verbal equivalents denote 'becoming Adjective'. In the language, semantic relationship is morphologically encoded. In Kole language, adjectives are characterized by the terminal vowels **-a**, **-o**, **-e**, **-i** and **-u**. The most common suffix that occurs in the case of noun is the suffix **-a**. The suffixes that occur rarely in the case of noun are **-i** and **-u**. The inchoative verb roots are followed by verbal suffixes, i.e., derivational or inflectional morphemes. It is the suffix which determines the category of the derived forms taking the formal and semantic similarity between adjectives and verbs into account in Kole language. Or else, the two share the same basic semantic reference as well as the same root. Examples of adjective with suffix **-a** have been given below:

	Verb root	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
1a.	gálʔ-	'become old'	gálʔ-a	'old for cloth'
1b.	gílk'-	'become thin'	gílk'-a	'skinny'
1c.	síl-	'become cripple'	síl-a	'crippled'
1d.	lááp-	'become weak'	lááp-a	'weak'
1e.	git-	'become big'	git-á	'big'

1f.	mél-	'become dry'	mél-a	'dry'
1g.	dún?-	'become dull'	dún?-a	'dull'
1h.	k'úún-	'become dwarf'	k'úún-a	'dwarfish'
1i.	góób-	'become brave'	góób-a	'brave'
1j.	ʔírs'-	'become cool'	ʔírs'-a	'cold'
1k.	mítj-	'become hot'	mítj-a	'hot'

The element -e is suffixed to a verb root to form the following adjectives:

	Verb root	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
2a.	móól-	'become straight'	móól-e	'straight'
2b.	gaf-	'become small'	gaf-é	'small'
2c.	wóbb-	'become crooked'	wóbb-e	'crooked, bent'
2d.	k'óók'-	'become blind'	k'óók'-e	'blind'
2e.	k'áj-	'become raw'	k'áj-e	'raw'
2f.	tull-	'become deaf'	túll-e	'deaf'
2g.	dur-	'become rich'	dúr-e	'rich'
2h.	ʔórd-	'become fat'	ʔórd-e	'fat'
2i.	laal-	'become thin'	láál-e	'thin'

The following are some of the adjectives formed by suffixing -o to a verb root:

	Verb root	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
3a.	haak-	'become far'	haak-ó	'far'
3b.	móóǵ-	'become fat'	móóǵ-o	'fat'
3c.	ʃúg-	'become soft'	ʃúg-o	'soft'
3d.	míno-	'become strong'	mín-o	'strong'
3e.	dár-	'become many'	dár-o	'many, much'
3f.	héég-	'become light'	héég-o	'light'
3g.	mín-	'become strong'	mín-o	'strong'

3h.	matf-	'become many'	matf-ó	'many, much'
3i.	tʃ'el-	'become black'	tʃ'el-ó	'black'
3j.	zoʔ-	'become red'	zoʔ-ó	'red'
3k.	xi'll-	'become pure'	xill-o	'pure'

Adjectives with the final vowel **-i** are few. Adjectives with **-i** have a sibilant final consonant, like in nouns.

	T.v root	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
4a.	geeʃf-	'become clean'	gééʃf-i	'clean'
4b.	tʃ'iiʃf-	'become bright'	tʃ'iiʃf-í	'bright'

Like suffix element **-i** only few adjectives are attested with the ending **-u**. Like in nouns, adjectives with **-u** final occur following sibilants.

	T.v root	Gloss	Adjective	Gloss
5a.	s'uuts-	'become narrow'	s'úúnts-u	'narrow'
5b.	bootsts-	'become white'	bóótsts-u	'white'

The occurrence of an adjective and its verbal counterpart as a modifier and a predicate are illustrated in the following sentential structures.

- 6a. **née-ro tʃ'elo s'ega-i jes-a-ko-si-d-e**
 2SG-DAT black goat-NOM exist-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'You have a black goat. (Lit: there is a black goat for you.)'
- 6b. **suutstsi ʔajde wode-kko boott-i-d-ee**
 blood:NOM when time-FOC white-INF-PF-INFO:INTR
 'When does blood ever whiten?' (Lit: 'in which day does blood get white')

Predicative and attributive functions are the characteristic of adjectives in the language. Predicate adjectives are indicated by a zero morpheme when they are not focalized. In this case, they occur with the element **-kko**. The two functions of adjectives are illustrated in the sentential examples below:

7a. **gita** **tʃ'ago-i** **wora-pa** **kes-i-kko**
 big antelope-NOM forest-ABL get out-CNV-FOC

baa-d-e

go-PF-AFF:DCL

'Have gone out of forest, a big antelope went.'

7b. **sé** **tʃ'ago-i** **gitá-kko**
 that antelope-NOM big-FOC

'That antelope is big.'

7c. **hé** **wobbe** **toora** **hi-ga-pa** **?epp-a-jite**
 that twisted spear:ABS there-LOC-ABL take-IMP-2PL

'Take that twisted spear away from there.'

7d. **hé** **toora-i** **wobbe-kko**
 that wood-NOM twisted-FOC

'That spear is twisted.'

Unless they stand as head noun alone, attributive adjectives in Kole language do not show agreement in number with the head noun. Consider the following examples:

8a. ***git-ede** **tʃ'ag-ede**
 big-PL antelope-PL

8b. ***git-ede** **tʃ'ag-ede** **wod-a-ne**
 big-PL antelope-PL kill-IMP-2SG

An attributive adjective in Kole language can function as an elliptic phrase in the absence of a head noun. In this case, it attracts all the inflections of the absent head noun. The following

structures illustrate such grammatical parallelism between nouns occurring in a NP with a head noun and adjectives in headless NP. Consider the following examples:

- 9a. **gita tʃ'ago-z-i hana-kko jee-d-e**
 big antelope-M:DF-NOM here-FOC come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The antelope came here.'
- 9b. **gita-z-i hana-kko jee-d-e**
 big-M:DF-NOM here-FOC come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The big one came here.'
- 9c. **gita tʃ'ago-z-i hana-kko jee-d-e**
 big antelope-M:DF-NOM here-FOC come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The big antelope came here.'
- 9d. **gita tʃ'ag-ede-z-i jeett-a-ko-ji-d-is-o**
 big antelope-PL-M:DF-NOM come-INF-FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'The big antelopes came.'
- 9e. **wobbe toora-z-a mool-us-a-ne**
 twisted spear-M:DF-ABS straight-CAUS-IMP-2SG
 'Straighten the twisted spear.'
- 9f. **wobbe-z-a mool-us-a-ne**
 twisted-M:DF-ABS Straight-CAUS-IMP-2SG
 'Straighten the twisted one.'

Adjectives share properties with verbs and with nouns. Adjectives are all dependent on their verb counterparts formally. They behave in the same way as nouns morpho-syntactically. Dixon (1977) cited in Hirut (2004: 168), has noted that a cross-linguistic consistency in the range of meanings expressed by adjectives.

Semantically, adjectives in Kole language can be categorized into six: adjectives denoting *dimension*, e.g., **ʔááko** 'wide', **háta** 'short' **galála** 'long' etc, *physical properties*, e.g., **héégo** 'light', **múúme** 'dumb', etc., *human properties*, e.g., **gajtʃ'á** 'clever', **láápa** 'lazy' etc., *colour*,

i.e., *tʃeló* ‘black’, *zoʔó* ‘red’, *bóóttsu* ‘white’ etc., *age*, e.g., *tʃíma* ‘old’, *kájma* ‘young’ etc., *value*, e.g., *lóʔo* ‘good’, *ʔííta* ‘bad’, *ʔááde* ‘true’ *wordó* ‘untrue’ or ‘lie’ etc.,

In Kole language, agentive nouns are used since adjectives referring to physical properties are not so common. Consider the following examples:

	Verb root	Gloss	Agentive noun	Gloss
10.	<i>hirc-</i>	‘hesitate’	<i>hirc-áttsi</i>	‘hesitant’
	<i>dog-</i>	‘forget’	<i>ʔer-áttsi</i>	‘forgetful’
	<i>ʔeej-</i>	‘be fool’	<i>ʔeej-áttsi</i>	‘foolish’

The word *lóʔo* can mean ‘beautiful’, ‘handsome’, ‘good’, ‘fine’, ‘well’, ‘delicious’ etc. It denotes value in Kole language. The meaning of *lóʔo* depends on the context that specifies the exact denotation. The following examples illustrate the occurrence of *lóʔo* in different contexts.

11a. *lóʔo k'uma mij-a-ne*
 delicious food eat-IMP-2SG
 ‘Eat delicious food.’

11b. *ʔís-i loʔo ʔade-kko gel-i-d-e*
 she-NOM beautiful husband-FOC marry-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She married a beautiful husband.’

11c. *loʔo jes-a-jiti-d-ee*
 good exist-INF-2PL-PF-INFO:INTR
 ‘Are you (2PL) fine?’

11d. *loʔo-kko*
 fine-FOC
 ‘I am fine.’

The word *ʔííta* is used for all the negative qualities like ‘bad’, ‘ugly’, ‘unpleasant’ etc. Consider the following examples:

12. **bíjǝ-att-i** **?iita-kko**

woman-F:DF-NOM bad-FOC

‘The woman is bad/ugly/crooked etc.’

The word **k’ára** is used to mean ‘smart/ wise’ for human beings and ‘sharp’ for things like knife. Such kinds of adjectives can be considered as polysemy. Consider the following examples:

13a. **há** **bíjǝ-att-i** **k’ara-kko**

this woman-F:DF-NOM wise-FOC

‘This woman is wise/smart.’

13b. **sé** **máǝa-z-i** **k’ara-kko**

that knife-M:DF-NOM sharp-FOC

‘That knife is sharp.’

6.2. Deixis

According to the data collected from the field, Kole language has deixis organized method. In this language, several deixis morphemes connected with different references are attested. The demonstratives operate as spatial deixis, temporal deixis, recognition deixis, anaphoric deixis, locative deixis and manner deixis. As a result, in the actual speech situation, the reference of demonstratives is determined by two parameters: orientation with regard to the speech act participants and distance to the speaker, distance to the addressee or to both of them.

6.3. Spatial Deixis

Spatial deixis sets up frame of reference around the speaker. The spatial deixis forms can be categorized into two based on their morpho-syntactic behavior: modifier and nominal demonstratives. The modifier deixises are the basic forms. The corresponding nominal deixises are obtained from the modifier deixis. The nominal demonstratives occur independently while the modifier demonstratives on all occasions occur before a head noun. The modifier

demonstratives entirely lack the grammatical features such as gender, number, definiteness and case, while the nominal demonstratives mark such features.

Kole language makes a two-way opposition between the proximal from distal. Distal deixis differs according to the deixis center. The deixis center is used as a point of reference. It is either first or second person or both. Hence, different forms are used in each case. The spatial deixis in Kole language are commonly accompanied by gestures. The two demonstrative groups are presented below.

6.3.1.1. Modifying Demonstratives

Five basic modifying demonstratives are attested in Kole language. They are monosyllabic structurally. These five demonstratives always occur preceding a head noun. They do not function as independent phonological words. They don't have freedom to occur independently. Such elements need a host to which they are attached. They are used as a base of a morphological process. They are always accented irrespective of the tone pattern of their host. Hence, such forms can best be treated as proclitic elements. Modifying deixises do not show agreement with the head noun in gender or number features. Examples of the modifying demonstratives have been given below.

- há** proximal demonstrative
- hé** distal from the speaker
- sé** distal from both speaker as well as the addressee
- jé** distal from both speaker as well as the addressee downward
- wó** distal from both speaker as well as the addressee upward

6.3.1.1.1. *The Proximal Demonstrative há*

In Kole language, proximity is shown by **há**; it illustrates near to deixis centre. Near to deixis centre refers to the speaker at the time of speaking. It is equivalent to 'this/these, here'. The form

modifies noun irrespective of gender, number and case features. Note that, as they lack indicating the number feature of the noun, the demonstratives in Kole language have no equivalents in English. Hence, depending on the context, the English translation varies.

14a. **há dor-att-i laak'k'a jel-a-ʔa**
 this sheep-F:DF-NOM lamb:ABS give birth-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'This sheep does not bear lamb. (Lit: this sheep does not give birth of lamb)'

14b. **há dor-att-o bajs-a-ne**
 this sheep-3F:DF-ABS sell-IMP-2SG
 'Sell this sheep.'

14c. **há dor-ede bajs-a-ne**
 this sheep-PL sell-IMP-2SG
 'Sell these sheep.'

6.3.1.1.2. *The Distal Demonstrative hé*

The element **hé** refers to a thing or a person located far away from the speaker, but near to the receiver of the message. This has an equivalent meaning of 'that/those one(s) near to you' in English. It occurs with masculine, feminine and plural nouns. Examples have been given below.

15a. **hé majdo-z-i petti katʃ'e-kko haar-e**
 that ox-M:DF-NOM one horn-FOC own-AFF:DCL
 'The ox over there has one horn.'

15b. **há maffa-z-a sé bijf-att-i-ro ʔing-a-ne**
 this knife-M:DF-ABS that woman-F:DF-NOM-DAT give-IMP-2SG
 'Give this knife to that woman.'

15c. **hé jaw s'ejg-a-ne**
 that children:ABS call-IMP-2SG
 'Call those children.'

6.3.1.1.3. *The Distal Demonstrative sé*

The element *sé* means ‘that/those over there’ in English. It indicates things remotely located from both the speaker as well as the addressee. Consider the following example.

16.	bení	geri	se	zuma	lank’a-pa
	ancient time	people:NOM	that	mountain	near-ABL
	dendi-kko	ha	gade-ga	jee-d-e	
	raise-FOC	this	place-LOC	come-PF-AFF:DCL	

‘Men of ancient time came to this place having risen from that mountain over there.’

The demonstrative *sé* is not gender, number or case sensitive. As a result, it can specify any noun irrespective of gender and number. The following examples indicate the occurrence of *sé* with feminine and plural nouns respectively.

17a.	sé	bijf-att-i	taa-ko	jeett-a-k-isi-d-e
	that	woman-F:DF-NOM	1SG-DIR	come-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

‘That woman came to me.’

17b.	sé	bitane-z-i	taa-ko	jeett-a-ko-si-d-e
	that	man-M:DF-NOM	1SG-DIR	come-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

‘That man came to me.’

6.3.1.1.4. *The Distal Demonstrative jé (downward)*

The demonstrative *jé* can be interpreted as ‘that/those down there’. It is used to refer to things remotely located from both the speaker as well as the addressee as in (18).

18.	há	dor-att-i	je	dor-att-i-pa	gita-kko
	this	sheep-F:DF-NOM	down there	sheep-F:DF-NOM-ABL	big-FOC

‘This sheep is bigger than the sheep down there.’

Like the other deixis forms, **jé** is not gender, number or case sensitive. It can specify any noun irrespective of gender and number. The following sentences illustrate the occurrence of **jé** with feminine and plural nouns respectively.

- 19a. **jé** **dor-att-o** **goodd-a-ne**
 that(down) sheep-F:DF-ABS chase-IMP-2SG
 ‘Chase the sheep downward.’
- 19b. **jé** **doro-z-a-** **goodd-a-ne**
 that (downward) sheep-M:SG-ABS chase-IMP-2SG
 ‘Chase the sheep downward.’

6.3.1.1.5. *The Distal Demonstrative wó (upward)*

The demonstrative **wó** means ‘that/those up there’ in English. It refers to things remotely located from the speaker and the addressee as well. Consider the examples (20a) and (20b) below.

- 20a. **wó** **biff-att-o** **s'ejg-a-ne**
 that (upward) woman-F:DF-ABS call-IM-2SG
 ‘Call the woman from the upward.’
- 20b. **wó** **?ade-z-i** **hantso** **tunga-pa**
 that (upward) man-M:DG-NOM today addis ababa-ABL
jeett-a-ko-si-d-e
 come-INF-FOC-3MSG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘That man over there (up) came today from Addis Ababa.’

6.3.1.2. Nominal Demonstratives

In Kole language, nominal demonstratives are formed from **há**, **hé**, **sé**, **je** and **wó** which are proclitic demonstratives. Nominal demonstratives can be derived by suffixing **-j-** and **-nn-** which refer to masculine and feminine referents. In Kole language, the nominal demonstratives can be

marked for definiteness. The elliptic markers are followed by a definite marker suffix **-z-** or **-att-** with masculine or feminine forms respectively. A case-marking vowel occurs at the final position. The absolutive case is marked by the suffixes **-a**, and **-o** for masculine and feminine forms respectively. The nominative case is marked by **-i**. In this case, demonstratives are not accompanied with nouns that refer to the object or person referred. All the grammatical features of the excluded noun occur with the demonstratives to characterize what the referent is. In addition, gesture, context of the utterance, and presuppositions of the speaker play a great role for the addressee to give meaning to the form as imparted by the speaker.

6.3.1.2.1. *Nominal Demonstratives Referring to Person/Objects near the Speaker*

Absolutive and nominative forms of nominal demonstratives refer to things or persons near to the speaker. The base involved in such structures is **há**, and then follows the elliptic marker, the definite marker and the case marker respectively. Absolutive and nominative forms of nominal demonstratives are presented in the following table:

Table 11: Inventory of demonstrative nominals referring to persons/ things near to the speaker

ABSOLUTIVE				NOMINATIVE	
MASCULINE			FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	IDF	ha-ja	ha-nn-o	ha-ji	ha-nn-i
	DF	ha-ja-z-a	ha-nn-att-o	ha-ja-z-i	ha-nn-att-i
PL	IDF	ha-j-ede	ha-nn-ede	ha-j-ede-i	ha-nn-ede-i
	DF	ha-j-ede-z-a	ha-nn-ede	ha-j-ede-z-i	ha-nn-ede-i

Sentential examples have been given for some of the forms given in the table above.

- 21a. **há-j-a** **gadd-a-ne**
this-M:ELP-ABS put-IMP-2SG
'Put this one (M:IDF).'
- 21b. **há-ja-z-a** **gadd -a-ne**
this-M:ELP-M:DF-ABS put-IMP-2SG
'Put this one (M:DF).'
- 21c. **há-j-eđe-z-a** **gadd -a-ne**
this-M:ELP-PL-M:DF-ABS put-IMP-2SG
'Put these ones (M:PL)
- 21d. **ha-nn-o** **gadd -a-ne**
this-F:ELP-F:ABS put-IMP-2SG
'Put this one(F:IDF).'
- 21e. **ha-nn-eđe** **gadd -a-ne**
this-F:ELP-PL put-IMP-2SG
'Put these ones (F:PL)

The demonstrative nominals and the elliptic elements listed above, occur in a similar form in their occurrence as subject of a copula predicate. However, the second alternate plural marker lacks elliptic phrase markers in its construction. Consider the following examples:

- 22a. **hé-j-i** **daanna-kko**
that-M:ELP-NOM boss-FOC
'This is a boss.'
- 22b. **há-nn-i** **né-** **mitfo-kko**
this-F:ELP-NOM 2SG- sister-FOC
'This is your sister.'

- 22c. **ha-j-ede-i** **né-** **?oos's'u-kko**
 this-M:ELP-PL-NOM 2SG- sheep-FOC
 'These are your sheep.'
- 22d. **ha-nn-ede-i** **né-** **?oos's'u-kko**
 this-F:ELP-PL-NOM 1SG- sheep-FOC
 'These are your sheep.'
- 22e. **ha-ns'-i** **né-** **?oos's'u-kko**
 this-PL-NOM 2SG sheep-FOC
 'These are your sheep.'

6.3.1.2.2. *Nominal demonstratives referring objects away from the speaker*

In this section, the nominal demonstratives refer to things or persons distantly located from the speaker but near to the addressee. As shown in the following table and examples, these forms of demonstratives are formed from the modifying proclitic deixis **hé**.

Table 12: Inventory of nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker

ABSOLUTE				NOMINATIVE	
MASCULINE			FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE
SG	IDF	he-ja	hi-nn-o	he-ji	hi-nn-i
	DF	he-ja-z-a	hi-nn-att-o	he-ja-z-i	hi-nn-att-i
PL	IDF	he-j-ede	hi-nn-ede	he-j-ede-i	hi-nn-ede-i
	DF	he-j-ede-z-a	hi-nn-ede	he-j-ede-z-i	hi-nn-ede-i

Sentential examples have been given below.

- 23a. **hi-nn-o** **gud3d3-i** **?ekk-i** **hamm-a-ne**
 that-F:ELP-ABS add-CNV take-CNV go-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and take that one (F) (Lit: Having add, take that one and go.)’
- 23b. **he-j-a** **gud3d3-i** **?ekk-i** **hamm-a-ne**
 that-M:ELP-ABS add-CNV take-CNV go-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and take that one. (M).’
- 23c. **he-j-ede** **gud3d3-i** **?ekk-i** **hamm-a-ne**
 that-M:ELP-PL add-CNV take-CNV go-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and take those ones.’

As in the case of **há**, **hé** occurs with all other inflectional suffixes in its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate. Consider the following examples:

- 24a. **he-j-i** **majdo-kko**
 that-M:ELP-NOM ox-FOC
 ‘That is an ox.’
- 24b. **hi-nn-i** **miisu-kko**
 that-F:ELP-NOM cow-FOC
 ‘That is a cow.’
- 24c. **he-j-ede-i** **majd-ede-kko**
 that-M:ELP-PL-NOM ox-PL-FOC
 ‘Those are oxen.’
- 24d. **hi-nn-ede-i** **miis-ede-kko**
 that-F:ELP-PL-NOM cow-PL-FOC
 ‘Those are cows.’

6.3.1.2.3. *Nominal demonstratives referring to object far away from both the speaker and addressee horizontally.*

The element *sé* is used to form those referring to the things far away from the speaker but near to the addressee as in the two types of demonstrative nominals presented above.

Table 13: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee horizontally

ABSOLUTE			NOMINATIVE		
MASCULINE		FEMININE	MASCULINE		FEMININE
SG	IDF	<i>sé-ja</i>	<i>se-nn-o</i>	<i>se-ji</i>	<i>se-nn-i</i>
	DF	<i>sé-ja-z-a</i>	<i>se-nn-att-o</i>	<i>se-ja-z-i</i>	<i>se-nn-att-i</i>
PL	IDF	<i>sé-j-edē</i>	<i>se-nn-edē</i>	<i>se-j-edē-i</i>	<i>se-nn-edē-i</i>
	DF	<i>sé-j-edē-z-a</i>	<i>se-nn-edē</i>	<i>se-j-edē-z-i</i>	<i>se-nn-edē-i</i>

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

- 25a. *sé-nn-o* *hang-i* *ʔekk-i* *jew-a-ne*
 that-F:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring that one (Lit: Having gone, take that one and come.)’
- 25b. *sé-j-a* *hang-i* *ʔekk-i* *jew-a-ne*
 that-M:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring tha one. (M).’
- 25c. *sé-j-edē* *hang-i* *ʔekk-i* *jew-a-ne*
 that-M:ELP-PL go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring those ones.’

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of *há* and *hé*, *sé* occurs with all other inflectional suffixes. Consider the following examples:

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

- 27a. **jé-nn-o** **hang-i** **ʔekk-i** **jew-a-ne**
 that-F:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring that one (Lit: Having gone, take that one and come.)’
- 27b. **jé-j-a** **hang-i** **ʔekk-i** **jew-a-ne**
 that-M:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring that one. (M).’
- 27c. **jé-j-edfe** **hang-i** **ʔekk-i** **jew-a-ne**
 that-M:ELP-PL go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring those ones.’

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of **há**, **hé** and **sé**, **jé** occurs with all other inflectional suffixes. Consider the following examples:

- 28a. **jé-j-i** **majdo-kko**
 that-M:ELP-NOM ox-FOC
 ‘That is an ox.’ (HOR)
- 28b. **jé-nn-i** **miisu-kko**
 that-F:ELP-NOM cow-FOC
 ‘That is a cow.’ (HOR)
- 28c. **jé-j-edfe-i** **majd-edfe-kko**
 that-M:ELP-PL-NOM ox-PL-FOC
 ‘Those are oxen.’ (HOR)
- 28d. **jé-nn-edfe-i** **miis-edfe-kko**
 that-F:ELP-PL-NOM cow-PL-FOC
 ‘Those are cows.’ (HOR)

6.3.1.2.5. *Nominal demonstratives referring to person/objects far away from both the speaker and addressee upward over there*

As in the three types of demonstrative nominals presented above, those referring to the things far away from the speaker and the addressee down over there are formed from their respective basic wó.

Table 15: Nominal demonstratives referring to things far away from the speaker and addressee upward over there

ABSOLUTIVE			NOMINATIVE		
MASCULINE		FEMININE	MASCULINE	FEMININE	
SG	IDF	wó-ja	wó-nn-o	wó-ji	wó-nn-i
	DF	wó-ja-z-a	wó-nn-att-o	wó-ja-z-i	wó-nn-att-i
PL	IDF	wó-j-edē	wó-nn-edē	wó-j-edē-i	wó-nn-edē-i
	DF	wó-j-edē-z-a	wó-nn-edē	wó-j-edē-z-i	wó-nn-edē-i

The following are some examples illustrating the occurrence of the above demonstratives.

- 29a. wó-nn-o hang-i ?ekk-i jew-a-ne
 that-F:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring that one (Lit: Having gone, take that one and come.)’
- 29b. wó-j-a hang-i ?ekk-i jew-a-ne
 that-M:ELP-ABS go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring that one. (M).’
- 29c. wó-j-edē hang-i ?ekk-i jew-a-ne
 that-M:ELP-PL go-CNV take-CNV come-IMP-2SG
 ‘Go and bring those ones.’

In its occurrence as a subject of a copula predicate, as in the case of há, hé, sé, and jé, wó occurs with all other inflectional suffixes. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------|--------------|
| 30a. | wó-j-i | majdo-kko |
| | that-M:ELP-NOM | ox-FOC |
| | 'That is an ox.' (HOR) | |
| 30b. | wó-nn-i | miisu-kko |
| | that-F:ELP-NOM | cow-FOC |
| | 'That is a cow.'(HOR) | |
| 30c. | wó-j-ede-i | majd-ede-kko |
| | that-M:ELP-PL-NOM | ox-PL-FOC |
| | 'Those are oxen.' (HOR) | |
| 30d. | wó-nn-ede-i | miis-ede-kko |
| | that-F:ELP-PL-NOM | cow-PL-FOC |
| | 'Those are cows.'(HOR) | |

6.3.2. Locative Deixis

Locative deixis nouns refer to regions or areas. The parameters distinguished by deixis local nouns are similar to those of demonstratives.

In Kole language, the two locative case markers, **-jiga** or **-n(n)a**, represent the locative deixis nouns when the two locative case markers are suffixed to the basic forms of the demonstratives. The element **-ga** functions to indicate physical surroundings or circumstances as well as direction of motion of activity. The locative morpheme **-n(n)a** is equivalent to 'at the side' or 'near'. They are classified as nouns syntactically; because they show case markers. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|------|---------|-------|-------------------|
| 31a. | ha-jiga | ha-na | 'here' |
| 31b. | hi-ga | hi-na | 'there' |
| 31c. | se-jiga | se-na | 'over there (far) |
| 31d. | je-jiga | je-na | 'over there down' |
| 31e. | wo-jiga | wo-na | 'over there down' |

The use of the locative nouns in Kole language has been illustrated below.

- 32a. **nun-i** **há-jiga-kko** **?utt-i-d-e**
 we-NOM here-LOC-FOC sit-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'It was here that we sat.'
- 32b. **nén-i** **há-na-kko** **jee-d-e**
 you-NOM here-LOC-FOC come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'It was here that you came.'

For peripheral cases such as ablative and locative, the place deixis nouns can be marked as in (33a) and (33b).

- 33a. **bitáne-z-i** **há-jiga-pa** **hi-ga**
 man-M:DF-NOM here-LOC-ABL there-LOC
hang-i-kko **?utt-i-d-e**
 go-CNV-FOC sit-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The man went from here to there and sat down.'
- 33b. **?és-i** **hí-na-pa-ko-si** **há-na** **jee-d-e**
 he-NOM there-LOC-ABL-FOC-3M:SG here-LOC come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He came here from there.'

A reading of directional deixis is given by suffixation of a locative marker to the locative noun as in (34). On top of that, the **-na** occurs in the geminated form **-nna** as given below.

34. **hí-ga-nna-ko-ini** **jee-d-e**
 there-LOC-LOC-FOC-2SG come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'You came by that way. (Lit: You came with there.)'

It is attested that reduplicating the locative deixis in Kole language expresses high degree of remoteness. Consider example (35) below.

35. sé-na se-na jes-es-i darota-kko
 there-LOC there-LOC exist-REL-NOM darota-FOC
 'That over there (very far) is Darota.'

6.3.3. Manner Deixis

The elements **-ikke** or **-itstso** 'like/same as' form manner deixis terms following elliptical phrase, to the demonstrative bases. Consider the examples below:

	M:Manner deixiss	Gloss
36a.	há-j-ikke/ha-j-itstso	'like this'
36b.	hé-j-ikke/he-j-itstso	'like that one far from the speaker'
36c.	sé-j-ikke/sé-j-itstso	'like that one far from speaker and addressee'
36d.	jé-j-ikke/jé-j-itstso	'like that one down far from speaker and addressee'
36e.	wó-j-ikke/wó-j-itstso	'like that one up far from speaker and addressee'
	F:Manner deixiss	Gloss
36f.	há-nn-ikke/ha-nn-itstso	'like this'
36g.	hí-nn-ikke/hi-nn-itstso	'like that one far from the speaker'
36h.	sé-nn-ikke/sé-nn-itstso	'like that one far from speaker and addressee'
36i.	jé-nn-ikke/jé-nn-itstso	'like that one down far from speaker and addressee'
36j.	wó-nn-ikke/wó-nn-itstso	'like that one up far from speaker and addressee'

As it is observed from the actual context, such manner deixiss are accompanied by gestures and physical demonstrations, and appear in structures like the following.

- 37a. hé-j-ikke/he-j-itstso ka?-a-ne
 that-M:ELP-MANN play-IMP-2SG
 'Play like that.'

- 37b. **hí-nn-ikke/** **ka?-a-ne**
 that-F:ELP-MANN play-IMP-2SG
 'Play like that.'
- 37c. **sé-j-ikke** **ha-j-itstso** **hi-doppu-na** **?utt-a-ne**
 that-M:ELP-MANN this-M:ELP-MANN say-PRH-2SG sit-IMP-2SG
 'Don't say like that, like this. Sit down.'
- 37d. **sé-nn-ikke** **ha-nn-ikke** **hi-doppu-na** **?utt-a-ne**
 that-F:ELP-MANN this-F:ELP-MANN say-PRH-2SG sit-IMP-2SG
 Don't say like that, like this. Sit down.'

The expression **sé-ikke/sé-nn-ikke** or **sé-j-itstso/sé-nn-itstso** can also be used to relate an earlier action to the one at the time of speaking. In such a context, they have an interpretation equivalent to 'again/as that one earlier'. Consider the following example:

38. **?is-i** **se-j-ikke-kko/se-nn-ikke-kko**
 she-NOM that-M:ELP-MANN-FOC/that-F:ELO-MANN-FOC
muud-i-k-isi **mif-i-d-e**
 eat-INF-FOC-3F:SG satisfy-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'Having eaten again and again (like that before) she satisfied.'

The reduplication of the deixis form **sé-j-ikke** or **se-nn-ikke** expresses recurrent occurrences of an action. Consider the following example:

- 39a. **he-j-ikke** **he-j-ikke-ko-si** **harg-us-e**
 that-M:ELP-MANN that-M:ELP-MANN-FOC-3M:SG sick-CAUS-AFF:DCL
 'He is sick again and again. (Lit: he is caused to be sick like that one before like that before)'

- 39b. **hi-nn-ikke** **hi-nn-ikke-ko-si** **harg-us-e**
 that-F:ELP-MANN that-F:ELP-MANN-FOC-3M:SG sick-CAUS-AFF:DCL
 'He is sick again and again. (Lit: he is caused to be sick like that one before like that before)'

6.3.4. Direction Deixis

Direction deixis expressions are formed by attaching the word **bagga** 'half' to the basic demonstrative forms and suffixing the locative marker **-n(n)a**. Consider the following illustrative structures.

- 40a. **hé-bagga-nna** **gadd-a-ne**
 that-half-LOC put-IMP-2SG
 'Make it close from that side.'

- 40b. **há-bagga-nna** **gadd-a-ne**
 this-half-LOC put-IMP-2SG
 'Put it on this side.'

6.3.5. Anaphoric Deixis

The demonstrative **há/hé** used to refer to the content of a preceding event in a text. The element **há/hé** is attested functioning as a non-situational means of expression as illustrated below.

41. **bazo-i** **?ing-unnu** **petti** **jaato**
 god-NOM give-SR one child:ABS
jel-i-ko-ti **he** **?e** **go?a** **?er-are**
 give birth-INF-FOC-1SG that his benefit know-NEG
hari **?att-i-d-e**
 empty remain-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'God gave me one child and I remained without getting that (his benefit).'

In the above example, **jaato** 'a child, is the antecedent, **?e** 'his' is the anaphoric deixis, and **hé** is the anaphoric deixis, which is co-referring to the antecedent.

6.3.6. **Recognitional Deixis**

The distal deixis **hé** has also a recognitional reference. It is used to refer to a person or an object. When the addressee is believed to recognize who or what the speaker is referring to, it is mentioned for the first time. The intended referent is to be identified via specific shared knowledge rather than through situational clues or references to preceding segments of the ongoing discourse. Consider the following example.

- 42a. **he** **?iita** **?ootstso-i** **dog-utt-i-b-a-?a**
 that bad work-NOM forget-PASS-NEG:COP-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'That bad work is not being forgotten.'
- 42b. **he** **na?a-z-i** **wake-k-isi-d-e**
 that boy-M:DF-NOM how-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'How did that boy say?'

6.3.7. **Temporal Deixis**

In Kole language, temporal deixiss are expressed by spatial demonstrative **há** and **hé**. The spatial demonstrative relates the time of an event to the time of an utterance. Regarding spatial deixis,

the element **há** illustrates temporal proximity of an incident to the time of speaking. Consider the following example.

43. **há bere kamba hise**
 this year kamba say
gade ham-a-ko-t-on-e
 place go-INF-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 'This year I will go to the place called Kamba.'

Temporal points that are distant from the actual moment of the speech situation are encoded by the element **hé**. Consider the following example.

44. **tan-i nee-ro petti ?ohe-kko**
 I-NOM you-DAT one talk-FOC
?oh-on-e he wode-kko ne-
 tell-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL that time-FOC 2GEN
meto-i birtf-utt-on-e
 problem-NOM solve-PASS-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 'I will tell you one thing, at that time your problem will be solved.'

The following examples show that Kole language has other lexical and phrasal temporal expressions. The expressions function like adverbs but are categorically nominal.

	Adverbial expressions	Gloss
45a.	hátte	'now'
45b.	gám?u	'latter'
45c.	hantsó	'today'
45d.	k'ámma	'yesterday'
45e.	gúta	'tomorrow'
45f.	zigíne k'amma	'the day before/prior day'

45g.	gúta pejfi	‘the day after’
45h.	hantsó saaminta	‘a week from today’
45i.	hantsó ?agunna	‘next month’
45j.	gúta pej fi k’amma	‘days next to the day after’
45k.	ha-bére	‘this year’
45l.	zin-bére	‘last year’
45m.	bení	‘ancient time , old time ago’
45n.	wónde	‘earlier’

The nouns **háte** ‘now’ and **hántso** ‘today’ contain the element **há** which seems to be the same as the proximity deixis proclitic element.

In short, the deixis expressions in Kole language can appear as independent nominal expressions or as proclitic elements.

In Kole language, demonstratives refer to individual entities. They indicate location in relation to the location of the speaker and addressee. Demonstratives illustrate how events are temporally related to the actual moment of the speech situation. Furthermore, they are used when the addressee is believed to remember who or what the speaker refers to in spite of the fact that the person or object is mentioned for the first time.

6.4. Numerals

It seems that numerals in Kole language exhibit a quinary system. The quinary base used as five is not the word for ‘five’ but is a word, which is etymologically associated to a quantifier expression **?ans’i**⁹ ‘how many/much’ in Kole language.

⁹ The word **?ans’i** does have the equivalent meaning of the word **?aappuna** in the north Gamo language.

Numerals in Kole language have one form for counting and quantifying forms except number one. With the exception of numerals for 'one' and 'nine' the other numeral forms are characterized by suffixes {-i} and {-u} for counting and quantifying forms. On other hand, numerals 'one' and 'nine' are characterized by suffixes {-o} and {-e} respectively.

6.4.1. Cardinals

Since Kole language has a decimal system, the following are one to ten basic counting forms in Kole language. The following table presents the cardinals counted in Kole language.

Table 16: Cardinals one to ten

Cardinal number	Gloss
péttiro	'one'
nám?u	'two'
hajitsti	'three'
?ojiddu	'four'
?itstfi	'five'
?izuppu	'six'
laappu	'seven'
lankutfi	'eight'
tantsane	'nine'
tammu	'ten'

As it is observed from the above data, numerals from one up to five are composed of simple words; whereas, numerals from six to nine are seemed to be composed of compound words. Finally numeral ten is composed of a simple word just like the first group.

In addition to that, numerals which occur as componential units in six to nine have undergone phonological reductions and processes. Therefore, they look different from their respective independent occurrences.

6.4.2. Ordinals

Cardinal and ordinal numbers can be distinguished morphologically. When the element **-untso** is suffixed to the cardinals, ordinal numbers are formed.

Table 17: Ordinals in Kole language

Ordinal number	Gloss
Péttir-untso	'first'
nám?-untso	'second'
hajitsts-untso	'third'
?ojidd-untso	'fourth'
?itʃitʃ-untso	'fifth'
?izupp-untso	'sixth'
laapp-untso	'seventh'
lankutʃ-untso	'eighth'
tantsan-untso	'ninth'
tamm-untso	'tenth'

Regarding, the counting numerals from eleven up to nineteen, we observe compounding process of numerals ten and the respective numbers from one up to nine interact. Consider the following examples:

Table 18: Cardinals from 11-19

Cardinal number (11-19)	Gloss
tamma nne pettiro	'eleven'
tamma nne nam?u	'twelve'
tamma nne hajitstsi	'thirteen'
tamma nne ?ojiddu	'fourteen'
tamma nne ?itstfitfi	'fifteen'
tamma nne ?izuppu	'sixteen'
tamma nne laappu	'seventeen'
tamma nne lankutfi	'eighteen'
tamma nne tantsane	'nineteen'

When the numeral from 'one' to 'nine' is followed by 'ten', numerals referring to multiples of 'ten' are formed. Consider the following table.

Table 19: Cardinals from 20-90 in tens

Cardinal number (20-90)	Gloss
nam?u tammu	'twenty'
hajitstsi tammu	'thirty'
?ojiddu tammu	'forty'
?itstfitfi tammu	'fifty'
?izuppu tammu	'sixty'
laappu tammu	'seventy'
lankutfi tammu	'eighty'
tantsine tammu	'ninety'

Following multiples of ten as shown in Table 10, the numerals ‘one’ to ‘nine’ occur in order to form numerals from 21-99.

Table 20: Cardinals from 21-99 in tens

Cardinal number	Gloss
nam?u tamma nne pettiro	‘twenty one’
hajitsitamamma nne ?ojiddu	‘thirty four’
?ojiddu tamma nne ?itstfitfi	‘forty five’
?itstfitfi tamma nne ?izuppu	‘fifty six’
?izuppu tamma nne laappu	‘sixty seven’
laappu tamma nne lankutfi	‘seventy eight’
lankutfi tamma nne lankutfi	‘eighty eight’
tantsine tamma nne tantsine	‘ninety nine’

The words **s’éétu** and **ǰá?a** show ‘hundred’ and ‘thousand’ respectively. Cardinals can occur as elliptic phrases. In such cases, cardinals can be marked for definiteness and case. Before the inflectional element, the final vowel of the numeral is deleted. Examples have been given below.

46a. pettir-att-o kantfe ?epp-a-ne
 one-F:DF-ABS only take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take only one (feminine).’

46b. ?ojidd-ede-z-a ?epp-a-ne
 four-PL-M:DF-ABS take-IMP-2SG
 ‘Take the four ones.’

6.5. Adverbial Expression

As there is no word category of adverbs in Kole language nouns function as adverbials. When the instrumental case marker **-nna** is added to adjectives, they express adverbial functions. The modifier element in the adverbial expression can be an adjective or a postpositional expression.

Structures presented below illustrate the possible structure of adverbial¹⁰ expression in Kole language. Consider, for example, the use of adjective **ʔiita** ‘bad’ as an adverbial argument modifying a verb below:

47a. **bitán-z-i** **k'aantsu-nna-kko-si** **hoh-i-d-e**
 man-M:DF-NOM short-INST-FOC-3M:SG tell-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The man told shortly.’

47b. **ʔés-i** **ʔiita-kko** **gujd-utt-i--d-e**
 he-NOM badly hit-PASS-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He was hit badly.’

47c. **ʔís-i** **gaaja** **gidda** **ʔut-o-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM market inside sit-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She sat inside the market.’

¹⁰ We cannot find a word class which represents adverb. However there are other word classes which can serve as adverbial expressions. These words classes are adjectives, postposition and noun phrases.

CHAPTER 7

Sentence Types

Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 155) define 'Sentence type'¹¹ as "a coincidence of grammatical structure and conventional conversational use". Thus, according to these authors the term refers to both the grammatical structure as well as its function. On the other hand, Palmer (1986) uses terms such as declarative, negative, interrogative, imperative, for formal/structural categories, and this author takes their function such as making statements, asking questions, making commands, etc. as notional or 'semantic categories'.

The most frequent word order in Kole language is **SOV**. The word order is not quite rigid, it is flexible. As has been observed from wide variety of **SOV** languages, Subject-Object inversion and other phenomena frequently lead to the separation of verb from the object noun phrase, which leads inevitably to the question of whether a verb phrase exists in Kole language or whether it is a non-configurational language with the rule **S → NP NP V**.

Moreover, the fact that no element can be interposed between **V** and **I** and the absence of subject-auxiliary inversion in Kole language might lead to the conclusion that there is no separate **I(nfl)** node in the sentence, i.e. that **S=VP**.

Based on their purpose, sentences in Kole language can be divided into three types: the declarative, interrogative and negative. The negative sentence will be treated separately in chapter eight.

¹¹ According to their structure sentence types can be divided into two. These are known as simple sentences and complex sentences.

7.1. The Declarative

7.1.1. The Verbal Declarative Sentence

This section deals with verbal declarative sentence. The verbal declarative sentence in Kole language can be affirmative or negative by their nature. The negative sentences are dealt thoroughly in chapter eight. A verb suffixed with morphemes *-e* forms the affirmative declarative sentences as shown in the following examples:

- 1a. **tan-i** **gam?-ise** **?oh-e** **dog-a-ko-ti-n-e**
I-NOM stay-REL tale-NMZ forget-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
'I forget an old story.'
- 1b. **tan-i** **zawa-ko-ti** **baa-n-e**
I-NOM house-FOC-1SG go-IPF-AFF:DCL
'I am going to home.'

Unlike its negative counterpart, the affirmative declarative sentence has a focus, subject agreement and aspect marker on the verb. However, in some contexts the focus and subject agreement markers occur to preverbal phrase as shown in example (1b) above.

7.1.2. The Non-verbal Declarative Sentence

In some cases, sentences with the subjects and predicates can denote the copular sentences. The subject is a patient of state. The predicate is either a noun or an adjective. In Kole language, this type of sentence does not have a semantically depleted copular verb as the surface main verb of the construction. Consider the following examples:

- 2a. **nén-i** **ta** **?itʃe**
you-NOM 1SG Brother:ABS
'You are my brother.'

- 2b. há doroz-i gita
 this sheep-M:DF-NOM big
 'This sheep is big.'

The focus marker **-kko** functions as predicate when the predicate occurs in contrastive focus context.

- 3a. nén-i ta- ?itje-kko
 you-NOM 1SG brother-FOC
 'You are my brother.'

- 3b. há majdo-z-i modfo-kko
 this ox-M:DF-NOM Fat-FOC
 'This ox is fat.'

As there is no verb carrying an aspect marker, the perfective and imperfective are expressed through verbal construction. For example, the verb, **maak'**- 'become', functions as a main verb. It carries aspect marker. The predicate is marked for focus in such construction. Consider the following sentences.

- 4a. ?és-i tʃ'intʃ'a-kko maak'-ijf-e
 he-NOM clever-FOC become-PROG-AFF:DCL
 'He is becoming clever.'

- 4b. ?és-i tʃ'intʃ'a-kko maak'-i-d-e
 he-NOM clever-FOC become-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He became clever.'

- 4c. ?és-i tʃ'intʃ'a-kko maak'-on-e
 he-NOM clever-FOC become-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'He will be clever.'

A non-verbal construction functions as verbal one in Kole language. Nouns and adjectives in Kole language have inchoative verbal counterparts. There is a verbal counterpart for each form particularly in the case of adjectives.

A noun or adjectival predicate occurs as a verb as in (5a), (5b) and (5c) below in contexts where the action of changing into a certain state needs to be focalized. If there is no modifier element in the sentence, the inchoative verb occurs in a complex (focal) structure.

5a. **ʔés-i kaʔ-et-a-ko-si-d-e**
he-NOM king-**INCH-*INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL***
'He became a king.'

5b. **ʔés-i laap-a-ko-si-d-e**
he-NOM weak-**INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL**
'He became weak.'

5c. **ʔés-i ʔeej-a-ko-si-d-e**
he-NOM foolish-**INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL**
'He became foolish.'

7.2. The Interrogative

In this section, content interrogatives, interrogative structures that were not covered in the previous section have been given focus because they do not involve morphology.

Content interrogatives used to ask for new information instead of making sure the already given information. In Kole language, content interrogatives hold within interrogative words or interrogative-elliptic phrases. Specific morphology has not been attested that characterize content interrogatives in Kole language. Such structures have the same pattern as their equivalents of affirmative declarative sentences. Kole language follows an in-situ strategy. The presence of an interrogative-word in the interrogative is the only difference. Compare the following structures. Taken from Text 1, No. 1 line 1

- 6a. **nən-i ʔaal-a-ko-ini worg-i-d-e**
 you-NOM what-ABS-FOC-2SG want-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'What did you want?'
- 6b. **tan-i miifje-ko-ti worg-i-d-e**
 he-NOM Money:ABS-FOC-1SG want-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I wanted money.'

Question-words and their structure, the elliptic interrogative phrases, and non-verbal interrogatives have been treated in the following section.

7.2.1. Interrogatives with Question-words

The following are interrogative words in Kole language.

- 7a. **ʔóóde**
 who:ABS
 'Who?'
- 7b. **ʔóóde-i**
 who-NOM
 'Who?'
- 7c. **ʔóóde-jiss-/ʔóóde-jir-**
 who-GEN:M/who-GEN:F
 'Whose?'
- 7d. **ʔáála**
 what:ABS
 'What?'
- 7e. **ʔáála-i**
 what-NOM
 'What?'

- 7f. **ʔána**
 where
 'Where?'
- 7g. **ʔájde**
 when
 'When?'
- 7h. **ʔáns'i**
 how many/how much
 'How many? Or How much'
- 7i. **wájdi/wájsi**
 how
 'How?'
- 7j. **ʔáála-s**
 what-DAT
 'Why?'
- 7k. **ʔáála ʔumma**
 what head(kind)
 'Which type/kind?'
- 7l. **wáke hisi**
 what do
 'What to do?'

All interrogative words in Kole language are characterized by a high pitch accent on the first syllable.

Three basic underlying bound question forms, **ʔoo-**, **ʔa(a)-** and **wa-** are the reduced form of interrogative words attested from which all the forms listed above can be derived. As it has been observed in (8a) below, the form **wa-** exhibits synchronically as a bound interrogative marker prefixed to verbs. This actually reinforces the claim that the presence of a few underlying basic bound forms from which all the interrogative-words are derived.

It can be possible to describe the distribution of such forms. For example, **ʔoo-** occurs with personal question words (see 7a, 7b, 7c) and **ʔa(a)-** appears elsewhere. In example (7i) and (7l) **wa-** is attested. The interrogative words with **ʔoo-** are always followed by element **-d-** whereas interrogative words with **ʔa(a)-** are always followed by the elements **-l-**, **-n-** and **-jd-**. The element **-n-** is accusative case marker in the previous expression. The word, **ʔáála** 'what', carries a segment **-l** instead of **-n** whereas **-l** is not attested elsewhere. The element **-n-** or **-l-** attested in (7g, 7i, and 7l) above. The forms with **wa-** i.e. 'how' and 'what kind', lack neither of these two segments. An element **-de** encountered with **ʔa**, which is another interrogative-word. The word **ʔajdé** 'when?' can be an example. The function of the element **-de-** is unknown at this stage. The word **ʔááns'i** 'how many' can be interpreted as a sequence of **ʔá-**, and **-ns'i**, an element having a similar form to the suffix **-ons'i** a paucal number marker of nouns. Discussions on each interrogative type will be presented below.

7.2.2. Personal Interrogatives

The words **ʔóóde** 'who:ABS' or **ʔóóde-i** 'who:NOM' are personal interrogative in Kole language. For case, personal interrogative pronouns are inflected like other personal pronouns. The element **-a** used to mark absolutive case whereas the element **-i** used to mark nominative case in personal interrogatives. Nominative case marking of personal interrogative does not characterize gender. However, in the case of absolutive personal pronouns, the element **-a** used to mark masculine gender and the element **-o** used to mark feminine gender. When gender of a noun is not identified, masculine gender is used as the default gender in Kole language. In an act, the asker wants the addressee to identify someone for him and obviously in such a circumstance the asker does not know the identity of the person under concern in the interrogative speech. Gender is part of the unknown identity.

The word **ʔoode-i** 'who:NOM', which is the subject interrogative pronoun, always loses its form. It has been replaced by a focused interrogative element **-wa** and manifested in the predicate selection of the subject. On the other hand, as with a focused subject NP, the subject personal

interrogative, **?oode-i** 'who:NOM', always needs a switch reference element in its sentence structure in order to occur in its position. Consider the following examples:

- 8a. **?oode-wa** **?ibo** **?itʃʃ-e-s-i**
 who-AFOC:INTR door:ABS hit-AFF:REL-ELP-NOM
 'Who is knocking the door?'
- 8b. **ne-** **?itʃe-kko** **?ibo** **?itʃʃ-e-s-i**
 2SG-GEN brother-FOC door:ABS knock-AFF:REL-ELP-NOM
 'Your brother is knocking on the door.'
- 8c. **?oode-i** **s'ejg-unnu-ko-ti** **jee-d-e**
 who-NOM call-SR-FOC-1SG come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'By whose calling did I come?'
- 8d. **ta-** **jaato-i** **s'ejg-unnu-ko-ti** **jee-d-e**
 1SG:GEN child-NOM call-SR-FOC-1SG come-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I came by my child's calling.'

As is true with focused subjects, the structure will be ungrammatical if either a simple/non-focal or complex/focal verb stem is used with an interrogative subject. Consider the following examples:

- 9a. ***?óóde-i** **?ibo** **k'os'-o-ko-si-n-e**
 who-NOM door:ABS knock-INF-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
- 9b. ***ta-** **jaato-kko** **?ibo** **k'os'-o-ko-si-n-e**
 1SG:GEN- child-FOC door:ABS knock-INF-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
- 9c. ***?óóde-i** **?ibo-si** **k'os'-e**
 who-NOM door:ABS-3M:SG knock-AFF:DCL
- 9d. ***ta-** **jaato-kko** **?ibo** **k'os'-e**
 1SG:GEN- child-FOC door:ABS knock-AFF:DCL

The word **ʔoode**, whom, like a focal absolutive NP appear with a simple/non focal verb predicate, a parallel situation is attested with the absolutive interrogative pronoun in such case. Or else the structure is ungrammatical by the usage of the predicate. Consider the following examples:

- 10a.** **ʔoode-ni** **s'ejg-e**
 who:ABS-2SG call-AFF:DCL
 'Whom do you call?'
- 10b.** ***ʔoode** **s'ejg-o-ko-ni-n-e**
 who:ABS call-INF-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
- 10c.** ***ʔoode** **s'ejg-e-s-i**
 who:ABS call-AFF:REL-ELP-NOM

With regard to predicate selection, the same pattern is followed by question words to that of focused constituents. The fact that question words have intrinsic focus function is a commonly attested typological phenomenon (cf. Dik: 1997: 264). Sadock and Zwicky (1985: 185) mentioned in Hirut (2004: 191) also point out that the new information in a content interrogative is a request for identity of the interrogated part of the sentence; it can thus be called the 'focuses of a sentence'.

The word **ʔoode-i** 'who:NOM' is used as a base for peripheral case marking. The ablative and dative interrogative pronouns are formed by attaching the respective case markers to the nominative form. Consider the following examples :

- 11a.** **ʔoode** **jaato-si** **ʔekk-e**
 who-ABS child:ABS-3M:SG take-AFF:DCL
 'Whose child does he take?'
- 11b.** **majfa** **ʔoode-ro-ti** **k'ott-i-d-e**
 knife who-DAT-1SG hide-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'To whom did I hide a knife?'

- 11c. **maffa** **?oode-pa-ti** **deng-i-d-e**
 knife who-ABL-1SG find-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'From whom did I find a knife?'

In the use of genitive case as a base for peripheral case marking, a parallel situation is also attested with definite nouns.

In both subject and object interrogative words, it is possible to have a double interrogation in Kole language. A headless relative clause occurs as a predicate in such case. It also occurs with the focused subject. Examples have been given below:

- 12a. **?óóde-wa** **?oode** **gan? -e-s-i**
 who:NOM-AFOC:INTR who-ABS insult-AFF:REL-ELP-NOM
 'Who insult whom?'
- 12b. **?óóde-i** **?oode-wa** **dos-e**
 who-NOM who-AFOC:INTR like-AFF:DCL
 'Who likes who?'

7.2.3. Impersonal Interrogatives

The elements **?áála** 'what?' in the absolutive case, and **?áála-í** in the nominative case result in impersonal interrogative structures in Kole language. In personal interrogative, other pronouns and definite nouns suffix the elements **-í** to designate nominative case and **-á** to designate absolutive case in the impersonal interrogatives. However, when the focused marker **-wa** is suffixed on indefinite noun, the nominative marker **-i** is deleted. The impersonal interrogatives behave in the same way to focused constituents; and hence they require a headless relative clause as a predicate when they occur in the subject position (13a). In the same way, they have a simple verb stem as a predicate when they occur as a direct object of a sentence (13b).

- 13a. **ʔáála-wa** **meʔ-es-i**
 what-AFOC:INTR break-REL:ELP-NOM
 ‘What is that got broken?’
- 13b. **hantsó** **ʔaala-si** **bajs-i-d-e**
 today what-3M:SG sell-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘What did he sell today?’

One of the focused marking strategies in Kole language is that the use of a nominalized relative clause with a focused subject noun phrase. The other strategy is the use of a simple verb stem with a focused direct object (see Chapter 9). This suggests that the impersonal interrogative pronouns are inherently focused as the personal interrogative pronouns.

7.2.4. Pro-adverbial Interrogatives

The words **ʔájde** ‘when?’, **ʔána** ‘where?’, and **wáydi** or **wájsi** ‘how’ are the pro-adverbial question words. They are used to ask for information given by adverbials in the declarative equivalents of the question. A question with pro-adverbial question word takes a simple verb stem as a predicate, as with focused adverbial constituents. The examples (14a), (14b), and (14c), given below, illustrate interrogatives with pro-adverbial question words.

- 14a. **née-ro** **ʔajde-ti** **ʔing-i-d-e**
 2SG-DAT when-1SG give-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘When did I give you?’
- 14b. **ʔánna-si** **ʔiis’-utt-i-d-e**
 where-3M:SG cut-PASS-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Where has he been cut?’

- 14c. **wajdi-ti ʔoh-on-e nee-ro gel-a-ʔa**
 how-1SG tell-IPF-AFF:DCL 2SG-DAT understand-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'How will I tell you? You cannot understand it'

7.2.5. Pro-numeral Interrogatives

The pro-numeral interrogative, **ʔá-ns'i** 'how many', contains the bound interrogative form, **ʔá-**, and a number marking suffix **-ons'**. In (15a) when the question refers to a subject with a simple verb, such interrogatives are attested with a headless relative clause. In (15b) when quantity of the object is inquired about, such interrogatives are also attested with a headless relative clause.

- 15a. **núú-ro ʔans'i dor-ede-wa jes-e-s-i**
 1PL-DAT how many sheep-PL-AFOC:INTR exist-AFF:REL-ELP-NOM
 'How many sheep do we have? Lit: How many sheep do exist for us?'

- 15b. **ʔáns'i-ni ʔepp-on-e**
 how much-2SG take-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'How much will you take?'

The question phrase **ʔánni mala** periphrastically expresses the quantifier expression 'how many/much' in Kole language. It can literally be translated as 'where limit'. Consider the following example:

16. **ʔánni mala-ti ʔepp-on-e**
 how much-1SG take-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'How much will I take? Lit: To where limit will I take?'

7.2.6. Type/kind Interrogatives

The interrogative word **wajdi** and the relative clause marker **-se** together form the type or kind interrogatives in order to ask about types or kinds of entities expressed by an NP. Consider the following examples:

17. **hej-edē-i wajdi-se jaw-edē-wa**
that-PL-NOM how-REL children-PL-AFOC:INTR
'Those ones, what kind of children are they?'

7.2.7. Interrogative Pro-verbs

The interrogative word **wake** 'how' prefixed to an affirmative declarative verb and changes the latter into an interrogative structure. An interrogative verb commonly occurs preceded by another sentence. Consider the following examples:

- 18a. **ta dor-att-i modd-a-k-isi-d-e**
1SG sheep-F:DF-NOM die-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
wake-ti-his-on-ee
how-1SG-do-IPF-INTR
'My sheep is fat. What can I do? (What shall I do?)'

- 18b. **wake-ti-hiid-ee**
how-1SG-say-INTR
'How do I say? (How does it happen to me?)'

7.2.8. Elliptic Interrogative Phrases

The word **?ána**, 'where', which is an interrogative pronoun, functions as elliptic noun phrase and in this case, it has the meaning of 'which one'.

The interrogative elliptic phrases that use **?ána**, 'where' as a base contain an element **-es** for masculine or **-ir-** for feminine genders parallel to other elliptic phrases such as those of relative clauses, pronouns and demonstratives. It is noted that, during involvement of number and case marking process, the final vowel of the word **?ána** is deleted. Consider the following examples :

- 19a. **?an-es-a**
 where-M:ELP-M:ABS
 Which one (M)?
- 19b. **?án-es-i**
 where-M:ELP-NOM
 Which one (M)?
- 19c. **?án-ir-o**
 where-F:ELP-F:ABS
 Which one (F)?
- 19d. **?án-ir-i**
 where-F:ELP-NOM
 Which one (F)?
- | | |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 19e. ?án-es-ede | ?án-ir-ede |
| where-M:ELP-PL:ABS | where-F:ELP-PL:ABS |
| 'Which ones (M)?' | 'Which ones (F)?' |
- | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 19f. ?án-es-ede-i | ?án-ir-ede- |
| where-M:ELP-PL:NOM | where-F:ELP-PL:NOM |
| 'Which ones (M)?' | 'Which ones (F)?' |

Interrogative phrases characterized by focused constituents as reflected in their selection of the right form of a verb. The absolutive and nominative interrogative phrases occur with a simple verb stem as in example (20a) and (20b), and with a relative clause as in example (20c) and (20d).

- | | | |
|------|--|--|
| 20a. | ʔán-es-a-ti
which-M:ELP-ABS-1SG
'Which one did I insult?' | ganʔ-i-d-e
insult-INF-PF-AFF:DCL |
| 20b. | ʔán-ir-o-ti
which-F:ELP-ABS-1SG
'Which one did I insult?' | ganʔ-i-d-e
insult-INF-PF-AFF:DCL |
| 20c. | ʔan-es-uwa
which-M:ELP-AFOC:INTR
'Which one (M) has sat?' | ʔutt-es-i
sit-REL:ELP-NOM |
| 20d. | ʔan-iri-wa
which-F:ELP-AFOC:INTR
'Which one (F) has sat?' | ʔutt-es-i
sit-REL:ELP-NOM |

The nominative forms suffix a peripheral case marker as in the following example.

- | | | | | |
|------|---|-----------------------------|--|---|
| 21a. | ʔán-esu-ro-ni
where-M:ELP-DAT-2SG
'To which one (M) did you sell the cloth?' | ʔapilla
cloth:ABS | bajs-i-d-e
sell-INF-PF-AFF:DCL | |
| 21b | ʔán-iri-ro-ni
where-F:ELP-DAT-2SG
'To which one (F) did you sell the cloth?' | ʔapilla
cloth:ABS | bajs-i-d-e
sell-INF-PF-AFF:DCL | |
| 21c. | tan-i
I-NOM | nee-ro
you-DAT | guupe
stick:ABS | ʔing-a-ko-ti-d-e
give-INF-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'I gave you a stick.' |

A subject of a non-verbal clause can be expressed by an interrogative phrase. The predicate has a negative focus marker **-wa**. If it is not marked for focus, a non-verbal affirmative predicate also has a zero form. Sentential examples have been given below.

22. **ʔán-es-eđe-i** **ʔe-** **dor-eđe-wa**
 which-M:ELP-PL-NOM 3M: SG- sheep-PL-AFOC:INTR
 ‘Which ones are his sheep?’

The word **wájdise** that expresses the ‘type/kind’ interrogative also occurs in a similar elliptic structure. Consider the following examples:

- 23a. **ha** **faw-i** **wajide-su-wa**
 this children-NOM what kind-REL-AFOC:INTR
 ‘These children, of what kind children are they?’
- 23b. **ha** **faw-eđe-i** **wajide-s-eđe-wa**
 this children-PL-NOM what kind-M:ELP-PL-AFOC:INTR
 ‘These children, of what kind children are they?’

7.2.9. Non-verbal Interrogations

In Kole language, nonverbal questions ask about any entity or the identity of a person. A question word and the noun referring to the one whose identity is interrogated are the constituent part of such structure. Only the question words are marked for nominative case in such structure. The expression, which refers to the questioned entity, is suffixed by the focused interrogative marker **-wa**. Preceding the question word, the noun being questioned occurs.

- 24a. **ʔes-i** **ʔóóde-wa**
 he-NOM who-AFOC:INTR
 ‘Who is he?’
- 24b. **biff-att-i** **ʔóóde-wa**
 woman-F:DF-NOM who-AFOC:INTR
 ‘Who is the woman?’

A focus marker, **-kko**, usually occurs with the answer to such question. Consider the following examples:

- 25a. ?isi-kko/?is-o**
she-FOC/she-F:ABS
'It is she.'
- 25b. darota-kko/darota**
darota-FOC/darota
'It is Darota. Or He is Darota.'

The suffix **-itftji** 'how about?' has been illustrated in the following examples.

- 26a. tan-itftji** 'How about me?'
- 26b. nen-itftji** 'How about you?'
- 26c. ta-jiss-itftji** 'How about mine? (M)'
- 26d. ne-jr-itftji** 'How about yours?(F)'

7.3. Complex Sentences

In Kole language, complex sentences contain one or more syntactically dependent clauses and one main clause according to the nature of their structure. In verb morphology of Kole language, the section on mood indentifies the independent sentences which are characterized by clause final illocutionary force morphemes. It classifies the utterance as assertive, interrogative, manipulative, etc.

The sentential constructions which are not marked by morphemes are dependent clauses. They, accordingly, cannot form a complete utterance on their own.

In Kole language, dependent clauses can be divided into four subgroups. These are known as relative clauses, complement clauses, adverbial clauses, and quotative clauses. Syntactic and/or

semantic dependency to a nominal or verbal head is exhibited by these clause types in similar way. Each of these is different and contains several subgroups within it morpho-syntactically, except the relative clause. In order to indicate their syntactic and semantic dependency, all dependent clauses have affixes. Quotative clauses are semantically dependent but syntactically independent like other dependent clauses.

7.3.1. Relative Clause

A clause which modifies a head noun in the construction is relative clause. It is described by attaching the element {-ise} to the verb root preceded by aspect marker. Consider the following examples:

27a. **bitane-i k'amma jeetta-ko-si-d-e**
 man-NOM yesterday come-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'The man came yesterday.'

27b. **?is-i k'amma jee-d-ise bifa?a jeer-a-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM yesterday come-PF-REL girl kiss-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She kissed the girl who came yesterday.'

As it is noted in examples (27a, 27b) above, aspect and relative clause are marked separately by having different elements.

In example (28a) and (28b) below, relative clauses in the imperfective aspect are illustrated differently.

28a. **nén-i tʃima ?atstsi ?oh-ise hajsu?e**
 you-NOM old person tell-REL tale
dosa-ko-ni-n-e
 like-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'You like the tale which an old person tells.'

- 28b. **nén-i fat-eđe-ro jaw-eđe-ro ʔoh-ada bifaʔ-att-o**
 I-NOM child-PL-DAT children-PL-DA tell-INCH girl-F:DF-ABS
beetta-ko-ni-d-e
 see-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You saw the girl who will tell the tale to children’

7.3.2. Complement Clauses

In Kole language, a subordinate clause can be used as a complement of the verb. The complement clauses of some verbs is infinitival clauses, nominalized clauses, or clauses marked {-tstso} or **mala** ‘like/as’. The use of these two morphemes in complement clauses shows that the distinction between complement clauses and adverbial clauses is not always clear.

7.3.2.1. Nominalized Complement Clauses

The clausal nominalizer/complementaizer is characterized by attaching the element {-esa} at the final position of the verb root. Consider the following examples:

- 29a. **ʔis-i timirte zawa-ga-pa jeetta-k-isi-d-e**
 she-NOM education house-LOC-ABL come-FOC-3F-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘She came from school.’
- 29b. **ʔis-i timirte zawa-ga-pa jee-d-esa**
 she-NOM education house-LOC-ABL come-PF-CMZ
siitta-ko-ti-d-e
 hear-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I heard that she came from school.’

The examples of nominalized clauses in the imperfective aspect are given below.

30a. **né- dootsts-ede-i kamba hama-ko-j-is-o**
 2SG :GEN neighbor-PL-NOM kamba go-FOC- EPN-3PL-AFF:DCL
 'Your neighbors go to Kamba/ Your neighbors are going to Kamba.'

30b. **né- dootsts-ede-i kamba hang-esi ?aade-kko**
 2SG :GEN neighbors-PL-NOM kamba go-CMZ true-AFC:DCL
 'It is true that your neighbors go /are going to Kamba.'

The examples of nominalized clauses with the future imperfective have been given below.

31a. **ta- mitfo-i guta jeetta-k-is-on-e**
 my sister-NOM tomorrow come-FOC-3F-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'My sister will come tomorrow.'

31b. **né- ?itfe-i guta jew-ada-sa nen-i**
 your brother-NOM tomorrow come-INCH-CMZ you-NOM
?era-ko-ni-n-e
 know-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'You know that your brother will come tomorrow.'

7.3.2.2. Infinitival Complement Clauses

In Kole language, the infinitive is formed by suffixing the elements {-o} and {-e} to the verbal root. The first syllable of the verb root always exhibits high pitch accent to indicate the infinitive form. Consider the following examples:

32a. **nún-i dabbo máád-o ?ik'ara-k-ini-d-e**
 we-NOM relative help-INF refuse-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We refused to help relative.'

- 32b. **nabbáb-o-i** **?era** **gujja-ko-si-n-e**
 read-INF-NOM knowledge increase-FOC-3M;SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Reading increases knowledge.'
- 32c. **k'úma** **míj-e** **lo?o-kko**
 food eat-INF good-FOC
 'Eating food is good.'

As it is noted in the above example, infinitival complement clause occurs in both object and subject complement positions.

7.3.3. Adverbial Clauses

A range of semantic relations to its main clause is obtained by an adverbial clause. In Kole language, on the basis of such semantic relations expressed, and/or morphological distinction, six adverbial clause types are identified. These are conditional, concessive, temporal, purposive, preventive, and reason clauses. Each of the adverbial clause types is discussed separately below.

7.3.3.1. Conditional Clauses

In Kole language, conditional clauses operate in two types. These are known as reality conditional clauses and hypothetical conditional clauses. The fulfillment of the situation expressed by the conditional clause is a prerequisite for the fulfillment of the state of affair expressed by the main clause in the case of reality conditional clause. In Kole language, this type of conditional clause is denoted by suffixing the element **{-kko}** to the verb root which is realized with infinitive form. In reality conditional clauses, the verb in the independent clause is realized either in the future imperfective or in the present imperfective. Consider the following examples:

- 33a. **nen-i** **worg-o-kko** **tan-i** **?inga-ko-t-on-e**
 you-NOM want-INF-COND I-NOM give-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'If you want I will give you.'
- 33b. **?oge** **tan-i** **nen-a** **dib-o-kko**
 road I-NOM you-ABS interrupt-INF-COND
- nen-i** **taa-ro** **mijje** **?ing-a-ko-n-on-e**
 I-NOM you-DAT money give-INF-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'If I interrupt you the road, you will give me money.'

The examples of the conditional verbs occurring with an imperfective aspect have been given below.

- 34a. **haj** **?amman-ada-kko** **?ammn-a-ne** **?abb-ada-kko**
 wow believe-INCH-COND believe-IMP-2SG leave-INCH-COND
?abb-a-ne
 leave-IMP-2SG
 'Wow, believe properly or leave it altogether.'
- 34b. **?ooff-i** **jes-o-kko** **siik'o-i** **baa-so**
 quarrel-NOM exist-INF-COND love-NOM not exist-NEG:DCL
 'If there is quarrel, there is no love.'

In addition to a conditional clause marker, the hypothetical conditional clause, which expresses an imagined situation, is expressed by a relative clause. Consider the following examples:

- 35a. **?oge** **nen-i** **tan-a** **bejsi-sa-kko** **tan-i**
 road you-NOM me-ABS show-CMZ-COND I-NOM
- nee-ro** **mijje** **?inga-ko-t-on-e** **fin**
 you-DAT money give-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFFA:DCL PRVT
 'If you had showed me the road, I would have given you money.'

- 37a. **ʔes-i** **gamʔ-o-kko-kka** **jeetta-ko-s-on-e**
 he-NOM stay-INF-COND-INCL come-FOC-3M:SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Although he is late, he will come.’
- 37b. **ʔés-i** **mank’-o-kko-kka** **ʔatstsu-ro** **miiffe**
 he-NOM poor-INF-COND-INCL person-DAT money
ʔinga-ko-si-n-e
 give-FOC-3M-AFF:DCL
 ‘Although he becomes poor, he gives money to people.’
- 37c. **ʔés-i** **dur-et-o-kko-kka** **ʔatstsu-ro** **miiffe**
 he-NOM rich-INCH-INF-COND-INCL person-DAT money
ʔing-a-ʔa
 give-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘Although he becomes rich, he does not give money to people.’

7.3.3.3. Temporal Clauses

In Kole language, two types of temporal clauses are identified. These are known as sequential and simultaneous clauses. The sequential clauses are described by attaching the element {-ise} which is the relative clause marker with the comparative word **mala** to the verb root. Consider the following examples:

- 38a. **ʔes-i** **be** **ʔaddi** **hajbu** **siid-i**
 he-NOM self father death hear-CNV
hama-ko-si-d-e
 go-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘When he heard of his father’s death, he went away’

- 38b. **ʔes-i** **be** **ʔaddi** **hajbu** **siid-ise**
 he-NOM self father death hear-REL
mala **hama-ko-si-d-e**
 as/like go-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DC
 'As having heard of his father's death, he immediately went away.'

It is noted that in the example (38b), an element {-ise} and the comparative word **mala** are attached to the verb root to indicate the immediacy of the situation.

Simultaneity is characterized by suffixing the element {-jji} after the dependent clauses following the converb marker. Consider the following example:

39. **bijj-att-i** **banga** **gaatʃʔtʃ-i-jji**
 woman-F:DF-NOM barley grind-CNV-PROG
jes'o-k-isi-n-e
 sing-FOC-3F-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'The woman sings while grinding the barley.'

It is noted that in example (39) above, the element {-jji} is suffixed to verb root following converb marker in order to express simultaneity. If the converb is used without the element {-jji}, the state of affairs expressed in the main clause is consecutive to that expressed by the converb. Consider the following example:

40. **bijj-att-i** **banga** **gaatʃʔtʃ-i** **jes'o-k-isi-n-e**
 woma-F:DF-NOM barley grind-CNV sing-FOC-3F-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Having ground barley, the woman sings.'

If the subject in the matrix and in the dependent clause are different, the morpheme element {-ujjun} is suffixed to express simultaneity. The subject of the main clause may or may not be expressed, as the difference between the following two examples demonstrate.

- 41a. **biff-att-i** **banga** **gaatʃʹtʃ-uffun** **jes'o-k-is-n-e**
woma-F:DF-NOM barley grind-CONJ:PROG sing-FOC-3F-IPF-AFF:DCL
‘Somebody sings, while the woman grinds.’
- 41b. **biff-att-i** **banga** **gaatʃʹtʃ-uffun** **nun-i**
woma-DF:F-NOM barley grind-CONJ:PROG we-NOM
jes'o-k-ini-n-e
sing-FOC-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
‘While the woman grinds, we sing.’

7.3.3.4. Purposive Clause

The purposive clause marker indicates whether the subject of the main and the dependent clause is the same or not, like the simultaneous form. The purpose clause is expressed by the element {-ada} and the comparative word **mala**, when the subject of the main clause is different from the dependent clause. Consider the following examples:

- 42a. **ʔés-i** [**ʃaat-att-i** **boobbe** **dojiss-ada mala**]
he-NOM child- 3F:DF-NOM potato boil- INCH PURP
budo **ʔeetstsa-ko-si-n-e**
fire make-FOC-3M-IPF-AFF:DCL
‘He makes fire so that the girl will cook potato.’
- ʔís-i** [**ʔés-i** **ʔatfo** **ʃamm-ada mala**]
she-NOM he-NOM meat:ABS buy-INCH PURP
gaaja **ʔajitstsa-k-isi-d-e**
market send-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
‘She sent him to the market to buy meat.’

The purposive clause is expressed by the element {-ada}, when the subject of the main clause is the same as that of the dependent clause. The element {-ada} is used as a imperfective marker elsewhere. Consider the following examples:

- 43a. **ʔes-i boora katsts-ada budo**
 he-NOM bread cook-INCH fire
ʔeetstsa-k-isi-n-e
 make-FOC-3F-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'He makes fire to cook bread.'
- 43b. **tan-i ʔis-o bej-ada worg-o-ko-ti-n-e**
 I-NOM she-ABS see-INCH want-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'I want in order to see him.'

7.3.3.5. Preventive Clauses

The occurrence of element {**ʃin**} after the verb root forms preventive or counterfactual clause. The preventive clause is expressed by suffixing imperfective marker {-**on**} to the verb root and then declarative marker {-**e**} is suffixed after the element {-**on**}, finally the element {**ʃin**} follows the verb. Consider the following examples:

- 44a. **ʔis-i nee-ro ʔapilla**
 she-NOM you-DAT cloth
ʃama-k-is-on-e ʃin
 buy-FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL PRVN
ʔi-mitʃ-att-i miijfe ʔajk-o-k-isi-d-e
 he:GEN sister-F:DF-NOM money hold-INF-FOC-3F:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She would buy the cloth for you but her sister held the money.'
- 44b. **tan-i balta ham-a-ko-t-on-e ʃin**
 I-NOM balta go-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL PRVN
ʔira-j buk-a-ko-si-d-e
 rain-NOM fall-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I would go Balta, but it rained.'

In the main clause, following the declarative sentence marker {-e}, the preventive clause occurs. Consider the following examples:

45a. **ʔu- ʔindo-i jee-d-i-sa-kko ʃaw-ons'-a**
 3PL:GEN mother-NOM come-PF-CNV-NMZ-COND children-PL-ABS
tan-i s'ejg-o-ko-t-on-e ʃin
 I-NOM call-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL PRVN

'If their mother had come, I would have called the children'

45b. **ne- ʔitʃe-i tʃ'entʃa hang-i-sa-ko**
 you:GEN brother-NOM chenchā go-CNV-NMZ-COND
doro ʃama-ko-s-on-e ʃin
 sheep buy-FOC-3M:SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL PRVN

'If your brother had gone to Chenchā, he would have bought sheep.'

7.3.3.6. Reason Clauses

The reason clause is formed by attaching the suffix {-ro} or {-s} to a nominalized clause. These suffixes are discussed as dative case marker elsewhere. The same forms act as reason clause marker. Consider the following examples:

46a. **tan-i ʔes-i ta- ʔindo maadd-esu-ro**
 I-NOM he-NOM my mother help-NMZ-REAN
ʔes-a galat-a-ko-ti-n-e
 her-ABS thank-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL

'I thank him because he helped my mother.'

46b. **nen-i nun-i wordo ʔoh-esu-s ʔik'ar-a-ko-ni-n-e**
 you-NOM we-NOM truth tell-NMZ-DAT hate-INF-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL

'You hate us because we told untruth.'

It is noted that in the examples (46a) and (46b) above, the subject of the dependent clause is the object of the main clause; however, the function of the object is left unexpressed.

7.3.4. Quotative Clauses

The quotative clause is syntactically the same to a main clause. It represents a paratactic form of clausal linking in which a syntactically and semantically independent form is contained within the scope of another syntactically independent clause (Azeb, 2001: 199). Azeb further illustrated that the relation between the two clauses is thus one of independency. Consider the following examples:

47a. [poolice-i [s'eetu doro nuu-ro tʃ'igg-a-jt-e]
 police-NOM hundred sheep us-DAT pay-IMP-2PL:AFF:DCL
 hitta-ko-si-d-e]
 say:QUT-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

'The police said: "Pay us hundred sheep."

47b. [ʔatsts-i [nun-i hammi-nno] hitta-ko-si-d-e]
 person-NOM we-NOM go-1PL:OPT say:QUT-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

'The man said: "Let us go"

7.3.5. Converb

In Kole language, converb has the function of chaining or conjoining clauses which describe independent states of affairs. Besides, it is used as temporal (simultaneous or sequential) or manner adverbial to the main clause. However, while other dependent verbs can inflect for aspect and negation, the converb does not inflect for person, number and negation. For this reason the converb is fully dependent on the main clause. In Kole language, converb is characterized by suffixing the element {-i} to the verb root. Consider the following examples:

48a. **tan-i** **badala** **ʔatʔtʔ-i** **hare**
 he-NOM corn tie-CNV car
galla **tʃs'aan-a-ko-ti-d-e**
 on load-INF-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL

'Having tied the corn I loaded it on a car.'

48b. **kana-i** **ʔade-z-a** **mejtʔ-i** **hama-ko-si-d-e**
 dog-NOM man-DF:M-ABS bite-CNV go-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL

'Having bitten the man, a dog went away.'

It is noted from the above examples, the converb and main verb have one and the same subject. The converb is used in the construction to express consecutive actions.

When the converb is reduplicated in the construction, the simultaneous action is obligatorily expressed. Consider the following examples:

49a. **ʔes-i** **s'ejg-i** **s'ejg-i** **ganʔa-ko-si-n-e**
 he-NOM call-CNV call-CNV insult-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL

'He insults while calling.'

49b. **ʔis-i** **muu-d-i** **muu-d-i**
 she-NOM eat-PF-CNV eat-PF-CNV

ʔoh-utt-o-k-isi-d-e
 speak-PASS-INF-FOC-3F-PF-AFF:DCL

'She talked while she was eating.'

Besides, the reduplicated converb is also used to express repetitive or distributive actions as it is illustrated in the following examples:

50a. **ʔes-i** **matʃo** **dor-ede** **fukk-i** **fukk-i**
 he-NOM many sheep-PL slaughter-CNV slaughter-CNV
ʔagale-ga **doora-ko-si-n-e**
 roost-LOC accumulate-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL

‘He slaughters many sheep and accumulates (the meat) on the roost.’

50b. **nun-i** **tʃʰaamma** **ʔatstsu-ro** **ʔutʃʰtʃʰ-i** **ʔutʃʰtʃʰ-i**
 we-NOM shoes person-DAT clean-CNV clean-CNV
miifje **ʔepa-k-ini-n-e**
 money take-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL

‘We clean shoes for person (people) and take money.’

In Kole language, temporal iconicity is attested when the converb is used to express consecutive actions, that is, the first converb expresses an action that takes place first; the second converb expresses the next action. In this case, changing the order of converb alters the meaning of the sentence. For example, (51a) below cannot begin by altering the converb as in (51b). Consider the following examples:

51a. **tan-i** **kʰamma** **gaaja** **hang-i**
 I-NOM yesterday market go-CNV
ʔatʃo **ʃang-i** **biffi-ro** **zawa**
 meat buy-CNV wife-ABS house
ʔekk-i **jeed-i** **katsts-a-ne** **hi-d-i** **ʔis-i**
 take-CNV come-PF-CNV cook-IMP-2SG say-PF-CNV she-NOM
katsts-un **wola** **nun-i** **muutta-k-ini-d-e**
 cook-SR together we-NOM eat-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL

‘Yesterday, I went to the market, bought meat, brought it home to my wife and (I) having said (to her) cook! She cooked. We ate it together.’

- 51b. **tan-i** **k'amma** **?atfo** **fang-i**
 I-NOM yesterday meat buy-CNV
gaaja **hang-i** **biffi-ro** **zawa**
 market go-CNV wife-ABS house
?ekk-i **jeed-i** **katsts-a-ne** **hid-i** **?is-i**
 take-CNV come-CNV cook-IMP-2SG say-CNV she-NOM
katsts-un **wola** **nun-i** **muutta-k-ini-d-e**
 cook-SR together we-NOM eat-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'Yesterday, I bought meat, I went to the market, brought it home to my wife and (I) having said (to her) cook! She cooked. We ate it together.'

However, when two or more simultaneous actions are expressed by converb, their order can be reversed without the inversion causing ungrammaticality or significantly altering the meanings. Consider the following illustrative examples:

- 52a. **nun-i** **wos's'-i** **wos's'-i** **miitf'tf'-i** **miitf'tf'-i**
 we-NOM run-CNV run-CNV laugh-CNV laugh-CNV
ka?a-k-ini-n-e
 play-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'We play running and laughing.'
- 52b. **nun-i** **miitf'tf'-i** **miitf'tf'-i** **wos's'-i** **wos's'-i**
 we-NOM run-CNV run-CNV laugh-CNV laugh-CNV
ka?a-k-ini-n-e
 play-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'We play laughing and running.'

Furthermore, the converb, in Kole language, functions in the nucleus juncture as well. That is, together with a main verb, it forms a complex predicate as illustrated in the following examples:

53a. **ʔind-att-i** **tʃʌmba** **laattʃʌ-i** **beetta-k-isi-d-e**
 woman-F:DF-NOM soup lick-CNV see-FOC-3F-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The woman tasted the soup.’

53b. **bifʔ-att-i** **haatstse** **ʔekk-i** **jeetta-k-isi-d-e**
 girl-F:DF-NOM water take-CNV come-FOC-3F-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘The girl brought water.’

7.3.6. Switch-reference

The category involved in switch reference in Kole language is the subject; object and other nouns in the sentence are not involved in this reference system. One of the issues in the discussion of switch-reference is whether it obligatorily needs its antecedent. Switch-reference in Kole language is used even when there is no overt subject with whom co-reference is expressed. The co-referenced subject can be identified from the context. The switch-reference is used where the subjects are different in both clauses. It is expressed by attaching the element {-un} to the verb root. One can consider the following examples:

54a. **kaná-i** **ʔade-z-a** **mejtʃ-un** **hajʔo-ko-si-d-e**
 dog-NOM man-M:DF-ABS bite-PF:SR die-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘When the dog bit the man died.’

54b. **ʔés-i** **[kana-z-i** **ʔade-z-a** **mejtʃ-uf-un]**
 he-NOM dog-M:DF -NOM man-M:DF-ABS bite-IPF-SR
beetta-ko-si-d-e
 see-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘He saw the dog when it bites the man.’

It is noted from the above examples that switch-reference element is inflected for perfective and imperfective aspects.

7.3.7. Co-ordination

If two disjoint clauses have the same subject, the connecting element **jin** 'but' occurs between the two clauses. Consider the following examples:

55a. **?is-i dure-kko jin ?atstsu-ro miiffe**
 she-NOM rich-FOC PRVN person-DAT money
?ing-a?a
 give-PF:NEG:DCL
 'He is rich but he does not give money for others.'

55b. **?is-i dure b-a-j-is-a jin taa-ro**
 she-NOM rich not_exist-NEGEPN-3F-NEG:DCL PRVN me-DAT
?inga-k-isi-n-e
 give-FOC-3F-PF-AFF:DCL
 'She is not rich but she gives me money.'

However, if examples (55a) and (55b) are uttered with **jin** 'but' in the second clause, the sentence is unacceptable as shown in (56). Consider the following example:

56. ***?is-i mala lo?o-kko dure jin b-a-j-is-a**
 she-NOM face beautiful-FOC rich PRVN not_exist-NEG-EPN-3F-NEG:DCL

Two clauses are coordinated by using the inclusive marker **{-kka}**, as shown in the following examples:

57a. **?is-i mala ?iita gido-kko-kka ?elle**
 she-NOM face bad be-FOC-INCL soon
gela-k-is-on-e
 marry-FOC-3F-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
 'Although she is not beautiful, she will marry soon.'

57b. ʔes-i dure mak'o-kko-kka ʔatstsuro miiffe
 he-NOM rich become-FOC-INCL person-DAT money
 ʔing-aʔa
 give-PF:NEG:DCL
 'Although he is rich, he does not give money to people.'

Verbal co-ordination is also possible through the use of the converb construction.

In general, one can easily distinguish between main and dependent clauses in Kole language by observing the verbal endings. The verb of main clause ends in the sentence type markers such as the affirmative declarative {-e}, the negative declarative {-ʔa} and the negative afocused interrogative marker {-wa}, and sometimes vowel lengthening etc, whereas verbs in the dependent clauses take various dependency relation markers.

CHAPTER 8

Negation

Negative marker in Kole language always appears as a verbal suffix. That is, the verb is the only constituent in a sentence that gets inflected for negation. Hence, a negative sentence requires a verb to carry the negative marker. This implies that there is no non-verbal negative sentence in Kole language.

Polarity is one of the categories for which verbs in Kole language are specified and so affirmative and negative verb forms occur in a paradigmatic relationship. Negation marking in Kole language interacts with modal morphology. Negation in a declarative verb is marked differently from the ones in imperative, optative and interrogative.

This section deals with the morpho-syntactic properties of negative constructions.

8.1. Negation of declarative sentences

In Kole language, the element *-á* marks negation. It contrasts paradigmatically with the affirmative that is expressed by zero morphemes. All types of negative constructions are characterized by having the suffix *-á*. Consider the following examples:

- 1a. *ʔis-i ʔe- biffo ʔer-a-ʔa*
she-NOM 3M:SG wife know-NEG-NEG:DCL
'She doesn't know his wife'
- 1b. *kole-ga gaale-i b-a-ʔa*
kole-LOC camel-NOM not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
'In Kole there is no camel.'

- 1c. **nún-i nu kutje fog-utt-a-re**
 we-NOM 1PL hand wash-PASS-NEG-PUR
muutta-a-k-ini-n-e
 eat-INF-FOC-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'We are eating without having our hand washed.'

As mentioned earlier, the element **-wa**, which is the negative interrogative suffix, is in a paradigmatic relationship with the informative and permissive negative interrogative markers as illustrated below.

- 2a. **nén-i ta bijfo ʔer-an-ne-wa**
 you-NOM 1SG wife know-PERM-2SG-NEG:INTR
 'Don't you know my wife?'
- 2b. **ʔesu-ra búʔe ʔootsts-an-aa**
 he-COM together work-1SG:PERM:INTR
 'May I work with him?'

A negative event in a periphrasis way of expression in the past is found with a complex structure that constitutes a converb and a negative existential copula. It expresses the past negation by expressing state of existence of the subject without having an action done. 'Y does not exist having done some action' is literary the meaning of such structure.

3. **nún-i ditʃʔtʃ-i b-a-ʔa ʔootstso**
 we-NOM grow-CNV not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL work:ABS
ʔer-a-ʔa
 know-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'We did not grow, we do not know working'

In Kole language, a negative verb is expressed by lacking a subject agreement marker in perfective and imperfective aspects. However, the imperfective aspect marks discontinuous

agreement marker in negative verb. The following examples are taken from Text 1, No. 24, line 1.

- 4a. **tan-i jetstsi ?er-a-ko-ti-n-e**
I-NOM singing know-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
'I know singing.'
- 4b. **tan-i jetstsi ?er-a-?a**
I-NOM singing know-NEG-NEG:DCL
'I do not know singing.'
- 4c. **tan-i jetstsi ?er-i-b-a-?a**
I-NOM singing know-CNV-not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
'I did not know singing.'
- 4d. **tan-i jetstsi ?er-i-kk-i**
I-NOM singing know-1SG-NEG-1SG:NEG:DCL
'I will not know singing.'

The primary purpose is not to give new information but rather to contradict the information that the speaker presupposes the hearer already had.

In the negative version of a declarative verb the absence of a subject-marking element is accounted for by its being part of the already shared background knowledge. Therefore, it does not fall under the scope of assertion.

Since the tripartite contrast encountered with the affirmative form is lacking in the negative verb, lack of tense distinction is the other additional feature making a negative verb distinct from its affirmative equivalent. Unlike affirmation, it is not bounded in time-spans as a morphological phenomenon. This is true with verbs of existential as well.

A verb root and a single slot for the negation marker are the only constituent part of a verbal construction in Kole language. Structurally, it is similar to the imperfective aspect in the

affirmative. The form of the affirmative the imperfective aspect also constitutes a verb root and a sentential type marker. A verb in the affirmative has a slot for aspect. Consider the following examples that are taken from Text 1, No. 14, line 1 for (5b), and No. 3, line 1 for (5c).

- 5a. **ʔés-i doro ʔatfo fam-a-ko-si-n-e**
 he-NOM sheep:GEN meat:ABS buy-INF-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'He buys sheep's meat.'
- 5b. **ʔés-i doro ʔatfo fam-a-ko-si-d-e**
 he-NOM sheep:GEN meat:ABS buy-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He bought sheep's meat.'
- 5c. **ʔés-i doro ʔatfo fam-a-ko-s-on-e**
 he-NOM sheep:GEN meat:ABS buy-INF-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'He will buy sheep's meat.'
- 5d. **ʔés-i doro ʔatfo fam-a-ʔa**
 he-NOM sheep:GEN meat:ABS buy-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'He does not buy sheep's meat.'
- 5e. **ʔés-i doro ʔatfo fam-e-nn-a**
 he-NOM sheep:GEN meat:ABS buy-3M:SG-NEG-3M:SG
 'He will not buy sheep's meat.'
- 5f. **ʔés-i doro ʔatfo ʃang-i b-a-ʔa**
 he-NOM sheep:GEN meat:ABS eat-CNV not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'He did not buy sheep's meat.'

8.2. Existential negation

The element **b-** is the negative existential copula. The element **b-** carries the negation marker **-á** which is also attested with main verbs. No slot for an aspect is attested in the existential verbal predicative parallel to the case with the negative main verbs. Syntactically, the only way of conveying the temporal information is by using time adverbials. Unlike what is noted with main verbs, temporal information is not given even periphrastically.

In Kole language, existential sentences are either affirmative or negative. They always appear with a dative argument as given in (6a) and (6b) below. Furthermore, the negative existential verb does not take a subject-agreement element. This is, however, not the case with the affirmative equivalent, as given in (6b) below.

6a. **ne- ?itje-ro ?oollo-i b-a-?a**
 2SG:GEN brother-DAT horse-NOM not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'Your brother has/had no horse.'

6b. **ne- ?itje-ro ?oollo-i jen-e/jes-e**
 2SG:GEN brother-DAT horse-NOM exist-AFF:DCL
 'Your brother has a horse.'

8.3. Negation of being/becoming

By the use of the verb root **maak'**- to which the negative marker **-á-** and the negative declarative marker **-?a** are suffixed consecutively, negation of the states of 'being' and 'becoming' are expressed. Consider the following example:

7. **nen-i booza maak'-a-?a**
 you-NOM lazy become-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'You are not lazy/You are not becoming lazy.'

The state of becoming uses only the verb **maak'**- followed by the affirmative marker as in example (8a). A zero morpheme expresses the state of being as in example (8b) unless it is focused; in that case, it is introduced with the element **-kko** as in example (8c). Sentential examples have been given below.

8a. **?és-i gooba maak'-e**
 he-NOM brave become-AFF:DCL
 'He becomes brave.'

8b. ʔés-i gooba
 he-NOM brave
 'He is brave.'

8c. ʔés-i gooba-kko
 he-NOM brave-FOC
 'He IS brave.'

In the negative construction, a negative sentence requires a verbal predicate. Therefore, a construction of 'being', which is non-verbal in the affirmative, uses a verb 'become' in the negative, as the two are somehow close semantically. The two constructions are distinct in the affirmative. Thus, they get neutralized in the negative.

As attested in its occurrence elsewhere, the verb **maak'**- is not a semantically depleted word. The word primarily associated to the meaning of 'return' and 'turn one's own body'. In this case, it behaves as a main verb marked for aspect, person and mood. Example (9a) illustrates the occurrences of the verb **maak'**- 'return' in the affirmative declarative and example (9b) illustrates imperative construction.

9a. dor-att-o foore pints-i-ko-ni maak'-i-d-e
 sheep-F:DF-ABS river:ABS cross-CNV-FOC-2SG return-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'After having let the sheep cross the river you returned.'

9b. pude maak'-a-ne
 upward return-IMP-2SG
 'Return upward.'

The use of **maak'**- in its sense of 'turn one's body' has been illustrated in the following sentential example.

10. **kiinne maduntsi tan-a maak'-idoppu**
 back wound I-ABS return-2SG:PROH
hid-i-ko-si waaj-us-e
 say-CNV-FOC-3M:SG create problem-CAUS-AFF:DCL
 'The back wound of me could not let me return into the other side.'

8.4. Negation and Aspect

In the negative¹², the verb morphologically distinguishes imperfective which are marked by {**b-aa-s-**} and {**-a-ʔa**} and perfective aspects which are marked by {**-nn-**} or {**-kk-**}. The negative marker of perfective aspect **b-aa-s-** follows after the converb marker {**-i**}. The other suffixes also occur immediately after the verb root or verb stem; they are followed by the negative declarative sentence type marker {**-so**} or {**-ʔa**} for the negative of perfective aspect and {**-a**} for the negative of both perfective and imperfective aspects. It is noted that the element {**-a**} is a negative marker. Consider the following examples:

- 11a. **ʔes-i ʔatfo mij-a-ʔa**
 he-NOM meat:ABS eat- IPF:NEG-NEG:DCL
 'He does not eat meat.' or 'He is not eating meat.'
- 11b. **ʔes-i ʔatfo mij-e-nn-a**
 he-NOM meat:ABS eat-3M:SG-IPF:NEG-3M:SG:DCL
 'He will not eat meat.'
- 11c. **ʔes-i ʔatfo muud-i b-a-aso**
 he-NOM meat:ABS eat-CNV not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'He did not eat meat.'

¹² The negative markers {**-nn-**} and {**-kk-**} are borrowed from Gamo language.

It can be noted that negative aspect in the imperfective categories are expressed in a similar form as it is illustrated in the above examples.

8.5. Negation and Mood

Kole language has distinctive imperative and optative negators. The elements **-idopp-** and **-idipp-** negate verbs which have the second singular and plural subjects respectively. On the other hand, the elements **-idepp-** and **-idipp-** negate verbs with the third masculine and feminine subject respectively. The negative imperative and optative are considered as prohibitive mood. Consider the following examples:

- 12a. **wos'-idoppú** **me?-a-ko-n-on-e**
run-2SG:PROH break-INF-FOC-2SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
'Do not run you will break.'
- 12b. **wos'-idippe** **me?-a-ko-s-on-e**
run-3M:SG:NEG:OPT break-INF-FOC-3SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
'Let him not run he will break.'

In line with a common typological feature, the subject noun phrase in the imperative and optative sentences is usually absent. The agreement markers indicate the respected subject although the subject is not occurring overtly.

8.6. Negative Interrogative

The perfective negative interrogative consists of a main verb and a negative copula **b-**. Special subject agreement markers are suffixed to the element **b-**. Then, the elements **-áá** for first and third person singular, **-óó** for first and third person plural, **-éé** for second person plural and third person singular, and **-íí** for second person singular are used in order to show the negative interrogative markers. Consider the following examples:

	Perfective Negative interrogatives	Gloss
13a.	gord-i-b-amm-áá	'Haven't I shut?'
13b.	gord-i-b-aj-áá	'Haven't she shut?'
13c.	gord-i-b-aj-inn-óó	'Haven't we shut?'
13d.	gord-i-b-aj-óó	'Haven't they shut?'
13e.	gord-i-b-aj-éé	'Haven't he shut?'
13f.	gord-i-b-ajit-éé	'Haven't you (PL) shut?'
13g.	gord-i-b-aj-íí	'Haven't you (SG) shut?'

8.7. The Inherently Negative Verbs

In Kole language, there are two inherently negative verbs. These are: **?ik'aro** a verb used to 'decline' and **?abo** 'fail/leave away'. They incorporate a sense of negation into their lexical structure. The verbs are characterized by other affirmative verbs, such as being inflected for aspect, person, and mood. An affirmative declarative marker occurs with the verbs.

The word **?ik'aro** 'decline', which is negative verb, is always occur with a focal verb structure/complex verb. Consider the following example:

14. **nun-i jes-e worg-a-?a**
 we-NOM live-INF want-NEG-NEG:DCL
?ik'ar-a-k-ini-d-e
 decline-INF-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL
 'We do not want to live. We refused.'

The occurrences of the verb **?abo**- 'fail' and/or 'leave away' has been illustrated in the following sentential example.

8.8. Special Negative Forms (insert at the end of Negation)

In addition to the above two negative words, there are other special words which can be labeled as inherently negative. For instance, a one-word negative response to a question is **?ii?e** or **?akkaje**, and its opposite is **hoo**. In Kole language, these words confirm or oppose a polarity of a sentence. While **?ii?e** or **?akkaje** shows opposite polarity; whereas, **hoo** indicates the same polarity. Consider the following examples:

- 19a. **nen-i gooba-wa**
you-NOM brave-AFOC:INTR
'Are you brave?'
- 19b. **hoo nen-i gooba-kko**
yes you-NOM brave-AFOC:DCL
'Yes, you are brave.'
- 19c. **?ii?e (?akkje) neni-i gooba b-a-?a-**
no you-NOM brave not_exist-NEG-AFOC:DCL
'No, you are NOT brave.'
- 19d. **nen-i gooba baa-nna-wa**
you-NOM brave not_exist-2SG- AFOC:INTR
'Are NOT you brave?'
- 19e. **hoo nen-i gooba b-a-?a**
yes, you-NOM brave not_exist-NEG-AFOC:DCL
'Yes, you are NOT brave.'
- 19f. **?akkaje (?ii?e) nen-i gooba-kko**
no you-NOM brave-AFOC:DCL
'No, you are brave.'

As it is illustrated in the above examples, the words **?ii?e**, **?akkaje** and **hoo** confirm the polarity in the language.

In Kole language, the inclusive marker {-kka} can be added mainly to interrogative pronouns to form inherently negative pronouns. The negative quantifier **?ookkoji-kka** ‘nobody’ is formed out of the pronoun **?ookko** ‘who’ and the inclusive morpheme {-kka}. Consider the following examples:

- 20a. **?ookko-i-kka zawa jeed-i b-a-?a**
 who-NOM-INCL house come-CNV not_exist-NEG-AFOC:DCL
 ‘Nobody came to the house.’
- 20b. **?es-i ?ookko-kka gujidd-i b-a-?a**
 he-NOM who-INC hit-CNV not_exist-NEG-AFOC:DCL
 ‘He hit nobody’ or ‘He did not hit anyone.’

As can be noted in the examples above, the quantifier can occur in both subject and object position, and it remains unchanged.

In Kole language, another negative pronoun **?aakko-i-kka** with meaning ‘nothing’ is made up of the pronoun **?aakko** ‘what’, the nominative marker **-i-**, and the suffix {-kka} ‘inclusive marker’. Consider the following examples:

21. **?aakko-i-kka zawa jeed-i b-a-?a**
 what-NOM-INC house come-CNV not_exist-NEG-AFOC:DCL
 ‘Nothing came to the house.’

Finally, there is the negative pronoun **?anko-kka** ‘nowhere’ parallel to other forms such as **waakko-kka** ‘however’. Consider the following example:

22. **tan-i ?anko-kka hang-i b-a-?a**
 I-NOM where-INC go-CNV not_exist-NEG-AFOC:DCL
 ‘I did not go anywhere.’

8.9. Negation in Subordinate Clauses

The absence of the negative declarative marker **-ʔa** identifies negative subordinate clause. The main verb appears as a converb and followed by the negative copula **b-** in the construction of a negative dependent clause. The element **b-** itself is attached to the negative marker. Following the negative marker, a clause type-marking element occurs. Examples of purposive and temporal negative clauses have been given below.

- 23a. **nén-i** **kamba** **hang-i** **b-a-are**
 you-NOM kamba go-CNV not_exist-NEG-PUR
ʔat-a-kk-a
 remain-2SG-NEG-2SG
 'You do not remain from going to Kemba.'

- 23b. **nú-i** **nén-a** **ʔojitʔtʃ'-i** **b-a-are-funnu**
 we-NOM you-ABS ask-CNV Not_exist-NEG-PUR-SR
ʔoh-idoppu
 tell-2SG:PROH
 'Do not tell us when we do not ask you.'

When the negative marking element **-á** and negative relative clause marker **-atte** are added together, the negative relative clause is formed. The element **-se** marks the affirmative relative clause. Therefore, a relative clause of affirmative or negative is not marked differently from the independent declarative counterpart. Compare a negative declarative clause with a negative relative main verb and an affirmative relative clause with its independent counterpart below.

- 24a. **nén-i** **mehe** **haar-atte** **ʔade** **gel-a-ʔa**
 you-NOM cattle possess-NEG:REL man enter-NEG-NEG:DCL
 'You do not marry a man who has no cattle.'

- 24b. **nén-i** **mehe** **haar-ise** **?ade-kko** **gel-on-e**
 you-NOM cattle possess-AFF:REL man-FOC enter-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘You will marry a man who has cattle.’

A negative relative clause takes nominal inflectional markers in the absence of the head noun in Kole language since it occurs as an elliptic noun phrase.

25. **nén-i** **mehe** **haar-atte-s-a** **gel-a-?a**
 you-NOM cattle possess-NEG:REL-M:ELP-ABS enter-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘You do not marry one (M) who has no cattle.’

The negative existential verb, **b-**, can also be relativized as in example (26a); it also occurs as an elliptic pronoun headless phrase as in example (26b) by taking an elliptic phrase marker to which other nominal inflectional markers of the head are attached.

- 26a. **ha-i** **dere-ga** **b-a-atte** **boobbe**
 this-NOM country-LOC Not_exist-NEG-NEG:REL potato:ABS
 ‘This is a potato which does not exist in this country.’
- 26b. **ha-i** **dere-ga** **b-a-atte-s-a**
 this-NOM country-LOC not_exist-NEG-NEG:REL-M:ELP-ABS
 ‘This is the one which does not exist in this country.’

8.10. Interrogative Pronouns as Expression of Negation

Interrogative pronouns in Kole language can appear as negative syntactic phrases when they occur suffixed to an inclusive marker, **-kka**. Semantically, such structures are equivalent to what are known as ‘inherently negative quantifiers’ such as ‘nobody’, ‘nothing’ etc in English (Payne, 1984: 204) cited in Hirut, (2004: 209).

In Kole language, such expressions include interrogative pronouns like **?oode** ‘who:ABS’ **?oode-i** ‘who:NOM’ and **?aala** or **?aakko** ‘what’. An inclusive marking suffix **-kka** occurs following the pronouns. Consider the following examples:

27a. ?oode-i-kka
 who-NOM-INCL
 ‘nobody:NOM’

27b. ?oode-kka
 who:ABS-INCL
 ‘nobody:ABS’

When the interrogative pronoun **-?áála** ‘what’ attaches the focus marker **-kko** to which the inclusive marker is suffixed, it expresses the word ‘nothing’ as shown in (28a). In the same way, suffixing the inclusive marker to numeral **pittiro** ‘one’, results in the same expression as in example (28b).

28a. ?áála-kko-kka
 what-FOC-INCL
 ‘nothing’

28b. pettiro-kka
 one-INCL
 ‘No one (nothing)’

In Kole language, a negative verb appears with such negative expressions. Consider the following examples.

29a. ?óóde-i-kka	?ootsts-a-?a
who-NOM-INCL	work-NEG-NEG:DCL
‘Nobody works. (Lit: who too does not work.)’	

29b. **nún-i ?aala-kko-kka ?ing-a-?a**
 we-NOM what-FOC-INCL give-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘We do not give anything.’

29c. **nén-i pettiro-kka maak'-a-?a**
 she-NOM one-INCL become-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘Nothing happens to you. (Lit: You become nothing.)’

8.11. The expression except

The notion of except in Kole language can be expressed by the word **?attun**. The expression is realized when the word **?attun** occurs preceding the word **hara** ‘other’ and following the ablative phrase as shown below.

30a. **?ís-i ?esa-pa ?attun hara gel-a-?a**
 I-NOM he-ABL leave other enter-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘She will not enter (marry) anybody other than him.’

30b. **tan-i maatstu-pa ?attun hara ?uf-a-?a**
 I-NOM milk-ABL leave other drink-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘I will not drink anything other than milk.’

8.12. Complete denial

The word **múle** ‘never’ that occurs before the verb expresses complete denial in Kole language. Consider the following examples:

31a. **?oolló ?atfo-i múle dos-utt-a-?a**
 horse:GEN meat-NOM never like-PASS-NEG-NEG:DCL
 ‘Horse’s meat is never being liked.’

31b. **ha-nn-i** **mala** **zeere** **nún-i**
this-F-NOM like talk I-NOM
múle **siid-i** **b-a-ʔa**
never hear-CNV not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
'We have never heard a talk like this.'

CHAPTER 9

Focus

There are different kinds of focuses in different languages. In relation to this, in a influential work on the focus system of Agem (Bantu language) Watters, (1979) identifies six kinds of focus in the language: unmarked focus, assertive focus, counter-assertive focus, exhaustive listing focus, polar focus and counter-polar focus (cited in Dik 1981: 48). On the other hand, some scholars divide focus into 'assertive focus' and 'contrastive focus by giving general characterization of the kinds of focus. In line with these scholars, the dissimilarity between the two focus kinds lies in the contextual information that a speaker supposes that the hearer knows. Assertive focus declares an 'information projected against a neutral background'. A person gives importance to information that has 'conflicting value' between the knowledge of listener and speaker in contrastive focus. The two types of focus are marked by means of distinct markers in some languages.

9.1. The Strategy of Focus Marking in Kole Language

East Ometo languages, such as Zayse (Hayward 1990, 1999); Koyra (Hayward 1982) and Zergula (Baye 1994), focus is morphologically expressed by attaching a copula marker to the focused phrase.

In Kole language, focus is marked by the element **-kko**. The focal construction is distinguished from its non-focal counterpart by the **-kko**. The element **-kko** occurs next to the nominal or adjectival complement. Consider the following examples:

- | | |
|-------------------|--------------|
| 1a. ha-i | kaati |
| this-NOM | king:ABS |
| 'This is a king.' | |

In the following sections, the three predicates have been treated briefly.

9.1.1. The Simple Predicate

The simple predicate is characterized by having a two-way aspect system that distinguishes between the perfective and imperfective aspects by overtly found morphological signals. The perfective aspect is marked by the element **-d-** which can indicate the completed actions. The imperfective aspect is marked by the elements **-n-** and **-on-**. A sentence type marker **-e** follows the aspect marker in the declarative affirmative.

Example (3a) shows that the simple predicate attested in athetic statement whereby no constituent is especially focused. The simple predicate has wider occurrences. Athetic statement is a statement that characterizes a situation as a whole but it is not ABOUT an entity (Sasse, 1984: 549 cited from Hirut 2004: 214). It is also attested when both the verb and the subject are excluded from the scope of focus, that is, with a focused object noun phrase (3b) or with a focused adverbial argument (3c).

3a. **bitane-i** **?atfo** **fang-i-d-e**
man-NOM meat:ABS buy-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
'A man bought meat.'

3b. **bitane-z-i** **?atfo-kko** **fang-i-d-e**
man-M:DF-NOM meat:ABS-FOC buy-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
'The man bought MEAT.'

3c. **bitane-z-i** **ta- ?itfe-pa-kko** **?atfo** **fang-i-d-e**
man-M:DF-NOM 1SG-brother-ABL-FOC meat:ABS buy-SUFF-PF-AFF:DCL
'The man bought meat from MY BROTHER.'

The question 'What did the man buy?' is used to elicit sentence 3b as a response and the question 'From whom did the man buy the meat?' is used to elicit 3c as a response. In each case, the focused constituent appears to be marked with the suffix **-kko**.

9.1.2. The Complex Verb

The complex verb exclusively used when the verb is in the domain of focus. It involves different components, namely an infinitive verb (Verb root + INF marker) + a focus marker + Pronominal + Aspect marker + Mood.

A complex verb in Kole language in (4a) has a cognate structure that involves double occurrence of the verb stem as in (4b). These examples are taken from Text 3, No. 15, line 1

4a. ham-a-ko-ti-n-e

come-INF-FOC-1SG-IPF-AFF:DCL

'I go. /I am going.'

4b. ham-o-ko-ti

go-INF-FOC-1SG

'I go.'

hang-e

go-AFF:DCL

The form in Kole language contains two occurrences of a verb form, firstly as an infinitival form, and secondly, as a main verb. The sentence given above (4b) has, therefore, a reading equivalent to 'He comes, coming.' In the course of innovation of such verb forms, Kole language left out the main verb, while preserving the inflections, **-n-** and **-e**, the imperfect aspect and affirmative declarative marker respectively.

Since Kole language is aspectual language, the complex verbs, in Kole language are not inflected for tense marking. The verbs make a two-way aspectual distinction between the imperfective and perfective. Expressing pragmatic prominence on the action itself are the main function of such verbs. Aspect, which indicates whether the action is completed or still going on, is the crucial information.

The perfective and imperfective aspects are marked by the suffixes **-d-** and **-n-** respectively. This indicates that the complex verbs which are used when the verb is focused represent the archaic

form of the verb. A declarative affirmative marker, **-e**, occurs following the aspect marker. Consider the perfective and imperfective paradigms of the verb **ham-** 'go'.

	Persons	Perfective	Gloss
5a.	1SG	ham-a-ko-ti'-d-e	'I went.'
5b.	2SG	ham-a-ko-ni'-d-e	'You went (2SG).'
5c.	3F:SG	ham-a-k-isi'-d-e	'She went.'
5d.	3M:SG	ham-a-ko-si'-d-e	'He went.'
5e.	1PL	ham-a-k-ini'-d-e	'We went'
5f.	2PL	ham-a-k-iti'-d-e	'You went (2PL).'
5g.	3PL	ham-a-ko-ji-d-i's-o	'They went.'
	Persons	Imperfective	Gloss
6a.	1SG	ham-a-ko-ti'-n-e	'I go/I am going.'
6b.	2SG	ham-a-ko-ni'-n-e	'You go/ You are going (2SG)./'
6c.	3F:SG	ham-a-k-isi'-n-e	'She goes./She is going'
6d.	3M:SG	ham-a-ko-si'-n-e	'He goes./He is going'
6e.	1PL	ham-a-k-ini'-n-e	'We go./We are going'
6f.	2PL	ham-a-k-iti'-n-e	'You go/You are going' (2PL).'
6g.	3PL	ham-a-ko-ji'-s-o	'They go./They are going'
	Persons	Imperfective	Gloss
7a.	1SG	ham-a-ko-t-o'n-e	'I shall go.'
7b.	2SG	ham-a-ko-n-o'n-e	'You will go.'(2SG)
7c.	3F:SG	ham-a-k-is-o'n-e	'She will go.'
7d.	3M:SG	ham-a-ko-s-o'n-e	'He will go.'
7e.	1PL	ham-a-k-in-o'n-e	'We will go.'
7f.	2PL	ham-a-k-it-o'n-e	'You will go (2PL).'
7g.	3PL	ham-a-ko-j-o'd-o	'They will go.'

In its occurrence as part of the complex verb, the final vowel of the focus marker **-kko** is dropped before third person feminine, first plural and second plural persons, when a vowel initial

person markers occur. This suggests that the componential units are merging with each other to appear as a unitary element. However, vowel of the focus marker is present, so does the initial segment of the person marker.

The imperfective marker **-n-** is deleted from the third person plural form of the verb in Kole language. Besides, the final vowels of all person markers are deleted when the imperfective marker **-on-** is suffixed to them. It seems that when speaking about himself, the speaker avoids the highest value of prominence to himself. Unlike the case with simple/non-focal verbs, the complex verbs are not subjected to modal categories. The only form encountered being distinct from the affirmative is the interrogative, which is expressed by omitting the focus marker **-kko** from the respective affirmative form and results in vowel lengthening in affirmative position in order to mark interrogative form. Consider the following examples.

	Persons	PF Interrogative	Gloss
8a.	1SG	ham- a-ti-d-ée	'Did I go?'
8b.	2SG	ham- a-ni-d-ée	'Did you go?'
8c.	3F:SG	ham- a-isi-d-ée	'Did she go?.'
8d.	3M:SG	ham-a-si-d-ée	'Did he go?'
8e.	1PL	ham-a-ini-d-ée	'Did we go?'
8f.	2PL	ham-a-iti-d-ée	'Did you go?' (2PL)
8g.	3PL	ham-a-ji-d-is-óó	'Did they go?'
	Persons	IPF Interrogative	Gloss
9a.	1SG	ham-a-t-on-ée	'Do/shall I go?'
9b.	2SG	ham-a-n-on-ée	'Do/will you go?'
9c.	3F:SG	ham-a-is-on-ée	'Does/will she go?'
9d.	3M:SG	ham-a-s-on-ée	'Does/will he go?'
9e.	1PL	ham-a-in-on-ée	'Do/shall we go?'
9f.	2PL	ham-a-it-on-ée	'Do/will you go (2PL)?'
9g.	3PL	ham-a-j-od-óó	'Do/will they go?'

9.1.3. The Nominalized Relative Clause

When the subject of a sentence is in focus, a nominalized relative clause form of the verb is used. It is not inflected for person, aspect and mood or modality. It behaves more like nominal, and is marked for case. It occurs when the head of a relative clause is omitted from a noun phrase. In Kole language attaching suffix **-se** onto a verb root forms a relative clause, which modifies a head noun (10a). When the head noun in the construction is missing, the relative clause occurs in a different form as (10b). The element **-s-** attached to the affirmative marker preceded by a case marker. It is considered as a place holding suffix for an omitted head noun. Consider the underlined noun phrases in the following examples.

- 10a. **ne-** **s'ega** **bajs-ise** **bitane-z-i**
2SG:GEN goat:ABS sell-REL man-M:DF-AFF:DCL
'The man who sold your goat'
- 10b. **ne-** **s'ega** **bajs-es-i**
2SG:GEN goat:ABS buy-M:ELP-NOM
'The (one) who sold your goat'

A subject noun phrase gets attached to the focus maker suffix **-kko** and a headless relative clause occurs as a predicate of the structure when a subject noun phrase occurs in focus as in (11b).

- 11a. **jaato-kko** **doro** **fang-es-i**
boy-FOC sheep:ABS buy-REL-M:ELP-NOM
THE BOY bought a sheep.' (Lit: It is the boy who bought a sheep.)'
- 11b. **ne-** **doro-kko** **jel-es-i**
2SG:GEN sheep-FOC give birth-REL-M:ELP-NOM
'YOUR SHEEP gave birth (Lit: It is my sheep that gave birth.)'

9.2. The Focus Domains

Kole language has two focus domains which can be considered as information focus and contrastive focus. Information focus is the non-presupposed part of the sentence or new information; whereas contrastive focus represents a subset of the set of contextually or situationally given elements for which the predicate phrase can potentially hold (Kiss 1998: 249).

9.2.1. The Default Focus Structure in Kole Language

In a categorical statement of Kole language, there is always a focalized constituent. However, not more than one element is allowed in a focus domain. This situation, according to Givón (1984: 258), confirms to the one-chunk-per-clause processing principle.

In Kole language, a declarative sentence always occurs with one phrase in a focus domain. Thus, it is a focus-prominent language. A sentence in this language contains one focused phrase whether it occurs independently, i.e., out of a discourse context or whether it occurs in discourse. This includes a sentence elicited when the informants are motivated to express an event or a process or translate athetic sentence provided to him in another language. A phrase that occurs in the focus domain is predictable from the structure of the sentence when occurring independently. That is the focus system in Kole language interacts with the syntax and what appears in the focus domain is determined by the sentence structure. Therefore, a sentence in Kole language always has a default focus structure. A sentence should occur in a discourse in order to have a reading distinct from the unmarked focus structure. In this case, any constituent can occur in the focus domain if the speaker wants it to be focused and what is focused is unpredictable from the syntactic structure a proposition has. The following sections illustrate elements which acquire focus by default.

9.2.1.1. Verbs with a Subject

Verbs, which occur with a subject or topic argument, are attested occurring in a focus domain. These include intransitive and passive verbs that have only a single argument, which occurs as a subject/topic in a sentence. The verb may denote a state in which the subject is an agent subject as in (12a), or in the process that is not under voluntary control as in (12b) or patient/recipient (12c). Example (12a) is taken from Text 3, No. 19, line 2.

- 12a. **nen-i** **?ut-o-ko-ni-d-e**
you-NOM sit-INF-FOC-2SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'You have sat.'
- 12b. **nun-i** **?ord-o-k-ini-d-e**
we-NOM get fat-INF-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL
'We have become fat.'
- 12c. **huge-z-i** **jog-utt-o-ko-si-d-e**
floor-M:DF-NOM sweep-PASS-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'The floor was washed.'

In Kole language, the metrological verbs occur in a focused structure. However, sometimes they do have non-focal form. Some examples of such verb constructions are given below.

- 13a. **?alla-i** **geez-o-ko-si-d-e**
earth-NOM dawn-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'It becomes morning. (Lit: The earth has become a morning)'
- 13b. **?alla-i** **ɖum-a-ko-si-d-e**
earth-NOM dark-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'It becomes dark. (Lit: The earth has become dark)'
- 13c. **?alla-i** **siip-a-ko-si-d-e**
earth-NOM late afternoon-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
'The earth has become late afternoon.'

Passivization changes the default focus structure of a clause as mentioned in (12c) above. In the active construction, the object noun phrase is focused and so a simple verb stem is used. The focus shifts from the object to the verb when the verb undergoes passivization. Compare the following structures.

- 14a. **miiffe-i** **?oots-antf-edf-ro**
 money-NOM work-AGN-PL-DAT
gud3-utt-o-ko-si-d-e
 add-PASS-INF-FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Money is increased to the workers (Lit: money has been increased to the workers).’
- 14b. **tan-i** **?oots-antf-edf-ro** **miiffe-ko-ti** **gud3-i-d-e**
 I-NOM work-AGN-PL-DAT money-FOC-1SG add-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I made a salary increment to the workers.’

9.2.1.2. Focus on Adverbial Arguments

When there is an adverbial argument in a clause it always occurs in the focus domain. In the presence of an adverbial argument an intransitive cannot be focused. For instance, in (15a) and (15b) the adverbial argument but not the verb, occurs in the focus domain. For this consider the following examples: example 15a is taken from Text 4, No. 16, line 1

- 15a. **?is-i** **hi-na-kko** **hang-e**
 she-NOM that-LOC-FOC go-AFF:DCL
 ‘She is going to THERE.’
- 15b. **tan-i** **zawa-pa-kko** **kes-i-d-e**
 I-NOM house-ABL-FOC get out-IFN-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘I got out from a HOUSE.’

When a clause contains both a purposive adverbial argument and a locative argument, the former occurs in the focus domain. Consider the following examples:

16a. **tan-i** **?ajissi** **famm-ada** **gaaja-ko-ti**
 I-NOM butter:ABS buy-INCH market-FOC-1SG
hang-i-d-e
 go-INF-PF-AFF:DCL

'I went to the MARKET to buy butter.'

16b. **tan-i** **kuratfo** **?ajikk-ada-ko-ti** **wodf-i-d-e**
 I-NOM partridge:ABS hold-INCH-FOC-1SG go down-INF-PF-AFF:DCL

'I went down TO CATCH a partridge.'

In a sentence that has a direct object, if there is no adverb, which attracts focus, the direct object occurs in a focus domain. The rationale for focus sensitivity of adverbs is presumably that it must be communicatively most salient if an optional argument is added to a clause.

9.2.1.3. Focus on Direct Object

The direct object occurs in the focus domain if there is a direct object involved in a sentence, and if there is no adverbial argument. Both the verbs as well as the subject are excluded from the scope of focus in the presence of the direct object. Example 17 is taken from Text 4, No. 23, line 3.

17a. **godere-i** **doro-ko-si** **muu-d-e**
 hyena-NOM sheep-FOC-3M:SG eat-PF-AFF:DCL

'A hyena ate a SHEEP.'

17b. **tan-i** **bazo-ko-ti** **ga?-i-d-e**
 I-NOM God-FOC-1SG pray-INF-PF-AFF:DCL

'I prayed to God.'

One can argue that an object noun phrase, which occurs in the focus domain, is focused because it is one of the several alternatives that can occur on the same slot, and present in the speaker's mind at the time of utterance. On the contrary, it does not always hold true as those objects,

which do not have alternatives, are attested occurring in the focus domain. Consider the following examples:

- 18a. **wuzins'i k'uma-ko-si ?iiss-e**
 fly:NOM food-FOC-3SG spoil-AFF:DCL
 'A fly spoils FOOD.'
- 18b. **tan-i ?ofuntfu-ko-ti ?itʃʃ-i-d-e**
 I-NOM mucus-FOC-1SG clean-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I cleaned MUCUS.'

One hardly presupposes alternative topics as a set of individuals contrasting pragmatically with 'honey' and 'saliva' respectively in the context of the above sentences. What the speaker presupposes to be common knowledge is the fact that the 'bee' makes 'honey' but nothing else. Although the object is predictable and has no contrastive alternative, it occurs in the focus domain. Such a situation in Kole language does not seem to fit into the theoretical consideration that a sentence containing focused material has a focus semantic value, also called focus set of alternatives. An object noun phrase can be focused regardless of its having other potential alternatives in Kole language. That is, focus does not necessarily indicate the presence of alternative topics or so-called contrastive topics. This suggests that focus in this language is much more grammatical but not just pragmatically motivated.

9.2.1.4. Focus on Complement of the Verbs 'exist', 'become/ being'

A focused complement can always be expressed by the verbs **jes-** 'exist' and **mak'-** 'become/being'. The verb **jes-** is followed by the affirmative declarative makers-**e**. Consider the following examples:

- 19a. **giro-i daro ?olla-ko-si jes-e**
 mole-NOM many well-FOC-3M:SG exist-AFF:DCL
 'Mole is found in many wells.'

19b. **bifa?-att-i** **zawa** **gidda-pa-k-isi** **kes-e**
 boy-M:DF-NOM house LOC-ABL-FOC-3M:SG get out-AFF:DCL
 'The girl is coming OUT from the house.'

19c. **tan-i** **goff-antfa-ko-ti** **maak'-i-d-e**
 I-NOM farm-AGN-FOC-1SG become-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I became a FARMER.'

In general, an adverbial argument primarily attracts focus. If there is no adverbial argument, then, the direct object will be the second candidate. If the verb involved is intransitive/passive/reciprocal has no object, then, the verb itself will be focused. With existential sentences, sentences with 'being' and 'becoming', the complement will attract the focus. An indirect object in Kole language does attract focus.

9.2.1.5. Compound Verb Focus Marking Strategy

A focus marking system that introduces a dependent verbal form to the sentence and adds the focus morpheme to it is referred to the compound verb strategy. The newly introduced subordinate verb stem must be the same as the main verb. Consider the following examples:

20a. **nun-i** **s'ega** **bajso-k-ini** **bajs-on-e**
 we-NOM goat:ABS sell-FOC-1PL sell-FUT-IPF-AFF:DCL
 'We will SELL a goat.'

20b. **nun-i** **s'ega** **bajso-wa-ini** **bajs-on-ee**
 we-NOM goat:ABS sell-AFOC:INT-1PL sell-IPF-INTR
 'Will we SELL a goat?'

The focus marking strategy is not employed on the main verb as in example (20a) and (20b) above. Rather, a new verbal element is introduced to the sentence and it is made to carry the focus marker, i.e. the new verbal element is subordinate verb.

9.2.2. Feebly changed grammatical function of Focus System

The element {-kko} is analyzed as a focus marker in this study. It is felt that identifying {-kko} as a copula element will miss some tangible generalizations. Besides, {-kko}, to be an enclitic copula, occurs in zero copula constructions like the following examples: (example 21a is taken from Text 5, No. 3, line 3)

21a. **ha-i** **zawa-kko**
this-NOM house-AFOC:DCL
'This is HOUSE.'

21b. **ha-i** **zawa-wa**
this-NOM house-AFOC:INTR
'Is this HOUSE?'

As can be noted in the above example, the element {-kko} is suffixed to the copula complement, and there is no verbal element occurring in the sentence. In such structures, the nominative case morpheme moves from the copula subject to copula complement. The order of copula subject and copula complement is strict. Consider the following examples:

22a. **?oollo-i** **mehe-kko**
horse-NOM animal-AFOC:DCL
'Horse is an ANIMAL.'

22b. **?oollo-kko** **mehe-i**
horse-AFOC:DCL animal-NOM
'HORSE is an animal.'

9.2.3. Focus in Discourse

Focus is a context dependent phenomenon in a multi-propositional discourse in contrast to the situation with the default focus discussed above. Here, the speaker focuses on one member among a set of few alternatives normally closed by the discourse context. Any constituent of a sentence can be marked for focus if the speaker thinks it to bear the highest value of information unlike in the situation with the default focus. For example, if the context allows, a transitive verb or a subject of an intransitive verb can be in focus. Hence, the default focus structure is affected in the discourse. It is possible that the default focus structure coincides with focus in a discourse. In each case, however, the readings differ. A wide-focus reading is blocked in the discourse. It is extracted from the default focus. This is because, unlike in the former case, in the case of a discourse, only a limited number of alternatives occur contrastively. For instance, in its occurrence in a discourse the sentence we saw earlier (19c) has a different reading from the one it has in a non-contextual or wide-focus reading.

23. bitane-z-i ?atfo-kko jang-i-d-e
man-NOM meat-FOC buy-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
'The man bought MEAT.'

When used as an answer for the alternative question 'Did the man buy meat or butter?' the sentence has a narrow-focus reading. It means he bought meat, but not butter. The wide-focus readings are blocked here as the context limits a number of alternatives. When given context independently, as a description of an event, it indicates a non-contrastive focus and has a wide-focus reading. Consider the following examples taken from text one: (It is noted that example 24a is taken from Text 1, No. 17, line 1; example 24b is taken from Text 1, No. 18, line 1; example 24c is taken from Text 1, No. 18, line 1; example 24d is taken from Text 1 No. 18, line 2,3).

- 24a. **ʔogoro bira took-i hang-es-a dema-jti-n-ee**
 leather sack Birr carry-NOM go-REL-ABS find-2PL-IPF-INTR
 ‘Do find the one who carry a leather sack full of Birr?’
- 24b. **hoo dema-k-ini-d-e ko-hi-s-o**
 yes find-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL FOC-say-3PL-AFF:DCL
 ‘They said “Yes, we find them.”’
- 24c. **ʔana-k-us-i baa-d-e**
 where-FOC-3PL-NOM go-PF-AFF:DCL
 ‘Where did they go?’
- 24d. **ha-nn-o ʔajikk-i-kko sule wora gidda-nna**
 this-F:DF-ABS catch-CNV-FOC down forest inside-INST
ʔullat-is-o ko-si-n -e
 go-3PL-AFF:DCL FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
 ‘They went downward through there.’

9.2.4. Focus in Content Interrogatives

Wh-questions are used to elicit new information in the context. When the entire clause with the exception of a single element requested, the default-focus structure occurs. When the specific element is requested, it behaves like a focused element. Structure of the verb shows what is requested in the same way as it shows what is focused. For example, when the subject is requested, a nominalized relative clause appears as a predicate as in example (25a), whereas when the object or the adverbial argument is requested, a simple verb stem is used as in example (25c) and (25e). The element, which is given as an answer to the given question, occurs attached with the focus marker **-kko** as in examples (25b), (25d) and (25f).

- 25a. **ʔoode-wa ʔibo gord-es-i**
 who-INTR door:ABS shut-REL-NOM
 ‘Who is shutting the door?’

- 25b. **ne- jaato-kko ?ibo gord-es-i**
 2SG:GEN son-FOC door:ABS shut-REL-NOM
 'YOUR SON is shutting the door.'
- 25c. **?és-i ?aala-ko-si worg-i-d-ee**
 he-NOM what-FOC-3M:SG want-INF-PF-INTR
 'WHAT did he want?'
- 25d. **?és-i ?apilla-ko-si worg-i-d-e**
 he-NOM cloth:ABS-FOC-3M:SG want-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'He wanted CLOTH.'
- 25e. **néé-ro ?ajde-ko-ti ?oh-i-d-ee**
 I-DAT when-FOC-1SG tell-INF-PF-INTR
 'WHEN did I tell you (that)?'
- 25f. **néé-ro k'amma-ko-ti ?oh-i-d-e**
 I-DAT yesterday-FOC-1SG tell-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 'I told you (that) YESTERDAY?'

In general, Kole language has a default-focus structure. The element **-kko** marks focus in Kole language. One can identify what is focused from the structure of a predicate. If the verb is focused, it appears in a special complex/focal form. If what is focused is a subject, the verb turns up into a nominalized relative clause, and the subject would have a semantically empty predicate. A simple/non-focal verb is used when a constituent other than a verb or a subject is focused.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This section summarizes and concludes the main findings of this project. The project has two main purposes: Documenting the language and describing the grammar of the language. Accordingly, detailed account of the different aspects of phonology, morphology and syntax are presented.

The first chapter deals with the sociolinguistic situation, the culture, the religion, the language situation, theoretical and methodological preliminaries. Kole language belongs to the Omotic language family within the Afro-Asiatic phylum under East Omoto group. The language is spoken by 10,729 people in Bonke *Wereda* (district) of the Gamo Gofa Zone which is located within the Southern Nations, Nationalities and Peoples' Regional State in Ethiopia. The language is an endangered language due to the influence of dominant languages, religious reason and the language is not language of education.

The second chapter describes the sound system of Kole language. Consequently, thirty two consonant phones or speech sounds and twenty seven consonant phonemes are identified. Besides, twelve vowel phones and five vowel phonemes are described. Consonant gemination and vowel lengthening are identified as phonemic status. High pitch is a once-pre-phrase element whose location is always in the first word. There are only two possibilities for the location of high pitch and can be concluded that penultimate or ultimate vowel carries the high pitch. The Kole language allows two sequences of identical (geminated) or non-identical consonants juxtaposed to each other only word medially.

The third chapter discusses the morphology of nouns in Kole language. The overwhelming majority of simple nouns in Kole language are disyllabic. Monosyllabic nouns are not attested. Most polysyllabic nouns that are nouns with three or more syllables are attested to be polymorphemic as well. When a noun undergoes a process of plural suffixation, its terminal vowel may not remain stable. It can be automatically deleted. Each morpheme which stands for

each of the inflectional exponence is agglutinated to a noun stem in the following order: NOUN-NUMBER- DEFINITENESS-CASE. Gender marking suffixes in Kole language are portmanteau morphemes that simultaneously mark gender and definiteness or gender and case.

The nominative case marker {-i} does not differentiate its gender and number features in Kole language. In other words, the nominative case marker {-i} is used for masculine, feminine and plural nouns without any form changes. Nominative case shows a reduction or simplification in the system of case marking. The subject markers in Kole language have undergone simplification that the subject is co-referred via bound pronominal elements, which are prefixed on the verb. It can be claimed that Kole language is an agglutinating language. Though, there are some exceptional portmanteau morphemes, like the declarative focus {-ko}, the interrogative focus {-wa or -a} and nominative case {-i} markers which carry more than one grammatical meaning.

The fourth chapter treats the issue of pronoun system in Kole language. Pronouns in Kole language make seven-ways person distinction. Person, number, gender and case are the four pervasive systems underlying the Kole pronouns. Gender identification is only indicated in the third person. Pronouns in Kole language do not distinguish between inclusive and exclusive forms. There is no special honorific form in Kole. The plural forms are used as honorific forms for second and third person as well.

The fifth chapter describes the verb morphology of Kole. Kole language has a largely suffixal, transparent, agglutinative morphology that allows concatenation of two to four suffixes on verb stems. The simple and complex verb stems types are identified in Kole language. The distribution of the two forms is pragmatically determined. The latter is focus-oriented, whereas the former is not. With regard to the derivation of the verb, it has been noted that the morphemes {-us-} and {-utt-} are employed, in that order, to derive the causative and passive stems. In addition to this, the derivation of inchoative and reciprocal verbs is discussed in detail. Since Kole language is an aspect-prominent language, typologically, the verbs in Kole language make two way aspectual distinctions which are known as perfective and imperfective aspects. This has

been confirmed by the fact that all time-related categories in the language fall into either one of the two aspects: perfective or imperfective.

The sixth chapter discusses words functioning as nominal and verbal modifiers. All adjectives in Kole language have a verbal counterpart, with which they share the basic phonological structure and semantic content. Several deixis morphemes connected with different references are identified in this language. It seems that numerals in Kole language exhibit a quinar system. Numerals in Kole language have one form for counting and quantifying forms except number one. There is no word category of adverbs in Kole language. However, there are expressions that are categorically noun but function as adverbials.

The seventh chapter deals with different sentence types in Kole language. Among these types, the declarative and interrogative are the main ones. On top of that, complex sentence types are investigated in this chapter.

The eighth chapter discusses negation. Polarity is one of the categories for which verbs in Kole language are specified and so affirmative and negative verb forms occur in a paradigmatic relationship. Negation marking in Kole language interacts with modal morphology. Therefore, negation in a declarative verb is marked differently from the ones in imperative, optative and interrogative.

The ninth chapter describes the focus marking systems and strategies. Focus marking in Kole language is morphologically realized. The marking of focus in this language is not only determined pragmatically, but also grammatically. The language has an obligatory focus marking system and one component of a finite sentence is marked for it. Most of the time focus marking element takes the first place following the verb stem. The other suffixing elements are occurred following it. However, focus marking element sometimes occurs with nouns in different contexts.

The tenth chapter presents the summary and conclusion of the whole work of the dissertation. In this section some important findings are discussed briefly.

Finally, following the reference section, all appendices used in this study are attached. All the outcomes of the documentation parts which include, the annotations and sample dictionary which is produced from the annotation by using ELAN software are presented. Finally all content and function words presented in the five texts are prepared as sample dictionary in this project.

In general, the classification of Kole language and other morphological and grammatical issues are open for further investigation and linguistic analysis.

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Appendices: Texts

In this project five texts are used. The first text narrates about foolish husband and wife.

From this text Kole people can learn about the disadvantages of foolishness and they teach their new generation by narrating such types of tales.

The second text entitled "The rich man and the poor man" describes the relationship between rich and poor men. This text also gives the knowledge of co-existence by supporting each other through societal interaction.

Third text presents the legend about one of Kucha kings and his wise wife. The king whose story is remained as a legend was very cruel for his people and he was ordering his people too challenging duties. On the other hand his wife was very kind wise. She was helping the people by giving important techniques and advice.

The fourth text describes about the traditional rules and regulations especially about the foreign affairs which enable the people live their neighboring societies. On top of that, the text describes the steps and procedures conflict resolutions.

The last text is about the legend which describes about the origin of Gamo kings and the types of clans who are living in the Kole area. The legend presents that all Gamo kings are originated from the Kole land which is known as Zihe. The clan which was taken the position kingship is called Zulesa.

The free translation is made to reflect the original structure, i.e. the researcher used most of the time more than sentences. This is because of the nature of texts presented in the annotation work.

Appendix 1: Text 1 ?eeja ?adenne ?eeja biffjo

'The Fool Husband and Wife'

Narrator: Adanech Aba; Age: 45

1. lo?o ?aala mala-ko-ni ak'i-d-ee ?eero hiti suntsi
fine how well-FOC-2SG pass-PF-Q Ok Your:2POL name

?ookkona

what

'Well; good morning. Ok, what your name?'

2. ta- suntsi ?adanatfjo-k:o hit-utt-e
my name woman name-FOC call-PASS-AFF:DCL

hajsu?-ede	hituni	er-ese	miiffi
tale-PL	2POL:NOM	know-RCL	thing

petti	miiffi	mala
one	thing	like

3. **hoo** **oho-ko-t-on-e** **?oh-ada** **petti**
 yes tell-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL tell- INCH one
miiFFE-k:o **jesa** **petti** **?ade**
 thing-FOC present one man
?e:jo-ra **petti** **bif:o** **?eej-ra-kko**
 Foolish:M-COM one woman fool-COM-FOC
jesisa **petti** **biffo** **?eej-ra**
 present one woman foolish:F-COM

'Yes! I will tell you. To tell you, there is one thing.' 'There are one foolish man and one foolish woman in one area.'

4. **petti** **?ade** **?eejo-ra** **nam?a-z-i**
 one man foolish:M-COM two-DF-NOM
wolari **?ep-utt-i** **jeffi-kko** **?udda**
 together marry-PASS-CNV live-FOC all
wode **jeedi** **jeedi** **?oof-utt-eso**
 time come-PF me-PF quarrel-PASS-3PL:AFF:DCL
?udda **wode**
 all time

'Then this one foolish woman and one foolish man married and started living together.' After coming back, they always quarrel with each other'

5. **?oof-utt-usun** **?oofutt-usun** **?oof-utt-usun-ko** **?ade-z-i**
 Quarrel-PASS-SR Quarrel-PASS-SR Quarrel-PASS-SR-FOC man-3M:DF-NOM
?usa **ha** **biff-att-e** **wozane**
 also this woman-3F:DF-VOC heart
famm-ane **hinnu** **?ik'ara-ni-nne** **taa-ro**
 buy-2SG:IMP say say no-2SG-2SG-CONJ me-DAT
harisi **lo?i-d-e** **hik:e** **hine**
 and also good-PF-AFF:DCL then say-IPF
?es -i **hik:e** **hisun-ko** **be-ro**
 he-NOM then while say-FOC self3SG-DAT

mandara-j

passenger-NOM

When they always quarrel repeatedly, the man said, "Did not I tell you that you should buy heart, but you refused it," So, what is better for me?' 'He said like this.'

- | | | | |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| 6. ʔoge | hang-iff i | sii-d-i | ʔekki |
| road | go-IPF | hear-PF-CNV | take-CNV |
| wozane | hif-ko-si | ʔetstsere | ʔeki |
| heart | say-FOC | lizard | take |
| dulla | ʔekki | | jee-n-e |
| container | take | | come-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL |
| ʔekki | jeed-ko-si | | wozane |
| take | come-PF-FOC-3M:SG | | heart |
| dulla-ga | fama-ni-on-e | | biff-att-e |
| container-LOC | buy-2SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL | | woman-3F:DF-VOC |
| ko-si-n-e | | | |
| FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL | | | |

'When he says like this, the passengers who were going to their way heard the advice. Assuming that it is heart, he brings putting the lizard in the container and gives her to buy'. After bringing the lizard with the container, "You woman, will buy the heart?" , he said.'

- | | | | |
|----------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 7. hoo | ko-si-n-e | ʔans'i | bira-ko-si |
| yes | FOC-3SG-IPF-AFF:DCL | how much | Birr-FOC-3M:SG |
| ʔekk-ee | ko-ti-n-e | | |
| take-Q | FOC-1SG IPF- AFF:DCL | | |

'He said yes! Then, I said "How much Birr does it cost?"

- | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 8. ʔogoro | kumuttsu | bira-ko-si | ʔekk-e |
| leather sack | full | Birr-FOC-3M:SG | take-AFF:DCL |
| ko-hi-d-is -o | | | |
| FOC-3PL-PF-3PL-3PL:AFF:DCL | | | |

'They said, "It costs a full of one leather sack Birr.'

- | | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| 9. ʔepp-ajte | hidi-k-isi | ʔogoro | kumuttsu |
| take-2PL:IMP | say-FOC-3F:SG | leather sack | full |
| bira-z-a | ʔing-i-d-e | | |
| Birr-M:DF-ABS | give-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL | | |

'After saying let you take it. She gave them a full of leather sack Birr'

10.	?ogoro leather sack	kumutstu full	bira-z-a Birr-M:DF-ABS	?is-i She-NOM
	?ing-usun give-SR	?ade-z-i man-M:DF-NOM	?ek:i take	pude up
	wookka upward	?adfd-usun-ko pass-SR-FOC	?asse-kka also-INC	?i- her
	?ade-z-i husband-DF-NOM	gakki arrive	wudfd-e reach-AFF:DCL	

'When she gives a full of leather sack Birr, the man has taken it. When the man goes upward to his way, her husband has also come.'

11.	?i she	?ade-z-i husband-M:DF-NOM	gakki arrive-NOM	wudfd-i reach
	biff-att-e woman-3F:DF-VOC	?oj oho	ta- I	?og ideo
	?ogoro leather sack	kumutstu full	?ing-i give-CNV	hikke then
	wozane-z-a heart-M:DF-ABS	jama-kko-ti-d-e buy-FOC:1SG-PF-AFF:DCL	k-isi-n-e FOC-3SG:F-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	

'After arriving, her husband said, "You woman". Oho! I have already given full of leather sack Birr", she said. Then she said, "I have bought the heart'.

12.	?ankos where-3SG	je-si-d-ee present-3M:SG-PF AFF:DCL		
	ko-si-n-e FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	saas'ine-ga-ko-si box-LOC-FOC-3M:SG		
	je-si-d-e present-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL	ko-si-n-e FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL		
	saas'ine-ga box-LOC			

'The husband asked her by saying, "Where is it?" She said, "It is in the box.'

13.	je-s-esa-z-i present-3M:SG-RCL-M:DF-NOM	?ade-z-i man-M:DF-NOM	do?-i open-CNV	?ekk-ese take-REL F:DCL
	wode-ga time-LOC	doll-i jump-NOM	gada-nne put-CONJ	?etstser-e-z-i lizard-M:DF-NOM
	?alla ground	wodfd-i drop-CNV	gada put	puhu lose
	hidi			

say-IPF

'The lizard which is in the box, during the man tries to take it out after opening the box, the lizard jumped from the container dropped on the ground, then after, it disappears'

14. **daba** **ji-d-e** **hikke** **tan-a**
disappear say-PF-AFF:DCL then I-ABS
woda-ni-nne **ko-si-d-e** **tanawo tani**
kill-2SG-2SG- CONJ FOC-3M:SG-PF-AFF:DCL oho me I:NOM
hikke **waakko** **his-on-e**
then what do-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
ne **famm-ane** **hinnu fang-i**
you buy-2SG:IMP say buy-CNV
b-aamma
not_exixg-1SG

"Then, you kill me.", he said.. Oho me! What shall I do then? I bought it by your order.'

15. **tan-i** **hatte** **?usun-a** **gakk-i**
I:NOM now they-ABS arrive
?ayko-j-on-ee **hoo gakk-i** **?ayko-ko-n-on-e**
catch-1SG-FUT:IPF-Q yes arrive-CNV catch-FOC-2SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
'Shall I catch them just now? Yes! You can catch them.'

16. **parazo-ra-ti** **hamm-on-e-ne** **tuke-nna** **parazo-ra**
horse-COM-1SG go-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL-and Foof-INST horse-COM
koori **ham:-ane** **k -isi-n-e**
preparing saddle go-2SG:IMP FOC-3SG:F-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL
?is-i **hikke** **hisun-ko** **?es-i**
she-NOM then while say-FOC he-NOM
parazo-z-a
horse-M:DF-ABS

'Shall I go by horse or on foot? "You go by horse.", she said.'

17. **koori** **?ekk-i** **gada-nne** **pude**
preparing saddle Take-CNV finish- CONJ up
hang-usun-ko **geruns' -i** **bejissa** **?oge-ga**

go-SR-FOC	men-NOM	themselves	road-LOC
?utt -i -d-e	fempo	?ogoro-zu -ra	bira-z-a
sit-INF-PF-AFF:DCL	rest	leather sack-3M:DF-COM	Birr-M:DF-ABS
?alla	gaddi	?utteska	gak:i
ground	put	while sit	arrive
wuddi-ko-si	geruns'-o	ko-si-n-e	
arrive-FOC-3M:SG	men-VOC	FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL	

'When she says like this, he prepares saddle for the horse and when he goes upward, the men, sat alongside the road to take a short break by putting the money with the leather sack on the ground. When they were sitting on the road he arrived. "You men!'

18. jee	ha-nn-i	ga-nna	?ogoro
yes	This-3F:SG-NOM	LOC-INST	leather sack
bira	took-i	hang-esa	
Bir	carry-CNV	go-REL	
dema-jti-n-e		ko-si-n-e	
see-2PL-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL		FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	
dengesere		?esede-i	?er-a-?a
while seeing		3PL-NOM	know:NEG-NEG:DCL

"Yes!" "Did you see somebody who passes by this way carrying the money with full of leather sack", he said, while seeing them. But they don't know that

19. hoo	dema-k-ini-d-e	ko-hiso	
yes	see-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL	FOC- say:3PL:IPF	
baa-d-e	ko-hi-n-e	hanno	
go-PF-AFF:DCL	FOC-3PL-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	this-3F:ABS	
ank-us-i	?ajikk-i-ko	sule	wora
where-3PL-NOM	atch-CNV-FOC	down	fores
gidda-nna	?ullat-is-o	ko-si-n -e	
inside-INST	go-3PL-AFF:DCL	FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	
hikke	tuke-nna	hangi-ti	
then	foof -INST	go-1SG	
?ajik:-on-ene	parazo-nna	hangi-ko-ti	

go-SR-FOC	men-NOM	themselves	road-LOC
?utt -i -d-e	fempo	?ogoro-zu -ra	bira-z-a
sit-INF-PF-AFF:DCL	rest	leather sack-3M:DF-COM	Birr-M:DF-ABS
?alla	gaddi	?utteska	gak:i
ground	put	while sit	arrive
wuddi-ko-si	geruns'-o	ko-si-n-e	
arrive-FOC-3M:SG	men-VOC	FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL	

'When she says like this, he prepares saddle for the horse and when he goes upward, the men, sat alongside the road to take a short break by putting the money with the leather sack on the ground. When they were sitting on the road he arrived. "You men!'

18.	jee	ha-nn-i	ga-nna	?ogoro
	yes	This-3F:SG-NOM	LOC-INST	leather sack
	bira	took-i	hang-esa	
	Bir	carry-CNV	go-REL	
	dema-jti-n-e		ko-si-n-e	
	see-2PL-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL		FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	
	dengesere		?esede-i	?er-a-?a
	while seeing		3PL-NOM	know:NEG-NEG:DCL

"Yes!" "Did you see somebody who passes by this way carrying the money with full of leather sack", he said, while seeing them. But they don't know that

19.	hoo	dema-k-ini-d-e	ko-hiso	
	yes	see-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL	FOC- say:3PL:IPF	
	baa-d-e	ko-hi-n-e	hanno	
	go-PF-AFF:DCL	FOC-3PL-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	this-3F:ABS	
	ank-us-i	?ajikk-i-ko	sule	wora
	where-3PL-NOM	atch-CNV-FOC	down	fores
	gidda-nna	?ullat-is-o	ko-si-n -e	
	inside-INST	go-3PL-AFF:DCL	FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	
	hikke	tuke-nna	hangi-ti	
	then	foof -INST	go-1SG	
	?ajik:-on-ene	parazo-nna	hangi-ko-ti	

catch-FUT:IPF-and horse-INST

?ajikk-on-e

catch-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL

tuke-nna

foot-INST

go-FOC-1SG

ko-hi-n-e

FOC-say:3PL-IPF-AFF:DCL

hang-i

go

'Yes! We have seen them." they said. He asked them by saying, "Where did they go?". They said. "They went away downward, through this forest." "Then, shall I catch them by going on foot or by horse?", he said.'

20. **?ajikk-ane**

catch-2SG:IMP

?ajts-utsts-i

catch-CAUS-CNV

ko-hiso

FOC-say:3PL:IPF

parazo-z-a

horse-M:DF-BS

parazo-z-a

horse-M:DF-ABS

gadd-i

put-NOM

?usun-i

they-NOM

hikke

then

nun-a

we:ABS

hari

likewise

hikke

then

wonde

earlier

ham:-ane

go-2SG:IMP

hin:u-ko

say-FOC

bira

Birr

'You go on foot and catch them. "You leave the horse with us and go with any hesitation." they said.'

21. **?epe**

take

hikke

then

wode-ga

time-LOC

parazo

horse

tuke

foof

?oge-i

geruns'-a

men-ABS

hang-e

go-AFF:DCL

tuke

foof

?oge

road

?oge

road

nen-a

?ajts-utsts-i-ko-si

atch-CAUS-CNV-FOC-3M:SG

?es-i

he-NOM

?oge-ti

road-1SG

ko-ti-n-e

FOC-1SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL

hamm-an

go-2SG:IMP

?eemme-nna

hang-ese

go-REL

hamm-on-ene

go-FUT:IPF-or

parazo

horse

?elle

road-NOM	you-ABS	take-NEG:3SG	soon
gatsts-en:a	hitun	ab-olo-kko	
reach-3SG:NEG:DCL	2PL	disappear-if-FOC	
?aala-ko-t-on -ee		ko-si-n-e	
how-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF- Q		FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF-AFF:DCL	

'When they said like this, by leaving the horse with those who had taken the money, he went away. While he was going, He asked again, "Shall I go through foot road or horse road?" Then, they said, "You go foot road the horse road, does not take you soon." "If you disappear what shall I say" he asked them'

22. **wona -ri-ppe** **ha?i-ri** **?iita** **wona-ri-ppe**
earlier-3SG:F-ABL now-3F:SG bad earlier-3F:SG-ABL
ha?i-ri **?iita** **hid-i** **s'ejigg -an-e**
now-3F:SG bad Say-CNV call-2SG:IMP
ko-hi-n-e **ja** **hid-i**
FOC-3PL-IPF-AFF:DCL that say -CNV
?es-i **hiseska-nna** **?adda-pa-ra** **parazo-z-i**
he-NOM while doing-INST true-ABL-COM horse-M:DF-NOM
?es-a **?ajts-utsts-i-ko-si** **sule**
he-ABS catch-CAUS-COMV-FOC-3M:SG down
hang-e **ɖab-i-ko** **?ol-i-d-e**
go-AFF:DCL disappear-CNV-FOC leave-COMV-PF-AFF:DCL
?atstsa-z-i **?uli** **maak'-i**
person-M:DF-NOM backward return-CNV
jeedi-ko-si **wona-ri-ppe** **ha?i-ri** **?iita**
come-PF:CNV-FOC-3M:SG earlier-3F:SG-ABL now-3F:SG bad
baaso **wona-ri-ppe** **ha?i-ri**
absent earlier-3SG:F-ABL now-3SG:F

'Later is worse than earlier, later is worse than earlier, call us by saying like this" they

said. When he calling as he had been told, and going downward by leaving the horse with them, they automatically disappeared from the place after coming back, "Later is worse than earlier." There is nothing. "Later is worse than earlier". There is nothing. They disappeared'

23.	?iita	baaso	ɖab-i	bira-zu-ra
	bad	absen	disappear-CNV	Birr-M:DF-COM
	para-z-u-ra	?ekki	?udda	ɖab-i-k:o
	horse-DF-COM	take	all	disappear-CNV-FOC
	?oli-s-o	hikke	hatte	?uli
	leave-3PL-AFF:DCL	then	now	backward
	zawa	jeedi-ko-si		je
	house	come-PF:CNV-FOC-3M:SG		you:VOC
	booze	jee	manne-i	nuu-ro
	lazy:VOC	yes	problem-NOM	we-DAT
	mann-i			
	create			

' By taking the money and the horse they disappeared. Then, he returned to his home and said "You lazy!" She said "Yes!" "The problem is created." "What?" "I came by spoiling things too'

24.	?aak-on-aa	ta-i-kka	?iissoli-klo	jee-d-e
	what-FUT:IPF-Q	I-NOM-INC	spoil -FOC	come-PF- AF:DCL
	?aakk-on-aa	parazo-z-a-kka	?ajitsts-i-ko-ti	
	what-FUT:IPF-Q	horse-DF-ABS-INC	releas-CNV-FOC-1SG	
	?ol-i-d-e	hikke	wake-k-in-on	
	leave-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	then	what-FOC-2PL-FUT:IPF	

"What?" I had released the horse and came empty." "Then, what shall we do?"

25.	ha-nn-o	majdo	jaato
	this-3F:SG-ABS	ox	bull

pet:-esa-z-a	?ekk-i gada	gade-ga-pe
one-3M:SG-M:DF-ABS	Take-CNV	finish earth-LOC-ABL
ɖab-o		ɖaba-k-in-on-e
disappear-INF		disappear-FOC-2PL-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
ko-hiso	?eero ko-hid-iso	
FOC-say-PF-3PLAFF:DCL	Ok FOC-say-3PL:AFF:DCL	

'By taking this the only bull which we owned and we should disappear from this area. They said. They said, Ok!'

26. **?eero** **hid-i** **gadd-i-kko** **hikke**
 Ok say-CNV put-CNV-FOC then
parazo-z-a **?ekk-i** **gada-nne** **majdo**
 horse-M:DF-ABS take_CNV put- CONJ ox
jaato-z-a **?eeng-i** **gada-nne** **bazzo**
 bull-M:DF-ABS take with-CNV put-and desert
gakki-ɟi-k-usi **ha-nn-i-k-in**
 arrive-IPF-FOC-3PL This-3F:SG-NOM-FOC-1PL
jess-on-e **ko-hi-s-o** **?aala**
 live-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL FOC-say-3PL-AFF:DCL what
kees's'-i -k-in **jes:-on-ee** **ko-hi-s-o**
 make-CNV-FOC-1PL live-FUT:IPF-Q FOC-say:3PL:IPF

'After saying Ok, they took the horse and, gave the bull and started their journey to desert area. Then they said, "Let us start living in here." From what shall we make our house which we can live in?'

27. **kifura-ko** **ke:s's'-es-o** **kufura-z-i**
 type of tree-FOC make-3PL-3PL:AFF:DCL type of tree-DF-NOM
k'ees'i **k'ees'i** **k'ees'i** **k'ees'i**
 cut cut cut cut
hid-i-ko **hikke** **kifura-z-a**
 say-FOC then type of tree-DF-

kees's'-i	hikke		ABS
make-CNV	then	majdo	jaato-z-a
fukki	?atfo-z-a	ox	bull-M:DF-ABS
slaughter	meat-M:DF-ABS	?udda	k'aaf-i
?eej-e	jee	all	hang-CNV
Fool-2F:VOC	yes	nen-i	gaaja
hang-i	mas'ine	you-NOM	market
go-CNV	salt	barbare	wooj-ga-kko
gaaja-i	haako-ga	chilly	upward-LOC-FOC
market-NOM	far-LOC	jesi-d-e	
gakk-i	?ekk-i	present-PF-AFF:DCL	
arrive-CNV	take-CNV	jew-ane	tan-i
		come-	I-NOM
		2SG:IMP	
gade-ko	bu:tf'tf'-on-e		
earth-FOC	clear-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL		

ko-si-n-e

FOC-3M:SG-PRES:IPF AFF:DCL

We can make from Kushura. Then, they cut a lot of Kushura made a house from it. They made a house from Kushura. Then after, they slaughtered the bull. They hanged all meat on the hook. He said, "You foolish!" She said, "Yes!" He said, "You go up there where the market is found and buy for us salt and chilly to consume them with the meat." I will

28. ?eero	hidikki	?ee-i	hang-e
Ok	having said	fool-F:NOM	go-AFF:DCL
mandara	be-	?oge	hang-esa-z-a
passenger	self	road	go-3M:SG-DF-ABS
je	gera-z-o	nuu-so	?ajje
you:VOC	men-M:DF-VOC	our-home	take care
gela-k-it-on-e		?atfo-kko	nuu-so

enter-FOC-2PL-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL

meat-FOC

our- home

jesa

present

'Then, the foolish woman said, "Ok!" and went away. The passengers who were going to their way were warned by the woman. She warned by saying "You people, do not enter into our home." "There is meat in our house.'

29. **geli-dipp-ita**

k-isi-n-e

ger-edfe-z-i

enter-PROH-2PL:IMP

FOC-3F:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL

men-PL-DF-NOM

jeetta

pittiro

?epa

jeetta

come

one

take

come

pittiro

?epa

pittiro

?epa

one

take

one

take

atfo-z-a

?illim

hisi

dab-usi

meat-DF-ABS

finish

does

disappear-CAUS

'Do not enter into our home.", she said. The men came into the house where they put meat. Finally the picked the meat turn by turn and finished it from the place.'

30. **je**

na?a-z-o

gude

hikke

you:VOC

boy-DF-VOC

amusing

then

?atfo-z-i

dabi

hikke

?atfo-z-i

meat-M:DF-NOM

disappear

then

meat-DF-NOM

daba-wuntes

hatte

gam?u

?usun-i

disappear while:PF

now

later

they-NOM

jeed-i

gakk-i

wuzins'e-i

wuzins'e-i

come:PF-CNV

Arrive-CNV

fly-NOM

fly-NOM

?atfo-z-i

?olla-ga

?utt-i

wuzins'e-i

meat-M:DF-OM

place-LOC

sit-CNV

fly-NOM

?atfo-z-i

meat-DF-NOM

'You the boy, it is funny. The meat is lost. When the meat had been lost,

they came back. The place of the meat was replaced by too much flies'

31.	ʔolla-ga	ʔutt-i	hittana	wuntes
	place -LOC	sit-CNV	say	while
	hikke	je	ʔeej-e	jee
	then	VOC	fool-2F:VOC	yes
	barbare-z-a	ʔeetta-n-d-ee	hoo	ʔatfo-z-i-tʃtʃi
	chilly-M:DF-ABS	bring-2SG-PF-Q	yes	meat-M:DF-NOM-what about
	baaso	baaso	wozins'e-z-i	
	not exist	not exist	fly-DF-NOM	

'When the place where the meat is put, was occupied by the too much flies, you foolish. Yes! Did you bring the chilly? Yes, I brought it. What about the meat? There is nothing. There is nothing. The fly had eaten all the meat.'

32.	ma'ikko	ʔudda	muu-d-i	
	pick	all	eat-PF-CNV	
	ʔol-i-d-e		wozins'e-z-i	ʔudda muu-d-ija
	leave-COMV-PF-AFF:DCL		fly-DF-NOM	all eat-PF-EMP
	ʔol-i-d-ee	hoo	hikke	waak-in-on
	leave-CNV-PF-Q	yes	then	what-2PL-FUT:IPF
	wozins'e-z-a-k-in		hanti	wod-on
	fly-M:DF-ABS-FOC-2PL		walk	kill-FUT:IPF
	mitstsi	ʔekk-i	gada	gada
	stick/tree	take-CNV	finish	finish
	wuzins'e-z-a	wuzins'e-z-a	girgidda-z-i	galla
	fly-M:DF-ABS	fly-M:DF-ABS	wall-DF-NOM	on
	hanta	hanta	gujdo	woda
	walk	walk	kick	kill
	gujdo	woda	hiseska-na	hikke
	kick	kill	while-doing-INST	then
	hang-ijfi	hang-ijfi	ʔi-	ʔaape

go-IPF	go-IPF	she:GEN	eye
galla	kunke	galla	petti
on	nose	on	one
wuzins'e-i	jeedi	?ut-i	wuzins'e
fly-NOM	come-PF	sit-CNV	fly
pettir-att-i	jeedi	?utt-ana	wonte-s
one-3F:DF-NOM	come-PF	having sat	dawn-DAT
woda	woda	hiff-i	?es-i
kill	kill	say-CNV	he-NOM
hana	jeese-s-kka		tsust:i
here	come-DAT-INCL		whistle
?is-i	hidi	zajk'-on	?es-i
she-NOM	say-PF	whistle-FUT:IPF	he-NOM
hana	mak'-ona	wonte-s	hikke
here	return-IPF	dawn-DAT	then
hisi	malata	?ajitsts-i	gada
does	show	release-CNV	put
?aap-att-o	k'iltftji	pett-ir -att-o	
eye-3F:DF-ABS	destroy	one-3F-3F:DF-ABS	
k'ook'-usi	hik:e	hi.h..	ja
blind-CAUS	then	ideophone	that
hidi-ko-si	hikke	heja	
say-FOC-3M:SG	then	there	
bazzo-z-i-ga	hammada	olla-i	ɖabun
desert-DF-NOM-LOC	going	place-NOM	lose
heji-nna	hikke	?att-i-d-e	
That-INST	then	leave-INF-PF-AFF:DCL	
ja	wotftj--ajte		
that	look-2PL:IMP		

'Did the fly eat all the meat? Yes! Then what shall we be? Or what shall we do? Let us kill

the fly by walking here and there. Having taken a stick, when they started killing the flies, on the wall by repeatedly kicking; when the process was going in such way, one of the flies came and sat on the nose of the woman. When one of the flies took place on the nose of the woman, the husband returned to her. The wife gave sign to her husband by whistling in order to show that one of the flies was on her nose then, the husband kicked on her face and avoided her eyes. By so doing he made her blind. As the story happened in such way, the husband and wife remained in the desert forever by lacking the place where to go and live. Look at it and mind it.'

Appendix 1: Text 2 Petti ?ade Durenne Petti ?ade Mank'o

'The Rich Man and the Poor Man'

Narrator: Adanech Abba; Age: 45

1. **hi-nn-o** **ta** **?oh-ad-ir-i** **?aaze jo-kko**
 that-F-ABS I tell – REL- F-NOM what say- FOC
bazo-i **medf-iffi -kko** **petti ?ade -i**
 God- NOM create-PROG-FOC one man-NOM
dure **petti ?ade -i** **mank'o**
 rich one man-NOM poor

medf-id -e

create-PF-AFF:DCL

'What I am going to tell you is that when God created man he created one person rich and the other person is poor.'

2. **mank'o-ra** **dure-ra** **nam? -ede -i** **med-utt-i**
 poor-COM rich-COM two-PL-NOM create-PASS -CNV
jes -un -ko **?es-i** **?ootstso** **baff-att-i**
 live-SR-FOC he-NOM work wife-F:DF-NOM
hang-i-k-isi **?ootsts-i** **pejf-e**
 go-CNV-FOC-3F:SG work-CNV pass day-AFF:DCL

'These two poor and rich persons were living in the area together. However, the poor person and his wife were working for the rich person always.'

3. **?ade-z-i** **hang-i-kko** **?es -i** **?ootsts-i**
 husband-M:DF-NOM go-CNV-FOC he-NOM work-CNV
pejf -e **dure-zu-ro**
 pass day-AFF:DCL rich-M:DF-COM

'He worked for his rich brother with his wife.'

4. **?indo** **jaato** **dure-zu-ro** **?ootstsa**
 woman child rich-M:DF-DAT work
?ootstsa **?ootstsa** **?ootsts-i** **jee-d-i**

work	work	work-CNV	come-PF-CNV
jee-d-i	kaw-att-o	muu-d-i	?ak'a
come-PF-CNV	dinner-F:DF-ABS	eat-PF-CNV	pass night
jaw	jel-i	jel-i	jel-i
children	give brith-CNV	give brith-CNV	give brith-CNV
hiso	mank'o-z-i	matf-us-i	jawa-z-a
do	poor-M:DF-NOM	Many-CAUS-CNV	Children-M:DF-ABS

'The poor and his wife always worried very hard and they consumed the money they got from owner for their dinner. During this time they bore many children.'

5.

muu-se-si	baaso	ha-j-a	?udda
eat- REL-3M:SG	not exist	this-M:SG-ABS	all
jel -i	hitta	tj'eema	gela
give brith-CNV	then after	night	enter
gela wola	?oof -utt-o	he-j-a	
enter together	fight-PASS-INF	that-M:SG-ABS	
ta wakko	his-on	bazo	
I what	do-FUT:IPF	God	

baj-e

not-exist- AFF:DCL

'There is nothing to feed their children. Therefore, the problem which was occurred was the husband the wife quarrelled sirously.'

6.

taa-ro	?ing-esi	tan-a	wake
I-COM	give-3M:SG	I-ABS	what
his-a-ne	k- on-i-ne	?is-i	hikke
do-IMP-2SG	FOC-IPF-INF-2SG	he-NOM	then
hin-ko	?aj	nen -i	?udda
say- FOC	wow	you- NOM	all
wode	hari	hant-i	hant-i
time	well then	walk-CNV	walk-CNV

pejf -i	pejf -i	nen-i-nne	?ootsts-e
pass day-CNV	pass day-CNV	you-NOM- CONJ	work- AFF:DCL
tan-i-nne	?ootsts-e	?udda-z-i	?ootsts-i
me NOM- CONJ	work-AFF:DCL	all-M:DF-NOM	work-CNV
?ootsts-i	baj-e	nu	faw-ons'-a
work-CNV	not-exist- AFF:DCL	we	children-PL-ABS
?eed-i	muu-se -si		
bring-CNV	eat-REL- DAT		

'When she said, "what shall I do? God gave me all these children. Wow! You are always wondering here and there, don't we worked together very strongly and feed our children.'

7. hikke	?an-ko-ti	hamm-on-e	
then	where- FOC-1SG	go-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	
fawa-z -i	laappu	kumutstsi	jel-i
children-M:DF-NOM	seven	full	give brith-CNV
laappu	kumutstsi	faw-i	jel-i
seven	full	children-NOM	give brith-CNV
gada-nne	jesa	hid-i	gada
put- CONJ	live	say-CNV	put
petti	wode	tf'annak'-utt-i	?i
one	time	challenge-PASS-CNV	her
?addo	hikke	tan-a	medf-e
father	then	I-ABS	create-AFF:DCL
baz-att-o	gakki	beed-i -ko -ti	
God-F:DF-ABS	reach	see-CNV- FOC-1SG	

If this is not the situation, what shall I do and where shall I go? The children were born abundantly. Having born seven children, they started living and faced a huge challenge one day in their life. One day she declined to find out, the God who created her and she started searching her God

8.	jew-on-e	hid-i	tan-a	medd-e
	come-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	say-CNV	I-ABS	create-AFF:DCL
	baz-att-o	gak:i-ko -ti	?ew-on-e	
	God-F:DF-ABS	reach-FOC-1SG	bring-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	
	hid-i	gada-n	tʃ'eemo -ga-pe	tantsane
	say-CNV	put-CON J	night-LOC-ABL	nine
	saate	baad-i	gade-i	tʃ'eem:-ada
	watch	go-CNV	earth-NOM	night- INCH
	hise-s-ka	kesi-gada-nne	piro	piro
	do-DAT-INCL	out-put- CONJ	run	run
	piro	piro	piro	piro
	run	run	run	run
	piro	piro	piro	piro
	run	run	run	run
	piro	hijfi	gela-nne	hama
	run	say\PROG	enter- CONJ	go
	hama	hama	hise -s-ka-nna	
	go	go	do-DAT- INCL-CONJ	
	makakara	giddo	gede	lankutfe
	mid night	inside	there	eight
	saate	maak'-i-se	?olla	gade-i
	watch	happen-CNV-REL	around	earth-NOM
	mak'-i	lankutfe	saate	maak'-i-se
	happen-CNV	eight	watch	happen-CNV-REL

'Let me bring the God who created me here." she said, and started looking for God starting from night time through the whole day. When the time became nine o'clock, in the fall of night session, she went out and, started running continuously for a long time without any gap for while, and continued her long journey until the mid night took place.'

9. ʔolla	maak'o -na	wontessi	hike
around	happen-INF	occur	then
ʔes-a	hange -s -ka	gita	keettsu -ra
he-ABS	go-DAT-INCL	big	house-COM
gita	ʃutʃtu -ra	bazzo	baraha
big	stone-COM	deser	desert
giddo-ga	hante-se	gakk-i	dagang-i
inside-LOC	walk-REL	reach-CNV	Afraid_CNV
ʔes-i	dagama	ʔade-z -o	
he-NOM	feel afraid	husband-M:DF -	
		VOC	

'Then the mid night substituted the day time. When the time became around eight o'clock, during the journey, the big house and the big stone appeared; he reached in the desert and felt afraid. When he was with afraid, someone asked him by saying, " You man;'

10. ʔawa baj	hid-i	miketstse-z-i	ʔojitʃtʃ-i
where go	say-CNV	gust-M:DF-NOM	ask-CNV
tan-a	medf-i-se	bazo-i	mank'o
I- ABS	create-CNV-REL	God-NOM	poor
medfun-ko-ti	ta-i	muu-se-si	ɖabun-ko-ti
creat-FOC-1SG	I -NOM	eat-REL-3M:SG	disappear-FOC-1SG
ta	ʃaw-edfe-ro	ʔinge-si	ɖabun-ko-ti
1S:GEN	children-PL-COM	give-3M:SG	disappear-FOC-1SG
piri-ʃʃi	taa-ro	ta-	bazo-z-a
run-PROG	I-COM	I	God-M:DF-ABS
bej-ada			
see- INCH			

'where are going?" The God who created me made me poor; and I do not have anything to feed myself and all my children. So, I am searching my God and find out

him in order to ask him why he gave such type of challenge for me.'

11.	hange-ko	hin-e	nu	nee-ro
	go- FOC	say-AFF:DCL	we	you-DAT
	hatte	ha-j-ga-ti-se	pi	bizzi
	now	this-M:SG- LOC -1SG-REL	EDPO	one
	taarike	?ootsts-ko	nen-i	?is-o
	story	work FOC	you-NOM	she-ABS
	naffa-n-on-e	hang-i	?atstsu-ro	
	tell-2SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	go-CNV	person-DAT	
	?oh-n-on-e	?oh-i-kk-i	?atftfo-n-on -ee	
	tell-2SG- FUT:IPF -AFF:DCL	tell-1SG-NEG-1SG	hide-2SG-FUT:IPF-Q	
	hoo	nu	?oh-ir -o	
	yes	we	tell-F-ABS	

'If we make some miracle and amusing story for you, will you tell it for the others wherever you? Will you tell for any person that? No, I will not tell. Will you keep it secret? Yes!

12.	kapa-n-on-ee	kapa-ko-t-on-e	hinde	hik:e
	keep-2SG-FUT:IPF-Q	keep-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	so	then
	jane	?ero	hatte	ne
	you say	ok	now	you
	?e-ga-pe	hamm-a-ne	ha-nn-i-ga-pe	se-nn-o
	there- LOC-ABL	go-IMP -2SG	this-F-NOM-LOC-ABL	that-F-ABS
	ne	hang-usunnu	?atstsi	nen-a
	you	go-SR	person	you-ABS
	zawa	gel-a-ne	jo-kko	hari
	house	enter- IMP-2SG	say-FOC	well then
	gel-a-ne	gel-i	nen-a	?ugura-so -nna
	enter-IMP-2SG	enter-CNV	you-ABS	store room-LOC-INST

?utt-a-ne	jo-kko	?utt-i-doppu
sit-IMP-2SG	say-FOC	sit-INF- NEG-PROH
?ibo-so -nna	?utt-a-ne	
gate-LOC-INST	sit-IMP-2SG	

For sure, will you keep what we told you secret? Yes! Then, you say like this. Ok! Now, you go from there. When you go from here to there. If somebody asks you to enter inside the house, you enter into it. After you enter the house, if somebody asks you to sit along the storeroom, do not sit there. You sit along the gate.

13. ?ibo-so-nna	?utt-i	?is-i	?ing-e
gate-LOC-INST	sit-CNV	she-NOM	give- AFF:DCL
katsts-att-o	muud-i	?ing-e	?uff-att-o
food-F:DF-ABS	eat-CNV	give- AFF:DCL	drink-F:DF-ABS
?uf-i	maatstsu-ko	?ing-on-e	boora-ko
drink-CNV	milk-FOC	give-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	bread-FOC
nee-ro	?ing-on-e	hi-nn-o	muud-i
2SG-DAT	give-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	that-F-ABS	eat-CNV
gadd-i	?uf-i	gadd-i	?is-i
put-CNV	drink-CNV	put-CNV	she-NOM
?ugara	wotftf-a-ne	jo-kko	?ugara
store-room	look-IMP-2SG	say-FOC	store-room
wotftf-i-doppu	kare	wotftf-a -ne	kare
look-CNV-PROH	outside	look-IMP-2SG	outside
wotftf-a -ne	?ugara		
look-IMP-2SG	store room		

'Having sat along the gate and ate the food she gave you, having drunk and ate , the milk which is given to you and the bread which is provided to you; and in general having all these, When she asks you to look at the store-room, do not look at it. You just look at outside, you look at outside.'

14.	pettiro-kka	kare	?ej	?ugura
	one-INCL	outside	EDOP	store room
	wotftf-i-doppu-na	kare	wotftf-iffi	ne-j-ro
	look-CNV-PROH:2SG	outside	look-PROG	you-M:SG-DAT
	muud -i	?uf -i	kutf-att-o	
	eat-CNV	drink-CNV	hand-F:DF-ABS	
	fog-utt-a -ne	ji-ro	fog -utt-i-doppu	
	wash-PASS-IMP-2SG	say-DAT	wash-PASS-CNV-PROH:2SG	
	bak'k'a	hari	kes -a-n	hari
	finish	well then	go out-IMP-2SG	well then
	kes-i	gadd-i		
	go out-CNV	put-CNV		

'Do not look at the store-room for a while whatever it is. When you are looking outside, and for 'what you have eaten and drunk, you are asked to wash your hand, do not wash it. You go outSimply'

15.	ne	?un	?indiga-nna-nna	ne
	you	EDOP	again-INST -INST	you
	geeda	ne	jes-es -kka	gade-i
	after	you	come-REL-INCL	time-NOM
	giddo-ga-kko	jaak-utt-on-e		gade-i
	inside-LOC-FOC	divide-PASS-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL		time-NOM
	giddo-ga	jaak-utt-o	jana	wode-s
	inside-LOC	divide-PASS-INF	happen	time-DAT
	miis-i	doro-i	hare-i	bak'ilo-i
	cow-NOM	sheep-NOM	donkey-NOM	mule-NOM
	?udd-esa-z-i	hari	ne	biro
	all 3M:SG-M:DF-NOM	well then	you	infront
	saka-z-i	hikke	hid-i	gada
	soil- M:DF-NOM	then	say-CNV	put

ha-na	baj?-utt-o-kko	ne
this-LOC	crack-PASS-INF-FOC	you
?aape-ga	bent-on-e	dagang-i-doppu
eye-LOC	find-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	afraid-INF-PROH
ne	he-j-a	he-j-a
you	that-M:SG-ABS	that-M:SG-ABS

'Having went out, when you are coming back behind you; the day will be divided in to two equal parts. When the day is divided into two, which means the night passed. Cow, sheep, donkey and mule all things in the world will be cracked in front of you have seen in your necked eye. When these things happen, do not feel afraid and shy.'

16.

dagam-a-tjtfe	jeff -i	hajz-i	wotftf -i
feel afraid-NEG-NEG:REL	wait-CNV	quite-CNV	look-CNV
gadd-i	nee-so	sitsts-i	hid-i
put-CNV	you:GEN- home	quite-CNV	say-CNV
hang-i	gadd-i	lepp-i	hid-i
go-CNV	put-CNV	slowly-CNV	say-CNV
hang-i	gadd-i	nee-so	gel-i
go-CNV	put-CNV	You:GEN-home	enter-CNV
nen-i	?er-ade-si	mitstsi	kana
you-NOM	know-REL-3M:SG	tree	dog
botftfu	?er-a -n	kapo	?uuko-kka
bark	know-IMP-2SG	bird	call-INCL
?er-a -n	harge	?ohute-kka	?er-a -n
know-IMP-2SG	disease	speaking-INCL	know-IMP-2SG
?atstsi	?ohute-kka	?er-a-n	
person	speaking-INCL	know-IMP-2SG	

'Without having any fear for that situation, by looking at it silently, and having went your home silently, having gone slowly, having enter you home, what you

are going to know, is tree. You know the barking of dog, shouting of bird, calling of disease and speaking of man'

17. **?udd-esa** **?ohe-z-a** **?er-a-ne** **hid-i**
 all-3M:SG talk-M:DF-ABS know-IMP-2SG say-CNV
gadd-i **?ebul-as'u-kko** **taa-ro** **?oh-isa**
 put-CNV sake-PL-FOC I-DAT speak -3PL
hid-iso **wode** **nee-ro** **haj?o-ko-si**
 say-3PL:AFF:DCL time you-DAT die-FOC-3M:SG
maaak'k'-on -e
 happen-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL

'You know all things in the world. After that, if you say so-and-so told me, you will be dead.'

18. **?i** **wode** **hajbu-ko-n**
 her time death-FOC-2SG
haj?-on-e **hajbu -ko-n** **haj?-on-e**
 die-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL death-FOC-2SG die-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
?atu-nnu **pettiro-kka** **?oh-i-doppu** **?atstsu-ro**
 leave but one-INCL tell-INF-PROH person-DAT
hid-i **hikke** **hitta** **wont**
 say-CNV then having said morning
hi-ga-nna **kana** **beezi** **ne**
 that-LOC-INST dog for that matter you
hang-i **gako** **zawa** **gel-i**
 go-CNV arrive house enter-CNV
gada **ne** **galla** **?ibo**
 put you on gate
?ibus'a **wujj-i** **?ol-a -n** **guta**
 shut lay-CNV leave IMP-2SG tomorrow

gade-i	geez-usun	ne	taarike
time-NOM	dawn-SR	you:GEN	story
bej-a-ne	?iffi	hi-ga-pe	pir -iffi
see-IMP-2SG	ok	that-LOC- ABL	run-PROG
pir -iffi	pir -iffi	pir -iffi	
run-PROG	run-PROG	run-PROG	

'The death will come to you it will finish you completely. You will be dead but not be any thing. He said, "do not tell anything for any person." When he said like that, after you have arrived your home, having closed you gate let you get sleep; tomorrow early in the morning, you will see your amusing 'history.'

19.	?asse-kka	jeed-i	tj'eemo-ga-pe	tantsane
	again-INCL	come-CNV	night-LOC-ABL	nine
	saate	baad-i	gade-i	mak'k'-usun
	watch	go-CNV	time-NOM	happen-SR
	jeed-i	?ebul-e	hid-i	s'ejigg-i
	come-CNV	sake-VOC	say-CNV	call-CNV
	jeed-i	zawa	?is-i	gel-i
	come-CNV	house	she-NOM	enter-CNV
	jeed-i	zawa	gela	geli-se
	come-CNV	house	enter	enter-REL
	?es-itftfi-na	hiitstsa	hal-i	katstsa
	he-what about-LOC	bed	prepare-CNV	food:ABS
	s'ik'k'-ir-i	jes-ir-att -o	?ing-un	muud-i
	small-F-NOM	live-F -F:DF-ABS	give-SR	eat-CNV
	bee-ro	gullant-i	wuj?-i	?udda
	self- DAT	cover-CNV	lay-CNV	all
	?usun	dfisk-i	gade-i	geez-es-ka
	they	sleep-CNV	earth-NOM	dawn-REL- INCL

zadalo	galla	majdo-i	miisi
stable	on	ox-NOM	cow:NOM
doro-i	hare-i	katstsa-i	katstsa-i
shee-NOM	donkey-NOM	food-NOM	food-NOM
katstsa-i	sippu	gade-z -i	geeza-na-s
food-NOM	compact	time-M:DF-NOM	dawn-LOC-DAT
zawa-z-a	hid-i	hikke	gade-i
house-M:DF-ABS	say-CNV	then	earth-NOM

geez-i

dawn-CNV

'Then after, he came again after he had a long running journey. Ranging from night upto, nine o'clock in the day time, he called by saying so-and-so; having come she entered the house. After she came and entered the house, he had small amount of food, and slept in the bed which was nicely prepare for him. Then he covered his face and slept deeply. On the stable, an ox, cow, sheep and donkey food, food, food and food which means food with different kinds. Compactly filled in the place until the night substituted in the day time'

20.	je	?ebul-o	jee	ha-j	?ana-pu-ko
	VOC	sake-VOC	yes	this-NOM	where-ABL-FOC
	jee-d-ee	?es-a	?epp-ada	baje	k'amma
	come-PF-Q	he-ABS	take-INCH	not_exist	yesterday
	ta	hang-e-s	hikke	hid-i	hikke
	I	go-AFF:DCL-DAT	then	say-CNV	then
	?is-i	hitta-na	wont-es	hikke	katstsa-z-a
	she-NOM	say-LOC	happen-REL	then	food-M:DF-ABS
	?ekk-i	katsts-i	katstsa-z-a	katstsa	gapa
	take-CNV	cook-CNV	food-M:DF-ABS	cook	hungry
	kot-i	kot-i	hid-i-se		gawo-z-ga
	tolerate-CNV	tolerate-CNV	say-INF-REL		belly-M:DF-LOC

faw-ede-z-i		katstsa-z -a	muud-i	muud-i	muud-i
children-PL-M:DF-NOM		food-M:DF-ABS	eat-CNV	eat-CNV	eat-CNV
muud-i	hid-i	mif-i	katstsa-z-a	muud-i	
eat-CNV	say-CNV	atisfay-CNV	food-M:DF-ABS	eat-CNV	
muud-i	muud-i	mif-i	gada-nne	laapuntso	
eat-CNV	eat-CNV	atisfay-CNV	put- CONJ	seventh	
jaato-z-i	haj?-i	laapuntso	jaato-z-i		
child-M:DF-NOM	die-CNV	seventh	child-M:DF-NOM		

'So, the day time took place. You so-and-so! Yes! "From where did all these come?" "I went yesterday to take it." After she said like this, then after, she prepared the food. Having prepared the food, the children ate the food after have a long time starvation and they easily satisfied with narrow belly. After having eaten a huge amount of food continuously the seventh child has died because of eating more than enough.

21.

haj?o-na		wonte	jeekk-i	moog-i	?allol-i
die-LOC		dawn	mourn-CNV	bury-CNV	leave-CNV
gera-z -i		jeed-i	je	?ebul-o	ha-j-a
men-M:DF-NOM		come-CNV	VOC	sake-VOV	this-M:SG-ABS
?ak'o-z-a	ha-j-a	pejfa-z-a	?ana-pu-ko-n	?eed-ee	
wealthy-M:DF-ABS	this-M:SG-ABS	living-M:DF-ABS	where-ABL-FOC-2SG	bring-Q	
ta-	s'oossi	taa-s	?ing-un-ko-ti	?ekk-id-e	
1SG:GEN	God	I- DAT	give-SR-FOC-1SG	take-PF-AFF:DCL	
?ana-pu-ko-ti	?eew-on	s'oos'u-kko	taa-ro	?ing-isa	
where-ABL-FOC-1SG	bring-FUT:IPF	God-FOC	I-DAT	give-3SG	
hid-i	s'oossi	?es-i	galati	jes-i	
say-CNV	God	he-NOM	bless	live-CNV	
jes-i	jes-i	hise-s -ka -nna	petti	wode	
live-CNV	live-CNV	do-DAT-INCL-CONJ	one	time	
?atfo-ko	tan-a	laamotsts-isa	biff-att-i	hid-i	
meat-FOC	I-ABS	eager-3SG	wife-F:DF-NOM	say-CNV	

'When the seventh child was died they buried him and forgot him. The people around the area came. "You so-and-so! From where did bring all these wealthy and lives? My God gave me and I took It." he said. "From where shall I bring? God gave me" he said, and he blessed his God for his good deeds.

22.	ʔatfo	ʔes-i	ʃukk-i	ʔatfo	ʔes-i
	meat	he-NOM	slaughter-CNV	meat	he-NOM
	ʃupa -na	wonte-s	ʔatf-att-o	ʔutti	ʔes-i
	slaughter- LOC	dawn-DAT	meat-F:DF-ABS	sit-CNV	he-NOM
	mus'e-s-ka	ʔes-i	boora	boor -i	barbare
	cut-DAT-INCL	he-NOM	bread	bake-CNV	chilli
	daas's'-i	hikke	hid-i	gada-n	hikke
	roll over-CNV	then	say-CNV	put-CONJ	then
	ʔatfo-z-a	mij-ada			
	meat-M:DF-ABS	eat-INCH			

'When he continued living, once upon a day his wife said, "I badly want to meat jus now." 'Then, the husband brought the meat slaughtering it. When he slaughtered the meat, and cut it into small pieces, his wife prepared the chili which can be eaten with the meat'

23.	ʔusun-i	giigu-sse -s-ka	namʔu	kana-i	ʔade -ra
	they -NOM	prepare-REL- DAT -INCL	two	dog-NOM	male-COM
	biffi-ra	wuga	jeed-i	wujʔ -i	ʔade-ra
	female-COM	floor	com-CNV	lay- CNV	male-COM
	ka....	biffi-ra	wujʔ-e	kana-z-i	ha
	EDOP	female-COM	lay-AFF:DCL	dog-M:DF- NOM	this
	ʔes-i	mek'ete	kess-i	gada-nne	gede
	he-NOM	bone	take out-CNV	put- CONJ	there
	ʔu	bira	hal-i	biff-att-i	bira

their	infront of	throw- CNV	female-F:DF-NOM	infront of
wodfd-unnu	?ade	kana-z-i	?epp-ada	kitftsa
fell-SR	male	dog-M:DF-NOM	take-INCH	be there

'When the husband and wife prepared the meat for eating, the two male and female dogs came and lain on the floor in front of them. While the lain female and male dogs looking at them, the husband picked up the bone from the meat and throw it in front of the dogs. The bone fall in front of the female dog, the male dog tries to pick it up; go there! The female dog said'

24. ?atstsi	?ade-i	?atstsu-ro	?atfo	mus' -i
person	husband-NOM	person-DAT	meat	cut-CNV
mus' -i	?inga ne	ta	bir-pe	
cut-CNV	give you	I:GEN	infront of-ABL	
mek'ete -wa	marf-e	?aaze	dere	?ade-pa
bone-NEG:INT	compete-AFF:DCL	what	people	husband-ABL
waakko	ji-d-e	kan-att: -i	hid-i	?ihi
what	happen- PF-AFF:DCL	dog-F:DF-NOM	say-CNV	EDPO
?ihi	hid-i	?ade-z-i	miitftf'-i	wuu
EDPO	say-CNV	husband -M:DF-NOM	laugh-CNV	wow
tan-a-ko-n	miitftf'-d-e	?atfo-z -a	ta	
I-ABS-FOC-2SG	laugh-PF-AFF:DCL	meat-M:DF-ABS	1SG	
mij-ada-se-z-a		tan-a -ko-n		
eat-INCH-REL-M:DF-ABS		I-ABS-FOC-2SG		

miitftf'-i-d-e

laugh-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL

'The female dog said. "The others husbands give meat for their wives by cutting into pieces but you are competing with me here to pick up bone in front of me; it is same for you." The man laughed seriously. "Wow! You laughed at me.", the man said.'

25.	?atfo-z-a	mij-i-kk-i	?ol-a-n	ha	bijf-att-é
	meat-M:DF-ABS	eat-1SG-NEG-1SG	leave-IMP-2SG	this	wife-F:DF-VOC
	?ol-i-kk-i	ne	miitstf'-ir-att-o	?oh-a-ne	taa-ro
	leave-1SG-NEG-1SG	you	laugh-F-F:DF-ABS	tell-IMP-2SG	I-DAT
	ne	?oh-a-tstfe	ta	?atfo-z-a	mij-i-kk-i
	you	tell-NEG-NEG:REL	I	meat-M:DF-ABS	eat-1SG-NEG-1SG
	bekk':a	mij-i-kk-i	?oh-a-ne	taa-s	?ellusi
	enough	eat-1SG-NEG-1SG	tell-IMP-2SG	I-DAT	soon
	hikke	hid-i	salo	k'am-us	
	then	say-CNV	sky	night-CAUS	

'The meat that I am going to eat, "You laughed at me. I do not eat the meat. Leave me you woman." "I will leave." "You tell me. Why you laughed. If you do not tell me I will not the meat.", he said. "Well I will not eat!" "Tell me as soon as possible." he said.'

26.	bijf-att-i	ha	bijf-att-é	?ol-aj	?ol-i-kk-i
	wife-F:DF-NOM	this	wife-F:DF-VOC	leave-IMP	leave-1SG-NEG-1SG
	ha	bijf-att-é	?ol-aj	?ol-i-kk-i	hinde
	this	wife-F:DF-VOC	leave-IMP	leave-1SG-NEG-1SG	so
	taa-ro	doottsu	s'ejg-a-n	lagge	s'ejg-a-n
	I-DAT	neighbour	call-IMP-2SG	friend	call-IMP-2SG
	dobbo	s'ejg-a-n	tan-i	?e	bira-kko
	relative	call-IMP-2SG	I-NOM	his	infront of-FOC
	?oh-on-e				
	tell-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL				

'The woman made difficult the situation seriously. "You woman, leave out" "I do not leave." You woman! Leave out." "I do not leave." "If it so, you call niebours, friends, relatives for me; I will tell you in front of them your cases." said the man.'

27.	ʔol -aj	hatte	nen-a	meta -k-is-on		
	leave-IMP	now	you-ABS	get problem-FOC-3F-FUT:IPF		
	met-enna		ʔoh-a-ne	hikke	hi-ga-nna	hikke
	problem -NEG:3M:SG		tell-IMP-2SG	then	that-LOC-INST	then
	ʔadda-pa-ra		dootstsu	lagge	s'ejigg-i	dootstsu
	fact- ABL-COM		neighbour	friend	call-CNV	neighbour
	lagge-z-a	s'ejg-o-nne	lag:-ede -i		dootsts-ede -j	
	friend-M:DF-ABS	call-INF- CONJ	friend-PL-NOM		neighbor-PL-NOM	
	jeed -i					
	com-CNV					

'You leave it now. You will get in problem.' "I will not get in problem. Do not worry. So, she called the neighbours and the friend as she has been told.'

28.	gakk-i	ger-ó	jee	hinde	ta- ja:to
	reach-CNV	men-VOC	yes	then	my child
	ta- jaw	ditʃf-a-jte	ta	ʔak'o-z-a-kka	
	my children	bring up-IMP-2PL	my	wealthy-M:DF-ABS-INCL	
	ʔajikk-a -jte	ta	ʃaw-ons'-a -kka	hitu-ro	hadara
	catch-IMP-2PL	my	children-PL-ABS-INCL	2PL-DAT	promise
	ta	zawa-z-a -kka	hitu-ro	hadara	tan-i
	my	house-M:DF-ABS-INCL	2PL-DAT	promise	I-NOM
	ha-nn-o	bif--att-i	ʔolo -k'k'a	hid-e	hid-i
	this- F-ABS	wife-F:DF-NOM	leave-NEG	Say-AFF:DCL	say-CNV
	be- tuke	ʃog-utt-i	hiitstse	kes-i	ʔalga
	self foot	wash-PASS-CNV	bed	go up-CNV	bed
	galla	wujʔ-i	gera-wu-ro	ʔudda	baz-i
	on	lay-CNV	men-DF-DAT	all	Confess-CNV
	siijitti	siitta-jti-n-e			
	listen	listen-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL			

'The called, neighbours and friends came and he said "You people!" "Yes!" "Then after, you take care of my child and my children." "Let you take and keep all my

properties." "Promise me to take care of my children and all my properties." I told for my wife to leave everything come to the normal condition; but she refused me and all my advice; he said. After saying all these steps he washed his feet, in order to get on the bed and slept there. He confessed all for the people. "Do you listen?"

29. **hoo ta k'amma tf'uk'k'une**
 yes I yesterday oppress
gize-z-ga taa-ro meto gize-z-ga tan-i
 time-M:DF-LOC me-DAT problem time-M:DF-LOC I- NOM
mank'-i ?otsts-esa ?era-k -iti-n -e
 poor-CNV work-REL know-FOC-2PL- IPF-AFF:DCL
?afkar-t-esa ?era-k-ite-n-e
 servant-1SG-REL know-FOC-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL

'Yes!' Last time I passed very challenging time and I faced a lot of problems.
 "You all know that I was poor and I was serving everybody everywhere being a servant. at this stage. You all know it'

30. **he-j-a ?o:tsts -iffi he-j-a ?afkar-t-iffi -ko -ti**
 that-M:SG-ABS work PROG that-M:SG-ABS servant-1SG-PROG- FOC-1SG
petti wode tf'annak'-utt-i bazzo hang-e
 one time challenge-PASS-CNV desert go:AFF:DCL
bazzo ta hang-un-ko ha-j-i mala
 desert I go-SR-FOC this-M:SG-NOM like
ha-j-a ha-j-i mala ha-j-a ha-j-i
 this-M:SG-ABS this-M:SG-NOM like this-M:SG-ABS this-M:SG-NOM
mala-i ha-j-a hid-i-se
 like-NOM this-M:SG-ABS say-CNV-REL

'After facing all these challenges I reached, "One day I faced a huge challenge and went to desert." "When I was going to desert, the people said that this is this, this is this, this is this, and this is this, so on.'

31. **ʔatsts-ede-j** **tan-a** **hid-i** **ʔoh-i-d-e**
 person-PL-NOM I-ABS say-CNV speak-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
taa-ro **ʔoh-un-ko-ti** **ha-nn-o** **ʔoh-att-o** **ne**
 I-DA tell-SR-FOC-1SG this-F-ABS tell- F:DF-ABS you
ʔoh-ise **wode** **nee-ro** **hajbu-kko** **ʔi**
 speak-REL time you-DAT death-FOC her
wode **hajʔ-i-ko-n** **ʔolo-n-e** **ʔoh-i-doppu**
 time die-INF-FOC-LOC leave-2SG-AFF:DCL tell-INF-PROH
ʔats:u-ro **hin-ko-ti** **ʔero** **hid-i** **jeed-i**
 person-DAT say-FOC-1SG ok say-CNV come-CNV
 'By saying all these they tried to convince Me.", he said, they told me in such way. When they told me, and said if you tell this matter for the others, it will be death for you. At that time you will die. He said, "Do not tell for anybody."

32. **jes-i-d-e** **ʔak'o-z-i** **pejfa-z-i**
 live-INF-PF-AFF:DCL wealthy-M:DF-NOM living-M:DF-NOM
tan-a-ra
 I-ABS-COM
jeed-esa-kka **beetta-k-iti-d-e-fin** **hatte** **ta**
 come-REL- INCL see-FOC-2PL-PF-AFF:DCL-but now my
jaato-j-kka **ta-i** **ʔee-d-ise** **katstsa-z-a**
 child-MS-INCL I-NOM bring-PF-REL food-M:DF-ABS
muu-d-i-kka **mif-i** **hajʔ-i-d-e**
 eat-PF-INF-INCL satisfy-CNV die-INF-PF-AFF:DCL
 I said "Ok!" Then after, I started living here. The wealthy and the living standard have come with me. You know it very well. However, now my child, died, after he hadeaten the food I brought.'

33. **he-ga-ze-ka** **ta** **jesi-d-e** **ʔatfo-ko -ti**
 that-LOC-M:DF-INCL I live-PF-AFF:DCL meat-FOC-1SG
muu-si-d-e **k-isi-d-e** **ʔis-i**

eat-CAUS-PF-AFF:DCL		FOC-3FS-PF-AFF:DCL		she-NOM	
mo:tfe-s-att-o					
eager-DAT-F:DF-ABS					
?is-o	mu-us-ada	hi-d-i-ko -ti		?atfo-z-a	
she-ABS	eat-CAUS-INCH	say-PF- CNV-FOC-1SG		meat-M:DF-ABS	
fukk-i-d-e		ta	ʃup-unnu-kko	mus'-i	
slaughter-INF-PF-AFF:DCL		I	slaughter-SR-FOC	cut-CNV	
?atf-at:-i-ra		barbar-att-i-ra		?udda nu	
meat-F:DF-CNV-COM		chilli-F:DF-NOM- COM		all we	
giig-uss-iffi		?i	gidda-pe	kes-i-se	
prepare-CAUS- PROG		her	inside-ABL	out-INF-REL	
mek'ete	ta	his-i	?alla	hal-un-ko	
bone	I	do-CNV	ground	throw-SR-FOC	
biffi	kan-att-i	bira-pe	?ade	kana-i	
female	dog-F:DF-NOM	in front of-ABL	male	dog-NOM	
?ekk-i-d-e		dere	?ade-i	dere-ro	mus'-i
take-INF-PF-AFF:DCL		people	husband-NOM	people-DAT	cut-CNV
hale-ʃin	nen-i	mek'ete-n	tan-a-ra		
throw- PRVN	you-NOM	bone-2SG	me-ABS-COM		
marf-e	gede	woj-a-ne			
compete-AFF:DCL	there	be there-IMP-2SG			

'But I am living without any alternative. She said," I want meat badly eat." I slaughtered and brought the meat she wanted badly in order to fulfill her need. When I slaughtered the meat, I cut it into pieces and mix it with local chili to make it ready for eating. During this time when I pick a piece of bone from the meat and throw it on the ground, it fell in front of the female dog. The male dog picked it up from in front of the female dog. The people's husbands give meat by cutting into pieces for their wives; but you are here competing with me the bone. "But you are here competing with me the bone. You go there." I said.'

34.	hid-i-kko say-CNV- FOC	kan-att-i dog-F:DF-NOM	hikke then	hinnu-k:o say-FOC	hi-nn-o that-F-ABS
	miiitʃʹtʃʹ-id -e laugh-PF- AFF:DCL	hi-nn-i that-F-NOM	daapa-ki reason-FOC:F	tan-a-ko-n I-ABS-FOC-2SG	
	miitʃʹtʃʹ-i-d-e laugh-INF-PF- AFF:DCL	hid-i say-CNV	ta I	ʔol-a-ne leave-IMP-2SG	
	hinnu say	ʔolo-k'k'a leave-NEG	ʔol-a-ne leave-IMP-2SG	hinnu say	
	ʔolo-k'k'a leave-NEG	hid-e Say-AFF:DCL	hid-i-kko say-CNV-FOC	ha-nn-i-kko this-F-NOM-FOC	
	hikke then	loʔo-nna good-INST	jess-a -jte live-IMP-2PL	hid-i-ko-si say-INF--FOC-3M:SG	
	hi-ga-nna that-LOC-INST	hajʔ-i die-CNV	ʔol-id-e leave-PF-AFF:DCL	hi-nn -i-kko that-F-NOM-FOC	
	hara-i other- NOM	b-a-ʔa not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL			

Because of this saying he said "You laughed at me." I said her "leave it" but she did not leave it. I again said "leave it." still she did not leave it. This is what created a great problem upon us. Because of this he said, "Bye let you live in peace." After saying this he died for last. This is it. There is no another thing.'

Appendix 1: Text 3 Kucha Kati Taarike

'The Story of Kucha's King'

Narrator: Boluma Boshork'o; Age: 50

1. nu	dere-ga	hikke	tan-i	ʔer-a-so-fin	
we:GEN	country-LOC	then	I-NOM	know-NEG-NEG:DCL-PRVN	
bira		nu	ʔadd-as'-i	wede -nna	
before		we:GEN	father-PL-NOM	time-INST	
hajsuʔ-utt-iff-i		beni	k'utf'a	kaatu-su-k:o	
tale-PASS-Past Prog- NOM		ancient	kucha	king-DAT-FOC	
ʔindo-i	hajʔ-i-d-e		ki-d-oso	k'utf'a	kaatu-ro
mother-NOM	die-INF-PF-AFF:DCL		FOC-PF-3PL	kucha	king-DAT
ʔindo-i		hajʔ-unu-ko	kaata-z-i		
mother-NOM		Die-SR-FOC	king-DF-OM		

'In Our country, I did not know that in ancient time our fathers were telling the tale for the new generation like this. In ancient time, for king of Kucha, it was said that the mother of Kucha king was died.'

2. heede	kaati-fini	dere-z-i	ʔakababe-z-i		
that time	king-PRVN	country-DF-NOM	area-DF-NOM		
ʔudda	s'ooma-fini	be bifaʔ-atti-so	kiita	ʔajitsts-ada	
all	poor-PRVN	self gril-F:DF:NOM-LOC	message	send- INCH	
baad-i-kko	namʔu	ger-ons'-a	s'o:m-ons'-a	taa-ro	
go-CNV-FOC	two	men-PL:DF-ABS	poor-3PL:DF-ABS	I-DAT	
kiita	hamm-a-jte	baad-i	ta	ʔindo-i	
message	go- IMP:2PL	go-CNV	my	mother-NOM	
hajʔo-k-isi-d-e		hi-dipp-ita		pas'a-k-isi-d-e	
die-FOC-3FS- PF-AFF:DCL		say-NEG:PROH-2PL		cure-FOC-3FS-PF-AFF:DCL	
hi-dipp-ita		pas'a-k-isi-d-e		jo-kko-nne	
say-NEG:IMP-2PL		cure-FOC-3FS-PF-AFF:DCL		say-FOC-CONJ	

hitun-a	wodfa-ko-t-on-e	hit-i
you:2PL-ABS	kill-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	2PL:NOM

'When the mother of Kucha king died, and king had been the king of Kucha, at that time; all the people around the area were very poor. When he went to his daughter's house in order to send message, and he ordered two poor men, to take his message the place where it is expected; after you went there do not say that my mother is died or alive. If you say she is alive, I will kill you'

3. gezze	hiti	gada	parazo-ro	bak'ullo-ro
highland	you	lowland	horse-DAT	mule-DAT
kess-i	buzo-ro	bu	buull-ro	bu
take out-CNV	buzo-DAT	idiophone	buull-DAT	idiophone
buzo-ro	buullo-ro-ko-ti	kess-on-e		
buzo-DAT	bu:l:o-DAT-FOC-1SG	take out-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL		

'and your highland and low land I will be made for horse and mule and then I will make it for Buzo and Bulo also.'

4. haj?o-k-isi-d-e	hid-isa-kko-nne	buzo-ro
die-FOC-3FS-PF-AFF:DCL	say-FOC-3M:SG-CONJ	buzo-DAT
buullo-ro-ko-ti	kes-on-e	
bu:l:o-DAT-FOC-1SG	take out-FUT:IPF AFF:DCL	
hid-i-ko-si	wodfa-ko-t-on-e	hid-i
say-INF-PF-3M:SG	kill-FOC-1S-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	say-CNV
?ajts-e	hin-ko	jee-j-ga
Send-AFF:DCL	say-FOC	down-M:SG-LOC
ha-j-a	?aala-k-in-on-e	baad-i
this-M:SG-ABS	what-FOC-1PL-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	go-CNV
		hija
		then

'Even if it is said that is died, I would make it for Buzo and Bulo. Then atfer, he sent it that he would kill it. After said this down there, having gone there, we never take the Msage which is given to us. After I had gone, how did I speak?'

5.	hamo-kko	nas'a	kiita-z-a	tan-i	baad-i
	go- FOC	free	message-DF ABS	I-NOM	go-CNV
	?anda	?aala	hid-i-ko-ti	?oh-utt-on-e	
	so	what	say-CNV-FOC-1SG	speack-PASS-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	
	tane	jeed-i	haj?-i-kk-i	hid-i	hin-ko
	I	come-CNV	die-1SG:NEG-1SG	say-CNV	say-FOC
	jaato	gafe	jes-ir-i	petti-r-i	
	child	small	present-F:small-NOM	one-F:small-NOM	
	petti	petti	?ade-zu-ro	jes-iff-i-nna	hi-nn -i
	one	man-M:DF-DAT	Present-PROG-NOM-INST		that-F:SG-NOM
	kiita-i		hitun-a	wajiddi	s'o:nun-k-iti
	message-NOM		2PL-ABS	how	defeat-FOC-2PL
	hi-nn-i-ro		babbabba-je	?aabbo	hari
	that- F:SG-GEN-DAT		fear-	daddy	likewise
					go-:IMP-2PL
					3M:SG:JUSS
	hid-i	faat-att-i	hin-ko	hikke	?adde-z-i
	say-CNV	child-F:DF-NOM	say-FOC	then	father-M:DF-NOM
	waa-ko-t-on-ee				

what-FOC -1SG-FUT:IPF-Q

'I did not want to be killed. When he said this, a small girl, who was living there, and said, how could it be difficult for you to send this message? He felt fear for this, so you daddy you go without any hesitation. When the girl said like this, then the man, what shall I do after I go there?'

6.	baad-i	petti	bagga	?ajissi	gadd-i
	go-CNV	one	half	butter	put-CNV
	petti	bagga	?urk'a	tif-a-jte	urk'a
	one	half	mud	oint-IMP- 2PL	Mud
	tif-i	?is-i	?ojtʃ'-o-kko	?a:la-ko-t-on-ee	
	oint-CNV	she-NOM	ask-INFT-FOC	what-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-Q	

haj?-unnu	nu	?add-i	?indo-i	haj?-o-j-d-ee
die-SR	our	father-GEN	mother-NOM	death-INF-PF-Q
hikke	hid-i-sa	maak'-o-kko	haj?-ufunnu- ti	?ajissi
then	say-CNV-REL	return-INFT-FOC	die-SR-1SG	Butter
gadd-i-d-ee	pas'a	jes-i-d-ee	hinnu	pas'a
put-CNV-PF-Q	alive	present-CNV-PF-Q	having said	Alive
jef-unnu-ti	?urk'a	tij-i-d-ee	hitta	hitu-ro
present-SR-1SG	mud	oint-CNV-PF-Q	having said	2PL-DAT
?ol-a-jte	hikke	hid-i		
leave- IMP-2PL	then	say-NOM		

'You put on the one side butter and on the other side pain the mud. After you paint the mud, if she asks, what will I say? If she died, was our father's mother died? If he says like this, was it because of that she died, I put the butter on my head? Is she alive? If she is alive why do we paint the mud? Having said this, you leave it.

7.

hin-ko	?ero	hinde	hid-i-kko	
say-FOC	ok	then	say-CNV-FOC	
ger-ons'-i	baad-i	kaata-z-i	bifa?-att-i -so	
men-3PL:DF-NOM	go-CNV	king-DF-NOM	gril-F:DF-GEN-LOC	
k'utf'a	kaata-z-i	bifa?-att-i -so	baad-i	gakk-i
kucha	king-DF-NOM	gril-F:DF-GEN-LOC	go-CNV	arrive-CNV
petti	bagga	?ajissi	gadd-i	petti
one	half	butter	put-CNV	One
bagga	?urk'a	tij-i	baad-i	gakk-un-ko
half	mud	oint-CNV	go-CNV	reach-SR-FOC
?ana-nna-k-iti	jee-d-ee	hinnu	kaati	
where-INST-FOC-2PL	come-PF-Q	having said	king:NOM	
?ajitsts-un-k-ini	jeed-e			
send-SR-FOC-1PL	Come-AFF:DCL			

'When he said like this, · ok if then, said the men after they went there. They arrived to

the house of Kucha king's daughter. Having put the butter on the one side and painted on the other side the mud. After they arrived, "from where did you come", they said. We came here by the order of the king.'

8.	?aakko	haj?-isa	haj?-ufunnu-ini	?ajissi
	what	die-3M:SG	die-SR-1PL	butter
	gadd-i-d-e		?oo-kko	?asse
	put-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL		who-FOC	again
	jes-i-d-ee		je	kaata-z-i
	present-CNV-PF-Q		VOC	king-M:DF-NOM
	haj?i-ja	?ol-i-d-ee	?aj	haj?-ufunnu-ini
	die-3F:SG	leave-CNV-PF-Q	wow	die-SR-1PL
	tif-i-d-ee	hikke	hid-i-kko	hii -nna
	oint-CNV-PF-Q	then	say-CNV-FOC	that-INST
	bif-att-o	faat-att-o	dents-i	?ek:-i
	woman-F:DF-ABS	child-F:DF-ABS	pick up-CNV	take-CNV
	jeed-i-so	dents-i		
	come-CNV-3PL:AF:DCL	pick up-CNV		

'What is died there? If he died we, put the butter. Also who is.... is he present alive? Is the mother of the king died? Wow! When she died, did we paint mud? Having said this, then after, they brought the woman and the girl after taking away.'

9.	?ekk-i	jeen-kko	jeepo-z-a	jeed-i	maak'-i
	take-CNV	come-FOC	mourning-M:DF-ABS	come-CNV	return-CNV
	ta	?indo	kaati	?indo	haj?-o-ki-d-e
	my	mother	king	mother	die-INF-FOC-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL
	hid-i	?an-ko	?oh-utt-o -j -d-iso		Hina
	say-CNV	where-FOC	speak-PASS-INFT-NOM-3PL-PF-3PL		Here
	baad-i	ger-ons'-i	baad-i	hinnu	
	go-CNV	men-3PL:DF-NOM	go-CNV	having said	

ʔakkaje	jere -tte-nna		wa:kk-i	hid-iso
no	come-3PL-NEG		what-CNV	say-3PL:AFF:DCL
petti	bagga	ʔurk'a	tif-i-kko	petti
one	half	mud	oint-CNV-FOC	One
bagga	ʔajissi	gadd-i-kko		ger-ons'-i
half	butter	put CNV FOC		men-3PL:DF-NOM
baa-d -e		hid-i	hin-ko	gamʔ-a-re
go-PF-AFF:DCL		say-CNV	say-FOC	stay-NEG-NEG:REL
ʔoollo -z -a	ʔa:tsts-i	ma:k'-a-re -ko -si		hi-nn-o
horse-M:DF-ABS	bring-CNV	return-NEG-NEG"RELFOC-3MS		that -FS-ABS
hid-esi	ʔoo-kko-na	hid-i		ger- ons'-a
say-3M:SG	who-FOC-Q	say-CNV		men-3PL:DF-ABS

'When they brought, after they reached the mourning, my mother, the king's mother, is died. By saying this did they talk anything? Having gone there the men, said like this. No, they did not come. What did they do? On the one side they painted mud and on the other side they put butter. It is said that after putting the butter the men went away without saying in the mourning place, he returned. "Who said that", he asked the men and the men say,

10.	ʔojitʃtʃ-un:u-k:o	ger-ons'-i	ʔoh-i-kk-i	ta
	ask-SR-FOC	men-3PL:DF-NOM	tell -1SG-NEG-1SG	My
	faat-att-o-ko-si	wof-on-e	hid-i	ʔadd-o
	child-F:DF-ABS-FOC-3MS	kill-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	say-CNV	father-ABS
	maak'k'-esi	ʔasse	faat-att-i-ro	laputt-i
	being-3M:SG	again	child-F:DF-NOM-DAT	worry-CNV
	faat-att-i-ro	ʔoh-i-kk-i	hid-i	ʔik'k'a -nnu
	child-F:DF-NOM-DAT	tell -1SG-NEG-1SG	say-CNV	no-while
	faat-att-i	ʔaako-ni	babb-e	
	child-F:DF-NOM	why-2SG	fear-AFF:DCL	

"I do not tell; if I tell he will kill my daughter", said the father who was worrying about his daughter. When the girl refused, telling the fact, "You girl, why do you feel

afraid?

11. **hari** **?oh-a-ne** **tan-ko** **hid-isa** **hid-i**
likewise tell-:IMP-SG I-FOC say-2M:SG say-CNV
- hinnu** **ha-nn -i** **mala** **faat-at:t-i-kko**
having said this-F:SG-NOM like child-F:DF-NOM-FOC
- ha-nn -i** **mala** **taa-ri-kko** **hid-isa** **?ana-ne**
this-F:SG-NOM like I-DAT-FOC sasy-3M:SG where-2SG
- faat-att-o** **hinnu** **faat-att-o** **jeed-i** **bejs-un**
child-F:DF-ABS having said child-F:DF-ABS come-CNV show-SR
- bejs-iso** **wotftf-i-ko-si** **?uli** **baad-i-ko-si**
show-3PL look-CNV-FOC-3M:SG back go-CNV-FOC-3MS
- faat-att-o-ko-ti** **hi-nn-o** **?epp-on-e**
child-F:DF-ABS-FOC-1SG that-FS-ABS marry-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
- 'Let you tell without any fear", said the man. "I said it." he said. The girl told me like this; where is the girl? Then the girl came and showed her. After he saw the girl, he returned back and wanted to take the girl.'

12. **hid-i-ko-si** **azantsi** **kess-i** **?ajts-un-ko**
say-CNV-FOC-3M:SG mediator take out-CNV send-SR-FOC
- lazantsa -z-i** **galla** **faat-att-i** **gel-i-kk-i**
mediator-M:DF-NOM on child-F:DF-NOM marry-1SG-NEG-1SG
- gela-ko-t-on-e** **hin-ko** **?adde-z-i**
marry-FOC-1SG-FU:IPF-AFF:DCL say-FOC father-M:DF-NOM
- gel-i-doppo** **ta- faat-é** **nen -a-kko** **kaat-i**
marry-CNV 2SG:PROH my-child:VOC you-ABS-FOC king-NOM
- wod-on-e** **ta** **sooma-kko** **ta** **polo-kko**
kill-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL I poor-FOC I dry-FOC

ta	taa-ro	hari-kko	hajz-i	ʔarde
I	I-DAT	likewise-FOC	Quite-CNV	live

'He sent the mediator. On the mediator, the girl said, "I will no marry." "I will marry" she said and the man, "Do not marry my daughter; I am poor. If you marry the king will kill you I myself..." he said. I simply live quietly.'

13. **ta- gezz-e-ra** **ta- gaḍa-ra** **tan-i-nni** **hajʔ-i-kk-i**
 my highland-COM my lowland-COM I-NOM-INCL die-1SG-NEG-1SG
- bulo-ro** **buuzo-ro** **ta- gezz:e** **ta- gaḍa**
 bulo-DAT buuzo-DAT my highland my lowland
- kess-i-kk-i** **tan-a** **ta- jaat-att-é** **gadd-a-ne**
 take out-1SG-NEG-1Sg I-ABS my child-F:DF-VOC put-IMP-2SG
- ta- gezz:e** **ta- gaḍa** **kess-i-kk-i** **tan-a**
 my highland my lowland take out-1SG-NEG-1Sg I-ABS
- ʔol-a-ne** **hikke** **hid-i-kko** **je** **ʔaabbo**
 leave-IMP-2SG then say-CNV-FOC VOC daddy
- babb-i-dopp-u** **hari** **ʔing-a-ne**
 fear-CNV-2SG:PROH likewise give-IMP- 2SG

'With my high land and low land I do not die. I do not want to give high land and low land for Bulo and Buzo. Let you enable me to live. Please leave it. When he said like this, she said, "You father do not fear you give it without any fear."'

14. **hajz-ane** **nee-ro** **tan-ko** **maatstsi** **gadd-ada**
 quite-IMP- 2SG you-DAT I-FOC milk put- INCH
- lazantsi** **ʔajitsts-i** **baa-se** **ger-ons'u-ro** **hikke**
 mediator send-CNV go-REL men-3PL-DAT then
- his-ajte** **hoo** **ta** **kaat-i** **mifiro**
 act-IMP-2PL ok I king-NOM wife
- hatte** **sung-i-ko** **ʔol-i-d-e** **ta** **kaat-i**
 now name-CNV-FOC becom-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL I king-NOM
- hikke** **kaat-i** **tan-a** **lazantsi** **ʔajitsts-i**

then	king-NOM	I-ABS	mediator	send-CNV
tan-a	s'eer-us-i-k:o	?ol-i-d-e		ta- ?addi-nne
I-ABS	curse-CAUS-CNV-FOC	becom-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	my father-CONJ	
s'oo?u	wakka			
idiophone	idiophone			

'You keep quiet, I will give the answer on the behalf of you" he said. For the men who went as a mediator, you do like this Ok! I am named as the wife of the king; the king cursed me just now. I am untouchable woman. Nobody can touch me by now'

15. **sooma-kko tan-i-nni sooma-kko bena kaati**
 poor-FOC I-NOM-INCL poor-FOC self king
kaati-ko-si-n-e hatte ta kaati mifiri-kko
 king-FOC-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL now I king wife-FOC
bena kaati hise-sa-z-i bee-so kara-pa
 self king make-PROG-M:DF-NOM self-house outside- ABL
dents-i ta- ?ad:i-so kara gatsts-ada ?apilla
 pick up-NOM my father-house outside reach-INCH cloth
bena kaati-ko-si-n-e
 self king-FOC-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL

'My father and, I are poor. He always says himself king, king. Now I am a wife of the king. 'When he says himself king, from his house upto my father's gate cloth is king, he says himself the king.'

16. **mitf'o-kko ?apilla-ga-nna-kko kaati mifiri baa-n-e**
 stretch-FOC cloth-LOC-INST-FOC king wife go-IPF-AFF:DCL
gel-o hari hang-i ?er-a-?a baad-i
 marry- INFT likewise go-CNV know-NEG-NEG:DCL go-CNV
oh-a-jte hikke hid-i hin-ko hikke
 tell-IMP- 2PL then say-CNV say-FOC Then

?aade-ppa	kessi-kko	kaata-zu-ro	baad-i	?oh-un-ko
true-ABL	take out-FOC	king-M:DF-DAT	go-CNV	tell -SR-FOC
kaata-z-i	?arakka	?arakka	hi-nn-o	hatte
king-M:DF-NOM	wow	wow	that-F:SG-	now

ABS

?ane	wotftf-ana	gud-att-o	he
let	look-1SG:OPT	bad- F:DF-ABS	that
taarik-att-o	?ane		hi-nn-o
that history-DF:F-ABS	let		that-F:SG-ABS

wotftf--o-ko-t-on-e
look-INFT-FOC-1SG-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL

'When the cloth is stretched the wife of the king goes through it. She does not go without it. When he said, "You go and tell it", then truly they take it out and went to the king and told him the fact. Then the king said, "Wow, let me see her. Who is she?" The king said, "Let me see that amusing history."'

17. **hid-i-kko** **kaata-z-i** **hi-ga-pa** **hikke**
say-CNV-FOC king-M:DF-NOM that-LOC-ABL then
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| doottsu-so | jes-edē-ra | be- s'o:ma-so | be- ?umma-so | jes-e |
| neighbor-house | live-PL-COM | self poor-LOC | self head-LOC | live-AFF:DCL |
| ?apilla-ra | mitʃʹtʃʹ-i | ?ajikk-i | mitʃʹtʃʹ-i | ?ajikk-i |
| cloth-COM | stretch-CNV | catch-CNV | stretch-CNV | catch-CNV |
| hikke | dents-i | ?i | ?addi-so | kara |
| then | pick up-CNV | her | father-house | outside |
| gatsts-ada | ?ekk-i | ?eng-un-ko | hikke | tan-a |
| reach- INCH | take-CNV | take-SR-FOC | then | I-ABS |
| ?agg-uwe | hid-i | ?asse-kka | ?adde-z-i | |
| leave-IMP | say-CNV | also-INCL | father-M:DF-NOM | |
| hin-ko | ?agg-ik-e | s'eera | gid-ada | kawó |
| say-FOC | leave-1SG:NEG-AFF:DCL | curse | happen-INCH | king |

matftfo	duwe	k'as	tan-i	kawo
wife	is not	also	I-NOM	king

?agg-ik-e

leave-1SG-NEG-AFF:DCL

'Then after, the king those who live with neighbours, the cloth which belongs his poor and his own by stretching and stretching it and taking it upto her father's gate, then, " Do not leave me?", the man said, " I do not leave, after I cursed and also I am a wife of aking" she said.'

18. **hid-i-kko** **hikke** **ji-nna** **?aade-ppa** **bifa?-att-i**
 say-CNV-FOC then there-INST true-ABL gril-DF:F-NOM
- ?aabbo** **tan-a** **kaatf'a** **hikke** **hid-i**
 daddy I-ABS purify then say-CNV
- hinnu** **?aade-ppa** **?adde-z-i** **kaatf'-i** **?apilla**
 having said true-ABL father-M:DF- NOM purify-CNV cloth
- ga-nna** **hant-i** **bak'ulo** **togg-a-re**
 LOC-INST walk-CNV mule ride-NEG-NEG:REL
- bifa?-att-i** **kaata-zu-so** **jeed-i** **gakk-i**
 gril-DF:F-NOM king-M:DF-house come-CNV reach-CNV
- kaata-z-i** **bifa?-att-o** **kaatf'-ada** **?apa** **?alga-ga**
 king-M:DF-NOM gril-F: DF-ABS purify-INCH over bed-LOC
- kess-ifi-nna** **na-je** **jee-jte** **hikke** **hid-i-nto**
 take out- PROG-INST girl-VOC yes-RESP then say-CNV-RESP
- hinnu** **beni** **ta-**
 having said ancient my

'Am not I the wife the king? I do not leave." she said. Then after, the girl said, "Daddy, let you purify me." Having said this, for the truth, the man or father purified her. Waking on the cloth, the girl who is not riding the mule arrived, the king's house. When the king wants to purify the girl, during he gets the girl on the bed, "You girl." he said. "Yes!", when she said like this, then after, in ancient time'

19. **?indo** **haj?-unnu** **ne- ?add-o** **?urk'a** **tif-i**
 mother die-SR your father-ABS mud oint-CNV
- ?ajissi** **gadd-i** **hamm -a-ne** **haj?-o-ko-si-d-e**
 butter put-CNV go-IMP- 2SG die-INF-FOC-3MS-PF-AFF:DCL
- hi-doppo** **pas'a-ko-si** **jes-i-d-e** **hid-i**
 say-2SG:PROH alive-FOC-3M:SG present-CNV-PF AFF:DCL say-CNV
- biide** **bok'k'-i-doppo** **hid-i** **hid-i-se-si**
 mouth speak-2SG:PROH say-CNV say-CNV-REL3M:SG
- nemm-a-wa**
 you-NEG-INTR

'When my mother died, having painted my father the mud, and having put the butter, you go. Do not say anything that he is died or he is alive. The one who said like this is you?'

20. **hoo** **tan-ko** **?asse** **hatte** **ta**
 ok I-FOC also now I
- nen-a** **?epp-ada** **?ajitsts-unnu** **?asse-kka**
 you:2SG-ABS marry-INCH send-SR also-INCL
- fir-utt-i** **hatte** **?apilla** **kaati** **mifiri-kko**
 turn-PASS-CNV now cloth king wife-FOC
- tan-i** **s'eer-i-kko** **?oli-d-e** **mit'o-kko**
 I-NOM curse-CNV-FOC become-PF-AFF:DCL stretch-FOC
- ?e-ga-nna-ko-ti** **tan-i** **kes-i** **hamm-on-e**
 it-LOC-INST-FOC-1SG I-NOM go out-CNV go-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
- hid-i** **hise-si** **nemm-a-wa** **hoo** **tan-ko**
 say-CNV make-3M:SG you-NEG-NEG:INTR ok I-FOC
- hatte** **ta** **nen-a**
 now I you:2SG-ABS

'Yes I am. Again now when I send the mediator to marry you, and again having

returned, now getting the cloth . She said, "I am the wife the king, and cursed already." "When the cloth stretched, then after, I get on it, and go away." who says this, is you? Yes! I am. Jus now I will pass the night having married you,'

21. **hantso** **?ekk-i-kko** **?ak'-on-e** **ne** **taa-ro**
 today take-CNV-FOC pass-night-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL you I-DAT
jel-i **?ak'a -n-on-ee** **gade-i** **geez-uffu-nni**
 give birth-CNV pass-night-2SG-FUT:IPF-Q earth-NOM break-PROG-INCL
haj?-i **?ajs** **jel-i-kka-mma** **his-i** **ka:tʃ'-a-ne**
 die-CNV why not give-birth-INCL-1SG act-CNV purify-IM-2SG
kaata-z-o **hinnu** **jee** **hinnu** **haj-ga-pa**
 king-M:DF-ABS having said yes having said this-LOC-ABL
majdo-ra **wad-utt-iffi-nna** **bazzo** **baad-i-se** **?ussu**
 ox-COM kick-PASS- PROG-INST desert go-CNV-REL heifer
maatstsua-nna **tan-a**
 milk-INST I-ABS

'will you give for me a birth when the day breaks? Wow! Why not I give you birth? "You king, let you purify like this." he said. Having said yes, a heifer which needs sex with an ox went to the desert, (a heifer.). If you purify with the heifer's milk,'

22. **kaatʃ'-o-kko-kko** **tan-i** **na?a** **jel-on-e**
 purify-INF-FOC-FOC I-NOM son give birth-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL
?ussu **maatstsua-nna-kko** **kaatʃ'-utt-e** **tan-i** **gela?o-kko**
 heifer milk-INST-FOC purify-PASS-AFF:DCL I-NOM girl-FOC
hid-i **hin-e** **hantso** **wad-utt-iffi-nna**
 say-CNV say-AFF:DCL today kick-PASS- PROG-INST
bazzo **?ussu** **baad-i** **gadd-i** **hina-pa-ja**
 desert heifer go-CNV put-CNV there-ABL-LOC
hantso **jel-i** **?ak'a-j-n-ee** **ne- ka:wota**
 today give birth-CNV pass night-3M:SGS-IPF-Q your kingdom
ne- ?ad:i **kaawote** **wode-ppa** **hantso** **gatsts-ada**

your father	kingdom	time-ABL	today	reach-INCH
wona	hantso	ne	bijfo	?epa jaato
earlier	today	you	wife	marry child

'I will give birth. I will be purified with the heifer's milk. I am a .girl or virgin; having said this. While it needs sex today, it goes desert, a heifer having gone, from there, can it be possible to pass the night having given birth today? Beginning from your kingship and your father's kingship, when you marry a wife to day, is it possible for her to give a birth immediately?'

23. **jela -j-n-ee** **gade-i** **gee3-ada** **wona** **bijfo**
 give birth-3M:SG-IPF -Q earth-NOM day break-INCH earlier wife
- jel-ada** **hid-i-ja** **jaato** **?ekk-es-oo**
 give birth-INF say-CNV-LOC child marry-3M:SG-Q
- ?ak'o-ro** **jeff-unnu** **s'ooss-i** **?ing-aje**
 pass night - DAT live-SR God-NOM give-3M:SG:JUSS
- ?arakki** **ha-nn-i** **bee-ro** **tan-a** **wode-ssi-ko**
 wow this-3F:SG-NOM self-DAT I-ABS kill-DAT-FOC
- ?ajikk-i-d-e** **hikke** **kaata-z-i** **?aade-ppa**
 catch-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL then king-M:DF-NOM true-ABL
- ?ekk-i-d-e** **hirikki** **bifa?-att -i** **jes-uffun-ko**
 take-CNV-PF- AFF:DCL over there down gril- F:DF- NOM live-SR-FOC
- ?asse-kka** **?akabebe-z-a** **kess-i-kko**
 also-INCL surrounding-M:DF-ABS take out-CNV-FOC
- kaata-z-i**
 king-M:DF-NOM

'Does she give birth untill the day breaks? Does marriage takes place in order to bear a girl? When it is performed for the sake of living, the God gives birth. Wow! "This woman wants to kill me. So, I have to marry her.", said the king. Then he married her and continued living with her. And also all the surrounding area, is called by the king'

24.	hikke	dend-i	bifa?-att-i	?utt-iffi-nna-kko
	then	stand-NOM	gril-DF:F-NOM	sit- PROG-INST- FOC
	nen-a	kaati	kaati-k-iso	nen-a kaati
	2SG-ABS	king	king-FOC-3PL	2SG-ABS king
	kaati	hid-i-k:o	nen-a	hiso nen-a
	king	say-CNV-FOC	2SG-ABS	say:3PL 2SG-ABS
	kaati	kaati	hise-sa-z-i	?an -ir-i
	king	king	make-PROG-M:DF-NOM	what-F:small-NOM
	majne-ko-na	nen-i	ne- ka?e-tetsts-att-i	ta- ?add-o
	border-FOC-Q	2SG-NOM	your kingship-NMZ-F:DF-NOM	my father-ABS
	s'ooma-z-i-nne		mitstsi tuussu	?essi-d-e
	poor-M:DF-NOM-CONJ		tree central-pillar	erect-PF-AFF:DCL
	dere-z-a	ne	tj'onnak'-uss-i	wont-un wont-un
	people-M:DF-ABS	you	challenge-CAUS-CNV	day break-SR day break-SR

'Then, having stood the girl continued living with the king. "The people say you a king, a king." said the girl, and they say you a king, a king always. What things and criteria make a king? And people always call you a king, a king. The limit of you kingdom is up to what? My poor father, erected the tree as central pillar and you, the king also the erected the tree as central pillar. You are getting the people in the problem; you are always saying that I will kill you. Why is that? Why for?'

25.	wod-ada	his-isi	?ani-ri-ko-na	?ane ?er-a-re
	kill-INCH	act-3F:SG	which-F:SG-FOC-Q	let know-NEG-NEG:REL
	nen-a	gatta	mitstsi-ko-ti	gada-pa
	2SG-ABS	grass	tree-FOC-1SG	lowland-ABL
	?essi-d-e-nni-n-e		ne- kawo-tetsts-att-i	?an-iri-kona
	erect-PF-AFF:DCL-INCL-2SG		your king-NMZ-DF:F-NOM	what-3F:SG-FOC-Q
	hikke	hid-i	bifa?-att-i	hin-ko
	then	say-CNV	gril-F: DF-NOM	say-FOC

hike	gatta	mitstsi	tan-a	dab-o
then	grass	tree	I-ABS	disappear-INF
gatta	mitstsi	tan-a	dab-o	bazzo-si
grass	tree	I-ABS	disappear-INF	desert-3M:SG

‘Without knowing, do you mean that, you have erected grass from low land as central pillar? "Which one is your kingdom?" said the girl. Having said then, let me see if I miss the grass which can serve as central pillar. Let me see if I miss the grass which can serve as a tree in the desert. ‘

26. **dab-i-d-e** **hid-i-ko** **?as:e-kka** **kaata-z-i**
disappear- CNV-PF- AFF:DCL say-CNV-FOC also-INCL king-M:DF-NOM
- bene-su-tstso** **?udda** **walandʒ-ede** **?aakk-ede** **mas'-i**
ancient-3M:SG-as all sword-PL something-PL collect-CNV
- kalt-ede** **gand-ede** **paas-ede** **kessi** **deru-ro**
hatchet-PL axe-PL big axe-PL take out people-DAT
- ?ing-i-kko** **be- fanka** **?ullat-o** **?ol-un** **baad-i**
give-CNV-FOC self hunting go-INF leave-SR go-CNV
- gatta** **mitstsi** **tuussu** **?ess-ada** **hid-i**
grass tree central-pillar erect-INCH say-CNV
- dere-i** **worg-o** **worg-o** **hif f-unnu**
people-NOM search-INF search-INF say-SR
- worg-o** **worg-o** **hif f-unnu** **hikke** **gatta**
search-INF search-INF say-SR then grass
- mitstsi** **dab-o** **?ol-un** **mifir-att-i-kko** **jeed-i**
tree disappear-INF leave-SR woman-DF:F-NOM-FOC come-CNV
- gakk-i** **ha-ja** **?aala-k-in-on-e** **hinnu**
arrive-CNV this-3M:SG:AB what-FOC-1PL-FUT:IPF AFF:DCL having said
- haj?-iti** **hana** **?ekk-i** **jee-d-e**
die-2PL here take-CNV come-PF-AFF:DCL

'Having said this king also like the ancient time, all the swords, other things, gathering hatchets, axes and big axes having given for the people, and when they went away for their hunting. When having gone there, the grass like tree is wanted to be erected as central pillar. For this purpose the people tried to find it out. The people did not find the grass like tree in the desert. When they arrived to the wife of the king, she said, "why did bring it here?" you foolish!'

27. **paase-z-a** **gande-z-a** **?udda** **mas'-i** **?aakko-z-a**
 big axe-M:DF-ABS axe-M:DF -ABS all collect-CNV what-M:DF-ABS
- kalta-z-a** **hina** **futftfu** **galla** **?itf'u-rutsts-i**
 hatchet-M:DF ABS there stone on kick-RESP-CNV
- ?aape-z-a** **mah-o ?ol-i** **dema-k-in-d-e-finnu**
 sharp edge-M:DF-ABS return-INF leave-CNV find-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL- PRVN
- ?iis's'-i** **?iis's'-un** **k'ajs'ok'a-ko-si-d-e** **hid-i**
 cut-CNV cut-SR disjoint-FOC-3MS-PF-AFF:DCL say-CNV
- ja-jte** **gam?u** **?esi** **jeeff-un:u** **hike**
 say-IMP- 2PL later he:NOM come-SR then
- jo-kko** **tan-ko** **jeed-i** **maltse** **gadd-ada**
 say-FOC I-FOC come-CNV answer put-INCH
- hana** **bees-a-jti** **hiti** **kalta-z-a** **hari**
 here show-IMP- 2PL 2PL:NOM hatchet-M:DF-ABS likewise
- ?ekk-i** **jeed-i** **gande-z-a**
 take-CNV come-CNV axe-M:DF-ABS

'The big axes, small axes collecting all other things including hatchets you put the on the stone and hitting it and making them unsharpen, then you say "We found it" but, "when we cut it repeatedly, it does not disjoint.", you say like this when the king comes later. If you say like this, I will give the answer after I would come. "Let you bring and show the hatchet without any fear and you take the axe and then you go all to the desert" she said'

28. hari	?ekki	jeed-i	hid-i	?asse
likewise	take-CNV	come-CNV	say-CNV	Also
dere-z-a	bazzo	?is-i	?ajitsts-un	bazzo-pa
people-M:DF-ABS	desert	she-NOM	send-SR	desert-ABL
gam?u	worg-o	worg-o	hiff-i-n:a	dab-unnu
later	search-INF	search-INF	say-CNV-INST	disappear-SR
ʃutʃtʃa-z-i	galla	mas'-i	?itʃ'u-rutsts-i	
stone-M:DF-NOM	on	collect-CNV	hit-RSPR-CNV	
?oli-kko	hina-pa	dend-i	jeed-i	dere-z-i
leav-FOC	there-ABL	stand-CNV	come-CNV	people-M:DF-NOM
gakk-e	?adde-z-i	be- ga:ja	?uffu	
arrive=AFF:DCL	father-M:DF-NOM	self tobacco pot	smoke	
be- tukke	?uffu			
self coffee	drink			

'Later from the desert, they search it repeatedly and they did not find it. They hit all instruments on the stone to make it unsharpened. Starting from there, they came. When the people came, the man, smoked his tobacco and drunk his coffee.'

29. jef-unnu	?upupe	hiff-i-nna	?assaj	hiff-i
present-SR	tiresome	say-CNV-INST	weldone	say-CNV
gera-z-i	jeed-i-kko	?alla	his-isi	
men-M:DF-NOM	come -CNV-FOC	ground	act-3FS	
totoski	his-i	kalta-z-a	gande-z-a	
idiophone	act-CNV	hatchet-M:DF-ABS	axe-M:DF-ABS	
hal-o	?alla	jese-s-ga-kko	hikke	
throw-INF	ground	exist-DAT-LOC-FOC	then	
waa-ko-si-d-e				
what-FOC-3MS-PF-AFF:DCL				

'Thereafter, the people arrived with huge tiresome by breathing heavy breathe in order to show their tiresome. The dropped the instruments on the ground. They also threw the hatchet and axe on the ground. When it is on the ground, then, "How is it my people.

30. **ta-ger-ons'-o** **hid-i** **hinnu** **?oj**
 my men-2PL:DF-VOC say-CNV having said wow
dema-k-ini-d-e-fin **nun-i** **?iis'-o ?iis'-o**
 find-FOC-1PL- PF-AFF:DCL-PRVN we-NOM cut-INFT cut-INFT
hif-un-ko-si **k'ajs'-o-k'k'a** **hid-e** **?in**
 say-SR-FOC-3M:SG disjoint-INF-NEG:REL Say-AFF:DCL idiophone
kawo-z-a-ga-k-isi **jes-i-d-e** **?asse** **?is-i**
 king-M:DF-ABS-LOC-FOC-3FS present-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL also she-NOM
jee **?aala-ko-ni-n-ee** **hikke** **hid-i** **hinnu**
 yes what-FOC-2SG-IPF-Q then say-CNV having said

'...to insert within it. The hatchet and axe should be erected in the donkey's horn. Otherwise it does not function. Is there no donkey's horn in you country?" said the woman. When she said this, Wow! What does she mean? Does the donkey have horn from the beginning?'

31. **hinde** **birā** **gatta** **mitstsi** **hari**
 then before grass tree likewise
kalta-nna **gande-nna** **?is's'-unnu** **mitstsu-nna** **?esse-su-nna**
 hatchet-INST axe-INST cut-SR tree-INST erect-DAT-INST
?iis's'-un:u **k'ajs'-o-si-n -ee** **hare** **kat'e-ga**
 cut-SR not joint-INF=3MS- IPF-Q donkey horn-LOC

'... he said. Wow! We found it but, when we cut it repeatedly, it did not separate yap! She also wow present with the king. "Yes! What do you say?" he said, then, as everybody knows, in ancient time the grass like tree, if we cut the grass like tree by using hatchet and axe, will it be separated easily without any challenge? The donkey's horn is needed'

32. **ʔessi-se-su-n:a-ko-si** **ʔiis's'-un:u** **k'ajs'e** **ʔatt-unnu** **hare**
 erect-RLC-DAT-INST-FOC-3MS cut-SR disjoint leave-SR Donkey

katʃ'e-i	baje	hare	katʃ'e	kesse-i
horn-NOM	not present	donkey	horn	take out
ne- dere-ga	baje	hid-i	ʔis-i	hin
your country-LOC	not present	say-CNV	she-NOM	say
parak'k'i	ha-nn-i	waakki-n-ee	wona	hare-i
wow	this-3F:SG-NOM	what-IPF-Q	earlier	donkey-NOM
kessaj-ijfe	bira	hid-i	hinnu	wona
bring up-PROG	before	say-CNV	having said	earlier
bira	gatta-i	tuussu	ʔeʔaj-ise-ʃina	
before	grass-NOM	central-pillar	erect-REL- PRVN	
dere-z-a	ʔas-ko-n	tʃ'annak'-ee	won	ʔan-ko
people-M:DF- ABS	why-FOC-2SG	challenge-Q	earlier	what-FOC
ne- ʔad:i	kawo-tu-n	ne	kawo-tu-n	
your father	king- PASS-IPF	you	king- PASS-IPF	

'When he said this, does the grass like tree erect as central pilar before? So, why do challenge the people?'

33. **hantso** **gatsts-ada** **tʃ'im-o** **wode-ppa** **tʃ'aal-o**
 today reach-INCH become old-INF time-ABL get old-INF

wode-ppa	dere-z-a	hari	s'ooma-ko-si	
time-ABL	people-M:DF-ABS	likewise	poor-FOC-3M:SG	
maak'k'i-d-e	hid-i	ne- kawo-tetsts-i	bejs-i	nen-i
become-PF-AFF:DCL	say-CNV	your king-NMZ-NOM	show-CNV	2SG-NOM
dere-z-a	waaju-se-si	wona	gatta-i	tuussu
people-M:DF-ABS	problem-REL-3MS	earlie	grass-NOM	central-pillar
ʔeʔaj-ise-ʃina	ja	ʔer-i	dere-wu-ro	
erect-REL- PRVN	that	know-CNV	people-DF-DAT	

maar-utt-i

forgive-PASS-CNV

maak'-a-ne

return-IMP- 2SG

'When you become a king and your father becomes a king, have you seen such type of miracle, until today's time, since we become adult and old, you are challenging the people because of their being poorness. So, this is not fair. As you know, does the grass like tree serves as central pillar? Let you this know and ask an excuse from the people.'

34. **ja-kka** **?ammants-i** **?is-i** **?aatsts-un** **?olok'k'a**
 that-INCL get believe-CNV she-NOM bring-SR not leave
- hid-i** **kaata-z-i** **?inde gana** **fir-utt-i**
 say-CNV king-M:DF-NOM as again turn up-PASS-CNV
- ?asse-kka** **bazzo** **baa-ffi** **gaafe** **zere-zu-kko**
 also-INCL desert go-PROG t'ef seed-M:DF-FOC
- gaafe-z-ga** **haj-ga-nna** **ta** **gaafe-ga**
 t'ef-M:DF-LOC this-LOC-INST I t'ef-LOC
- pettiro-kka** **?atstsi** **jedf-onte** **mala** **tuke-i**
 one-INCL person step-NEG like foot-NOM
- bent-onte** **mala** **ta** **gaafe** **kiil-a-jte**
 get-NEG like I t'ef dig-IMP- 2PL
- hid-i** **dere-z-a** **?asse-kka** **kessi-n** **hikke**
 say-CNV people-M:DF-ABS also-INCL take out-IPF then
- tuke** **jedf-a-re** **s'ugume-i** **?aakko**
 foot step-NEG-NEG:REL nail-NOM what
- botf tf-a-re** **hikke** **kutfe-nna** **?aatf'-a-re**
 touch-NEG-NEG:REL then hand-INST scratch-NEG-NEG:REL

'After she has convinced him, he did not leave his usual challenging and when he was going to the desert, the cereal seed, in the cereal seed, on this my cereal seed, as nobody should walk "I do not want see anybody's foot print in cereal seed and you dig my cereal seed farm." he said.'

35. **wajsi-k-ini** **hikke** **gaafe** **kiil-i** **kes-on-e**
 how-FOC-1PL then t'ef dig-CNV go out-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL

dere-z-i **ʃiik'-i** **ʔasse-kka** **ʔis-o**
 people-M:DF-NOM gather-CNV again-INCL she-ABS

ʔojtʃ-un-k-isi **ʔis-i** **he-i** **kiile-i** **hitun-a**
 ask-SR-FOC-3FS she-NOM that-NOM dig-NOM 2PL-ABS

s'oon-unu-jti **hana** **jeed-i** **ʔojtʃ tʃ-e** **ʔudda**
 defeat-SR-2PL here come-CNV ask-AFF:DCL all

wokka **bagga** **ʔekk-i** **ʔaadʃ-a-jte** **ʃuura**
 upward side take-NOM pass-IMP- 2PL tree

ʔekk-i **wokka** **bagga** **ʔaadʃ-i**
 take-CNV upward side pass-NOM

wokka-gamma -ga-nna

upward-main-LOC- INST

'The king called the people again. The people said, "How do we work without stepping and touching it with our hand and nail?" Then, the cereal or "tef" "should be seeded by us" asked the people. Thereafter, the people gathered together and asked her what they were going to do. "Do not you know how seed that? Why do you ask me it again and again?" she said to the people. Having taken all the upward sides let you pass there and having taken the type of grass,'

36. **sule** **ʔudda** **ʃuura-z-a** **ʔekk-i** **sule**
 downward all tree-M: DF-ABS take-CNV downward

kes-a jte **pude** **kes-i-dipp-ita** **hid-i** **pude**
 go out-IMP- 2PL upward go out-CNV-PROH-2PL say-CNV upward

gaafe-z-ga **ʔatstsi** **kiile-ga** **s'aall-ideppe**
 t'ef-M:DF-LOC person dig-LOC step over-CNV-3PROH

hid-i-k-isi	?is-i	tamar-su-n-ko	?aade-ppa	
say-CNV-FOC-3F:SG	she-NOM	teach-CAUS-IPF-FOC	true-ABL	
dere-i	kessi-kko	woj-ga-nna	haj	mala
people-NOM	take out-FOC	up-LOC-INST	this:#M:SG	like
bibbir-edfe	mala	s'id-edfe	?azkk-edfe	mala
acacia abessinica-PL	like	juniper tree-PL		like
mas'-i	fijff-i	?ekk-i-kko	s'us'-edfe-z-a	mas'-i
collect-CNV	gather-CNV	take-CNV-FOC	thistle-PL-M:DF-ABS	collect- CNV

?ekk-i-kko	wookka-nna	sule	mah-i	keell-i-klo
take-CNV-FOC	upward-INST	downward	return-CNV	piled up-CNV-FOC
sule	?udda	kes-i	kes-i	kese-z-i
downward	all	go out-CNV	go out-CNV	go out-M:DF-NOM
ɖab-i	jii-nna	?allol-i	jes-un-ko	
disappear-CNV	there over-INST	leave-CNV	live-SR-FOC	

'Thereafter, downward side should be all taken down sides with the grass, having said do not go upward and upward to the cereal where the person should not step in it'. When she taught all these, the people came out from upward side. Like this, having gathered like acacia tree, juniper tree and other kinds, like thistle and they passed upward and then from there, they piled up downward and thereafter, they all flew away from the place. Having left in such way, what remains there? Well the information is up to this limit.'

37. **hikke** **?aaz-ee** **hinnu** **t'ok'k'oma-i** **ha-i**
 then what-Q having said information-NOM this-NOM
- majne-kko** **?is-i-kko** **ha-ja** **?ootsse-sa**
 limit-FOC she-NOM-FOC this-3M:SG do-CMZ
- ?er-us-o-z-a** **zore-z-a** **hid-i** **?asse-kka**
 know-CAUS-INF-M:DF-ABS advice-M:DF-ABS say-CNV also-INCL
- t'ok':o-gun-k'o** **hikke** **kaata-z-i** **katstsa**

hint-CAUS-FOC	then	king-M:DF-NOM	food
?ekk-idopp-u	haatstse	?ekk-idopp-u	budo
take- 2SG:PROH	water	take- 2SG:PROH	Fire

?ekk-idopp-u	?aakko	negere	hise-sa
take- 2SG:PROH	what	something	make-CMZ

?ekk-idopp-u
take- 2SG:PROH

‘She is the one who does it. In order to give the knowledge and advice, it is informed again. Then, the king said, "Do not take the food, do not take water, do not take fire, do not take whatever matter it is; ‘

38. **dend-a-n** **tana-ra** **bazzo** **kallo** **?indalle**
stand-IMP- 2SG I-COM desert bare as it is
- ne- ?atfo-i** **jes-i-se** **mala** **dend-o**
your flesh-NOM present-CNV-REL like stand-INF
- dend-a-ne** **hid-i-kko** **fanka** **bee-ro**
stand-IMP-2SG say-CNV-FOC hunting self-DAT
- baa-ffi-nna** **hikke** **hin-k-isi** **biffo** **maak'k'-i**
go-PROG-INST then say-FOC-3FS wife become wife-CNV
- gede** **hana** **s'oon-utt-i** **baa-ffi-nna**
there here defeat-PASS-CNV go-PROG-INST
- mak'ala** **laapa** **?ekki-k-isi** **golla** **?ekki-k-isi**
type of knife weak take-FOC-3FS sisal take-FOC-3FS
- golla-z-a** **?ommo-nna** **dabbo-ga**
sisal-M:DF-ABS under-INST waist-LOC

‘You stand up to go to desert with me; · nakedness as you have you bare flesh let you sand to begin our journey, meanwhile they started their hunting · When they started the journey as it is planed, the situation is changed, because of being a woman she could not afford the whole challenges. She took the small local knife

and sisal. Then, she gridded the sisal under her waist.'

39. **dantʃi-k-isi** **ʔe- ʔapa-n:a** **gabare** **maʔi-k-isi**
 grid-FOC-3FS it on-INST under cloth wear-FOC-3FS
- mak'ala-z-a** **ʔe- gawo-ga** **ʔajitsts-i-k-isi** **hikke**
 type of knife-M:DF-ABS it belly-LOC send-CNV-FOC-3FS then
- ʔe-ga-pa** **dend-i** **bazzo** **baad-i** **kaata-z-i**
 it-LOC-ABL stand-CNV desert go-CNV king-M:DF-NOM
- wod-o-ʔol-i** **katstsi** **ʔing-a-ne** **hikke** **hidin**
 kill-INF-leave-CNV food give-IMP- 2SG then having said
- fanka** **baa-ʃʃi-nna** **hikke** **fanka-i** **ʔullat-o**
 hunting go -PROG- INST then hunting-NOM go-INF
- ʔol-unnu** **golla-z-a** **ʃutʃʃu**
 leave-SR sisal-M:DF -ABS stone

'and upon it she wears the under cloth, having put the small knife inside it, she started the journey, in order arrive to the desert. They both arrived in the desert. E king said, "You give me food." Having said this, they went for hunting. When the hunting process is taken place. She cut sisal into pieces by using the stone.'

40. **ʔekk-isi** **ʔantʃi-k-isi** **budo-i** **baa-so**
 take-3FS cut in pieces-INF-FOC-3FS fire-NOM not_exist-NEG:DCL
- pite** **pige** **bak'k'-i** **kessi-k -isi** **hikke**
 broom burning stick rub-CNV take out-FOC-3FS then
- k'obbor-umma** **maatsts-i-k-isi** **mad-i-k-isi** **ʔesu-nna**
 euphoria -AGNT to milk-INF-FOC-3FS fasten-INF-FOC-3FS it-INST
- gind-i-k-isi** **boor-i** **fanka-pa** **gamʔu** **kaata-z-i**
 knead-INF-FOC-3FS beak-CNV hunting-ABL later king-M:DF-NOM
- gerur-i** **jefʃ-unnu** **hikke** **hina-ra** **ʃir-utt-i**
 brag-CNV live-SR then there-COM turn up-PASS-CNV
- ʔilil-us-i**

praise-CAUS-CNV

'There is no fire in the area. She created the fire by using the local method which is used by joining two sticks which can create the fire by the product of friction. Then, she prepared by milking euphorbia and fastening it with sisal and she kneaded it. Then she baked the bread. Later, when the king is coming back from the hunting by giving the expression of bragging for his being tactful'

41. **ʔekk-i** **boora-z-i** **ʔaatsts-i** **batsts-i** **ja**
 take-CNV bread-M:DF-NOM bring-CNV break-CNV that
- k'obboru-ra** **golla-wu-ra** **be-boor-i-se** **boora-z-a**
 euphorbia-COM sisal-DF-COM self beak-REL bread-M:DF-ABS
- ʔing-un** **ja** **kaata-z-i** **muud-i** **ʔe-wode**
 give-SR that king-M:DF-NOM eat-CNV 3M:SG-time
- fanka-pa** **jeed-i-k:o** **hikke** **ʔasse-kka** **ʔis-o**
 hunting-ABL come-CNV-FOC then also-INCL she-ABS
- ʔalanga-nna** **bukk-un -k-isi** **ʔaako-n** **tan-a**
 whip-INST hit-SR-FOC-3F:G why-2SG I-ABS
- ʔalanga-nna** **bukk-e** **ta-ʔadd-o** **s'ooma-z-kka**
 whip-INST hit-AFF:DCL my father-ABS poor-M:DF-INCL
- parazo** **togg-e** **nen-i-kka** **kaata-z-ka**
 horse ride-AFF:DCL 2SG-NOM-INCL king-M:DF-INCL
- parazo** **togg-e** **tan-a** **ʔinde** **gana**
 horse ride-AFF:DCL I-ABS as again
- fir-utt-i** **nen-a** **buku-se-si** **ʔaakko-naa**
 turn up-PASS-CNV 2SG-ABS hit-PROG-3M:SG what- Q

'... thereafter, she gave him the expression of praise wakefulness, and she breaks the bread into pieces, in order provide him as food · the food which is prepared from euphorbia and sisal as local bread. She gave it to him, the king ate the food which prepared by the woman. At that time when he came from hunting, he hit her

badly by using local whip. "Why do you hit me by whip? My father, who is the poor, rides the horse like you." she said. "You also, the king rides the horse." "What makes you to hit me again?"

42. **ta-ʔad:-o** **s'ooma-zu-pa** **nee-ro** **kawo-tetsts-att-i**
 my-father-ABS poor-M:DF-ABL you-DAT king-NMZ-F: DF -NOM
ʔann-i **majne-nna-ko-naa** **ne-kawo-tetsts-att-i** **hid-i-k-isi**
 where-NOM limit-INST-FOC-Q king-NMZ-F: DF-NOM say-CNV-FOC-3F:SG
hikke **ʔasse-kka** **jel-i** **benā**
 then again-INCL give birth-NOM self
gatsts-o ʔol-i **paro-ko-ti** **tog-e-ne** **hin-e-ne**
 reach-leave-CNV panther-FOC-1SG Ride-AFF:DCL-2SG say-AFF:DCL-2SG

'From my father's, the poor's kingdom, your kingdom is how greater is it? What is the border or the limit of she said, your Kingdome?' Having said this and she also she gave birth which seemed her. "Do you mean that you ride a panther without knowing it?" said to the king.'

43. **ʔer-a-re** **ʔaade** **kaati** **jitsti** **paro**
 know-NEG-NEG:REL truly king be called panther
togg-esu-kko **ʔis-i** **hin-ko** **paro-i** **tan-a**
 ride-3M:SG-FOC she-NOM say-FOC panther-NOM I-ABS
s'oon-o **ʔarakki** **hid-i-kko** **ʔasse-kka**
 defeat-JUSS wow say-CNV-FOC also-INCL
kaata-z-i **dend-i** **baad-i** **paro** **jaato**
 king-M:DF-NOM stand-CNV go-CNV panther kid
ʔajikk-i **ʔekk-i** **jeed-i** **diikk-i** **lafa gidda**
 catch-CNV take-CNV come-CNV get fat-CNV fenc inside

'In truth history king means the one who ride a panther." she said, "I cannot be the weakest to ride panther. So, let me go to desert and find out a kid of panther to ride

on." having said this, he went to desert and brought the kid of panther. Then he gets fat it there. Having put it inside the fence he started feeding it.'

44.	geltsi	lafa-i	?esu-ro	laappu-ʃin	lafa
	get enter	fence-NOM	he-DAT	seven- PRVN	fence
	gidda	gelts-i	ʔiikk-uffun	ʔiikk-uffun	ʔiikk-uffun
	inside	get enter-CNV	get fat-SR	get fat-SR	get fat-SR
	ʔiikk-uffun -k-isi	hikke	?ane	kaata-z-o	togg-i
	get fat-SR-FOC-3F:SG	then	let	king-M:DF-ABS	ride-CNV
	wotʃ:-a-ne	hid-i	kaata-z-a	kojr-esa	
	look-IMP- 2SG	say-CNV	king-M:DF-ABS	first-3M:SG	
	tog-us-i	bejs-i	lafa-z-i		
	ride-CAUS-CNV	show-CNV	fence-M:DF-NOM		

'The fences which the king has are seven in number. After putting inside the fence
·When they fed the kid of panther for a long time, the woman asked the king to ride
the panther for trying. The king was ordered to ride the panther.'

45.	laappu-ʃin	hajtstsi	lafa-z-a	paro-z-i	
	seven-PRVN	three	fence-M:DF-ABS	panther-M:DF-NOM	
	kaata-z-i	togg-uffun	ʔoll-un	?uli	
	king-M:DF-NOM	ride-SR	jump-SR	back	
	mah-i-k-isi	hikke	?asse	ʔiikk-i	hikke
	return-CNV-FOC-3FS	then	also	get fat-CNV	then
	?asse	jes-i-ʃʃi-nna	hikke	kaata-z-a	
	also	live-CNV-PROG-INST	then	king-M:DF-ABS	
	paro-z-i	galla	kess-i	hikke	gadd-ol-i
	panther-M:DF-NOM	on	take out-CNV	then	put-leave-CNV
	hinka-nna	hanka-nna	?ufe-nna	?atʃʃʃ-i	zis'is'i
	there-INST	here-INST	thong-INST	tie-CNV	Tighten

'After she tied it tightly, and performed it in such way. Then she asked the king whether all ties are well tied. The king to tell the ties are well tied and organized, having said this, she put the king on the panther. Then the panther, took away the king, and run into the desert. At that time the woman sat down by entangling her foot. She sat under the fig tree having her tobacco pot to smoke it

47. **ji-nna** **hike** **gaaj-att-o** **maak'k'-i** **?is-i**
 there-INST then tobacco pot- F: DF-ABS become-CNV she-NOM
- ?att-un-ko** **kaata-z-a** **bazzo** **mas'-i** **?udda**
 remain-SR-FOC king-M:DF-ABS desert collect-CNV all
- ?aakko** **wasi** **mas'-i** **zode-i** **?aakko-i**
 what something collect-CNV thorn-NOM what-NOM
- mas'-i** **dap-i** **muu-ffi** **s'alala** **?ufe**
 collect-CNV pull-CNV eat-PROG alone thong
- ?ajits:-ont-esa** **maak'k'-un** **dap-i** **muu-ffi** **s'alala**
 send-NEG-3M:SG become-SR pull-CNV eat-PROG alone
- hin-ko** **k'utf'a** **kaati** **paro-ra** **fab-i-d-e**
 say-FOC kucha king panther-COM disappear-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL
- hikke**
 then

'By this she, changed into the tobacco pot and remained there forever. The king was badly exposed for different dangers, in the desert. Having collected all things and different tree types snatched his body parts in the desert because of the obstacles which were created by thong which was again tied by it with different trees.'

48. **hid-i** **hin-ko** **beni** **ger-i**
 say-CNV say-FOC ancient men-NOM
- hasu?-un-ko-ti** **tan-i** **ja** **?er-e** **tan-i**
 telling tale-SR-FOC-1SG I-NOM that know-AFF:DCL I-NOM
- ?er-esi** **ji-kko** **ta- bagga-nna**

know-3M:SG

there-FOC my side-INST

'That was the end of the king of Kucha as it is narrated in tale. · Because of this accident, the king of Kucha was disappeared with the panther from the area. I heard this from our father folktales. I knew that ancient people have been narrating it as folktale. What I know from my side is this one.'

Comments:

In general, the points which were observed from the above annotation are listed below.

1. From Amharic borrowed words are repeatedly appeared in the annotation.
2. Some null or meaningless expressions are used in the language of narrator.
3. Some idiophones which are very difficult for glossing and free translation are used.

Appendix 1: Text 4 **ʔogade ʔootstso**
 'The Issue of Foreign Affairs in Kole'
 Interviewee: Kalbe Chonde; Age: 75
 Interviewer: The researcher

1. **ʔee saro pejfo-jti-d-ee ta-ʔad:i galata hiti suntsi**
 alright fine good afternoon-2PL-PF-Q my father thanks your name
ʔoode-ti-jon-ee kalbe tʔonde kalbe tʔonde ʔee kalbe tʔonde
 who-1SG-IPF -INTR prop Name prop Name yes Prop Name
ʔero hiti ha dere-zi-ga hiti-ro halaape-tetstsi ʔaala-wa
 ok you this country- DF-LOC you-DAT responsible-NMZ what-INTR
ʔootstso-i ʔero taa-ro ʔee
 work-NOM ok me-DAT yes

'Alright! Good afternoon my father. Thanks! What is your name? Kalbe Chonde.
 Kalbe Chonde. Yes! Kalbe Chonde. Ok in this country what is your work and
 responsibility? Alright, mine? Yes!

2. **taa-ro ʔalape-tetstsi ʔog-ade-kko ʔog-ade-z-i ʔee**
 I-DAT responsibilty-NMZ road-owner-FOC road-owner-DF-NOM yes
ʔamara-so-nna ʔirmaso ʔirmaso hitstsu-kko
 amhara-LOC-INST Ambasadar ambasadar say-FOC
ʔirmaso hikke hittsa-z-i ʔaaze hikke
 ambasadar then say-DF-NOM what then
hitu-so-nna ʔehi jo-kko dinbare dinbare-i
 2PL-LOC-INST IDEO say-FOC border border-NOM
bonke dinbare-nne
 name of place border- CONJ

'For me the responsibility is keeping the border; the border keeper. In Amharic, it is
 called Ambassador. Aha! Ambassador means what? The border keeper, the border of
 bonke.'

3.	kole	dinbare-nne	je	?aha	?oof-utt-o
	name of place	border-CONJ	IDEO	cough	fight-passiv-CNV
	wode	nii?i	biffo	botftfo	wode
	time	IDEO	wife	touch	time
	jaato	botftfo	wode	?ii	doro
	child	touch	time	IDEO	sheep
	miisi	botftfo	wode	dinbare-z-i	
	cow	touch	time	border-M;DF-NOM	
	galla-ko-si	jee-n-e	dinbare -z-i	galla	jeed-i
	on-FOC-3M:SG	come-IPF-AFF:DCL	border-M:DF-NOM	on	come-CNV
	gadd-i	dinbare-z-i	tj'aak'o	miiFFE-k:o	laakna-nna
	put-CNV	border-M:DF-NOM	oath	matter-FOC	Name of place-INST
	jesij-esi	mala	hii	garbana-nna	
	Present-#M:SG	like	IDEO	Name of place-INST	
	jesij-esi	mala	hikke	jo-kko	dinbare-z-i
	Present-#M:SG	like	then	say-FOC	border-DF-NOM
	galla	jew-o-kko	dinbare-z-i	galla	k'or-i
	on	come-INF-FOC	border-DF-NOM	on	identify-CNV
	gadd-i	?immu	?aha	ne	jelo-i
	put-CNV	IDEO	cough	your	son-NOM

'And the border of kole keepers came together, when they made disagreement · Aha! To touch somebody's wife, somebody's child, sheep and cow is not allowed. When this issue occurs it is taken to the border keepers for negotiation· since the border is place of swear, after they came to the border place like on the Laka side, like on the Garbantsa side , and other border, the issue comes on the border for negotiation after it is identified. The issue is listed like this: your children for growing up,'

4.	ditftf-ana-jis:a-s	ne- ha:ro-i	suudd-ada-s-us
	grow up-IPF-REL-DAT	your wealth-NOM	collect-INCH-DAT- CAUS
	ne- jelo -i	suudd-ada	?a
			ne- jelo-i

your son-NOM	collect-INCH	IDEO	your son-NOM
ditf:-ada-s-us			ne- dor-i
grow up- INCH-DAT-CAUS			your sheep-NOM
?uukk-ada- s-us	s'illo	mangiste-j-ikka	
shout-INCH-DAT-CAUS	truth	government-3M:SG -INCL	
?oh-utt-a-ne	s'illo -kko	dos-e	?ii
speack-PASS-IPM:2SG	truth-FOC	like-AFF:DCL	IDEO
?oode-i-k:a	s'illo	dos-e	nen-i
who-NOM-INCL	truth	like-AFF:DCL	you-NOM
ditf:-ada-s-us	nen-i	jel-ada-s-us	
grow up- INCH-DAT-CAUS	you-NOM	bear- INCH-DAT- CAUS -	
		CAUS	

'Your wealth becomes huge amount, for your generations grow up, for you sheep shouts, let you speak the truth. The government likes the truth; everybody likes truth. If you want to develop, to give birth by saying this phrase, if you say like this you will be the true man.'

5. **haar-ada-s-us** **hikke** **jo-kko** **hikke** **jo-kko**
wealth-INCH-DAT-CAUS then say-FOC then say-FOC
- haa ?ahaa** **tʃ'aak'o-z-a** **bejs-i** **ta** **ha-nn-o**
pause wow oath-DF-ABS how-CNV I this-3F:SG-3F:ABS
- ?ootsts-i** **baa-su-kko** **tan-i** **kajs-i**
do-CNV not exist -NEG:DCL-FOC I-NOM steal-CNV
- baa-su-kko** **tan-i** **?atstsi** **gene** **tan-i**
not exist -NEG:DCL-FOC I-NOM person injustice I-NOM
- ?atstsi** **miifje** **?ek:-i** **baa-su-kko** **tan-i**
person money take-CNV not exist -NEG:DCL-FOC I-NOM
- gene** **?atstsi** **gujidd-i** **baa-su-kko** **wordo-nna**
injustice person kick-CNV not exist -NEG:DCL-FOC lying- INST
- 'Aha! Showing swears brings to the truth. I did not do this. I did not steal any body's

8.	ha-i	mala	?ootsta-tt-esa	hii	ha-i
	this-NOM	like	do-PASS-REL	IDEO	this-NOM
	mala	hanta-tt-esa	mala	hanta-tt-esa	hikke
	like	do-PASS-REL	like	do-PASS-REL	then
	hid-i-k-ini		tj'aak'-utsts-i	gelts-e	
	say-CNV-FOC-1PL		swear-CAUS-CNV	make enter-AFF:DCL	

'other issues like this should not happen; having said this, we brought the agreement and brought peace IDEO aha'

9.	?eero-naade	hii	?asse	bonke	?oga
	Ok-bravo	IDEO	also	name of place	road
	?aa	balta	?oga-nna	hikke	jo-kko
	IDEO	Name of place	road-INST	then	say-FOC
	?aade-kko	balta	?oga-nna	tan-a-ra	hatte
	true-FOC	Name of place	road-INST	I-ABS-COM	now
	?ootsts-es -i	jesa-kko	tan-a-ra	?ootsts-esa-z-i	
	do-3M:SG-NOM	present-FOC	I-ABS-COM	do-REL-DF-NOM	
	mak'k'a	maaride-kko	ha-j-a	?e ?e	hiti
	Name of person	Name of person-FOC	this-3MSG-ABS	yes yes	2PL:NOM
	hituna-s	maadd-e-n-ee	?aasi	?ootsts-ee	ta?a ta?a
	2PL-DAT	support-AFF:DCL-IPF-INTR	what	do-INTR	I I
	tan-a-ra	hija	?abale-kko	?abale	?ee
	I-ABS-COM	hence	member-FOC	member	yes
	?abale-kko	tan-a-ra	?o:ts:-esa		
	member-FOC	I-ABS-COM	do-REL		

'...and also on the side of bonke border, on the balta border it happens like this, on the balta border there is somebody who works with me, the one who is working with me is called Maka Maride; this one. Ok! Ok! Is he helping you or what is he doing? I I with me hence he is a member, ok yes he is a member; he is the one who is working with me.'

10.	?ero	naade	hikke	jo-kko	?asse
	ok	bravo	then	say-FOC	also
	haja haja	balta	dinbare-nna	hanka-nna	jo-kko
	This:ABS	this:ABS	Name of place	border-INST	here-INST say-FOC
	he balta	dinbare-z-i	galla	wola	botftf-esa
	that	Name of place	border-DF-NOM	on together	touch-REL
	hii	tʃeema	kajs-i	gadd-i	?att-esa
	IDEO	night	steal-CNV	put-CNV	remain-REL
	hii	tʃeema	wod-i	?att-esa	hii
	IDEO	night	kill-CNV	remain-REL	IDEO
	tʃeema	gene	tʃadd-i	?att-esa	dinbare-z-i
	night	injustice	pierce-CNV	remain-REL	border-DF-NOM
	galla				
	on				

‘...remain IDEO night injustice pierce-CNV remain border-DF-NOM on bravo! If it is happened also like that on the balta border the same thing took place; on the border of balta the one who touch each other in the night, who steals somebody’s property the one who kills at night and remains also the one who attacks the people injustice after we have gone on the border we said let you see this;’

11.	nun-i	hang-i	gadd-i	bej-a-ne	ha-nn-i
	we-NOM	go-CNV	put-CNV	see-IPM:2SG	this-3F:SG-NOM
	mala-ko-ni	ta dere-z-a	botftf-i-d-e	ha-nn-i	
	like-FOC-2SG	my people-DF-ABS	touch-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	this-3F:SG-NOM	
	mala-ko-ni	mangiste-i	?ik’k’a	hid-i-se	miijfe
	like-FOC-2SG	government-NOM	refuse	say-CNV-REL	matter
	?ootsts-i-d-e	bej-a-ne	ha-nn-o	hikke	
	do-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	see-IPM:2SG	this-3F;SG-ABS	then	

hid-i	nun-i	jo-kko	?aaj
say-CNV	we-NOM	say-FOC	no

'...you did like this upon my country and you did like this that the issues which the government refused and did not like, if we said you see this effects no,'

12. **nun-i** **nam?a-ntso-tftfu** **?asse** **hiff-i-nna** **gadd-i**
 we-NOM two-ORD.NM-also also say-CNV-INST put-CNV
- | | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| pett-ade-z-a | baa-su-kko | hizipe-z-a |
| one-owner-DF-ABS | not_exist-NEG:DCL-FOC | people-DF-ABS |
- | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|---------------------|
| hizipe-z-a | bej-a-ne | k-ini-n-e | pett-ade-z-i |
| people-DF-ABS | see-IPM:2SG | FOC-1PL-IPF- AFF:DCL | one-owner-DF-NOM |
- | | | | | |
|-----------------|--------------|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|
| muga-nna | hikke | jo-kko | nu dere-z-ga | geltsu-kko |
| behind-INST | then | say-FOC | our country-DF-LOC | get enter-FOC |
- | | | | | |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| nu gife-ga | nu giste-ga | geltsu-kko | nu ?a | nu dok:o-ga |
| our share- LOC | our wheat-LOC | enter-FOC | our IDEO | our cabbage-LOC |
- nu wo?u**
 our IDEO

'...for the second time we also said not the only one person who attacks the people then we said you take the people. Because of one person, if it happens we do not do bad things upon our people, in our property in our land's wheat we do not bring sins evil deeds, we in our cabbage,...'

13. **?uuttsu-ga** **geltsu-kko** **geltsu-kko** **nun-i** **lo?o**
 false banana-LOC get enter-FOC get enter-FOC we-NOM good
- | | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|-------------------|---------------|
| ditf'tf'-ada-s-us | lo?o | hant-ada-s | jo-kko |
| grow-INCH-DAT-CAUS | good | walk-INCH-DAT | say-FOC |
- | | | | |
|--------------------|------------------|------------------------|--------------|
| ?es-ade-kko | ?es-ade-i | ha-j-a-ko-n | hikke |
| he-owner-FOC | he-owner-NOM | this-3M:SG-ABS-FOC-2SG | then |

jo-kko	gasa-z-ga	gadd-iso	wulata-zu-n:a-kko	
say-FOC	free land-DF-LOC	put-3PL	favour-DF-INST-FOC:be	
?es-ade	k'as's'aj	gadd-i	hikke	himmu
he-owner	punish	put-CNV	then	IDEO
?u	ha-j-ra	kajso-ra		
IDEO	this-3M:SG-COM	thief-COM		

'...in our false banana we do not allow bad deeds. If we want to do good things, if we want to travel here and there without any problem, we do not allow evil deeds, the one who asked and he claimed that you are the one who did these bad things so, according the well kept rule of the border and the agreement of the border we punished the one who did evil deeds; giving this solution, we said hereafter we do not live with the thief...'

14. **jesu-kko** **wordo-ra** **jesu-kko** **hikke** **jo-kko**
said-FOC lying-COM said-FOC then say-FOC
- ?es-i** **maaga-tstsi** **hudaga -tstsi** **hikke** **hid-i-kko**
he-NOM boss-NMZ boss title-NMZ then say-CNV-FOC
- dere-z-ga** **gel-e** **?ero** **?ero-naad-as'i**
country-M:DF-LOC enter-AFF:DCL ok ok-bravo-2RESP
- ?ero-naad-as'i** **dere-z-ga** **?es-i** **gele-so** **wode**
ok-bravo-2RESP country-M:DF-LOC he-NOM enter-LOC time
- ?iffi** **hantso** **ha-nni-ppa** **gene**
ok today this-3F:SG-ABL injustice
- ?ootstso-kko-tftfu** **tj'aare-i** **taa-ssi** **mel-o** **ha-nni-ppa**
do-FOC-what about shoots-NOM I-DAT dry-3SG:JUSS this-3F:SG-ABL
- wordo** **?ootstso-kko-tftfu** **?e jel-es-i** **ditftj'-i-deppe**
lying do-FOC-what about he bear-3M:SG-NOM grow-CNV-3MS:PROH
- haar-es-i** **suudd-i-deppe** **ta jempo-i**
wealth-3M:SG-NOM collect-CNV-3MS:PROH my soul-NOM

barkat-i-deppe	ʔee	ta	ʔidime-i	barkat-i-deppe
bless- CNV-3MS:PROH	yes	I	age-NOM	bless- CNV-3MS:PROH
hikke	hid-i-ko-si		tʃ'aak'-utsts-i	his-i
then	say-CNV-FOC-3M:SG		swear-CAUS-CNV	do-CNV
gadd-i-k-ini	hikke	joo	hikke	hid-i
put-CNV-FOC-1PL	then	amen	then	say-CNV
gadd-i	dere-z-ga		ʔes-a	gelts-e
put-CNV	country-M:DF-LOC		he-ABS	make enter-AFF:DCL

'...and we do not live with liars. Having said this he gives the title of Maga and the title of 'Huduga having performed this process they mix with the society. Ok! Ok! I would like to say you bravo for this good cultural acts' When he mixes with the society, ok, from today on ward, apart from this bad deed, and if I do injustice let my generation be destroyed. If you do other bad deeds, what measures should be taken? You children did not grow up; let your wealth be destroyed, let my soul be diminished let my life expectancy be shortened having said this they had him swore; after doing this, we create the peaceful condition in the area. Thereafter, they made him to mix with the society.

15. **tatta tatta** **daro loʔo** **daro loʔo** **ʔidum-utt-i** **hija**
 IDEO IDEO very good very good hug-PASS-CNV henc
joo **hid-i** **ʔidumu** **ʔohe-i**
 amen say-CNV hug talk-NOM
ʔaala -kko-j-n-e **ʔohe-i** **ʔaala -kko-j-n-e**
 finish-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL talk-NOM finish-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL
s'ooss-i **ʔing-o** **s'ooss-i** **ʔing-o**
 God-NOM give-JUSS God-NOM give-JUSS
daro loʔo **hatte** **him k'aʔa** **hatte** **wore**
 very good now IDEO IDEO now talk
sije **ʔol-ek-eta** **sorbu-nne** **ʔasse** **hang-i**
 hear leave-NEG-2PL sorbu- CONJ ʔas:e go-CNV

gadd-i	kole-nne	ha-i	mala-kko	hang-i	
put-CNV	kole-CONJ	this-NOM	like-FOC	go-CNV	
gadd-i	kole-i		hang-i-kko	?aaze	hikke
put-CNV	name of people-NOM		go-CNV-FOC	what	then

'It is very good, very good. You finish having hugged each other · Amen! Amen! We finish by hugging each other. Then all the matter is finished, which means it is finalized by this. May God bless you? It is very good performance now · Aha, aha, aha now it is hoped that you heard about Sorba and also having gone Kole and like others Kole went to the fighting place. What is this?'

16. **hinnu** **ha-i** **mala-kko** **hikke** **hijf-un-ko**
 having said this-NOM like-FOC then say-SR-FOC
- bonke-ji-nne** **kole-ji-nne** **gaatf'ajo -ga**
 bonke-3M:SG- CONJ name of place-3M:SG-and Name of place-LOC
- gah-i** **gadd-i-k:o** **?ol-utt-i-d-e** **kole-z-i**
 arrive-CNV put-CNV-FOC fight-PASS-CNV-PF:AFF:DCL kole-M:DF-NOM
- ?asse** **daro** **hatte** **kole-z-i** **haj?-o-ki-d-e**
 also many now kole-M:DF-NOM die-INF-FOC-PF-AFF:DCL
- balta-z-i-kka** **haj?-o-ki-d-e** **he** **boota-z-a**
 balta-M:DF-INCL die-INF-FOC-PF-AFF:DCL that Place-M:DF-ABS
- mangiste-i** **hina** **balta-z-a** **?igintsi**
 government-NOM there Balta-M:DF-ABS make agreement
- gadd-i** **jeed-i** **gadd-i** **kole** **bagga-nna**
 put-CNV come-CNV put-CNV kole side -INST
- nun-a** **?ojitf'tj'-unu-k-ini** **worada-pa** **jeennu**
 we-ABS ask-SR-FOC-1PL district-ABL having come
- gadd-i-k-ini** **mak'k'a** **maaride-ra** **bonke**
 put-CNV-FOC-1PL Name of person Name of person-COM bonke
- bonke** **kes-i-k-ini** **bonke** **?eeng-i** **nen-ko**
 bonke come up-CNV-FOC-1PL bonke take away-CNV you-FOC

tan-a	wod-isa	tan-i	nen-a	?ol-ada
I-ABS	kill-2SG:AFF:DCL	I-NOM	you-ABS	fight-INCH
hang-i	baa-so	?ee?i	?asse-tftfi	kole
go-CNV	not_exist-NEG:DCL	IDEO	also-what about	kole
zalle-pa-ko-si		hang-i-d-e		
zalle-ABL-FOC-3M:SG		go-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL		

'It is like this. Bonke and Kole people fought in the place called Gachayo . The Kole people injured badly in this fighting. All the Kole and Balta people died in huge number. In that place the government brought agreement with the balta people. On the side of Kole, we have been asked by the men who came from Bonke Wereda about the issue occurred in the area. Then, I and Maka Maride went up to Bonke area and we start to compromise, with them and said, you people of Bonke, you killed my people, I did not go to fight and kill your people.

17. **kole** **zalle-pa** **hang-i-j-esa-zu-k:o** **hang-uf:un-ko-si**
kole zalle-ABL go-CNV-3MS-REL-M:DF-FOC go-SR-FOC-3MS
- ?aaze** **hinnu** **sorbu-ko** **wod-i-sa** **sorbu-ko**
what having said sorbu-FOC kill-CNV-REL sorbu-FOC
- wod-i-sa** **hikke** **hinnu-k-ini** **?era**
kill-CNV-REL then having said-FOC-1PL wise
- hang-i-deppa** **?att-un** **nen-a** **?ol-ada** **nun-i**
go-CNV-PROH leave-SR you-ABS fight-INCH we-NOM
- dend-i** **hang-i** **bas-tt-esa-z-a-ko-ni** **nun-a**
stand-CNV go-CNV go-PASS-REL-M:DF-ABS- FOC-2SG we-ABS
- ?aatstsi** **mello** **dere** **bonke-i** **wod-i-d-e**
give none people bonke-NOM kill-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL

'On the other side from Kole Zale, the people went to fighting place; the ones who went from Kole Zale, having gone they asked what happened in the area? They got the answer that Sorba people killed some men. When they said Sorba people killed the men, we asked the old people, wise people; we simply went there make sure about the cases; we did not go there to make fighting with you and you simply without any reason, your people Bonke, killed my people said the Kole representatives.'

18.	hikke	hin-ko	tan-i	wof-i	baa-so
	then	say-FOC	I-NOM	kill-CNV	not_exis-NDG:DCL
	sorbu-kko	wof-i-sa	hinnu	sorbi	wowof-es-i
	sorbu-FOC	kill-CNV-REL	having said	sorbi	kill-3M:SG-NOM
	mala	maak'o	taa-ro	s'ill-a-ne	hikke
	like	enough	I-DAT	pure-IPM-2SG	then
	hink-ini	ja	tʃ'aak'-utsts-i	warad-uns'-i	
	that-1PL	that	swear-CAUS-CNV	district-3PL-NOM	
	jeed-i	?ee?-unnu	k'oonna	?ilma	hikke
	come-CNV	stand-SR	k'oonna	?ilma	then
	his-esu-ra	?e?i	taddasa	mirgo	hikke
	call-3M:SG-COM	IDEO	tadese	mirgo	then
	his-esu-ra	tʃ'aak'-utsts:-i	add-i-k-ini	?e?i	
	call-3M:SG-COM	swear-CAUS-CNV	put-CNV-FOC-1PL	IDEO	
	jel-es-i	ditʃ'tʃ'-ada-s-us	haar-es-i		
	bear-3M:SG-NOM	grow-INCH-DAT-CAUS	own-3M:SG-NOM		
	suudd-ada-s-us	?e?i	wodira-i	?epp-ada-s-us	
	collect-INCH-DAT-CAUS	IDEO	thigh-NOM	take-INCH-DAT-CAUS	
	wodira-i	?epp-ada-s-us			
	thigh-NOM	take-INCH-DAT-CAUS			

'The Bonke representative said my people did not kill your people; but the Sorba people killed them. Let you swear by saying that the Sorba people killed them and not my people; by forcing them for this swear ceremony, in front of the wereda officials with the men who is called Kona Yilma and Tadese Mirgo we forced them to come in the process of swear.'

19.	?e?i	ne-gade-ga	dor-i	?uukk-ada-s-us	miisi
	IDEO	your land-LOC	sheep-NOM	shout- INCH-DAT-CAUS	cow
	?uukk-ada-s-us	s'ill-a-ne	hikke	hinnu	
	shout- INCH-DAT- CAUS	pure-IPM-2SG	then	having said	

?ootsts-o-rk-o	?ootsts-o-rk-o	hikke	hid-i
work-1PL-NEG-1PL	work-1PL-NEG-1PL	then	say-CNV
ger-uns'-i	tʃ'aak'-unnu-k-ini	tʃ'aak'-utsts-i	gadd-i
men-3PL-NOM	swear -SR-FOC-1PL	swear-CAUS-CNV	put-CNV
hikke-ppa	mangiste	mangiste-i	je-ji-ga-pa
then-ABL	government	government-NOM	down-3M:SG:NOM-LOC-ABL
worada-pa	jeed-i	nuu-ro	?apa-nna-kko
district-ABL	come-CNV	we-DAT	over-INST-FOC
jes-i-d-e	hate	hikke	jo-kko-tʃtfu
live-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	nowe	then	say-FOC-what about
hikke	wake-k-in-on-ee	waan-eti	hikke
then	how-FOC-1PL-IPF-Q	what-2PL	then

'On the behalf of your generation and your wealth, on the behalf of your marriage processes, and your wedding ceremonies on the behalf of you cattle, and their breeding systems, we said let you swear for truth. "Yes! We did not do it, we did not do it" the Bonkes swore. Having taken swear process, hereafter the government, the government and its officials are above us. Now what we are going to do is just to bring agreement and peace for our environment.'

20. **hinnu** **ha-jissa-kko** **nu baale-z-i** **ha-jiss-ee**
 having said this-3M:SG-FOC our culture-DF-NOM this-3M:SG-Q
- ?ee hija** **hist-o-ji-nni** **wostan-ee** **hikke**
 yes hence do-INF-3M:SG-INCL what to do then
- hink-ini** **hija** **nam?a-ntso-tʃtfu** **tʃ'aak'-appa**
 that-1PL hence two-ORDNM-what about swear-ABL
- ?att-un** **hin** **?e?a** **hink-es-i**
 leave-SR say IDEO that-3MS-NOM
- bonke-i-nne** **balta-z-i-nne** **?a** **bonke-z-i-nne**
 bonke-NOM-CONJ balta-DF-NOM-CONJ IDEO bonke-M:DF-NOM-CONJ

kole-z-i-nne		tʃ'eeffo	galla-kko	jen-e jin
kole-M:DF-NOM-CONJ		angry	on-FOC	exist-AFF:DCL PRVN
wode	wode-i	wola	wola	botʃtʃ-a-tte
time	time-NOM	together	together	touch-NEG-NEG:REL
mala	wola	wola	k'os's'-a-tte	mala
like	together	together	hit- NEG-NEG:REL	like
?ii	gene	?ootsts-a-tte	mala	hikke
IDEO	injustice	do- NEG-NEG:REL	like	then
be-jisa	s'illa-k-usi-d-e			
self-POSS	become true-FOC-3PL-PF-AFF:DCL			

'After they gave swear process, there should not be problem now on wards. People from there should trade here. People from here should trade there. We hope that all of you can understand the language we are using here. You are bravo · Yes! Hereafter, it is finished like this. Yes! By saying like this, whoever, it is under government; no one touches each other. In addition to our traditional rule, the government's modern rule and regulation is applied upon us. This government's rule and regulation, for us is told like this; after the government ordered us to bring peace and agreement, if one person touches other, we will expose him and give to the government.'

21. **tʃ'aak'k'-i** **?usun-i** **s'ile-esu-ppa** **muga** **hikke**
 swear-CNV they-NOM pure-REL-ABL behind then
- hink-es-i** **hana** **gaaja-je** **hank -es-i** **gede**
 that-3M:SG-NOM here market-JUSS this-3M:SG-NOM there
- gaaja-je** **hija** **k'onk'a-z-a** **?udda** **hikke**
 market-JUSS hence language-DF-ABS all then
- ?era-k-iti-n-e** **?ero-naade** **hoo** **hi?aa**
 know-FOC-2PL-IPF- AFF:DCL ok-bravo yes IDEO
- hidi-ko -si** **?altse** **hoo** **hikke** **hid-i-k-ini**
 say-FOC-3M:SG finish yes then say-CNV-FOC-1PL

?oode	?oode	?oode	mangiste	?oommo-nna
who	who	who	government	under-INST
wola	botftj-a-tte		mala	mangiste tizaze
together	touch-NEG-NEG:REL		like	government order
?asse	nu-jiss-i	galla	mangiste	tizaze
also	wu-POSS-NOM	on	government	order

jee-tt-a-ki-d-e

come-PASS-DEEP-FOC-PF-AFF:DCL

'What we are going to do is this type. This is our existing culture and traditional norm how we give solution in the area. Is this the process that you are performing in the area? Yes! It is. Then, what shall we do next? Hence we performed the swear process and the other thing. Though, Bonke and Balta, Bonke and Kole are in disagreement, from now on ward everybody should come to the floor of agreement peace. There should not be disagreement among these people. These people should not touch each other. These people should not fight with each other. These people should not do injustice. Hence all should catch the truth, everything should be ignored.'

22.

jeed-i	gadd-i	mangiste	tizaze	nuu-s
come-CNV	put-CNV	government	order	we-DAT
ha-ja	?oh-a-ppa	?attun	?igint-a-jte	jesu-ppa
this-3M:SG:ABS	tell-DEEP-ABL	except	agree-IMP-2PL	say-ABL
muga	?ee-tti	?atstsi	botftj-uffn	nun-i
behind	yes-IDEO	person	touch-while	we-NOM
mangiste-s-ko	?es-ade	?aatsts-on-e		hikke ji
government-DAT-FOC	he-owner	pass-FUT:IPF- AFF:DCL		then that
wode-ppa	?udda	joo	hid-i-ko-si	
time-ABL	all	amen	say-CNV-FOC-3M:SG	
bu?-utt-i	gede	zal?-i	hana	zal?-i
mix-PASS-CNV	there	trade-CNV	here	trade-CNV

ʔudda	buʔ-utt-i	geretstse	hang-esa	ʔee
all	mix-PASS-CNV	gerese	go-REL	yes
worada-i	warada-z-i	geretstse	hang-esa	ʔaadd-i
district-NOM	district-M:DF-NOM	gerese	go-REL	
gadd-i	gene	ʔasse	ʔootsts-a-tte	mala
put-CNV	injustice	also	do-NEG-NEG:REL	like
gene	ʔootsts-es-i			
injustice	do-3M:SG-NOM			

'Thereafter, all people accepted and started normal social interaction among each other without any fear in the marketing places. All are combined and mixed. The one who goes Gerese, the wereda person goes Gerese, who goes to his road, should not be attacked by some persons unjustly.'

23.	tʃ'aak'o-z-i	ʔajikk-i	gad:-i	ʔes-ade	mangiste-ssi
	oath-M:DF-NOM	accept-CNV	put-CNV	he-owner	government-DAT
	kess-ada	mala	his-i-k-ini	ha-ja	
	take out-INCH	like	do-CNV-FOC-1PL	this-3M:SG:ABS	
	ha-ji-kko	tan-i	ʔootsts-ese	ʔootstso-z-i	
	this-3M:SG-FOC	I-NOM	do-REL	do-M:DF-NOM	

'The one who does injustice should be asked according to the rule. Swear which is accepted should not be violated. The one, who violates swear, should be given to the government. Let him be exposed by so doing we bring peace and agreement for our people. This is what I am doing for my people.'

24.	daro	loʔo	daro	loʔo	hija
	very	good	very	good	hence
	hitun-i	dassi	ʔaadd-i	ʔogadde	hiju-nna -kko
	2PL-NOM	border	pass-CNV	border keeper	that-INST-FOC
	dere-z-a	heeng-e	heeng-e	galata	
	people-DF-ABS	keep-AFF:DCL	keep-AFF:DCL	thank	

hituna	ha-ji-kko	bee	kase	ha-ja
2PL:ABS	this-3M:SG-FOC	IDEO	ancen	this-3M:SG:ABS
ge	hinka	gera-zu-ra	?oof-utt-un	
IDEO	those	men-M:DF-COM	quarrel-PASS-SR	
hitun-i	balti	maado-jti-	hang-i-d-e	wake
2PL-NOM	balta	help-2PL	go-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	how
hidi-jti	?oof-utt-i-d-e		balti	maado
say-2PL	fight-PASS-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL		balta	help
?ero	balti	maado	hang-i	baa-su-kko
ok	balta	help	go-CNV	not_exist-NEG:DCL-FOC
buwa	zalle kole-kko	jes-isa	?aa	
IDEO	zalle kole-FOC	present-3M:SG	IDEO	

'Very good, very good, by doing like this you keep your society's peace and justice you keep the people. I thank you. In the ancient time, when you create disagreement with other people you, go to in the place of fighting in order to help balta or how do you create quarrel? These are what we do. Yes! Yes, to help balta. Ok! We did not go to help balta. There is Zale Kole. Aha ok from Zale Kole;'

25.

?ero ?ero	zalle	kole-pa-kko	hoo	zalle
ok ok	zalle	kole-ABL-FOC	yes	zalle
kole-pa-kko	petti	?atstsi	?aadd-i	gadd-i
kole-ABL-FOC	one	person	pass-CNV	put-CNV
bee-ro	be- faato-so	hikke	hid-i	dara
self-DAT	self child-LOC	then	say-CNV	dara
hang-e	dara	hang-esa-zu-kko	?oge-ga	wof-?ol-iso
go-AFF:DCL	dara	go-REL-M:DF-FOC	road-LOC	kill-throw-3PL
?abo	?ola	?oge-ga	wof-un-ko	?aaze
wow	war	road-LOC	kill-SR-FOC	what
hikke	hinnu	sorbu-ko	wof-isa	hikke
then	having said	sorbu-FOC	kill-3M:SG:AFF:DCL	then

hinnu-kko	hari	kutfe	mela	kutfe
having said-FOC	likewise	hand	none	hand

?ajikk-is-att-i-nna	hikke
catch-3F-3F:DF-NOM-INST	then

'Yes, from Zale Kole one person having passed, he was going to his son's house which is located the place called Dara. The one, who was going to Dara, was killed on the road. Wow war! When the man was killed on the road, the happened question raised. What is this? The Sorba man killed him. Without any reason he was killed.'

26.

kole-z-i	hikke	du?-i	gadd-i	?aadd-i
kole-M:DF-NOM	then	come-NOM	put-CNV	pass-CNV
baa-n-e	ero-naade	du?-i	?aadd-i	
go-IPF- AFF:DCL	ok-bravo	come-NOM	pass-CNV	
ham-esa-z-ga-kko	ham-esa-z-ga-kko	hikke	kole-z-a	
go-REL-M:DF-LOC-FOC	go-REL-M:DF-LOC-FOC	then	kole-M:DF-ABS	
hikke	hina	hina	hikke	?asse
then	there	there	then	also
?ola	hikke	hina	?ajikk-?ol-iso	
war	then	there	catch-throw-3PL:AFF:DCL	
?ola	?ajikk-un-ko	balt-ede-z-i	hikke	wotftf-iffi
war	start-SR-FOC	balta-PL-DF-NOM	then	look-PROG
waak-in-on-e	?aak-in	han-on-ee	hif-kko	mokk-i
what-1PL-IPF-AFF:DCL	what-1PL	happen-IPF-Q	say-FOC	go-CNV
wotf:-ese	balta-z-a-kka	?ol-o		
look-REL	balta-M:DF-ABS-INCL	fight-INF		

'With their bare hand the Kole people went to Sorba passing through bonke area bravo! When the people go angrily in the process of troubling, during the journey, the Kole people started fighting with the people of Sorba. When the Kole people began fighting the balta people joined in the war in order to help the people of Kole.'

27.	ha-ja-kka		?ol-o	hikke	hin-ko	hikke
	this-3M:SG:ABS-INCL		fight-INF	then	say-FOC	then
	he-ji-n:a-kko		k'ajitsti	daro	lo?o	daro
	that-3MS-INST-FOC		separate	very	good	very
	lo?o	daro	s'ooss-i	?ing-o	ta- addi	
	good	very	God-NOM	give-JUSS	my father	
	?ero ?ee	hatte	?asse	hara-k-ini	?oh-utt-on-e	
	ok yes	now	also	other-FOC-1PL	speack-PASS-FUT:IPF-AFF:DCL	

The Sorba people fought the balta people who were observing the fighting. And they also fought the other people. The reason for fighting was this. Very good, very good, very good may God bless you my father ok. Now we also start talking about other things.

Appendix 1: Text 5 Gamo Kawo Dentsa Taarike

'The legend of Gamo Kings'

Interviewee: Kalbe Chonde; Age: 75

Interviewer: The researcher

1. hiti	hatte	hiti	?ogade-nna	hiti
2PL:NOM	now	2PL:NOM	border keeper-INST	2PL:NOM
?ootstsi-se		?ootstso-z-a	?udda	taa-ro
2PL:NOM do-REL		work-M:DF-3M:ABS	all	I-DAT
geffi -k-iti	?ohi-d-e	s'oossi	?ing-o	hatte
clear-FOC-2PL	tell-PF-AFF:DCL	God	give-JUSS	now
?asse	ta	worg-es-i	?ee	kole-i
also	I	want-3M:SG-CNV	yes	kole-NOM
daro	bagga-nna	jaw	gamo-i	med-utt-i-se
many	side-INST	that	gamo-NOM	create- PASS-CNV-RLC
biitta-kko	hid-i-kko	daro	gera-z-i	
soil-FOC	say-CNV-FOC	many	men-DF-NOM	
?oh-utt-e	?adda	gamo-ssu		
talk-PASS-AFF:DCL	all	gamo-DAT		

'Just now all what you are doing as the representative of the border keeper, you told me clearly. So, I would like to thank a lot. Now what I want is IDEO most of the time the Kole land or the place called Kole is considered as the place where the Gamo people is originated firstly. It is also said the people of Gamo is originated in the area of Kole'

2. kojro	med-utt-es-i	kole	kole-ga-pu-kko
first	create-PASS-3M:SG-NOM	kole	kole-LOC-ABL-FOC
kesi-d-e	hid-i	?oh-utt -o-kko-jiso	hara bagga
come out-PF-AFF:DCL	say-CNV	talk-PASS-INF-FOC-3PL	other side
?asse	hatte	kaat-ede	kaat-i
also	now	king-PL	king-NOM

ʔoffitʃi	hadirsi	sule	pude	hid-i
right	left	down	up	say-CNV
hang-es-i		kole-pa-ko-si-n-e		kesi-d-e
go-3M:SG-NOM		kole-ABL-FOC-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL		come out-PF-AFF:DCL
ʔee	hise	ʔohe-kko	hajsuʔe-kko	jesisa
yes	say:REL	talk- FOC	tale-FOC	present:REL
ʃini	ʔane	he-i	bagga	hiti
PRVN	let	that-NOM	side	2PL:NOM
ʔer-esi	jes-o-kko	taa-ro	ʔoh-o-jite	ʔeero
know-3M:S:REL	present-INF-FOC	I-DAT	tell-INF-IMP-2PL	ok
he-i	bagga			
that-NOM	side			

‘The other thing is about the origin of Gamo kings. The Gamo kings who went to right side or left side or upward and downward were originated from Kole land. There is a tale which makes sure is that all kings came up or originated from Kole. If you know anything about that tale, would you tell me please?’

3.

bagga	hee	he-i	bagga	he-i
side	IDEO	that-NOM	side	that-NOM
bagga	hatte	ʔaade-kko	ʔaade-kko	zooro
side	now	sure- FOC	sure- FOC	mother of seven sons
hikke	his-isi	zooro	hikke	his-isi
then	do-3F:SG	mother of seven sons	then	do-3F:SG
ʔee	ʔawa ʔaape-kko	ʔawa ʔaape-kko	ʔapa-pa	wodf--esa
yes	sun beam-FOC	sun beam-FOC	sky- ABL	drop-3M:SG
haatstse-i	gada	baa-so-k-iso		haatstse-i
water-NOM	ground	not_exist-NEG:DCL-FOC-3PL		water-NOM
gada	baa-so	ʃin-ko		haatstse
ground	not_exist-NEG:DCL	PRN-FOC		Water

jes-isi-kko **jesisa** **?uhu** **ha-nn-i-ga-k-is** **gede**
 exist-3FS-FOC present:REL IDEO here-3FS-NOM-LOC-FOC-3F:SG there
 'Ok! Do you mean about that side? About that side...Yes! About that part, it is true that, it is true that there is a woman who is called Zoro. IDEO and the beam of sun, the beam of sun dropped and came from the sky. At that moment, there was no water in that place. There was no any water in that area; however, there was small amount of water which was hidden in some place.'

4. **je-si-d-e** **?eero** **haatstse** **jes-isi**
 exist-3MS-PF AFF:DCL ok water exist-3F:SG
jef-un-ko **?awa ?a:pe-z-i** **?apa-pa** **wodf-i-kko** **?apa-pa**
 exist-SR-FOC sun sunbeam-DF-NOM sky- ABL drop-CNV-FOC sky- ABL
wodf-esa-z-i **?aa** **?apa-pa** **wodf-esa-z-i**
 drop-MS-DF-NOM IDEO sky- ABL drop-MS-DF-NOM
ta ?um:a-k:o **bordu** **jise** **?umma-kko** **bordu**
 my race-FOC bordu say race-FOC bordu
bordu **hise** **bordu** **hise** **?umma-kko**
 bordu say bordu say race-FOC
?eero **?eero** **bifa?-att-i** **?eero**
 ok ok girl-3DF:F-NOM ok

'Ok! It is found that place or area. Ok! When the small amount of water was found, the sun beam, having dropped from the sky, the sun beam which was dropped from the sky, IDEO the sun beam which was dropped from the sky, is from my ethnic group. It is from ethnic group which is called bordu. It is the one which is called bordu. Yes, Bordu. Yes! It is from the ethnic group bordu. Ok! Ok!

5. **bifa?-att-i** **bordu** **hise** **?umma** **jin**
 girl-3DF:F-NOM bordu say race PRVN
?apa-pa **wodf-i-ko-si** **bifa?-att -o** **?aw?aqqe-i**
 sky-ABL drop-CNV-FOC-3M:SG girl-3F:DF -F:ABS sunbeam-NOM

matftf-e	?aha	?awa ?a:pe-kko	matftf-esa	
marry-AFF:DCL	aha	sunbeam-FOC	marry-3M:SG:AFF:DCL	
?eero	?awa ?aape-i	matftf-i	gadd-i-kko	laappu
ok	sunbeam-NOM	marry-CNV	put-CNV-FOC	seven
laappu	jel-e	?eero	hija	laappa-z-i
seven	bear-AFF:DCL	ok	thereafter	seven-M:DF-NOM
?udda	?ad-as'-uwa			
all	male-PL-NEG:INTR			

The girl, who is looking after the cows, the girl, is from the ethnic group of bordu. The beam of sun which was dropped from the sky, fucked the girl. The beam of sun fucked her. Ok! The beam of sun made sexual intercourse with the girl. The beam of sun having married her as his wife, she bore seven male children. Ok! Are all the seven children male?

6.

?ad-as'-i	?udda	galata	laappu	jel-e
male-PL-NOM	all	may bless	seven	bear-AFF:DCL
?eero	laappu	jel-un-ko	laappu	
ok	seven	bear-SR-FOC	seven	
jel-esa-z-i-ga-pa		laappu	jel-esa-z-i-ga-pa	
bear-3M:SG-M:DF-NOM-LOC-ABL		seven	bear-3M:SG-M:DF-NOM-LOC-ABL	
hikke	?aw-uns'-i	hang-iffi	hang-iffi	
then	children-PL-NOM	go-PROG	go-PROG	
hang-iffi	hang-iffi	miisi	?asse	pett-ir-i
go-PROG	go-PROG	cow	also	one-3F:SG-NOM
jes-i-d-e		?eero	miisi	jeff--i-kko
exist- CNVPF-AFF:DCL		ok	cow	exist-CNV-FOC
petti	miis-att-i	petti	miis-att-i	?udda
one	cow-3F:DF-NOM	one	cow-3F:DF-NOM	all
?ojiddu	jesame	?ojiddu	jesame	maas's'-i-kko
four	milking container	four	milking container	milk-CNV-FOC

Yes! They are all male. May God be bless. It borne seven children. Ok! After it had borne seven children, among these seven children, among these seven children, when the children became at age of adolescent, there was one cow. The cow was existing there. When that one cow existing in that place, and that one cow, was giving about four jug of milk once. It gave four jug of milk at once.

7. he	bitane-zu-ssu	maas's'-i-kko	bitane-z-i	
that	man-M:DF-DAT	milk-CNV-FOC	man-M:DF-NOM	
hikke	ta-?umma-zu-kko	jin	hikke	maas's'-e
then	race-M:DF-FOC	PRVN	then	milk-AFF:DCL
maas's'-un-ko-si	jawa-z-a	?ekk-i	?eeng-i	
milk-SR-FOC-3MS	children-DF-ABS	take-CNV	take-CNV	
ditftj-e	jawa-z-a	?ekk-i	?eeng-i	
foster-AFF:DCL	children-DF-ABS	take-CNV	take-CNV foster-AFF:DCL	
ditftj-ufun-ko	ditftj-ufun-ko	hatte	zihe	hise
forster-SR-FOC	forster-SR-FOC	now	zihe	say
?olla	ditftj-ufun-ko	ditftj'-i	hang-i	kes-i
place	forster-SR-FOC	forster-CNV	go-CNV	go out-NOM
?udda	woddf-eso	ditftj'-i	hang-i	kes-i
all	drop-3PL	forster-CNV	go-CNV	go out-NOM
?usunu	woddf-unnu-kko	woddf--esa	woddf--esa	
they	drop-SR-FOC	come down-3M:SG	come down-3M:SG	

'When a cow was giving that amount of milk for one person who was living in the area, the person said it was my ethnic group, which gave the milk in such way. The person was consuming the milk in order to bring up those seven children. When the person was up bringing those children, when bringing up, when he was bringing those children up in place which is now called Zihe.'

8.	ʔange		s'aas'-eso		ʔange
	circled material for game		wrap-3PL:AFF:DCL		circled material for game
	ha-j-a		faw-i	kaʔ-esa	hoo faw-i
	here-3M:SG-3MS:ABS		children-NOM	play-3MS	yes children-NOM
	kaʔ-esa	ʔange-z-a			s'aas'-eso
	play-3M:SG	circled material for game-DF-ABS			wrap-3PL:AFF:DCL
	ʔange-z-a		s'aas'-i-kko	kallo	hikke
	circled material for game-DF-ABS		wrap-CNV-FOC	stick	then
	ʔusu-ro	ʔudda	mass-i	mass-i	mass-i
	them-DAT	all	hew-CNV	hew-CNV	hew-CNV
	mass-i	wojijfe	kallo	mass-i	mass-i
	hew-CNV	bamboo	stick	hew-CNV	hew-CNV
	ʔusu-ro	ʔing-eso	mass-i	mass-i	ʔing-un-ko
	them-DAT	give-3PL	hew-CNV	hew-CNV	give-SR-FOC

'They all grown up without any challenge; after they had grown up, the grown ones, the grown ones, they prepared circled material called ange for their game. The playing material which the children were using for game was ready. Yes! The material children used to play with it. They wrapped the playing material. After they had wrapped the playing material, they prepared the sticks by hewing in order play with it. The stick was prepared from bamboo, having hewed the bamboo stick, they shared among each other. Having hewed and hewed, having distributed among each other and having share among each other.'

9.	ʔing-un-ko	ʔe-ga-pa	hikke	ʔe-ga-pa	hikke
	give-SR-FOC	it-LOC-ABL	then	it-LOC-ABL	then
	kese-su-kko	wujga-ji-nne	wurtʃe-ji-nne	taa-ssi	hikke
	out-DAT-FOC	whip-3M:SG-CONJ	lath-3MS- CONJ	me-DAT	then
	hiff-i-nna-kko	wujga-ji-nne	wurtʃe-ji-nne	taa-ssi	
	say-CNV-INST-FOC	whip-3M:SG-CONJ	lath-3MS- CONJ	me-DAT	

hiff-i-nna-kko	balta	kaat-i	balta	kaat-i
say-CNV-INST-FOC	balta	king-NOM	balta	king-NOM
be?e	kall-att-o	fodd-i	?ekk-i	
self	stick-3DF:F-F:ABS	uproot-CNV	take-CNV	
balta-nna	?aadf-i	dab-e	?eero	balta-nna
balt-INST	pass by-CNV	disappear-AFF:DCL	ok	balt-INST
?aadf-i	dab-e	?ee?i		
pass by-CNV	disappear-AFF:DCL	IDEO		

'Thereafter, thereafter, they went to field to play with it. The one who said whip and lath is for me. Having said this, by saying whip and lath is mine, the king of Balta, the king of Balta, after having pulled out his stick; he went to the balta land or area. He went ot Balta area or land.'

10. **gobbo-ji-nne** **worso-ji-nne** **gobbo-ji-nne**
 Name of place-3M:SG-CONJ worso-3M:SG-CONJ Name of place-3M:SG-CONJ
- | | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|
| worso-ji-nne | taa-ssi | hikke | hif f-i -nna-kko | |
| worso-3M:SG-CONJ | me-DAT | then | say-CNV-INST-FOC | |
| hif f-i -nna-kko | zaj ?aa | zajse | kaat-i | gede |
| say-CNV-INST-FOC | IDEO IDEO | zayse | king-NOM | there |
| be kall-att-o | fodd-i | ?ekk-i | hikke | mokk-i |
| self stick-F:3F:DF -F:ABS | uproot-CNV | take-CNV | then | go-CNV |
| ?ullate | mokk-i | ?ullate | ?ap-i-nne | ?aln-i-nne |
| vanish | go-CNV | vanish | sky-NOM- CONJ | earth-NOM- CONJ |
| taa-ssi | hikke | hif f-i -nna-kko | zargula | kaat-i |
| me-DAT | then | say-CNV-INST-FOC | zargula | king-NOM |
| fodd-i | ?ekk-i | ?ullate | ha-j-ga | ?eero |
| uproot-CNV | take-CNV | vanish | here-3MS-LOC | ok |
| fodd-i | ?ekk-i | ?ullate | ?ee?i ?aha | wujga-ji-nne |
| uproot-CNV | take-CNV | vanish | IDEO aha | whip-3M:SG-CONJ |

wurtʃe-ji-nne	taa-ssi	hif f-i -nna-kko	gede	ʔasse
lath-3MS- CONJ	me-DAT	say-CNV-INST-FOC	there	also
fodd-i	ʔepe-si	ʔofitʃi	gede	mokk-i
uproot-CNV	take-3M:SG	right	there	go-CNV
ʔullate	ʔeero	heehi	ʔeero	ha-j-a
vanish	ok	IDEO	ok	here-3M:SG-ABS
hikke	hiff-un-ko			
then	say-SR-FOC			

IDEO Gobo and Worso, having said Goba and Worso is mine, by saying that, IDEO IDEO the king of Zayse there over, pulled out his stick and went to the land of Zayse. He disappeared from the area. Having said sky and · earth · is mine · the king of Zargula, · went to Zargula land after he pulled out his stick · from here, from Zihe. After pulled out his stick he went away. IDEO aha! Having said whip and lath is mine, over there also, the one who pulled out his stick and took it, went to the right side of the direction. Ok! IDEO Yes! ·

11. **ha-ji-nna** **hikke** **kole** **kaat-i** **ʔu-ga** ^{SG-ABS}
 here-3M:SG-INST then kole king-NOM they-LOC
- hikke** **ʔatt-ada-si** **hikke** **hisi** **kall-att-o**
 then remain-INCH-3M:SG then do stick-3F:DF-F:ABS ^(tsi, IDEO)
- fod-o** **fod-o** **hiff-un** **fod-o** **fod-o** ^{land of Zayse,}
 uproot-INF uproot-INF say-SR uproot-INF uproot-INF ^{the king got}
- fod-o** **fod-o** **hiff-un** **fod-o** **fod-o** ^{from Zihe}
 uproot-INF uproot-INF say-SR uproot-INF uproot-INF ^{at to pull,}
- hiff-un** **fod-o** **fod-o** **hiff-un** **fod-o** ^{the side of the}
 say-SR uproot-INF uproot-INF say-SR uproot-INF
- fod-o** **hiff-un** **kole** **kaat-ujissa-z-i**
 uproot-INF say-SR kole king-POSS-3M:SG-NOM
- hatfet-i-kko**
 refuse-CNV-FOC

muulla	ʔajikk-i	hikke	ʔirga	maak'k'-i
muulla	catch-CNV	then	settle	become-CNV
nuu-ro	kaat-i	maak'k'-i	ʔatt-i-jesi	
we-DAT	king-NOM	become-CNV	remain-CNV-3M:SG	
ha-ju -kko	hoo	ha-ju -kko	tan-i	
this-3M:SG-FOC	yes	this-3M:SG-FOC	I-NOM	
ʔer-ese	miiffe -z-i	ʔadde-z-i	gawa	
know-REL	thing-M:DF-NOM	male-M:DF-NOM	belly	
jel-utt-ite	kana	gooba-z-i	hatte	
bear-PASS-IMP- 2PL	dog	brave-M:DF-NOM	now	

'This place is found here under Baza. Having owned Mula, he brought peace and agreement in the area and became our king. This is situation which occurred in land of Kole land stayed as our legend. Yes! This is what I know in life. Bravo! Let you be blessed and thanked in your mother womb! Now,'

14.

kole	ʔee	jese	dumma	dumma
kole	yes	live	different	different
ʔatstsi	k'ommo	ʔera-jti-n-e	ʔans'i	ʔans'i
human	race	know-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL	how many	how many
k'ommo-wa	jesa	ʔoode-wa	dar-esa	hiti
race-INTR	present	who-INTR	many-3M:SG	2PL:NOM
k'ommo	hiti	bordu-k-i-d-e	hara hara	k'om:o-i
race	2PL:NOM	race-FOC-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	other other	race-NOM
jese-si	jesa	kole	kole-i	ʔee
live-3M:SG	present	kole	kole-NOM	yes
ʔee	ʔes-a	he	k'om:o-z-i-k-iti	
yes	he-3M:ABS	that	race-DF-NOM-FOC-2PL	
ʔoho-n-e		hara-i	ʔasse	
tell-IPF-AFF:DCL		other-NOM	also	

In Kole what exists in the form of different ethnic groups or human being races, and how many kind or types of human races are being existed? Would you tell me those please?

15.	kole-i	hija	kase	ha-j-ga-pa	hija
	kole-NOM	hereafter	ancient	here-3MS-LOC-ABL	hereafter
	med-utt-esa-k-iti		?oh-utt-i-d-e		hara
	create-PASS-3MS-FOC 2PL		talk-PASS-PF-AFF:DCL		another
	dere-pa	jeed-i	baa-so		hiti
	country-ABL	come-CNV	not_exist-NEG:DCL		2PL:NOM
	dere	ger-i	?asse	hara dere	hang-i
	country	men-NOM	also	other country	go-CNV
	hi-ga	?ato-si-n-e-nne			maak'-isi
	there-LOC	remain-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL-CONJ			return-3F:SG
	jee-n-ee	ji	bagga bagga	k'opp-i	
	come-IPF- Q	3M:SG	side side	think-CNV	
	?oh-utt-a-jte		nu dere-i	?ee	?umma
	talk-PASS-IMP-2PL		our country- NOM	yes	race
	?atstsi	gada	ham-o-kko	?ee	
	human	ground	go-INF-FOC	yes	

'You told me that your race is Bordu. So, is there any other human beings' race in Kole? Is it in Kole? Yes! You tell me that race type and also the other thing is that you told me that Kole is originated from this area. The people of Kole did not come from other places. Do your people go to other places to live there and do they remain there ever? Or they do come to their own country or home land'

16.	?atstsi	gada	ham-o-kko	hija	be parazo-i
	human	ground	go-INF-FOC	hereafter	self horse-NOM
	be tʃare	gah-i-kko	haj?-e	gah-a-re-kka	
	self lush meadow	arrive-CNV-FOC	die-AFF:DCL	arrive-NEG-NEG:REL-INCL	
	?att-a-?a	jeett -a-ko-si-n-e			?okke
	remain-NEG-NEG:DCL	come-DEEP-FOC-3M:SG-IPF-AFF:DCL			Ok

?iffi	hatte	?umma	?umma	?oh-a-jte
ok	now	race	race	tell-IMP- 2PL
?ee	?umma	?ans'i	?umma	?eh ?eh ?ahi
yes	race	how many	race	IDEO IDEO IDEO
gita	gita	daro	?atstsi	dar-i
big	big	many	human	many-CNV
jes-i-se	ze	k'umma	?umma	?atstsi
exist-CNV- REL	DEO	race	race	human
k'ommo-i	?ee	?umma-i	?ans'u-wa	jesa
race-NOM	yes	race-NOM	how many-INTR	present

?iffi

ok

'Our people? Yes! When we go to other people's homeland? Yes! When we go to other people's homeland, as it is said, "The horse dies when it arrives its own lush meadow.", we do not remain without reaching. Everybody comes to his own homeland. Ok! · Ok!'

17. **?ood-as'-a** **?ood-as'-a-jti-n-e** **jes-o-kko** **?ee**
 who-PL-ABS who-PL-ABS-2PL-IPF-AFF:DCL present-INF-FOC IDEO
- hari** **nu gade-ga** **hiha** **nu gade-ga**
 likewise our land-LOC IDEO our land-LOC
- nu gade-ga** **nun-i** **kajitsts-i** **jes-i-jesi** **hatte**
 our land-LOC we-NOM race name-NOM exist-CNV-3M:SG now
- wo ?ee** **kallo-z-i** **ha-i-ga** **?att-i-ko-si**
 up yes stick-M:DF-NOM this-NOM-LOC remain -CNV-FOC-3M:SG
- ?ilga** **maak'k'-i-d-e** **hikke** **?e ?umma-i** **?aala-wa**
 peace happen-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL then his race-NOM what INTR
- he bit** **zulesi** **zulesi** **zulesi** **ha-i-ga**
 that man zulesi zulesi zulesi this-NOM-LOC
- ha-i-ga** **?es-i** **waa** **hari** **?i ?i**
 this-NOM-LOC he-NOM IDEO likewise IDEO IDEO

'Do you ask me to tell you human beings' race type? Yes! Race type, how many big

human beings' races are there in Kole land? Yes! How many ethnic groups are there? You call them what by their name? If there is any. Ok! IDEO In our homeland? In our homeland, nowadays in our homeland We, Kaytsa people who are living here, now up there, are from race of the one's stick was remained here brought peace and agreement in the area. What is his ethnic group or race? Zulesi? His race is Zulesi. Zuesi. Here, here... ‘

18. **kos's'-un** **kos's'-un** **?umma** **wasaz-i**
 take off-SR take off-SR race something-DF-NOM
se-ja-z-i **?udda** **hang-?ol-un** **gadd-i-jesi**
 that-M:ABS-M:DF-NOM all go-leave-SR put- CNV-3M:SG
?esu-kko **?att-i-jesi** **he-i** **zulesi** **?eero**
 he-FOC remain-CNV-3M:SG that-NOM zulesi ok
zulesi **?eero naade** **haratftfi** **gita** **?umma -i**
 zulesi ok bravo other what about big race-NOM
hi?i hee?i **?asse** **?e**
 IDEO IDEO also his

‘The one whose stick was not pulled out, those all went away. But he is the only one who remained there. That one is Zulesi.Ok! Zulesi · Bravo! Is there another? The huge and known race is.... Ok!’

19. **muga** **bordu** **hise** **?umma-kko** **jesisa**
 behind race type say race-FOC present
hatte **fawa-z-a** **jel-e** **?ind-att-i**
 now children-M:DF-ABS bear-AFF:DCL mother-3F:DF -NOM
hajja **fawa-z-a** **jel-e** **?ind-att-i**
 yes children-M:DF-ABS bear-AFF:DCL mother-3F:DF -NOM
?ee?i **daari** **hise** **?umma-kko** **jesisa**
 IDEO race type say race-FOC present

?eero	hi?i ?aha	kalli	hise	?umma-kko
ok	IDEO aha	race type	say	race-FOC
jesisa	?eero	?eero	?eero	hi?i
present	ok	ok	ok	IDEO
dajjinni	hise	?umma-kko	jesisa	heeha
race type	say	race-FOC	present	IDEO

'And also after him there is race which is called bordu. Just now, the woman who borne the children. Yes! The woman who had bore the children. IDEO· There is a race type which is called dari.Ok! IDEO aha · There is race type which is called kali. Ok! Ok! Ok!IDEO· There is race type which is called dagn'

20.

hi?i	semale	hise	?umma-kko	jesisa
IDEO	race type	say	race-FOC	present
heeha	hi?i	hikke	?asse	nu gade-ga
IDEO	IDEO	then	also	our land-LOC
ha-i-ga	ha-i-ga	jes-i-jesi		hi?i
this-NOM-LOC	this-NOM-LOC	exist-CNV-3M:SG		IDEO
buzante	hise	?umma-kko	jesisa	hi?i
race type	say	race-FOC	present	IDEO
gudareti	hise	?umma-kko	jesisa	hi?i
race tyepe	say	race-FOC	present	IDEO
gezo maalli	hise	?umma-kko	jesisa	?eero
race type	say	race-FOC	present	ok
?eero	hi?i	gollo maalli	hise	?umma-kko
ok	IDEO	race type	say	race-FOC
jesisa				
present				

'Ok! IDEO· There is race type which is called semale. Ok! IDEO then also here in our homeland the race type which exists, · IDEO · There is race type which is called buzante. IDEO There is race type is called gudareti. IDEO There is race

he-jikke	kole-z-i	balti	ʔaala-wa-ji-n-e
that-like	kole-M:DF-NOM	balta	what-INTR-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL
laakki	ʔa:la-wa -ji-n-e	garbantsi	
lakka	what-INTR-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL	garbantsa	
ʔa:la-wa -ji-n-e		ʔeero	ji mala-i
what-INTR-3MS-IPF-AFF:DCL		ok	3M:SG like-NOM

I heard one thing from your society when they talk among each other. "Kole does not know revenge and fork does not know how to burn when it is very hot." Who said this quotation? Is it said by Kole people or by other people? In the same pattern, the people of Kole calls other people like that of Balta, Garbantsa what and what according its proverbs?

23. **jeso-kko** **ʔane** **namʔu** **terete-nna** **missale**
 present -FOC let two tale-CONJ example

mala	ʔeero ko	kole	komo	ʔer-a-so
like	ok IDEO	kole	revenge	know-NEG-NEG:DCL
kontʃ'e-i	mitʃtʃa	ʔer-a-so	hise-si	ʔee
fork-NOM	hot	know-NEG-NEG:DCL	say-3M:SG	yes
kole-i	komo-i	ʔer-a-so	hikke	hise-si
kole-NOM	revenge-NOM	know-NEG-NEG:DCL	then	say-3M:SG
kole-z-i	ʔaakko	be- oge-k:o	jes-i-d-e	
kole-M:DF-NOM	what	self line-FOC	exist-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL	

'If there is something which is similar to that of we heard earlier. Let you tell me similar types of proverb in the society. Ok! Kole does not know revenge and fork does not know how to burn when it is hot, fork hot means, yes! Kole does; not know revenge means, the Kole people, lives according to its own culture and rule, ...'

24. **kole-z-i** **namʔa-ntso-tʃtʃu** **ʔatstsa-zu-ra**
 kole-M:DF-NOM two-ORDNM-what about person-M:DF- COM

gino-ko-ti	ʔak'-a-n	ʔatstsa-zu-ra	gino-ko-ti
equal-FOC-1SG	live-IMP-2SG	person-M:DF- COM	equal-FOC-1SG
pejfo -n-e	hiʔi	ʔatstsi	ʔasse
live-IPF-AFF:DCL	IDEO	human	child
botʃtʃ-i-kk-i	ʔatstsi	ʃaato	wujg-i-kk-i
touch-1SG-NEG-1SG	human	child	hit-1SG-NEG-1SG
ʔasse	hantso	kana-z-a	ʔaako-si
also	today	dog-DF-ABS	what-3M:SG
			ʔootsts-on-e
			do-IPF-AFF:DCL

'In the second place the Kole people, with other people, lives with the equal status, and cooperates, with the other people in equal status and position, and also does not touch somebody's child. And it respect the other society. Kole say, "I do not isolate somebody's child, and also Kole says · "today, I do not steal anybody's property.'

25. **ʔiita** **ʔootstso-ʔol-esa-z-a** **be dere-z-ga** **jeed -i**
 bad work-leave-3M:SG-DF-ABS self country-M:DF-LOC come-CNV
- ʔiita** **ʔootsts-esa -z-a** **tan-i** **botʃtʃ-i-kk-i** **hiʔi**
 bad do-3M:SG-DF-ABS I-NOM touch-1SG- NEG-1SG IDEO
- ʔaako-si** **ʔootsts-on** **ʔajiss-ee** **hikke** **hid-i**
 what-3M:SG do-FUT:IPF why-Q then say-CNV
- gadd-i** **jesu-nna-kko** **kole-i** **komo**
 put-CNV by that-INST-FOC kole-NOM revenge
- ʔer-a-so** **kontʃ'e-i** **mitʃtʃa** **ʔer-a-so**
 know-NEG-NEG:DCL fork-NOM hot know-NEG-NEG:DCL
- hise-si** **he-ji -nna-kko** **kole-i** **gede gah-i-se**
 say-3M:SG that-3M:SG-INST-FOC kole-NOM there arrive-CNV-REL
- ʔootstso-i** **b-a-ʔa**
 work-NOM not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL

The one who comes to his country and did evil or bad deeds, "I will not touch." IDEO · having said what does it benefit? Or what uses does have? By saying and doing this culture, Kole is said, "Kole does not know revenge and fork does not

know how to burn when it is very hot." This is reason why Kole is called in such way.

26. **ʔeero naad-as'-i** **ʔeero naad-as'-i** **hija** **hara** **hitun-i**
 ok bravo-PL-NOM ok bravo-PL-NOM hereafter other 2PL-NOM
- zore** **ʔing-ada** **miiŋŋe** **jesa-wa** **taa-ro**
 advice give-INCH thing present-INTRG I-DAT
- s'osssi** **hitu-ro** **ʔing-o** **taa-ro** **namʔu**
 God 2PL-DAT give-JUSS I-DAT two
- ʔoh-ons'-a** **loʔatsts-i-k-iti** **ʔoh-i-d-e** **hija**
 tell-PL-ABS make good-CNV-FOC-2PL tell-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL hereafter
- hatte** **wasa-z-a** **porogirame-z-a** **nu**
 now something-M:DF-ABS programme-DF-ABS we
- ʔalts-ada-ppe** **bira** **hitun-i** **taa-ro** **ʔoh-ada**
 finish-INCH-ABL before 2PL-NOM I-DAT tell-INCH
- miiŋŋe-i** **jesa-wa** **ha-ja** **ha-ja**
 matter-NOM present-INTRG here-3M:SG:ABS here-3M:SG:ABS
- ha-ja** **hid-i**
 here-3M:SG:ABS say-CNV

‘Bravo! I thank so much and so much. Is there any other thing that you are going to tell me or you want to give me as advice for others? May God bless you? You have told me nicely the two major and important issues. Before we complete our program, if you want to tell me something new, you are welcome to tell me by saying this and that.’

27. **ʔee tan-i** **ʔee hija** **hikke** **ʔaako-ti** **ʔoh-on-e**
 yes I-NOM yes hereafter then what-1SG tell-IPF-AFF:DCL
- hitun-i** **ʔoh-on-e** **je miiŋŋe-z-a** **hikke** **ʔudda**
 2PL-NOM tell-IPF-AFF:DCL that thing-DF-ABS then all
- ʔoho-ko-ti-d-e** **hatte** **mangiste-ga-pa**
 tell-FOC-1SG-PF-AFF:DCL now government-LOC-ABL

jeetta-ko-si-d-e		hikke	his-esa	hatte
come-FOC-3SG-PF-AFF:DCL		then	say-3M:SG	now
nun-i	hang-i	gadd-i	hi wode	
we-NOM	go-CNV	put-CNV	that time	

?igintsa-k-ini-d-e		?igints-i	nu
bring agreement-FOC-1PL-PF-AFF:DCL		bring agreement-CNV	we
?alts-un-ko	nu-nna	hise hatte	
finish-SR-FOC	our-INST	say now	

'IDEO anything new that I am going to tell you Ok! Well, what shall I tell you? All things that you have asked me to tell you, I have all narrated it very well. I told you all things. Hereafter, the order which is sent by the government will be performed by us properly. Having engaged in the meeting at that time, we have made agreement peace.'

28. **?ee ji?a** **?adde-z-a** **nun-i** **mangiste-i** **nun-a**
 yes IDEO male-M:DF-ABS we-NOM government-NOM we-ABS

laap-utsts-i-kko	nun-a	botftf-i-kko	nun-i
weak-CAUS-CNV-FOC	we-ABS	touch-CNV-FOC	we-NOM
ha-ja	dinbare-z-i	galla gede	?igint-a-jte
here-3M:SG:ABS	border- M:DF-NOM	on there	agree-IMP-2PL

hid-i	?udda	nu dere-z-a	bu?-uffun	nu
say-CNV	all	our country-M:DF-ABS	mix-SR	we

jam-uns'-a	?ekk-i	?eeng-i	gadd-i	mangiste-i
member-PL-ABS	take-CNV	take-CNV	put-CNV	government-NOM

filmate	?ing-i	nun-a	hari	?aff-i-d-e
award	give-CNV	we-ABS	likewise	ignore-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL

'Having we finished the issue in proper way, Now what we want to say is that, IDEO IDEO the government considered us the weakest personalities, and by attacking approach, and the way we are acting on the border, in order to bring peace and agreement among the people, having taken some of our members, the government gave them all necessary awards. During this process the government

forgotten and ignored us without any benefit'

29. **nun-i** **hari-kko** **?att-i-d-e** **nu- mangiste-j**
 we-NOM likewise remain-CNV-P- AFF:DCL Our government-NOM

nun-a **wajd-i-kko** **botftf-i-d-e**
 we-ABS how-CNV-FOC touch-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL
nu- mangiste-j **nun-a** **wajd-i-kko** **ha-nn-i**
 Our government-NOM we-ABS how-CNV-FOC here-3F:SG-NOM

mala **hisi-d-e** **nun-i** **bonk-uns'u-ppa**
 like do-PF-AFF:DCL we-NOM bonke-PL-ABL

laapa-wa **bonke** **?ilm-as'-i** **hang-i** **gadd-i**
 weak-INTR bonke ilma-PL-NOM go-CNV put-CNV

be filmate **?ekk-i** **gadd-i** **hid-uffunnu** **nun-a**
 self award take-CNV put-CNV say-SR we-ABS

nun-i **?usunu-ppa** **nu** **waakk-i-d-e** **?atstsi**
 we-NOM their-ABL we what-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL human

?atstsu-kko **petti** **gina-kko**
 human-FOC one equal-FOC

'We are left and ignored without any consideration. Why and how did our government ignore us? Why did our government attack us in such way? What was fault in the role? Are we weaker than the Bonke people? From Bonke persons like Ilma have got their award from the government. They collected their award and our effort is ignored. How are we differentiated from those people? Was not it said that all human beings are equal?'

30. **hikke** **hiditte** **mangiste-z-i** **gadd-i-nne** **nun-a**
 then having said government-M:DF-NOM put-CNV-CONJ we-ABS
wajs-i-ko-si **mangiste-z-i** **ha baad-ade-zu-ssu**
 how-CNV-FOC-3M:SG government-M:DF-NOM here-speaker-M:DF-DAT

ʔing-i	gadd-i	nun-a	ʔalla
give-CNV	put-CNV	we-ABS	ground
hal-i-nne	hid-i	ha-nn-o-k-ini	
throw-CNV-CONJ	say-CNV	here-3F:SG-F:ABS-FOC-1PL	

mangiste-so-nna	k'ijame	gadd-i-d -e		
government-LOC-INST	dicomfort	put-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL		
ʔeero	ʔeero	ʔeero	k'ajamet-i-dopp -ite	hiti
ok	ok	ok	discomfort-CNV-2PL:PROH	2PL
k'aala-i	ʔawasa	gakk-ana	hikke	he geru-ns'-i
promise-NOM	awasa	reach-IPF	then	that men-PL-NOM
waa	ʔilma	ʔilma-ssi	ʔing-usi	gadd-i
IDEO	ilma	ilma-DAT	give-causative	put-CNV
nun-a	wake	hid-i-kko	ʔilma	k'oonna-s
we-ABS	how	say-CNV-FOC	ilma	kona-DAT
ʔing-usi	nun-a	wake	hid-i-kko	nun-a
give-causative	we-ABS	how	say-CNV-FOC	we-ABS
ʔalla	hal-i-nne	kasaje	his-ko-si	ʔing-usi
ground	throw-CNV-CONJ	compensation	say-FOC-3MS	give-causative
wajdi-ko-si	ʔalla	hal-i-nne	hid-i	
how-FOC-3M:SG	ground	throw-CNV-CONJ	say-CNV	
hi-nn-o-k-ini		mitf-utt-i	ʔoommo-nna	
that-3F:SG-F:ABS-FOC-1PL		blame-PASS-CNV	under-INST	
mitf-utt-i-d-e				
blame-PASS-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL				

'So, what happened at this level? The government put the reality in such way. How did the government attack us? The government sided to the active talkers or speakers. Having done this, the government had thrown us on the ground. This is our blaming which we put upon the government.'

31. **mangiste-i** **nun-a** **?anko** **?ilma** **k'oonna-i**
 government-NOM we- ABS where ilma kona-NOM
hiti **ha** **?iguntso-z-a** **?oots-us es** **k'oode**
 2PL this agreement-M:DF-ABS do-CAUS-REL because of

?i **fallam-utt-i-d-e** **hara** **hoo** **?igintso-z-a**
 IDEO award-PASS-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL other yes agreement-M:DF-ABS
daapa **?igintso-z-i** **daapa** **hoo** **hitu-ro**
 because of agreement-M:DF-NOM because of yes 2PL-DAT

'Ok! Ok! Ok! Do not feel any discomfort. Those people who said that your word would be sent up to Hawasa, how do they give award for Ilma? Having allowed the awards for Ilma, how did they ignore us? Having allowed the award for Ilma Kona, how did they forget us? Why did the government thrown us on the ground? We felt discomfort; having allowed all necessary compensation payment, why did the government ignore us? We felt discomfort on the government in our heart hiddenly. Is the award given to Ilma Kona because of the mediating role or why? Yes! He was given for the mediating role. This is because of his being mediator.'

32. **?aalu-kko** **?oots-utt-e-s** **b-aa-so**
 Something-FOC do-PASS-AFF:DCL-DAT not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL
?oots-utt-e-s **b-a-?a** **?ilma-i** **?aakko**
 do-PASS-AFF:DCL-DAT not_exist-NEG-NEG:DCL ilma-NOM what
?ekk-i-d-e **?ilma-i** **kumutstu** **maa?o** **?eero**
 take-CNV-PF-AFF:DCL ilma-NOM full cloth ok
bak' k'a **maak'k'-ada-kko** **hoo** **kumutstu** **maa?o**
 enough enough-INCH-FOC yes full cloth
?eero **s'ooss-i** **?ing-o** **ta** **?addi**
 ok God-NOM give-JUSS my father
lo?o **pejf-a-jte** **god-i** **?ing-o**
 good afternoon-IMP-2PL lord-NOM give-JUSS

'Yes! There is nothing which is given to us for this work. Nothing is done for us. What did Ilma take from them? Ilma... took all clothing...Ok! This is enough for today. Yes! He took the whole clothing materials. Ok! May God give you what you need? Good afternoon. Bye! '

Appendix II : Sample Dictionary

This sample dictionary is prepared from five texts which are presented in chapter five by using ELAN soft ware. All function and content words are presented in this dictionary including parts speech and their appropriate gloss. They are also arranged in the sequence of IPA symbols or phonemic forms.

a

-a	N.suff	ABS
-a	V.suff	3S
-a	V.suffix	IMP\2S
-a:	V.suff	Q
ad	V.suff	RCL
adda	N	father
-ada	V.suff	COMZ
-ada	V.suffix	INF
-ada	V.suff	RCL
-ade	N.suff	owner
-ade	V.suffix	RCL
-aja	V.suff	2PL:JUSS
-ajt	V.suff	2PL:IMP
-am:a	V.suff	1SG
-an	V.suff	2SG:IMP
-ana	V.suff	1SG:OPT
-ana	V.suff	having sit
-ana	V. suff	IPF
-ane	V.suff	2SG:IMP
-ap:a	CONJ	since
-are	V.suff	NEG
-as'	N.suff	PL

-as'i	V.suff	2RESP
-aso	V.Ssuff	NEG
-aso	V.suff	not
-as'u	N.suffix	PL
-att	N.suff	F:DF
-atte	V.suff	NEG:NEG:DCL
-atftje	V.suffix	NEG
-awa	V.suff	NEG:INTR
-a?a	V.suff	NEG:DCL
-a?a	V.suff	not exist

b

bamma	AUX	do\PAST
ba	V	not exist\NEG
baase	V	going
baa	V	go
baa	V	not exist
baad	N	mouth
baale	N	culture
baaso	V	not exist
baazzo	N	desert
baa?a	V	not exist
babb	V	fear
bagga	N	half
bagga	ADJ	side
baj	V	go\IPF
baje	V	not exist
baj?	ADJ	crack
bak'k'	V	rub
bak'k'a	V	enough\Amharic word
bak'ulo	N	mule

balta	N	Name of place ,Name of people
baraha	N	desert\Amharic borrowed
barbare	N	chilli
barkat	V	bless
matftfo	N	wife
batstsi	V	break
bazza	N	Name of place
bazzo	N	desert
bazi	V	confessed
bazo	N	God
baʔa	V	not exist
be	ADJ	self
beezi	ADJ	for that matter
bee	V	see
bee	PRO	self
beetta	V	see
bejissa	PRO	for themselves
bejs	V	show
bena	PRO	self
beni	ADJ	ancient
bent	V	find
beʔe	PRO	self
biide	N	mouth
biitta	N	land,soil
bibbir	N	acaia abessinica
birá	ADJ, Prep	before
bíra	N	Birr
biffi	N	woman,female
biffo	N	wife
bifaʔa	N	gril

bitane	N	person,man
bizzi	N	one
boor	V	bake
boora	N	bread
boos	V	respect
boota	N	place\Amharic word
ḥok'k'i	V	speak
bonke	N	Name people
bordu	N	type of race
botʃʃi	V	touch
botʃʃ'u	N	bark
buullo	N	buullo
buuzo	N	buuzo
budo	N	fire
bukki	V	hit
buzante	N	Name of race
buʔu	V	mix

d/d

-d	V.suff	PF
-da	V.suffix	INF
daari	N	Name of race
daapa	CONJ	because
daas's'	V	roll over
dabbó	N	waist
dábbo	N	relative
dagangi	ADJ	afraid
dajjinni	N	Name of the race
dantʃi	V	grid
dapo	V	pull
dara	N	Name of place

daró	ADJ, Pron	many, much , very
ɗassi	N	border
dema	V	find
dend	V	stand
dengesere	V.Phrase	while looking at
dents	V	pick up
-deppa	V.suff	NEG:3M
-deppe	V.suff	NEG:3F
dere	N	country, people
ɗiikk	V	get fat
dinbare	N	border\Amharic word
ɗisk	V	sleep
ditʃʃ	V	bring up, develop, foster
dootstsú	N	neighbour
dokko	N	cabbage
ɗolli	V	jump
-doppo	V.suff	NEG:2S
doro	N	sheep
dos	V	like
doʔi	V	open
dulla	N	container
dumma	ADJ	different
dure	ADJ	rich
duwe	ADV	not
ɗuʔi	V	come

e

-é	N.suff	2F:VOC
-e	V.suff	AFF:DCL
-ee	V.suff	INTR,Q
-edé	N.suff	PL:ABS

-ek	V.suff	NEG
-enna	V.suffix	NEG:3MAS:SG
-enne	CONJ	and
-eppe	V.suff	3M:SG:NEG
-es	V.suff	3M:SG
-ese	V.suffix	RCL
-esa	PRO	he
-ese	V.suff	RLC
-esi	PRO	3M:SG
-eso	V.suff	3PL:AFF:DCL
-esu	V.suff	RLC
-eta	V.suff	2PL

g

-ga	N.suff	LOC
gaajá	N	market
gáaja	N	tobacco pot
gaafe	N	millet like cereal/t'ef
gaatf'ajo	N	Name of place
gabare	N	under cloth
gaddi	V	leave
gada	N	ground ,earth
gadâ	N	lowland
gah	V	arrive
gako	V	arrive
galla	PRO	on
galata	V	may bless
-gamma	N	main
gamó	N	gamo people
gam?	V	stay, later
gande	N	axe

gapa	N	hungry
garbantsi	N	Name of place
gasa	N	free land
gafe	ADJ	small
gatta	N	grass type
gatstsi	V	reach
gawo	N	stomach, belly
geeda	ADJ	after
geeffi	N	public or open, clear
geez	V	becoming morning, dawn
gede	ADJ	there
gela	V	enter, marry
geela?o	N	girl
geltsi	V	get enter
gene	N	injustice
ger	N	men
geretstse	N	Name of place
gerur	V	brag
gezze	N	highland
gezo	N	Name of race
giigu	V	prepare
gid	V	be
gidda	ADJ,POST	among, inside
gina	ADJ	equal
gindi	V	knead
gife	N	share
giste	N	wheat
gita	ADJ	big
gize	N	time\Amharic
gooba	N	brave

gobbo	N	Name of place
golla	N	sisal
gollo maalli	N	Name of race
gud	ADJ	bad\Amharic borrowed
gudareti	N	Name of race
gujidd	V	hit or kick
gullant	V	head cover
gúta	ADJ	tomorrow

h

ha	ADJ	here, this
haaro	N	wealth
haasa?esere	V.Phrase	while speaking
haatte	V	treat cotton with finger
htstse	N	water
hadara	N	promise
hadirsi	N	left
haj	PRO	this:M:NOM
haj:a	INTRJ	yes, then
haja	ADJ	this:3M:SG:ABS
hajbu	N	death
hajitstsi	ADJ	three
hajsu?e	N	tale
hajz	ADJ	quite
haj?o	V	die
hal	V	prepare
halaape	ADJ	responsible
hamo	V	go
han	V	be
hanni	ADJ	this:3FEM:NOM
hanno	ADJ	this:3F:ABS

hana	ADV	here
hano	V	occur
hang	V	go
hanka	ADV	here
hant	V	walk
hantso	ADJ	today
hara	ADJ	other
hare	N	donkey
harge	N	sick
hari	ADJ	likewise, never, well then
harisi	PRO	without:3M:SG
hatte	ADJ	now
hatfe	V	refuse, shoulder
he	ADJ	that
heede	ADJ	that time
heeng	V	keep, tend domestic herd
hi	ADJ	that, there
hiinna	ADJ	after that
hiitsta	N	bed
hidi	V	said
hija	ADV	hence
hija	ADV	hereafter, then
hikke	ADV	then
hin	V	say
hina	ADV	there
hinde	ADV,CONJ	then
hinka	ADJ	there horizontal
hif	V	say
hise	V	act, call, say, do ay V
histojinni	V.Phrase	doing this

hite	PRO	you\PL
hitstsu	V	say
hitun	PRO	you 2PL
hizipe	N	people
hoo	INTJ	yes
hudaga	N	boss title

i

-i	N.suff	NOM
-i	V.Suff	CNV
-i	V.suff	GEN
-id	V.Suff	PF
-idoppo	V.suff	2SG:PROH
-ik	V.suff	FOC
-i-kk-i	V.suff	1SG:NEG
-ikka	V.suffix	INCL
-iko	V.suffix	FOC
-in, -n	V.suff	IPF
-ini	V.suff	1PL
-ir	N.suff, V.Suff	3F:SG
-is,	PRO	3F:SG
-ijj	V.suff	Past PROG, While
-ijje	V.suff	PROG
-ijji	V.suff	IPF
-isa	V.suff	2S, 3M:SG
-ise	V.suffix	REL/while
-isi	V.suff	3F:SG
-iso	V.suff	3PL
-ite	V.suff	2PL:IMP
-iti	V.suff	2PL

-itʃi	ADV	what about
	j(y)	
-j	N.suff	NOM:after vowel
-j	ADJ.suff	3M:SG
-ja	V.suff	CMZ
ja	V	say
ja	PRO	that
-jajte	V.suff	2PL:IMP
jamu	N	member
jana	V	happen
jane	V.Phrase	you say
jaw	PRO	that\Amharic
-jé	V.suff	3M:SG:JUSS
Je	INTRJ	VOC
jée	INTRJ	yes sir
je	DEM	down
jeejte	INTRJ	yes sir:RESP
jeekk	V	mourn
jeen	V	come
jeepo	N	mourning
jeeʃʃ	V	come
jese	V	live
jeetta	V	come
jedǝ	V	step
jej	PRO	down:M
jel	V	bear
jelikkamma	V.phrase	why not I give birth
jelo	N	on, generation
jene	V	exist
jef	V	live, exist, wait

jesame	N	milking container
jeso	V	present
jesu	V.Phrase	by that
jesun	V	existing
jewo	V.INF	come
ji	PRO	there, that:3M:SG
-jikke	V.suff	like this
-jissa	PRO	M:POSS
jise	V	say
-jiso	V.suff	3PL
jitstsi	V	call
-jni	V.suff	1PL
jo	V	say
joo	INTRJ	amen
-jon	V.suff	FUT: IPF
-jt	V.suff	2POL
-jte	V.suff	2PL:IMP
-jti	V.suff	2PL
-ju	PRO.suff	3M:SG

k

-k	V.suff,N.suff	FOC
-kk-	V.suff	NEG
-kka	ADJ.suff	INCL
-kko	N.suff,V.suff	FOC
k'aala	N	promise
kaat	N	king
kaatʃa	V	purify
kaawote	N	kingdom
k'ajamet	V	discomfort
kajitsts	N	Name of race

k'ajitstsi	V	separate
kajs	V	steal
k'ajs'e	V	disjoint
kajso	N	thief
kalli	N	Name of race
kállo	N	nakedness
kalló	N	stick
kalbe	N	Prop Name
kalta	N	hatchet
k'am	N	night
k'amma	ADJ	yesterday
kana	N	dog
kápo	V	keep
Kapó	N	bird
kare	N	outside
k'asse	ADJ	also
k'as's'aj	V	punish
kasaje	N	compansation\Amharic word
kase	ADJ	acent
k'as'i	V	entangle
katsts	V	cook
katstsi	N	food
katf'e	N	horn
káwo	N	dinner
kawó	N	king\N.Gamo language
ka?	V	play
ka?e	N	kingship
kell-	V	piled up
keetstsu	N	house
kes	V	go out

kessaj	V	bring up
késsó	V	take out
-ki	N.suffix	FOC
kiile	N	dig
kiita	N	message
k'iltfi	V	destroy eye
kis	V	be\FOC:3F
kitftfa	INTJ	be there
-ko	N. suffix	DIR
k'oonna	N	Name of person
k'oode	ADJ	because of
k'ook'	V	blind
koori	V	preparing saddle
k'obbóru	N	euphorbia
kohi	V	be\FOC:3PL
kojro	N	first
kole	N	Name of place,people
k'ommo	N	race, kind
kómo	N	revenge
k'onk'a	N	language\Amharic word
kontfe	N	fork
k'opp	V	think
k'or	V	identify, separate
kos	V	be\FOC:3SG
k'os's'	V.suff	fight, kick, hit
kos's'	V	take off, up root
kumutstsi	N	full
k'utfa	N	place name
kutfe	N	hand
k'ajs'o	V	disjoint

l

laakka	N	Name of place
laamotstso	V	eager
laappu	N	seven
laapa	ADJ	weak, lazy
laapuntso	N	seventh
lagge	N	friend
lankutfe	NUM	eight
laputt-	V	worry
lafa	N	fence
lazantsi	N	mediator
lepp	ADJ	slowly
loʔatsts	V	make nice, good
loʔo	ADJ	good, better

m

maak'k'i	V	happen, become
maar	V	forgive
maado	V	help
maaga	N	boss
maak'o	V	enough, return
maalli	N	Name of race
maaride	N	Name of person
maas's'i	V	milk
maata	N	grass
máátstso	V	milk
maaʔo	N	cloth
madi	V	fasten
mah	V	return
majdo	N	ox

majne	N	border/limit
mak'k'	V	be wife
mak'k'a	N	Name of person
makakara	N	mid night
mak'ala	N	type of knife
mala	N	like
maltse	N	answer
mandara	N	passenger
mangiste	N	government
mank'o	ADJ	poor
marf	V	compete
mas'	V	collect
mass	V	hew, carve
matf	DEM	many, much
matftf	V	marry
matftfó	N	wife
ma?i	V	wear
mek'ete	N	bone
mello	PRO	without any reason
mela	PRO	none, dry
meto	N	problem
miiitftf':	V	laugh
miis	N	cow
mitf:a	ADJ	hot
miijsfe	N	matter, thing, money
mij	V	eat
mino	V	tight, strong
mirgo	N	Name of person
mif	V	satisfy
missale	N	example\Amharic

mifiro	N	wife, madam, Mrs.
mitstsi	N	tree
mitfo	V	stretch
mitfu	V	blame
moogi	V	bury
mokk	V	go
muu-	V	eat
muulla	N	Name of place
muga	POST	behind
mus'	V	cut into piece
n		
-n	V.suff	2S
-n	N.suff	CONJ
-n	N.suff	IPF
-nna	ADJ.suff	INST
-nni	PRO.suff	INCL
-nn-	ADJ.suff	3F:SG
-nna	V.suff	NEG:3M:SG
-nne	CONJ	and
-nni	PRO.suff	emphasis
-nnu	V.suff	SR
-naade	INTRJ	bravo
nam?	NUM	two
naffa	V	tell
nas'a	ADJ	free\borrowed Amh.
-naw	V.suff	become
na?a	N	son, child
ne	PRO	you, your
neen	PRO	you
negere	N	something(Amharic borrowed)

-ni	ADJ.suff	2S
-ns'	N.suff	PL marker
-ntso	N.suff	ordinal number marker
nu	POSS.PRO	our
nujissa	POSS PRO	ours
nun	PRO	we

o

-ó	N.suff	VOC
-o	N.suff	3F:ABS
-o	V.suff	INF (with high pitch on the first syllable)
-on	V.suff	FUT:IPF
-ons'	N.suff	3PL:DF
-onte	V.suff	NEG
-op	V.suff	NEG
-oppu	V.suffix	NEG:IMP
-oso	V.suff	3PL

p

-p/pa/e	N.suff	ABL
-ppi	V.suff	NEG:IMP
paase	N	big axe
parazo	N	horse
paro	N	panther
pas'a	ADJ	alive, cure
pejfa	N	living standard
pejfo	V	afternoon
petti	N	one
pige	N	burning stick\cultural word
pir	V	run, fly
pité	N	broom

Pollo	N	dry
porogirame	N	program\English word
-pu	N.sjuff	ABL
pude	POST	up
pihu	V	lose

r

-r	N.suff	3F:small
-ra	ADJ.suff,Nsuff	COM
-rk-	V.suff	NEG
-ro	PRO/N.suff	DAT
-ru	N.suff	3M:SG:DF
-rutstsi	V.suff	RSPR

s, ʃ, s'

-s	N	DAT
-s'	N.Suff	3PL
-ssi	V.suffix	AGR\3M:SG
-ʃʃu	V.suff	PROG
-fun	CONJ	SR
-sa	V.suff	3M:SG
saas'ine	N	box
ʃaak	V	divide
s'aalli	V	step over
s'aas'	V	wrap
saate	N	watch
ʃaato	N	child
saka	N	ground, soil
ʃallamu	V	award
s'alala	ADJ	alone
salo	N	sky

ʃamm	V	buy
ʃanka	N	hunting
ʃaw	N	children
se	DEM	that\horizontal
-se	V.suffix	REL
s'eer	V	curse
seja	PRO	that. Horizontal:ABS
s'ejg	V	call
semale	N	Name of race
ʃémpo	N	rest
ʃempó	N	soul
ʃiik'	V	gather
ʃiiff	V	collect
siitta	V	listen, hear
s'iidda	N	juniper tree
s'ik'k'	ADJ	small
s'illo	N	truth, pure
ʃilmate	N	award\Amharic word
ʃin	V	PRVN, had, was
-ʃin	CONJ	however
-ʃinnu	V.suff	SR, while
sippu	V	compact
ʃir	V	turn up
sitsts	ADJ	quite
so	N	home
-so	N.suff	LOC
s'ooss	N	God
s'ooma	ADJ	poor
s'ooni	V	defeat
ʃog	V	wash

s'ok'k'oma	N	information
sorbu	N	Name of place
-su	V.suff	CAUS
suudd	V	collect
juura	N	type of plant
s'ugume	N	nail
fukk	V	slaughter
sule	POST	down
sungi	V	name
s'us'o	N	thistle/torn
fut'f'fu	N	stone

t, tʃ

-t/-ti	N.suff	1S
-tt-	V.suff	PASS
-tte	V.suff	3PL
ta	PRO	I, me, my (short form)
-ta	V.suff	2PL
taani/tani	PRO	I:NOM
taarike	N	story
taddasa	N	Name of person
tamaro	V	learn
tamarso	V	teach
tame	NUM	tenth
tana	PRO	me:ABS
tantsane	NUM	nine
terete	N	tale\Amharic word
-tetstsi	N.suff	Nominizer
-ti	ADJ.suff	1S
tij	V	paint
tizaze	N	order\Amharic word

tookki	V	carry
tog	V	ride
totoski	INTRJ	idiophone (shows repetition)
tʃaak'o	N	oath, swear
tʃaal	V	get old
tʃaare	N	shoots
tʃadd	V	pierce
tʃannak'	V	challenge
tʃare	N	lush meadow
tʃeema	N	night
tʃeeʃfo	N	angry
tʃim	V	become old
tʃonde	N	Prop Name
-tʃu	CONJ	if
tʃuk'k'une	N	oppress\Amharic
ʃsustsi	N	whistle
tuussu	N	central-pillar
tukke	N	coffee
tuke	N	foot

u

-u-kk-o	V.suff	1PL:NEG
-umma,mma	N.suff	AGNT
-un	CONJ	SR
-unu	CONJ	SR
-uʃfun	CONJ	SR
-uwa	N.suff	NEG:INTR
-uwe	V.suff	IMP\N.Gamo language

W

waaju	V	get problem
waakk	ADJ	what
waan	PRO	what
wad	V	kick
wajdi	ADJ	how
wajs	ADJ	how
waakko	PRO	what
wake	ADJ	how
walandz	N	sword
worada	N	district
wasa	PRO	something
wode	N	time
wo	POST	up
wookka	ADV	upward
wod	V	come down, fall, kill, drop
wodira	N	thigh
woj	V	be there, up
wojiffe	N	bamboo
wolá	N	fig tree
wóla	PRO	each other, together
Wona, wonde	ADJ	earlier
wons'apa	N	penis
wont	V	day break
wontessi	V	occur
wora	N	forest
wordó	N	lying
wore	N	talk\Amharic word
worge	V	want, need
worso	N	Name of place

wostanee	V.phrase	what to do
wotʃʃ	V	look
wozane	N	heart
-wu	N.sufff	DF
wuga	N	floor
wujg	V	hit
wujga	N	whip
wujʔ	V	lay, sleep
wulata	N	favor
wurtʃe	N	lath, thin whippy stick

Z

-z	N.suffix	MS:DF
zadalo	N	stable
zajse	N	Name of place
zalle	N	Name of place
zalʔ	V	trade
zargula	N	Name of place
zawa	N	home (house)
-ze	DEM.suffix	MS:DF
zere	N	seed
zihe	N	Name of place
zis'is'i	V	tighten
zoro	N	mother of seven sons
zode	N	thorn
zore	N	advice
-zu	N.suff	3M:SG:DF
zulesi	N	Name of race

ʔa

ʔaadɸ	V	pass, go
ʔaako	PRO	what
ʔaala	PRO	what
ʔaabbo	N	daddy
ʔaada	ADJ	sure
ʔaaj	ADV	no
ʔaakki	N	something
ʔaakko	ADJ	what/something
ʔaakkonaa	PRO. Phrase	what is it?
ʔaakko	PRO	why
ʔaalo	PRO	finish, last
ʔaape	N	eye
ʔaasi	PRO	what
ʔaatʃtʃi	V	scratch
ʔaatstsi	V	bring, pass, give
ʔaaze	PRO	what
ʔabbo	N	not well toasted
ʔabale	N	member
ʔabóó	INTRJ	wow
ʔábo	V	leave
ʔaddi	N	father
ʔadda	N	fact
ʔadde	N	male
ʔadanatʃfo	N	woman name
ʔade	N	husband, man
ʔagg	V	leave
ʔahaa	INTRJ	aha
ʔáha	N	dead body
ʔahi	N	cough

ʔajje	V	take care
ʔajikk	V	catch , have
ʔajikkun	V	start
ʔajisse	Phrase	why for
ʔajissi	N	butter
ʔajitstso	V	send, release
ʔakkaje	ADJ	not, no
ʔak'a	V	pass night
ʔakababe	N	area (borrowed.Amh)
ʔak'an	V	live
ʔák'o	ADJ	wealthy
ʔalla	N	ground
ʔal:ol	V	leave
ʔalaape	N	responsibility
ʔalanga	N	whip
ʔalga	N	bed\Amharic
ʔalts	V	finish
ʔammants-	V	get believe
ʔamara	N	Amhara
ʔamó	N	neck
ʔámo	V	wish
ʔanna	ADJ	where
ʔanane	PRO	let where
ʔanda	CONJ	so
ʔandʒ	V	bless
ʔane	V	please ,let
ʔange	N	circled material for game
ʔanni	PRO	which
ʔankos	ADJ	where:3M:SG
ʔans'i	PRO	how many, how much

ʔantʃi	V	cut in pieces
ʔapa	POST	on, over
ʔapilla	N	cloth
ʔarde	V	live
ʔaas	PRO	why
ʔaʃʃ	V	ignore
ʔassaj	V	welcome
ʔasse	ADJ	again, also
ʔaʃkar	V	servant
ʔasttu	N	human being, person
ʔatt	V	remain
ʔatʃʃ	V	tie
ʔaatʃʃo	V	hide
ʔatʃo	N	flesh, meat
ʔatu	V	leave
ʔatunnu	CONJ	but
ʔawá	N	sun
ʔáwa	ADJ	where
ʔawasa	N	Name of place
ʔawʔaape	N	sunbeam
ʔayko	V	catch
ʔaʔa	V	no

ʔe

ʔe	PRO	he, his, it, there
ʔee	INTRJ	yes
ʔeed	V	bring
ʔeero	INTRJ	Ok
ʔee saro	V. Phrase	alright fine
ʔeejó	ADJ	foolish:MS:VOC
ʔeemme	V	take

ʔeeng	V	take away
ʔeew	V	bring
ʔeeʔif	V	stand
ʔebulo	PRO	so-and-so
ʔekk	V	marry, take, have
ʔelle	ADJ	soon
ʔepo	V	marry, take
ʔer	V	know
ʔeraʔa	V	NEG:PF
ʔeró	INTRJ	Ok
ʔes	PRO	he, it
ʔessi	V	erect
ʔesede	PRO	they:ABS
ʔesu	PRO	him
ʔetstsere	N	lizard
ʔeʔaj	V	erect
ʔi		
ʔi	PRO	he, her
ʔiis'	V	cut
ʔiissoli	V	spoil
ʔiita	ADJ	bad
ʔibo	N	gate
ʔibus's'a	V	shut
ʔidime	N	age\Amharic word
ʔidumu	V	hug
ʔigint	V	agree
ʔihi	INTRJ	laugh:EDPO
ʔik'k'a	ADJ	no, refuse
ʔiluse	V	praise
ʔillim	V	finish

ʔilma	N	Name of person
ʔimatstsi	N	gust
ʔindalle	V.phr	as it is
ʔinde	CONJ	as\Amharic borrowed
ʔindigan	ADJ	again\Amharic
ʔindo	N	mother, woman
ʔing	V	give
ʔirga	N	settle\Amharic word
ʔirmaso	N	ambassador
ʔiʃʃi	INTRJ	ok\Amharic word
ʔitʃo	V	hit

ʔo

ʔootstso	V	work
ʔoode	PRO	who
ʔookkona	PRO	who
ʔoommo	POST	under
ʔooʃ	V	fight, quarrel
ʔoge	N	road
ʔogade	N	border keeper
ʔogoro	N	leather sack
ʔoh	V	speak, tell
ʔoj	INTRJ	wow
ʔojiddu	N	four
ʔojitʃʃʃ	V	ask
ʔol	V	fight, leave, throw
ʔolla	N	place, well
ʔoollo	N	horse
ʔóla	N	war
ʔoʃitʃʃi	N	right

ʔu

ʔu	PRO	they, their:GEN
ʔuuko	N	call
ʔudda	ADJ	whole, all
ʔuddesa	ADJ	all together
ʔugara	N	store-room
ʔullate	V	vanish
ʔullato	V	go
ʔuli	ADJ	backward
ʔumma	N	head, race
ʔupupe	V	protect tiresome
ʔurk'a	N	mud
ʔuʃ	V	drink, smoke
ʔussu	N	heifer
ʔusa	ADJ	also
ʔuʃe	N	thong
ʔusu	PRO	them
ʔusun	PRO	their
ʔusuna	PRO	them\ABS
ʔutt	V	sit
ʔuutstsu	N	false banana

Appendix III : the Basic Word Lists of Kole

Phonemic	Phonetic	Gloss
/ʔumma ʔitsike/	[ʔumma ʔitsiké]	hair
/ʔumma/	[ʔúmma]	head
/sino/	[sʲinó]	forehead
/haaje/	[haajé]	ear
/sijo/	[sʲijʷó]	hear
/biide/	[bʲiidʲe]	mouth
/puno/	[pʷúnʷo]	blow(v)
/zajk'e/	[zajk'ʲé]	whistle(v)
/jetstsi/	[jʲétstsj]	sing
/dolle/	[dʷólʲlʲe]	dance, jump
/karabbe/	[karabʲbi:é]	drum
/mojdo/	[mʷojdʷó]	lip
/ʔatʃ:e/	[ʔatʃʲtʃʲé]	tooth
/ʔins'are/	[ʔins'arié]	tongue
/tʃʷutʃʷu/	[tʃʷútʃʷtʃʷʷ]	saliva
/tʃʷawa/	[tʃʷawá]	sweat
/bak'ana/	[bak'aná]	chin
/buutʃʲe/	[bʷuutʃʲtʃʲe]	bread
/konke/	[kʷoŋkʲe]	nose
/singo/	[sʲínŋʷo]	smell(v.t)
/sibuntsu/	[sʲibʷúntsʷʷ]	eyebrow
/ʔaape/	[ʔaaʃʲé]	eye
/wotʃo/	[wʷótʃʷo]	see
/jeepo/	[jʲééʃʷo]	weep
/ʔaputsu/	[ʔáʃʷuntsʷʷ]	tear
/ʔamo/	[ʔamʷó]	neck
/hatʃe/	[hatʃʲé]	shoulder
/dantsi/	[dantsj]	breast

/gawo/	[gaw ^w ó]	belly
/gulʔa/	[g ^w ulʔá]	navel
/maratʃ ^o e/	[maratʃ ^o ie]	guts
/kiinne/	[k ⁱ iin ⁱ nié]	back
/gulbate/	[g ^w ulbát ⁱ e]	knee
/kutʃe kure/	[k ^w utʃ ⁱ e kure]	elbow
/dutʃ ^o a/	[d ^w útʃ ^o a]	buttocks
/tuke/	[t ^w úk ⁱ e]	foot
/kobo/	[k ^w óɓ ^w o]	sandals
/ʃark ^o e/	[ʃark ^o é]	thigh
/kutʃe/	[k ^w útʃ ⁱ e]	hand
/wada/	[wáda]	forearm
/birad ^o d ^e s ^o uguntsu/	[b ⁱ rad ^o d ^e s ^o wug ^w unts ^w u]	finger nail
/galba/	[galbá]	skin
/mek ^o ete/	[m ⁱ ek ^o étié]	bone
/wozane/	[w ^w ozanié]	heart
/suutstsu/	[s ^w ú:ts ^w :u]	blood
/tire/	[t ⁱ rié]	liver
/ʔaatʃ ^o a/	[ʔáats ^o a]	bush
/ʔakkulʔa/,/zode/	[ʔak ^w :úlʔa],[z ^w od ^o é]	thorn
/mitstsi/	[m ⁱ íts ⁱ :i]	tree
/gande/	[gánd ⁱ e]	axe
/mitstsi pok ^o /	[m ⁱ íts ⁱ :i p ^w ok ^o ʔwó]	bark (n- of tree)
/s ^o abo/	[s ^o ab ^w ó]	root
/mitstsi haaje/	[m ⁱ íts ⁱ :i haaj ^o é]	leaf
/wodoro/	[w ^w od ^w or ^w ó]	rope
/daatʃ ^o fo/	[datʃ ^w ʃ ^w ó]	basket
/goʃʃe/	[goʃ ^w :é]	farm(field)
/katstsa ʃiifo/	[katstsa ʃí:ʃ ^w o]	harvest (n)
/katstsa ʔaape/	[katstsa ʔaaɸ ^o é]	seed

/k'afe majfa/	[k'afje majfá]	machete
/ʔajille/	[ʔájjilʔie]	hoe
/booko/	[bʷó:kʷo]	dig
/tupo/	[tʷúφʷo]	plant(v)
/badala/	[badalá]	maize
/tambo/	[tʰambʷó]	tobacco
/maata/	[maatá]	grass
/harma/	[harma]	weed
/pufo/	[pʰúfʷo]	flower
/mitstsi ʔaape/	[mʲitsʲi ʔaaφʲé]	fruit
/k'ors'a/	[k'wórs'a]	ripe
/wook'a/	[wʷook'a]	rotten
/ʔatfo/	[ʔatʃʷó]	meat
/ʔiis'o/	[ʔíís'o]	cut
/kajso/	[kájsʷo]	steal
/ʔongo/	[ʔíŋgʷo]	give
/modfo/	[módʷdʷo]	fat
/buubulle/	[bʷuuɓʷuʔʔé]	egg
/ʔaatʃfo/	[ʔáátʃʲʲo]	hide
/gapo/	[gáφʷo]	hungry
/katstso/	[kátsʷ:o]	cook
/ʔufo/	[ʔúʃʷo]	drink(v)
/sine/	[sʲinʲé]	cup
/goze/	[gʷozʲé]	gourd
/miitʃʷo/	[mʲiitʃʷo]	laugh
/tʃʷóoʃʷo/	[tʃʷóoʃʷo]	vomit(v)
/k'upo/	[k'wúφʷo]	cough(v)
/mis'illo/	[mʲísʲjilʷʷo]	spit
/dʲifo/	[dʲiʃo]	sneeze
/hargo/	[hárgo]	sick

/ʔumbo/	[ʔúmbʷo]	fall (v)
/hajʔo/	[hájʔo]	die (v)
/boosa/	[bʷoosá]	grave
/ʔeeja/	[ʔééja]	fool
/pettiro/	[p ʔetʔiró]	one
/namʔu/	[námʔu]	two
/hajitstsi/	[hajʔitsʰ:j]	three
/ʔojid:u/	[ʔojíidʷ:u]	four
/ʔitʃ:itʃi/	[ʔitʃ:itʃi]	five
/ʔizup:u/	[ʔizʷúpʷ:u]	six
/laappu/	[lááppu]	seven
/lanʔkutʃe/	[lanʔkʰútʃe]	eight
/tantsane/	[tantsáne]	nine
/tammu/	[tʰámʷmʷu]	ten
/namʔu tam:u/	[namʔu tʰámʷ:u]	twenty
/s'eeti/	[s'éétj]	hundred
/k'ópo/	[k'ʷoφʷo]	think (v)
/ʔatststsi/	[ʔátsʔtsj]	person
/ʔade/	[ʔadié]	man
/biʃʃo/	[biʃʃʷo]	Woman, wife
/ʔepogelo/	[ʔeφʷogielʷo]	marry
/sarge/	[sargjé]	wedding
/dede/	[dedé]	bear (n)
/jelo/	[jélʷo]	bear (v)
/ʔ·addo/	[ʔadʷdʷó]	father
/hitto/	[hitʷtʷo]	say
/ʔíndo/	[ʔíndʷo]	mother
/ʔojtʃʷo/	[ʔójtʃʷo]	ask
/ʃaato/	[ʃaatʰó]	child
/ʔangussú/,/bajira ʔitʃe/	[ʔangússu],[bajira ʔitʃé]	brother(elder)

/hanto/	/hántʷo]	walk
/wos'o/	[wʷósʷo]	run
/fempo/	[fʲémpʷo]	rest (v)
/mitfo/	[mʲítʃʷo]	sister
/tamarso/	[tamársʷo]	teach
/daanna/	[daanná]	chief
/s'oos:u/, /bazo/	[sʷó:sʷ:u],[bázʷo]	God
/suntsu/	[sʷúntsʷu]	name
/medosa/	[mʲedʷósa]	animal
/ʔite/	[ʔitʲé]	fur
/hatsantʃa/	[hatsántʃa]	hunter
/hatse/	[hatsʲé]	hunt (v)
/gaafo/	[gáásʷo]	pig
/gojna/	[gʷojná]	tail
/liblibo/	[lʲiblʲiβʷo]	bat
/tʃʷuutʃʲe/	[tʃʷuutʃʲtʃʲé]	louse
/tʃʷuntʃʲalle/	[tʃʷuntʃʲálʲiɛ]	ant
/gus'une/	[gʷusʷúnʲe]	worm
/woxins'e/	[wʷozʲinsʲe]	fly
/ʔatʃʲaro/	[ʔatʃʲárʷo]	spider
/ʔol:atststsi/	[ʔollatstsi]	termite
/duunne/	[dʷúunʲnʲe]	termite hill
/matstsi/	[mátstsi]	honeybee
/matstsa kootstse/	[matstsa kʷootstsé]	beehive
/fida/	[fʲída]	honey
/s'ega/	[sʲéga]	goat
/katʃʲe/	[katʃʲé]	horn
/miisi/	[mʲíisʲi]	cow
/hare/	[harʲé]	donkey
/gujitstsu/	[gʷujítsʷ:u]	hit

/kut:o/	[kút ^w :o]	chicken
/kapo/	[kaφ ^w ó]	bird
/mehe s'ugume/	[m'eh'ies' ^w ug ^w úme]	claw
/k'epe/	[k'jeφié]	wing
/baalle/	[bá:l'e]	feather
/piro/	[pír ^w o]	fly (v)
/kapo keetsti/	[kaφ ^w o k'éetstsj]	nest
/foofu/	[f ^w óóf ^w u]	snake
/ʔet ^ʃ ere/	[ʔet ^ʃ é ^r ie]	rat
/wodó/	[w ^w ód ^w o]	kill
/giite/	[giit ^e]	scorpion
/mole/	[m ^w ol ^e]	fish
/molegite/	[m ^w olegít ^e]	fishnet
/liimo/	[liim ^w o]	swim
/ʔok'k'ar ^w o/	[ʔók'k'ar ^w o]	frog
/k'at ^ʃ ina/	[k'at ^ʃ í ⁿ a]	thread
/ʔat ^ʃ o/	[ʔát ^ʃ o]	tie (v int)
/sipo/	[síφ ^w o]	sew
/hajlafo/	[hajla ^f ó]	crocodile
/babbo/	[bab ^w b ^w ó]	fear (n)
/mentsi/	[m'entsj]	buffalo
/ʔade gele ^ʃ fo/	[ʔad ^e ge ^ʃ el ^e f ^w :ó]	baboon
/maahe/	[maah ^e]	leopard
/gawara/	[gawará]	cat
/godare/	[g ^w odar ^e]	hyena
/kana/	[kaná]	dog
/ʔezgo/	[ʔezgo]	listen
/bot ^ʃ o/	[b ^w ót ^ʃ o]	bark (v)
/jewo/	[j ^e w ^w o]	come
/met ^ʃ o/	[m ^e t ^ʃ o]	bite (v)

/muuze/	[m ^w uuzi'é]	banana
/worgo/	[w ^w órg ^w o]	want
/tajbo/	[tájβ ^w o]	count
/ʔepo/	[ʔéφ ^w o]	take
/ʔajko/	[ʔáj ^w k ^w o]	hold
/look'k'a/	[l ^w ook'k':á]	path
/ʔibo/	[ʔiβ ^w ó]	door
/pito/	[pjit ^w ó]	sweep (n)
/zawa/	[zawá]	house
/gelo/	[g'jél ^w o]	enter
/keso/	[k'jés ^w o]	exit
/tod'fo/	[t ^w od ^{fw} d ^{fw} ó]	stool
/ʔootstso/	[ʔó:ts ^w :o]	make
/ʔuto/	[ʔút ^w o]	sit
/ʔeeʔo/	[ʔééʔo]	stand (v)
/mas'ine/	[mas'jini'é]	salt
/ʔoto/	[ʔót ^w o]	pot
/budo/	[b ^w ud ^w ó]	fire
/s'uuguto/	[s ^w uug ^w úto]	burn (v. int)
/mitʃtʃa/	[m'ítʃtʃa]	hot
/binna/	[b'ínna]	warm
/ʔirs'a/,/k'ojtʃ'e/	[ʔírs'a],[k'ojtʃ'jé]	cold/ cool
/mojtʃ'e/	[m ^w ojtʃ'jé]	cold(weather)
/tʃ'uwa/	[tʃ ^w uwá]	smoke(n)
/muk'o/	[m ^w uk' ^w ó]	ashes
/guupe/	[g ^w uuφi'é]	stick
/ʃutʃtu/	[ʃ ^w úútʃ ^w tʃ ^w ɥ]	stone
/ʃugo/	[ʃ ^w úgo]	smooth
/ʔalla/	[ʔallá]	earth
/gade/	[gád'je]	ground

/ʔurk'a/	[ʔurk'á]	mud
/manaʔurk'a/	[manaʔurk'á]	clay
/ʔatʃ'e/	[ʔatʃ'ié]	sand
/gudulla/	[gʷudʷullá]	dust
/work'e/	[work'ié]	gold
/bira/	[b'íra]	silver
/miiʃfe/	[m'iiʃʃ'é]	money
/ʃamo/	[ʃámʷo]	buy
/bajso/	[bájsʷo]	sell
/gaaja/	[gaajá]	market
/zuma/	[zʷumá]	mountain
/tʃ'arko/	[tʃ'ark'hó]	wind
/ʃaara/	[ʃaará]	cloud
/ʔira/	[ʔíra]	rain (n)
/zuulla/	[zʷuullá]	rainbow
/wolʔantsi/	[wʷolʔántsi]	lightning
/dada/	[dadá]	thunder
/ʔora/	[ʔorá]	dew
/ʃoore/	[ʃʷooré]	river
/wogolo/	[wʷogʷolʷó]	canoe
/zokko/	[zʷókkó]	bridge
/haatstse/	[haats'ts'é]	water
/ʔolla/	[ʔollá]	well (n)
/ʔabba/	[ʔabbá]	lake
/salo/	[salʷó]	sky
/siipaso/	[s'iiφásʷo]	evening
/ʔagunna/	[ʔagʷunna]	moon
/s'oolinte/	[sʷool'íntʰe]	star
/ʔawa/	[ʔawá]	sun
/bootstsu/	[bʷootstsu]	white

/tʃ ^o elo/	[tʃ ^o el ^w ó]	black
/zoʔo/	[zoʔó]	red
/tʃ ^o ilila/	[tʃ ^o ilila]	green
/galalʔo/	[galálʔo]	yellow
/tukke medo/	[tuk ^k jem ⁱ éd ^w o]	brown
/majfa/	[majfá]	knife
/k'ara/	[k'ára]	sharp (edge)
/dunʔe/	[d ^w únʔe]	dull
/hook/	[h ^w ók ^w o]	bow
/toora japara/	[t ^w oora jáφara]	arrow
/toora/	[t ^w oorá]	spear
/s'ongo/, /halo/	[s ^w óng ^w o] [há ^w o]	throw
/gondalle/	[g ^w ondá ^l lie]	shield
/ʔola/	[ʔóla]	war
/ʔolutto/	[ʔol ^w út ^w o]	fight
/ʔiita/	[ʔiita]	bad
/loʔo/	[lóʔo]	good
/dalga/, /patf:a/	[dálga], [pátf:a]	wide
/kunʔe/	[k ^w únʔe]	narrow
/moole/	[m ^w óole]	straight
/wobbe/	[w ^w obi bie]	crooked
/galala/	[galála]	long
/gafe/	[ga ^f é]	small
/hata/	[hát ^h a]	short
/ʔado/	[ʔad ^w ó]	big
/ʔorde/	[ʔord ⁱ é]	thick
/leeʔo/	[l ⁱ ééʔo]	thin
/dees'o/	[d ⁱ ees ^w ó]	heavy
/heego/	[h ⁱ éég ^w o]	light
/galʔa/	[gálʔa]	old (not new)

/ʔooratstsi/	[ʔoorátstsj]	new
/ʔaakko/	[ʔáák ^w k ^w o]	none
/hadursu/	[had ^w úrs ^w ɥ]	left (side)
/ʔoʃitʃtʃi/	[ʔoʃítʃtʃí]	right (side)
/hoo/	[h ^w óó]	yes
/ʔiiʔe/, ʔakkaje/	[ʔííʔe], [ʔakáájje]	no
/mino/	[míno]	hard
/ʃugo/	[ʃ ^w úg ^w o]	soft
/matʃo/, /daro/	[matʃó], [dár ^w o]	many
/ʔeeresi/	[ʔeer ⁱ ésj]	few
/pude/	[p ^w úde]	up
/sule/	[s ^w úle]	down
/haja/	[hajá]	this (M)
/hanno/	[hannó]	this (F)
/heja/, /seja/	[h ⁱ ejá], [s ⁱ ejá]	that (M)
/hinno/, /sen:o/	[h ⁱ n ^w n ^w ó], [s ⁱ en ^w :o]	that (F)
/ʔoode/	[ʔó óódié]	Who?
/ʔoodejissa/	[ʔoodéjissa]	Whose?
/ʔaako/, /ʔaala/	[ʔá:k ^w o], [ʔá:la]	What?
/ʔájde/	[ʔájde]	When?
/k'amma/	[k'ámma]	yesterday
/ʔana/	[ʔaná]	Where?
/hajga/	[hájga]	here
/wajdi/	[wájdi]	How?
/ʔaalaro/	[ʔaalasró]	Why?
/maaʔo/	[maaʔó]	clothing
/tʃ ^w aʃa/	[tʃ ^w áʃa]	wet
/mela/	[méla]	dry (adj)
/k'ita/	[k'ít ^h a]	dirty
/buura/, /pito/	[b ^w úúra], [pitó]	garbage

/duuk'o/	[d ^w úúk ^w o]	pour(water)
/kajissi/,/mela/	[k ^h ájissj], [méla]	empty
/kumutstsu/	[kúmutstsu]	full
/fogutto/	[fógut ^w t ^w o]	bathe (v. int)
/zak'ullo/	[zák <ul<sup>wl^wo]</ul<sup>	lie down
/laajo/	[lááj ^w o]	yawn
/disko/	[dísk ^w o]	sleep (v)
/tana/	[taná]	I
/nena/	[nená]	you (M,F)
/ʔesa/	[ʔesá]	he
/nuna/	[n ^w uná]	we (inc.)
/nuni/	[n ^w un'í]	we (exc.)
/hituna/	[h'ít ^w una]	you (PL)
/ʔusuna/	[ʔús ^w una]	they
/ʔudo/	[ʔúd ^w o]	push (v)
/dapo/,/gootfo/	[dáφ ^w o], [g ^w ó:tʃ ^w o]	pull (v)
/dolo/	[d ^w ól ^w o]	jump
/ʔoge/	[ʔog'ié]	road
/ketʃa/	[kétʃa]	fence
/ʔibo/	[ʔiβó]	gate
/ʔudda/	[ʔuddá]	all
/hamo/	[hám ^w o]	go
/ʔero/	[ʔéro]	know
/hara/	[hará]	other
/ʔaatʃ ^w o/	[ʔáá tʃ ^w o]	scratch
/ʔuuko/	[ʔúúk ^w o]	cry
/ʔik'aro/	[ʔik'áro]	no(to say no)
/diina/	[díína]	local beer
/ʔajissi/, /ʔara/	[ʔájissj], [ʔára]	butter
/ʔakka/	[ʔákka]	partridge

/ʔaatfo/	[ʔá:tʃʷo]	hide (v)
/ʔotstsu/	[ʔotsʷtsʷɥ]	cick (v)
/ʔajille/	[ʔájilʲje]	hoe
/wola/	[wʷóla]	together
/muge/	[mʷugié]	back
/goho/	[gʷóhʷo]	sheep (M)
/zuʔe/	[zʷúʔje]	chest
/modo/	[mʷódʊ]	think (v)
/ʔanguzo/	[ʔangʷúzo]	elder daughter
/ʔangussu/	[ʔangʷúsʷsʷɥ]	elder son
/baro/	[barʷó]	younger son or daughter
/ʔabussu/	[ʔabʷúsʷsʷɥ]	dream
/saabba/	[saabbá]	unmarried man
/habere/	[habʲerʲé]	this year
/zinbere/	[zimberʲé]	last year
/s'ik'iiro/	[s'jik'ík'íiro]	small, minute
/ganʔo/	[gánʔo]	insult (v)
/ʔokka/	[ʔokká]	calf
/saka/	[saká]	soil
/ʔawussu/	[ʔawʷusʷsʷɥ]	uncle or aunt

Appendix IV : Mitsi k'om:ede 'Types of Trees'

/zojra/	[z ^w ójra]	tree type 1
/boro/	[b ^w or ^w ó]	tree type 2
/loolafe/	[l ^w ooláʃe]	tree type 3
/ʔakkirsi/	[ʔakik'irsij]	tree type 4
/boobba/	[b ^w oobbá]	tree type 5
/gara/	[gará]	tree type 6
/wojife]	[w ^w ojifé]	tree type 7
/s'iidda/	[s'jiidda]	tree type 8
/burame/	[b ^w uramié]	tree type 9
/poorize/	[poorizé]	tree type 10
/baatʃ ^w tʃ ^w o/	[báatʃ ^w tʃ ^w o]	tree type 11
/ʔanka/	[ʔáŋka]	tree type 12
/mazo/	[maz ^w ó]	tree type 13
/dawʔa/	[dawʔá]	tree type 14
/ʃurufudde/	[ʃ ^w ur ^w uf ^w d ^w dé]	tree type 15
/ʔirk'a/	[ʔírk'a]	tree type 16
/tsaatse/	[tsaatsié]	tree type 17
/hazintʃ ^w e/	[hazintʃ ^w é]	tree type 18
/hala/	[halá]	tree type 19
/gabi33a/	[gáβi33a]	tree type 20
/barzaape/	[barzá:ʃe]	tree type 21

Appendix V : ?uttsu k'ommeŋe 'Types of False banana'

/katisse/	[kat'isi:é]	type 1
/palak'e/	[balak'jé]	type 2
/masa/	[masá]	type 3
/bodŋa/	[bód:a]	type 4
/tʃ'amjife/	[tʃ'amjifjé]	type 5
/k'iro/	[k'ir ^w ó]	type 6
/k'ors'o/	[k' ^w ors' ^w ó]	type 7
/hooʔe/	[hooʔé]	type 8
/ʔagina/	[ʔagjiná]	type 9
/sujto/	[sújt ^h o]	type 10
/k'og:azo/	[k' ^w og:áz ^w o]	type 11
/k'oŋbo/	[k' ^w óŋ ^w ó]	type 12
/k'otʃ'a/	[k' ^h ótʃ'a]	type 13
/sorge/	[s ^w orgjé]	type 14
/jiinna/	[ʃjiinná]	type 15
/ʔeddo/	[ʔed ^w d ^w ó]	type 16
/deneʔe/	[dienieʔjé]	type 17
/woossu ʔaape/	[w ^w oossu ʔaapjé]	type 18
/loollu haaje/	[l ^w oollu haajjé]	type 19
/miisi siide/	[mjiisi siiidjé]	type 20
/halakko/	[halak ^w k ^w ó]	type 21
/hanbaro/	[hambar ^w ó]	type 22
/bangaje/	[bangajjé]	type 23
/farto/	[fart ^w ó]	type 24
/ʔalanga/	[ʔalánŋa]	type 25
/goŋbo/	[g ^w óŋ ^w ó]	type 26